

STRIKES

A Study in Quantitative Economics.

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BY

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CHAPTER I

METHOD MEASUREMENT AND MATERIAL

STRIKES, as the most spectacular manifestation of working-class action, have given rise to a vast literature in which the historical and sociological variables of these phenomena have been minutely explored. All too often the attempt to relate the strike to a particular social philosophy, or to explain it in accordance with preconceptions and loyalties, has impaired the general usefulness of studies of this subject.

METHOD

(Quantitative technique is especially useful in the analysis of problems involving value judgments of such divergent character as those that beset the study of strikes.) In recent years quantitative work in the social sciences, especially in economics, has made rapid advances and the adaptation and verification of theoretical concepts are moving apace. In one sense economics is the most quantitative of all sciences, including the physical as well as the social, because, while in the physical sciences it is necessary to invent a process of measurement, "some of the most fundamental economic facts . . . already present themselves to our observation as quantities made numerical by life itself. They carry meaning only by virtue of their numerical character."¹ (The growing realization of the necessity for careful measurement of economic facts has been so general that few studies today are presented without statistical support and, of course, those in such fields as business cycle research, are essentially statistical.) Although the need for measurement, as a basis for value judgments, is much greater in labor problems,

1 J. Schumpeter, "The Commonsense of Econometrics," *Econometrica*, 1933, pp. 5-6. "Econometrics is nothing but the explicit recognition of this rather obvious fact, and the attempt to face the consequences of it," p. 6.

there has been scant analysis of the available data in that field. Professor Gustav Cassel has recognized the woeful lack of precision in our concepts as a result of the general neglect of verification. "In no other branch of modern science would such a general lack of quantitative definiteness as still prevails in economics be tolerated. . . . Economics must essentially be a quantitative science dealing with quantities and their relations to one another, and with conditions of equilibrium between forces that must be conceived quantitatively."²

Measurable concepts are of the very essence of the problem of strikes, their number, the aggregate of workers involved, the duration of the strike, the financial gains and losses, together with the setting of these variables in time. This chapter will indicate the nature of the terminology, the problems encountered in the selection of the definitions, and the manner in which the principal groups of data have been assembled. It is well to bear in mind that the employment of quantitative methods, far from dispensing with the use of logic and judgment, places analysis in the foreground; it is, after all, only a method and its justification lies in the results, in the added sharpness of the conclusions and the validity of the judgments.³ As the late Professor Allyn Young wrote, "The growing use of quantitative methods is the most promising development in contemporary economics. But it will prove relatively sterile if it does not lead to a renaissance of theory."⁴

² G. Cassel, *On Quantitative Thinking in Economics* (London, 1935), pp. v. 1.

³ Professor Lionel Robbins has overlooked this essential element, the cooperation and inseparability of quantitative and theoretical work. In his, *An Essay on the Nature and Significance of Economic Science* (London, 1935), he expresses himself as follows: "In the last ten years there has been a great multiplication of this sort of thing under the name of Institutionalism, 'Quantitative Economics,' 'Dynamic Economics' and what not; yet most of the investigations involved have been doomed to futility from the outset, and might just as well never have been undertaken," p. 112.

⁴ A. Young, "The Trend of Economics," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1925, p. 167.

In America the labor movement, whose growth and evolution are the determining forces in strikes, has been an essentially economic pressure group seeking immediate rather than distant objectives, material rather than political advancement. The "business unionism" of the America that intrigued Werner Sombart with its strange paradox of the "quintessence of capitalism" but without socialism, has been challenged, during the thirty years since Sombart viewed the domestic scene, but never successfully.⁵ The pressing problem of structure, which is now dividing the organized workers into two warring factions, revolves around questions really as broad as the basic philosophy of unionism itself. An industrial technique, which has outgrown in large part the requirements of personalized skill, is impatient with craft allegiances and jurisdictional claims that impede the free functioning of the industrial order. The substitution of broadly-organized unions on the basis of industrial occupations, rather than of craft, raises in a much more crucial form the unsolved problems of the apportionment of authority and the maintenance of discipline in a productive scheme already characterized by the absentee ownership of stockholders. Recent years, with their accompaniment of unaccustomed modes of thought and action, have served to furnish many an example of how finely drawn is the line between the sphere of political and economic power when strikes occur in vast industrial combinations. In most cases the political has been subordinated to the more imperative economic necessity.

Over two generations ago the identification of socialism with trade unionism was decisively rejected by the small group of energetic organizers who were launching the American Federation of Labor on its career. Samuel Gompers, who always professed an intellectual sympathy for socialism and many of whose associates were leaders in the socialist movement, guided the path of unionism along "nonpolitical" lines, seeking what-

⁵ W. Sombart, *Warum gibt es in den Vereinigen Staaten keinen Sozialismus?* (Tübingen, 1906).

ever he could obtain from anyone capable of securing favors for the organized. The conflict that enlivened the 1890 Convention of the American Federation of Labor and resulted in the rout of the socialists has had its echoes, in one form or another, through the ensuing years. The craft-consciousness of the Federation, surviving despite powerful industrial unions in its midst, was well adapted to the expanding American economy with its emphasis upon individualized interest and success. The rejection of the all-embracing unionism of the Knights of Labor, that strange organization which admitted to its membership all who worked for wages, excepting only those associated with the law, medicine, finance or the liquor trade, was a repudiation of social reform in favor of pure and simple trade-unionism.

The philosophical identification of the trade-union movement with broad programs of social change could scarcely gain much headway, when the titular head of the organized workers of America for thirty-five years explicitly based his program upon economic objectives, forswearing any desire to challenge the fundamentals of the social order except by gradualism. The occasional instances of insurgency were held to be dangerous symptoms of instability, probably smacking of dualism, to be rooted out on the grounds of order and good tactical policy. Perhaps the future holds the alternative of political unionism with the dilemma of subservience to or identification with the State.

The trade-union challenge to the social order has been intermittent and localized, rarely swelling to such dimensions that its potentialities were grasped by the public. When it happens that "strikes are all the fashion," the instinctive response of the public at large is to call for the strong arm of law and order, a reaction in part justified by the crudeness of the pressure that accompanies the mass action; it is in part also a reflex of economic interests that feel their power challenged and react accordingly. In 1919, when the mythical general strike preached by the syndicalists became a reality under trade-union

auspices in Seattle, the American Federation of Labor severely censured the central labor union and fifteen years later Mr. William Green, President of the Federation remarked, "The [general] strike in San Francisco is local in character, possessing no national significance."⁶

The setting of the strikes that are to be examined was largely one of pressure in the labor market alone, pressure beset by legal obstacles and by varying degrees of social disapproval, yet the strike moved on a decidedly materialistic plane. The strike movement, as it worked itself out in the market, has been more akin in its functioning to an economist's concept of bilateral monopoly than to Georges Sorel's view of strikes as movements that "have engendered in the proletariat the noblest, deepest, and most moving sentiment that they possess."⁷

MEASUREMENT

The problem of definition is peculiarly difficult in the case of the strike. Obviously a strike is more than a cessation of work; if it were not, it would not have been so difficult for the law, which has long recognized a man's right to quit work, to justify strikes. A strike is made such by the intent of the employees who have ceased work, and interpretation of intent reveals the real nature of a dispute. If berry-pickers should refuse to report for work at the beginning of a season, is this to be considered a strike? They have not quit work, having never begun. Likewise, if employees should "soldier on the job" and deliberately restrict their volume of production, does this fall within the category of a strike? These men are still at work but their behavior is altered. Such examples serve to demonstrate the importance of intent, for this element changes what would be a shortage of labor in one case and what is a reduction of production in the other, into something actually organized for a purpose.

⁶ *Weekly News Service*, Washington, July 21, 1934.

⁷ G. Sorel, *Reflections on Violence* (New York, 1912), p. 137.

It has been customary to limit the term *strike* to a "temporary stoppage of work by a group of employees in order to express a grievance or enforce a demand."⁸ The use of the word *temporary* gives the clue to the intent of the workers; in their opinion they are still employees, they wish to return to work but only under certain conditions acceptable to them. To the employer, in the majority of cases, the workers have severed their relationship with him, their places are vacant and he is free to hire in the open market. What a large proportion of the violence accompanying strikes has revolved around these divergent interpretations! To the employee there is the "vested" right in his job; to him it is property and the new employee is an interloper, a strikebreaker, a scab. One might say that a scab is a man who has stolen from his fellow that peculiarly precious and uncertain property—a job.

The second essential of a strike is the group concept, the idea of mass action in the direction of a more or less cohesive unity of will to cease work, action that excludes from consideration individual expressions of grievance or whim. It does not necessitate organization into unions but does at least imply a desire to follow a leader, even though he be a merely temporary rallying point. Frequently spontaneous outbursts of the unorganized have occurred, motivated as much by the surge and emotion of group feeling as by calculated estimates of material success. Some authors, more interested in the sociological aspects, have called attention to the excellent qualities shown by the strikers and have cited "the power of self-sacrifice, of heroic decisions, of sympathy with those worse off than yourself, of uniting for a common end, of taking risks for a worthy object," as justification for strikes, right or wrong.⁹ This collective action is of interest only as an indispensable component of the concept *strike*.

This collective suspension of work is generally recognized as

⁸ F. Peterson, "Methods Used in Strike Statistics," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, No. 197 (1937), 91.

⁹ A. D. Lewis, *Syndicalism and the General Strike* (Boston, 1912), p. 278.

crucial in a strike; for example, the British Trade Disputes Act of 1906 considered the refusal to work by two or more persons as the distinguishing note.¹⁰ For generations, under the common law of England, combinations by individuals to perform acts changed the nature of such action in many cases from a legal to an illegal act. Thus, conspiring to quit work was in the same category as conspiring to raise wages, and English jurists have examined carefully into the distinction between the right of individuals to quit work and the right of persons to induce others to do likewise.

The concerted stoppage of work must be by employees or by those who have been customarily employed, such as in the case of the berrypickers, and not by third parties. Thus strikes of consumers against high prices, farmers against low prices, or students against academic discipline, are outside the limits of the term. Its connotation is purely pressure between two parties who have the particular economic relationship to each other of employer and employee. Such a limitation of the term is in accordance with legal precedent, which is usually inclined to view tolerantly pressure brought by employees on employers but to regard as unjustified interference by third parties. Hence in most cases picketing, or a secondary boycott, falls outside the range of juridical approval when there is no bona fide labor dispute. The Norris-La Guardia Act, invalidating "yellow-dog" contracts and limiting the right of Federal Courts to grant injunctions in labor disputes, is careful to define the instances in which a dispute shall be held to be a labor dispute, and to specify that the relationship of employer and employee must be present although not necessarily "proximate."¹¹ The word "dispute," as used above, is taken in its legal sense to indicate any type of controversy between employees and employers, whether it is accompanied by a strike or lockout; when the term "dispute" is used below it always refers solely to strikes and lockouts.)

¹⁰ Trade Disputes Act, 1906, 6 Edw. VII, c. 47, section 3.

¹¹ Act of March 23, 1932, 47 U. S. Stat. 70, c. 90, sec. 113.

The last essential feature of a strike is the expression of a grievance or the enforcement of a demand. Here the jurisdictional or factional dispute between unions occupies a peculiar position. The accepted practice is to consider jurisdictional and factional disputes between unions as strikes, if they involve a stoppage of work, in the sense that each of the groups is attempting to obtain from the employer the particular work at issue. The employer is, in most cases, actively a party because the contending unions as a rule offer their members' services under different conditions. Even if the dispute is solely over the question of the proper organization for employee affiliation, the employer may be considered a direct party in interest, because it is reasonable to assume that the organizing issue hinges on the question of the best union for the purpose of exerting pressure upon the employer at some future date. Strikes in sympathy with employees not connected in any direct way with the strikers are, nevertheless, regarded as strikes against the striking employees' own employer; because pressure here, while indirect, is yet aimed against the employer as a means to coerce third parties. A rather difficult interpretative problem is found when persons who are receiving not wages but commissions or shares in the earnings strike for better conditions. In this class are insurance salesmen, store managers who are part owners, those fishermen who share in the proceeds of the catch and are compensated by "lays." Mass action in these cases is generally considered to be a strike.

A distinction is usually made between strikes and lockouts, a lockout being defined as a "temporary withholding of work from a group of employees by an employer (or a group of employers) in order to coerce them to accept the employer's terms."¹² Each of the elements previously analyzed in the case of the strike is here present. The action is temporary and there is intent to coerce for the purpose of enforcing acceptance of terms that are more favorable to the person coercing. The only real difference is in the agent bringing the pressure, in

¹² Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

this case the employer.) The employer is almost always in the position of being able to coerce, because under proper cost and profit relationships, he holds in his hand the ability to hire and the almost absolute right to fire. This continuing power of coercion inherent in the employer's position is of course a lockout only when it is deliberately exercised against several employees in a particular dispute. There are indeed some cases in which it is difficult to distinguish a lockout from a plant shutdown apparently due to lack of business.

Inasmuch as the nature of a labor dispute is determined by intent, it is necessary to accept the interpretation of the parties to the dispute. The drawing of a distinction between strikes and lockouts has been abandoned, since the year 1922, by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and the word *strike* applied, in its generic sense, to all stoppages of work caused intentionally and motivated by the desire to force settlement of a particular dispute, whether this pressure was applied first by the employer or the employee. The use of this terminology simplifies and clarifies the problem of measurement.¹³

It is interesting to examine one aspect of the statistics of strikes and lockouts gathered by the United States Commissioner of Labor between the years 1881 and 1905, in order to determine the relative importance of lockouts as a form of industrial dispute. The smallest number of lockouts recorded in any of these twenty-five years was in 1881, when there were six, while in the same year there were 471 strikes. In 1903, the year of the greatest number of disputes, there were 154 lockouts and 3,494 strikes. The number of employees locked out in 1881 was 655, whereas the number of strikers was 101,070; in 1903 there were 112,332 employees locked out as opposed to 531,684 on strike. An analysis of this entire period reveals that never did lockouts exceed 8.9 percent of the total number of strikes and lockouts and never did the employees locked out

¹³ The term "strike of capital," recently employed to account for the decline of investment on the part of entrepreneurs in these last years, is a broader application of this idea which has no place in this connection.

exceed 28 percent of the number involved in disputes. The averages are even more interesting, lockouts amounting to 4 percent of the total number of disputes and the number of employées locked out totaling 9.6 percent of the number involved in all disputes.¹⁴ On the basis of the experience of these twenty-five years it would seem that both efficiency and logic are served by the practice of including strikes and lockouts under the one generic term *strikes*. From the practical point of view it is a too finely-drawn distinction to classify an individual dispute as either a strike or a lockout, and no further attempt to do so will be made in this study.

The next item to clarify is the unit of measurement to be used for the purpose of counting the number of strikes occurring in a particular period. In order to be able to show movements over time it is necessary to preserve uniformity, both with reference to definition as well as with regard to enumeration. The first unit that comes to mind is that of the establishment or the plant, workshop or factory, in which the dispute occurs. Counting strikes by establishments does not, however, solve the problem arising from a strike that involves many plants of one firm, or a strike that affects workers in widely separated firms. How, for example, would a general strike of telegraphers throughout the United States be classified on the basis of establishments? Is this one strike or hundreds of strikes? How would a general strike in one community be tabulated; should it be on the basis of the original establishment from which the dispute spread or should each individual place of employment affected be counted as a separate strike? A rather peculiar case is found in the "strike by detail," where the union, as a part of a movement against many employers, calls out only one plant or shop at a time. The term "strike by detail" is sometimes used to describe the technique whereby workers quit work individually until the employer is crippled by lack of men. Is the whole movement

¹⁴ A complete tabulation for the period 1881-1905 will be found in Appendix A, Table I-A.

one strike or is each segment of it to be considered individually? Sympathetic strikes and movements in which many unions cooperate, such as a strike of several groups of craftsmen in one plant, present a problem of classification that cannot be solved logically on the establishment basis. The present technique of the Bureau of Labor Statistics is based on the use of the initiating force and cause of the strike as the determining factor in deciding the unit of measurement. In other words, "how the strike started and for what reason, takes precedence over the number of establishments or localities affected."¹⁵

In view of this present procedure it is interesting to note the great emphasis that the Honorable Carroll D. Wright, as United States Commissioner of Labor in charge of three of the four basic studies of strike statistics, laid on the use of the establishment as a unit. He said, "It has been found absolutely necessary to make the establishment the unit in the tabular presentation, and not the strike."¹⁶ In accordance with this view, the first extensive report on strikes contains 644 pages of detailed tables, each line of which, and there are 5,809 of them, reports an individual strike by location and industry with a notation of the number of establishments affected by it.¹⁷ Thus the great telegraphers' strike of 1883, extending throughout the United States, is tabulated by reference to the number of establishments in each locality into which the movement extended. While this method properly distributed the dispute throughout the country, it did not indicate any connection between the localized effects. Such an enumeration of the dis-

¹⁵ Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 94. See Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 651, *Strikes in the United States, 1880-1936*, 1938, pp. 7-8.

¹⁶ *Third Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor*, Washington, 1887, p. 11. Wright directed the three following studies: The Third Annual Report, 1887, the Tenth Annual Report, 1894, the Sixteenth Annual Report, 1901. United States Commissioner of Labor Charles P. Neill directed the fourth study, which is the Twenty-first Annual Report, 1906.

¹⁷ There are a few instances where the facts are not so treated because the dates of beginning and ending varied with the different establishments.

pute indicates the severity and the spread but does not show whether it is a single strike.

In the next report, that of 1894, it was possible, as a result of "experience and a great amount of care," to make the strike the unit in all cases. Thus, each line records a single strike, either in one establishment or in many establishments; the only difficulty here was the calculation of the average duration of the strike movement, if it was general. A general strike, extending over more than one state, was enumerated under the state most affected and cross reference made to the other states, a procedure that was followed in the reports of 1901 and 1906.

The period 1881-1905 covered in the Twenty-first Annual Report, is the only one in which national figures are available for the number of strikes, number of workers involved, and the number of establishments in which the strikes occurred. It will be well to indicate the relationship existing between these three elements. During the twenty-five year period under discussion the number of establishments per strike averaged 4.9, reaching 7.9 in 1897 and falling to 3.5 in 1885, 1889, and 1893. Lockouts averaged 12 establishments, rising to 38 in 1900 and falling to 1.3 in 1896.¹⁸

(The unit to be employed in the counting of workers involved presents similar problems. It is interesting and desirable to have information with reference to the number of persons actually on strike, as well as the number affected in a more indirect way. There is perhaps no area in strike statistics in which the enumerator's judgment is more important than in this problem. As in the case of union membership, various motives serve to shade the participants' statements of the number of workers affected or on strike.) The field studies of the period 1881-1905 and the careful work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, especially since 1927, have resulted in a reasonable and probably conservative estimate of the numbers involved.

¹⁸ Complete details in Appendix A, Table II-A.

Certain terms that are used from time to time with rather precise meanings must be carefully distinguished. The Bureau of Labor Statistics presents its totals under the term "workers involved," whereas the United States Commissioner of Labor uses two expressions: "strikers" and "employees thrown out of work by strikes." The term "strikers" might be regarded as equivalent to the classification "number of workers directly involved," a term used in certain state bureau reports. These terms would limit the enumeration to those who have left work and are actually participating in the strike. Of course the degree of activity and the directness with which the workers participate varies, but it is usually possible to distinguish the strikers from the other group of employees who have been thrown out of work by the shut down or are indirectly involved. The number indirectly involved has occasionally been used in a much broader sense to include those affected by the widening circle of economic disturbance that results from a strike and its repercussions on the community.

The term "workers involved," now used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is accepted as equivalent to the expressions "strikers" and "number of employees thrown out of work," which was used for both strikes and lockouts during the period 1881-1905. A comparison of the reported numbers of actual "strikers" and "persons locked out," with the "number thrown out of work," shows that the former accounted for 78 percent of the total number of workers affected by labor disputes. The balance of 22 percent presumably included employees who were unable to work because of the broader effects of the particular disturbance. The percentage of 78 was maintained with great uniformity during the period mentioned, rising to 84 percent in 1902, and at the other extreme falling to 71 percent in 1888.¹⁹ The number of employees thrown out of work by strikes was on the average 30 percent greater than the number of actual strikers, while the number of employees

¹⁹ See Appendix A, Table III-A last column for details.

thrown out of work by lockouts during the same period was only 13 percent greater than the number of employees locked out.

It would seem probable that a lockout would not be selective but would include the entire plant; in a strike, however, the likelihood is that the dispute would directly involve a smaller number than those indirectly affected and thrown out of work. Statistics indicate that workers are more likely to strike in part than employers are to lockout in part. This is because of the fact that the lockout is a general measure directed against the great majority of the workers, whereas strikes are frequently initiated by specialized groups of employees and are much less inclusive.

MATERIALS

The Federal Government made its first attempt to collect statistics on strikes as part of the Tenth Decennial Census of 1880. The report on statistics of wages, which was prepared by Joseph D. Weeks and issued as Volume XX of this census, contained a brief section devoted to strikes. This pioneer effort was incomplete with reference to the number of employees involved, the duration of the strikes, and the estimated loss of wages. Weeks followed the same method for the assembling of data that is in use today. Newspapers and journals were searched for notices of strikes and a short questionnaire was sent to both the employer and employees who were parties to the dispute. There is no information available regarding the number of publications that were clipped, but it is stated that "the search was so thorough that very few [strikes], even of minor importance, have escaped notice." The questionnaire requested information, on a voluntary basis, with regard to the cause and duration of the strike, numbers involved, wage loss, result, and the number of strikers reinstated. From approximately 1,200 questionnaires information was obtained regarding 762 strikes. Very few of the blanks sent to employees were returned and it is interesting to note that information was

withheld on the ground that it might be used by the employers to the employees' disadvantage. Weeks remarks that the employees show a tendency to magnify the importance of the strike and to consider disputes still in progress, even though new employees had been hired and production has been resumed.²⁰ In many cases the employers were inclined to refer to strikes as merely a matter of a few dissatisfied employees stopping work, and in general statistics collected principally from the returns of employers have a tendency toward understatement.

This report, in which an attempt was made to distinguish between strikes and lockouts, showed that lockouts accounted for about 12 percent of all the disputes. Weeks refers to the great difficulty he experienced in distinguishing between strikes and lockouts. Of the 762 returns received, 414 presented statistics on the number of employees involved. From this number, 128,262, it was calculated by a process of adjustment, based on representative averages, that 228,138 persons had been involved in the entire number of disputes. The report includes a distribution of disputes by states and industrial classes, as well as by causes. The material on wage loss and duration is presented solely according to an industrial classification.²¹ This statistical contribution, which appears to be the result of careful accumulation and quite representative, will be utilized in the compilation of national totals.²²

In 1884 the United States Bureau of Labor was established in the Interior Department and this newly-created agency was

²⁰ See Chapter 4 for discussion of how to determine when a strike is over.

²¹ The Weeks' Report includes an extended discussion of strikes in Great Britain based upon the article by G. P. Bevan, "The Strikes of the Past Ten Years," *Royal Statistical Society*, XLIII, 1880, pp. 35-54.

²² The Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 651, *op. cit.*, asserts with regard to the Weeks' survey that it was "on an establishment basis, and is not therefore, comparable to later statistics," p. 27. For this reason the Bureau did not utilize it. However, Weeks says, "in many cases what has been reported as one strike involved a large number of works . . . such a stoppage is regarded as one strike or lockout," p. 5.

placed under the direction of Colonel Carroll D. Wright, who had been for many years chief of the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries. This Bureau was made independent in 1888 and thereafter the Commissioner of Labor reported directly to the President. Most of the attention of the Bureau was devoted to the production each year of one massive report ranging over such divergent subjects as railroad labor, cost of production, water and gas plants, and convict labor. On the investigations underlying the Third Annual Report, 1887, which dealt entirely with strikes and lockouts for the period January 1, 1881 to December 31, 1886, the field work engaged the Bureau for over a year. A thorough examination of newspapers, magazines and periodicals was made in order to track down all references to strikes. These sources were checked to prevent duplication and the field agents armed with these data thoroughly canvassed their territories.

It is important to bear in mind that the four studies made by the Commissioner; of which his Third Annual Report of 1887 is the first one on strikes, are the only such investigations ever made with the use of field agents. The Bureau believed that it had

secured information relating to nearly every strike, if not every strike, which had occurred in the United States during the period covered. If any have escaped its agents and experts, they have been of so little account as not to attract the attention of either the Press or others.

In the case of each dispute the management of the establishment involved, as well as the representative of the employees, was interviewed; in difficult instances the agent was expected to make his own decision as to the facts, and a complete tabulation was presented on the basis of the locality and industry for each strike. Because of the use of the field method almost complete information is available on numbers involved, causes, duration and result of the strike, union organization, losses to

employers and employees, as well as wages and hours before and after the strike. Some of the summary tables in the brief analysis accompanying this report are based on averages struck for the five years under investigation, a procedure that obscures trends.²³

The historical work of the Bureau was not entirely statistical and a most important descriptive itemization of strikes and lockouts in the United States prior to 1880 is included. This brings together from reports of the various state departments of labor and from unofficial sources, information regarding all the strikes recorded since 1741 when the bakers of New York entered into a "conspiracy not to bake till their wages were raised."²⁴ Material from the Third Annual Report will be utilized throughout this study.²⁵

The Tenth Annual Report, issued in two volumes in 1894, continued the record of the investigation of strikes and lockouts by the Commissioner. It covers disputes that occurred between January 1, 1887 and June 30, 1894 and in general follows the lines of the Third Annual Report, except for the omission of disturbances lasting less than one day. The number of such cases was about 200 a year and they involved little financial loss. The preliminary work on this report included the examination of newspapers and periodicals, followed by field study. In the publication of this material, as in the case of the Third Annual Report, detailed tables of strikes and of lockouts were presented separately by states and industries, with general summaries, and were accompanied by a very brief

²³ An interesting feature of the *Third Annual Report* is a table showing the number of days required at increased wages to recover the loss in wages during a strike, pp. 26, 27.

²⁴ The stirring events of 1877, the year of the great railroad strikes, are vividly described in this section, pp. 1071-1079.

²⁵ The Third Annual Report of 1,172 pages contains only summary tabulations and less than 30 pages of analysis, the remainder being extensive detailed tables.

analysis in which, as a rule, the entire period was considered as a whole.²⁶

The Sixteenth Annual Report issued in 1901 was devoted to strikes and lockouts occurring in the period July 1, 1894 to December 31, 1900. In this volume detailed statistics on each separate dispute were no longer published, an omission that reduced not only the size but also the utility of the volume. Except for a more extensive analysis of the annual statistics the method followed was identical with that used in the Third and Tenth Reports. Summaries are very frequently presented in a form that is meaningless because a total is shown for all of the years concerned and no indication of the annual trends given. The details published are restricted to the total figures for each state by years and the total for all the years is indicated by industries for each state, in the case of both strikes and lockouts; it is therefore no longer possible to identify individual disputes.²⁷

Colonel Wright retired from the position of Commissioner of Labor in 1905 two years after the Department of Commerce and Labor was founded and took over the work of preparing the annual reports on labor statistics. The Twenty-first Report, the last of the series dealing with strikes and lockouts, was issued by the Honorable Charles P. Neill, Commissioner of Labor, and contains an excellent summary of the work of the preceding twenty-five years. The field studies on which this report was based and the general methodology were precisely the same as in the Sixteenth Report. A complete coverage, with the exception of strikes lasting less than one day, was believed to have been obtained but only state

²⁶ Tenth Annual Report, Volume I, 1,373 pp., contains tables; Volume II, Summaries, 535 pp.

²⁷ This volume reprints the description of strikes prior to 1881 that appeared in the Third Annual Report, as well as an interesting section on court decisions and laws relating to strikes and boycotts. For the first time statistics are included on strikes and lockouts in foreign countries, with fairly complete figures for Austria, France, and Great Britain.

and industrial summaries by years were published. In assembling the data for the analysis presented for the period 1881-1905, the material of the Third Annual Report was worked over so as to make the treatment of strikes affecting the whole of a trade or industry the same as in the Tenth and Sixteenth reports; that is, the strike rather than the establishment was made the unit of measurement. The classification of industries, which had been identical in the three preceding reports, was changed in the Twenty-first Annual Report and an attempt was made to bring together establishments and industries in which there was a common interest among the employees. The passage of time also necessitated an adjustment to take account of new and changing industrial categories. This report is the most important of the four from the point of view of the analysis that it contains.²⁸

For the nine years from 1905 to 1914, the Federal Government was completely inactive in the collection of strike statistics. It has been necessary, in order to determine the trend during this period, to have recourse to the rather complete information compiled by several of the states during that interval.²⁹

On March 4, 1913 the Department of Labor was created and it has continuously performed two functions that have yielded statistics on a national scale. The Division of Conciliation, as a by-product of its work, has reported cases in which it has assisted the parties to a controversy in reaching a settlement of their differences. These reports, while quite comprehensive, relate only to cases in which the Division has taken a part and therefore reflect only indirectly the trend of strikes in the United States as a whole.³⁰ Through the Bureau of Labor

²⁸ It also presents statistics on strikes and lockouts in foreign countries, the reports on Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands being fairly extensive. The material on the law is brought up to 1906.

²⁹ The method used is discussed in Chapter Six below.

³⁰ For details of these reports see Chapter Nine.

Statistics information has been amassed unrivaled in extensiveness with reference to all aspects of labor problems. Beginning in 1915, a series of articles embodying reports on strikes was published in the *Monthly Labor Review*, the journal of the Bureau.³¹ The first of these showed an annual figure for the year 1914, but lack of material precluded an extensive tabulation. With the resumption in October 1915 of a methodical system for the collection of data, the reports gradually improved in quality, so that it has been possible to present monthly figures for most of the important elements in strike statistics since that date. Between October 1915 and November 1926 there were presented quarterly and annual summaries which, while they cannot be regarded as complete, are fairly comprehensive.

In one of his reports the Honorable James J. Davis, Secretary of Labor, recommended that the collection of strike statistics should be put on a broader basis. Lamenting the fact that only a few newspapers could be used, he said, "the department is required to pay for all newspaper publications, so that this means of securing leads for collection of information has become more limited."³² Working on the basis of questionnaires mailed to parties involved in a dispute, it was difficult to obtain complete information without the use of some system of checking by agents working in the field. Thus in 1918, of 3,997 questionnaires mailed only 1,392 were returned with some kind of answer, 420 were undelivered and the remainder were unanswered. It would seem, however, that despite this poor showing of the questionnaire method in the early years of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the coverage was fairly complete because the initial information was augmented by reports of the Division of Conciliation, which came in contact with or at least was informed of significant strikes.

31 Cf. Bibliography B.

32 *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1926, p. 106.

Beginning in November 1926, the strike statistics in the *Monthly Labor Review* were placed on a monthly basis and a more intensive system of verification was inaugurated. This involved correspondence with the interested parties in order to obtain more complete information. Writing in 1930, the Secretary of Labor stated that agents made a personal check in those cases where correspondence did not bring forth a satisfactory reply, but many small strikes probably escaped the notice of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1933 the present schedule was adopted.³³

The improvement in the methods and coverage continued, and in 1934 the Honorable Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, observed that there had been considerable expansion in reporting. In 1935 a total of 630 papers, daily and weekly, as well as magazines and periodicals, were being searched for leads and "few, if any, strikes escaped notice."³⁴ At the present time 700 papers and periodicals, covering all cities with over 50,000 population and some with less, are checked, as well as "every known labor or trade paper published in the country." By this method it is hardly likely that many strikes would fail to be noted, particularly since every government labor board, as well as the Bureau of Mines, assists the Bureau of Labor Statistics in this connection. The actual collection of data is still on the questionnaire basis, supplemented when necessary by personal visits to the disputants. The Bureau feels that this has proven satisfactory and that the costly field studies, formerly conducted by the Commissioners, would no longer be justified. In 1937-1938 the information accumulated between 1927 and 1936 was card-punched and tabulated, after being carefully verified and made self-consistent, and in July of 1938 this revised information was published.³⁵ It is probable

³³ There is no information pertaining to the period before 1927 available in the files of the Bureau of Labor Statistics other than that published in the *Monthly Labor Review*.

³⁴ *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Secretary of Labor*, 1935, p. 71.

³⁵ Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin No. 651, op. cit.* A copy of the

that this entirely voluntary reporting, without any legal force whatsoever, will continue in the predictable future to be the method used, as the experience of the past years has disclosed few objections to it.

questionnaire used may be found on pp. 171-172 of *Bulletin No. 651*. Monthly data may be computed, from each issue of the *Monthly Labor Review*, with a discrepancy of less than two percent from the annual totals in this *Bulletin*.

CHAPTER II

ANNUAL FLUCTUATIONS 1880-1937

THE quantitative investigation of any phenomenon that is distributed through time, depends for its value upon the existence of a homogeneous series of data extending over a considerable period. In the case of strikes, it is possible to construct a time series covering 58 years of American experience with this form of discontent. For this period the number of strikes and the number of workers involved are known or have been computed by methods that render the statistics sufficiently uniform so that the series may be accepted as homogeneous. For the discussion of broad trends, the number of strikes might be considered a measure of their frequency but these statistics should be supplemented by data on the number of workers involved in order to measure the severity of the phenomenon.

During the past 58 years the economy has alternately expanded and contracted; the population has grown from 50,000,000 to 129,000,000; there have been one minor and one major war; the political scene has moved through cycles of social reform and indifference; and the labor movement has had its ebb and flow. This ever-changing pattern of human life is reflected in the trend of strikes and their movement, when subjected to analysis, reveals a markedly cyclical pattern, such as is to be found in almost every type of economic activity. The cyclical pattern, meaning a relatively short-run fluctuation as it is reflected in strikes, is an indication of the reaction upon the workers of business cycles. In the grip of general cyclical movements the workers, like every other class in the community, are swept along and in general are forced to adapt their conduct to the cycle. The other component found in the general trend is the secular trend, or long-time movement, lasting over a greater period of time than the business cycle and reflecting the influence of more fundamental factors. The secular trend has no implications of permanence; it may not

STRIKES

TABLE I

STRIKES IN THE UNITED STATES 1880-1937

Year	Number of Strikes (A)	Five-Year Moving Average (B)	Trend Value (C)	Deviation of Actual from Trend Value (D)
1880	762	....	1,490	- 728
1881	477	....	1,507	- 1,030
1882	476	541	1,524	- 1,048
1883	506	528	1,541	- 1,035
1884	485	747	1,558	- 1,073
1885	695	952	1,575	- 880
1886	1,572	1,040	1,592	- 20
1887	1,503	1,165	1,609	- 106
1888	946	1,406	1,626	- 680
1889	1,111	1,448	1,643	- 532
1890	1,897	1,420	1,660	+ 237
1891	1,786	1,506	1,677	+ 109
1892	1,359	1,564	1,694	- 335
1893	1,375	1,436	1,711	- 336
1894	1,404	1,292	1,728	- 324
1895	1,255	1,242	1,745	- 490
1896	1,066	1,186	1,762	- 696
1897	1,110	1,273	1,779	- 669
1898	1,098	1,390	1,796	- 698
1899	1,838	1,779	1,813	+ 25
1900	1,839	2,205	1,830	+ 9
1901	3,012	2,715	1,847	+ 1,165
1902	3,240	2,832	1,864	+ 1,376
1903	3,648	2,901	1,881	+ 1,767
1904	2,419	3,030	1,898	+ 521
1905	2,186	3,126	1,915	+ 271
1906	3,655	2,788	1,932	+ 1,723
1907	3,724	2,789	1,949	+ 1,775
1908	1,957	3,019	1,966	- 9
1909	2,425	2,801	1,983	+ 442
1910	3,334	2,667	2,000	+ 1,334
1911	2,565	2,990	2,017	+ 548
1912	3,053	3,052	2,034	+ 1,019
1913	3,574	3,109	2,051	+ 1,523
1914	2,736	3,354	2,068	+ 668
1915	3,617	3,633	2,085	+ 1,532
1916	3,789	3,589	2,102	+ 1,687

TABLE I—Continued

Year	Number of Strikes (A)	Five-Year Moving Average (B)	Trend Value (C)	Deviation of Actual, from Trend Value (D)
1917	4,450	3,768	2,119	+ 2,331
1918	3,353	3,726	2,136	+ 1,217
1919	3,630	3,446	2,153	+ 1,477
1920	3,411	2,778	2,170	+ 1,241
1921	2,385	2,418	2,187	+ 198
1922	1,112	1,942	2,204	- 1,092
1923	1,553	1,520	2,221	- 668
1924	1,249	1,250	2,238	- 989
1925	1,301	1,169	2,255	- 954
1926	1,035	979	2,272	- 1,237
1927	707	914	2,289	- 1,582
1928	604	781	2,306	- 1,702
1929	921	736	2,323	- 1,402
1930	637	762	2,340	- 1,703
1931	810	981	2,357	- 1,547
1932	841	1,168	2,374	- 1,533
1933	1,695	1,443	2,391	- 696
1934	1,856	1,716	2,408	- 552
1935	2,014	2,495	2,425	- 411
1936	2,172	....	2,442	- 270
1937	4,740	....	2,459	+ 2,281

on the basis of the past describe the future. Only on the basis of logical analysis can the secular trend be projected into the future, and, each time the process of extrapolation is performed, it is on the assumption that all things will remain as they are. Few assumptions are so hazardous.

In Table I are listed the number of strikes occurring annually from 1880 to 1937.¹ These raw data have been subjected to a

1 Sources of material Table I, Column A:

1880 Weeks' Report, *cf.* Chapter One above.

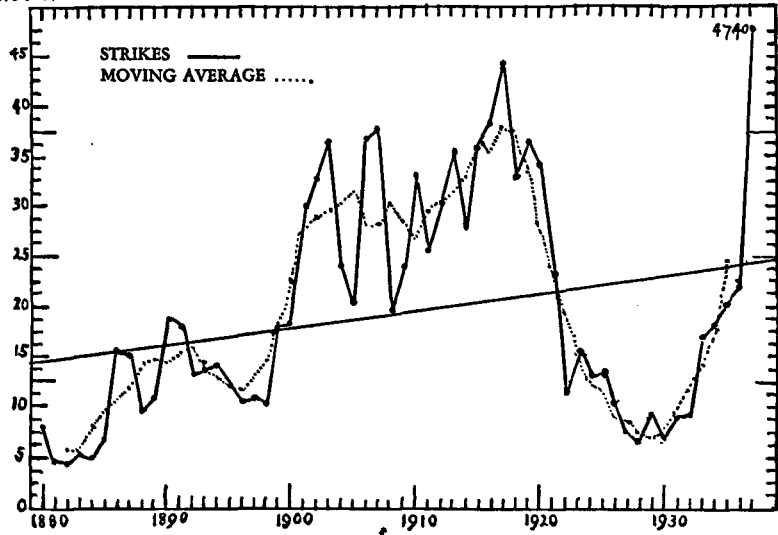
1881-1905 Reports of the United States Commissioners of Labor, *cf.* Chapter One above.

1906-1915 *cf.* Chapter Six below for discussion of interpolation process.

1916-1936 United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Bulletin No. 651*, *cf.* Chapter One above.

1937 *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1938, p. 1188.

HUNDREDS



STRIKES IN THE UNITED STATES 1880-1937
CHART I

40

STRIKES

smoothing process by the use of five-year moving averages. Chart I portrays these two elements graphically. The moving average serves to indicate more clearly the trend of strikes, reducing the importance of random fluctuations. The behavior of strikes suggests the breaking of the 58 year period into four parts: first, 1880-1898, a period of slow growth and decline; second, 1899-1917, markedly rapid growth during the first five years, followed by a moderate increase; third, 1918-1928, a marked drop; and fourth, 1929-1937, a spectacular rebound. It is immediately evident that the principal determinants of this movement, in its broader aspects, are random factors combined with the operation of the cyclical movements to be discussed presently. The 1917 and 1919 peaks were a reflex of mounting prices, wartime shortage of labor and government policies conducive to organizing activity. The 1917 pinnacle is not, however, markedly different from the peaks reached in 1903 and 1907, when the primary influence was cyclical. The trough of 1928 speaks eloquently of the influence of "normalcy" and the operations of welfare capitalism and the "American Plan." The upsurge of the thirties, while a reaction to the unprecedented cyclical depression, was more especially a clutching after the favored position in which the labor movement, for the second time, found itself in the economy, when a combination of business revival and a favorable government released organized labor from some of the repressions of the intervening years.

Although the broad outlines are clear, more detailed analysis is needed. In order to indicate the general tendency or long-time movement to be used to describe the data of the last 58 years, it was necessary to determine the secular trend. This was done by the method of fitting a straight line.² This yielded a trend line which can be expressed as $y = 1490 + 17x$. Table I shows the computed trend and the deviations of this trend

² Cf. F. C. Mills, *Statistical Methods Applied to Economics and Business* (New York, 1938), pp. 257-258.

from the actual observations. This secular trend indicates in the absolute number of strikes during the entire period a continuous and marked upward movement which is too long and persistent to be considered a passing phenomenon.³ Chart I portrays these relationships. This absolute increase of strikes, when compared with the growth of population, and more especially with the portion gainfully employed, will show the relative increase of strikes. An analysis of this type is made in Chapter Three.

The second important criterion of the variations of strikes is to be found in a measure of the *number of workers involved* in disputes, this term being understood as explained in Chapter One. Table II presents the raw data, a five-year moving average, and the computed trend and deviations of the actual data from the trend.⁴ The equation for the trend is $y = 253 + 15x$. Chart II graphically depicts these relationships. The general movement is more erratic than that of the fluctuations in the number of strikes, primarily because of the influence of particularly large strikes. The rate of growth of the number of workers involved is somewhat greater than that of the number of strikes, although the difference in their relative rates of growth is not very significant. This would lead to the tentative conclusion that, while the severity of strikes based on their size is increasing, their frequency is increasing less rapidly.

Chart II might be broken into four parts: first, 1880-1908, a period during which there was a slow persistent growth; second, 1909-1919, a spectacular rate of growth culminating in the abnormality of the World War years; third, 1920-1930, a decline that carried the number of workers involved back to

³ The method occasionally used, with data showing such wide fluctuations as the present material, of fitting trend lines independently to several segments of the time series, would be valueless as it would portray little else than what may be observed with the use of moving averages.

⁴ Table II, Column A source of material same as Table I, Column A. See footnote 1.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES IN THE UNITED STATES 1880-1937
(By thousands of workers)

Year	Workers Involved A.	Five-Year Moving Average	Trend Value	Deviation of Actual from Trend Value
1880	228	....	253	- 25
1881	130	....	268	- 138
1882	159	171	283	- 124
1883	170	177	298	- 128
1884	165	272	313	- 148
1885	258	329	328	- 70
1886	610	327	343	+ 267
1887	439	346	358	+ 81
1888	163	369	373	- 210
1889	260	313	388	- 128
1890	373	273	403	- 30
1891	330	298	418	- 88
1892	239	384	433	- 194
1893	288	391	448	- 160
1894	690	375	463	+ 227
1895	407	410	478	- 71
1896	249	405	493	- 244
1897	416	353	508	- 92
1898	263	386	523	- 260
1899	432	449	538	- 106
1900	568	504	553	+ 15
1901	564	609	568	- 4
1902	692	637	583	+ 109
1903	788	584	598	+ 190
1904	574	548	613	- 39
1905	302	510	628	- 326
1906	383	394	643	- 260
1907	502	370	658	- 156
1908	209	474	673	- 464
1909	452	472	688	- 236
1910	824	566	703	+ 121
1911	373	724	718	- 345
1912	972	758	733	+ 239
1913	997	775	748	+ 249
1914	627	1,021	763	- 136

TABLE II—Continued

(By thousands of workers)

Year	Workers Involved A.	Five-Year Moving Average	Trend Value	Deviation of Actual from Trend Value
1915	907	1,072	778	+ 129
1916	1,600	1,121	793	+ 807
1917	1,227	1,827	808	+ 419
1918	1,240	1,938	823	+ 417
1919	4,160	1,838	838	+ 3,322
1920	1,463	1,915	853	+ 610
1921	1,099	1,818	868	+ 231
1922	1,613	1,117	883	+ 730
1923	757	912	898	— 141
1924	655	756	913	— 258
1925	428	500	928	— 500
1926	330	411	943	— 613
1927	330	338	958	— 628
1928	314	289	973	— 659
1929	289	292	988	— 699
1930	183	290	1,003	— 820
1931	342	461	1,018	— 676
1932	324	697	1,033	— 709
1933	1,168	884	1,048	+ 120
1934	1,467	973	1,063	+ 404
1935	1,117	1,280	1,078	+ 39
1936	789	....	1,093	— 304
1937	1,860	....	1,108	+ 752

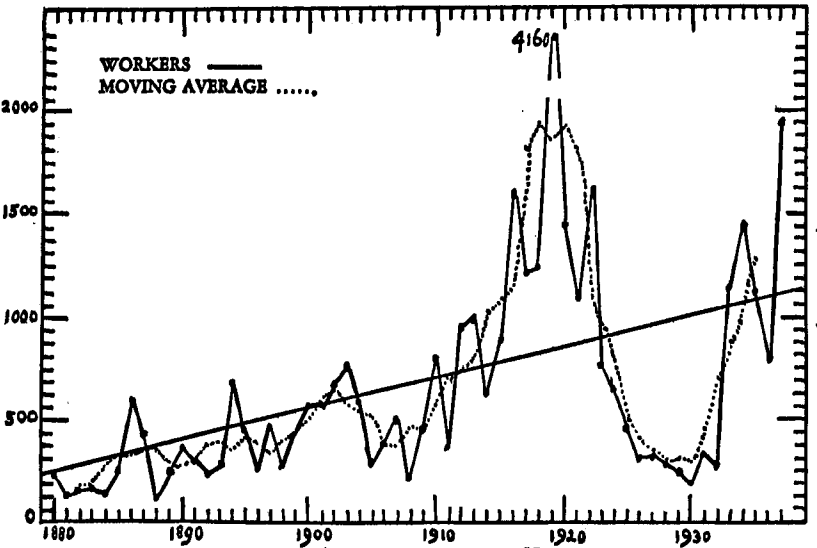
the level of 1888; and fourth, a period of rapid growth, culminating in the peaks of 1934 and 1937. In this instance, as well as in the case of the number of strikes, it is important to note the persistent increase that was taking place in the seven years before the outbreak of the War in Europe.

Cyclical movements in the number of strikes can be seen, as indicated in Chart I, to have had a close relationship with the business cycle. The number of strikes decreased during the first three years of the Gold Resumption Prosperity of the eighteenthies, increased in the last year of that expansion period, and fell to a low in the Depression of 1884. The recovery in business

ANNUAL FLUCTUATIONS 1880-1937

CHART II

NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES. NATIONAL DATA 1880-1937
(in thousands)



during 1885 and 1886 was accompanied by an increase of strikes, followed by a decrease that reached its low in 1888. During the Railroad Prosperity and up to the Baring Crisis of 1891, strikes increased and continued at a relatively high level during the Panic of 1893, falling to a low in 1896 during the Silver Campaign Depression, increasing slightly in 1897 and declining in 1898 to a low that was not again equalled until 1926. During the Merger Prosperity, which followed immediately on the small boom coincident with the Spanish-American War, strikes increased, reaching a peak in 1903, then declining precipitously until the Rich Man's Panic of 1904. The Corporate Prosperity of 1905, 1906 and 1907 brought with it an increase of strikes, while the Panic of 1907 resulted in diminishing sharply the number of strikes in 1908.

The period between 1908 and 1914 saw a movement in which strikes, in harmony with the cycle movement, increased in number when business expanded and decreased with business contraction. With the outbreak of the War in Europe the number of strikes moved sharply upward, reaching its first peak in 1915 and a much higher peak in 1917, falling in 1918 and rising again in 1919. This wartime movement changes its aspect when Chart II is examined, for there 1916 and 1919 are the peaks. The primary Postwar Depression was reflected in the major decline that culminated in 1922, when strikes reached the level of 1898. The recovery of 1922-1923 and the short recession of 1924 are reflected in Chart I. The Coolidge Prosperity was a period of uniform decline, a small peak appeared early in the year 1929 before the collapse of the Bull Market Boom. This business collapse was followed after the year 1930 by a continuous increase in strikes, reaching an apex in 1937 at a level of strikes never before experienced in American history. However, the number of workers involved in 1937 was the second largest peak, exceeded only by that of 1919.

The cyclical behavior of strikes can be compared more clearly and accurately with the business cycle by relating the peaks

and troughs in the data in Table I with the then-existing state of business. While this material may be criticized on the basis of incomplete coverage, yet its movement is so strikingly similar to that of the trade cycle that it is reasonable to accept it as accurate. In Table III the year of revival is taken to be the one in which the number of strikes reverses its downward trend, likewise the peak year is that in which the upward trend is reversed. It is found, on the basis of annual statistics that the peak year is also the one in which the recession sets in and the number of strikes begins to decline, that is there is no "plateau." In his introduction to Professor Arthur F. Burns' "Production Trends in the United States Since 1870," Professor Wesley C. Mitchell has called attention to the fact that once an industry has ceased to advance it soon begins to decline. The same might be said of the cyclical movement in the case of strikes: once increase in their number is stopped their decline begins. The date of the trough coincides with the setting in of the revival. If the data were on a monthly basis the behavior might be different, as the monthly statistics discussed later occasionally show more than one seasonal peak each year. Table III gives 14 complete cycles, including the expansion and contraction periods, and one incomplete cycle that has moved through the revival-peak phase only. These cycles are found to take 3.4 years for the complete movement and on an average 1.9 years for expansion and 1.6 years for contraction. In view of the uniformity of the cycle movement, these averages appear significant and lead to the conclusion that the frequency of strikes increases during the expansion period with less rapidity than the frequency declines in the contraction phase. This is logical in view of the relationship between strikes and the business cycle, which will now be discussed.

The most convenient comparison, between the critical points in the strike movement tabulated above and the business cycle, is made possible by the use of the series of Business Annals

TABLE III
CYCLES OF STRIKES

Expansion		Contraction		Duration in Years		
Revival	Peak and Recession	Trough	Expansion	Contraction	Full Cycle	
1882	1883	1884	1	1	2	
1884	1886	1888	2	2	4	
1888	1890	1892	2	2	4	
1892	1894	1896	2	2	4	
1896	1897	1898	1	1	2	
1898	1903	1905	5	2	7	
1905	1907	1908	2	1	3	
1908	1910	1911	2	1	3	
1911	1913	1914	2	1	3	
1914	1917	1918	3	1	4	
1918	1919	1922	1	3	4	
1922	1923	1924	1	1	2	
1924	1925	1928	1	3	4	
1928	1929	1930	1	1	2	
1930	1937	....	..	..	..
			Average	1.9	1.6	3.3

Source: Table I.

compiled by Dr. Willard L. Thorp.⁵ With the use of the Annals it is possible to describe the prevailing phase of the business cycle in a particular year, to summarize, as it were in one word, the state of trade. Although extreme care has been exercised in compiling the Annals, the use of one short expression for the purpose of summary involves an element of judgment and this fact must be borne in mind in the use of these statistics.

The peak years of strikes indicated on Chart I may be compared as follows with the characteristic phase of the cycle:

⁵ W. L. Thorp, *Business Annals*, National Bureau of Economic Research (New York, 1926). Consult also Wesley C. Mitchell, *Bulletin 69, Statistical Indicators of Cyclical Revivals*, National Bureau of Economic Research (New York, 1938), p. 2.

1883 recession	1903 recession	1919 prosperity
1886 revival	1907 depression	1923 recession
1890 recession	1910 recession	1925 prosperity
1894 depression	1913 recession	1929 recession
1897 revival	1917 prosperity	1937 recession.

This comparison shows that of the 15 peaks reached by the strike movement in the past 56 years, ten occurred in years that were characterized by either a recession or depression in business. Only two of the years, 1886 and 1897, were characterized by a revival in business, and 1919 is to be recognized as a most abnormal year with the wartime boom still in effect. Only three years of prosperity were marked by peaks in strikes, 1917, 1919 and 1925; of these the first two were war years while the peak in 1925 was not pronounced. The tendency appears to be for the frequency of this "evidence of discontent and an expression of protest," as Dr. Isador Lubin calls it, to mount to a peak at the very unfortunate time when, in most of the cases, the trend of business is turning downward.⁶ Perhaps these peaks are a reaction to the deterioration of business conditions with the consequent expectation of wage cuts. In order to answer this question it will be necessary to examine the causes for which workers have struck at various periods.⁷

The same type of investigation, applied to the troughs in the number of strikes, shows that the ebb coincides in most instances with a year of prevalent depression. Thus, using the Annals, it is found that the troughs of 1884, 1888, 1896, 1908, 1911, 1914, 1924, and 1930 were coincident with depression years. However, in the case of 1898, a year of revival, this general rule is not substantiated. In three years, 1892, 1905 and 1928, prosperity coincided with the troughs. In 1928 the

⁶ *Bulletin No. 651, op. cit.*, p. v. No statistics are available on a monthly basis for a sufficiently long period to make possible a more careful test of this generalization. Professor Alvin H. Hansen has investigated the relationship of strikes to the business cycle and his conclusions are discussed in Chapter Ten below.

⁷ See Chapter Four below.

apparent ineffectualness of unionism, in the face of expanding prosperity and the extension of welfare programs by the employers, would lead to the expectation that strikes would be at a low level. In 1918, a year in which there was a maximum of war activity followed in the fourth quarter by a recession, a trough was reached. This, however, is such only in relation to the abnormal period of 1917 and 1919.

For the purpose of the comparisons that have just been made it was not possible to use the statistics on the number of workers involved, because these figures are subject to random factors such as a single very large strike involving many thousands, for instance, the strike in the textile industry in 1934. The frequency rather than the severity is the suitable index to use for the purposes of comparison with the trend of business. A consideration of these relationships leads to the observation that intense activity on the part of employees is always coincident with a change in direction of the business cycle, usually in a downward movement from a level of prosperity. This tendency furnishes an interesting hypothesis as to a critical element in the cycle itself, either as a cause or as a symptom. If the strike peak immediately precedes the commencement of recession, it will be evident in the form of demands for a larger share in the national income and perhaps, as has been said of the 1937 recession, these demands might be a contributing cause of the downward movement of business. If the peak follows by even a few months the drop in business activity, this will be evident in the form of "defensive" strikes in order to hold gains or solely to conserve wages, hours, and working conditions. If this latter assumption is correct, the strike peak would be merely a symptom of the decline of business and an entirely understandable symptom.⁸

Perhaps the strike movement is "a strategic factor" in the cycle, a factor which, combined with other elements, leads to

⁸ Chapter Four, dealing with causes and results, will help to clarify this point.

a curtailing of production on the part of entrepreneurs who find their cost-profit relationship turning against them. This involves a consideration of the whole effect of organized labor upon industrial wage structures, an effect that is especially prominent in the present cyclical movement. Professor A. C. Pigou who has investigated the real causes that lie behind the varying expectations of profit from industrial spending among business men concludes that industrial disputes are elements that cause these expectations to fluctuate. Strikes would then be a cause of a cyclical movement if their severity was such as to affect expectations to a sufficient degree. Pigou says,

It seems plain that, whenever the number of men involved in industrial disputes is larger than usual, this must make *pro tanto* for a decline in the prospect of profit elsewhere, and so in aggregate activity, and that, whenever the number so involved is smaller than usual, there is *pro tanto* an impulse toward industrial expansion. . . . In view of these considerations, there can be little doubt that industrial disputes—or rather excesses and deficiencies in industrial disputes as against the average—are a genuine cause of industrial fluctuations.⁹

In addition to the secular trend and cyclical fluctuation, most time series also exhibit random perturbations and seasonal fluctuations. The random factors are especially important influences upon strikes. The seasonal movement, an interesting indication of the behavior of strikes, sheds light upon the relationship of strikes to business as a whole. The seasonal timing should reveal the strategic ability of the organized workers to make their demands felt at the moment when it is most inconvenient to the entrepreneurs and when they are most likely to acquiesce in the face of pressure. It is possible to extract the seasonal trend for only two periods, 1915-1926 and 1927-1937. Except for 1901-1905 the prewar statistics were not

⁹ A. C. Pigou, *Industrial Fluctuations* (London, 1929), pp. 50-51. Also consult Pigou's work, *The Principles and Methods of Industrial Peace* (London, 1905).

tabulated upon a monthly basis for the nation as a whole and it will be necessary in this connection to rely upon the continuous time series available only in Massachusetts. The coverage of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for the first decade mentioned is not so nearly complete as for the second. However this influence upon the seasonal trend is not significant.

The seasonal factor was isolated by first averaging the strikes for all Januaries in the periods 1915-1926 and 1927-1937, and then following the same procedure for each successive month of the year. These averages were then reduced to a percentage of the average monthly number of strikes for the entire period and this percentage represents the index of seasonal fluctuations.¹⁰ In the use of this method there is no allowance made for the secular trend, but it is not felt that this refinement would appreciably change the conclusions.

TABLE IV

INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS OF STRIKES—NATIONAL DATA 1915-1937

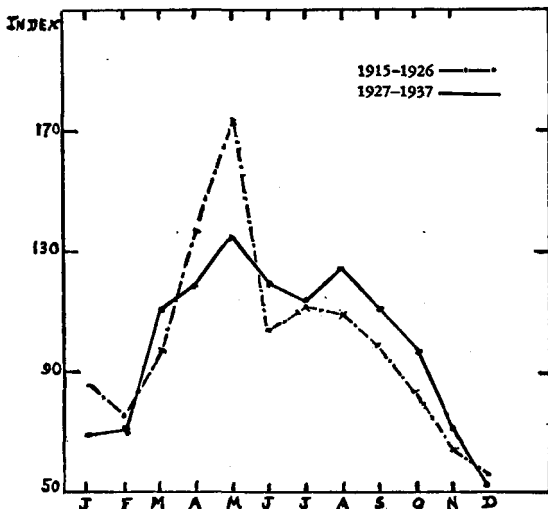
1915-1926		1927-1937	
Jan. 85.9	July 114.1	Jan. 69.4	July 114.8
Feb. 75.6	Aug. 110.5	Feb. 69.8	Aug. 125.3
Mar. 97.7	Sept. 99.6	Mar. 111.7	Sept. 111.5
Apr. 137.0	Oct. 83.0	Apr. 120.0	Oct. 97.2
May 172.6	Nov. 65.0	May 135.5	Nov. 71.8
Je. 103.7	Dec. 54.9	Je. 120.5	Dec. 51.4

A definite seasonal peak appears in May for both of the periods surveyed and the persistence of this occurrence, despite the passage of time, indicates a basic tendency. The seasonal pattern will of course vary if the ways of doing business are changed or climatic conditions should differ in certain years. In the first of the two decades the May peak, which is so sharply accentuated, is strongly influenced by the especially large values for May 1916 and May 1921, although in most of the other years May likewise marks the annual peak. A

¹⁰ Cf. R. E. Chaddock, *Principles and Methods of Statistics* (Boston, 1925), pp. 339-340.

CHART III

INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS OF STRIKES. NATIONAL DATA 1915-1937



second less pronounced upward trend is observed in the late summer, in July for the period 1915-1926, and in August of 1927-1937. This would coincide with the pickup in productive activities following the usual summer slump and would of course be influenced by the usual strike activities in certain industries, such as the garment trades. The effect of the abnormal year 1916 makes the seasonal indices for the earlier period less uniform than for the second decade. In six of the eleven years from 1927-1937, the strike peak occurred in May and in 1927 the number of strikes was evenly divided between May and June. In 1930 the peak was reached in July, and in

1933 and 1935 in August. For each of the eleven years December was the month of smallest activity and the increase in January and February was extremely small.

The critical year 1937, examined separately, shows a rather abnormal pattern, with March as its peak, followed by a second peak in June and a persistent decline to the end of the year. The movement in this particular year was influenced by the decline in business which became evident with the midyear and gained in intensity and rapidity as the months passed. The first six months were characterized by an unusually intense organizing campaign which the Committee for Industrial Organization was waging with full vigor. The seasonal movement of strikes is in general determined by two elements, first the already-existing pattern of business, and second the greater capacity for resistance on the part of employees in the early summer and late summer as opposed to spring and winter. Here, as elsewhere, the weather shapes the affairs of men.¹¹

Rather interesting differences appear when the seasonal index is computed for the number of workers involved in strikes, the peak being in September and April. It is possible to do this on a national scale only for the period 1927-1937, where the monthly figures have recently been revised and issued by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The influence of random factors is here especially evident. Despite the fact that the index of the number of workers in-

11 For the period 1901-1905 the tabulation below was made for semi-monthly periods and the seasonal pattern shows the annual peak to have been in May, with April the second highest month. For these five years strikes were at a high level between April and July, with December the lowest month. The generalizations reached on a basis of the periods 1915-1926 and 1927-1937 are strengthened by the earlier evidence.

Total Number of Strikes Occurring Each Month 1901-1905			
Jan. 826	Apr. 1,942	July 1,290	Oct. 828
Feb. 816	May 2,331	Aug. 1,180	Nov. 739
Mar. 1,128	June 1,304	Sept. 1,002	Dec. 578

CHART IV
 INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS OF WORKERS INVOLVED
 NATIONAL DATA 1927-1937

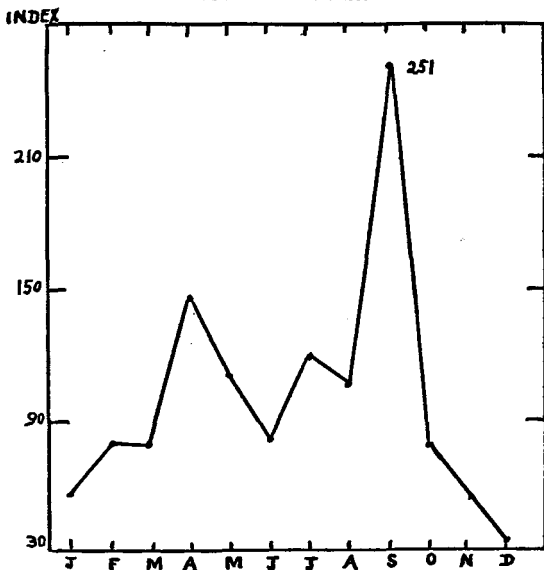


TABLE V
 INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES
 NATIONAL DATA 1927-1937

Jan.	55.8	May	109.7	Sept.	251.1
Feb.	78.9	June	81.1	Oct.	78.5
Mar.	78.1	July	120.1	Nov.	57.8
Apr.	148.1	Aug.	107.7	Dec.	33.5

volved is distorted in several of the years by large strikes, the seasonal low of December is found in seven of the eleven years, while in the months of January, February, and March the number of workers involved is consistently small. The September peak was influenced by strikes in bituminous and anthracite coal, as well as in garment plants in New York, where the workers were out on strike in 1933. In 1934 the unusually large textile strike and the bituminous coal strike in September of 1935 helped to boost the figures for this month. In 1927 the bituminous coal strike served to increase in an abnormal way the number involved during the month of April. The wave of strikes that greeted the inauguration of the National Industrial Recovery Act is duly reflected in the large numbers found in July, August, and September of 1933, figures that give added weight to months usually characterized by great strike activity. In April and May of 1934 strikes in the dress making industry in New York City and in the bituminous coal mines of West Virginia, Alabama and Kentucky, combined to weight heavily these months in a year that was characterized by intense strike activity. On this basis the seasonal pattern serves to confirm the tendency of strike movements to reach a peak in the climatologically favorable months. The movement does not appear to have appreciably changed over the last two decades.

CHAPTER III

RELATIONSHIP TO STRATEGIC VARIABLES

THE general trend of strikes should be examined in relation to the outstanding movements of economic significance that have taken place in the economy during the last 58 years. Such comparisons will not only further demonstrate the relative increase of strikes but will also reveal the economic conditions that are conducive to changes in the trend of strikes. Any fluctuating phenomenon moves within a mass of more or less related phenomena, all of which act or interact upon one another. In this sense, every series of economic statistics may be said to be dependent upon every other and the movement in one to be unintelligible without examination of the movements in the others. This system of mutual interdependence has been applied with success to price analysis, as the work of the Lausanne School demonstrates.¹ In the case of strikes there are certain imponderables of great influence that cannot be reduced to quantitative terms. Among these elements are the general political climate, the type and ideology of the labor leaders, and the intellectual reactions and emotional condition of the entrepreneurs. Fundamentally, since the strike is a form of economic pressure, it responds to economic conditions most sensitively and is shaped by them most closely. It is appropriate therefore to make comparisons between the principal trends in economic life since 1880.

The growth of the population of the United States has, together with abundant land and natural resources, been the determining factor making possible the rapid expansion of our economic life. This growth, both from natural increase and from immigration, has profoundly affected the labor movement by carrying industrial methods and an integrated economy

¹ The Lausanne School refers to the group of mathematical economists among whom are numbered Léon Walras and Vilfredo Pareto.

across the entire continent. Immigration, which has supplied the movement with many of its most capable leaders, has paradoxically been viewed by them as a menace. Prominent among the supporters of restrictive legislation against immigration were the organizers of the American Federation of Labor. In 1880 the population of continental United States was 50,000,000; in 1938 it is 130,000,000. The gradual slowing up in the annual rate of population increase may be seen in the decline from 2.28 percent increase a year between 1839 and 1914, to 1.46 percent for the period 1915-1929.²

In order to indicate, in a general way, the relation between the population movement and the increase of strikes, the statistics on the number of workers involved (Table II) were used. The number of workers, rather than the number of strikes, was utilized because, as an index of the severity by years, it is logically connected with population growth. To determine the average annual increase of the number of workers involved in strikes the process involved subtracting one annual total from the immediately preceding total and working in this way with all the years. The series of differences so obtained were converted into percentages.³ The annual percentage of increase, shown in Table VI, has varied from a maximum of 260 percent increase in 1933, to 65 percent decrease in 1920. The most significant years of increase are 1886, 1894, 1909, 1912, 1919, 1933, and 1937. This is a measure of the distribution over time of the changing direction and number of workers involved. By the use of these percentage figures it is possible to indicate a comparison with the increase of population as a whole. The average annual percentage of increase in the number of workers involved in strikes is 19, which, while an approximation, would indicate a rate of increase in the

² G. Warren and F. Pearson, *The Physical Volume of Production in the United States* (Ithaca, 1932), p. 38.

³ This process, known as the method of first differences, has been carried through the sixth difference in price analysis. Cf. G. Tintner, *Prices in the Trade Cycle* (Vienna, 1935).

number of strikers of about ten times the average annual rate of population increase. It should be clearly understood that this comparison is only historically correct, on the basis of the average trend, and indicates nothing in respect to the future.

TABLE VI

ANNUAL PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OF NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES

1881-1937

(Based upon first differences)

1881.....	- 43	1900.....	+ 31	1919.....	+ 235
1882.....	+ 22	1901.....	- 1	1920.....	- 65
1883.....	+ 7	1902.....	+ 22	1921.....	- 24
1884.....	- 3	1903.....	+ 13	1922.....	+ 46
1885.....	+ 55	1904.....	- 27	1923.....	- 53
1886.....	+ 136	1905.....	- 47	1924.....	- 13
1887.....	- 28	1906.....	+ 26	1925.....	- 34
1888.....	- 63	1907.....	+ 30	1926.....	- 22
1889.....	+ 59	1908.....	- 58	1927.....	0
1890.....	+ 42	1909.....	+ 110	1928.....	- 4
1891.....	- 11	1910.....	+ 82	1929.....	- 8
1892.....	- 27	1911.....	- 54	1930.....	- 36
1893.....	+ 20	1912.....	+ 160	1931.....	+ 8
1894.....	+ 140	1913.....	+ 2	1932.....	- 5
1895.....	- 41	1914.....	- 37	1933.....	+ 260
1896.....	- 38	1915.....	+ 44	1934.....	+ 25
1897.....	+ 67	1916.....	+ 76	1935.....	- 24
1898.....	- 36	1917.....	- 23	1936.....	- 28
1899.....	+ 64	1918.....	+ 1	1937.....	+ 135
					Average annual percentage of increase. + 19

Source: Computed from Table II.

It is obvious that comparison with the total population can have little significance, as only a certain portion consists of gainful workers exposed to the potentiality of strikes. The number of gainfully occupied persons, in relation to the total number of people ten years of age and over, has fluctuated around 50 percent and represents all individuals, both male and female, who on the date the census was taken were working

for remuneration. It includes, moreover, the large body of farmers, both owners and tenants, and certain other proprietors who are not as a rule likely to engage in strikes. The proportion in these categories has remained approximately stable so the percentage relationship will not suffer thereby. The statistics in Table II, on the number of workers involved in strikes, has for each year been compared with the total number of gainful workers, while Table VII shows the percentage of the latter who were on strike.⁴

The percentage fluctuates between 0.4 percent and 10.0 percent, the average being 1.8 percent. Measured in this way the severity of strikes shows little tendency toward permanent diminution and the present movement would appear to be the fifth large cycle. The abnormality of the war years is clearly shown in a 10 percent figure for 1919, as well as in the entire period between 1916 and 1922, during which the proportion is higher than average. The postwar years, between the depression of 1921 and the depression trough of 1932, are the longest time interval in which the percentage of gainful workers on strike did not rise to one percent. This period contains the lowest percentage on record, 0.4 in 1930. Table VII, taken in connection with the cyclical movement discussed in Chapter II, shows the ever-recurring waves, which however do not indicate any such tendency as Professor Thomas S. Adams thought he discerned when he wrote "strikes are not increasing as rapidly as the industrial population."⁵ On the contrary, the evidence of the data of Table VII strongly supports the conclusion that the number of strikers in the gainfully employed population (and probably also the number of strikes) has increased more rapidly than the number of gainful workers.

⁴ For the intercensal years the gainful workers were interpolated by adding one-tenth of the difference between the decennial census figures to each succeeding year.

⁵ T. S. Adams and H. L. Sumner, *Labor Problems* (New York, 1910), p. 181.

TABLE VII
 TOTAL NUMBER OF GAINFUL WORKERS (A)
 AND
 PERCENTAGE OF GAINFUL WORKERS ON STRIKE (B)
 1880-1937

Year	In Thousands (A)	Percentage (B)	Year	In Thousands (A)	Percentage (B)
1880	17,568	1.3	1909	37,254	1.2
1881	18,143	.8	1910	38,167	2.2
1882	18,718	.9	1911	38,512	1.0
1883	19,293	.9	1912	38,857	2.5
1884	19,868	.8	1913	39,202	2.5
1885	20,443	1.3	1914	39,547	1.6
1886	21,018	2.9	1915	39,892	2.3
1887	21,593	2.0	1916	40,237	4.0
1888	22,168	.7	1917	40,582	3.0
1889	22,743	1.1	1918	40,927	3.0
1890	23,318	1.5	1919	41,272	10.0
1891	23,893	1.3	1920	41,614	3.5
1892	24,468	.9	1921	42,336	2.6
1893	25,043	1.1	1922	43,058	3.7
1894	25,618	2.6	1923	43,780	1.7
1895	26,193	1.5	1924	44,502	1.5
1896	26,768	.9	1925	45,224	.9
1897	27,343	1.5	1926	45,946	.7
1898	27,918	.9	1927	46,668	.7
1899	28,493	1.5	1928	47,390	.7
1900	29,073	1.9	1929	48,112	.6
1901	29,982	1.8	1930	48,830	.4
1902	30,891	2.2	1931	49,552	.7
1903	31,800	2.4	1932	50,274	.6
1904	32,709	1.7	1933	50,996	2.3
1905	33,618	.8	1934	51,718	2.8
1906	34,527	1.1	1935	52,440	2.1
1907	35,436	1.4	1936	53,162	1.5
1908	36,345	.6	1937	53,884	3.5
					Average 1.8

Source: Column (A) United States Census, Occupations.

Column (B) Computed from Table II, Column (A).

Among the trends evidenced in the occupational statistics since 1880 is the persistent increase in the number of female workers. Statistics on the sex distribution of the number of workers involved in strikes and lockouts show that for the period 1881-1905 about 90 percent were males and 10 percent females. If this were calculated separately for strikes and lockouts, it is interesting to note that, whereas only 9.4 percent of those involved in strikes were females, 15.8 percent of those locked out were females. In the 1927-1937 period approximately 75 percent of the workers involved were men and 15 percent were women; in the remaining cases the distribution is unknown. This indicates a considerable increase in the number of women strikers, even though the industries in which female workers predominate are not the usual centers of strike activity. The building trades, mining, metal work, and transportation, which are traditionally male occupations, account for the majority of strikes. Textile and garment industries, as well as clerical work, with a large proportion of female employees, account for the majority of women strikers. The tendency would appear to be toward the attraction of an increasing number of female workers into organized groups, especially as unionism extends itself to previously unorganized occupations and as formerly heavy work is, with the help of mechanization, made available to women workers. The percentage of female workers involved in strikes declined in 1937 because of the influence of the automobile and steel strikes.

The movement of population and the occupational changes among the gainful workers are long, slow and generally persistent. The shorter and more frequent fluctuations in prices have an important bearing upon the trend of strikes. The price movement is in many ways the cycle itself or at least one of the indicators of the cyclical movement. Over a long period of time a persistent price decline, such as that following the Civil War and continuing up to 1879, brings with it profound effects upon the relationships between economic classes and even upon political alignments. Although wage

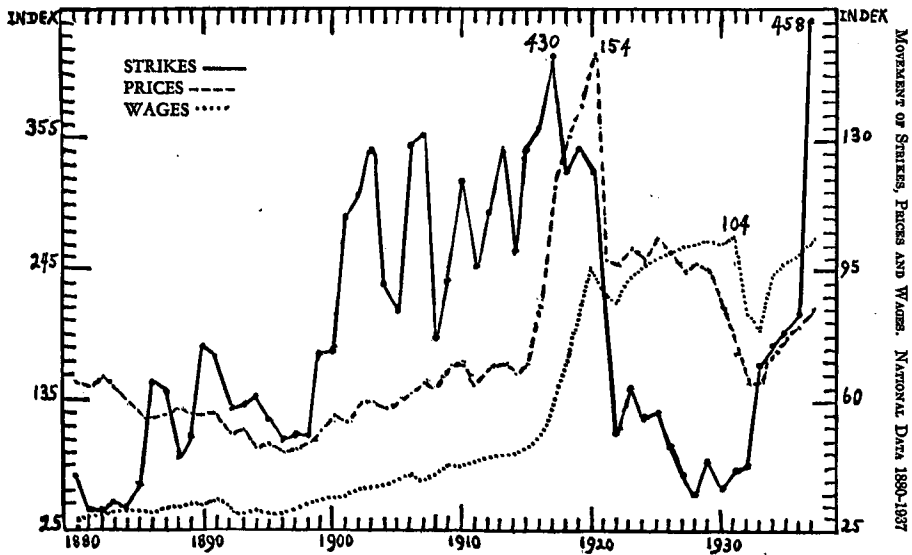
earners and farmers have occasionally had different opinions in regard to price movements, yet, as between a general price rise and a general price decline, wage earners and farmers are one in their desire to see a downward trend of prices reversed and the more immediate and psychologically-pleasing rising wage level substituted for the falling price level. While it is true that purchasing power for those who are receiving fixed incomes increases as prices fall,⁶ yet an increasing number of dollars, even if their value decreases, seems to be more acceptable to most income receivers. In the period of a declining price level the employers, faced with fixed costs, find their profit margins narrowing and their ability to borrow shrinking.

Long periods of rising prices bring about effects upon the economy which are reversed in their operations: farmers and business men gain, and employees seek to hold their own through an increasing wage level. If the adjustment in prices is sufficiently slow, a strike movement may not be initiated for the purpose of either offense or defense. It is the spectacular movement, such as that of the war and postwar years, that has most intimately affected the purchasing power of employees and stimulated them to vigorous reaction. It was the severity of the price decline of the thirties which caused farmers to join the classes that use the strike weapon to maintain the prices of the goods and services that they sell.

The most convenient series of price statistics is the Wholesale Price Index computed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Although the individual employee in his role as a consumer is not affected by the movement of wholesale prices, yet as a wage earner the wholesale movement intimately affects his wage level and therefore his relative well-being.

In order to compare strikes with the price index, the statistics of strikes, Table I, were converted to index numbers on a base of 1926 = 100 and plotted on Chart V.⁶ The relationships are quite close for the period since 1890. The declining price

⁶ Table VIII shows these indices.

STRIKES
CHART V

movement from 1880-1890 which was accompanied by an upward movement in strikes was followed by a sharp decline in strikes. This inverse correlation is in accord with the frequently-expressed theory that strikes increase when prices decline, because it is necessary for employees to endeavor to maintain their wage levels and working conditions in the face of the business decline that usually accompanies falling prices. This early period also shows a decline in strikes accompanying a stabilized price level. It would appear that this behavior is not typical of the relationship between prices and strikes but is rather to be explained on the basis of the historical development of unionism which, in the decade of the eighties, was moving through its formative period. Certainly a generalization could not be built upon this ten year experience. The persistent price decline, setting in again in 1891 and carrying through to 1897, was accompanied by a corresponding decline in strikes, the correlation being very close. The trough reached in 1897 for prices and in 1898 for strikes, marked the beginning of a continuous upward movement in both of the variables, a movement that culminated in the apex of the World War.

The price increase from 1897 to 1915, while not marked by any appreciable variation, was slow and persistent. The fluctuations in strikes followed the price curve, the increases of 1899-1903, 1905-1907, 1908-1910, 1911-1913, being remarkably reflected in the strike movement. The timing in these cases was completely coincident; one is therefore justified in concluding that strikes increase in times of rising prices and are sharply curtailed in times of falling prices. A relatively small price change stimulates a wide swing in the number of strikes, and this is a reflection of the business cycle; thus the peak of prices reached in 1907, 1910, and 1913 is coincident with the peak of business expansion that immediately preceded the recessions. In the case of the price movement, the expansion is slower and more persistent than the contraction; there is the same tendency in the number of strikes and there is a higher peak after each recession.

TABLE VIII

INDEX NUMBERS (1926=100)

Year	Strikes in the United States (A)	Wholesale Prices (B)	Money Wages (C)
1880	74	65	28
1881	46	64	29
1882	46	66	29
1883	49	65	30
1884	47	61	30
1885	67	57	30
1886	152	56	30
1887	145	56	30
1888	91	57	31
1889	107	57	31
1890	183	56	32
1891	173	56	32
1892	132	52	33
1893	133	53	31
1894	136	48	29
1895	122	49	31
1896	103	47	30
1897	107	47	30
1898	106	49	31
1899	178	52	32
1900	178	56	33
1901	291	55	34
1902	313	59	34
1903	353	60	36
1904	234	60	36
1905	212	60	37
1906	353	62	39
1907	360	65	40
1908	189	63	39
1909	234	68	40
1910	322	70	43
1911	248	65	43
1912	295	69	44
1913	345	70	46
1914	264	68	46
1915	349	70	47
1916	366	86	51

X:97.73.N3

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TABLE VIII—Continued

Year	Strikes in the United States (A)	Wholesale Prices (B)	Money Wages (C)
1917	430	118	58
1918	324	131	70
1919	351	139	81
1920	329	154	96
1921	231	98	89
1922	107	97	87
1923	150	101	94
1924	121	98	96
1925	126	104	98
1926	100	100	100
1927	68	95	101
1928	58	97	102
1929	89	95	103
1930	62	86	102
1931	78	73	104
1932	81	65	84
1933	164	66	79
1934	180	75	94*
1935	195	80	98*
1936	210	81	99*
1937	458	86	103*

*Computed.

Source: (A) Computed from Table I.

(B) B. L. S. Bulletin No. 572 & M. L. R. May 1938.

(C) R. S. Tucker.

The end of the war period saw the skyrocketing of prices which reached a peak in 1920. This phase was accompanied by a strike increase that led the price movement until 1918, when it ebbed, rising again to a minor peak in 1919. Reference to Chart II will show that the severity of strikes, measured by the number of workers involved, increased up to 1919. In the periods of inflation of prices, such as that during the World War, there is a race between wages and prices, and it is with difficulty that the relative standard of living is maintained. Such an economic climate is most stimulating to the expression of

discontent in the form of strikes. Taking Chart V as a standard it is evident that the strike movement was in advance of the price movement and that it slowed to a stop before prices ceased rising. The greatest annual increase of prices occurred between 1916 and 1917.

The war abnormality was followed by the postwar abnormality, which saw 50 percent of the wartime increase of prices wiped out in less than a year and a plateau reached, where prices rested substantially without much change for eight years. The number of strikes, after showing a tendency to decline between 1920 and 1921, reached a low point in 1922 equal to that of 1897. Again the inadvisability of striking in the face of a price decline was necessarily recognized and duly respected. This decline in the number of strikes might be looked upon, however, as qualitatively different from the declines of the pre-war period; for instance those of 1903-1905, 1907-1908, 1910-1911, and 1913-1914. Perhaps the severity of the immediate postwar experience is to be accounted for by the random factors introduced by the open-shop drive and the general purging of "radical" influences. The small price increase that appeared in 1922-1923 was accompanied by a strike increase and in 1924-1925 the price-strike movement was also closely correlated. The energy of strikers was apparently reaching a low ebb, for the price increase of 1927-1928, the last upward movement to be seen until 1933, met with a decline in strikes and by 1928 strikes had fallen to the level of 1885.

A new phase began with the disillusionment and chaos growing out of the financial crisis of 1929, with a sharp spurt in strikes in 1929 and the beginning of a decline in prices. Strike activity diminished in 1930 and 1931 in the face of the deepening depression, but the year 1932 and the first half of 1933, a period of the greatest curtailment of business, showed a persistent increase in strikes. The long price decline came to an end in the summer of 1933, after having brought the level of prices back to that prevailing before the World War. In 1933 the economy entered upon a period as strange in some ways as

that of the war — strong price increase, government intervention on an enlarged scale, stimulus to union activity, with a much less spectacular increase in business. The first year of the "New Deal" brought with it an increase of strike activity out of all proportion to the price rise and the business boom, a phenomenon probably to be explained in terms of Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act, with its offer of protection and encouragement to collective activity. A slackening in the pace of the increase of strike activity for 1934-1936 accompanied the continuing price rise. The year 1937 was marked by the climax in organized discontent, a peak in prices, and an anticlimax in business. These three variables, peak of prices, peak of strikes, turning point in business, coincide so frequently, as has been seen, that the question arises as to whether causality can be read into them. If not, at least it is patent that the ferment of strikes reaches its apex somewhat too late.

A third critical variable is wages. In the vast forest of wage statistics, one series has been selected for comparison with the strike movement. Dr. Rufus S. Tucker has compiled a series on weekly wages from 1801-1932 built up on the basis of Mr. Carl Snyder's Composite Index from 1890-1932 and carried back with the help of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' hourly wage rates and the index computed by Hansen.⁷ For the purpose in hand the statistics for 1880-1932 were used and Bureau of Labor Statistics' data spliced to it for the period 1933-1937. This wage index reflects the remuneration received for a standard period of work, one hour, and does not measure weekly or annual earnings. It is purely an index of wage rates and serves in a general way to indicate the price received by wage earners for their labor. As may be observed on Chart V, from 1880-1892 wages rose slowly in a period characterized by a price decline and, on the average, an increase of strikes. The decline of wages from 1892 to 1894 was accompanied by

⁷ Barron's *National Financial Weekly*, Boston, October 23, 1933.

a price decline and a reversal of the downward trend of strikes. The trend of the strike movement however turned down again in 1895 when there was a very slight increase in wages. It is hardly possible to build any generalization on this brief evidence.

From 1897 to 1907 there was a persistent increase of wages. This increase was halted for only one year during the panic and depression of 1907-1908 after which it continued to 1916 when it developed into the precipitous rise of the war epoch. This almost uninterrupted wage increase ended in 1920. No conclusion may be drawn from this evidence, except the general one that an upward trend in wages is conducive to a general upward movement in strikes. Of course the tendency of every variable in the economy, from about the middle of the nineties, was toward a secular increase, although the immediate postwar depression brought a decrease in wages through the years 1920-1922. The slight resurgence of strikes in the years 1922-1923 was associated with a wage and price increase, but the wage increase persisted until the year 1929, while prices fluctuated and strikes declined. Perhaps the "gospel of high wages," which Mr. Henry Ford found so difficult to preach to his fellow entrepreneurs when he first enunciated it, was bearing fruit in the lack of militance of the employed.⁸

The period 1931-1932 saw a severe decline in wages, a decline made more pronounced by the unusual experience of a relatively stable wage level during the first two years of the Great Depression. This stability in wages, that is in wage rates, was the result of a general reluctance to abandon the high wage principle. The period June 1932 to June 1933 was marked by a decline in wages, almost entirely before the codes were drafted by the National Recovery Administration. The use of annual averages obscures the interesting relationship that existed in 1933. The first half of 1933 was marked by declining prices, a decline in wages and a decline in the number of strikes; the

⁸ It is estimated that between 1900 and 1930 the working week declined 13 percent.

second half by a rapid increase in wages, a more moderate increase in prices, and a spectacular increase in strikes. Since that year the level of wages has continuously risen until, in 1937, it exceeded the level of 1929; strikes surpassed in number their wartime record while prices were still approximately 10 percent below their predepression level. The causal relations are most difficult to disentangle, but it would seem that rising wages, like rising prices, are correlated with movements in strikes. It must be recognized however that this generalization is vitiated by the strike record of the twenties.

The experience of 1937, in which a high wage rate level is associated with an unprecedented level of unemployment and also with an extremely high level of strike activity, is one that challenges not so much economic analysis as political capacity. Even if it be true, as Mr. J. M. Keynes asserts, that involuntary unemployment may not be decreased by reducing wages and that there is no reason to think that the economy cannot be in equilibrium with large parts of its human resources unemployed, it is hardly conceivable that the strike level of 1937 is consistent with social equilibrium.⁹

⁹ Cf. J. M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (New York, 1936).

CHAPTER IV

CAUSES DURATION AND RESULTS OF STRIKES

THE frequency and severity of strikes, as indicated by their numbers and the aggregate of workers involved, have been subjected to analyses that reveal secular and cyclical trends. It is most important to ascertain the causes for which men strike and the manner in which these causes tend to fluctuate with conditions in the economy as a whole. The effectiveness of the strike cannot be judged without an analysis of its results, even though the immediate result is not necessarily a criterion of the long-run effects of the strike. The result alone has little significance unless related to some measure that will indicate the cost to those who have been parties to the dispute. The most reliable indication of the cost is the duration of the struggle and this may, for certain years, be supplemented by data on the actual monetary loss involved.

CAUSES

The importance of discriminating judgment in analyzing strike statistics, and more especially in their collection, has been indicated. In no phase of statistical work is the enumerator's personal viewpoint more likely to influence the result than in the consideration of causes. (The reason for a strike is intertwined with all the historical setting in which the dispute originates and is carried on. Rarely is it possible to say that one particular difference between the employer and the employee is *the* cause, frequently the parties do not agree in detail in respect to the cause or, if they do, they differ in their interpretation of the major factor. Organized trades, which have had years of successful experience with industrial disputes, are likely to formulate their demands for presentation to the employer more clearly and unequivocally than are unorganized groups. Frequently there are strikes in which the initial spark is perhaps

some minor friction that bears no relationship to what is later alleged to be the cause. The habit of striking first and formulating demands later will distort, to a certain extent, the statistics on causes. For the purposes of tabulation it is necessary to set out a few clear-cut classes of causes, but such clarity is hardly descriptive of the typical strike situation. To obtain a tactical advantage employees may present a very imposing series of demands, some of which they really do not expect to obtain.

The present practice of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in the case of conflicting causes, is to try to reach a reasonable conclusion based upon the internal evidence regarding the progress of the dispute and the statements of both participants. In the four field studies the United States Commissioners were able to check the causes quite accurately and undertook a much more comprehensive tabulation than is now attempted. As many as 65 groups of causes were presented and, while this extensive breakdown unquestionably describes more accurately the actual complex of causes of individual disputes, it suffers from some serious defects.¹ It is quite impossible, with the use of such a large number of categories, to grasp the general trends. The Bureau of Labor Statistics has reduced the classifications to eighteen and these in turn are summarized in three groups: wages and hours, union organization, and miscellaneous. These categories, by their very simplicity, eliminate the interesting material that the more comprehensive reports of the Commissioner contained. In the earlier reports it was possible to ascertain the number of strikes waged for better ventilation, against the introduction of machines, against "women doing men's work," as well as for many other interesting causes which frequently were combined in one individual dispute. For example, tabulation was made separately of strikes "concerning recognition of unions and union rules, employment of certain persons, and Saturday part holiday." In many ways such a wealth of detail is embarrassing in any tabulation and practic-

¹ Cf. *Twenty-First Annual Report*, pp. 600-612.

ally means listing separately each individual strike with its own cause.

In order to piece together a comparable series of statistics on causes for a considerable period, it was necessary to reduce the itemization to four main categories: *wage increase*, *wage decrease*, *hours*, and *others*. The wage increase class is taken to include all strikes carried on primarily for the purpose of obtaining increased wages or for any cause directly related to wages, except protests against reductions. The term wage decrease is restricted to strikes involving the primary issue of whether a wage reduction is to take place and, if so, what its amount is to be. The hours class is made to embrace all disputes involving questions of shortening or lengthening hours, adjusting them among various categories of workers or in any way changing the working time. This would include such questions as Saturday half holiday or a holiday on Labor Day, overtime work, when the question is not the rate of remuneration but the time itself. The group *others*, while a statistical catchall, is made up chiefly of disputes involving unionization, the closed shop, jurisdictional issues, sympathetic walkouts, and other problems of organization. As a matter of fact, the term might be interpreted to be roughly similar to the present Bureau of Labor Statistics' categories of "union organization" and "miscellaneous." It is true that this arbitrary division does not indicate clearly the issues involved in many strikes in which wages are alleged to be the primary cause, but in which matters of unionization really predominate or are at least coextensive.

It seems wise to distinguish between strikes for the purpose of attempting to secure larger remuneration from those of a defensive nature against wage cuts. It will be interesting to compare the movements in these two classes with the conditions of business. The comprehensive group "wages and hours," now in use by the Bureau, does not make such a distinction possible and is misleading as it does not distinguish the defensive from

the offensive movements.² Some unions, believing that the best defense is a vigorous offense, call strikes for increased wages at a time when wages are being decreased generally, but the number of such strikes is probably not great.

In Table IX the causes of all strikes are tabulated for the period 1880-1937. The data are expressed as percentages of the total number of strikes for each year, the basic source being Table I. The percentages were calculated on the basis of the number of strikes for which causes were reported, and there is no reason to think that these would be significantly different if complete data were available. For the period from 1881 to 1905 the material is derived from the Twenty-first Report, which presents a breakdown into 28 different causes, as well as a distinction between strikes and lockouts. Tests showed that the inclusion of the percentages of causes of lockouts would not affect the results as presented in Table IX. The material unobtainable from national sources for the period from 1906 to 1915 has been interpolated, as explained in Chapter Six; the coverage is small and subject to random influences which may be operating in the seven states utilized, but it will serve the purpose of indicating relative movement. For the period 1916-1937 the Bureau of Labor Statistics' reports, reworked to fit the above classification of causes, have been used. The thoroughness and care with which this material has been gathered since 1916 has steadily increased with the passage of years.

A large proportion of strikes, fluctuating from 30 percent to 60 percent in most of the years, was caused by matters involving wage increases; more than 60 percent in 1880, 1881, and 1918, and below 30 percent in 1921, 1922, 1927 to 1932, 1935, 1936, and 1937. The proportion of disputes carried on for the purpose of resisting wage cuts remained small, with the exception of a few years marked by peculiarities in busi-

² While a more comprehensive breakdown of causes is also tabulated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the threefold category is more likely to be used by the casual reader.

STRIKES

TABLE IX

PERCENTAGE OF STRIKES BY MAJOR CAUSES 1880-1937

Year	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others
1880	62.5	10.0	.9	24.9
1881	67.7	12.1	5.7	21.4
1882	59.3	16.1	4.0	24.9
1883	50.9	26.3	2.3	25.7
1884	35.9	38.2	3.8	29.8
1885	44.2	28.7	3.4	30.0
1886	53.5	9.5	20.1	32.8
1887	42.8	12.0	12.5	40.5
1888	32.9	22.3	9.7	42.9
1889	36.4	22.6	9.3	41.0
1890	40.0	10.9	13.5	44.2
1891	37.1	11.8	10.8	50.4
1892	37.4	13.0	10.7	47.2
1893	32.3	26.5	7.8	40.8
1894	36.8	26.9	3.8	38.1
1895	50.7	18.9	4.7	35.6
1896	38.2	19.4	5.2	48.3
1897	45.9	20.3	5.9	38.5
1898	47.3	15.7	6.5	40.4
1899	53.3	6.1	11.4	45.4
1900	52.9	6.1	16.5	45.7
1901	42.0	4.6	14.3	53.6
1902	47.1	4.1	13.9	52.0
1903	47.8	3.7	16.7	52.0
1904	33.8	8.4	9.9	61.8
1905	39.1	5.4	11.0	56.7
1906	47.1	2.0	11.5	37.1
1907	52.1	2.7	10.5	34.5
1908	33.3	11.3	6.2	49.0
1909	47.5	4.4	5.4	42.4
1910	51.9	4.1	5.9	38.0
1911	45.3	4.9	8.1	41.6
1912	53.2	2.9	7.7	36.0
1913	51.8	4.7	6.6	36.7
1914	32.5	11.3	5.9	50.1
1915	43.6	8.1	6.6	41.4
1916	59.5	1.1	3.7	35.5
1917	56.9	.9	4.1	37.9

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TABLE IX—Continued

Year	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others
1918	60.4	1.2	2.9	35.3
1919	53.4	2.5	4.2	39.7
1920	58.6	4.7	2.2	34.3
1921	9.7	43.7	14.0	32.4
1922	23.6	28.6	3.2	44.4
1923	44.2	3.3	1.4	50.9
1924	33.4	11.5	2.0	52.9
1925	33.5	10.0	1.0	55.2
1926	40.7	5.3	2.3	51.5
1927	29.1	9.3	2.6	59.0
1928	21.8	12.4	1.6	64.2
1929	24.2	14.0	2.2	59.6
1930	16.8	25.7	1.1	56.4
1931	12.6	42.4	1.1	43.9
1932	14.5	50.6	.6	34.3
1933	41.5	13.3	.6	44.6
1934	32.3	6.5	.7	60.5
1935	23.2	12.5	2.2	62.1
1936	25.9	7.9	1.3	64.9
1937	27.9	1.4	.6	70.1

Source: 1880-1905 Adapted from the 21st Annual Report of the United States Commissioner.

1914-1936 Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin, No. 651.

1937 Monthly Labor Review, May, 1938.

Note: Total percentages for some years exceed 100 as strike causes are tabulated under more than one cause for certain strikes.

1906-1913 computed, see Chapter 6.

ness conditions. The class "hours," including protests against increases as well as demands for decreases, is responsible for much the smallest number of disputes, with a tendency to increase for practically the same business reasons that induce movements against wage reductions. The agglomeration of causes tabulated under "others" accounts for a constantly high and apparently increasing number of disputes.

Strikes relating to wage increases remained at a high level during the years 1880-1883, a period that was characterized by a stable wholesale price index. With the declining prices

of 1884 and 1885, strikes for this cause fell in relative importance. At this time strikes against wage decreases were slowly mounting, a reaction to be expected because of the deterioration in labor conditions accompanying the price decline. Disputes over hours remained insignificant, and those for other causes, which should be taken to include primarily strikes for unionization and union conditions, fluctuated around 25 percent. From a tactical point of view it is better to ask for more tangible benefits, even if the real objective is a shortening of hours. It is for this reason no doubt that strikes for wage increases remained so important. In 1886, despite a leveling off in the price decline and the beginning of price stability that continued until 1891, strikes for increases of wages mounted to 53 percent, and strikes for "hours" increased to 20 percent. This spectacular rise in disputes involving hours was never again equaled.

The upsurge of interest and direct action in favor of shorter hours was the consequence of the eight-hour day movement launched by the newly-formed American Federation of Labor. This demand, which was made primarily on behalf of the skilled workers, was in part an attempt to attract interest and membership to the Federation, that was just growing out of the shell of the old Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. The movement resulted in doubling the number of strikes of the year immediately preceding. The shorter hours movement was accompanied by various forms of agitation, which gave an opportunity to radical groups, not in agreement with pure and simple unionism, to make an appeal to public attention. It was in consequence of a protest meeting held in Chicago by the Black International that the movement collapsed. The Haymarket bomb, which was exploded at this rally, brought about a public reaction to the entire eight-hour day movement and to organized activity in general, a reaction that was most destructive to the objectives of unionism.³

³ Gompers testified that "the effect of that bomb was that it not only killed the policeman, but it killed our eight-hour movement for that year and for

The years 1887-1889 saw a decline in the number of strikes for wage increases and for "hours" and a doubling in strikes against wage decreases. This was a reaction to the trough in business reached in 1888, as well as to the Haymarket incident. These defensive strikes against wage cuts were made at a period when prices were not subject to great variation and when the general level of wage rates was not changing. Strikes for other causes increased moderately, probably indicating attempts by unions to maintain recognition and union rules. In 1890 hours again became important, rising to 13.5 percent, while defensive strikes decreased appreciably.

The second eight-hour day movement, under the aegis of the American Federation of Labor, was of small significance in comparison with the upheaval of 1886. The demands for shorter hours were formulated and urged upon the constituent unions but an aggressive campaign was not possible. The Federation contributed the slogan "Eight hours for work, eight hours for rest, eight hours for what we will," and reinforced it with a little doggerel which they published for many years as a frontispiece to the annual convention reports.*

The early nineties saw a slump in business adversely affecting economic conditions, and a renewal of the rapid price decline accompanied by a decline in wage rates. As a consequence, the proportion of strikes of a defensive nature against wage cuts rose with great rapidity, reaching a peak in 1893 and 1894, when wage rates fell to a low level. The proportion of cases in which hours were an issue declined to less than 4 percent in 1894, a period in which shorter hours could scarcely be successfully demanded. As a result of the pressure upon wages the year 1895 witnessed an increase in the demands for upward adjust-

a few years after, notwithstanding we had absolutely no connection with 'these people'." *United States Industrial Commission*, 1900, vol. vii, p. 623.

4. Whether you work by the piece,
Or work by the day,
Decreasing the Hours,
Increases the Pay.

ments, accompanied by a high frequency of protests against wage reductions. This coincidence of offensive and defensive strikes in 1895, arising from the revival begun in July of 1894, divided the period into one part where defense was requisite and another in which, for those trades that were feeling a business revival, offense was possible.

The long upward movement of prices, which was destined to continue almost without reversal until the peak of 1920, brought with it renewed demands for improvement in wages, a demand that became especially noticeable in 1899, 1900, 1907, 1910, 1912, 1913, and 1916-1920, when over 50 percent of all strikes carried on were for this purpose. The question of hours as a cause of strikes developed an increasing importance until 1903. The depression of that year, followed shortly by the panic of 1907, served to remove emphasis from this factor. As a consequence of the generally improving conditions between 1898 and 1907, the importance of defensive strikes against wage cuts rapidly declined from a level of 20 percent to a low of two percent. Concurrently, strikes for unionization and miscellaneous causes gained relatively, reaching 61.8 percent in 1904. This movement is highly illuminating as an indication of the reaction of workers to a rising price level accompanied by a rising wage level and interrupted by relatively short business depressions.

There is a cycle evident in the relative movement of causes during the decade 1898-1907, the increase of strikes for wage advances coinciding with a decrease of defensive strikes and the continued emphasis upon shorter hours becoming much more marked as the decade drew to a close; throughout the period what are sometimes termed "non-standard causes," or "others" increased in importance. This behavior seems to indicate a trend first toward the upward adjustment of wages and then improvement of hour conditions, accompanied or followed by solidification of the union position. These generalizations, which are indications based upon the relative importance of the causes, do not imply that the same employees will be engaged in the

successive strikes year by year ; but, as will be seen in the next chapter, there is a tendency of certain trades to strike more and more often.

Between 1907 and the beginning of the World War in Europe there was no marked fluctuation in causes except that the panic of 1907 was reflected, as has been mentioned, in a decrease of strikes involving hours and an increase of defensive strikes. The small proportion of defensive strikes, shown in Table IX, coincides with the general impression in regard to the gradual improvement in labor conditions during this period. Beginning with the war in Europe and the consequent depression felt in the American economy in 1914, stress was again placed upon defensive strikes with continued emphasis upon maintenance of union conditions. As the flow of war orders permeated American industry and the abnormalities of the conflict were reflected in the climbing price level, there arose a struggle on the part of the wage earners to share in the boom and also to protect their standard of living, which was being threatened by the mounting costs of living. As a result strikes for wage increases assumed a greater significance and purely defensive activities, as was to be expected, fell to a negligible point. In a period when the emphasis was upon volume of production and the workers were animated by a desire not only to accommodate the demand but also to earn bonuses for speedy output, it was to be expected that strikes for "hour" causes would not be appreciable and such is the evidence in Table IX. Unionization and miscellaneous causes remained rather significant, being second to wages in importance.

The accuracy of these statistics as descriptive of the period during the World War, in which unionization activities mounted to a plane never before known, might be questioned. While it is correct to say that a large proportion of the strikes were for the purpose of bringing unionization to the workers, yet the major cause, and this is the basis of the classification here, was the desire for increased wages. The entering wedge for union organization in that period was furnished by the

promise of better financial returns for the potential unionists, an appeal that resulted in an unprecedented peak in membership. The year 1920, although not characterized by the greatest volume of strike activity, marked the last influence of the war boom as measured by the changing causes of strikes. Almost 60 percent of the strikes were fought for wage increases, less than five percent were defensive, less than three percent were for "hours" and approximately 35 percent for miscellaneous causes.

The period from 1915 to 1920 was marked by the most rapid increase of wage rates ever seen in America, with the exception of the first few months following the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act. This upward adjustment of wages was necessitated by the skyrocketing of prices, but there can be no question that the pressure of strike activity and the threats of unionism hastened the reconsideration of wages. The influence of a sympathetic administration, whose attitude was motivated by a desire for uninterrupted production at any cost, was an important contributing cause. The historic epoch, which began in June 1933, was not developed under the pressure of military exigencies, but was an outgrowth of the unprecedented cyclical depression coupled with years of critical analysis of the defects of our economy. Out of the nucleus of these concepts and the maelstrom of political planning, the particular form of the National Industrial Recovery Act was shaped.

The primary postwar depression of 1920-1921 witnessed a most spectacular transformation in the causes for which the strikes of those years, dwindling in number though they were, contended. In 1921 less than 10 percent of the strikes were for wage increases, while the number of defensive manoeuvres against wage cuts increased tenfold to 44 percent. Hours gained new significance as a cause, for pressure was exerted in the direction of less favorable working time. There is no period in which the statistics show such a remarkable reversal in the causes from one year to the next as that just noted. The year 1922 remained abnormal with defensive strikes at a high level,

although hours became less important. As the labor movement proceeded into the twenties, it was subjected to successive blasts on the score of associations with radical persons and movements, attacked as un-American interference with the freedom to work, and assailed as generally inconvenient and restrictive of the entrepreneur's freedom. In addition, the return to political individualism brought with it administrations that were at the best uninterested in the problems of labor.

Under such conditions it is reasonable to expect that strikes which, as Chapter Two has revealed, were undergoing a progressive diminution, should be fought on the old grounds of wage increases and union recognition, with little emphasis upon defensive or "hour" strikes. It would appear justifiable to conclude that from 1923 to 1929 the union movement was struggling mainly for the groups of skilled or semi-skilled workers that were its major adherents in the prewar generation. In the skilled trades there was the pressure of new inventions and changing techniques to challenge the right of the skilled to a favored position. In addition, welfare capitalism and the increasing incentive of personal aggrandizement, encouraged by the promotional and speculative schemes with which the late twenties abounded, further weakened the allegiance of many of those who were organized during the war.

The thirties initiated a period in which, for three years, there was a continuous struggle to maintain the gains achieved or held during the preceding decade. Thus we observe that as early as 1930 defensive strikes had risen from 14 to 25 percent, while the significance of strikes for wage increases correspondingly declined. As the depression deepened, defensive strikes mounted in 1932 to 50 percent and attempts to improve or adjust hours conditions were so negligible that they reached the lowest point in recorded statistics. This fluctuation is even more significant when one considers the severity of the depression, which made the act of striking seem small, unimportant and ineffectual in the face of the overwhelming economic tide. In 1933 the effect of the "New Deal" was immediately apparent,

with the rapid increase of strikes for wage improvements, sharp declines in defensive movements, and increasing importance of unionization as a cause. The business recovery is considered to have begun in 1933 although some students feel that the summer of 1932 marked the turning point in business.

During the period 1934-1937 the causes tabulated as *others* assume an importance they had never before possessed. Thus 70 percent of all strikes in 1937 were waged for causes that primarily involved union recognition and union rules. Coincidentally strikes for wage increases assumed a smaller significance, approximating 25 percent in 1934-1937, while hours remained unimportant. It would seem logical to explain the relative lack of interest in hours during the entire period since 1922 on the basis of the great adjustment that was being made by entrepreneurs in the matter of working time, an improvement made possible by improving techniques. Even during the depth of the depression hours were not so important as they had been in the crisis of 1921 and this, perhaps, was a result of work-sharing that was widely applied from 1930 to 1932. The upward movement in the recovery, which may be said to have begun in March of 1933, suffered in 1935 a setback reflected in the increase of defensive strikes from 6 to 12 percent. Another important element in this increase was the death sentence of the National Industrial Recovery Act, pronounced by the Supreme Court on May 27, 1935.⁵ This was followed by a certain amount of wage cutting, the actual extent of which was not very great. The analysis of causes of strikes shows a definite correlation with movements in business conditions and indicates a highly sensitive reaction to the state of trade.

Upon reducing the data, relating to the number of workers involved in strikes and lockouts, to percentage figures on the basis of the four classes of causes, much the same behavior as has been noted above is observed. It would seem that this measure of the relative importance of the purposes for which

⁵ *Schechter v. United States*, 295 U. S. 495.

men strike is excessively subject to random influences introduced by one extremely large strike; it has therefore not been utilized in this analysis.

A more detailed breakdown of causes is possible for the period 1881-1905. This shows that strikes primarily for the closed shop, which accounted for less than four percent of the total number, had the tendency, over that 25 year period, to increase slightly. Likewise strikes explicitly for union rules were insignificant, accounting for approximately three percent. Movements in sympathy with other workers were erratic, rising unevenly from an average of two percent in 1884 to 15 percent in 1894 and declining after this peak to approximately one percent. Apprenticeship as a major cause was found in less than one percent of the total number. These specialized causes, particularly the closed shop and the sympathetic strike, have been greatly influenced by the prevailing legal opinions in regard to what constitutes a justifiable strike. Thus the boycott almost completely disappeared after adverse decisions by courts as to its legality.

DURATION

The effect of a strike upon employer and employees is influenced greatly by the number of days during which it is in force. The duration of the struggle has diverse influences upon the parties involved: the longer the strike the greater the hardship to the employees, except in those rare cases when a large number of them are able to obtain supplementary employment. Unsuccessful strikes, protracted for weeks or months, may cause the employees to be barred forever from gainful work in that locality or industry. With the passage of time the employer's position may weaken as he suffers increasing losses from non-production and continuing overhead costs; but on the other hand, he may find it possible to make arrangements for the importation of strikebreakers or the dismantling of his plant. It frequently happens that a long strike is not unwelcome to the employer, who may not find it profitable under any

circumstances to produce at that time. For these reasons it is difficult to generalize as to the long-run effects of the duration of the strike. For example the coal mines, which are frequently beset by strikes of many months' duration, show little fluctuation in the total annual output as the result of a strike. As a matter of fact, in some of the years of the greatest coal strikes, output was larger than in "normal" years. However this industry is exceptional with its relatively few months of operation because of the seasonal demand, its excess capacity, and the influence of competitive fuels.

It will be useful to investigate the changing duration of strikes. The date of beginning can be readily determined in most cases but in some the situation is confused. Thus, when a strike call is issued only a few workers may respond at once, the remainder stopping work later; but the first day on which any workers quit work is taken as the date of beginning. The date of ending is frequently not clearly indicated. Thus if a strike gradually loses its effectiveness as workers return to work, singly or in small groups, the termination date is difficult to determine. Sometimes strikes are never settled and the strikers obtain other work or the plant is closed permanently. In other cases unsuccessful attempts to shut down a plant are continued for long periods. The usual procedure is to count the date of ending as the time when a majority of the vacant jobs are filled by returning strikers or by new employees or when the plant is definitely closed.

An average is always a dangerous figure and one that may either conceal much or badly reflect the actual data. Table X presents a series of average durations of strikes. In order to adjust the statistics found in the Twenty-first Report for the duration of lockouts combined with strikes, the following method was used: the average of 84.6 days duration of lockouts for the 25 year period, 1881-1905, was set against 25.4 days for strikes. Obviously an average of these two figures would be meaningless because the lockouts are quantitatively insignificant. Lockouts amount to about 10 percent of all dis-

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putes, and as tests showed that an addition of 10 percent each year to the average duration of strikes would adequately compensate for the duration of lockouts, this procedure has been followed. From 1906 to 1913 the material has been computed as described in Chapter Six below. These figures are not comparable with the preceding years and can be used only to show relative movement. Data for 1914 and 1915 are unobtainable and from 1916 to 1926 the Bureau of Labor Statistics did not compute the duration of strikes. Bulletin No. 651 and the Monthly Labor Review have supplied the information for the remaining period.

TABLE X
DURATION OF STRIKES 1880-1913, 1927-1937

Year	Days Average	Year	Days Average	Year	Days Average
1880.....	27.0	1895.....	22.5	1910.....	14.8
1881.....	14.0	1896.....	24.0	1911.....	14.4
1882.....	24.0	1897.....	20.1	1912.....	13.7
1883.....	22.7	1898.....	24.7	1913.....	17.3
1884.....	33.4	1899.....	16.7		
1885.....	33.0	1900.....	25.4	1927.....	26.5
1886.....	25.6	1901.....	32.1	1928.....	27.6
1887.....	22.9	1902.....	27.9	1929.....	22.6
1888.....	22.3	1903.....	32.0	1930.....	22.3
1889.....	28.8	1904.....	39.1	1931.....	18.8
1890.....	26.6	1905.....	25.4	1932.....	19.6
1891.....	38.4	1906.....	18.0	1933.....	16.9
1892.....	25.7	1907.....	14.9	1934.....	19.5
1893.....	22.6	1908.....	14.7	1935.....	23.8
1894.....	35.6	1909.....	13.6	1936.....	23.3
				1937.....	20.3

Duration is remarkably constant, fluctuating between 14 and 39 days, the average being approximately 25 days. There seems to be a tendency for the duration to increase in the periods of business troughs, as may be seen in the years 1891, 1894, 1900, and 1904. However, other periods of depression, notably that of the current decade, show a shortening in dura-

tion. This evidence would not seem to justify any generalization. Over the entire period, average duration did not become shorter and even during the period of greatest prosperity strikes lasted for approximately three weeks.⁶

The method of tabulation used by the Commissioner as well as by the Bureau of Labor Statistics excludes certain categories of strikes, such as those involving fewer than six persons and lasting less than one whole day. It is of course difficult to gather data on strikes lasting for such a brief period, and their influence, if it were possible to collect the data, would be insignificant. The Twenty-first Report refers to the number of strikes lasting for less than one day, for the five year period 1901-1905. It was found that they ranged in duration from a few minutes to a few hours but the tabulation is not complete because of the "failing memory of the persons consulted." The one-day disputes numbered 647, or less than five percent of all strikes and lockouts, a truly negligible quantity, while the number of workers involved was less than one percent of the total.

RESULTS

(The value of the strike weapon is to be found in its results, a purely empirical test and one that is most difficult to apply. When has a strike succeeded? When has it failed? Judged by one standard a strike that does not obtain for the strikers all of the points for which they have contended is a failure; if it does not, in the form of increased wages, return to the strikers more than they have lost by their voluntary unemployment, it has failed if judged by purely material gains. Here too the long-run and short-run view stand in clear opposition to each other. Perhaps a strike won today is a job lost tomorrow. The long-run adjustments constantly occurring in the economy may be hastened or retarded, or their direction changed, as a result of strikes; possibly a decline in industries, the replacement of

⁶ In calculating the duration the entire elapsed period, including Sundays and holidays, is used.

skilled workers by machines, the migration of industries, have all been shaped by strikes.) Certainly these long-time questions cannot be answered in this analysis. The statistician of strikes cannot wait until the long run has become the present.

(If the philosophy of Mr. Eugene V. Debs could be adopted, the problem would be simple indeed. From his viewpoint, "No strike has ever been lost, and there can be no defeat for the labor movement. However disastrous the day of battle has been, it has been worth its price, and only the scars remain to bear testimony that the movement is invincible and that no mortal wound can be inflicted upon it."⁷ "The search for . . . compensatory values in lost strikes underlies the symbolism" of which Debs' statement is an example.⁸) Such "symbolism" is not exactly helpful in the analysis at hand.

The American Federation of Labor, in its public utterances, has deplored the necessity of strikes and has worked toward their diminution wherever it was possible to do so without compromising the interests of its membership; indeed in many cases its leadership has been severely criticized for lack of militance in this regard. Gompers expressed his feeling as follows, "Language fails me to express how earnest are the organized laborers in their desire to avoid and to reduce the number of strikes."⁹ This abhorrence of strikes was shared, but for entirely different reasons by Mr. David M. Parry, former President of the National Association of Manufacturers. Commenting upon a year marked by an especially large number of strikes, he said, "The spirit of the mob has brooded over the country during the last year as it has never brooded before, and in looking for the cause I ask you not to overlook the labor agitator, the chief ranter against law and the worst firebrand of anarchy with which we are now afflicted."¹⁰

⁷ *Unionism and Socialism* (Terre Haute, 1904), p. 12.

⁸ Dr. E. T. Hiller, *The Strike* (Chicago, 1928), p. 212.

⁹ Quoted by John P. Peters, *Labor and Capital* (New York, 1902), p. 65.

¹⁰ *Mob Spirit and Organized Labor*, An Address delivered at Chautauqua, New York, August 13, 1903.

Parry's declaration as to the cause of strikes has a familiar ring and his successors in the leadership of the employers' associations have echoed his thoughts time after time.

(Faced with the risk of understating either the success of strikes or the extent of their failure, the usual technique has been to consider as successful those disputes in which the workers have gained the major part of their expressed demands. The terms "compromise," "partially successful," or "partial gains," are applied to the intermediate region in which neither side has been completely victorious. The clearcut categories, "failed," "unsuccessful," "little or no gains," are applied to disputes in which the major cause at issue has not been resolved in favor of the workers. A special difficulty arises when the results accomplished are quite different from the alleged cause, or when the results, although insignificant in comparison with the demands, are in the eyes of the participants considered a victory. Here again there arises the problem of unexpressed causes and of stated causes, vindication of which was not really expected. Sometimes the result is not known for a considerable period after the strike has ended, and in such cases an optimistic interpretation might be that the strike has at least prevented working conditions from becoming worse.)

Table XI and Chart VI present the results of all strikes on the basis of three categories, *succeeded*, *failed*, and *compromised*. For the year 1880 the data have been recomputed from Weeks' Report; for 1881-1905 the data from the Twenty-first Report have been combined so as to fit the three classes; the period 1906-1915 has been bridged as explained in Chapter Six; and the figures for 1916-1937 are based upon a reworking of the material published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The limitations inherent in such a classification must be carefully borne in mind. The broad movements are obvious and, as was the case in the analysis of the causes, the results are also found to follow the general movement of business.

Thus the effect of the business troughs of 1891, 1894, 1897, 1900, 1904, 1912, 1914, 1921, 1927 are reflected in the decline

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TABLE XI

PERCENTAGE OF STRIKES WHICH SUCCEEDED FAILED OR WERE COMPROMISED
1880-1937

Year	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Year	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised
1880	35.2	47.1	17.7	1909	33.1	51.0	15.9
1881	61.2	31.8	7.0	1910	34.4	47.2	18.4
1882	53.2	38.8	8.0	1911	34.5	47.4	18.1
1883	57.6	27.0	15.4	1912	33.6	47.5	18.9
1884	54.1	42.5	3.4	1913	43.1	37.2	19.7
1885	53.2	37.7	9.1	1914	38.0	42.1	19.9
1886	38.2	43.5	18.3	1915	37.3	41.8	20.9
1887	48.7	44.1	7.2	1916	31.9	31.8	36.3
1888	50.7	43.9	5.4	1917	33.5	20.9	45.6
1889	46.1	34.8	19.1	1918	31.5	23.4	45.1
1890	51.8	38.3	9.9	1919	29.0	31.7	39.3
1891	36.8	54.5	8.7	1920	28.4	40.8	30.8
1892	35.5	53.9	10.6	1921	19.2	52.8	28.0
1893	50.2	39.0	10.8	1922	41.2	39.4	19.4
1894	42.8	44.8	12.4	1923	40.9	37.3	21.8
1895	56.8	33.7	9.5	1924	43.1	34.5	22.4
1896	58.8	33.8	7.4	1925	44.1	32.0	23.9
1897	56.9	15.5	27.6	1926	41.3	32.4	26.3
1898	63.0	30.8	6.2	1927	25.5	41.4	33.1
1899	73.5	10.6	15.9	1928	27.9	39.3	32.8
1900	38.3	45.1	16.6	1929	28.1	41.2	30.7
1901	47.7	34.2	18.1	1930	24.0	44.5	31.5
1902	44.8	33.9	21.3	1931	26.6	46.8	26.6
1903	37.0	42.1	20.9	1932	27.3	51.9	20.8
1904	32.7	50.6	16.7	1933	36.9	31.4	31.7
1905	39.5	46.1	14.4	1934	35.0	28.2	36.8
1906	35.0	48.8	16.2	1935	44.3	33.4	22.3
1907	25.3	57.6	17.1	1936	45.9	27.5	26.6
1908	29.6	55.2	15.2	1937	46.4	17.3	36.3

Source: 1880 Tenth Census.

1881-1905 21st Annual Report.

1906-1915 See Chapter 6.

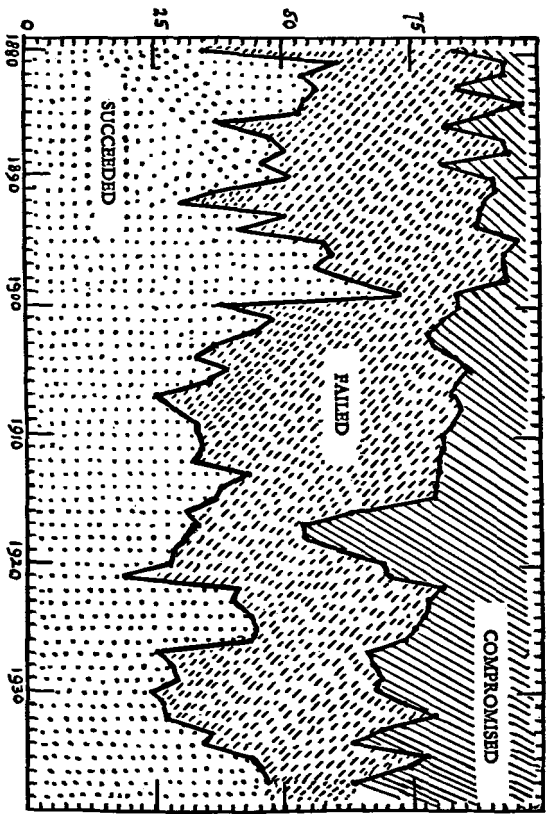
1916-1937 B. L. S.

evident in the number of successful strikes. The period from 1881 until nearly 1904 indicates a fairly large proportion, usually over 50 percent, in which the strikes were successful, but from 1904 until 1922 the percentage of successes fell to approximately 35. It would seem that, in the long upward movement of prices, the strike movement was not markedly successful. The depression of 1921 is outstanding in this connection, as it is in every other measure of strikes examined. The impact of prosperity, subsequent to the minor depression of 1927, is clear, and the very lack of success, in the three years preceding the great depression, makes the influence of strikes in that period even less important than had been previously observed.

The record of outright failures, or rather what is counted as a failure, shows a discouraging history during the 58 years. In season and out of season an extremely large proportion of the strikes were apparently failures, and only in the years 1897, 1899, and 1937 did the number of failures fall below 25 percent. The strikes compromised amounted to about one-fifth of the total, fluctuating between 6 and 45 percent, with 20 percent as the average. During the war years the percentage of compromises was large, forty-five in 1917 and 1918, and forty in 1919. Perhaps the influence of the War Labor Board and the numerous government bodies for the adjustment of disputes is reflected here. There is a tendency for arbitration, at least primary arbitration, to result in compromises rather than in outright victories. After the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act there was a very rapid rise in the number of successful strikes mainly for wage increases and recognition. The proportion reached 46 percent in 1937, approximately double the record of success of ten years before. At the same time, under the "New Deal," compromises fluctuated around 30 percent, which was the average of the previous decade. The increasing strength of organized labor is probably the determining influence in the most recent experience.

CHART VI

PERCENTAGE OF STRIKES BY RESULTS. NATIONAL DATA 1880-1937



If there is any merit in the use of the general average, the conclusion is inescapable that the number of strikes that fail or are compromised is greater than the number of the successful ones; but if the compromised strikes are to be considered as partial victories, then a bare 50 percent of all strikes have been wholly or in part successful. The main influence in determining their success is the cyclical movement in business.

Of the many attempts made to calculate the financial losses sustained as a result of strikes, the most precise and scientific formulation resulted from the field studies made by the United States Commissioner. The only data compiled by any government agency at any time with reference to this matter are to be found in the Sixteenth Annual Report. As a result of the very careful method of collection, it was possible to include in the field agents' schedule a question respecting the wage loss to the employees and a separate question in regard to the volume of financial assistance given to the employees by their unions in the form of strike benefits or other subsidies. There is considerable obscurity as to the exact validity of such a measure of wage loss. Can it be said that the entire volume of wages that would have been paid if the plant had not been closed is lost? Would the plant have remained open for the entire period of the strike under normal conditions and what would its wage rates have been? Do the increased wages, after a successful strike, more than counterbalance the losses? These problems are not solved by the method used by the United States Commissioner, for his total was based upon a calculation of what would have been paid in wages if the plant had remained open. The realization of the utter futility of any attempt to render precise a conception based upon so many suppositions as this has precluded any effort, on the part of the Federal Government, to compute these figures after the year 1900. The statistics on the assistance to employees by unions were gathered either from official reports of the unions themselves or from estimates made by persons conversant with the situation. Perhaps the traditional union

TABLE XII
FINANCIAL LOSSES AS RESULT OF STRIKES 1881-1900

Year	Wage Losses of Employees	Assistance to Employees by Unions	Year	Wage Losses of Employees	Assistance to Employees by Unions
1881	\$ 3,391,097	\$ 291,149	1891	\$15,685,214	\$1,182,752
1882	10,330,573	782,007	1892	13,628,635	1,421,558
1883	7,343,692	563,486	1893	16,597,449	927,451
1884	9,088,127	721,898	1894	39,168,301	1,091,296
1885	11,564,421	555,315	1895	13,836,533	626,866
1886	19,273,511	1,671,582	1896	11,789,152	523,520
1887	20,794,234	1,277,400	1897	18,052,510	768,490
1888	7,477,806	1,838,599	1898	10,917,745	632,326
1889	11,789,408	707,406	1899	16,643,139	1,222,987
1890	14,833,304	987,495	1900	34,478,372*	1,088,261

* Including Wage Losses as Result of Lockouts \$16,136,802.

Source: Sixteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor.

suspicion of statistical reports to public bodies renders these figures unreliable.

Table XII, for the years 1881-1900, shows the total wage losses from both strikes and lockouts, and the total assistance offered by unions in all the disputes for this period. The wage loss is quite appreciable while the assistance is negligible. In 1888 the union assistance amounted to approximately one-quarter of the wage loss, because of the influence of strongly-established unions striking in that year. There does not seem to be any general trend evident in respect to the losses but there is at least no sign of diminution. Scattered information on the losses to employers between 1881 and 1900 was published by the United States Commissioner, but its value and real meaning are subject to such a large margin of doubt that it is useless to tabulate it over a period of years. Table XII indicates merely one aspect of the great financial and human costs involved in strikes.¹¹

¹¹ *The High Cost of Strikes*, by Marshall Olds, New York, 1921, 286 p., does not enter into any statistical computation but seeks to show the superiority of the "Open Shop" over union bargaining.

CHAPTER V

UNIONS AND STRIKES

Of all the aspects of strikes that might be explored, none is so intriguing and at the same time so obscure as the part played in them by unions. It is the purpose here to subject to detailed scrutiny material that will throw light on this problem and indicate how the traditionally unionized industries have fared in respect to strikes, how strikes have resulted for the participants and how the causes that arouse union men to strike have differed from those that sway the unorganized.

The matter of the duration of strikes raises a problem in respect to unions. Do they serve to reduce or extend the frequency and severity of disputes? Fundamentally the problem can be reduced to these terms: does the establishment and maintenance of a union in a particular industry cause strikes to "wither away" and industrial relations to assume the aspect of peace and tranquility that many authors seem to imagine will be the result of thorough unionization? For the sake of scientific precision it should be said that the question of whether unions cause strikes is not here being investigated; it is better to ask, in accordance with "the statistical view of nature," whether unions are associated with strikes and their continuance in fields where organization has had a fairly respectable history?

The thesis that the concomitant of organization is the diminution of strikes is most clearly stated in Section I, Findings and Policy of the National Labor Relations Act, "the new Magna Charta" that labor received when its former charter of liberty, the Clayton Act, more especially Sections 6 and 20, had proven to be a charter of restraint. The Labor Relations Act states most emphatically

The denial by employers of the right of employees to organize and the refusal by employers to accept the procedure of collective

bargaining lead to strikes and other forms of industrial strife and unrest, which have the intent or the necessary effect of burdening or obstructing commerce.

This preamble formulates a justification for the action of Congress in controlling the relationship between employers and employees. Legislation regarding this relationship and the attendant obstruction that occasionally arises takes much the same form as that dealing with the problem of obstructions in navigable rivers.¹ Obstructions are to be removed by federal intervention so that commerce may move more freely between the states. The statement that the refusal by employers to concede the right of employees to organize and bargain collectively burdens commerce, must be intended to mean that it is the refusal to accept the principles and processes that imposes a burden, rather than that as is occasionally the interpretation of enthusiasts, the refusal to accept all demands is a burden on commerce. Surely the latter interpretation was not intended because then collective bargaining itself could scarcely be termed "bargaining." An attempt will be made here to throw some

¹ During the World War, when government policy was, broadly speaking, favorable to unions, there were occasional instances in which the force of government was used to bring strikes to an end by means of threats. Frequently the local draft boards put workers who were on strike into the categories where they would be called for military service. Although it was technically improper to consider workers on strike as persons not needed in production and therefore eligible for the draft, local boards violated this rule. In the case of a strike of machinists in Bridgeport, where the workers refused to accept the award of the National War Labor Board, President Wilson sent them the following ultimatum: "Therefore, I desire that you return to work and abide by the award. If you refuse, each of you will be barred from employment in any war industry in the community in which the strike occurred for a period of one year. During that time the United States Employment Service will decline to obtain employment for you in any war industry elsewhere in the United States, as well as under the War and Navy Departments, the Shipping Boards, the Railroad Administration, and other government agencies, and the draft board will be instructed to reject any claim of exemption based on your alleged usefulness in war production." This passage is quoted in Dr. V. W. Lanfear's interesting study *Business Fluctuations and the American Labor Movement, 1915-1922*, p. 131.

light upon these principles, interpreted in their first sense, that is the effect of the acceptance of principles and processes of bargaining on the number of " industrial strikes."

The only questions to which statistical analysis can be applied are the percentage of strikes carried on under union auspices during the last few decades, and the percentage of workers involved in such disputes. This analysis will indicate the relative probability of union members engaging in strikes as against unorganized workers. Mere reflection, even without the tabulation of evidence, would lead to the conclusion that strikes would be more frequent under union management than under nonunion auspices. In the first place, the very action of striking is a collective act and implies a certain amount of understanding and belief in the efficaciousness of mass action. While it is true that strikes are occasionally spontaneous outbursts due to accidental circumstances or long periods of repression, one may generalize to the extent of saying that workers with no feeling of solidarity or common interest would be unlikely to undertake a strike. The participation in collective action, which the strike implies, gives rise to an attitude of mind that is conducive to organization. Rarely would the sense of unified interest and the unanimity of opinion, which is needed to prosecute a strike, be insufficient to support some type of organization. Another point is the fact that the type of work done by organized and unorganized workers marks them off as classes apart in the conduct of strikes.

Organization in America has until recently been centered in skilled trades, such as building construction, transportation and communication, mining and quarrying, printing and publishing, and a miscellaneous group of skills connected with metals, machinery and shipbuilding. The workers in possession of techniques that are in demand are exposed to the greater probability of strikes simply because of the greater likelihood of success. As a consequence, the large body of unskilled workers, who have never been enrolled in the ranks of the organized, are not found engaged in strikes to any great extent. As the

Industrial Commission commented in 1901, "The nature of the employment of unskilled labor, which is often temporary, also tends to make strikes among them less frequent."² This influence of the seasonality of work has an opposite effect in the case of the building trades, where there is a continuous struggle to maintain union conditions and adjust grievances on countless individual jobs, all of which are relatively nonpermanent.

The statistical evidence on the distribution of strikes between union and nonunion initiation is available for the entire period, with the exception of the years 1880 and 1906-1915. In 1880 no tabulation was made in the Weeks' report on this topic and in the period 1906-1915 the computed statistics, built up on the basis of reports from seven of the states failed to distinguish union from nonunion strikes. From 1881 to 1905 all strikes ordered by labor organizations were counted, thereby excluding disputes not sanctioned by the central organization. This left outside the pale the so-called illegal or runaway strikes in which union members on their own initiative undertook to engage in a dispute without the approval of the duly-authorized union authorities. It is not likely, however, that this consideration influences the statistics to any appreciable extent. Since 1914 illegal strikes were included with the legal and no distinction was made as to the conformity of the strikes with union policy.

Since 1927 the method has been to tabulate a strike on the basis of the organization that called it or of the union in which the persons involved claimed membership. This system raises certain problems inherent in the confused situation that usually prevails in industrial disputes. Thus, if workers should strike and join a labor organization after they have walked out, they will be counted as unionized strikers. If a union offers to unorganized strikers assistance that the workers accept, this will necessitate an element of arbitrary decision in the tabulation. Frequently union members will strike in defiance of their unions

² *Industrial Commission Reports*, vol. xvii, 1901, p. 639.

or, having struck with their approval, they will subsequently lose this sanction and be put in the category of outlaw strikers.

In examining the details found in Table XIII, the period 1881-1905 must be taken as a unit and the period since 1916 must be considered separately. It is seen that on an average 69 percent of all the strikes in the first two-and-one-half decades were a result of union activity and were carried on with the approval of union organizations. This percentage, which appears to have had a tendency to increase significantly since the turn of the century, was at its peak in 1904, when 82 percent of all the strikes or approximately 75 percent more than in 1881 were ordered by labor organizations. This growth in the importance of organizations in this regard can be explained on the basis of the rapid growth of unions themselves from their early formative years.

The membership in labor organizations grew from approximately 85,000 to 2,000,000 in this period. When analyzed in terms of the number of workers involved, the significance of unions is even more marked, for on an average 77 percent and in 1904 over 90 percent, of all workers involved in strikes were affected by strikes under union direction. This would indicate that union strikes are larger than the nonunion, a conclusion quite logical in view of the necessity for organization, control and sustained solidarity in a strike. As organization grew out of a narrowly limited circle of trades and expanded to include more of the gainful workers, it showed a tendency to include more and more of all the workers that could be said to have any proclivity to strike. Groups of employees in a position to strike with any hope of success or who would desire to do so, were apparently being won to the ranks of organized labor.

The statistical series is resumed with 1916 the first full year of wartime expansion, when 66 percent of strikes involved union members. This proportion fell during 1917, 1918, and 1919, marking a decline that was due to the great stimulus given to strike activity because of the inflationary movement in prices and government policy. No information on the number

TABLE XIII

PERCENTAGE OF STRIKES ORDERED BY LABOR ORGANIZATIONS (A)

AND

PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS INVOLVED (B)

Year	(A)	(B)	Year	(A)	(B)
1881	47.3	56.2	1905	74.7	73.4
1882	48.5	65.0			
1883	56.7	66.5	1916	66.6	...
1884	54.2	60.5	1917	53.3	...
1885	55.3	67.1	1918	55.5	...
1886	53.3	75.0	1919	58.3	...
1887	66.3	73.7	1920	73.5	...
1888	68.1	73.3	1921	83.3	...
1889	67.3	77.2	1922	76.4	...
1890	71.3	75.1	1923	81.2	...
1891	74.8	77.6	1924	84.6	...
1892	70.7	77.1	1925	84.5	...
1893	69.4	75.5	1926	80.7	...
1894	62.8	85.4	1927	79.8	92.9
1895	54.2	69.2	1928	78.3	84.2
1896	64.6	72.3	1929	80.3	83.9
1897	55.3	73.9	1930	75.9	86.1
1898	60.4	69.1	1931	73.0	90.8
1899	62.0	71.1	1932	73.7	86.5
1900	65.4	80.4	1933	69.5	89.4
1901	75.9	82.9	1934	89.4	97.4
1902	78.2	88.0	1935	91.0	96.9
1903	78.8	83.7	1936	90.2	95.0
1904	82.1	90.6	1937	92.6	97.5

Source: Computed from Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 651.

of workers that were involved in nonunion strikes and later became organized, is available, but it might be argued that their militance was transient in nature, prompted by the conditions of the moment and not the result of a lasting acceptance of the theory and practice of unionism. Even in respect to those workers actually enrolled in unions during the World War, it became painfully evident that they would not "stick," and

unions lost 1,330,000 members in the three years 1920-1923.³ The problem of losing membership, which became crucial in the immediate postwar period, rose to major importance in the great depression of 1929-1933.

The first blow to unionized strength, delivered in the crisis of 1921, was so overwhelming that the membership failed to recover. It suffered a second great relapse in the period 1930-1933. A combination of causes, ranging from economic individualism to general social attitudes and lack of class solidarity, has in the past history of American unionism brought to naught attempts permanently to enroll in unions large bodies of unskilled or semi-skilled workers. It is quite correct to say, as Professor Selig Perlman phrases it that "the overshadowing problem of the American labor movement has always been the problem of staying organized."⁴

The percentage importance of union strikes during 1930-1933 remained approximately constant, declining but slightly in the latter year. This slight decline in the percentage importance of union strikes is to be explained on the hypothesis that, in the first rush of labor reaction to the National Industrial Recovery Act, workers were taking into their own hands collective pressure without the assistance of organization. In 1935, 1936, and 1937 the significance of unionism as a cause reached the unprecedented peak of over 90 percent, a reaction to the increasing emphasis upon organization itself as a cause of strikes. The influence of the Committee for Industrial Organization, which in 1937 undertook one of the most energetic campaigns ever witnessed in the annals of American labor, is shown by the fact that 40 percent of the total number of strikes was conducted under their auspices; on the basis of workers involved the Committee directed 60 percent of all the strikers. This additional complexity has served to increase the percentage importance of labor organizations in strike activity.

³ Leo Wolman, *Ebb and Flow in Trade Unionism* (New York, 1936), p. 26.

⁴ Selig Perlman, *History of Labor in the United States* (New York, 1935), IV, p. 7.

In a period of declining business there is a possibility that there will be an increasing number of "outlaw" strikes in the form of rebellion against any lowering of standards in the matter of working conditions. The general organization may adopt a more expedient policy of compromise and adjustment that does not appeal to the rank and file, who will in consequence be inclined to take matters in their own hands. A case in point is the runaway shopmen's strike in 1920, in which the national officers were not able to hold their membership in line under the pressure of outstanding grievances. Even the probability of a disastrous result will not, under certain emotional conditions, prevent hasty action.

It may be concluded from the statistical evidence that the strike is predominantly a union weapon usually ordered by and involving unionized personnel. This will become increasingly clear as the ratio of organized to potentially organized workers increases although this long-time evolution has not been rapid in the United States, as summary figures will indicate: in 1910 there were 9.9 percent of the non-agricultural employees organized, in 1920 the percentage was 19.4, and in 1930 it was 10.2 percent.⁵ In 1937 it would seem that the 1920 percentage was again approximated, if not slightly exceeded.

The growth of union membership in the United States has been marked by the rapid expansion from less than 50,000 in 1880 to over 2,000,000 in 1905. In this 25 year period the organization of the Knights of Labor grew from insignificance to a membership estimated at over 700,000 in 1886. The Knights declined as rapidly as it had grown; in 1890 its membership fell below 100,000, and after 1893 figures were no longer published by the union. As the membership in the Knights declined, the American Federation of Labor rose, reporting a membership of over 100,000 in a year in which the Knights claimed 700,000 and of 260,000 when the Knights' last report showed 70,000 members. The growth of the Federation was slow but persistent in the period before the World

⁵ Wolman, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

War, and the losses suffered during periods of recurring business depression "were not great and acted to retard the rate of growth of unions rather than to inflict severe losses upon them." ⁶ In 1901 the American labor movement counted over 1,000,000 members, and in 1904 over 2,000,000, with approximately 75 percent of the organized workers enrolled in unions affiliated with the Federation.

This prewar growth was largely the result of the organization of unions on a craft basis, which served to spread the members throughout their respective trades and thus widen the coverage of unionism. These members were bound together by a natural community of interest based upon skill. The Federation granted charters to the associated skilled workers when their membership had grown sufficiently large. In accordance with the constitution of the Federation these international unions possess autonomy and, except for help and advice from the central body, they handle all problems confronting them. This period of "staking jurisdictional claims" brought into the Federation the majority of the international unions that continued to form its membership. This chartering of internationals which was nearly completed by 1904 meant that new fields of organization were not being opened up and that the major efforts of the Federation were being devoted to consolidating already-existing unions. From 1898 to 1914 every year, except 1905, 1906, and 1909, showed a continued increase in membership while the losses suffered in the years mentioned were not significant. From 1902 to 1903 the movement increased its membership, as may be seen in Table XIV, by 39 percent, a gain which was not to be equalled until the influences of the World War made themselves felt. This increase is the result mainly of the rapidly-growing membership of the United Mine Workers as the outcome of the anthracite coal strike of 1902 that was brought to a conclusion through the efforts of President Theodore Roosevelt.

⁶ Wolman, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

The business depression of the latter part of 1914, resulting from the shock of the War, gradually turned into a boom as orders flowed across the Atlantic. War purchases made themselves definitely felt by the middle of 1915, accelerating the enrollment of new members in the labor movement. A factor of no small importance was the complete cessation of immigration from the countries of Europe. This helped to accentuate the increasing shortage of labor and created a situation most favorable to unionization. The entry of the United States into the World War, which drew several million into the armed forces and away from industrial employment, combined with government policy further to intensify the growth of unions.

From 1915 to 1920 union membership increased by "almost 2,500,000, a gain greater than the entire increase in membership in the 18 years 1897-1914."⁷ This amounted to an annual growth of ten percent in 1917 and 13 percent in 1918, rising to 19 percent in 1919 and 22 percent in 1920. The uninterrupted decline, beginning in 1920, was brought to a halt only by the influence of the new government policy inaugurated in June of 1933. In 1927 there was a membership increase of one percent, a gain of little significance in a period marked by 12 years of continued loss of membership. Under the pressure of the relatively high level of industrial prosperity, extending from 1922 to 1929, and the changing attitude of government and employers, union strength dissolved and the decline could not be stemmed, despite efforts of greater or less vigor and efficiency to revitalize the movement. From this point of view the influence of the depression of 1929-1933 was merely to accelerate an already dominant tendency, so that by 1933 the membership was barely in excess of that of 1916.

The stimulus to organization, offered by the combination of business recovery and government intervention, resulted in a 21 percent increase between 1933 and 1934, and an eight per-

⁷ Wolman, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

cent increase between 1934 and 1935. If the claims of the Committee for Industrial Organization are accepted, the total membership of American unions amounted to 7,172,000 in 1937, a figure that would mark an all-time peak, exceeding by approximately 2,000,000 the level of 1920.⁸ Those familiar with the difficulty inherent in an attempt to determine the actual membership of a union and cognizant of the lack of precision even in the statistics of average paid-up membership reported by the American Federation of Labor, will accept with caution the statement that the Committee in 1937 had 3,357,000 members. There is small doubt however, that the year was marked by an unprecedented level of organization; it is likewise probable that the 7,000,000 will not stay organized, although, in view of the political climate, more may remain in the ranks of the unions than was the case after 1920.

In order to give some indication of the extent to which unions and their membership engage in strikes, a comparison has been attempted between the total membership of American unions and the number of workers involved in disputes, conducted under union auspices. Table XIV presents membership figures from 1881-1935 based upon the work of Professor Wolman. From 1881-1896 the total membership is a composite of that reported by the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, Bricklayers, Railway Conductors, Locomotive Firemen, and Railroad Trainmen. The Bricklayers Union was not affiliated with the Federation in that period, and the Railroad Brotherhoods are still independent. There is a possibility that the figures for the formative years of unionism are an understatement of its actual strength. From 1897 to 1935 the data which represent all the available material are probably an overstatement because of the habit of many unions, notable among which is the United Mine Workers, the largest single union, to consider as members still in good standing

⁸ Wolman, *Union Membership in Great Britain and the United States*, Bulletin 68, National Bureau of Economic Research (New York, 1937), p. 5.

TABLE XIV
PERCENTAGE OF UNION MEMBERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES (B)

Year	Union Membership (in thousands)		Year	Union Membership (in thousands)	
	(A)	(B)		(A)	(B)
1881	67	109	1909	2,006	..
1882	115	90	1910	2,141	..
1883	139	82	1911	2,343	..
1884	185	55	1912	2,452	..
1885	262	66	1913	2,716	..
1886	875	52	1914	2,687	..
1887	708	46	1915	2,583	..
1888	494	24	1916	2,773	43
1889	462	43	1917	3,061	24
1890	396	71	1918	3,467	23
1891	299	86	1919	4,125	65
1892	396	46	1920	5,048	24
1893	406	54	1921	4,781	21
1894	322	182	1922	4,027	34
1895	331	85	1923	3,622	19
1896	330	54	1924	3,536	18
1897	447	69	1925	3,519	12
1898	501	36	1926	3,502	8
1899	611	50	1927	3,547	9
1900	869	52	1928	3,480	8
1901	1,125	52	1929	3,443	7
1902	1,376	44	1930	3,393	5
1903	1,914	35	1931	3,358	9
1904	2,073	25	1932	3,144	9
1905	2,022	11	1933	2,973	35
1906	1,907	..	1934	3,609	39
1907	2,080	..	1935	3,889	29
1908	2,131	..			

Source: Column (A) 1881-1896 Computed from Table I. Wolman, Growth of American Trade Unions.

1897-1935 Bulletin 68, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Column (B) Computed as follows:

(Column A Table II multiplied by Column B Table XIII) divided by Column A Table XIV.

those who because of unemployment or other reasons were not actually paying dues.

This series of data was compared with the number of workers involved in all the disputes that were known to be conducted under union auspices or to involve union members. This comparison was reduced to a percentage that expressed the proportion of the total membership involved in strikes in the particular year. The total number of workers, Column A in Table II, represents the number of persons affected by strikes whether ordered by labor organizations or independently conducted. In order to make this comparable with union membership, this number was multiplied by the percentage that the number of workers involved in union strikes bore to the total, as shown in Column B of Table XIII.⁹

The percentage of union membership that went on strike is based on two assumptions. In the first place, it is assumed that all the workers involved in strikes ordered by labor organizations were union members. The accuracy of this hypothesis varies in particular disputes, depending upon the number of nonunion workers drawn into a strike called by the unionized portion of a plant's force. Thus a strike in a steel mill called by machinists, who are already strongly unionized but represent a small portion of the total working force, may cause a large number of unskilled or semi-skilled laborers to be thrown out of work. At the other extreme, a strike by carpenters on a construction job would involve many other groups of craftsmen all of whom would probably be members of some union.

The second assumption, implicit in Column B of Table XIV, is that the number of workers involved does not include persons who have struck many times during any given year, and that the total actually represents the distribution of strikers among the entire organized group. It is clear that this assump-

⁹ For the period 1916-1926, for which Column B, Table XIII is unknown, the figures of Column A of the same table were used and these figures were increased by 12 percent, a percentage that represents the amount by which Column B exceeded Column A for the period 1881-1905.

tion is not justified in the case of trades, such as building construction and mining, where the same workers are involved time and time again. Column B may be taken to indicate the total number of union members, expressed as percentages of the whole membership, who were engaged in strikes at any time during the year.

It is seen from Table XIV that the percentage of union membership involved in strikes exhibited a tendency to decline as the early formative years were passed. The abnormality for 1894 was due to large strikes in coal mining and to the Pullman Strike, in which many railroad workers went out in sympathy with the employees in the shops of the Pullman Palace Car Company. The many nonunionists involved in union strikes in 1881 and 1894 caused the percentage to rise above 100. It is not possible to compute the data from 1906 to 1915. From 1916 to 1920 the first apparent effect of the increasing membership was that a large proportion of organized workers were on strike in 1916. The fact that, with the rush of new members into the movement in 1917 and 1918, the percentage of union members on strike declined indicates that a larger proportion of workers involved in strikes were not as yet enrolled as members but were acting spontaneously in company with unionists. By 1919 the percentage of union men on strike increased markedly simply because of the increase in membership. Unions were being extended into fields where their influence had previously been insignificant, while the membership of long-established unions was rapidly being augmented. After the war and until 1933 there was a notable decline in the activity of union members measured in this manner.

Even allowing for the probable exaggeration that this method of computation has introduced into the figures, less than ten percent of all union members were engaged in strikes between 1926-1932. When it is realized that the annual frequency of strikes is high in mining and the building trades, it becomes doubly apparent that the desirability or possibility

of union strikes in this period was relatively less than the general statistics of Table II indicated. On the basis of this decline it might be possible to conclude that a large portion of the union membership claimed in that period was a paper membership; at any rate it showed no militancy. On the other hand, the maintenance of a relatively high wage rate level, together with appreciably shorter hours than prevailed before the war, may have reduced the necessity of strikes and, *ceteris paribus*, of unions.

American unionism has been traditionally concentrated in certain fields which, for various reasons, have been favorable toward the growth and maintenance of powerful organizations. The foundation of the labor movement has been the organization in transportation, building, coal mining, printing, clothing, and the metal industries. Even under the pressure of the recent major depression the relative importance of these organizations was not appreciably altered. In the face of the highly competitive conditions prevailing in many lines of American industry, unions have found it extremely difficult to maintain whatever foothold they have been able to obtain.

Coal mining has been a heavy contributor to the sum total of organized labor; the significance that the production of the primary fuel has had in the entire economy has brought about a public interest and official intervention in disputes in this industry, which has usually been quite valuable to the organization concerned. In the clothing industry, the unusually severe labor conditions imposed upon the workers in the sweatshops have evoked a volume of public protest and active interest, and this has been helpful to the union struggle. While the clothing industries can scarcely be said to be "affected with the public interest," as is the case with coal mining, the element of sympathy and the continued significance of skill have conspired here to give importance to unionism.

Since the end of the nineteenth century building construction has accounted for over 15 percent of the total membership of American labor organizations; and during the period when

other fields were suffering diminution, it maintained a recorded membership which in 1929 amounted to 27 percent of the total of organized workers. Because of the economic characteristics of the building industry, the small units of production, the temporary nature of the work, and the continued significance of more skilled labor, unions have not lost their hold upon the employees in this basic trade.

Other centers of unionism are to be found in the transportation and communications industries, where the standard railroad brotherhoods and the unions of the railroad employees, which are affiliated with the Federation, exercise almost complete control over labor relations. This assertion remains true in face of the fact that less than 45 percent of the employees in railroads of all types have been organized; union influence, as is frequently the case, cannot be measured with complete confidence by its membership alone. The telegraphers, longshoremens and maritime workers comprise the remainder of this group of unions. Paper, printing and bookbinding, which encompass all types of graphic arts, have been strongly unionized since before the World War.

The group of trades that may be included under the title metals, machinery and shipbuilding, once a stronghold of unionism, suffered from the introduction of automatic machines and the increased opposition of larger employers to union control. In recent years the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, now a member of the Committee for Industrial Organization, has gained a new lease of life because of the recognition extended by the United States Steel Corporation to this union under the form of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee. The Amalgamated Association claimed a membership of 31,000 in 1920, a year that marked a peak in their efforts to bring within their organization the steel workers of this country. The two disastrous steel strikes of 1901 and 1919 sealed the doom of this union until a strategic victory was won by diplomacy and the force of circumstances in 1937. Steel, identified with the open-shop principle and a

traditional enemy of unionism, carries on its struggle in the "Little Steel" plants. Metals, machinery and shipbuilding, the indispensable elements of military victory, suffered in the post-war years an industrial depression that served to decimate the ranks of the unions claiming jurisdiction. This influence, which was hastened by the establishment of open-shop conditions in several of the most important branches of the industries, is convincingly shown by the decline of the percentage of total membership in American unions in these fields from 17 percent in 1920 to six percent in 1929.

TABLE XV
UNION MEMBERSHIP IN SEVEN INDUSTRIES EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL MEMBERSHIP

	1897	1900	1910	1920	1929	1933	1934
(A) Mining, quarrying and oil	4.7	15.1	12.8	8.7	7.9	11.9	16.0
(B) Building construction	15.1	17.6	21.4	17.6	26.7	19.6	16.7
(C) Transportation and communication .	26.0	21.8	22.5	24.9	25.9	20.5	17.9
(D) Clothing	3.3	2.9	4.6	7.4	6.3	11.3	11.2
(E) Paper, printing and bookbinding ...	8.5	5.5	4.2	3.2	4.7	5.1	4.5
(F) Metals, machinery and shipbuilding.	11.2	9.3	9.2	17.0	6.1	6.1	6.1
(G) Leather and shoes	3.4	1.1	2.2	2.2	1.4	2.6	3.2
Total	72.2	73.3	76.9	81.0	79.0	77.1	75.6

Source: Wolman, Ebb and Flow in Trade Unionism.

Table XV shows the percentage importance of the group of seven industries discussed; in 1934 these industries accounted for three-fourths of the total number of organized workers in America.

It is interesting to note the concentration of strikes and of workers involved in these particular industries, which are in turn centers of unionism. Table XVI shows the results of a computation presenting data for each of the seven industries. In 1901, a year of rapidly increasing total membership, 78 percent of all the workers involved in all strikes were found to have been involved in strikes taking place in these seven industries alone. In 1915 and 1920 it was necessary to use statis-

TABLE XVI

PERCENTAGE OF UNION STRIKES OR WORKERS INVOLVED IN UNION STRIKES IN SEVEN INDUSTRIES, COMPARED WITH TOTAL UNION STRIKES OR WORKERS INVOLVED IN UNION STRIKES IN ALL INDUSTRIES.
(WORKERS INVOLVED, IN THOUSANDS)

Year	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total	Percentage in the seven groups of all strikers	Percentage in the seven groups of all union members
1901	132	72	43	36	8	143	7	441	78	....
1915*	69	259	20	131	19	322	5	825	23**	....
1920*	183	521	241	336	122	522	32	1,957	57**	81.0
1929	76	49	9	41	2	15	28	220	77	79.0
1933	241	27	23	315	8	88	90	792	68	77.1
1934	230	33	106	142	7	122	49	689	47	75.6

*Number of strikes.

**Percentage of all strikes.

Source: 1901 Computed from 21st Annual Report of the United States Commissioner.

Remaining years computed from B. L. S. Bulletin 651.

A-G refers to industries in Table XV.

Percentage: Relation of totals for 7 industries to totals for all strikes and workers involved (Tables I and II columns (A)).

tics of the number of strikes in these industries, a measure that is not so satisfactory because it does not make allowance for the relative size of the disputes. For these two years the percentage was found to be 23 and 57 respectively, leading to the conclusion that in these years, which were marked by a most abnormal number of strikes, a disproportionately small percentage of disputes took place in the seven industries that in 1920 were responsible for 81 percent of all the union membership.

For the years 1929, 1933, and 1934, it was possible to use statistics of workers involved. In 1929 the concentration of workers involved in these industries reached 77 percent, approximately the pre-war figure. In 1933 and 1934 the percentage declined because of the increasing number of union members found in both these years in industries not here under consideration. Thus 1934 shows the influence of the textile strike

with its 300,000 workers; in 1933 major disputes in certain branches of the textile industry and the influence of disputes in formerly nonunionized parts of the seven industries, account for the decline in the percentage. Table XVI gives added force to the conclusion that unions are accountable for the great majority of the workers involved in disputes; it also indicates beyond any doubt that the very centers of unionism are, because of that very fact centers of strike activity.

In Chapter Four statistics have been presented to indicate the relative success or failure of strikes during the period 1880-1937. The general movement indicates that strikes are likely to succeed in whole or in part in a majority of disputes. The material presented related to the results of all strikes, whether union or nonunion. The influence in such a tabulation was predominantly that of the union strikes, as these accounted for a majority of all disputes. It is interesting to inquire whether strikes under union auspices are more or less successful than those conducted without union sanction. The conclusion seems to arise of necessity out of the nature of the case: union strikes are more successful because of the strength derived from unity, more skilled technique, and the resources of union treasuries. Table XVII shows the percentage of strikes ordered by labor organizations that succeeded and the percentage not so ordered that were successful. No information is shown in respect to the compromise strikes because the proportion is not significantly different. The evidence points to a widening differential in favor of union strikes. No data are available for the later years, so the validity of this conclusion cannot be tested, but undoubtedly success is becoming less probable for unorganized workers.

The National Labor Relations Act is built on the thesis that processes of bargaining and the recognition of employees' representatives of their own choosing will lead to the establishment of more peaceful and civilized industrial relations, with the consequence that interstate commerce will be less burdened by disputes. This chapter has pointed out that the growth of

TABLE XVII
 PERCENTAGE OF STRIKES WHICH SUCCEEDED 1881-1905

Year	When ordered by unions	When not ordered by unions
1881	64.9	49.3
1882	56.3	44.7
1883	64.0	25.4
1884	55.6	31.2
1885	62.4	27.0
1886	33.4	42.0
1887	48.3	27.0
1888	56.1	25.0
1889	45.6	49.9
1890	53.9	39.8
1891	38.4	36.7
1892	39.3	39.1
1893	53.4	28.4
1894	37.3	43.9
1895	59.2	27.2
1896	62.4	29.9
1897	59.6	30.8
1898	69.7	33.9
1899	76.3	36.5
1900	48.0	29.9
1901	50.3	30.5
1902	48.3	31.3
1903	41.7	22.8
1904	35.7	25.4
1905	41.5	24.0
Average	49.4	33.8

Source: Twenty-First Annual Report.

unionization is accompanied by an increase, or at least by continuance, of industrial disputes. Certain of the traditionally unionized industries and trades have shown an unusually high percentage of disputes and have accounted for the great majority of all strikes that have occurred in the United States.

Very frequently leaders of organized labor, as well as commentators upon labor problems, have expressed the feeling that with the passage of time and the strengthening of the unions strikes would be relegated to the barbaric past. Although the

last 58 years have not given any evidence of this tendency, it must not be forgotten that in certain special industries, such as the railroads in which unionization has been very effective, disputes are now handled by more orderly procedures and strikes are relatively rare. The railroads in their earlier history were marked by the most violent outbursts of unrest and destruction that the country has ever witnessed; but the transition to more happy methods cannot lead to the generalization that the result will be the same in all other industries in which unions have become equally strong. The economic nature of the railroad industry and its entirely exceptional importance to the public at large have made the development of arbitration and conciliation under government auspices an absolute prerequisite. The railroad brotherhoods, fully aware of the implication of a general railroad strike and the consequences for their organizations, have resorted increasingly to bargaining and political pressure.

The strike has been described by some students as a weapon that needs occasional use to keep it efficient, but in public services the use is rarely strategic. The evidence of Table XIV would seem to lend some support to the belief that as unions move out of the period of formation there is a tendency for the relative number of disputes to decline. When viewed in relation to the general economic situation and the state of political thought, whatever decline is noted in the table must be ascribed to external forces rather than to a natural tendency within the union itself toward a more sparing use of the strike.¹⁰

¹⁰ The growth of union control over strikes has been examined by the late Dr. George M. Janes. Writing in 1916, he said, "It is a popular fallacy that trade unions foment strikes and that striking is their reason for being. To this the trade unionist says: 'Young and weak unions have many strikes; old and strong ones have few. If unions were mere striking machines, the opposite would be true.'" Cf. *The Control of Strikes in American Trade Unions* (Baltimore, 1916), p. 9. Dr. Janes' conclusion is not a generalization that is substantiated by the statistical material above. The opinions of Professors Douglas and Hansen on this subject are discussed in Chapter Ten.

CHAPTER VI

BRIDGING THE STATISTICAL GAP OF 1906-1915

RESEARCH of a quantitative nature into the phenomena of strikes and especially into their long-time movements has been very greatly handicapped by the absence of information on a national scale for the period 1906-1915. The data published in the Monthly Labor Review relating to the year 1915 are admittedly so incomplete and so definitely an understatement that their use would lead to erroneous conclusions. Therefore, when speaking of the gap, the entire period 1906-1915 is meant. Because of the discontinuance of the field studies of the United States Commissioner of Labor with the publication of the Twenty-first Report no information of comparable accuracy and completeness has been available regarding strikes. In the period of transition, from the discontinuance of the Office of the United States Commissioner of Labor to the establishment of the Department of Labor, no attempt whatsoever was made to collect any data.

In the absence of data compiled for the nation as a whole it is obviously necessary to resort to some sample which, on a smaller scale, will serve accurately to reflect the movements that were taking place throughout the entire country. A most ingenious method of solving this problem was used by Professor Hansen in his important paper on "Cycles of Strikes" published in 1921.¹ Hansen had recourse to statistics collected by the Canadian Bureau of Labor, which are reliable compilations of material for the Dominion. The use of this makeshift assumed that the Canadian movement was approximately the same in direction and relative amplitude as that of the United States. It is probably correct to assume that such was the case, but the influence of divergent economic forces, as well as the rather imponderable effect of the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act, which went into effect in 1907, renders the statistics liable

¹ Discussed in Chapter Ten below.

to a large margin of error. Again, in using data, which in magnitude averaged 100 strikes a year, random influences would be of unusual importance. Despite these difficulties Hansen's method has been the only one used or even suggested by students of this problem, and for the purposes of indicating a general trend in the form of relatives, it was quite successful. Professor Paul H. Douglas, investigating the problem not of cyclical movements but of secular trends in strikes, made no effort to bridge the gap; he merely remarked that "unfortunately our strike statistics were then allowed to lapse for an eight-year period."² For the purpose of analyzing the secular trend, the gap would not affect to any great degree the general tenor of the conclusions.

In order to collect sufficient data with reference to the period in question, it was necessary to have recourse to all the States which, through their labor bureaus, published statistics that were sufficiently complete or of long enough duration to be useful. Seven states, Connecticut, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island, were discovered to have published reports of great completeness and reasonable accuracy from 1906-1915. In the case of New York the last report was for the year 1913. Each state will be discussed in turn and the basic data presented, after which the method of combining the information will be explained.

In the course of this investigation it was made manifest that there was nowhere available a complete index to the reports of the state labor boards or of other official bodies dealing with labor problems.³ The notable activity carried on by the States in

² "An Analysis of Strike Statistics 1881-1921," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XVIII (1923).

³ The *Index of Economic Material in Documents of the States of the United States* prepared by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse and published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington between 1907 and 1915, presents material for 13 of the States. The documents indexed by Hasse cover the period from 1789 to 1904. The index does not indicate, as has been done in Bibliography A below, whether the material on strikes contains statistics on strikes and whether the material on unions contains statistics on union membership.

reference to labor relations and the massing of statistics on all phases of these problems have been largely unnoticed by students. The States, it should be noted, were publishing extensive reports on conditions of working men, on wages, on health and accidents, and on trade unionism, in the eighties and nineties of the last century. The work of the state bureaus gradually assumed a more modest form as the Federal Government, during the World War, took over more of the functions of the States and expanded its statistical work. After the war the abridged character of most of the State Reports persisted. The generally high quality of a large number of state reports during the prewar period attests to the wide-spread interest in labor problems, as well as to the growing desire to know things quantitatively. The exhaustive reports issued continuously since 1870 in Massachusetts are a landmark in the field of labor statistics and present with reference to strikes, as well as to wages, employment and unemployment, the longest series to be found in the United States. This material is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven below.

It was evident that an index citing every publication issued by the 48 States relating to strikes or to the related problem of the membership of labor organizations would be useful. Bibliography A has been built up on the basis of an examination of the contents of every such report.

Connecticut, a small state geographically, has been a significant unit economically in the New England manufacturing area. The Department of Labor and Factory Inspection of that state issued, through its Bureau of Labor Statistics, reports that have carried continuously from 1903-1923 statistics on strikes, collected on the basis of information independently obtained by the Bureau. While not claiming a complete coverage, the majority of disputes in Connecticut were noted. Table XVIII shows the annual statistics computed for Connecticut by totaling the data for all strikes reported during 1904-1915.

Kansas, although industrially of little importance, maintained reporting on strikes which makes it possible to use its data. The

CONNECTICUT

TABLE XVIII

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Com-promised	Un-known
1904	35	2,552	...	517	3	11	5	5	14	8	10	13	4
1905	45	3,175	...	937	2	15	1	10	19	11	18	8	8
1906	60	6,162	...	924	6	34	2	6	18	24	23	4	9
1907	68	6,938	...	611	3	39	3	14	12	31	24	11	2
1908	30	3,089	...	320	...	7	5	1	17	15	11	4	...
1909	36	6,375	...	795	1	15	2	3	16	7	24	4	1
1910	50	2,963	...	801	...	26	2	4	18	17	21	10	2
1911	26	2,374	...	293	...	14	1	1	10	12	8	6	...
1912	47	7,727	...	469	1	28	..	2	17	20	19	6	2
1913	40	5,674	...	1,144	...	24	2	8	6	16	14	9	1
1914	4	415	...	66	...	...	..	3	1	2	...	...	2
1915	157	40,718	...	1,499	29	52	1	85	19	43	84	29	1

STRIKES

coverage here, while less complete than in the case of Connecticut, is sufficient to indicate the trend. The Biennial Reports of the Bureau of Labor and Industry contain a description of strikes, usually in fair detail, and this was accompanied by a tabulation, forming the basis of Table XIX, which was prepared by the present Commissioner of Labor and Industry and supplied to the author. In 1905 the large number of workers involved is the result of strikes of 10,000 coal miners, who sought a wage increase and secured a compromise. For 1914 no information was available, except as to the total number of strikes; the number involved in the strikes was computed on the basis of the average number taking part in all the disputes for 1883-1887, 1889-1890, 1895, 1899-1918, which is 154 workers per dispute; one strike, in which it was known that 700 workers were involved, has been added for 1914 to the 67 computed at the rate of 154 persons per strike. The number of persons involved in strikes during 1915 was calculated on the same basis. Kansas is the only state representing the western part of the country in this computation, but the bias involved in this geographical concentration is small, because the New England and Middle Atlantic States were at this time the industrial center of gravity of the country. The computed figures for 1914 and 1915 relating to the number involved in the strikes have not been indicated in the above table, as this table is limited to official state data.

The Middle Atlantic States are represented by Maryland, New Jersey, and New York, of which Maryland has maintained the most complete statistics of strikes for this period. The office of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics of Maryland, which has been continuously in charge of the compilation of data from 1893 to the present time, has published a brief description and tabulation of strikes each year. The coverage is believed to be almost complete and in no case has a significant strike been omitted.

The Bureau of Statistics of the Department of Labor and Industry of Massachusetts has maintained an excellent series on

KANSAS

TABLE XIX

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Com-promised	Un-known
1904	4	1,515	1	62	2	3	..	..	1	1	1	1	1
1905	10	11,478	...	65	6	2	..	4	4	3	...	4	3
1906	6	377	1	64	2	3	..	..	3	2	3	...	1
1907	4	685	1	184	...	2	..	1	1	1	2	1	...
1908	8	13,623	2	190	2	...	..	..	8	4	2	1	1
1909	1	.....	1	9	...	1	..	..	...	...	1	...	...
1910	3	150	2	180	2	...	..	2	1	...	...	...	3
1911	2	26	1	4	1	1	..	..	1	...	1	1	...
1912	10	574	1	289	1	2	1	1	6	7	1	1	1
1913	15	89	13	177	1	5	..	..	10	14	...	1	...
1914	68	700	67	60	67	...	..	..	68	1	...	...	67
1915	16	.....	16	.....	16	...	..	..	16	...	...	...	16

STRIKES

strikes.⁴ Coverage is almost perfect and in 1905 even exceeded the recorded annual data found in the United States Commissioner's Report. The information may therefore be accepted with confidence.

In New Jersey the Bureau of Industrial Statistics published in its reports a short narrative of each strike, included in a series entitled "Industrial Chronology." This description was extended in 1910 until the amount of information published was very complete. A tabulation made from these records is shown in Table XXI. In comparison with the national reports of 1904-1905, the percentage of coverage is not high but it appears to bear a constant proportion.

The State of New York, from 1883 to 1914, published a set of reports which for thoroughness of treatment have rarely been surpassed. In addition to presenting extensive separate discussions of various phases of unionism, statistics on strikes were published regularly each year. The figures can be supplemented by reference to the reports of the Board of Mediation and Arbitration which, in the case of those disputes in which it intervened, published an extensive discussion of the facts at issue. New York is one of the two states which had, for an extended period, a reporting system from trade unions in reference to their membership, number unemployed and general conditions. These trade-union reports, which have proven so valuable in connection with unemployment statistics, lead one to have more confidence in the strike data, because the continued cooperation of unions on all these points must have been helpful in the tabulation of strikes.

The experience of the State of New York in the collection of information from unions is interesting, in view of the argument frequently offered by organized groups in opposition to mandatory government reporting. When the reports were first published the Labor Department lamented the fact that false rumors and "bands of agitators" were causing workingmen to

⁴ See Appendix B, Table I-B, below.

MARYLAND

TABLE XX

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Com-promised	Un-known
1904	20	1,501	1	467	5	8	..	4	8	8	10	2	...
1905	10	2,506	...	116	2	4	..	2	4	5	5	...	...
1906	24	2,061	...	319	7	8	..	4	12	7	13	4	...
1907	11	1,245	...	253	3	5	1	..	5	1	7	3	...
1908	16	2,519	...	241	3	5	2	..	9	8	6	2	...
1909	13	4,559	...	137	3	3	2	..	8	4	3	3	3
1910	9	1,025	...	92	3	3	..	1	5	5	1	3	...
1911	7	650	...	135	2	4	..	..	3	3	1	1	2
1912	5	8,250	...	230	...	2	..	..	3	3	...	...	2
1913	3	835	1	65	1	...	..	1	2	2	1	...	...
1914	3	241	2	10	1	...	1	..	2	2	1	...	...
1915	4	174	...	62	1	...	..	1	3	1	1	2	...

STRIKES

NEW JERSEY

TABLE XXI

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Com-promised	Un-known
1904	86	6,397	35	852	57	28	7	9	42	8	26	12	40
1905	68	9,602	30	397	46	32	1	9	26	8	18	5	37
1906	174	13,574	61	757	98	92	6	17	59	25	65	19	65
1907	164	24,539	52	822	96	92	3	12	57	23	50	26	65
1908	51	9,639	16	530	27	10	11	2	28	6	13	9	23
1909	77	13,367	12	823	32	44	2	2	29	19	35	9	14
1910	103	13,774	8	820	22	54	..	2	47	20	51	24	8
1911	78	15,135	6	671	22	30	3	12	33	20	38	15	5
1912	104	23,991	12	793	35	63	1	5	35	18	61	15	10
1913	104	57,203	7	1,244	23	50	1	8	45	27	53	12	12
1914	47	3,857	6	305	15	18	3	3	23	11	22	10	4
1915	155	28,579	19	864	38	90	6	23	36	37	64	40	14

THE STATISTICAL GAP OF 1906-1915

be shy and to fear that information would be used against them by their employers. Experience, however, dissipated these feelings, and year after year an extensive volume was published in New York relating entirely to statistics of labor organizations, in which all the pertinent facts were laid bare. This apparently did not prejudice the unions' position in their contests with employers.

Table XXII records the data published by the New York Department; and it is important to bear in mind that in no case was any dispute involving fewer than ten employees recorded, except in unusual cases when such small strikes continued for weeks or months. The effect is to reduce the number of strikes sharply in comparison with the national report, which recorded all except one-day strikes, and to reduce the number of workers involved by only a small degree. The above table is limited to official data and therefore does not include the years 1914 and 1915. In order to calculate suitable figures for the years 1914 and 1915, the total number of strikes and workers involved, reported on an annual basis in the later tabulations of the Department of Labor, were averaged for 1912, 1913, and 1914, and for 1913, 1914, and 1915, and used for 1914 and 1915 respectively. Because of the lack of details the statistics for the last two years contain no information on causes or results. The New York State reports are difficult to compare directly with the National Reports, because of the great number of small strikes not included in their tabulation, but these two independently-made estimates move in the same direction and are satisfactory for the present purpose.

The last of the seven states is Rhode Island, for which the Commissioner of Industrial Statistics was the continuing agency collecting data during this period. The statistics give evidence of careful compilation and, as is rarely the case with state reports, exceed the totals for Rhode Island published by the United States Commissioner; both the number of strikes and the number of workers involved is larger, since all strikes

NEW YORK

TABLE XXII

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Com- promised	Un- known
1904	120	55,404	...	3,486	8	45	10	11	54	35	62	21	2
1905	165	53,024	...	3,153	20	60	7	22	76	72	59	23	11
1906	258	59,652	...	5,170	36	114	6	36	102	96	109	49	4
1907	271	78,235	...	3,895	41	133	11	29	98	78	136	56	1
1908	150	15,157	...	1,940	24	55	15	9	71	51	85	14	...
1909	183	81,838	...	2,754	21	83	6	8	86	73	85	24	1
1910	274	184,037	...	5,361	40	156	2	14	102	102	119	52	1
1911	185	67,368	...	2,899	22	85	10	13	77	69	94	22	...
1912	170	165,542	...	2,764	19	95	3	19	53	58	77	35	...
1913	240	166,097	...	4,290	6	134	2	23	81	82	105	49	4

RHODE ISLAND

TABLE XXIII

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Com-promised	Un-known
1904	49	5,170	16	456	16	20	2	7	20	16	17	2	14
1905	31	1,553	10	233	23	13	1	2	15	4	7	2	18
1906	35	1,696	15	119	22	15	1	2	17	10	11	2	12
1907	57	2,947	23	341	38	23	2	12	20	11	33	4	9
1908	66	3,868	26	499	34	26	..	12	28	9	28	10	19
1909	20	596	8	205	7	5	5	1	9	3	10	5	2
1910	24	2,060	5	118	12	13	1	1	9	3	11	5	5
1911	24	3,008	6	376	8	8	2	2	12	4	11	6	3
1912	15	1,513	5	74	5	4	..	..	11	2	11	1	1
1913	36	2,050	12	283	16	24	3	..	9	9	8	13	6
1914	60	5,514	8	514	18	25	2	3	30	14	27	7	12
1915	25	4,997	...	187	6	11	1	4	9	1	16	4	4

STRIKES

of no matter what duration are included. A continuous series is available for Rhode Island from 1901-1919.

For the purpose of providing the base by which to judge the reliability of the seven states' material, a comparison was made for the years 1904 and 1905 between the national and state reports, of the total number of strikes and strikers, excluding those indirectly involved and those thrown out of work by lockouts. This showed that the number of strikes reported by the States, for the said seven states, was 45 percent of the number reported by the Federal Government for these same seven states. In the case of strikers the number in the state reports was 89 percent of the number recorded by the national reports. A comparison of the seven states' material for the years 1904 and 1905, as reported by the states and by the Federal Government, showed clearly that the movement was in the same direction for both series. The result of this test indicates the reliability of the data reported by the states for the purpose of filling the gap years.

The first step was to adjust the state figures for the seven states for the gap so that they would represent the actual number of strikes and strikers on the basis of the national report for these same states. This was accomplished by dividing the number of strikes, recorded in Table XXIV, by 45 percent and the number of strikers by 89 percent, and multiplying the results by 100 percent. These results represent the estimated national total for the gap for the seven states. Further calculation revealed that the strikes for the seven states, on the basis of 1904 and 1905 national figures, were 47 percent of the total recorded for all of the States of the Union, and that the number of strikers amounted to 38 percent of the national total for all states. The second step, therefore, was to divide the figures for strikes for the seven states' national total by 47 percent and the number of strikers by 38 percent and to multiply the results by 100 percent, to obtain computed figures for the entire number of strikes and strikers for the nation for each year of the gap

1906-1915 SUMMARY FOR THE SEVEN STATES

TABLE XXIV

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Com- promised	Un- known
1906	773	101,048	77	10,699	177	375	18	93	287	236	329	108	100
1907	788	132,378	76	9,010	181	411	22	83	272	180	409	121	78
1908	414	55,197	44	4,765	90	138	47	26	203	110	205	56	43
1909	513	119,236	21	6,122	64	244	23	28	218	163	251	78	21
1910	705	217,438	15	9,265	79	366	29	42	268	236	324	126	19
1911	543	98,392	13	7,005	55	246	27	44	226	184	253	96	10
1912	646	256,345	19	8,005	61	344	19	50	233	212	299	119	16
1913	756	263,103	133	9,476	207	392	36	50	278	244	211	111	190
1914*	579	165,409	...	.....	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	...
1915*	765	239,301	...	.....	...	...	..	..	...	...	...	...	...

*Computed.

STRIKES

period. The results are found in Table I and Table II columns A for 1906-1915.

The reliability of this method depends upon the continuation, throughout the period, of approximately the same percentage relationships that were found by tests to prevail during 1904 and 1905. There is no reason to think that this should not be the case as the base years were not abnormal, viewed from the aspect of general economic conditions, and neither was the period of the gap, with the single exception of the middle of 1915 to the end of 1916. With the use of a base such as this, the method is logically sound but the test comes when its conformity to what is known about the movements in business during the period is examined. Use was made in Chapter Two and Chapter Three of these computed figures and they were found to agree in their fluctuations with what was to be expected on the basis of the cyclical movements. The seven states are so important in the economic life of the country, and represent such a good distribution throughout the various categories of industrial activity, that confidence may be had in their use.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, in its resumption of the compilation of strike statistics in 1915, was able to compute data for the year 1914 as a whole and for 1915 monthly. It is admitted that its work was of necessity an approximation and the low figure that it reported for the years 1914 and 1915 is probably the result of imperfect coverage. This opinion is further strengthened by the fact that it was not until 1916 that any considerable number of relationships could be shown on the basis of Bureau of Labor Statistics' figures.⁵ Perhaps the computed data for 1914 and 1915 had a tendency to overstate slightly the national total because they represent those states in which industrial reactions are presumably the first to take place.

Use was made in the preceding chapters of figures on average duration of disputes that included the gap period. These were computed for each of the years directly from Table XXIV, by

⁵ Consult *Bulletin No. 651, op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

simply finding the average number of days for each of the disputes listed, first eliminating from consideration those disputes for which no duration was reported. In the tabulation of the causes and results an annual percentage was worked out for each of the years of the gap on the basis of Table XXIV, without any attempt to correct this so that it would represent the national situation more accurately. Not only is there no way in which this could be corrected, but the proportion of causes and results would probably not be affected by an attempt to make it more clearly represent the nation. In any tabulation based on a fairly large sample of disputes it has been observed that these percentages are quite constant as between states and geographical regions.

CHAPTER VII

STRIKES AND WORKERS INVOLVED IN MASSACHUSETTS

THE Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with a population of 4,300,000 is in many ways one of the most interesting states for the purpose of investigating statistics on strikes. Geographically small but economically ranking below only New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio it has the advantage of an extremely long history of industrialism. With a highly-developed factory system, manned with a labor force that presents interesting examples of skilled "American" labor and hosts of immigrants, who in the years immediately preceding the World War were staffing its plants, it is a rich field for the operations of unionism and for the development of strike movements. Historically New England, and especially Massachusetts, has been the seat of the American cotton textile industry which here, as in Great Britain, presented the first example of the large-scale factory system with its peculiar social problems. The boot and shoe industry has been centered in Massachusetts for the greatest part of its history, and its migration from that state, together with the migration of the textile manufactures, are a challenging problem of causation. In metals, in the products of machine shops, and in various forms of skilled manufacturing, Massachusetts has for generations been important.

The impact of the great depression upon the economy of this state brought about an acceleration of tendencies that had been evident since the World War: diminished national importance of its manufactures and the trend toward not only a relative but an absolute decline of its employment opportunities. From the point of view of population, the situation in Massachusetts is differentiated from that of the rest of the nation. The population has been marked by a decline in the rate of growth for a long period of time and its relative in-

crease is now significantly below that of other states. Thus, in the decade 1910-1920 the population in Massachusetts increased 14.4 percent, in the nation as a whole 14.9 percent; but between 1920 and 1930 the increase in the former was 10.3 percent and in the latter 16.1 percent. This state contains a larger percentage of older persons and a smaller relative number of children than does the country at large.

The extreme urbanization of the Commonwealth is strikingly portrayed in the fact that in 1934 only 2.9 percent of the population was living on farms, whereas in the United States as a whole the percentage was 24.8. Of course this comparison ignores the fact that the possibility of economical agriculture on the coastal plains was largely extinguished for most crops as soon as the fertile stretches of the Middle West were open to cultivation. If the percentage living on farms in Massachusetts is compared even with the remainder of New England, it is seen that 50 percent less are connected with agriculture in Massachusetts than in the balance of the region. The significance of this is the extreme vulnerability of this state to industrial influences.

Long before the great depression was felt in the nation, there was a loss of population in Massachusetts resulting from migration to neighboring states, no doubt conditioned by declining employment opportunities. During the twenties, 126,000 persons left the Commonwealth, indicating that the serious problem of unemployment confronting it is to be explained as something more than a cyclical problem. Occasion will be found below to call attention to the migration of the cotton textile industry to the South, and of the boot, shoe and leather goods industries to the Middle West. These problems, which have stimulated energetic efforts to conserve industrial Massachusetts, provide an interesting setting in which to examine the movement of strikes.¹

¹ For a careful study of this problem consult Donald H. Davenport, *Unemployment and Prospects for Reemployment in Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1936).

Statistical work has been notable in Massachusetts for the period of time that its reports covered and the completeness with which such reports have been maintained. Students have had frequent recourse to data, published by the Department of Labor and Industries, on wages, employment, unemployment, and statistics of manufactures. Beginning with the first report published in 1870, material has been continuously recorded in reference to strikes. As the first Labor Department to be established in the United States, it was characterized from the outset by great assiduity in the tabulation of this material. In addition to statistical information, the reports of the department contain descriptive articles that are unquestionably source material of the greatest importance for students of labor organizations and industrial problems. From 1870 to 1900 reports on strikes were issued in varying forms, usually a combination of descriptive and tabular material. From 1901 to 1906 a "Labor Chronology" was published with an itemization of the monthly events of interest in industry. From 1907 to 1912 more extensive information was issued, frequently supplemented by interesting reports on outstanding strikes. Beginning with 1913 no more data on strikes were made available by the department, but fortunately a record was kept by the Massachusetts Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, a division of the Department of Labor and Industries.

This Board, which was established in 1886, has the duty of endeavoring to bring about the settlement of disputes involving a sufficient number of persons to be burdensome to industrial activity. It is provided in the law that notices must be given to the Board of the existence of a strike, this information to be transmitted either by the mayor of a city or the selectmen of a town, or by the parties directly involved. The Board is empowered to seek to mediate and to offer the services of a local board of conciliation and arbitration, if the parties will agree to rest their case with such a body. If the dispute is serious enough the Board will investigate the merits of the case in order to "ascertain which of the parties thereto is mainly

responsible or blameworthy" for the dispute. An interesting feature of the law is the provision that no employer is to advertise for help, during a strike, unless he mentions the fact that a labor dispute is in progress, or unless the Board has issued what is termed a "normality decision," which is a statement that the business of the employer is being carried on in the normal and usual manner.²

The records of strikes which are of interest here are an outgrowth of the functions of the Board, and consist of entries made by hand at the time the information was received. There are six registers covering the period 1910-1937 and including approximately 5,200 entries. It would appear that the coverage obtained is very complete and that the accuracy is as great as could be secured by any method short of an actual field study.

In order to complete the statistical series each entry for the years 1913-1936 was transcribed by the author from the record books, an index card being prepared for each individual strike. This afforded an unparalleled source of information, including place of occurrence, dates, name of firm involved, cause, number of workers, and the result.³ Appendix B Table I-B shows a breakdown of this material for four industrial classifications, textiles, metals, boots and shoes, and "all other" industries. These industrial classes are defined in Appendix B Table I-B.

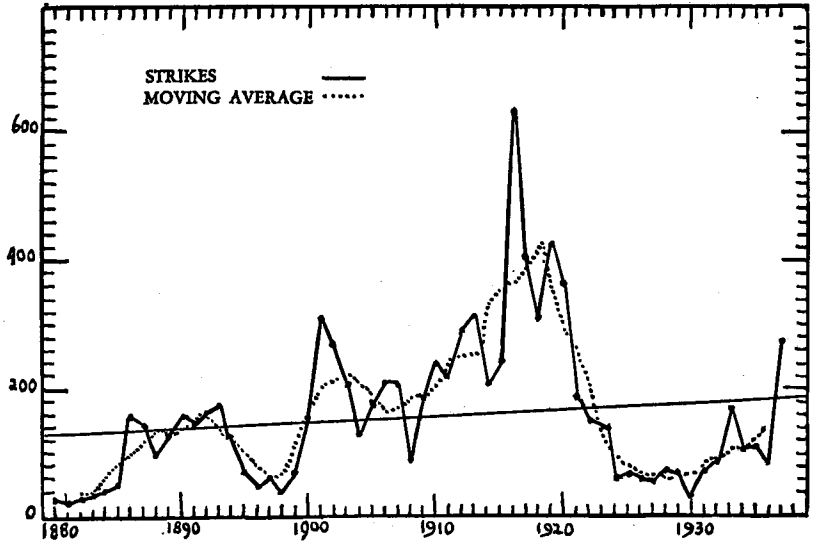
For the year 1880 the Weeks' report was used; from 1881 to June 1894 a continuous series was obtained by tabulating the data on Massachusetts contained in the Third and Tenth Reports of the United States Commissioner. Since these volumes do not present data monthly or even annually, it was necessary to tabulate the strike figures and combine them by industries monthly. From 1895-1899 monthly statistics are not obtainable and the annual figures used in this chapter were taken from the Sixteenth Report of the United States Commissioner which

² Cf. *The General Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, Chapter 150, Section 4.

³ Occasionally final entries on a strike were not completed because of lack of information, and this has been accounted for in the tabulation.

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CHART VII
STRIKES IN MASSACHUSETTS 1880-1937



gave only a summary figure; the data from 1881-1899 are completely comparable. Individual strike statistics from 1900-1912 in the reports of the Massachusetts Department were tabulated on a monthly basis and totaled in accordance with the fourfold classifications of industries. These data were brought up to date by the use of the index cards described above.

The general movement of strikes in Massachusetts over the 58 year period is shown in Table XXV and on Chart VII. The usual process of computing a five-year moving average, in order to smooth out the irregularities, has been employed. It will be observed that the oscillations of strikes appear here to have a more rhythmic movement than in the nation as a whole, and that the notable increase of strikes between 1901 and 1914, which was the characteristic of the national movement, was not very pronounced in Massachusetts. The secular trend, computed as described in Chapter Two, is plotted on Chart VII, the equation of the line being $y = 123.8 + 1.3x$. The slope is notably less steep than was observed in the national movement shown on Chart I, a relationship to be explained probably by the long-time decline in certain of the manufacturing industries of Massachusetts, with the consequent influence upon strike movements.

The rapid growth in the number of strikes from 1882-1890, which was characteristic of the national movement, is also apparent in the Commonwealth, but the peak occurs some years later, in 1893. A decline, comparable to that found in the national statistics, follows and comes to an end in 1898, the year that marked the trough in the nation. An increase carried through to a peak in 1901, followed by a decline until 1904, a movement unlike that in the national statistics, where there was a continuous increase until 1903. A small cycle is seen reaching a peak in 1906 and declining sharply to a trough in 1908, a result of the panic of 1907 which was felt strongly in the industrial State of Massachusetts. This strike trough was observed in the nation but more markedly in the Commonwealth. From 1908 there is a practically uninterrupted

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TABLE XXV

NUMBER OF STRIKES IN MASSACHUSETTS 1880-1937

Year	Strikes	Five-Year Moving Average	Trend Value	Deviation of Actual From Trend Value
1880	25	...	123.7	- 99
1881	16	...	125.0	-109
1882	26	28	126.3	-100
1883	32	33	127.6	- 96
1884	40	62	128.9	- 89
1885	53	85	130.2	- 77
1886	157	98	131.5	+ 25
1887	142	116	132.8	+ 9
1888	100	137	134.1	- 34
1889	130	135	135.4	- 5
1890	158	139	136.7	+ 21
1891	145	153	138.0	+ 7
1892	161	154	139.3	+ 22
1893	174	137	140.6	+ 33
1894	131	117	141.9	- 11
1895	74	98	143.2	- 69
1896	47	72	144.5	- 98
1897	65	61	145.8	- 81
1898	43	78	147.1	-104
1899	77	131	148.4	- 71
1900	158	172	149.7	+ 8
1901	313	205	151.0	+162
1902	269	216	152.3	+117
1903	210	221	153.6	+ 56
1904	132	201	154.9	- 22
1905	179	190	156.2	+ 23
1906	216	166	157.5	+ 58
1907	213	177	158.8	+ 55
1908	93	189	160.1	- 67
1909	183	190	161.4	+ 22
1910	242	207	162.7	+ 79
1911	221	252	164.0	+ 57
1912	295	256	165.3	+130
1913	318	256	166.6	+151
1914	205	339	167.9	+ 37
1915	243	361	169.2	+ 74
1916	635	361	170.5	+464

TABLE XXV—*Continued*

Year	Strikes	Five-Year Moving Average	Trend Value	Deviation of Actual From Trend Value
1917	402	405	171.8	+ 230
1918	318	428	173.1	+ 145
1919	425	341	174.4	+ 251
1920	363	290	175.7	+ 187
1921	196	255	177.0	+ 19
1922	150	183	178.3	- 28
1923	142	124	179.6	- 38
1924	63	98	180.9	- 118
1925	69	80	182.2	- 113
1926	65	67	183.5	- 118
1927	63	68	184.8	- 122
1928	75	62	186.1	- 111
1929	68	64	187.4	- 119
1930	37	68	188.7	- 152
1931	76	86	190.0	- 114
1932	82	94	191.3	- 109
1933	168	109	192.6	- 25
1934	108	112	193.9	- 86
1935	110	151	195.2	- 85
1936	91	...	196.5	- 106
1937	277	...	197.8	+ 79

increase in the number of strikes until 1913, the recession of 1911 being reflected only to a small degree; 1914, an industrially-depressed year, brought a low in strikes, followed by a skyrocketing increase, reaching a peak in 1916 which was three times greater than the level of 1914.

It is interesting to note that the behavior in Massachusetts during the war period is somewhat different from that of the nation, because there was a sharp decline in the number of strikes in the former during 1917 and 1918, while 1917 marked the apex of the latter. Perhaps this is to be explained on the basis of the greater initial strength of organized labor in the industries of Massachusetts during the World War. A second peak, reached in 1919, was followed by a decline until 1930, which carried the level of the strikes back to that of 1883,

while in the nation the number of disputes fell to the level of 1885.

The entire period from 1924 to 1932 was marked by an extremely low level of strikes in Massachusetts, showing almost no influence of the minor business cycle of 1926-1927. The depression of 1920-1921, which reduced the national total of strikes by one-third, reduced the Massachusetts number by a slightly larger fraction. The 1930 trough in Massachusetts lagged behind the national low for two years. The influence of the "New Deal" was to bring about a doubling in 1933 of the number of strikes, an effect proportionally identical with that in the nation as a whole. The 1937 level did not exceed the wartime peak. The smaller influence, measured by strikes, of the organizing activities of 1937 upon Massachusetts than upon the nation as a whole is to be explained by the long experience of the employees of that state with unions and the lack of spectacular new fields to conquer, such as had been the case with the introduction of automobiles, rubber and aluminum, the great new industries.

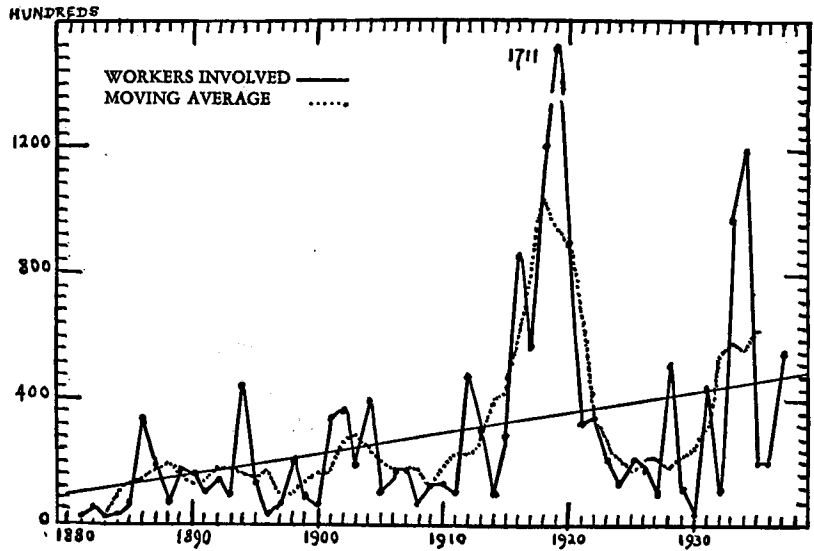
A tabulation has been prepared showing the number of workers involved in disputes from 1881-1937. Table XXVI gives this information, a five-year moving average of the data, and the computed trend, all plotted on Chart VIII. The equation of the line is $y = 8.047 + 0.748x$. The rate of growth of workers involved is markedly smaller than that which was determined to be the trend in the country as a whole.⁴ The relative increase of the gainfully employed population, as compared with the national total, is so small that the number exposed to strikes is not increasing rapidly.

Comparison with Chart II of Chapter Two shows that the peaks are quite comparable, with the exception of the year 1912, when the famous strike of the textile workers in Lawrence caused the total workers involved for that year to increase fivefold. The wartime peak of 1919 coincides in the

⁴ See Chapter Two above.

CHART VIII

WORKERS INVOLVED IN MASSACHUSETTS STRIKES 1881-1937



STRIKES AND WORKERS IN MASSACHUSETTS 143

TABLE XXVI

NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN MASSACHUSETTS STRIKES 1881-1937

(By Thousands of Workers Involved)

Year	Workers Involved	Five-Year Moving Average	Trend Value	Deviation of Actual From Trend Value
1881	1.5	....	8.7	- 7.2
1882	4.7	....	9.4	- 4.7
1883	2.6	3.8	10.1	- 7.5
1884	3.2	10.2	10.8	- 7.6
1885	7.2	13.2	11.5	- 4.3
1886	33.3	14.2	12.2	+ 21.1
1887	19.8	17.1	12.9	+ 6.9
1888	7.8	18.8	13.6	- 5.8
1889	17.4	14.1	14.3	+ 3.1
1890	16.1	13.2	15.0	+ 1.1
1891	9.6	13.3	15.7	- 6.1
1892	15.0	18.6	16.4	- 1.4
1893	8.2	17.9	17.1	- 8.9
1894	44.2	16.6	17.8	+ 26.4
1895	12.2	14.9	18.5	- 6.3
1896	3.4	17.4	19.2	- 15.8
1897	6.5	10.2	19.9	- 13.4
1898	20.5	9.1	20.6	- .1
1899	8.4	15.3	21.3	- 12.9
1900	6.5	21.5	22.0	- 15.5
1901	34.2	21.3	22.7	+ 11.5
1902	37.9	27.6	23.4	+ 14.5
1903	19.4	28.4	24.1	- 4.7
1904	40.1	25.1	24.8	+ 15.3
1905	10.7	21.1	25.5	- 14.8
1906	17.5	18.7	26.2	- 8.7
1907	17.8	13.2	26.9	- 9.1
1908	7.3	13.8	27.6	- 20.3
1909	12.5	12.2	28.3	- 15.8
1910	13.4	18.4	29.0	- 15.6
1911	9.8	23.1	29.7	- 19.9
1912	48.7	22.5	30.4	+ 18.3
1913	31.2	25.5	31.1	+ .1
1914	9.4	40.9	31.8	- 22.4
1915	28.5	42.5	32.5	- 4.0
1916	86.8	60.4	33.2	+ 53.6

TABLE XXVI—*Continued*
(By Thousands of Workers Involved)

Year	Workers Involved	Five-Year Moving Average	Trend Value	Deviation of Actual From Trend Value
1917	56.9	88.8	33.9	+ 23.0
1918	120.6	105.3	34.6	+ 86.0
1919	171.1	94.4	35.3	+ 135.8
1920	91.1	89.8	36.0	+ 55.1
1921	32.4	69.9	36.7	— 4.3
1922	33.9	38.4	37.4	— 3.5
1923	21.1	24.4	38.1	— 17.0
1924	13.4	21.7	38.8	— 25.4
1925	21.3	16.8	39.5	— 18.2
1926	18.8	22.9	40.2	— 21.4
1927	9.1	22.6	40.9	— 31.8
1928	51.9	18.8	41.6	+ 10.3
1929	11.9	23.8	42.3	— 30.4
1930	2.4	24.3	43.0	— 40.6
1931	43.5	33.2	43.7	— .2
1932	11.8	54.8	44.4	— 32.6
1933	96.6	58.2	45.1	+ 51.5
1934	120.0	53.4	45.8	+ 74.2
1935	19.3	62.1	46.5	— 27.2
1936	19.3	....	47.2	— 27.9
1937	55.4	....	47.9	+ 7.5

national and the Massachusetts statistics, as does the second peak reached in 1922. The decline is carried through until 1927, with but small fluctuations in Massachusetts reflecting the increased pressure upon the unions of that state by employers' opposition and business conditions. In 1928 the number of workers involved increased fourfold under the influence of the large strike of cotton textile workers in New Bedford, a random factor that is not significantly reflected in the national figures. The year 1930 saw a smaller number of workers involved than had been recorded since 1883; while, in the nation as a whole, the trough of 1930 was equivalent to the level of 1888. Judged by every standard and analyzed on the basis of geographical regions, the year 1930 is indeed an historical landmark in the history of American unionism.

As the depression moved into its second year increasing activity among the workers of Massachusetts rose to a peak of 43,000 workers involved in strikes, primarily as a result of two large disputes, that of the woolen workers in Lawrence and wool and cotton textile employees in the same city in the fall of that year. In 1933 intense union campaigning, coupled with a strike of boot and shoe workers in August, drove up the level of workers involved; a peak was reached in 1934 when the general textile strike, extending through all branches of the textile industry, was strongly felt in the state. This dispute, involving approximately 300,000 in the nation, found 70,000 on strike in the Commonwealth, and marked the second record figure for workers involved in Massachusetts. In 1937 the national apex was not reflected and this appears to indicate that the level of strike activity in Massachusetts will, barring general strikes in any of the major industries, remain at a lower relative level than in the nation at large.

The availability of monthly figures for such a long period as is obtainable for Massachusetts makes the calculation of the seasonal movement illuminating and reliable. Using the same method as that discussed in Chapter Two, seasonal indexes were calculated for three periods, 1881-1893, 1900-1913, 1914-1937. The data were broken into these particular segments because the material for 1881-1893 comprises a complete unit, followed by a few years in which monthly statistics are not available; 1900-1913 was considered apart from the subsequent period because it will indicate the movement in the more normal prewar years; and the 24 year period, 1914-1937, was considered as a whole because both the early and the latter part of this segment were influenced by similar forces. The seasonal indices are shown on Table XXVII and Chart IX.

For both the earlier periods the seasonal peak is very pronounced in May, with hardly any other notable month; in the more recent material, there is a much more even distribution throughout the calendar year, with one peak occurring in April and another in July. The influence of the war years

TABLE XXVII

INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS OF STRIKES—MASSACHUSETTS DATA
1881-1893 and 1900-1937

Month	1881-1893	1900-1913	1914-1937
January	112.9	91.7	81.7
February	94.1	80.1	71.8
March	104.7	115.4	105.2
April	142.4	140.3	156.8
May	208.2	203.8	149.6
June	114.1	121.5	112.4
July	111.8	95.6	126.1
August	72.9	97.7	121.5
September	69.2	76.2	81.6
October	61.2	65.7	83.0
November	62.4	63.5	58.1
December	56.5	49.2	46.4

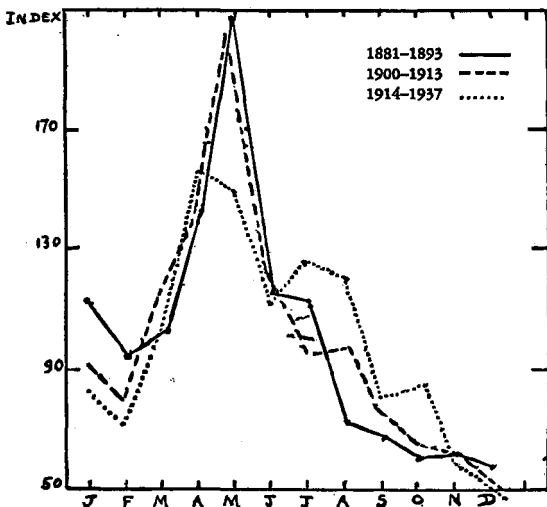
is exerted in the direction of smoothing out the seasonal pattern, probably because the trades that were most affected by strikes were not seasonal, but were the metals goods, textile and leather industries, all three of which gained significance in view of military necessities. If the monthly statistics for the last few years are examined there will be seen a tendency for July-August to become the annual peak.

The seasonal movement has also been computed for the number of workers involved, using the same three periods. The seasonal indices are shown on Table XXVIII and Chart X.

For the first period there are three seasonal peaks, March, May, and July, with the lowest percentage found in September and November. Identically the same pattern is discovered in the second period with, however, a lower proportionate peak in May than in either March or July. This characteristic behavior seems to depend upon the fact that the peak in the number of workers affected by strikes in the textile industries is reached in either May or July, while the peak in metals is usually found in May. Any seasonal peak exhibited in boots

CHART IX

INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS IN STRIKES. MASSACHUSETTS DATA
1881-1893 AND 1900-1937



and leather goods is generally found in March. From 1914-1937 the peak is evident in March, May, and September. Unfortunately the influence of the general textile strike of 1934 is so great that it moves the second seasonal peak from the usual date, the month of July, to September. Were it not for this influence, August for these two decades would be the third seasonal peak. Changing styles and marketing conditions in the textile industry probably account for this somewhat later date. These data indicate persistence in the type of seasonal movements in this state and show that, over the entire 50 years, the influence of the three major industries has re-

TABLE XXVIII

INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES
 MASSACHUSETTS DATA 1881-1893 and 1900-1937

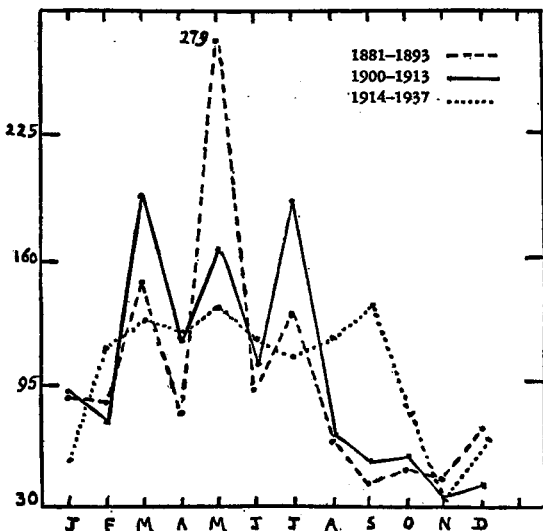
Month	1881-1893	1900-1913	1914-1937
January	89.4	93.7	53.5
February	88.5	74.0	115.5
March	151.1	195.3	128.1
April	81.3	119.3	119.6
May	279.4	166.0	132.9
June	94.2	104.8	116.1
July	133.2	193.6	106.7
August	65.5	65.9	118.0
September	42.2	53.2	133.4
October	51.3	57.3	78.8
November	47.3	33.6	30.7
December	76.5	42.7	66.2

mained predominant and that their normal seasonal arrangement has impressed itself upon the state's strikes. In general, Massachusetts has a more evenly distributed seasonal pattern than has the nation.

The completeness of the data as may be seen from the full tabulation in Appendix B Table I-B. has yielded statistics on causes and results that show approximately the same relationships as those discovered in the national material. Strikes for wage increases are predominant, with the exception of the period 1925-1936 in which disputes revolving around the causes grouped under others including union problems, account for over 50 percent. The percentage resulting from wage increase disputes is extremely high during the period of the war, an expected reaction to the long period of rising prices marking that epoch. In the first thirteen and a half years, 1881-1894, defensive strikes against wage reductions were at a high level, which is a reaction to the long period of declining prices. The proportion of defensive strikes is approximately the same as that found in the national data. "Hours" are an important issue in this first period, because of the influence of the eight-

CHART X

INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES
 MASSACHUSETTS DATA 1881-1893 AND 1900-1937



hour day movement which was very vigorously campaigned for in the New England regions, where unions had had a considerable history.

In the tabulation that follows, four historical periods were selected for the purpose of presenting the percentage of all the strikes, reported in the appendix, that were called for each of the specified causes. The first was one of falling prices, the second of generally-increasing prices; the third was marked by high prices in the beginning, followed by a plateau; the fourth by a complete cycle from high prices to low prices and

back to a relatively high level. Bearing this in mind, the statistics reveal the reaction of the employees of Massachusetts to general economic conditions, as reflected in the three predominant manufacturing industries.

The particulars of individual disputes are concealed in statistical averages and it is interesting to point out some of the peculiar incidents, that have taken place in strikes in Massachusetts between 1913 and 1936, as a partial indication of the vast number of causes for which men will strike.⁵

TABLE XXIX
PERCENTAGE OF STRIKES FOR VARIOUS CAUSES—MASSACHUSETTS

Years	Number of Strikes	Causes		
		Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours
1881-1894	1,434	39.5	16.5	7.6
1900-1916	4,125	48.8	6.0	9.1
1917-1924	2,059	55.1	10.0	5.3
1925-1936	1,012	38.4	13.9	3.0

In 1870, during a strike of North Adams shoe workers, the employers shipped in 75 Chinamen from San Francisco as strikebreakers. In 1913, in the town of Holbrook, 12 volunteer firemen declared a strike for an increase in their \$5.00 yearly salary to \$15.00, but the result has not been recorded for posterity. Militance among school children, sometimes thought to be a reaction to the more radical atmosphere of the present day, expressed itself in a strike of children in a grammar school at Cambridge, in the same year, a disturbance that was successfully quelled without the assistance of outside authorities; and in 1914 a group of 75 high school pupils of Saugus demanded that their principal be reinstated. Aesthetic considerations caused a strike of 25 employees in a textile mill, when they were denied the view of scenery by the blocking of windows by cloth screens.

⁵ These incidents have been culled from the unpublished records described above.

Golf caddies were frequently on strike during this period for increase of wages but without success. Other causes included an order to the employees of the gymnasium division of the Boston Park Department to turn out in a Columbus Day parade; the objection of nine gypsy-moth hunters to "an excessive number of bosses;" the employment of Turks, which was obnoxious to Greek tannery workers.

The war, with its attendant influence upon the psychology of all classes, is reflected in a few strikes that were conducted for super-patriotic motives; thus, in 1916, 500 employees struck to enforce the dismissal of a girl who refused to salute the flag, and the point was gained. In 1917, 200 wool spinners struck because they believed their new foreman was a German; on the other hand, a strike of vaudeville actors, in the same year, was called off because of "the need of all classes to be united." Apparently democracy was in that year, as it still is, a term of indefinite meaning, if the strike of 200 Russian inspectors in the plants of the N. E. Westinghouse Co. in Springfield and Chicopee, is an indication; these men walked out because of their misunderstanding of the term democracy. The result of this strike was a failure. The pro-German sentiments of two machine-shop employees, and the refusal of an Italian to buy war-saving stamps, caused two fairly large strikes, both of which were won, as was the strike of the Springfield trolley men for the privilege of working in their shirt sleeves. It is not recorded whether the strike of Italian workmen in Camp Devens in 1918, for the serving of macaroni at meals, was successful; but the attempt of 100 longshoremen in Boston to sympathize with the Irish cause was a failure.

The tendency to strike was shared by unionized clerks in department stores, by elevator operators, and by gravediggers, and considerable militance was exercised by the latter group in their efforts to avoid work on Sundays. Cranberry pickers in the bogs of Buzzards Bay struck in 1918 for a wage increase; and 600 store clerks in Lawrence were partly successful in their attempts to have a free Christmas Eve. In 1920 a small group

of longshoremen reacted unfavorably to the presence of police officers on board a ship where they were unloading a cargo of rum and refused to work until the guards were withdrawn. Even Plymouth Rock could not be moved without a strike, the Pilgrims' spirit of sturdy independence still prevailing. With the "New Deal" a rather surprising cause is recorded involving Works Progress Administration workers at an airport in East Boston, December 1935, who struck because there was "not enough work to keep them warm." In 1936, 61 cowboys of a rodeo visiting Boston demanded \$14,000 instead of \$7,000 as remuneration for a competition.

TABLE XXX

RESULTS OF STRIKES IN MASSACHUSETTS
(IN PERCENT)

Years	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised
1881-1894	38.5	51.6	9.9
1900-1916	36.5	42.8	20.7
1917-1924	37.4	29.0	33.6
1925-1936	34.0	26.9	39.1

The results of strikes in Massachusetts reduced to a percentage form are shown in Table XXX. It would appear that the chances of a successful strike are slightly poorer there than in the nation as a whole, and the last period shows a smaller percentage of completely successful strikes. Massachusetts apparently offers less possibility for successful strikes over the entire period than would be the case in the nation as a whole. The influence of the increasing age of the industrial order would seem to be an important element in determining the results of strikes, just as the rate of growth of industrial societies appears to decline as they grow older.

CHAPTER VIII

TRENDS IN MAJOR INDUSTRIES MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW YORK

THE analysis up to this point has been concerned with the movement of strikes throughout the nation, where comparisons were made with the business cycle, prices, wages, and union membership. The discussion of the data for Massachusetts pointed out the broader trends that were evident in that state. It is possible to relate employment and in some cases unemployment, for particular industries, with the strike data. The movement of strikes, as related to the particular economic conditions of an industry, can be treated in only a few states where the data are sufficiently comprehensive.

The boot, shoe and leather industry, which is the second most important industry of Massachusetts, is here taken to include the production, not only of footwear, but also of all forms of goods made of leather, as well as the tanning, currying and finishing of the leather itself. In 1929 of all the wage earners employed in Massachusetts' industries, 14 percent were working in this group. The percentage decline in the importance of Massachusetts in this industry, may be seen in the fact that in 1909 there were employed in the Commonwealth 31 percent of the total number of wage earners in boots and leather manufacture and in 1933 only 24 percent. The decrease in the value of these products from 29 to 23 percent is also noteworthy. The manufacture of boots and shoes, which accounts for three-fourths of the entire leather industry, is characterized by a large number of individual establishments, each of which employs a rather small working force and all are under the continuous pressure of extreme competition in regard to both price and style. The United Shoe Machinery Company has from the beginning leased its machinery instead of selling it, and this practice has resulted in a varying cost for this element of production. All manufacturers of boots and shoes hire the

machinery at the same rate and are therefore able to reduce their equipment with the least possible difficulty or to expand their productive capacity with great ease. It has been estimated that in 1919 the industry produced at about 63 percent of capacity. The influence of rapidly-changing styles, which have come to the front since the war, has been one of the most important influences affecting labor relations in this industry.

Geographically the production of shoes is concentrated in a circle within 30 miles of Boston, Brockton being the men's shoe center and Haverhill and Lynn the women's. This division of productive energy between two classes of shoes is paralleled by the two large unions that have been striving for supremacy in the trade. In Brockton the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, maintained a highly-centralized organization, and the strike of 1923 in that city was violently opposed by the union as violating contractual relationships. In Haverhill the Shoe Workers' Protective Union, an independent organization, typified a loosely-organized union with decentralization of control carried to an extreme.¹

In this industry the use of arbitration, by means of unofficial local or official state boards, has been especially important since the war. The old skilled trade of the Knights of St. Crispin, an organization noteworthy in the annals of labor for its strike in Philadelphia in 1796, was predominant until 1850, because boot and shoemaking was until then mainly a hand operation. In the decade after the war 86 percent of the employees in women's shoe factories and 70 percent in the men's shoe plants were working on repetitious tasks for which they were paid on the incentive wage basis.² The significance of wages, as an element

1 The Shoe Workers' Protective Union merged with the United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union in 1937, and, as The United Shoe Workers of America, is a member of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

2 For a comprehensive discussion of all these points consult Professor Thomas L. Norton's book, *Trade Union Policies in the Massachusetts Shoe Industry, 1919-1929* (New York, 1932).

in the cost of production, is great in this industry and is the most fluctuating of its costs.

Massachusetts, as the old-established and fairly well-unionized part of the American shoe industry, has traditionally paid a higher wage than its competitive states. This is shown by the fact that in 1919 the labor costs for a pair of shoes in Massachusetts was 76 cents, in the nation as a whole 63 cents, and in Missouri only 52 cents. The National Recovery Administration made a special investigation of the average hourly earnings of shoe workers and found that, in 1935, male workers in Massachusetts received 57 cents per hour and in Missouri 52 cents, and female workers 42 cents and 37 cents respectively.³ The migration of the boot and shoe industry, which in 1929 ranked tenth in the number of wage earners in the United States, may be seen from the following tabulation:

TABLE XXXI
PERCENTAGE OF WAGE EARNERS IN THE BOOT AND SHOE INDUSTRY

State	1880	1890	1900	1909	1919	1929
Massachusetts	55.4	50.4	41.4	40.3	38.0	36.8
New York	12.1	11.5	11.1	11.1	16.4	18.0
Missouri	1.1	1.9	4.2	8.8	8.3	12.1

Source: E. M. Hoover, "Location of the Shoe Industry," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 1933, p. 265.

Under the National Industrial Recovery Act, Code No. 44 for the boot and shoe industry lessened the differentials for this industry in favor of the non-New England regions, but migration continued from Massachusetts, though at a diminished rate.

Measured in terms of output, the Commonwealth in 1899 produced 47 percent of the shoes manufactured in the United

³ Report of the Survey Committee on the Operation of the Code for the Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Industry, N.R.A. Division of Review, July 16, 1935, p. 86.

States, New York 9 percent, and Missouri 4 percent. In 1935 Massachusetts accounted for 20, New York for 22 and Missouri for 11 percent. In 1934 and 1935 the migration was found to be north to cities in Maine and Vermont, the principal motive apparently being to seek areas where the union was weaker.⁴ The downward trend in the Massachusetts leather industry appears to be continuing and very few of the displaced workers in that state can look forward to reemployment in their usual trade.

The trade union strength in the boot and shoe industry is nevertheless very definitely concentrated in Massachusetts. It is possible to indicate, in a fairly accurate manner, the percentage of the total national membership found in Massachusetts, by the use of reports published by the Department of Labor and Industries on labor organizations, and for the national membership the statistics of Wolman. The comparison is as follows:

TABLE XXXII
UNION MEMBERSHIP IN THE BOOT AND SHOE INDUSTRY

	1919	1927	1932	1934
United States	93,800	46,600	27,300	114,000
Massachusetts	63,268	33,576	24,815	50,345

Source: Massachusetts Reports.
Wolman, *op. cit.*

During three of the four years compared the great majority of the union members in the entire industry were found in Massachusetts, in 1932 over 90 percent. The marked percentage decline in 1934 is due to the growth of membership in the other producing states, and especially to the rise of the United Shoe and Leather Workers' Union which, in that year, reported 53,000 members. There is a large margin of error in statistics concerning this industry, because interunion rivalry has been severe, but the conclusion is inescapable that, concomitant with

⁴ See National Recovery Administration, Division of Review, *Migration of Selected Industries as Influenced by Area Wage Differentials* (Washington, 1936).

the progressive competitive decline of the state, the unionized membership has persisted. Appendix B gives in Table I-B. monthly statistics on strikes and in Table II-B. a recapitulation annually for this particular industry. The sustained high level of strikes, which marked the prewar period, declined to a low level after the war, except for the large strikes in 1928, 1933, and 1934, when there was a wave of disputes. The strike of 17,000 workers in 1933 was a result of the resurrection of the long-dormant unions.

The outcome of strikes in this industry has been rather consistently successful, and especially so when the results are compared with such a group as the metal trades. Probably the reason for this seeming contradiction in an industry with factional strikes among its unionized workers, as compared with the metal trades, is to be explained by the characteristically high turnover among the entrepreneurs who, in large numbers, flock to the industry when conditions are promising, begin production with a small investment and if conditions prove unfavorable may either retire or be quickly ruined. The effect upon Massachusetts of the spreading of unionization to its competitive states should be to reduce its unfavorable differential on costs. It is, however, difficult to attribute the rapid migration of this industry wholly to the high level of unionization, but there are indications that unionization has been an important contributing factor; certainly the testimony of parties involved in the code administration gave added weight to this conclusion.⁵ The unions did not attempt to retain the boot and shoe industry in the state by reducing the number of strikes, at least the statistics indicate no such secular decline to be expected in view of prevailing economic conditions of this industry. Perhaps the unions felt that basic economic forces, such as proximity to the western leather supply, were more important than the rigidities that they may have introduced into the wage structure of Massachusetts.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

The cotton textile industry in the United States developed as a profit-making enterprise during the last decade of the eighteenth century and grew rapidly in New England under the influence of curtailed supplies during the Napoleonic Wars. Even after the resumption of British competition the New England industry was able to survive and here as in England the application of the power loom put an end to the growth of household weaving. In this industry, which has been continuously subject to competitive conditions, there was up to 1900 a marked concentration in New England of the bulk of the national product. In 1840 more than 70 percent of the spindles were located in that region and 29 percent of these were in Massachusetts; in 1890 about 76 percent were found in the former and 41 percent in the latter.⁶ The percentage of looms was approximately the same, and on all scores the preeminence of Massachusetts was unchallenged; the speed of the spindles operating there during the earlier years was somewhat above the average for the country, the looms being wider and the goods woven of finer grade.

Beginning with 1900, the South has accounted for an increasing proportion of the national product, and thus the growth of the raw material has been combined with the fabricating process. In 1920 only 52 percent of the spindles were in New England with 33 percent in Massachusetts; in 1935 there were 18,000,000 active cotton-spinning spindles in the cotton-growing states and only 7,000,000 were found in New England. Despite this movement to the South this region has remained predominant in the production of the finer goods, although it has been unable to compete in the coarser quality, the manufacture of which is completely monopolized by the South. In 1929 more wage earners were employed in Massachusetts in the manufacture of cotton goods than in the production of any other single product.

⁶ G. T. Jones, *Increasing Return* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 147.

The second large branch of the textile industry, and the only other important part found in Massachusetts, is that engaged in the manufacture of woolen and worsted goods, a branch that employed on the average in the predepression years 54,000 workers. The year 1923 marked for the Commonwealth the highest point in employment in this industry, and for nine years thereafter the number of workers steadily declined. In this branch of the textile industry, however, Massachusetts is holding its own and, as a matter of fact, in 1933 showed a slight proportionate increase. The number of wage earners in woolen goods, which in 1909 was 31.18 percent of the national total, fell in 1929 to 30.96 and rose again in 1933 to 31.18 percent. On the basis of value of product the position of Massachusetts has also remained remarkably steady. The recovery in general business, which until recently accompanied the "New Deal," has served to absorb in the woolen industry in Massachusetts some of the unemployed from other lines of endeavor. The remaining branches of the textile industry, primarily silk and rayon goods, are small in the Commonwealth, employing less than 7,000 workers. Silk manufacture however is expanding more rapidly than the manufacture of woolen and worsted goods. This large category of textiles presents much the same problem found in the case of boots and shoes, with a small counterbalancing influence evident between the position of cotton textiles and woolen goods.

The unionized strength of textile workers throughout the United States is compared below with the reported membership in Massachusetts:

TABLE XXXIII

UNION MEMBERSHIP IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

	1900	1910	1920	1925	1930	1934
United States	8,000	21,000	149,100	36,500	35,300	39,800
Massachusetts	—	15,916	35,375	22,436	15,207	46,065

Source: Massachusetts Reports.

Wolman, *op. cit.*

Here is another example of the concentration of the unionized membership in this particular state, with due allowance for the probable overstatement in the report to the Massachusetts department, as well as for the different monthly periods for which the Commonwealth and Professor Wolman have reported their figures. It is clear that this state has felt more than any other the influence of unionism upon the development of this industry.

The migration to the South, prompted by a desire for proximity to the raw material and for cheaper labor supply, has raised one of the most pressing problems that unionism has faced since the war: the unionizing of the southern mill villages. The struggles in 1929, carried out in part under radical leadership, did not bear the substantial fruit that their spectacular nature promised. It was not until 1934 that the textile workers were in a position to take part in a nationwide uprising, a revolt that took the form of spontaneous outbursts throughout the South. The resultant compromise has frequently been criticized as an unnecessary retreat at the moment of victory, but at least the seeds had been sown. Appendix B, Table II-B, reveals that during the entire history of the strike statistics for textiles in Massachusetts disputes were at a fairly high level with periodic peaks. The movement of 1912 centered in Lawrence; a host of small strikes occurred in 1916, a general strike involving 40,000 took place in 1919, and in 1920 there were 20,000 on strike. The year 1922 was marked by a strike that was begun as a spontaneous walkout against a 20 percent wagecut and was later taken over by the United Textile Workers. A center in this dispute was the largest cotton textile manufacturing plant in the world—the Amoskeag Mills which recently were liquidated. Under the stimulus of the Communist National Textile Workers Union, 22,000 woolen mill employees struck in 1931. In 1933 there was a minor strike involving 2,000 at the Pequot Mills in Salem, also under the leadership of the Trade Union Unity League.

Four of the most important elements affecting the economic condition of the textile industry in Massachusetts from 1913

to 1922 are shown in Appendix B, Table III-B. The monthly number of wage earners is derived from the reports of the Census of Manufactures for that state and from the detailed figures there given for each year on the leading industries. The basis of this enumeration is a varying number of establishments kept up to date to adjust for failures and new firms. The workers involved in strikes, for each of the months, may be found in Appendix B, Table I-B. The union membership of the textile industry and the percentage of their membership unemployed were obtained from the statistical reports of trade unions published by the Massachusetts department.⁷ The unemployment reports which were obtained from the secretaries of the labor unions concerned, provide a fairly accurate index of the general condition of the industry, but with exactness for the unionized portion only.

The influence of the number of workers on strike, upon the total number employed in a particular month, is usually negligible. Over the entire period 7.7 percent of the union members were out of work because of business conditions; 1.4 percent because of disability, while unfavorable weather accounted for 0.5 percent. Strikes during this time caused less than two percent of the total unemployment among all the unionists. In Appendix B, Table III-B, Column C, the number of union members in the textile industry moved from a high in 1913 to a low in 1915 and rose again to a peak in 1919. Even under the influence of the war expansion in unionism, less than half of the number of employees in this industry were organized. The 1913 peak in membership was due to the influence of the Lawrence strike of the preceding year, and the falling off in 1914 was the result of the depression, which reduced the number employed by 15,000. The number of workers involved in strikes remained at a well-sustained level during this period, falling only in 1914 and 1921; the movement in both these

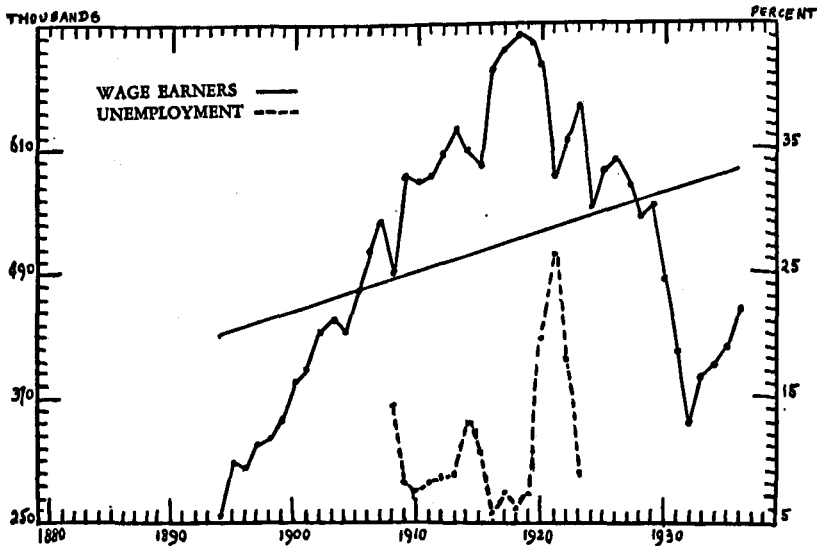
⁷ *Labor Bulletin No. 140*. For 1923, previously unpublished material was furnished through the courtesy of Dr. Roswell F. Phelps of the Department of Labor and Industries.

years was influenced primarily by the condition of business. The extremely high percentage of the membership reported as unemployed in December of 1920 was entirely a result of the cyclical depression; while the 57.9 percent unemployment recorded in March of 1922 was due to the strike.

These statistics describe the forces that moulded the strike activity of the ten years that encompassed the World War; the expansion of the textile industry under the pressure of war needs was not very great, if the number employed may be taken as a measure. However, it is possible that the Census of Massachusetts, which shows a growth of about ten percent, may not have listed all the newly-established firms.

As another point of comparison statistics relating to the total number of wage earners in all the manufacturing industries of Massachusetts were compiled from information supplied by the State Census of Manufactures, and also the percentage of trade unionists reported as unemployed for the years 1908-1923 is tabulated in the form of an annual average. The trend of employment and the deviation from that trend were computed by the usual method, and the equation of the line was found to be: $y = 426 + 3.7x$. Appendix B, Table IV-B. shows these statistics and they are portrayed graphically in Chart XI. These figures convincingly indicate that following the peak in employment reached in 1918, a decline set in that was much more than a cyclical movement and, coupled with the business depression of the thirties, has been especially severe in this particular state. The trough of 1932 reached the employment level of 1898.

It is against this background that the discussion of particular industries has been placed. The strong upward movement in employment, which has been in evidence since 1933, has apparently not encouraged observers within the state to look forward to much opportunity for reemployment in the traditional lines of industry. Davenport in his report concludes, "the situation constitutes a challenge to those who have the future of Massachusetts at heart. . . . The crux of the unemployment problem in Massachusetts is in the manufacturing industries. . . . All we



TRENDS IN MAJOR INDUSTRIES
 CHART XI
 WAGE EARNERS AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING
 MASSACHUSETTS 1894-1936

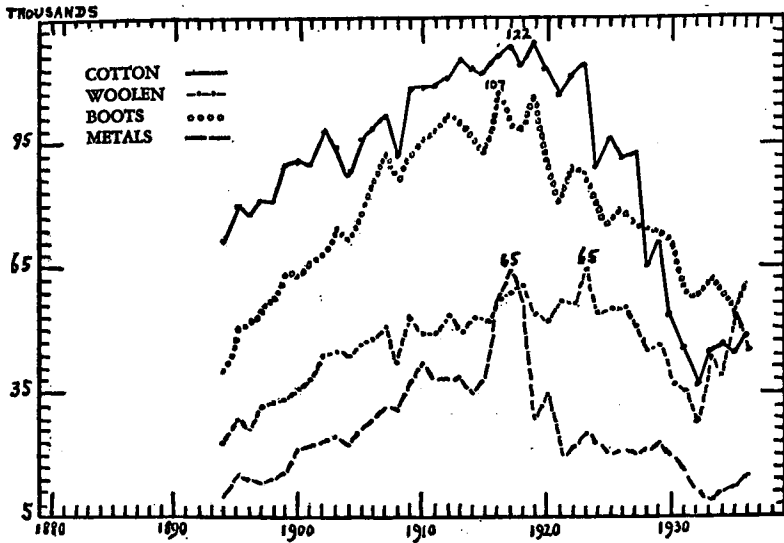
can say is that the trends brought to light in this investigation make it appear unlikely that the existing manufacturing industries in Massachusetts will be able in the near future to reabsorb their own unemployed." ⁸

For the purpose of illuminating the strike trends found in Appendix B, Table II-B. the number of wage earners employed in cotton textiles, woolen and worsted goods, boots and shoes and leather, metals and machine shop products, are shown in Appendix B, Table V-B. Cotton textiles and woolen and worsted goods are combined in the tabulation of strikes, but their employment trends have been so different that it is well to present the statistics separately. This table and Chart XII, which plots the data, present the industrial setting in which the labor disputes were waged, a factor that intimately affects their causes and results.

For the State of New York a monthly tabulation of strike data for the period 1901-1913 has been assembled and broken down into textiles, clothing, metals, building, and all other industries. These data were used for the computation of the figures given in Chapter Six. Here use will be made of the statistics on strikes among clothing and textile workers in order to indicate the important movements in this, the largest manufacturing group in New York State. As a part of the work of the Department of Labor, statistics were compiled between 1894 and 1914 on trade union membership. From 1904 to 1916, the same unions reported the percentage of unemployed among their membership. These unemployment figures, together with those of Massachusetts, constitute one of the main bodies of source materials for students of American industries.

The clothing and textile group selected for treatment, includes workers on men's, youths' boys' and women's clothing, work garments, hats and caps, millinery and shirts. Although the manufacture of shoes and gloves is also tabulated in this class for New York State, its inclusion affects the comparability

⁸ Davenport, *op. cit.*, part III, *passim*.



TRENDS IN MAJOR INDUSTRIES
 CHART XII
 NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS IN MASSACHUSETTS INDUSTRIES
 1894-1936

of these data with Massachusetts data for the same industries to only a small degree, because few of the union members in the clothing and textile group are found in the other two industries. In 1933 there were 200,000, approximately 28 percent of the total number of wage earners in all manufacturing in New York, employed in clothing and textiles. The value of the product of this industry was \$1,258,000,000, or roughly one-quarter of the product value of all manufactures in the state.

TABLE XXXIV
CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRY—NEW YORK—1901-1913

Year	Strikes	Workers Involved	Union Membership	Percentage of Unionists Unemployed
1901	25	3,004	41,843	21
1902	13	3,561	46,954	23
1903	29	7,869	40,981	24
1904	17	13,710	36,090	26
1905	18	7,433	34,406	11
1906	40	9,957	35,259	8
1907	53	20,432	47,438	16
1908	29	5,272	31,409	34
1909	44	63,626	44,537	19
1910	42	110,150	119,911	34
1911	33	15,736	117,228	23
1912	35	120,668	130,206	29
1913	43	97,435	226,528	41

Table XXXIV shows the number of strikes, workers involved, union membership and the percentage of unionists unemployed from 1901 to 1913.⁹ Chart XIII portrays these relationships graphically.

In 1909 there was a strike of coat makers in the month of August, involving 10,000 workers; in November 22,000 shirt-waist makers struck and both of these groups were successful. In 1910 January was marked by a strike of 10,600 pants

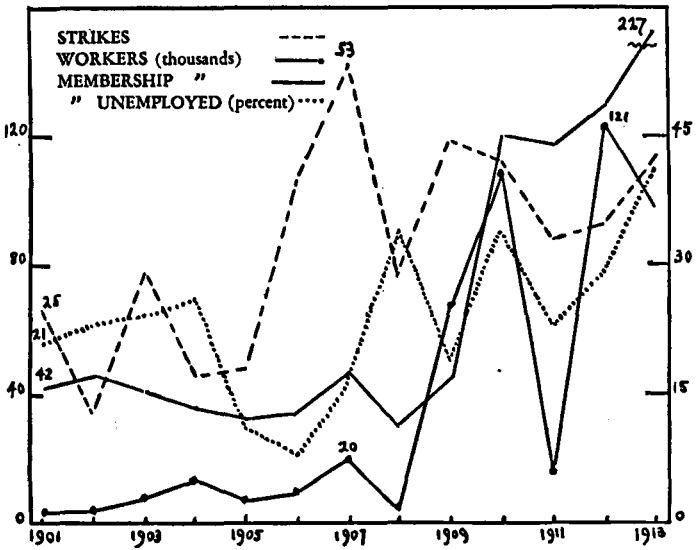
⁹ The major portion of the information on unions may be found in the Annual Report of the New York Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1912.

makers, which succeeded, as did a movement by 70,000 cloak and suit makers in July. Dress and waist makers, to the number of 35,000, struck in January with success, and 9,500 garment workers were out in the same month in sympathy with a strike in Rochester. All these strikes were in New York City and they are the main influences that determine the strike peaks on Chart XIII.

Seasonal movements in this industry are of great importance in the economic life of the state, and the normal movement of alternating busy and slack periods is reflected in the trend of strikes, which are usually grouped immediately before the beginning of the manufacturing season in preparation for fall production. Unionism, as represented by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in the men's field, and the International Ladies Garment Workers, has had a varied experience. The Amalgamated, beginning with less than 40,000 members in 1915, built up to a peak of 177,000 in 1920, and then suffered a continuous decline to the reported membership of 100,000 in 1931, rising again in 1934 to 135,000, with subsequent expansion. The Ladies Garment Workers' Union has had a more checkered career, a reflection of the industrial problems of a trade in which factory manufacture has not supplanted the small shops.

Unionism has successively enrolled a large portion of the workers in the ladies garment field, usually as the result of spectacular strikes, only to lose them under the pressure of economic forces. In 1915 there were 65,000 members, a figure that rose to 105,000 in 1920 and fell to a trough of 32,000 in 1929. It is generally agreed that the Ladies Garment Workers' Union was close to extinction when the fortunate introduction of the National Industrial Recovery Act, with its highly-effective NRA label combined with a leadership alive to the possibilities of the situation and capable of capitalizing it, caused the membership to rise to 200,000 by 1934. These unions constitute, with the United Mine Workers, the backbone of the Committee for Industrial Organization. In 1935 the Amalga-

CHART XIII

STRIKES, UNIONS AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN CLOTHING AND TEXTILES
NEW YORK 1901-1913

mated claimed 135,000 members, the Ladies Garment Workers 220,000, and the Mine Workers 500,000, comprising between them 80 percent of the total membership of the Committee for Industrial Organization at the time it split from the parent body.¹⁰

The Amalgamated suffered between 1920 and 1930 from the radical shifts of the location of the industry from union to nonunion areas. The Ladies Garment Workers, in addition to nonunion competition, suffered from an internal dispute between left and right wing factions. In both of the unions increase in membership preceded the upturn in employment.¹¹

The Industrial Commissioner of New York, before the onset of the depression, published extensive statistics of the industrial disputes that came to the notice of the department; but in recent years only a summary has been issued. However complete unpublished data, listing each strike individually, have been made available to the author and are utilized in this chapter.

Using the material for 1927-1936, there was computed for the clothing and textile industry an index that reveals the characteristic movements dominating strikes in this trade. The seasonal indices shown in the following table are plotted on Chart XIV.

TABLE XXXV

SEASONAL INDICES OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES IN CLOTHING AND TEXTILES—NEW YORK, 1927-1936

Jan.	41.8	May	4.9	Sept.	68.8
Feb.	274.8	June	4.6	Oct.	17.0
Mar.	51.0	July	587.2	Nov.	2.8
Apr.	25.1	Aug.	117.0	Dec.	4.9

Source: New York Dept. of Labor.

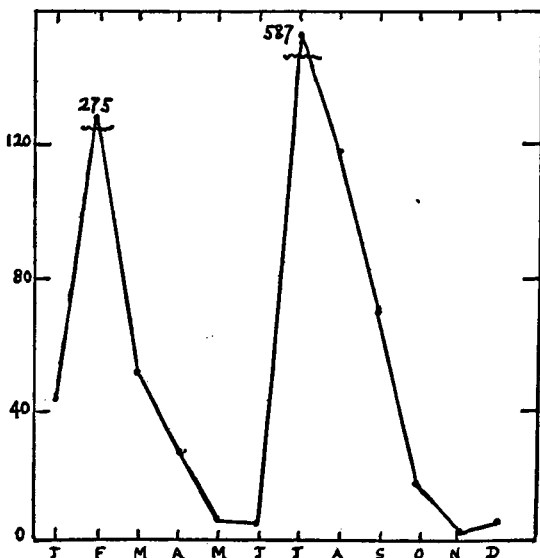
In the computation of seasonal indices the number of workers involved was utilized, because this shows the actual movement through the year more accurately than would the number

¹⁰ Wolman, *Bulletin 68, op. cit.*, p. 4.

¹¹ Wolman, *Ebb and Flow in Trade Unionism, op. cit.*, p. 103.

CHART XIV

INDICES OF SEASONAL VARIATIONS OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES IN
CLOTHING AND TEXTILES. NEW YORK 1927-1936



of strikes. The seasonal pattern is very clearly defined, reaching a high in July, when the fall season is about to begin, and a second peak in February. Chart XIV, if compared with the other seasonal charts previously computed, indicates how closely grouped the seasonal pattern of strikers is in the clothing and textile industry in New York. This is the result, not only of the way of doing business, but also of the unions' policy of striving to establish with the employers contractual relations that will endure throughout the greater portion of the year. While the

strikes have unquestionably been more severe in this industry since the development of collective bargaining, their frequency has been reduced.

In 1927 there were 59,000 workers involved in strikes, 36,000 of them taking part in the struggle in the ladies' coat and suit trade. This strike, which began in July and extended to January, resulted in a compromise on the union issue. In July of the same year 20,000 workers in the men's clothing branch waged a successful strike as did 3,000 in the cloth hat and cap trade, and in September 7,000 in the boys' waist branch. In 1928 there was one large strike in July involving 25,000 in men's clothing. The cloak and suit workers, to the number of 30,000, were on strike again in July of 1929, the result being a compromise. In February 1930 a strike of 27,000 dressmakers was successful, and in 1931 the men's clothing trade was disrupted in July by a successful strike of 20,000. The dress-makers, numbering 25,000, struck in February of 1932 with success, as did 9,000 milliners and 25,000 cloak workers. This year, which was unparalleled for large strikes in this industry, also witnessed a successful strike of men's clothing workers. In January 1933 dress contractors of New York City, numbering 40,000, waged an unsuccessful strike for better prices from the wholesale distributors. There was only one large strike in 1936, that of the milliners in February and this was successful.

In order to indicate the movement of the number of workers involved in strikes in this industry from year to year, Table XXXVI was computed. This indicates the number of strikes annually for all industries in New York and for clothing and textiles, with the number of workers involved in each. It is clearly apparent what great importance strikes in the garment trades possess, accounting as they did in 1930 and 1931 for well over half of the total number of workers involved in all disputes. The policies of the two unions in the garment industry are likely to have a determining influence upon the volume of industrial disputes that New York State will see in the future.

STRIKES
TABLE XXXVI

NUMBER OF WORKERS INVOLVED IN ALL STRIKES AND IN STRIKES IN THE
CLOTHING AND TEXTILE INDUSTRY—NEW YORK, 1927-1936

Year	Workers		Workers	
	Strikes	Involved	Strikes	Involved
	All Industries		Clothing and Textile	
1927	92	110,917	30	68,896
1928	74	74,629	31	37,103
1929	95	69,040	18	39,700
1930	82	43,114	29	32,573
1931	103	39,559	19	26,759
1932	76	109,509	17	87,608
1933	58	62,518	7	5,574
1934	72	28,446	7	4,263
1935	329	89,861	61	8,575
1936	346	138,560	46	25,438

Source: New York Department of Labor.

The object of this chapter has been a selective exploration in order to indicate the many ramifications of the strike problem in the industrial life of two large states and to suggest detailed analyses that might well be made, industry by industry, so as to answer the moot question regarding the economic influence of unionism. The material for Massachusetts and New York, which is unusually complete with reference to all the variables, has made this study possible. Statistics upon a national scale are not yet available for the purpose of carrying out an investigation in sufficient detail to deal satisfactorily with this problem.¹²

¹² In the course of this study it was found that satisfactory statistics of union membership over a fairly continuous period were available for the following states: Rhode Island 1894 and 1909-1919; Missouri 1901-1922; Michigan 1896-1906; Iowa 1909-1921; Kansas 1898-1918; Minnesota 1900-1920; Maine 1902-1909; Colorado 1888-1924. The statistics are not continuous between the years mentioned, in some cases they are biennial. Consult Bibliography A for sources.

CHAPTER IX

SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES OF DATA

CERTAIN agencies, both governmental and private, in addition to those already discussed, have collected information bearing upon the statistics of strikes. In no case, however, can their data be considered as a substitute for the work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics; they merely serve to amplify the work of that Bureau and to indicate additional relationships.

Outstanding among these series, and one that may be used as an indication of the movement of strikes, is that found in the Monthly Reports of the Division of Conciliation of the Department of Labor, on the number of cases they have handled. The organic act of March 4, 1913 creating the department specifically provided that first among the duties of the Secretary of Labor are those concerned with mediation in labor controversies. In accordance with the intent of the act, a conciliation service has been maintained during the entire operating period of the department.

The Division dispatches a commissioner of conciliation to the scene of an industrial dispute after a request for such federal service has been received from the workers, from the employer, or from a third party who may be a public official of the locality. The functions of the conciliator are sharply different from those of a labor board because he has no judicial power and merely seeks to arrange conferences between the involved parties; if this is not possible, he endeavors to exchange points of view so that a settlement may be obtained. This process in many cases leads to more permanent adjustments than is possible with the use of boards with coercive power. The experience of the service has been that one individual, well versed in the strategy of conciliation, can effectuate settlements on a lasting basis where no possible amount of force or judicial mechanism would succeed. With the growth of the government labor boards under the "New Deal," the service has

been utilized more extensively than was the case in any other period except during the World War. This is largely because its staff constitutes the only body of men in the service of the Federal Government who have had continuous practical experience in these problems. If conciliation fails it is the custom to refer the case to the labor boards.¹

In Table XXXVII the term *cases handled* refers to all those "strikes, threatened strikes and lockouts" in which a conciliator participated, whether successfully or unsuccessfully. The cases enumerated, therefore, are only those in which either some of the persons involved or the public authorities called for assistance. The data that follows represents for each month of the operation of the service a summary of the reports that may be found in the various annual reports of the Secretary of Labor. In recent years, prior to the death of the Honorable Hugh L. Kerwin who was Commissioner of Conciliation from 1914-1937, each issue of the Monthly Labor Review carried a rather complete description of the cases in which conciliators had taken a hand, but at the present time only a brief, relatively useless summary is published.

The statistics of Table XXXVII cannot be compared directly with the data of Tables I and II. The reports of the Conciliation Service include threatened strikes and controversies, which frequently amounted to 25 per cent of the total number of cases. It is evident, however, that the Division has taken some part at least in the majority of the larger conflicts. Provided that the role of the Conciliation Service in the future course of industrial relations in the United States remains the same, this series of data may be used as a supplementary measure of the number of disputes.²

1 For detailed analysis of the cases handled, August 1933-September 1934, consult the author's monograph on *The American Federation of Labor and the Defense of Section 7(a) NIRA* (Washington, 1935).

2 In 1935, the number of strikers is considerably increased by the inclusion of the 400,000 involved in the bituminous coal strike.

TABLE XXXVII
 CASES HANDLED BY THE CONCILIATION SERVICE 1918-1937

Year	Strikes, Threatened Strikes, and Lockouts	Workers Involved
1918	2,013	999,243
1919	1,100	920,547
1920	452	391,026
1921	379	477,977
1922	249	892,444
1923	629	438,157
1924	437	286,377
1925	648	309,458
1926	556	266,449
1927	527	399,869
1928	446	255,680
1929	628	416,547
1930	509	203,644
1931	714	362,529
1932	743	287,392
1933	1,172	507,329
1934	795	357,747
1935	1,202	1,029,049
1936	945	476,031*
1937	1,766	1,187,488*

*Directly and indirectly involved.

The American Federation of Labor has never made available a body of labor statistics commensurate with the importance of this organization as the spokesman for organized workers in the United States. The allegation frequently made that suspicion on the part of unionists regarding statistical reporting to any organization is the cause of the scarcity of such material, can hardly have justification in view of the cooperative spirit in which the unions of Massachusetts and New York have, over extended periods of time, reported data to their respective labor departments.

In the third annual session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, the following resolution was introduced by Mr. Pollner, a delegate from the Cigar Makers' Union of Cleveland, and adopted by the Federation: "Resolved, That,

the Legislative Committee keep an account of all strikes occurring in this country during their term of office, ascertain their causes and consequences, for the benefit of trades and labor unions generally, and report on that at the next session of the Federation." ³

This ambitious program apparently bore no fruit until the Tenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1890, when it is recorded that on the basis of statistical blanks issued to trade unions, 1,163 authorized strikes were reported; of these 989 were successful, 76 failures, and 98 were compromised.⁴ Generally the strikes reported were for reduction of hours and increase of wages. It is interesting to observe that these figures represent an almost complete coverage of the union strikes tabulated in the report of the United States Commissioner; even the percentage of successful strikes is practically the same as that shown in the Tenth Annual Report issued in 1894.

Beginning with the Federation's Annual Report of 1896 a more elaborate tabulation was presented and this was continued until 1921. There is a rather uneven quality in reports on any subject from union secretaries because they are not equally capable of collecting statistics and the internal organization of the unions frequently precludes the possibility of the central offices knowing the details. The Cigar Makers' Union, for example, has required from its locals a detailed report of the progress of strikes. Certain other unions regularly publish in their own proceedings statistics on this point. The Federation has observed that frequently in the building trades there are no reports on many of the disputes, a factor that probably reduces the reported number of strikes more than it does the number of strikers.

The percentage of successes as may be seen from Table XXXVIII, is well above the average previously observed for

³ *Report of the Third Annual Session, 1883, p. 14.*

⁴ *Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, p. 14.*

TABLE XXXVIII

STRIKES REPORTED BY THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1896-1921

Year	Won	Compromised	Partly Lost* Pending	Lost	Workers Involved
1896	279	55	62*	...	44,895
1897	189	31	33*	...	164,872
1898	160	29	36*	...	22,311
1899	425	39	89	48	43,593
1900	455	74	53	106	213,190
1901	585	242	37	153	171,223
1902	1,164	161	136	110	412,871
1903	1,412	312	173	175	249,819
1904	1,193	233	178	194	256,838
1905	458	79	117	210	107,268
1906	494	89	155	112	91,530
1907	1,071	106	66	124	130,271
1908	365	210	62	105	115,923
1909	341	57	64	104	87,031
1910	470	84	259	62	341,448
1911	642	90	261	93	170,526
1912	378	58	275	61	73,069
1913	554	89	261	65	294,236
1914	543	118	236	60	131,324
1915	552	115	218	119	144,932
1916	1,135	133	305	49	260,015
1917	897	120	314	86	194,802
1918	570	108	201	43	140,042
1919	1,030	170	263	52	234,466
1920	706	186	275	88	734,056
1921	648	219	633	135	191,934

the nation, and it is quite likely that the category "pending" includes a high proportion of strikes that have actually failed and for one reason or another have not been so tabulated by the unions. The material for 1896, 1897, and 1898 is quite incomplete since many unions failed to report; in 1902 the large total of workers involved is accounted for by the 200,000 mine workers on strike, and in 1920 the total included 400,000 miners. This series of reports is interesting but hardly of much utility as a general index of strikes. The combined totals for

all the published material extracted from the annual reports of the conventions are shown on Table XXXVIII.

The only series of reports privately prepared on strikes is summarized in the interesting tabulation carried in The Management Bulletin of Babson's Reports Incorporated. Beginning with 1914 these bulletins, which are published for the private information of subscribers to the service, contain a descriptive list of strikes occurring each month, gathered by means of press reports. News clippings are utilized to secure the data and they do not pretend to have a complete coverage, but the purpose of Babson's publications is to indicate sections of the country and industries in which there is labor trouble, so that business men and investors may guide their actions accordingly.

From time to time, through the Management Bulletins, brief analyses are attempted and the relationship between strikes, unions and business conditions is indicated. Thus it was pointed out that in the immediate postwar years the increasing unionization of the British textile industry brought with it a diminution in strikes. Attention was also given to strikes in the American building trades, and to the general policies and growth of the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization discussed from the point of view of business men. Babson's monthly reports, which list the industry and location, the company, the size of the strike, the cause and result, have been used for the compilation of Table XXXIX, which shows the number of strikes reported monthly for the ten years 1927-1936. In the case of many monthly totals the discrepancies between the Bureau and Babson's reports are to be explained by the itemizing of the strikes in different months or counting strike units on different bases.

A search was made of every volume in Bradstreet's Reports, now Dun and Bradstreet's, in several issues of which there are articles on strikes that provide interesting historical data. In the issue of May 22, 1886 Bradstreet's reports the receipt, in

TABLE XXXIX

NUMBER OF STRIKES 1927-1936 BABSON'S REPORTS

	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Jan.	18	9	26	26	30	69	32	79	66	62
Feb.	22	20	23	38	27	64	40	122	84	86
Mar.	27	43	46	39	48	75	107	184	104	110
Apr.	46	62	65	42	41	88	177	242	154	137
May	55	110	100	55	49	104	289	243	165	161
June	39	43	47	44	125	55	215	177	96	168
July	17	31	32	54	63	39	294	171	82	113
Aug.	23	42	45	37	55	38	372	170	102	140
Sept.	22	25	80	37	54	33	389	150	181	166
Oct.	27	30	56	39	167	31	380	129	107	196
Nov.	20	23	53	36	112	16	90	87	121	197
Dec.	11	15	29	23	103	18	63	70	91	206

the midst of the hours movement of telegraphic dispatches that showed 47,625 persons on strike on May twentieth. A calculation was made with reference to the loss incurred from these strikes and in computing this "Bradstreet's has been at some pains to get at the approximately full total." It was shown that \$2,802,000 was lost in wages, \$2,105,000 in current business and \$24,800,000 in "new business stopped." The huge figure for new business includes \$20,400,000 worth of building contracts, the inclusion of which would seem to have dubious validity.

On July 16, 1887 Bradstreet's report on strikes for the preceding six months "goes far towards permitting a generalization of the nature and course of disturbances of this kind of late." This was a very extensive tabulation, showing the number of disputes monthly for 1886 and 1887 from January to June. It was broken down into 31 industrial classes; the sum total for the six months in 1887 was 523 strikes and 234,734 strikers. In 1886 there were only 169 strikes reported but the total involved was 363,895 persons. This increase was described as "the spread of the strike habit as a weapon in the hands of organized labor." Under the caption "\$13,500,000 Wages Lost," there

was published on January 28, 1888 a report explaining that 5,081,315 days were lost in unsuccessful strikes in 1887 and only 1,774,694 in successful strikes and that all the large disputes were observed to be failures.

This issue is enlivened by a letter written by Colonel Wright. Bradstreet's, in a previous issue, had stated that the Tenth Report of the Commissioner had failed to mention strike totals for each year, an impression which was based on the brief synopsis of Wright's report sent out by the Associated Press. It will be illuminating to quote the letter in part because it not only sheds light upon the completeness with which Bradstreet's reports itemized the number of strikes, but also reaffirms Wright's opinion that the establishment must be made the basis of reports. The excerpt follows:

It would not only be a singular method, as you say, to report strikes without giving the total for each year but it would be idiotic, and I do not like to have anyone think that a report could be made from this Bureau which should leave out the chief facts. . . . The number of strikers involved in 1886 was 503,442, not including lockouts. Your report, therefore, of 448,000, comes remarkably near the grand total. I trust you will keep up this feature of your excellent journal of reporting strikes until the wave is passed; but I wish you would add one feature, and that is to report strikes by establishments as well as by number of strikers. A strike signifies but little. It may involve one, or a dozen, or 50 establishments; but if you give the number of strikes, the number of establishments affected, and the number of people involved, you then have the best data possible for a basis of comparison.

On January 21, 1888 Bradstreet's issued a special report covering the strikes of 1887. This is unusually detailed and is the result of what is described as special efforts. It presents information monthly by causes, wages and hours, unionism, sympathetic and miscellaneous, and shows a breakdown by industries. Strikes for wages and hours included two-thirds of the strikers, while one-thirteenth of all the strikes were sympathetic. On May 3, 1900 an interesting report appeared on

strikes of the previous week for shorter hours. The week here under discussion

witnessed the culmination of the agitation for fewer hours of labor daily by the building and kindred trades, which may be said to have extended over the past two years. As is usual in such cases, expectation rather exceeded realization so far as the number of men involved is concerned . . . their distribution (strikes) is so wide as to fully bear out the claims made by the labor leaders regarding the influence of their organization over a large area.

It was found that on May Day 1890 there were 51 strikes, involving 12,989 workers, well distributed throughout the country. Bradstreet's felt that the fact that the number was smaller than was to have been expected was due to the employers' willingness to meet their employees half-way and the employees' readiness to accept some concessions rather than to "imperil the success of the entire movement by insisting on the original demand." A list is given of cities where expected strikes did not take place and special note is made of the indefinite postponement of the great packing house strike in Chicago. On the basis of this survey it is concluded that the employees apparently gained in the hours movement. In 1892 the August sixth issue of Bradstreet's quotes extensively from the "Philadelphia Press" in regard to "strikes of a century." This article consists of a description of the early cordwainers' strike in that city, followed by approximately the same itemization as is found in the Third Annual Report of the United States Commissioner.⁵

These supplementary sources are of interest mainly as verifications of the official statistics discussed in other chapters. The only series of current interest is that of Babson's Reports, which provide a monthly record of strikes in advance of the publication of the data from the Department of Labor.

⁵A most interesting discussion of labor and wages for the outstanding industries may be found in the issue of April 9, 1887.

CHAPTER X

REVIEW OF SIGNIFICANT STUDIES AND CONCLUSIONS

THE preceding chapters have presented the available statistical data on strikes in the United States over the past 58 years. The material has been analyzed in relation to the business cycle, as well as with reference to its significance for the American labor movement. In order to visualize more clearly the fluctuations in the economy, as reflected in strikes, resort was had to a detailed discussion of the industrial history of one state and more particularly to the growth and decline of its major manufactures. The distribution of strikes between various industrial classes in two states and their grouping seasonally, has been found to exhibit uniformities in all the areas investigated. The literature on industrial disputes has been marked to a major degree by lack of careful analysis of evidence and statistics and has shown a tendency to rely upon the repetition of a set of generalizations handed down from author to author and preserved with a care that their complete lack of objective verification did not warrant. That some works have used with discrimination the available body of data will be shown in this chapter.

SIGNIFICANT STUDIES

The only book ever published on strike statistics is the study by Dr. Maximilian Meyer, in which he brought together statistics for Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, England, and the United States, with most of the data covering the years 1885-1900.¹ In his preface he places the labor problem and the relationship between the employer and the employee on the basis of "a struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor," a struggle which, in different periods of time, has assumed vari-

¹ Maximilian Meyer, *Statistik der Streiks und Aussperrungen im In- und Auslande* (Leipzig, 1907).

ous forms. There follows an introduction in which the historical analysis is similar to that of the Communist Manifesto. He showed that the workers in Germany can, however, obtain better conditions because class-conscious unionism has arisen, and there is hope of increasing improvement if the workers bring pressure through their organizations to obtain it. Impressed by the intensified activity of organized workers Meyer wrote, "The more the workers recognized the effectiveness of this weapon, the more frequently they availed themselves of it, so that our time may truly be called the age of strikes."² The making of a distinction between strikes and lockouts, which is attempted by very few of the countries whose statistics are discussed by Meyer, he favors because it gives rise to difficulty in only a few cases and because such a breakdown is necessary for the purpose of showing responsibility for the stoppage of work.

His discussion of methodology and terms is thorough. He registers a complaint against the large number of causes tabulated in the United States Reports, a statistician's grievance that this study has also noted. Meyer seems to think that the value of these reports depends upon the accuracy of the press clippings that were used in order to compile the data. Apparently he has not noted the fact that the press notices were not relied upon exclusively by the Commissioner or that field agents checked all information and searched diligently on their rounds for news of other strikes. In comparison with the European and British governmental reports, he holds that the literature of the United States is superior, referring particularly to the Weeks' Report and the Tenth and Sixteenth Annual Reports.

Working on the period 1880-1900 a series of tabulations is presented, together with some analysis. Here the main conclusion of interest is that when strikes take place under union auspices the result is more frequently successful, but not neces-

² Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

sarily so. Meyer cites the mining, textiles and tobacco industries in which nonunion strikes are likely to meet with more than the average percentage of successes. This comparison does not take into account the element of size in these particular disputes. On the whole, this continental study covers a wider range of world data than has any report yet published, except the more recent work of the International Labour Office of the League of Nations.³

The Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of the State of Wisconsin published as a part of its Twelfth Biennial Report, 1905-1906, a study entitled "The Statistical Aspect of the Strike," by Grover G. Huebner, a scholar at the University of Wisconsin, now professor at the University of Pennsylvania. This monograph, which includes pages 75 to 147 of the report, is deserving of much more attention than has been accorded to it by workers in the field of labor problems. Huebner sets himself the task of determining whether strikes, as a manifestation of labor unrest, were increasing or decreasing in number between 1881 and 1900, the period used for the major part of his work. He is highly critical, and justly so, of certain authors, among them some leading economists, who have attempted to determine the trend of strikes and especially the trend in regard to causes, by lumping together several years rather than by treating the movements from year to year. Thus analyses based upon averages for the 20 year period would lead to the conclusion that almost three-fourths of all the strikes were due to wage and hour disputes, whereas a more careful survey convinced Huebner that causes other than the "standard" causes were increasing in number. This study is notable for the extensive use made of charts, every relationship being shown

³ In addition to data regularly published, the Year Book of Labour Statistics in 1936 presented statistics of industrial disputes in 33 countries from 1927. Consult the brief study of the technique in various countries published as *Methods of Compiling Statistics of Industrial Disputes*, Studies and Reports, Series N. No. 10, Geneva, 1926. The summary data for foreign countries, 1927-1936 can also be found in Appendix 4, U. S. Dept. of Labor, *Bulletin 651*, pp. 173-175.

graphically and by means of tables. An analysis of the number of strikes and strikers leads to the conclusion that absolutely strikes were increasing rapidly, while relative to the growth of American industry they were increasing slowly. Every method by which the increase of strikes can be measured showed growth, with an increase in the number of strikers, the wage loss, the number of employees affected and the number of establishments involved.

A special study of 15 selected trades, such as shipbuilding, boilermaking, printing, and tailoring, all with strong union organizations, indicated that of the fifteen trades ten were marked by an increasing number of workers on strike, three were stationary, and two showed a decrease. In investigating the causes at the time, Huebner wrote that it was necessary to use data for the years 1901-1903 taken from the state labor reports, and that there had been found to be a shifting in regard to the type of causes, a decreasing percentage of strikes for wages and hours and an increasing ratio involving trade unionism.

From the vantage point of 1905, Huebner prophesied that "if the rate of decrease is considered (of strikes for wages and hours) the 50 percent mark will be reached in less than four years."⁴ The success of strikes for wages and hours was greater than that of strikes for other causes, but the aggregate percentage of success was not found to be decreasing. This is explained by Huebner by the fact that the increasing success of wage and hour disputes counterbalanced the decreasing success of strikes for other demands. A brief consideration of the justification for various strike motives led to the observation that the legitimacy of the union movement, as expressed in strikes, could be measured by the trend in causes. Again, as the issues tended further away from purely wage and hour questions, the possibility of arbitration was reduced, a conclusion that was

⁴ Economic conditions reversed the tendency as Table I of Chapter One above indicates.

supported by research among the state boards of arbitration and by sampling opinions of employers.

Unions were found to have affected strikes in a changing manner for the earlier years, when they were presumably newly organized, the number of strikes increasing more rapidly than the number of employees and establishments affected. As the unions grew older the tendency was to reduce the number of strikes and increase their size, that is, the percentage of union strikes increased more rapidly than the percentage of establishments and employees involved. In general, then, the effect of the union was to restrain the number of strikes but to make "the element of aggression the more effective against the employer." As to results, the majority of union strikes were successful while the majority of nonunion strikes failed, but the increasing attention given to causes other than wages and hours was holding down the relative success of union strikes. Another effect of unions was to increase the duration of strikes and also to "commercialize" them, to rationalize them economically so that they would be most effective against the employer. This analysis by Huebner, which reached conclusions that are in general valid, was the first attempt to apply accurate methods to the investigation of this phenomenon. Included in this study also was a discussion of foreign statistics.

The Journal of the American Statistical Association for June 1908 contained an analysis by Dr. Ira B. Cross, now Professor at the University of California, entitled *Strike Statistics*.⁵ The data for the years 1881-1905 were obtained from the Twenty-first Annual Report and extensive use is made of charts and the five-year moving average. It is concluded that strikes not only increased in number absolutely in comparison with the increase of population but also that they have grown relatively. There is some doubt, however, as to whether their number has really increased in comparison with the number of wage earners in manufacturing industries alone. The data were not suf-

⁵ Volume 11, No. 82, pp. 168-194.

ficiently refined to clarify this point. The increase in the number of strikes conducted by unions was much more rapid between 1896-1905 than before. A special investigation was undertaken by Cross to test Huebner's thesis that unions, as they grow stronger, restrain the number of strikes. It was felt that the cause of this was not so much the restraining force as the decline in unionism measured by its membership and the number of unions. This loss of bargaining power during periods of depression accounts, Cross states, for the decrease in the number of union strikes. It will be recalled that during the period immediately following the crash of 1929 the number of strikes, and therefore of union strikes, rapidly increased. Investigators working on material before the World War had had no statistical experience with a long decline in the strike movement as a whole. Cross found that as the number of strikes increased, the number of strikers per dispute, establishments and employees affected, all tended to decrease and as strikes decreased, the size of the average strike increased. Probably this relationship results from the greater number of large strikes in a period of business decline and the smaller number of the short minor disputes that have a tendency to crop up among all types of workers as economic conditions improve.

This study showed that after 1896 the average number of strikers per strike, establishments and employees affected, tended to decrease and that the size of the average strike declined from 1896-1905.⁶ On the basis of his study of these years Cross reached a conclusion quite different from that of Huebner in regard to the influence of unions on the size of the average strike. Huebner found that the average size of the union strikes was increasing; Cross that the reverse was the case. This discrepancy seems to be entirely accidental and dependent upon the particular years used for the two studies, because as the average of all strikes decreased from 1896-1905,

⁶ A comparison of Column A, Table I, and Column A, Table II, in this study will show that the average size of the strikes measured by the number of persons involved was actually declining.

so would the size of the union strikes. Cross further found in relation to unionism, that the percentage of successful strikes under union auspices was not increasing, despite the greater extent of organization; and also that unionism causes wages and hour strikes to decline in importance and the strictly union causes to increase in significance. Strikes ending in compromise were found to be increasing. Business prosperity according to Cross decreases the percentage of successful strikes while "hard times" have the reverse effect.

In the forefront of the names in the field of quantitative economics is that of Professor Henry L. Moore. In 1911 he published *Laws of Wages—An Essay in Statistical Economics*, containing as Chapter Five a study of wages and strikes, which for careful analysis remains unsurpassed, although the generalizations are applicable solely to the data with which Moore worked. He showed that wages move with the productivity of labor and that this productivity is affected by the type and degree of organization both in capital and in labor. A further problem therefore arose as to regularities in the outcome of strikes and the influence of trade unions upon them, and as to the economic laws influencing and determining the outcome of strikes. The theses are advanced that the result of strikes called by unions should be more favorable than that of those not so called, and secondly, that the stronger the labor unions, the more favorable should be the result of strikes that they have called. Moore utilizes the material from the Twenty-first Report of the United States Commissioner to test these hypotheses, and he uses the total figures of all strikes from 1881-1905, divided between union and nonunion and cross-tabulated according to their results. Applying the Pearsonian correlation ratio (η) to the data, the assumption is made that one of the variables is distributed according to the Gaussian Law. The variable so distributed is taken to be strikes ordered and those not ordered by labor organizations; (η) has a value of 0.218, justifying the conclusion "that the results of strikes ordered

by labor organizations are more favorable [to the strikers] than those not so ordered."

In order to test the second hypothesis as to the relationship between the strength of organization in an industry and the results of strikes ordered by the union, Moore used the degree in which strikes are ordered by unions to indicate their strength. This assumed that an industry in which a large proportion of the strikes was under union auspices was also one in which the union was strong. In 1911, at a time when statistics of union membership were still not comprehensive, Moore's method was probably determined by the circumstances, but the question arises whether a high percentage of activities in the form of strikes under union auspices would of necessity indicate the strength of a union, even though Moore's study has shown their close relationship. The outstanding instances of the railroad industry and the printing trades come to mind as exceptions.

It remains true that unless a union has a certain amount of strength it will not be able to call a strike at all; but at least the professed purpose, in the case of a strongly-unionized industry, is to resort to the strike only when other means fail. The long series of strikes, that has marked the industrial history of the nonunion coal fields and also the struggles to try to maintain unionization in certain branches of the garment industry, do not reflect strength in the union but rather weakness. Moore, however, constructed a contingency table showing the relationship between the outcome of strikes ordered by labor organizations, classified according to whether they succeeded, succeeded partly, or failed, and giving the percentage of total strikes ordered by labor organizations classified by ten percent groups. This interesting scheme shows that for weakly-organized industries (this term to be understood in the Moore sense) the successes are fewer and that there are more failures than would be expected on the basis of independent probability, while the

reverse is true in the strongly-organized trades.⁷ It was found that "the mean outcome of strikes, in industries in which below 20 percent of the strikes were called by labor organizations, was a failure; while in industries in which above 80 percent of the strikes were called by labor organizations, the mean outcome of strikes was a success."⁸ It is suggested by Moore that the causes influence the results of this conclusion for, if strikes took place for causes that were likely to fail, the percentage of union organization would be a less significant determinant of the outcome.

The lack of data in the Commissioner's Report, showing relationship between duration and result, caused Moore to turn to statistics from France and Germany on this point. In those countries it was found that the longer the strike, the less the probability that the result would be successful, although again the influence of the causes might modify the conclusions.⁹ Moore felt that "the weaker unions [might] vainly protract their disputes through ignoring economic laws in the choice of time and grounds of their strikes." The association of the result of a strike with the cause was tested by reference to the material in the Twenty-first Report, where it is possible to obtain relationships between three results and numerous classes of causes. Ranking the causes according to the result, it was found that for this period the type of strike most likely to succeed was one for recognition of the union; those least likely to be successful sympathetic strikes; and those most likely to be partially successful disputes over increase of wages. The ranking of causes on the basis of failures showed the most likely to fail were sympathetic strikes and the least likely to fail a strike for increase of wages. The groups that make the best showing,

⁷ The statistical method used is a determination of the coefficient of mean square contingency of Pearson. Independent probability would mean that the outcome in each category of union strength would be the same as indicated by the outcome of all the categories.

⁸ Henry L. Moore, *Laws of Wages* (New York, 1911), p. 117.

⁹ Data for 1927-1937 show this same relationship.

next to those mentioned, are strikes involving hours and wages. Of course it is always possible to compromise a strike for material objectives such as wages and hours, but impossible to compromise on a principle such as recognition. The highly successful results indicated by Moore's analysis of strikes for union recognition are conditioned by the historical period during which there was a rapid increase of unionization, accompanied during more than half of the time by rising prices. The relative movement of causes over time indicated that when the percentage of strikes for wage increases rose above the trend, the strikes for recognition fell below it and vice versa. During this twenty-five year period the trend movement showed a declining percentage of strikes for wage increase and an increasing percentage for recognition, and, more particularly, an increasing percentage of successful strikes for recognition.

The most interesting point in this survey is its attempt to determine whether the results of strikes are affected by the general level of wages of the striking workers. To test this Moore had recourse to M. Simiand's work on the wages of coal miners in France. For the period 1848-1901 a relationship was worked out between the deviation of coal miners' wages from the general trend for that industry and the results of strikes by the workers in those classes. It was found that the result of strikes for wage increases was likely to be successful or unsuccessful, according to whether the wages of the workers were below or above the general trend. "The outcome of a strike for general causes affecting wages and conditions of work, is likely to be favorable to the interests of the laborers when the laborers' share in the product of industry is below the general trend of that share." The converse is true when the workers' share is above the general trend. Moore cautions that this conclusion is based on a small number of cases, as a matter of fact only 39, and that these occurred in one particular industry. The logic of the conclusion would appear to depend upon the possibility of the low-paid workers' (according to Moore's hypo-

thesis the economically-exploited workers) being able to organize into successful unions.

In the case of a relatively homogeneous type of work, as was the case in Simiand's material, it would seem more reasonable to assume that because the workers were paid below the general trend they were not organized, and to assume in the light of previous conclusions, that if they were not organized their strikes would have less chance of succeeding. It is possible that this point in Moore's analysis depends upon a random factor and that it is therefore not susceptible of generalization. It certainly does not accord with the experience in the low-paid industries in the United States, where unsuccessful attempts to win concessions by strikes are the usual rule.

Following the end of the war, interest in strikes resulted in two important papers, one by Hansen and the other by Douglas.¹⁰ The purpose of the paper by Hansen, "Cycles of Strikes," was to investigate not the secular movements but the cyclical fluctuations that were evident from 1881 to 1919.¹¹ The nine-year gap was filled by the use of Canadian statistics on the number of strikers for that country, and an elaborate technique was used whereby the number of strikers and the number of strikes were reduced to relatives by constructing index numbers, using as the base for each series its standard deviation. These were compared with wholesale price relatives, also expressed in a similar manner. This gave a method whereby the two movements could be directly compared. It was found that the secular trends of strikes and prices

¹⁰ For a discussion of strikes during the war period, consult the pamphlet published by the National Industrial Conference Board in 1918, *Strikes in American Industry in War Times*, which was based upon an independent investigation. Later reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics on this period have made the Conference Board study obsolete. Also consult Alexander M. Bing, *War Time Strikes* (New York, 1921), this contains a short statistical investigation, but is made up chiefly of a survey of the work of the many emergency labor boards and the experience of strategic industries with labor disputes.

¹¹ *American Economic Review*, XI (1921).

moved in opposite directions between 1881-1897, while they moved in the same direction from 1898-1919. This variation was explained by reference to the difference in effect between a rising price level and a falling price level upon workers, the first stimulating aggressiveness and the latter defense. The percentage of strikes against wage cuts was insignificant during the period of rising price levels although according to Hansen the labor struggle will increase in bitterness in years of prosperity, a conclusion that is conditioned by the date at which Hansen wrote. On a cyclical basis it was discovered that the movement of wholesale prices, taken to be indicative of the business cycle, was correlated inversely with strikes between 1881 and 1897.¹²

The result of the work by Hansen is to show how closely strikes are related to movements in business and to give a quantitative precision which, up to that date, had not been found in these data. Unfortunately the conclusions are seen to apply only to the historical period for which the relationships were examined, because the statement that strikes increase in periods of long-run rising prices is negated by the experience during the postwar prosperity.

Writing on "An Analysis of Strike Statistics 1881-1921," Douglas seeks to investigate the secular trend of strikes in order to explore the validity of the assertion made by Adams, in his text on labor problems, that the number of strikes is declining relatively and that a strong union will lead to a restriction in the number of disputes.¹³ In order to adjust the statistics of the period 1915-1921 for the number of disputes for which no data were recorded, Douglas proposed four methods: first, to utilize only the number of strikers actually reported; second, to assume that the number of strikers in the unreported disputes was equal to the average number found in all disputes; third, to

12 The Pearsonian coefficient — .338 was not of itself sufficient evidence and was not used as such. Between 1898-1919 the coefficient was + .494.

13 *Journal of American Statistical Association*, XVIII (1923). See Chapter Three above for the statement of Adams.

assume that the number involved was 25 percent; and fourth, to assume that the number was ten percent of those for which the average was known. The first method is an understatement, the second an overstatement, but the third and fourth are feasible. It is shown that for 1915-1921 the number of strikes was six times that of 1881-1885 and almost three times that of the years 1886-1890, while the number of strikers increased 12½ times. A comparison is made between the raw strike data and the increase in the industrial population. The relative increase of strikes is shown in the following table:

TABLE XL

RELATIVE AVERAGE ANNUAL STRIKE RATES IN RELATION TO NUMBER OF INDUSTRIAL WAGE EARNERS, ACCORDING TO P. H. DOUGLAS

	<i>Strikes</i>	<i>Strikers</i>
1881-1885	100	100
1886-1890	230	177
1891-1895	199	161
1896-1900	167	138
1901-1905	286	166
1915-1921	213	488 *

* using the third method

It is concluded that Professor Adams' opinion as to the decline of strikes is not well-founded. Douglas was handicapped by the lack of data for the period 1906-1914, as Hansen had been a few years before. If this material had been available to them it would have substantiated even further the conclusions of Douglas. A discussion of the duration of strikes shows that they have increased in length, although not very markedly, and that the percentage of strikes called by unions has increased from slightly over one-half in 1881-1885 to slightly over seven-eighths of all strikes in 1916-1921.

A very ingenious method is used by Douglas to calculate the relative liability of unionists to strike and to test the assertion that strong unions bring fewer strikes. The formula is as follows:

$$L = \frac{\frac{S}{U}}{\frac{T}{N}} \times 100$$

in which L is the relative liability of unionists to strike; S, the percentage of strikes ordered by labor organizations; U, the percentage which unionists formed of all industrial wage earners; T, the percentage of strikes originating among nonunionists; N, the percentage which nonunionists formed of all industrial wage earners. Taking 100 to be equal liability to strike, the figures for L are given below :

TABLE XLI
RELATIVE LIABILITY OF UNIONISTS TO STRIKE
(ACCORDING TO P. H. DOUGLAS)

1881-1885	2,143	1896-1900	2,556
1886-1890	1,532	1901-1905	2,009
1891-1895	3,858	1916-1921	2,178

Thus the liability of union members becoming involved in strikes was on the average for the forty year period approximately twenty times as great as the liability of nonunion members to become so involved. This liability rose to slightly over 25 times in 1916-1921, if the figures are corrected for the percentage of strikers in union strikes. The general conclusions reached by Douglas are substantiated by the experience for the later years discussed in the preceding chapter. It is an impossible task for an author to prognosticate the future when he is dealing with such variables as in this problem. The remarkable decrease in strikes that almost immediately followed the period analyzed by Douglas must have led many optimists into an easy feeling that strikes could soon be placed in the category of historical relics.

The National Association of Manufacturers published, in 1924, a mimeographed report on "The Cost of Industrial Disputes," covering the period 1916-1923. Mr. Noel Sargent was the author. The number of working days lost was computed by taking the average duration and multiplying it by the number of employees involved. It is recognized that a large proportion of disputes were of varying length and that for a large number of them the data are incomplete. It is assumed that the disputes, whose length was not reported, lasted for only a few days, but to counterbalance this only a portion of the number of workers involved was known. The number of days duration was divided upon the basis of sex of the employees, so as to facilitate computation of wage loss. A further distribution was made between skilled and unskilled, the assumption being that the percentage of male workers in the skilled category was the same as that of union strikes. This figure of 77 percent Sargent holds to be an error on the side of conservatism. Could 77 percent of all the male workers involved in strikes in the period from 1916-1923 have been skilled, in view of the fact that unionization was, during those years, extending its influence outside the usual bounds of skilled tradesmen? On the basis of this breakdown, Sargent multiplies the number of workers, skilled, unskilled, male and female, by the wage statistics reported by the National Industrial Conference Board for manufacturing establishments. This process seems seriously questionable because of the fact that a very large number of workers were in the low wage industries involved in strikes during the war period. Some justification for the use of this method is found, however, in the fact that the average wage loss \$4.34 per day in 1922 is nearly the same as reported for Maryland and Massachusetts strikes. The wage loss for these years, calculated on the basis described, is shown on Table XLII.

In order to compute the loss to employers, Sargent uses figures on the average profits distributed by manufacturing industries in 1919. In that year 16.9 percent of the gross value was distributed as wages and 27.5 percent of that amount dis-

TABLE XLII

WAGE LOSSES—ACCORDING TO N. SARGENT

1916-1922

Year	Strikes	Lockouts
1916	\$ 86,771,834	\$ 8,679,302
1917	63,933,763	3,150,057
1918	75,693,727	3,043,551
1919	572,856,096	25,317,789
1920	289,246,071	6,571,720
1921	209,958,799	26,453,032
1922	255,733,710	15,170,644

bursed as profits and savings. This percentage was applied without change throughout all of the years, an assumption that would seemingly over-emphasize the losses, because 1916, 1917, 1921, and 1922 could hardly all show the same rate of profits as 1919. To compute the loss to the public an estimate was made of the selling prices of the manufactured goods that would have been turned out if there had been no strikes. This is taken to be 592 percent of the wages paid and this proportion is used for all of the years, with a resultant astounding total loss. It is recognized that some strikes are terminated earlier than the duration report would indicate, and that some employees secure alternative work during the strikes. The assumption that the entire period of a strike represents just so much loss in production is hardly justified because production is not continuous in industry and, while there is no production during a strike, there is no reason to assume that there necessarily would have been if the strike had not taken place.

In 1932 an interesting article was published by Dr. H. M. Douty on "The Trend of Industrial Disputes 1922-1930."¹⁴ By means of an analysis based upon the statistics in the Monthly Labor Review Douty shows that the relative number of disputes, reduced to an index number, declined from 100 in

¹⁴ *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXVII, June, 1932.

1916-1921 to 23 in 1926-1930; while the average number of workers involved declined from an index of 100 to 13. Douty found that in 1916-1921 there were 206 disputes for every million industrial wage earners, while in 1926-1930 this number had declined to 38. By the same process he found that the number of workers involved fell from 105,000 to 11,000, while the average duration of disputes in days declined from 29, in the first period, to 23 in the latter. The causes of this remarkable movement are distributed among several factors—shortage of labor during the war, long hours of work at the beginning of that conflict and the generally strategic position in which labor found itself.

In explanation of the decline of strikes during the prosperous years 1923-1929, the relative stability of the price level and increase of real wages, relatively steady employment and psychological factors are cited. The important influence, noted previously, of the increasing attention devoted by the employers to the welfare of their employees, is held by Douty to be a significant cause of the decline in the number of strikers. The development of company unionism, which was in one sense an aspect of the welfare movement, was phenomenal in this period. Lastly, the lack of aggressiveness of the labor movement and the added strength of the employers as the result of the concentration movement in industry, are pointed out. It is apparent that only the first causes, those relating to the condition of the economy, relatively stable prices, high wages and a favorable outlook, were really important; the decline of the labor movement and its lack of aggressiveness, as well as the strengthening of the employers' position, may really be looked upon as effects. As Douglas remarked in the early part of 1930, "it is but natural, therefore, since the workers have made their great material gains during the last decade, that the emotional drive should gradually ebb out of the trade union and socialist movement."¹⁵

15 Douglas, *Real Wages in the United States* (Boston, 1930), p. 575.

A document entitled "Governmental Protection of Labor's Right to Organize" has been published by the Division of Economic Research of the National Labor Relations Board.¹⁶ This pamphlet consists of evidence relating to the reasonableness and the factual basis of the National Labor Relations Act. A brief analysis is made of the strike movement in the United States and each period of extreme activity is construed as resulting from a denial of the right to organize and bargain collectively. Even the general strike of May 1, 1886, which is usually considered a strike for the eight-hour day, is said to have been for the right to bargain. In reference to the period 1901-1905 it is stated that a large proportion of the strikes were for the right to organize and bargain collectively. This conclusion might be compared with Table IX, where it may be seen that this statement of the Board is verified.

It is true in one sense that every strike contains in it the element of insistence on collective bargaining, but the Bulletin of the Labor Relations Board would lead to the opinion that this collective bargaining, which is after all only a process, also implies the acceptance of the demands that may be made in the process of bargaining.¹⁷ There is in this Bulletin also a discussion of the operations of the bargaining and arbitration mechanism in the garment industry, but the question as to why that particular industry is still characterized by industrial disputes is left without a satisfactory answer. The Board says in this connection, "the agreements on the whole have been well adhered to. The record shows that as a result of the impartial machinery set up by these agreements, there has been a substantial decrease in the number of strikes in the industry." The evidence in Chapter Eight above shows that the basic economic

¹⁶ *Bulletin No. 1*, August, 1936.

¹⁷ The *Bulletin* does not give sufficient attention to the extremely important influence of government policy as a determinant of strike increases. The evidence for the two historical periods in which government policy was favorable to labor organizations was not indicative of a declining number of strikes. Consult *Labor and the Government*, published by the Twentieth Century Fund.

problems of the garment industry, those in regard to the contractors and subcontractors, the sweating, and the nonunion areas, which are the real strike causes, have not been solved by the mechanism of agreements. The effective causes of these strikes, arising out of the lower costs prevalent in the nonunion areas, transcend the peaceful influence of the union in the organized areas. The nonunion area causes breaking of agreements in the union areas. Even more is needed than a competent system of industrial arbitration because there is imperative need of grappling with the problem of cutthroat competition, the terms of admission to the trade and similar problems.¹⁸ The Amalgamated in discussing the problem of strikes in the industry said, "the power of decision as to whether there shall be peace and order, or war and chaos, lies with the employers. . . . The jungle mentality of a certain set of employers is the directing force behind these strikes and the union is compelled to spare no effort in the education of these gentlemen." And again, "the strikes, if nothing else, indicate that our industrial system is a sick system."¹⁹

It is obvious that a well-developed system of union-employer negotiations with permanent boards, either bi-partisan or impartial, will put an end to a multitude of disputes which, if not settled, might grow to the proportions of large strikes; but fundamental issues as to the division of the industries' products or as to the amount of freedom in hiring and firing to be left to the employers, will not be solved by this process. The hope that they will leads, as it did in the case of compulsory arbitration, to disillusionment with the whole process. The railroad industry, which is frequently cited as an example of the most highly-perfected adjustment machinery, has reached that status only after the most violent labor disputes, and now maintains its appearance of relative calm only because of the realization

18 The number of contract shops in the men's branch was reduced by 51 percent between 1909 and 1929. See Dr. Charles E. Zaretsz, *The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America* (New York, 1934), p. 26.

19 *The Advance*, July 24, 1925, p. 6, quoted in Zaretsz, *op. cit.*

of both parties that, on the one side, a strike would be an insurmountable challenge to the public at large and, secondly, that the economic status of the industry is such that it is hovering on the brink of government operation.²⁰

CONCLUSIONS

The scope of the study forming the subject matter of the preceding chapters was necessarily restricted to certain aspects of the phenomena of strikes. The use of the quantitative method imposed a limitation to concepts and problems that could be measured and expressed numerically; therefore much that was of intense interest and practical importance has been left untouched. The relationship of the labor movement to future social changes and the cultural significance of industrial disputes have not been developed. The effect of strikes upon the participants has been restricted to an indication of the immediate result and there is no attempt to explore the long-run reactions. In order satisfactorily to trace the repercussions of industrial disputes it would be necessary to write the economic history of the workers and their industries, a task remote from that essayed here.

The violence characterizing labor disputes in the United States has been an unenviable performance and one that may be assumed to present a serious problem for the immediate future. Recently the Senate has had under investigation the activities of industrial spies and their connection with violence in strikes.²¹ Much interesting material has been accumulated showing the vast expenditures for arms and other warlike equipment

²⁰ A most interesting tabulation relating to strikes for shorter hours may be found in the *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Iowa, 1902*, pp. 348-351. This lists approximately 100 trade unions, date of organization, membership in 1902, the number of strikes in 1899 and 1900 with results, cost of strikes, persons involved, and the maximum working hours per day.

²¹ Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., is chairman of the Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor operating pursuant to Senate Resolution 266 (74th Congress) to investigate violations of free speech.

in periods of strained industrial relations. The rather ineffectual activities of the civil authorities to disarm the parties to these conflicts, and indeed the use of civil authority by one of the parties to promote its own interest, has certain important implications for the social order. Complaint heard of attempts by the local authorities to disarm only one side in the conflict and the inability of the weaker group to meet force with force is truly indicative of the disordered state of affairs in the industrial realm. It is in this regard that American strikes are distinguished in the world history of labor disputes, a characteristic that is even more striking when it is realized that only a very small element of truly revolutionary outlook has thus far been found in the United States. The explanation of this aspect of the strike is not to be found through quantitative research, although the bare facts in regard to violence are now being collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.²²

(Vilfredo Pareto, who had an opportunity to observe the use of force in Italy during the early years of the revolutionary movements under socialist leadership, has expressed himself in a cynical but realistic way, in view of the synthesis that emerged after the World War. As is frequently the case, the thesis and the antithesis combined to form something quite different from what the dialecticians had promised. In his famous passage on "The Use of Force in Society," Pareto remarked, "In our times conflicts are chiefly economic. If a government therefore sets out to protect employers or strike-breakers from violence by strikers, it is accused of 'interfering' in an economic matter that does not properly concern it. If the police do not allow their heads to be broken without using their weapons, they are said to have 'shown poor judgment,' to have acted 'impulsively,' 'nervously.' Like strike-breakers, they must be denied the right to use arms whenever they are attacked by strikers, for otherwise some striker might be killed, and the

²² See Question 20, in the questionnaire of the Bureau published on page 172, of *Bulletin No. 651*.

crime of assault, assuming but not conceding that there has been such a crime, does not deserve the penalty of death. Court decisions are impugned as 'class decisions'; at any rate they are always too severe."²³

Granted that under the present social order strikes will continue to be accompanied by certain costs, both material and social, a further question arises of the "justification" of these burdens as a price of "progress" or "evolution." A great deal of attention has been devoted to the good or evil of strikes; the answer to this question depends primarily upon the particular social philosophy to which the reader may give his loyalty. Here again is a non-quantitative problem, and it was dismissed from consideration at the very outset of this study as not being precise enough for treatment; this rejection was not based upon doubt as to the importance of the question but merely upon the possibility of successfully operating with it by the method which was employed.

The search for general acceptability and for conclusions of scientific validity is usually hampered by the injection of a philosophy. Actions and causes are frequently proven to be "good" in terms of entirely contradictory objectives, by the employment of similar rationalizations and the appeal to identical sentiment. Pareto keenly recognized this when he wrote, "They [these arguments] come down, in brief, to an appeal to sentiments of pity for the sufferings that are caused by the use of force, disregarding entirely the reasons for which the force is used and the utility or the harm that results from using or not using it. They are often filled out with expressions of reverence, or at least of compassion, for the proletariat, which can never do wrong or at the very least is excusable for whatever it does. In a day gone by, similar derivations, corresponding to the very same sentiments, were used in favour now of royal, now of theocratic, now of aristocratic, rule."²⁴

²³ *The Mind and Society* (New York, 1935), IV, 152f.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 152g.

Over the last 58 years, the period for which statistics have been worked up, there stands out one dominant fact. This is that there is no dominant trend, there is no basis for forecasting, even though it is at the same time clearly evident that there is no justification, in the data at least, for the expectation that the number of strikes will tend to decline. Judged by their numbers, severity and duration, strikes have continued to oscillate in accordance with two factors and to be shaped by them. The relative importance of these factors varies from time to time. The first is the business cycle which, whether measured by prices or by wages, has been reflected in the rise and fall of strikes. While bearing in mind the great exception of the decade from the World War to the "New Deal," one might generalize and say that as prices rise, strikes increase; as prices fall, strikes decrease. The second factor is the political climate, a quantitative imponderable, unless it be judged by the state of the budget. The two great peaks in the history of industrial disputes in America were marked by noteworthy interest in the labor movement on the part of the government, an interest motivated in the one case by military necessity and in the other by political expediency. If the course of history should repeat itself strikes would tend to decline until some future date when the cycle would move up again; but this forecast is based upon too few cases to have much statistical merit.

The relationship between business cycles and strike cycles shows that an expansion of business is reflected in a progressive increase of strikes, but the decline of such movements with a business contraction is more rapid than was the increase. On an average a strike cycle appears to take 3.4 years to run its course. A most important relationship was observed in reference to the turning points in the cycle of business. Almost invariably the strikes reached their peak when business was about to decline, or immediately thereafter. Strikes were therefore reaching their apex at a time when the possibility of retaining gains was sharply reduced. There is some evidence that the strike might indeed be considered a cause of business downturn,

both because of its influence upon profit expectations and because of its generally disruptive effects upon the productive scheme, even though the percentage of gainful workers on strike has never been very large in any one year. This coincidence in time is more significant because of its implications for the strikers than because of its causal importance in the business cycle, although the latter, as in 1937, may be important.

The relationship between unions and strikes has been such that an increasing proportion of all strikes has been carried on under the direction of unions and has involved union members. However, strikes, which are called by unions for the purpose of organizing workers as well as strikes by unions in industries long unionized, are all counted in the statistics as union strikes and the strikers as union strikers. As indicated in Chapter Five, this fact tends to exaggerate the number of strikes called by unions, for in many strikes so reported there is as yet no union organization, the purpose of the strike being to create one. Such strikes indicate that organization of these workers has not been accomplished. It is clear that there is no justification for using the number of these strikes to demonstrate the influence on the frequency of strikes of established unionization and the existence of contractual relations between an employer and a union. Also, strikes have been increasingly waged for union recognition. In 1937 for example approximately 70 percent of all strikes were carried on for causes involving union recognition and bargaining rights. While these strikes were reported as union strikes they are obviously not a measure of the propensity of traditionally unionized workers to strike.

Industries that have had a long experience with unionism are in general also characterized by a continuing high level of strikes. Indeed the majority of all strikes are found in a few unionized industries. The conclusion that, in the United States at least, the continuance of unionization of industry in general has not led to a secular decline in strikes, is so important that much attention has been devoted to it in this study. This conclusion is limited, however, to aggregate figures only and the

experience of individual industries varies so widely that the results of unionization in specific industries may be vastly different. It may be true that some adaptation of the pattern of control in the railroad industry and in the printing trades might result in a decline in the number of strikes in unionized industries.

APPENDIX A

TABLE I-A

COMPARISON OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS 1881-1905

Year	Strikes and Lockouts	Strikers and Employees Locked Out	Lockouts	Employees Locked Out	Percentage Which C is of A	Percentage Which D is of B
	A	B	C	D	E	F
1881	477	101,725	6	655	1.3	0.6
1882	476	124,991	22	4,131	4.6	3.3
1883	506	142,710	28	20,512	5.5	14.3
1884	485	135,434	42	18,121	8.7	13.3
1885	695	174,008	50	15,424	7.2	8.8
1886	1,572	509,132	140	101,980	8.9	20.0
1887	1,503	330,310	67	57,534	4.5	17.0
1888	946	117,005	40	13,787	4.2	11.7
1889	1,111	215,539	36	10,471	3.2	4.8
1890	1,897	305,133	64	19,233	3.4	6.3
1891	1,786	259,158	69	14,116	3.9	5.4
1892	1,359	193,549	61	30,050	4.5	15.0
1893	1,375	208,024	70	13,016	5.0	6.2
1894	1,404	533,597	55	28,548	3.9	5.4
1895	1,255	298,496	40	12,754	3.1	4.2
1896	1,066	187,488	40	3,675	3.7	1.9
1897	1,110	340,221	32	7,651	2.8	2.2
1898	1,098	193,105	42	11,038	3.8	5.7
1899	1,838	322,965	41	14,698	2.2	4.5
1900	1,839	446,218	60	46,562	3.3	10.4
1901	3,012	412,537	88	16,257	2.9	4.0
1902	3,240	583,447	78	30,304	2.4	5.1
1903	3,648	644,014	154	112,332	4.2	17.4
1904	2,419	420,662	112	44,908	4.6	10.7
1905	2,186	244,811	109	68,474	5.0	27.9
	38,303	7,444,279	1,546	716,231	4.0	9.6

Statistics (Columns A, B, C, D) extracted from the Twenty-First Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor issued in 1906. Column A was obtained by totaling the number of strikes and lockouts each year, and Column B by totaling the number of strikers and employees locked out each year.

TABLE II-A

THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF ESTABLISHMENTS PER STRIKE AND PER LOCKOUT*

1881-1905

Year	Average Number of Establishments	
	Per Strike	Per Lockout
1881	6.2	1.5
1882	4.6	1.9
1883	5.8	4.2
1884	5.3	8.4
1885	3.5	3.7
1886	7.0	10.8
1887	4.6	19.1
1888	3.9	4.5
1889	3.5	3.7
1890	5.1	5.1
1891	4.7	7.9
1892	4.3	11.7
1893	3.5	4.4
1894	6.1	15.9
1895	5.7	9.3
1896	5.3	1.3
1897	7.9	5.3
1898	3.6	3.9
1899	6.3	7.9
1900	5.2	38.0
1901	3.7	5.1
1902	4.5	16.7
1903	5.8	21.4
1904	4.4	20.7
1905	4.0	11.5
Weighted Average	4.9	12.0

*As reported in the Twenty-First Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor. The actual number of strikes and lockouts may be seen from Table I in Appendix A.

TABLE III-A

COMPARISON OF STATISTICS ON STRIKERS AND EMPLOYEES THROWN OUT OF WORK BY STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS, 1881-1905.

Year	Strikers A	Employees Thrown Out of Work by Strikes B	% A is of B	Employees Locked Out C	Employees Thrown Out of Work by Lockouts D	% C is of D	A Plus C E	B Plus D F	% E is of F
1881	101,070	129,521	78	655	655	100	101,725	130,176	78
1882	120,860	154,671	72	4,131	4,131	100	124,991	158,802	81
1883	122,198	149,763	82	20,512	20,512	100	142,710	170,275	83
1884	117,313	147,054	79	18,121	18,121	100	135,434	165,175	82
1885	158,584	242,705	65	15,424	15,424	100	174,008	258,129	75
1886	407,152	508,044	81	101,980	101,980	100	509,132	610,024	83
1887	272,776	379,676	71	57,534	59,630	96	330,310	439,306	75
1888	103,218	147,704	69	13,787	15,176	89	117,005	162,880	71
1889	205,068	249,559	85	10,471	10,731	97	215,539	260,290	82
1890	285,900	351,944	81	19,233	21,555	88	305,133	373,499	81
1891	245,042	298,939	82	14,116	31,014	45	259,158	329,953	78
1892	163,499	206,671	78	30,050	32,014	93	193,549	238,685	81
1893	195,008	265,914	73	13,016	21,842	60	208,024	287,756	72
1894	505,049	660,425	76	28,548	29,619	96	533,597	690,044	77
1895	285,742	392,403	72	12,754	14,785	86	298,496	407,188	73
1896	183,813	241,170	76	3,675	7,668	48	187,488	248,838	75
1897	332,570	408,391	81	7,651	7,763	98	340,221	416,154	81
1898	182,067	249,002	73	11,038	14,217	77	193,105	263,219	73

APPENDIX A

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TABLE III-A—Continued

Year	Strikers A	Employees Thrown Out of Work by Strikes B	% A is of B	Employees Locked Out C	Employees Thrown Out of Work by Lockouts D	% C is of D	A Plus C E	B Plus D F	% E is of F
1899	308,267	417,072	75	14,698	14,817	99	322,965	431,889	75
1900	399,656	505,066	79	46,562	62,653	74	446,218	567,719	78
1901	396,280	543,386	78	16,257	20,457	79	412,537	563,843	73
1902	553,143	659,792	83	30,304	31,715	95	583,447	691,507	84
1903	531,682	656,055	81	112,332	131,779	85	644,014	787,834	81
1904	375,754	517,211	72	44,908	56,604	79	420,662	573,815	73
1905	176,337	221,686	79	68,474	80,748	84	244,811	302,434	80
	6,728,048	8,703,824	77	716,231	825,610	87	7,444,279	9,529,434	78

Statistics (Columns A, B, C, D) extracted from the Twenty-First Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor issued in 1906. The figures given in Column E are the same as those in Column B of Table I, Appendix A; those in Column C the same as those in Column D of Table I, Appendix A.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B

MONTHLY STATISTICS OF STRIKES IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1881-1894, 1900-1936.

Textiles:	Cotton Goods, Woolen and Worsted, All Fabric Manufactures and Related Industries.
Metals:	Metals, Metallic Goods, Foundry and Machine Shop Products.
Boots:	Boots and Shoes, Leather, Cut Stock and Findings.
Wage Increase:	Strikes for all causes involving wages, primarily for wage increase, and excepting wage reductions.
Wage Decrease:	Strikes against wage reductions.
Hours:	Strikes involving all questions relating to working time, whether increase, decrease or adjustment.
Others:	Strikes involving all other causes such as discrimination, unionization, sympathy, jurisdiction.
Succeeded:	Result of strike completely or largely satisfactory to the employees.
Failed:	Result of strike complete failure for the employees.
Compromised:	Strike compromised, partly successful.

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1881	Textiles	Jan.	1	17	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Mar.	1	480	..	36	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Apr.	2	163	..	32	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
			4	660	..	69	..	1	1	..	2	1	2	1	..
	Metals	Jan.	1	50	..	35	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		May	1	35	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
			2	85	..	36	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
	All Other	Jan.	2	42	..	31	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
		Mar.	1	100	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Apr.	3	81	..	7	..	3	..	..	..	2	1	..	..
		May	2	361	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
		June	1	112	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Nov.		1	6	..	181	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		10	702	..	235	..	9	..	..	1	4	5	1	..	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1882	Textiles	Mar.	1	750	..	161	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Apr.	1	37	..	50	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		July	2	55	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
		Aug.	2	44	..	5	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
		Oct.	1	60	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Nov.	1	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
			8	952	..	222	..	3	1	..	4	4	3	1	..	
		Metals	May	2	48	..	14	..	1	1	2
	Oct.		1	40	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
			3	88	..	17	..	2	1	..	..	3	..	..	..
		Boots	Feb.	1	35	..	10	1	1
July	2		155	..	20	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	
Oct.	1		13	..	105	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
		4	203	..	135	..	1	3	..	..	1	2	1	..	
	All Other	Apr.	3	648	..	33	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
June		3	580	..	35	..	1	1	..	1	2	1	..	..
July		1	1,000	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Aug.		3	1,180	..	5	..	3	..	..	..	..	3	..	..
Sept.		1	30	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		11	3,438	..	75	..	9	1	..	1	6	5	..	..
1883	Textiles	June	1	4	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	2	122	..	22	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..
			3	126	..	29	..	1	2	..	..	..	3	..	..
		Metals	Jan.	1	442	..	22	1	1
			1	442	..	22	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Boots	Jan.	1	35	..	59	1	..	1
	May		2	1,212	..	271	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1883	Boots	June	1	100	..	28	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Nov.	1	14	..	60	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
			5	1,361	..	418	..	1	2	..	2	2	3	..	..
	All Other	Jan.	1	120	..	16	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Apr.	1	12	..	20	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		May	19	526	..	201	..	18	..	..	1	16	2	1	..
		Sept.	1	32	..	.....	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Oct.	1	10	..	.....	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
			23	700	..	237	..	18	3	..	2	17	5	1	..	
	1884	Textiles	Jan.	1	21	..	85	1	1
			Feb.	4	510	..	278	..	1	2	..	1	1	3
			Apr.	1	39	..	10	..	1	1
			July	1	200	..	1	..	1	1
Nov.			1	340	..	29	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
Dec.			2	125	..	56	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
		10	1,235	..	459	..	4	5	..	1	2	8	..	..
Metals		Jan.	6	127	..	397	..	..	6	..	..	..	6	..	..
		Nov.	1	78	..	7	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	1	262	..	27	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		8	467	..	431	..	..	8	..	..	..	8	..	..
Boots		Jan.	4	189	..	46	..	2	1	..	1	1	2	1	..	
		May	1	20	..	63	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
	July	5	549	..	268	..	1	1	..	3	1	4	..	..
	Aug.	2	110	..	86	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
	Nov.	1	50	..	14	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
	13	918	..	477	..	5	2	..	6	6	6	1	..			
All Other	Mar.	1	350	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
	Apr.	1	21	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	* Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1884	All Other	May	5	149	..	218	..	3	1	..	1	1	4	..	..
		Dec.	2	39	..	76	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..
			9	559	..	296	..	3	2	..	4	4	5	..	..
1885	Textiles	Mar.	1	55	..	35	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		May	2	784	..	41	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	..
		Dec.	1	48	..	31	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
			4	887	..	107	..	1	2	..	1	1	3	..	..
	Metals	Jan.	2	149	..	49	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Aug.	1	50	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Sept.	1	70	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Oct.	2	295	..	131	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
			6	564	..	190	..	4	1	..	1	3	3	..	..
	Boots	Jan.	1	16	..	120	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Feb.	1	16	..	42	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Mar.	1	10	..	105	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Apr.	1	55	..	27	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
May		2	214	..	38	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	..
June		3	144	..	98	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
July		4	235	..	257	..	1	..	..	3	3	1	..	..
Sept.		1	42	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
Oct.		2	1,289	..	11	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
Nov.		3	817	..	81	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..
Dec.		7	209	..	1,177	..	3	..	..	4	2	4	1	..	
	26	3,047	..	1,963	..	13	1	..	12	17	8	1	..		
All Other	Jan.	4	211	..	103	..	1	2	..	1	1	2	1	..	
	Feb.	5	801	..	202	..	1	2	..	2	1	4	..	..
	Apr.	1	800	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
	June	2	565	..	114	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	
	Aug.	1	105	..	14	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1885	All	Sept.	1	25	..	49	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
	Other	Oct.	3	160	..	76	..	3	..	..	..	..	3	..	..
			17	2,667	..	560	..	9	4	..	4	4	10	3	..
1886	Textiles	Jan.	3	683	..	29	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
		Feb.	7	543	..	352	..	5	..	..	2	2	5	..	..
		Mar.	3	96	..	13	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
		Apr.	2	110	..	13	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
		July	2	54	..	25	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Sept.	2	64	..	9	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..
		Oct.	3	462	..	30	..	2	1	..	..	..	2	1	..
	Dec.	1	56	..	10	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
			23	2,068	..	481	..	15	2	..	6	8	14	1	..
	Metals	Jan.	1	42	..	21	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Mar.	2	55	..	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Apr.	2	65	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
		July	2	501	..	87	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
Sept.		1	17	..	28	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	
Oct.		1	13	..	14	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		9	693	..	155	..	8	..	..	1	2	6	1	..	
Boots	Jan.	7	127	..	53	..	4	..	..	3	6	1	..	..
	Feb.	9	1,551	..	266	..	8	..	..	1	2	7	..	..
	Mar.	5	589	..	28	..	2	1	..	2	5	..	..	..
	Apr.	10	292	..	138	..	9	..	..	1	2	4	4	..	
	May	14	1,368	..	405	..	12	..	..	2	5	4	5	..	
	June	7	495	..	347	..	3	..	..	4	3	2	2	..	
	July	9	7,667	..	335	..	3	2	..	4	3	5	1	..	
	Aug.	1	2	..	18	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
	Sept.	2	35	..	28	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
	Oct.	2	235	..	222	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..
	Nov.	2	42	..	98	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
	Dec.	13	5,650	..	1,696	..	2	1	..	10	3	10	..	..
		81	18,053	..	3,634	..	45	5	..	31	32	37	12	..	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1886	All Other	Jan.	3	131	..	85	..	..	..	..	3	2	1	..	..
		Feb.	4	137	..	29	..	2	..	..	2	1	3	..	..
		Mar.	5	795	..	193	..	3	1	..	1	2	3	..	..
		Apr.	5	474	..	125	..	3	..	1	1	..	5	..	..
		May	14	8,688	..	257	..	7	..	4	3	5	3	6	..	
		June	5	99	..	59	..	2	2	..	1	3	2	..	..
		July	4	929	..	23	..	2	..	..	2	1	3	..	..
		Aug.	1	1,000	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Nov.	2	174	..	66	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Dec.	1	50	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
					44	12,477	..	845	..	19	5	5	15	15	23	6
		1887	Textiles	Jan.	1	23	..	31	1	..	1	..
Mar.	1			46	..	49	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Apr.	6			602	..	59	..	2	..	1	3	1	4	1	..	
May	9			655	..	54	..	7	1	..	1	3	5	1	..	
June	3			60	..	47	..	1	..	..	2	2	1	..	..
July	5			171	..	59	..	1	..	..	4	1	4	..	..
Aug.	2			34	..	3	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
Sept.	2			26	..	6	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
Dec.	1			34	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
					30	1,651	..	313	..	13	1	1	15	9	18	3
	Metals			Jan.	2	98	..	6	2	..	1	1
				Feb.	1	9	..	39	1	..	1	..
		Mar.	1	16	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	
		Apr.	2	104	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	
		May	2	313	..	5	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Nov.	1	447	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
			9	987	..	60	..	3	..	1	5	..	8	1		
	Boots	Jan.	9	2,866	..	130	..	5	1	..	3	3	6	..		
		Feb.	4	189	..	53	..	..	2	..	2	2	2	..	
		Mar.	6	281	..	46	..	2	2	..	2	2	3	1		
		Apr.	2	95	..	35	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1887	Boots	May	3	3,553	..	12	..	..	..	..	3	1	1	1	..
		June	2	222	..	12	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	..
		July	4	1,000	..	48	..	1	..	..	3	3	1	..	..
		Aug.	3	59	..	40	..	1	1	..	1	..	2	1	..		
		Sept.	2	205	..	20	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Oct.	2	55	..	5	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..
		Nov.	3	26	..	23	..	2	1	..	..	1	1	1	..
					40	8,551	..	424	..	13	10	..	17	18	18	4	..
		All Other	Jan.	7	1,076	..	661	..	3	4	4	2	1	..	
			Feb.	4	1,136	..	209	2	1	1	..	4	
			Mar.	6	662	..	57	..	1	..	3	2	4	2	
			Apr.	6	532	..	46	..	2	..	1	3	2	3	1	..	
			May	14	690	..	233	..	6	1	3	4	6	6	2	..	
			June	4	741	..	146	1	3	..	3	1	
July	5		208	..	27	..	3	..	..	2	1	4	..	..	
Aug.	3		241	..	84	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	..	..	
Sept.	5		2,054	..	47	..	2	1	1	1	..	4	1	..			
Oct.	3		66	..	20	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	
Nov.	3		1,032	..	38	..	1	1	..	1	1	2	..	..	
Dec.	3		134	..	82	..	1	..	2	..	2	1	..	..	
			63	8,572	..	1,650	..	20	7	16	20	26	31	6	..		
1888	Textiles	Jan.	1	150	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Feb.	4	688	..	13	..	1	..	..	3	2	2	..	..
		Mar.	4	372	..	41	..	..	..	..	4	2	2	..	..
		Apr.	1	22	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		May	1	..	1	14	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		June	3	147	..	23	..	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
		July	5	277	..	160	..	2	1	..	2	2	2	1	..		
		Aug.	4	827	..	20	..	1	2	..	1	2	1	1	..		
		Sept.	3	229	..	22	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..
		Oct.	1	42	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Nov.	2	51	..	74	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
			29	2,805	1	379	..	7	5	..	17	14	11	4	..		

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	* Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1888	Metals	Feb.	1	32	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Oct.	1	341	..	10	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
			2	373	..	15	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
	Boots	Jan.	8	281	..	174	..	3	2	..	3	1	6	1	..	
		Feb.	7	329	..	100	..	3	2	..	2	2	3	2	..	
		Mar.	1	20	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Apr.	4	204	..	18	..	1	2	..	1	..	2	2	..	
		May	5	55	..	76	..	1	2	..	2	..	5	..	..
		June	3	141	..	33	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	..	..
		July	1	37	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Sept.	2	18	..	19	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..
		Nov.	4	241	..	174	..	..	1	..	3	3	1	..	..
		Dec.	2	48	..	24	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..
				37	1,374	..	626	..	10	11	..	16	11	20	6	..
		All Other	Jan.	4	205	..	540	..	2	1	..	1	1	3
	Feb.		5	1,680	..	465	..	1	3	..	1	2	3	..	..
	Mar.		4	94	..	47	..	1	2	..	1	..	4	..	..
	Apr.		4	256	..	14	..	1	..	1	2	1	3	..	..
	May		3	156	..	84	..	1	..	2	..	2	..	1	..	
	June		5	362	..	147	..	1	..	1	3	1	4	..	..
	July		1	6	..	14	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
	Aug.		2	24	..	28	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	
	Oct.		3	431	..	55	..	1	1	..	1	2	1	..	..
	Nov.		1	5	..	43	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
				32	3,219	..	1,437	..	9	7	5	11	10	20	2	..
1889	Textiles	Feb.	2	29	..	12	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..
		Mar.	1	9,000	..	17	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Apr.	1	12	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		May	2	52	..	4	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
		June	5	589	..	21	..	1	..	..	4	3	1	1	..
		July	6	224	..	71	..	3	1	..	2	..	6	..	..
		Aug.	6	127	..	43	..	2	1	..	3	2	4	..	..

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1889	Textiles	Sept.	2	53	..	11	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
		Nov.	3	289	..	24	..	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	..
			28	10,375	..	205	..	10	3	..	15	8	19	1	..
	Metals	Feb.	1	20	..	52	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Apr.	2	26	..	88	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Aug.	1	7	..	25	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
				4	53	..	165	..	2	2	1	2	1
	Boots	Jan.	6	125	..	120	..	2	4	..	..	1	3	2	..
		Mar.	3	61	..	9	..	1	1	..	1	1	2	..	..
		Apr.	7	96	..	88	..	..	3	..	4	2	4	1	..
		May	7	189	..	107	..	2	3	..	2	3	3	1	..
		June	7	696	..	54	..	2	3	..	2	4	2	1	..
		July	4	79	..	63	..	3	..	..	1	..	2	1	1
		Aug.	7	1,268	..	247	..	1	2	..	4	1	5	1	..
		Sept.	2	354	..	54	..	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..
		Oct.	4	139	..	16	..	1	3	..	..	3	1	..	..
		Nov.	3	43	..	7	..	1	1	..	1	1	1	1	..
		Dec.	4	1,782	..	77	..	1	..	..	3	3	..	1	..
				54	4,832	..	842	..	14	22	..	18	21	23	9	1
	All Other	Jan.	2	26	..	17	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Feb.	1	120	..	13	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Mar.	1	14	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Apr.	8	348	..	114	..	2	..	5	1	1	6	1	..
		May	7	833	..	100	..	2	..	2	3	3	2	2	..
		June	7	252	..	387	..	1	1	3	2	..	7	..	..
		July	5	285	..	83	..	2	..	2	1	1	4	..	..
		Aug.	4	105	..	14	..	..	2	..	2	2	2	..	..
		Sept.	3	47	..	213	..	1	1	..	1	..	3	..	..
		Oct.	2	66	..	168	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Nov.	3	75	..	84	..	1	1	..	1	..	3	..	..
		Dec.	1	8	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
			44	2,179	..	1,196	..	11	7	12	14	10	31	3	..

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1890	Textiles	Jan.	1	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Feb.	3	94	..	10	..	..	..	1	2	2	1	..	..
		Apr.	1	57	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		May	3	43	..	27	..	1	1	..	1	2	1	..	..
		June	1	877	..	10	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		July	1	13	..	47	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Aug.	2	34	..	11	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	..
		Sept.	2	53	..	6	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Nov.	1	100	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	1	32	..	56	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
				16	1,308	..	180	..	2	2	1	11	7	7	2	..
			Metals	Mar.	1	6	..	3	1	..	1
				July	1	30	..	56	..	1	1
	Sept.	3		108	..	413	..	2	..	..	1	1	2	..	..
		5		144	..	472	..	3	..	..	2	1	4	..	..
	Boots	Jan.	9	2,114	..	139	..	1	2	..	6	4	4	1	..	
		Feb.	4	266	..	22	..	1	..	..	3	2	2	..	..
		Mar.	7	165	..	56	..	4	2	..	1	2	3	2	..	
		Apr.	7	123	..	80	..	5	1	..	1	4	3	..	..
		May	6	186	..	50	..	2	..	..	4	1	4	1	..
		June	3	627	..	95	..	..	..	..	3	1	1	1	..
		July	4	271	..	50	..	2	2	..	..	3	1	..	..
		Aug.	4	1,143	..	126	..	2	..	..	2	1	2	1	..
		Sept.	3	347	..	82	..	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	..
		Oct.	5	181	..	38	..	2	..	..	3	1	3	1	..
		Nov.	2	28	..	41	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
		54	5,451	..	779	..	20	7	..	27	20	27	7	..		
	All Other	Jan.	2	11	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Feb.	6	1,236	..	266	..	..	1	..	5	1	5	..	..
		Mar.	5	294	..	18	..	1	1	..	3	2	1	2	..	
		Apr.	8	201	..	282	..	2	..	2	4	3	5	..	..
		May	19	4,465	..	246	..	8	..	8	3	6	11	2	..	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1890	All Other	June	12	2,153	..	569	..	6	..	5	1	5	5	2	..
		July	9	181	..	84	..	2	..	5	2	2	7	..	..
		Aug.	5	32	..	27	..	1	..	2	2	3	1	1	..
		Sept.	4	125	..	91	..	2	..	..	2	2	1	1	..
		Oct.	5	280	..	39	..	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	..
		Nov.	7	176	..	41	..	4	1	..	2	3	4	..	..
		Dec.	1	5	..	47	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
			83	9,159	..	1,713	..	29	4	23	27	30	44	9	..
1891	Textiles	Jan.	3	211	..	8	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	..	..
		Feb.	3	170	..	15	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
		Mar.	7	251	..	37	..	2	2	..	3	2	5	..	..
		Apr.	1	11	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		May	3	172	..	24	..	..	1	..	2	2	..	1	..
		June	2	186	..	5	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
		July	1	10	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Sept.	2	200	..	28	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
		Oct.	1	130	..	89	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Nov.	2	36	..	8	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
					25	1,377	..	224	..	12	4	1	8	11	12
	Metals	Jan.	2	29	..	12	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
		Mar.	1	6	..	14	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		July	2	39	..	9	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..
		Aug.	1	25	..	148	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Oct.	1	150	..	17	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
			7	249	..	200	..	2	..	..	5	4	3	..	..
	Boots	Jan.	4	433	..	72	..	..	..	..	4	2	2	..	..
		Feb.	3	433	..	19	..	2	1	..	..	1	1	1	..
		Mar.	8	379	..	75	..	4	..	..	4	3	3	2	..
		Apr.	3	160	..	43	..	1	1	..	1	..	3	..	..
		May	2	149	..	22	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..
		June	2	28	..	45	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
		July	5	853	..	83	..	2	..	..	3	1	4	..	..

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	* Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1891	Boots	Aug.	1	260	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Sept.	2	30	..	6	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Oct.	2	18	..	10	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
		Nov.	2	18	..	5	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Dec.	3	65	..	6	..	1	1	..	1	1	2	..	..
			37	2,826	..	392	..	12	7	..	18	11	21	5	..	
		All Other	Jan.	6	110	..	455	..	3	2	..	1	3	2	1	..
	Feb.		5	217	..	56	..	2	1	..	2	3	2	..	..
	Mar.		4	354	..	94	..	1	..	2	1	2	2	..	..
	Apr.		18	1,738	..	190	..	12	1	3	2	5	8	5	..	
	May		13	603	..	142	..	10	..	..	3	5	6	2	..
	June		8	317	..	251	..	3	..	2	3	3	5	..	..
	July		6	187	..	42	..	3	..	1	2	4	2	..	..
	Aug.		5	491	..	122	..	2	..	..	3	3	2	..	..
	Sept.		4	339	..	14	..	2	..	..	2	2	1	1	..
	Oct.		2	51	..	18	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
	Nov.		4	743	..	88	..	2	2	..	..	2	2	..	..
	Dec.		1	9	..	21	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
				76	5,159	..	1,493	..	40	6	8	22	33	34	9	..
1892	Textiles		Jan.	2	105	..	5	..	2	1	..	1	..
		Feb.	1	8	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Mar.	3	69	..	16	..	2	1	..	..	1	2	..	..
		Apr.	4	374	..	134	..	..	3	1	..	..	4	..	..
		May	4	418	..	36	..	1	..	..	3	2	2	..	..
		June	1	19	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		July	8	856	..	48	..	..	5	1	2	4	4	..	..
		Sept.	3	58	..	10	..	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
		Oct.	3	61	..	14	..	1	..	..	2	2	1	..	..
		Nov.	2	90	..	64	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
		Dec.	3	290	..	31	..	1	..	..	2	1	2	..	..
				34	2,348	..	366	..	11	9	2	12	12	20	2	..
			Metals	Mar.	1	270	..	4	1	1
	Apr.	1		8	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE 1-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1892	Metals	May	1	839	..	33	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		June	1	17	..	22	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	1	4	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
			5	1,138	..	67	..	1	1	1	2	..	4	1	..
	Boots	Jan.	1	127	..	35	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Feb.	7	198	..	103	..	2	1	..	4	2	4	1	..
		Mar.	5	1,097	..	206	..	2	..	..	3	2	3	..	..
		Apr.	3	59	..	48	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	..	..
		May	3	110	..	19	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	1	..
		June	2	24	..	12	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..
		July	2	11	..	6	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Aug.	1	20	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Sept.	2	31	..	6	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Oct.	4	57	..	25	..	2	..	..	2	2	2	..	..
		Nov.	1	20	..	46	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	1	47	..	13	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
			32	1,801	..	523	..	17	2	..	13	11	18	3	..
	All Other	Jan.	3	158	..	17	..	2	..	..	1	1	2	..	..
		Feb.	2	30	..	11	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
		Mar.	6	196	..	381	..	1	..	..	4	1	3	2	1
		Apr.	14	808	..	153	..	7	1	3	3	7	7	..	..
		May	21	5,577	..	622	..	11	1	2	7	7	11	3	..
		June	10	500	..	115	..	3	..	1	6	5	4	1	..
		July	9	232	..	108	..	2	2	1	4	3	6	..	..
		Aug.	7	166	..	41	..	4	..	..	3	4	3	..	..
		Sept.	4	161	..	17	..	1	..	..	3	1	3	..	..
		Oct.	4	1,515	..	89	..	2	2	..	..	3	..	1	..
		Nov.	5	323	..	40	..	1	2	..	2	3	2	..	..
		Dec.	5	85	..	31	..	1	..	..	4	2	3	..	..
			90	9,751	..	1,625	..	35	8	11	36	39	45	6	..
	1893	Textiles	Jan.	2	10	..	8	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..
			Feb.	1	23	..	29	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1893	Textiles	Mar.	5	276	..	38	..	3	1	..	1	..	5	..	..
		May	5	399	..	24	..	4	1	..	..	..	4	1	..
		June	1	99	..	12	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		July	1	150	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Sept.	9	159	..	47	..	1	2	..	2	..	5	..	..
		Nov.	1	185	..	9	1	1
		Dec.	1	56	..	2	1	1
				22	1,357	..	176	..	12	6	..	4	1	19	2	..
		Metals	Apr.	3	574	..	29	1	2	3
	May		2	93	..	84	..	1	..	1	2
	June		5	607	..	67	4	1	2	2	1
	July		1	22	..	1	1	..	1
	Aug.		1	6	..	14	1	1
Sept.	1		21	..	23	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
Nov.	3		190	..	66	..	1	..	2	..	1	2	..	..	..
			16	1,513	..	284	..	3	..	9	4	7	6	3	..	
	Boots	Jan.	4	86	..	26	..	2	1	..	1	2	2	..	..
Feb.		5	174	..	84	..	1	1	..	3	1	2	2	..	..
Mar.		5	150	..	30	..	4	..	..	1	3	2	..	..	..
Apr.		1	23	..	6	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
May		11	263	..	56	..	7	3	..	1	4	6	1	..	..
June		2	57	..	99	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..
Aug.		4	88	..	97	..	3	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	..
Sept.		1	22	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Oct.		2	11	..	6	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Nov.		2	15	..	5	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Dec.		1	79	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
				38	968	..	412	..	18	10	..	10	15	20	3	..
	All Other	Jan.	7	248	..	108	..	2	1	..	4	5	2	..	..
Feb.		3	113	..	158	..	1	1	..	1	..	3	..	..	..
Mar.		8	1,065	..	64	..	1	..	2	5	4	3	1	..	..
Apr.		16	627	..	186	..	8	2	2	4	10	4	2	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1893	All	May	20	827	..	195	..	9	..	3	8	6	11	3	..		
	Other	June	11	158	..	118	..	3	..	3	5	4	6	1	..		
		July	8	244	..	265	..	..	5	..	3	7	1	..	..
		Aug.	7	580	..	27	..	1	1	1	4	4	3	..	..
		Sept.	8	189	..	71	..	2	2	..	4	3	4	1	..		
		Oct.	6	78	..	29	..	3	..	1	2	3	3	..	..
		Nov.	1	100	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	3	86	..	193	..	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	..
					98	4,315	..	1,415	..	32	12	12	42	46	44	8	..
		1894*	Textiles	Feb.	5	2,533	..	252	5	1	4
Mar.	5			643	..	55	..	1	3	..	1	3	2	..	..
Apr.	6			946	..	248	..	2	4	..	..	3	2	1	..
May	2			87	..	26	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
June	1			35	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
					19	4,244	..	582	..	4	13	..	2	7	11	1	..
Metals	Feb.		1	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
	Apr.		1	14	..	10	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
	May		1	64	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
	June		2	57	..	20	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
			5	141	..	38	..	2	..	..	3	..	5	..	
Boots	Jan.	8	403	..	41	..	..	7	..	1	4	4	..	..	
	Feb.	3	70	..	19	..	..	3	..	..	1	3	..	..	
	Mar.	7	238	..	111	..	5	1	..	1	1	5	1	..			
	Apr.	7	352	..	70	..	2	1	..	4	1	3	2	..			
	May	6	197	..	26	..	2	1	..	3	3	3	..	..	
	June	4	326	..	33	..	1	1	..	2	1	1	2	..			
			35	1,586	..	300	..	10	14	..	11	11	19	5	..		
All Other	Jan.	4	109	..	70	..	..	1	..	3	3	1	..	..	
	Feb.	4	123	..	147	..	1	2	..	1	3	1	..	..	
	Mar.	5	387	..	126	..	3	1	..	1	1	3	1	..			

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

*Statistics to June 30th only.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1894	All Other	Apr.	10	188	..	38	..	5	1	2	2	6	3	1	..	
		May	14	1,151	..	131	..	6	1	..	7	7	6	1	..	
		June	4	830	..	32	..	3	1	..	..	4	..	..	..
			41	2,788	..	544	..	18	7	2	14	24	14	3	..	
1900	Textiles	Jan.	11	339	5	66	..	9	1	..	1	4	2	5	..	
		Feb.	1	40	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Mar.	3	35	1	....	2	2	..	..	1	..	3	..	..
		Apr.	5	300	4	40	1	1	1	..	3	1	2	2	..	
		May	4	78	2	8	2	2	..	..	2	1	..	2	1
		June	3	200	2	35	2	1	..	..	2	1	2	..	..
		July	1	6	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Aug.	1	60	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Sept.	2	600	..	24	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Oct.	1	....	1	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Nov.	2	100	1	9	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		Dec.	1	300	..	21	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
				35	2,058	16	217	9	18	2	..	15	10	12	10	3
			Metals	Feb.	3	73	..	35	2	1	1	1	2	1
Mar.	1			350	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Apr.	3			85	..	....	3	3	..	..	..	1	1	1	..
May	2			50	1	145	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
June	5			143	3	171	2	2	..	2	1	3	1	1	..	
July	1			25	..	....	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Aug.	1			35	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Dec.	1			22	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
				17	783	4	362	9	9	1	4	3	6	8	3	..
	Boots	Jan.	11	442	..	111	..	7	2	..	2	4	4	3	..	
		Feb.	3	29	..	35	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
		Mar.	7	215	..	30	..	4	..	..	3	4	3	..	..
		Apr.	6	143	..	75	..	3	..	1	2	1	3	1	1	
		May	1	1	15	..	1	1	
		June	1	40	1	1	1	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

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TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1900	Boots	July	1	16	..	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Oct.	2	15	1	17	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
		Nov.	2	32	1	2	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
		Dec.	6	61	1	4	3	1	2	..	3	1	3	2	..
			40	993	4	289	5	21	5	1	13	14	18	7	1
	All Other	Jan.	4	14	..	7	..	3	..	..	1	..	3	1	..
		Feb.	1	300	..	....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Mar.	6	25	..	64	..	3	2	..	1	..	1	5	..
		Apr.	4	758	..	18	..	2	1	..	1	4	..	..	..
		May	19	671	..	126	..	9	9	1	..	9	5	2	3
		June	9	126	..	37	..	3	4	..	2	3	3	2	1
		July	4	16	..	16	..	1	..	1	2	1	1	..	2
		Aug.	6	155	..	9	..	4	..	..	2	3	..	2	1
Sept.		3	21	..	....	1	1	1	..	1	2	..	1	..	
Oct.		9	616	..	18	..	2	2	..	5	4	1	4	..	
Dec.		1	....	1	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
			66	2,702	1	295	2	30	19	2	15	26	15	18	7
1901	Textiles	Jan.	1	6	..	....	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
		Feb.	2	6	1	10	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
		Mar.	2	310	..	24	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Apr.	3	49	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	1	1	1	..
		May	3	58	..	23	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..
		June	3	92	..	14	..	2	1	..	..	..	1	2	..
		July	3	72	..	16	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	2	..
		Aug.	1	60	..	10	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
		Sept.	5	417	..	23	..	2	1	..	2	..	2	3	..
		Oct.	1	25	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Nov.	2	102	..	100	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	1	..
		Dec.	3	355	..	7	..	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
			29	1,552	1	235	2	18	2	3	6	3	15	11	..
Metals	Jan.	2	104	..	6	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	
	Feb.	1	10	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1901	Metals	Mar.	1	12	1	1	1	
		May	22	1,896	..	330	2	2	..	18	2	7	7	8	..	
		June	7	357	..	311	3	1	..	3	3	1	3	3	..	
		July	5	106	..	19	1	..	2	2	1	1	2	2	..	
		Aug.	3	43	..	35	..	2	..	1	..	1	2	
		Sept.	4	128	..	32	3	1	2	2	
		Dec.	2	43	..	2	1	1	1	1	1	
				47	2,699	..	740	9	5	2	28	12	14	18	15	..
		Boots	Jan.	10	137	2	301	3	5	2	..	3	3	4	1	2
			Feb.	7	325	1	36	..	2	2	..	3	2	1	4	..
	Mar.		9	1,562	1	13	2	4	..	3	3	5	..	1		
	Apr.		3	19	..	16	..	2	1	2	1	
	May		6	174	..	27	..	2	4	3	2	1	..	
	June		3	40	1	16	1	2	2	..	1	..	
	July		7	252	..	26	1	3	..	2	2	3	3	1	..	
	Aug.		6	222	..	31	2	4	2	3	..	1	2	
	Sept.		2	115	..	25	2	1	1	
	Oct.		3	41	..	5	1	1	2	2	1	
	Nov.	4	1,454	..	141	..	3	..	..	1	2	..	2	..
	Dec.	1	9	..	15	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		61	4,350	5	652	9	24	9	3	25	27	17	11	6		
All Other	Jan.	1	11	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
	Feb.	7	114	1	234	..	3	3	..	1	2	4	1	..		
	Mar.	9	571	1	57	1	2	2	..	5	5	3	1	..		
	Apr.	18	923	2	85	5	7	6	1	4	6	9	3	..		
	May	52	2,679	5	567	4	16	18	3	15	28	15	9	..		
	June	23	3,491	2	186	7	5	2	8	8	5	10	5	3		
	July	18	6,480	5	74	8	4	10	1	3	5	3	1	9		
	Aug.	18	607	3	38	3	7	4	..	7	6	10	1	1		
	Sept.	7	457	..	24	..	2	1	..	4	4	3	..	..
	Oct.	6	4,809	..	99	..	3	2	..	1	1	4	..	1		
	Nov.	6	114	1	19	..	3	..	..	3	4	2	..	..
	Dec.	11	5,387	2	416	4	5	1	..	5	3	6	..	2		
		176	25,643	22	1,800	32	58	49	13	56	69	70	21	16		

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

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TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1902	Textiles	Jan.	8	531	..	97	1	6	..	1	1	3	4	1	..
		Feb.	2	28	..	9	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
		Mar.	9	1,185	1	201	..	6	..	..	3	3	6	..	..
		Apr.	8	851	..	160	1	5	..	..	3	1	5	2	..
		May	4	1,445	..	21	..	4	..	..	..	..	4	..	..
		June	7	210	2	14	3	6	..	..	1	1	3	3	..
		July	2	150	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	1	..
		Aug.	1	20	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Sept.	3	51	1	1	1	..	..	..	3	1	1	1	..
		Oct.	1	....	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Nov.	2	95	..	8	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..
		Dec.	1	20	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
					48	4,586	5	515	7	31	..	2	15	12	24	12	..
	Metals	Jan.	1	....	1	....	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
		Mar.	1	27	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Apr.	2	24	1	4	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
		May	6	581	1	73	2	2	..	4	..	2	3	1	..
		June	3	10	1	4	1	..	1	1	1	1	..	2	..
		July	1	150	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Aug.	3	119	..	8	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
		Sept.	1	120	..	7	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
		Oct.	4	59	..	69	1	..	1	1	2	..	3	1	..
		Dec.	1	22	..	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
					23	1,112	4	179	6	9	2	8	4	5	10	8	..
	Boots	Jan.	2	26	..	7	1	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
		Feb.	1	30	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Mar.	2	6	1	61	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	1
		May	4	146	..	18	1	1	..	..	3	1	3	..	..
		June	4	49	1	13	2	3	..	..	1	1	1	..	2
		July	3	86	..	6	1	2	..	..	1	1	1	..	1
		Aug.	6	269	1	56	2	3	..	..	3	3	1	1	1
		Sept.	3	39	..	7	1	2	..	..	1	1	..	1	1
		Oct.	2	52	..	21	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1902	Boots	Nov.	2	57	..	4	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
		Dec.	2	44	..	....	2	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
			31	804	3	194	10	18	..	1	12	11	11	3	6		
1902	All Other	Jan.	11	603	1	66	5	8	..	1	2	1	6	4	..		
		Feb.	8	613	1	62	3	5	..	1	2	2	6	..	..
		Mar.	15	18,902	3	141	1	3	..	6	6	9	2	3	1		
		Apr.	23	3,485	3	364	4	11	..	8	4	10	7	6	..		
		May	34	2,501	3	208	12	17	..	14	3	12	9	13	..		
		June	20	1,287	4	77	8	8	..	4	8	7	9	4	..		
		July	17	2,022	4	159	5	7	..	3	7	7	6	4	..		
		Aug.	12	835	1	78	3	6	..	1	5	3	6	3	..		
		Sept.	5	145	1	21	3	1	..	1	3	..	3	2	..		
		Oct.	7	329	3	66	2	1	1	1	4	2	2	3	..		
		Nov.	9	468	..	18	3	4	..	1	4	2	6	1	..		
		Dec.	6	175	1	54	2	3	..	1	2	3	3	..	..
			167	31,365	25	1,314	51	74	1	42	50	58	65	43	1		
1903	Textiles	Jan.	3	190	1	270	2	2	1	..	..	1	2	..	..
		Feb.	1	20	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Mar.	7	2,088	..	151	..	5	..	..	2	2	2	3	..
		Apr.	5	564	..	11	..	1	..	1	3	1	3	1	..		
		June	2	44	..	4	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
		July	4	406	1	37	..	1	2	1	..	2	2	..	..
		Sept.	2	65	1	14	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..
		Oct.	2	66	..	25	..	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	..
		Nov.	2	136	..	38	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
		Dec.	2	28	..	121	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..
					30	3,607	3	673	3	10	5	2	13	7	16	7	..
		1903	Metals	Jan.	4	70	1	31	4	..	2	1	1	..
Feb.	2			61	..	32	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..
Mar.	1			22	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Apr.	1			40	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
May	8			745	1	187	1	2	2	4	..	3	2	3	..		

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1903	Metals	June	1	107	..	7	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Aug.	2	900	..	17	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
		Sept.	3	130	1	29	1	2	..	1	..	..	3	..	..
		Nov.	2	50	1	21	1	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..
			24	2,125	4	325	5	6	4	12	2	7	9	8	..
	Boots	Jan.	8	1,499	..	317	2	2	1	..	5	1	3	1	3
		Feb.	2	35	..	24	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Mar.	6	830	..	141	1	3	..	..	3	3	2	..	1
		Apr.	2	335	..	90	1	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
		June	3	160	..	1	2	2	..	1	..	..	2	1	..
		July	5	145	..	50	..	3	1	..	1	1	2	1	1
		Aug.	2	150	1	1	1	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
		Sept.	2	90	..	2	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	..
Dec.		1	60	..	21	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
			31	3,304	1	647	8	11	2	1	17	7	13	6	5
All Other	Jan.	4	709	1	155	..	..	..	1	3	2	2	..	..
	Feb.	12	659	2	64	2	6	..	..	6	5	5	2	..	
	Mar.	10	250	2	131	2	2	..	1	7	3	5	2	..	
	Apr.	16	1,554	3	160	7	11	..	5	..	7	6	3	..	
	May	28	2,107	4	348	6	16	..	5	7	14	12	2	..	
	June	10	679	..	166	3	6	..	1	3	2	3	5	..	
	July	13	1,801	3	111	4	8	..	..	5	4	5	4	..	
	Aug.	9	690	1	4	7	3	..	..	6	..	7	2	..	
	Sept.	8	596	2	35	5	5	..	..	3	3	3	2	..	
	Oct.	1	12	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
	Nov.	8	595	..	102	1	1	1	..	6	2	6	..	..
	Dec.	6	695	1	6	2	1	..	..	5	2	4	..	..
		125	10,347	19	1,283	39	59	1	13	52	44	59	22	..	
1904	Textiles	Jan.	1	60	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Feb.	3	620	..	32	1	..	1	..	2	..	2	1	..
		Mar.	4	552	..	94	..	1	2	..	1	..	4	..	..
		Apr.	2	50	..	11	1	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	..

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1904	Textiles	May	3	140	1	1	2	1	2	..	2	1	..
		June	3	215	1	18	1	1	2	..	2	1	..
		July	3	26,031	..	121	1	..	2	..	1	..	3
		Aug.	1	60	1	..	1	1
		Nov.	1	26	..	2	1	1
		Dec.	2	115	2	1	1	..	1	1	..
			23	27,869	2	282	9	3	8	1	11	1	17	5	..
	Metals	Feb.	2	60	..	1	1	1	1	..	1	1	..
		Mar.	1	52	..	14	1	1
		Apr.	5	2,719	1	138	2	2	3	2	2	1	..
May		3	631	..	182	..	1	..	1	1	3	..	..	..
June		3	90	1	67	..	..	2	..	1	1	1	1	..
Sept.		1	110	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Oct.		1	10	..	11	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		16	3,672	2	416	3	4	2	3	7	8	5	3	..	
Boots	Jan.	2	193	..	5	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
	Feb.	4	302	..	18	..	3	..	..	1	..	4	..	..
	Mar.	3	28	1	50	..	3	..	..	..	2	1	..	..
	Apr.	2	35	..	3	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..
	May	2	143	..	7	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
	Aug.	1	13	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
	Sept.	2	110	..	28	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..
	Oct.	1	65	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
	Nov.	1	65	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
			18	954	1	122	3	9	2	..	7	6	10	1	1
All Other	Jan.	2	100	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..
	Feb.	4	473	1	7	2	1	..	..	3	2	1	1	..
	Mar.	2	480	..	5	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	1	..
	Apr.	13	1,261	1	123	3	4	..	..	9	6	5	2	..
	May	20	2,211	2	554	2	8	1	3	8	6	9	5	..	
	June	5	122	1	10	2	2	..	..	3	..	4	1	..
	July	3	41	..	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	2	1	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1904	All Other	Aug.	7	1,927	..	108	3	..	..	..	7	2	3	2	..
		Sept.	11	636	1	75	2	2	..	1	8	4	5	2	..
		Oct.	2	75	..	3	1	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
		Nov.	5	102	..	8	3	2	1	..	2	..	2	3	..
		Dec.	1	160	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
			75	7,588	6	898	22	20	3	6	46	21	36	18	..
1905	Textiles	Jan.	5	540	..	11	1	1	2	..	2	..	3	2	..
		Feb.	4	108	..	23	..	1	..	..	3	..	2	2	..
		Mar.	7	864	..	27	..	1	..	..	6	1	3	3	..
		Apr.	2	640	..	62	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
		May	1	25	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		June	8	504	1	38	..	5	1	..	2	4	..	4	..
		July	2	124	..	9	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..
		Aug.	1	25	..	21	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Sept.	1	25	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
		Oct.	3	65	1	2	2	2	..	..	1	1	2	..	..
		Nov.	4	222	..	26	1	2	..	..	2	1	2	1	..
		Dec.	1	80	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
					39	3,222	2	233	5	14	5	1	19	9	15
	Metals	Jan.	1	160	..	14	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	
Feb.		1	10	..	90	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Mar.		2	21	..	4	1	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
Apr.		1	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
May		4	70	1	6	2	1	..	..	3	..	1	3	..	
June		2	155	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	
July		3	67	..	87	..	2	..	..	1	2	1	..	..
Aug.		1	90	..	21	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Dec.		1	15	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
			16	597	1	224	5	4	1	2	9	3	6	7	..
	Boots	Jan.	1	60	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
Feb.		1	50	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Mar.		3	71	..	18	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	
Apr.		3	112	..	3	2	2	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	
May		2	77	..	60	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	..	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1905	Boots	June	1	10	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		July	3	73	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	2	1
		Aug.	2	25	1	9	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1
		Sept.	2	..	2	4	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
		Oct.	6	173	..	35	..	2	..	1	3	2	4	..	..
		Nov.	2	79	..	8	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Dec.	5	281	..	14	2	3	..	..	2	3	2	..	..
			31	1,011	3	163	7	18	2	1	10	8	10	7	6
	All Other	Jan.	3	165	..	7	1	1	..	1	1	1	..	2	..
		Feb.	2	93	..	15	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	..
		Mar.	10	1,545	1	203	2	2	..	8	5	3	2	..	
		Apr.	10	537	1	89	4	3	..	1	6	4	3	3	..
		May	14	560	4	161	7	1	..	2	11	6	6	2	..
June		7	258	..	29	2	2	..	5	..	5	2	..		
July		11	583	2	144	3	2	4	..	5	2	6	3	..	
Aug.		12	243	3	70	4	2	1	4	5	3	6	3	..	
Sept.		7	354	..	16	3	3	..	2	2	2	3	2	..	
Oct.		9	1,174	..	64	5	3	..	2	4	5	3	1	..	
Nov.		8	312	..	139	2	2	..	..	6	1	3	4	..	
		93	5,824	11	937	33	21	5	13	54	29	38	26	..	
1906	Textiles	Jan.	3	309	..	14	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	..	..
		Feb.	4	69	..	9	..	2	..	..	2	1	2	1	..
		Mar.	2	32	..	7	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
		Apr.	6	258	..	27	..	2	1	..	3	2	4	..	..
		May	9	517	..	71	..	6	1	..	2	4	3	2	..
		June	6	435	..	86	..	6	..	..	1	2	3	..	
		July	7	387	..	39	..	4	..	1	2	2	5	..	..
		Aug.	4	1,428	..	19	..	2	..	..	2	1	3	..	..
		Sept.	2	88	..	6	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
		Oct.	3	103	..	16	..	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	..
		Nov.	3	445	..	28	..	1	..	..	2	..	2	1	..
		Dec.	5	98	..	29	..	1	..	..	4	1	4	..	..
				54	4,169	..	351	..	28	3	2	21	14	31	9

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1906	Boots	Jan.	1	65	..	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
		Feb.	8	453	..	46	..	6	..	1	1	2	1	5	..		
		Mar.	6	135	..	87	..	3	..	1	2	2	2	1	1		
		Apr.	4	451	..	30	..	2	..	1	1	2	2	..	..
		May	2	76	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
		June	1	150	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		July	2	60	..	7	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
		Sept.	1	18	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Nov.	2	29	..	3	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
		Dec.	6	22	..	53	..	3	..	1	2	2	4	..	..
					33	1,459	..	234	..	19	..	5	9	12	12	8	1
			Metals	Jan.	2	44	..	7	..	2	2
				Feb.	3	163	..	61	..	2	1	3	..
Mar.	3			96	..	55	1	..	..	..	3	..	2	1	..
Apr.	4			547	..	112	..	2	..	..	2	2	2	..	..
May	2			173	..	107	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..
June	3			133	..	32	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	2	..		
July	2			34	..	20	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	..
Aug.	5			157	..	125	1	4	..	..	1	1	2	..	2
Sept.	3			87	..	8	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	..	1		
Oct.	1			86	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..
Nov.	2			155	..	4	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..
Dec.	1			67	..	30	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
					31	1,742	..	1,563	2	17	..	5	9	10	12	6	3
All Other		Jan.	5	280	..	57	..	1	..	1	3	2	2	1	..		
		Feb.	8	1,531	..	147	..	1	..	1	6	2	6	..	..
		Mar.	7	721	..	115	..	4	..	2	1	7	..	..	..
		Apr.	15	1,207	..	138	..	10	..	1	4	5	8	2	..		
		May	20	4,294	..	297	..	13	..	2	5	10	9	1	..		
		June	8	627	..	46	1	5	..	1	2	6	2	..	..
		July	6	324	..	42	2	1	..	2	3	..	6	..	..
		Aug.	13	441	..	220	..	3	..	3	7	2	5	3	3		
		Sept.	6	133	..	12	1	2	..	2	2	..	4	..	2		
		Oct.	5	421	..	94	..	2	..	1	2	1	4	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	* Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1906	All	Nov.	2	85	..	18	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
	Other	Dec.	3	92	..	12	..	2	..	..	1	1	2	..	..
			98	10,156	..	1,198	4	45	..	16	37	36	50	7	5		
1907	Textiles	Jan.	5	582	..	52	..	2	..	..	3	1	4	..	..
		Feb.	4	355	..	18	..	2	..	..	2	1	2	1	..
		Mar.	5	485	..	43	..	3	1	..	1	..	4	1	..		
		Apr.	6	698	..	47	..	5	..	..	1	1	4	1	..
		May	8	162	..	37	..	3	..	..	5	..	8	..	..
		June	6	2,205	..	58	..	5	..	..	1	1	4	1	..
		July	2	62	..	11	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
		Aug.	3	111	..	8	..	2	..	..	1	1	2	..	..
		Oct.	6	1,017	..	14	..	2	..	1	3	..	6	..	..
		Nov.	1	462	..	114	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	3	159	..	35	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	..	..
					49	6,298	..	437	..	27	1	1	20	6	38	5	..
			Boots	Jan.	3	187	..	35	..	2	1	..	3
Feb.	7			386	..	85	..	6	..	..	1	3	1	3	..
Mar.	6			140	..	57	..	5	..	..	1	..	4	2	..
Apr.	1			20	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
May	6			250	..	71	..	2	..	..	4	1	4	1	..
June	2			687	..	30	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..
July	2			31	..	5	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
Aug.	1			24	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Sept.	1			260	..	10	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Oct.	2			43	..	12	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
Nov.	2			27	..	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
			33	2,055	..	315	..	20	..	1	12	5	22	6	..		
	Metals	Mar.	3	160	..	55	..	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	..
		Apr.	8	188	..	42	..	6	..	..	2	1	7	..	..
		May	7	794	..	278	..	5	..	1	1	3	4	..	..
		July	2	319	..	107	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..
		Aug.	3	103	..	147	..	..	..	1	2	..	3	..	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	* Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1907	Metals	Sept.	1	15	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Nov.	1	26	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		25	1,605	..	642	..	13	..	3	9	4	20	1	..	
	All Other	Jan.	3	64	..	7	..	1	..	..	2	1	2	..	..
		Feb.	4	277	..	111	..	1	..	..	3	..	4	..	..
		Mar.	6	2,091	..	90	..	2	..	1	3	2	3	1	..
		Apr.	11	1,011	..	210	..	7	1	..	3	1	8	2	..
		May	31	1,456	..	533	..	20	..	4	7	9	21	1	..
		June	11	870	..	79	..	8	..	1	2	1	7	3	..
		July	8	308	..	134	..	5	..	..	3	2	4	1	1
		Aug.	5	370	..	93	..	3	..	..	2	..	5	..	..
		Sept.	5	148	..	44	..	3	..	..	2	1	4	..	..
		Oct.	16	1,152	..	163	..	6	..	4	6	1	15	..	..
Nov.		4	46	..	30	..	..	..	..	4	2	2	..	..
Dec.	2	38	..	16	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
	106	7,831	..	1,510	..	57	1	10	38	20	77	8	1		
1908	Textiles	Jan.	2	45	..	64	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..
		Feb.	1	30	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Mar.	2	48	..	2	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..
		Apr.	1	72	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		May	2	57	..	16	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
		June	3	75	..	26	..	..	2	..	1	..	2	1	..
		Aug.	2	58	..	7	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
		Sept.	1	155	..	42	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Nov.	1	299	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		15	839	..	160	..	2	5	..	8	2	12	1	..	
	Boots	Feb.	1	15	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Mar.	1	16	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Apr.	4	66	..	27	..	2	1	..	1	..	4	..	..
May		1	8	..	15	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
Aug.		1	45	..	29	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1908	Boots	Sept.	2	107	..	30	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..
		Oct.	3	1,556	..	31	..	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
		Nov.	4	171	..	38	..	1	..	..	3	1	2	1	..
		Dec.	1	400	..	18	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
			19	2,402	..	196	..	7	2	..	10	5	10	4	..	
		Metals	Mar.	1	6	..	14	1	..	1
	Apr.		1	48	..	8	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
	May		1	17	..	10	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
	Sept.		1	12	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
			4	83	..	34	..	..	..	1	3	1	2	1	..
		All Other	Jan.	2	145	..	24	..	1	1	..	1	1	..
	Feb.		7	532	..	73	..	3	1	..	3	2	5	..	..
	Mar.		10	359	..	121	..	4	2	..	4	..	9	1	..	
	Apr.		10	753	..	183	..	7	1	1	1	2	7	1	..	
	May		9	1,326	..	61	..	3	1	..	5	2	6	1	..	
	June		3	94	..	23	..	2	1	..	..	..	2	1	..
	July		6	266	..	26	..	3	..	..	3	..	3	3	..
	Aug.		4	259	..	134	..	2	1	..	1	1	1	2	..	
	Oct.		1	18	..	10	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Nov.	2		40	..	4	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	..
Dec.	1		186	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		55	3,978	..	665	..	26	7	1	21	9	36	10	..		
1909	Textiles	Jan.	1	62	..	10	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Feb.	4	71	..	25	..	3	1	..	..	1	2	1	..
		Mar.	2	39	..	7	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
		Apr.	1	85	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		May	3	68	..	21	..	2	1	..	..	1	1	1	..
		June	2	300	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
		July	1	5	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Aug.	2	81	..	24	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	..
		Sept.	5	4,014	..	101	..	4	..	1	..	..	4	1	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1909	Textiles	Nov.	3	53	..	54	..	..	..	3	..	..	3	..	..
		Dec.	3	90	..	14	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	2	..
			27	4,868	..	264	..	17	3	4	3	2	15	10	..
	Boots	Jan.	5	176	..	14	..	4	..	..	1	3	1	1	..
		Feb.	7	257	..	52	..	4	..	..	3	3	4	..	..
		Mar.	5	630	..	25	..	4	..	..	1	2	1	2	..
		Apr.	4	101	..	22	..	2	..	..	2	1	3	..	..
		May	3	41	..	7	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
		June	2	27	..	7	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	..	..
		July	6	464	..	60	..	3	..	..	3	3	2	1	..
		Aug.	6	163	..	39	..	4	..	..	2	1	..	5	..
		Sept.	2	141	..	62	..	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
		Oct.	2	37	..	33	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
		Nov.	1	15	..	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Dec.	5	182	..	18	..	1	..	..	4	1	4	..	..
				48	2,234	..	345	..	30	..	1	17	15	22	11
	Metals	Jan.	1	8	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Apr.	1	80	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		July	1	33	..	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Sept.	1	75	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Oct.	2	145	..	12	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
		Nov.	1	32	..	14	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
			7	373	..	39	..	5	..	..	2	3	4	..	..
	All Other	Jan.	5	172	..	43	..	1	..	..	4	..	5	..	..
		Feb.	3	35	..	21	..	..	..	..	3	2	1	..	..
		Mar.	5	291	..	20	..	3	..	1	1	3	2	..	..
		Apr.	10	423	..	57	..	4	1	..	5	5	4	1	..
		May	13	820	..	102	..	8	..	..	5	6	5	2	..
		June	20	1,520	..	147	..	11	1	3	5	9	6	5	..
		July	15	880	..	108	..	6	..	2	7	6	8	1	..
		Aug.	7	312	..	101	..	3	..	..	4	2	3	2	..
		Sept.	5	284	..	17	..	2	..	..	3	..	5	..	..

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1909	All Other	Oct.	7	122	..	55	..	2	..	3	2	2	4	1	..	
		Nov.	8	149	..	74	..	1	..	..	7	2	6	..	..
		Dec.	3	18	..	6	..	..	1	..	2	..	3	..	..
			101	5,026	..	751	..	41	3	9	48	37	52	12	..	
1910	Textiles	Jan.	25	1,690	..	245	..	4	19	..	2	4	19	2	..	
		Feb.	5	142	..	42	..	4	..	..	1	..	4	1	..
		Mar.	3	120	..	16	..	2	..	..	1	..	3	..	..
		Apr.	2	711	..	33	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
		May	5	461	..	19	..	2	..	..	3	..	5	..	..
		June	7	734	..	85	..	6	..	..	1	1	6	..	..
		July	2	128	..	5	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
		Aug.	1	60	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
			50	4,046	..	451	..	21	19	..	10	6	40	4	..	
		Boots	Jan.	8	421	..	33	..	5	2	..	1	4	3	1	..
	Feb.		4	204	..	13	..	2	..	..	2	3	..	1	..
	Mar.		5	89	..	12	..	3	..	..	2	2	3	..	..
	Apr.		10	187	..	106	..	7	..	1	2	7	3	..	..
	May		4	158	..	61	..	1	..	..	3	1	1	2	..
June	5		90	..	78	..	1	..	..	4	3	2	..	..
		July	4	44	..	34	..	1	..	..	3	2	2	..	..
		Aug.	3	472	..	47	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..	..
		Oct.	3	33	..	17	..	2	..	..	1	2	1	..	..
		Nov.	2	50	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..
		Dec.	6	149	..	41	..	2	..	..	4	5	1	..	..
		54	1,897	..	445	..	25	2	1	26	34	16	4	..		
	Metals	Jan.	1	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Mar.		4	124	..	59	..	3	..	..	1	2	2	..	..
Apr.		1	20	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
May		3	99	..	13	..	..	..	3	..	1	1	1	..	
July		4	264	..	26	..	2	..	..	2	..	1	3	..	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1910	Metals	Aug.	4	162	..	72	..	2	1	..	1	3	..	1	..	
		Sept.	3	65	..	26	..	2	..	..	1	..	3	..	..
			23	1,426	..	273	..	10	1	4	8	7	11	5	..	
	All Other	Jan.	3	64	..	19	..	..	1	..	2	1	2	..	..
		Feb.	1	251	..	30	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Mar.	7	293	..	31	..	4	..	3	3	4	..	..	..
		Apr.	11	1,206	..	118	..	6	..	1	4	7	4	..	..
		May	23	1,144	..	112	..	15	..	5	3	2	13	8	..	
		June	14	680	..	57	..	10	..	2	2	7	4	3	..	
		July	9	541	..	102	..	6	..	1	2	1	4	4	..	
		Aug.	15	1,006	..	75	..	7	..	1	7	8	6	1	..	
		Sept.	12	387	..	80	..	3	..	2	7	3	8	1	..	
		Oct.	7	127	..	23	..	1	..	..	6	3	4	..	..
		Nov.	9	251	..	41	..	3	1	1	4	6	3	..	..
		Dec.	4	110	..	36	..	2	..	..	2	1	2	1	..
			115	6,060	..	724	..	58	2	13	42	42	54	19	..	
1911	Textiles	Jan.	4	283	..	9	..	1	..	..	3	..	2	1	..
		Feb.	2	94	..	16	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
		Mar.	4	155	..	29	..	2	1	..	1	..	4	..	..
		Apr.	1	28	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
		May	3	140	..	20	..	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	..
		July	3	136	..	17	..	1	..	..	2	1	2	..	..
		Aug.	2	83	..	14	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..
		Sept.	2	16	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
		Oct.	3	147	..	13	..	2	..	..	1	..	3	..	..
		Nov.	1	36	..	11	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	4	276	..	63	..	1	..	1	2	1	2	1	..	
					29	1,394	..	199	..	14	1	1	13	3	21	5
		Boots	Jan.	8	246	..	202	..	4	1	..	3	3	2	3	..
		Feb.	3	85	..	25	..	3	..	..	..	2	..	1	..
		Mar.	7	117	..	26	..	5	1	..	1	3	2	2	..	
		Apr.	5	359	..	82	..	2	..	..	3	1	3	1	..

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1911	Boots	May	3	298	..	90	..	1	..	..	2	..	2	1	..
		June	5	100	..	101	..	4	..	..	1	1	2	2	..
		July	4	110	..	37	..	3	..	..	1	..	4	..	..
		Aug.	3	114	..	21	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	1	..
		Oct.	3	620	..	42	..	2	..	..	1	2	..	1	..
		Nov.	7	179	..	88	..	2	..	..	5	5	2	..	..
		Dec.	2	50	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
				50	2,278	..	716	..	29	2	..	19	20	17	13	..
		Metals	Jan.	1	27	..	11	..	1	1
			Feb.	1	45	..	19	1	1
			Mar.	2	26	..	10	2	..	2
			Apr.	1	23	..	2	1	..	1
			May	3	420	..	92	1	2	..	1	2	..
	July		2	71	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	1	..
	Aug.		2	39	..	7	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
	Nov.		1	16	..	10	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
			14	684	..	181	..	2	1	1	10	1	10	3	..	
	All Other	Jan.	9	148	..	67	..	2	1	..	6	6	3	..	..
		Feb.	12	533	..	167	..	4	1	..	7	5	5	2	..	
		Mar.	15	1,104	..	227	..	10	1	1	3	4	6	5	..	
		Apr.	11	501	..	77	..	8	..	1	2	5	3	3	..	
		May	18	827	..	306	..	7	2	3	6	9	4	5	..	
		June	16	859	..	196	..	8	..	3	5	6	10	..	..
		July	7	133	..	62	..	1	..	2	4	3	3	1	..	
		Aug.	11	314	..	143	..	6	..	..	5	3	6	2	..
		Sept.	10	352	..	212	..	3	1	3	3	5	3	2	..	
		Oct.	10	154	..	61	..	5	1	1	3	2	6	2	..	
		Nov.	6	432	..	41	..	3	..	..	3	3	3	..	..
		Dec.	3	118	..	22	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	3	..
			128	5,475	..	1,581	..	59	7	14	48	52	52	24	..	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1912	Textiles	Jan.	12	9,135	..	123	..	3	7	..	2	2	8	2	..
		Feb.	8	274	..	25	..	6	..	..	2	2	4	2	..
		Mar.	16	8,853	..	146	..	14	..	..	2	8	6	2	..
		Apr.	17	962	..	178	..	10	3	..	4	5	8	4	..
		May	6	3,448	..	127	..	1	..	..	5	..	4	2	..
		June	5	400	..	23	..	..	..	..	5	1	3	1	..
		July	4	4,928	..	71	..	2	..	..	2	..	2	2	..
		Aug.	6	1,191	..	73	..	..	..	..	6	2	3	1	..
		Sept.	5	556	..	91	..	3	..	..	2	1	3	1	..
		Oct.	3	160	..	17	..	1	..	..	2	..	3	..	..
		Nov.	5	305	..	114	..	2	..	..	3	2	2	1	..
		Dec.	1	73	..	21	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
					88	30,285	..	1,009	..	43	10	..	35	23	47	18	..
	Boots	Jan.	4	167	..	29	..	1	1	..	2	1	1	2	..
		Mar.	5	614	..	105	..	5	..	..	..	2	2	1	..
		Apr.	10	497	..	199	..	6	..	..	4	7	2	1	..
		May	4	572	..	22	..	3	..	..	1	2	1	1	..
		June	4	314	..	30	..	1	..	..	3	3	1	..	..
		July	4	277	..	43	..	4	..	..	..	1	1	2	..
		Aug.	8	437	..	7	..	4	..	1	3	4	4	..	..
		Sept.	5	303	..	79	..	2	..	3	..	2	1	2	..
		Oct.	3	107	..	33	..	3	..	..	..	1	2	..	..
		Nov.	2	202	..	60	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
		Dec.	4	408	..	61	..	2	..	..	2	1	2	1	..
				53	3,898	..	668	..	33	1	4	15	24	18	11
	Metals	Jan.	2	159	..	36	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..
		Mar.	4	395	..	17	..	3	..	..	1	..	3	1	..
		Apr.	3	109	..	16	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	..	..
		May	1	110	..	13	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		June	2	152	..	26	..	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	..
		Aug.	3	580	..	33	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	2	..
		Sept.	5	240	..	60	..	3	..	1	1	2	1	2	..
	Oct.	1	6	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1912	Metals	Nov.	1	....	1	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	1	60	..	10	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
			23	1,811	1	217	..	13	1	3	6	6	10	7	..
	All Other	Jan.	5	2,758	..	114	..	4	..	..	1	2	3	..	..
		Feb.	8	648	..	47	..	1	..	..	7	3	4	1	..
		Mar.	8	269	..	27	..	2	..	..	6	2	6	..	..
		Apr.	19	1,463	..	308	..	11	1	2	5	9	3	7	..
		May	21	1,450	..	231	..	12	..	4	5	6	8	7	..
		June	16	3,661	..	199	..	6	..	3	7	5	7	4	..
		July	11	625	..	96	..	6	..	4	1	5	5	1	..
		Aug.	15	1,049	..	120	..	7	..	..	8	7	6	2	..
		Sept.	9	338	..	203	..	3	..	1	5	3	4	2	..
		Oct.	9	269	..	62	..	4	..	..	5	4	5	..	..
Nov.	8	186	..	57	..	4	1	1	2	3	4	1	..		
Dec.	2	38	..	28	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	..	..
		131	12,754	..	1,492	..	61	2	16	52	51	55	25	..	
1913	Textiles	Feb.	1	30	..	...	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Mar.	3	....	3	3	2	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
		Apr.	3	500	1	151	..	2	..	..	1	..	2	1	..
		May	4	727	1	227	2	2	..	..	2	1	..	1	2
		June	3	439	..	35	2	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	2
		July	2	25	1	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1
		Aug.	1	25	..	4	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..
		Sept.	4	75	2	19	1	2	..	1	1	2	..	2	..
		Oct.	2	80	..	5	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	1
		Nov.	2	300	1	9	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	..
	Dec.	3	190	1	5	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	1	
			28	2,391	10	459	12	12	2	2	12	7	4	7	10
	Boots	Jan.	4	253	..	13	3	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	3
Feb.		3	50	1	59	1	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	
Mar.		2	....	2	15	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..
Apr.		5	193	3	50	..	4	..	..	1	2	..	..	3	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1913	Boots	May	5	102	1	11	3	4	1	2	3	
		June	1	54	..	60	..	1	1	
		Aug.	5	730	2	12	..	2	3	2	1	..	2	
		Sept.	2	60	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	
		Oct.	2	38	2	..	2	2	2	
		Nov.	4	126	1	4	2	2	2	..	1	1	
		Dec.	1	60	..	30	1	1	
				34	1,666	13	259	10	19	..	2	13	16	1	1	16
		Metals	Jan.	5	56	3	10	3	4	1	1	1	..	3
			Feb.	6	357	1	35	4	3	3	..	1	1	4
	Mar.		5	322	1	13	1	3	2	1	1	1	2	
	Apr.		6	707	1	96	4	4	2	1	1	..	4	
	May		10	1,931	2	124	6	3	3	3	1	..	2	2	6	
	June		7	890	1	184	2	5	2	2	1	1	3	
	July		2	108	1	20	3	1	1	1	1	
	Aug.		2	163	2	1	1	1	1	
	Sept.		6	291	3	11	..	4	2	1	..	1	4	
	Oct.		1	70	1	1	..	1	
	Nov.	1	200	..	7	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
	Dec.	1	62	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		52	5,157	13	503	26	28	4	4	16	10	7	7	28		
All Other	Jan.	7	485	3	5	4	2	1	..	4	2	..	1	4		
	Feb.	14	8,012	5	53	7	10	2	1	1	6	..	..	8
	Mar.	18	2,246	7	64	10	9	1	1	7	6	2	1	9		
	Apr.	27	2,572	5	213	9	20	2	..	5	14	1	2	10		
	May	44	3,559	8	270	24	24	7	..	13	11	7	3	23		
	June	19	2,253	7	192	6	8	4	..	7	9	3	1	6		
	July	16	328	7	178	10	7	3	..	6	3	1	2	10		
	Aug.	15	351	4	26	12	3	..	..	12	2	1	1	11
	Sept.	19	1,184	5	17	12	9	..	..	10	5	2	..	12
	Oct.	10	567	3	..	10	2	1	..	7	..	..	..	10
	Nov.	11	274	6	21	9	2	1	..	8	2	1	..	8		
	Dec.	4	110	2	13	2	..	..	..	4	1	..	1	2
		204	21,941	62	1,052	115	96	22	2	84	61	18	12	113		

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1914	Textiles	Jan.	2	38	..	8	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
		Feb.	3	82	..	...	3	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
		Mar.	2	153	..	5	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
		Apr.	6	175	2	4	4	2	3	..	1	2	..	..	4
		June	2	270	..	7	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
		July	3	159	..	2	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	1
		Aug.	1	...	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Sept.	1	18	..	...	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Oct.	1	18	..	...	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	2	26	..	2	1	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1
				23	939	3	28	15	13	3	..	7	6	..	1	16
	Boots	Jan.	4	342	..	22	2	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	3
		Mar.	4	297	..	1	3	1	..	..	3	1	..	..	3
		Apr.	2	20	1	...	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		May	1	...	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		June	2	200	1	3	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1
		July	5	204	1	27	2	2	1	..	2	..	..	3	2
		Aug.	1	20	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Sept.	1	...	1	...	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
		Oct.	4	295	1	8	..	2	1	..	1	2	1	..	1
		Nov.	1	20	..	17	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Dec.	1	500	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		26	1,898	6	81	12	7	2	1	16	6	1	5	14	
	Metals	Jan.	2	160	..	28	..	..	..	..	2	1	1	..	..
		Mar.	1	21	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Apr.	1	100	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		May	3	164	..	16	1	1	..	..	2	1	1	..	1
		June	2	207	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
		July	4	82	1	5	3	2	..	..	2	..	1	..	3
		13	734	1	57	4	5	..	..	8	3	4	2	4	
All Other	Jan.	9	105	3	...	9	4	..	1	4	1	..	..	8	
	Feb.	14	153	7	10	12	5	..	2	7	2	..	..	12	
	Mar.	11	29	6	2	9	5	..	..	6	..	..	2	9	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1914	All Other	Apr.	20	1,862	7	16	15	10	..	1	9	3	1	3	13		
		May	18	903	1	84	11	7	..	2	9	2	2	2	12		
		June	12	796	3	5	8	5	..	..	7	2	2	..	8
		July	17	948	2	87	9	11	..	2	4	3	4	1	9		
		Aug.	11	160	3	23	9	3	..	2	6	..	1	1	9		
		Sept.	6	96	3	42	2	2	..	1	3	2	1	..	3		
		Oct.	7	229	2	74	3	4	1	..	2	3	1	..	3		
		Nov.	10	240	1	21	6	2	2	..	6	..	4	..	6		
		Dec.	8	272	2	27	5	4	..	..	4	3	1	..	4
					143	5,793	40	391	98	62	3	11	67	21	17	9	96
		1915	Textiles	Mar.	5	153	2	30	2	2	3	2	3
				Apr.	6	381	2	38	..	3	3	6
May	10			747	1	33	2	7	..	2	1	7	..	1	2		
June	4			534	..	16	2	2	..	..	2	2	..	..	2
July	3			1,175	..	2	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	2
Aug.	4			292	..	8	3	2	..	..	2	1	..	..	3
Sept.	2			261	..	8	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
Oct.	8			338	..	18	4	5	..	1	2	3	1	..	4		
Nov.	3			31	1	2	1	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	1
Dec.	2			312	..	10	..	..	1	..	1	2	..	..	..
					47	4,224	6	165	17	27	1	3	16	25	2	2	18
1915	Boots			Feb.	1	40	..	4	..	1	1
		Mar.	1	80	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Apr.	2	1,215	..	25	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
		Aug.	4	33	1	3	3	4	..	..	..	1	2	..	1
		Sept.	2	110	..	8	..	1	..	..	1	2	..	..	..
		Nov.	3	665	..	15	1	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	1
		Dec.	2	59	..	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
					15	2,202	1	59	7	12	3	7	2	..	6
1915	Metals	Feb.	1	50	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Mar.	1	34	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1
		Apr.	3	160	1	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
		May	4	146	..	16	2	1	..	..	3	1	..	..	3
		June	1	56	..	180	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	* Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1915	Metals	July	4	810	1	...	4	..	..	..	4	..	1	1	2
		Aug.	8	116	3	9	4	2	1	2	3	1	1	..	6	
		Sept.	13	6,224	1	108	7	6	..	5	2	5	1	..	7	
		Oct.	10	2,938	..	83	5	3	..	4	3	3	2	..	5	
		Nov.	3	95	..	...	3	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
		Dec.	5	699	..	44	1	5	..	..	..	2	..	2	1
				53	11,328	6	442	30	22	1	12	18	14	5	3	31
		All Other	Jan.	5	396	2	119	1	2	1	..	2	3	..	1	1
			Feb.	6	45	2	...	6	2	4	6
			Mar.	12	1,712	1	10	7	4	8	4	1	..	7
			Apr.	12	710	5	80	5	6	..	1	5	6	6
			May	11	310	3	295	4	5	..	1	5	4	2	1	4
			June	10	505	2	115	3	4	1	..	5	6	1	..	3
July	14		438	2	22	10	7	..	..	7	1	2	1	10	
Aug.	17		1,838	1	100	5	6	..	..	11	5	3	3	6	
Sept.	13		1,789	2	61	6	6	..	..	7	4	3	..	6	
Oct.	15		2,031	1	177	9	11	..	1	3	2	..	3	10		
Nov.	10		804	3	53	5	6	..	1	3	2	..	2	6		
Dec.	3		216	2	35	..	..	..	..	3	1	..	2	..	
		128	10,794	26	1,067	61	59	2	4	63	38	12	13	65		
1916	Textiles	Jan.	14	766	2	142	5	13	..	..	1	6	1	2	5
		Feb.	6	910	..	5	3	5	..	..	1	..	1	2	3
		Mar.	10	886	1	35	3	8	..	1	1	3	2	..	5	
		Apr.	20	2,902	4	65	10	18	..	..	2	7	2	..	11
		May	12	941	1	17	5	10	..	..	2	4	..	1	7
		June	4	436	1	14	1	3	..	1	..	2	..	1	1	
		July	9	927	1	29	7	5	..	..	4	1	2	1	5
		Aug.	12	1,317	1	83	7	5	1	2	4	2	2	1	7	
		Sept.	7	875	1	23	5	4	..	3	..	..	2	..	5
		Oct.	8	262	1	14	3	5	..	1	2	3	1	..	4	
		Nov.	7	1,245	..	62	3	5	..	..	2	2	2	..	3
		Dec.	4	910	..	7	1	2	..	..	2	1	2	..	1
		113	12,377	13	496	53	83	1	8	21	31	17	8	57		

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1916	Boots	Jan.	1	120	2	5	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Feb.	8	554	..	23	5	8	..	..	..	2	1	..	5
		Mar.	4	1,080	1	15	..	3	..	..	1	2	..	..	2
		Apr.	3	210	4	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	2
		May	4	359	1	5	..	2	..	2	..	1	..	..	3
		June	5	177	1	6	..	4	..	1	..	1	..	..	4
		July	3	325	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
		Aug.	3	2,242	1	23	..	1	..	..	2	1	1	..	1
		Sept.	4	290	1	14	..	3	..	..	1	1	..	1	2
		Oct.	2	110	1	4	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
		Dec.	5	850	..	170	..	3	..	..	2	2	2	..	1
					42	6,317	13	266	5	30	..	4	8	12	5	1	24
			Metals	Jan.	8	1,964	..	4	5	6	..	1	1	3	5
Feb.	2			390	..	4	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
Mar.	12			1,194	1	163	6	7	..	1	4	4	1	1	6		
Apr.	12			784	1	249	5	8	..	1	3	2	2	1	7		
May	15			3,211	..	69	9	13	..	1	1	2	2	2	9		
June	3			..	3	19	2	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
July	8			216	3	9	5	3	..	2	3	1	..	..	7
Aug.	4			768	..	65	..	1	..	1	2	1	2	1	..		
Sept.	9			4,566	..	88	4	3	..	3	3	..	3	2	4		
Oct.	3			441	..	..	3	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	3
Nov.	1			200	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
			77	13,734	8	670	40	45	1	10	21	15	10	7	45		
All Other		Jan.	25	3,426	1	133	7	18	..	7	..	10	2	5	8		
		Feb.	17	3,495	1	34	6	10	..	1	6	3	2	3	9		
		Mar.	24	7,698	4	188	10	16	..	2	6	7	2	15	..		
		Apr.	71	6,823	4	195	41	53	1	1	16	20	4	23	24		
		May	56	9,988	9	144	32	42	..	3	11	13	8	1	34		
		June	51	11,034	7	146	33	37	..	6	8	9	6	28	8		
		July	46	3,655	30	177	32	30	..	1	15	7	5	3	31		
		Aug.	34	1,935	8	54	25	22	..	4	8	3	1	2	28		
		Sept.	27	2,939	2	64	19	14	..	2	11	6	..	1	20		
		Oct.	22	1,297	..	43	12	19	..	..	3	5	2	1	14

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	* Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1916	All Other	Nov.	15	1,801	4	16	11	12	..	2	1	3	3	..	9
		Dec.	15	281	4	26	11	8	..	6	1	2	1	..	12
			403	54,372	74	1,220	239	281	1	35	86	88	36	82	197
1917	Textiles	Jan.	2	45	..	32	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	..
		Feb.	6	439	3	13	..	4	..	..	2	1	2	..	3
		Mar.	4	830	..	24	3	1	1	..	2	..	1	..	3
		Apr.	5	336	1	...	5	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	5
		May	10	6,541	1	37	5	6	..	..	4	..	2	2	6
		June	8	1,150	..	...	8	5	..	..	3	..	..	..	8
		July	8	990	2	12	4	4	..	..	4	..	..	1	7
		Aug.	3	116	1	...	3	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	2
		Sept.	2	200	1	...	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
		Oct.	8	657	4	40	5	6	..	..	2	..	2	1	5
		Nov.	5	765	..	7	4	4	..	..	1	..	1	1	3
		Dec.	4	262	2	9	2	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	4
					65	12,331	15	174	41	35	2	1	27	1	8
	Boots	Jan.	3	395	..	105	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	1	1
		Feb.	4	255	1	30	..	2	..	..	2	1	2	1	..
		Mar.	1	50	..	9	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Apr.	1	...	1	13	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		May	1	100	..	...	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		June	4	716	..	17	3	3	..	..	1	..	1	..	3
		July	3	105	..	...	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
		Oct.	3	150	2	...	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
		Nov.	3	384	..	...	3	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
		Dec.	2	85	..	15	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
			25	2,240	4	189	15	20	..	..	5	5	3	2	15
	Metals	Jan.	3	40	1	...	3	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	3
		Feb.	3	946	..	50	..	1	..	1	1	..	1	1	1
		Mar.	5	1,181	..	24	2	4	..	..	1	2	..	1	2
		Apr.	7	1,030	..	57	3	5	..	..	2	1	1	2	3
		May	10	678	1	18	8	5	..	..	5	1	1	..	8

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1917	Metals	June	9	901	1	18	4	6	..	1	2	1	3	..	5	
		July	4	492	1	30	2	2	..	1	1	2	..	1	1	
		Aug.	7	4,705	..	17	4	6	..	..	1	2	..	2	3
		Sept.	2	..	2	7	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	1
		Oct.	3	7,535	..	7	2	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	1
		Nov.	6	330	2	36	4	4	..	..	2	2	..	..	4
				59	17,838	8	264	33	36	..	5	18	13	6	8	32
		All Other	Jan.	22	2,087	3	113	10	14	..	2	6	5	3	4	10
			Feb.	14	1,092	2	87	18	7	..	1	6	2	1	3	8
			Mar.	13	698	3	111	6	7	..	1	5	4	1	1	7
			Apr.	35	2,100	9	59	28	18	..	9	8	4	2	..	29
			May	36	1,386	9	12	29	28	..	1	7	5	2	1	28
			June	22	1,128	6	54	15	16	..	2	4	2	1	3	16
			July	27	2,183	9	19	22	15	..	5	7	4	3	1	19
			Aug.	22	1,402	7	33	16	14	..	1	7	3	1	3	15
Sept.	14		2,071	4	199	9	11	..	1	2	1	2	1	10		
Oct.	32		4,602	13	204	24	18	..	3	11	1	6	..	25		
Nov.	12		5,545	3	16	10	6	..	1	5	..	2	..	10		
Dec.	4		156	2	6	3	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	
		253	24,450	70	913	190	158	..	27	68	31	25	17	180		
1918	Textiles	Jan.	3	362	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
		Feb.	3	98	..	1	2	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	2
		Mar.	5	484	2	18	1	..	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	
		Apr.	7	995	1	38	5	4	..	..	3	..	..	2	5
		May	7	498	3	17	4	5	..	..	2	..	2	1	4
		June	12	36,387	5	80	6	8	..	1	3	3	..	3	6	
		July	12	15,734	2	30	4	9	1	1	1	3	2	3	4	
		Aug.	4	661	..	41	3	2	..	1	1	1	..	1	2	
		Sept.	2	200	1	3	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
		Oct.	3	1,040	1	3	2	3	..	..	..	1	..	..	2
		Nov.	1	..	1	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Dec.	3	118	1	1	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	2
		62	56,577	17	237	33	39	2	5	16	12	5	13	32		

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1918	Boots	Jan.	1	....	1	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Feb.	3	325	..	26	1	2	..	..	1	2	..	..	1
		Mar.	1	200	..	6	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Apr.	3	54	1	9	1	3	..	..	..	2	..	..	1
		May	7	1,825	2	5	3	7	..	..	..	4	..	..	3
		June	1	200	..	...	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		July	3	4,137	..	120	1	3	..	..	..	1	1	..	1
		Aug.	4	1,700	2	2	3	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	4
		Sept.	1	300	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Oct.	3	51	1	...	3	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	2
		Nov.	1	300	..	...	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Dec.	1	15	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
				29	9,107	7	168	16	20	9	11	1	..	17
	Metals	Jan.	3	2,915	..	15	2	1	..	2	..	1	..	..	2
		Feb.	3	291	..	2	1	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	1
		Mar.	2	246	..	7	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	1
		Apr.	3	1,288	..	60	2	..	..	2	1	1	..	1	1
		May	9	652	1	30	6	6	..	..	3	2	1	..	6
		June	4	590	1	10	..	..	..	1	3	2	1	1	..
		July	8	9,190	1	39	..	5	..	2	1	3	..	4	1	
		Aug.	4	480	1	13	3	3	..	1	..	1	..	1	2	
		Oct.	4	5,861	..	2	2	2	2	2	1	1
		Nov.	3	980	..	13	1	3	2	1
		Dec.	1	5,000	1	1	1	..
				44	27,493	4	191	19	18	..	9	17	14	2	12	16
			All Other	Jan.	4	21	2	...	4	2	..	2
Feb.	7			677	2	2	6	3	..	..	4	..	2	..	5
Mar.	12			1,161	3	61	7	10	..	..	2	3	2	..	7
Apr.	15			444	10	55	10	13	..	2	..	4	..	3	8	
May	19			1,334	5	52	14	11	..	5	3	3	..	1	15	
June	24			6,822	12	121	10	24	..	..	..	8	2	3	11
July	27			8,647	5	65	16	23	..	2	2	8	..	4	15	
Aug.	16			2,039	5	32	8	13	..	2	1	4	1	1	10	
Sept.	14			385	7	8	9	11	..	2	1	2	1	1	10	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1918	All Other	Oct.	18	1,811	5	113	7	15	..	..	3	7	2	3	6
		Nov.	14	1,536	5	26	9	8	..	5	1	1	1	2	10	
		Dec.	13	2,508	4	119	4	6	1	1	5	1	1	5	6	
			183	27,385	65	654	104	139	1	21	22	41	12	23	107	
1919	Textiles	Jan.	1	22	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Feb.	4	25,544	..	120	2	1	1	..	2	1	1	..	2	
		Mar.	3	46	..	1	2	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
		Apr.	2	200	..	12	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
		May	5	11,000	..	33	2	1	..	2	2	1	..	1	3	
		June	11	2,764	2	36	6	4	..	4	3	2	..	2	3	
		July	6	330	2	36	4	4	2	..	..	..	2	2	2
		Aug.	7	766	1	49	3	4	..	..	3	2	2	..	3
		Sept.	8	1,640	..	36	4	4	1	..	3	3	1	1	3	
		Oct.	5	245	1	59	3	4	..	..	1	1	..	2	2
		Nov.	5	1,241	1	58	3	2	..	..	3	1	..	1	3
		Dec.	7	41,353	..	40	7	5	..	..	2	1	..	1	5
				64	85,151	7	480	38	32	5	6	21	13	7	11	33
			Metals	Feb.	2	327	..	42	1	1	1	1	..	..	1
Mar.	2	150		1	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	
Apr.	1	25		..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
May	5	845		1	437	..	4	1	..	..	4	..	..	1	
June	11	1,490		1	149	..	5	4	1	1	4	..	2	5		
July	8	971		1	16	6	4	3	..	1	..	..	3	5	
Aug.	8	556		2	65	4	6	1	..	1	1	2	1	4		
Sept.	3	315		..	40	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	
Oct.	1	30		..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
Nov.	3	835		1	15	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	
Dec.	3	435		..	39	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	
		47		5,979	7	805	18	28	11	1	7	11	3	10	23	
	Boots	Jan.	7	365	1	72	2	5	..	..	2	2	..	3	
Feb.		1	40	..	10	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Mar.		2	75	1	1	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1919	Boots	Apr.	6	1,555	..	187	1	2	..	..	4	1	..	4	1
		May	10	8,604	2	56	5	5	1	..	4	3	..	2	5	
		June	8	1,358	1	91	2	4	1	..	3	1	..	4	3	
		July	9	3,506	2	132	3	6	..	..	3	2	1	2	4
		Aug.	8	389	3	15	7	4	..	..	4	1	..	..	7
		Sept.	2	....	2	2	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
		Oct.	3	180	..	..	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
		Nov.	1	115	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Dec.	1	600	..	33	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
				58	16,787	12	600	27	29	2	..	27	11	3	16	28
		All Other	Jan.	10	293	6	8	7	7	3	1	1	1	7
			Feb.	6	675	3	5	4	2	4	1	..	1	4
			Mar.	9	67	4	37	4	5	4	2	1	1	5
Apr.	24		2,203	11	200	14	13	3	..	8	5	3	3	13		
May	29		2,596	9	132	19	19	6	..	4	7	2	1	19		
June	35		9,743	11	181	17	25	3	..	7	9	3	6	17		
July	33		18,385	6	136	18	29	2	..	2	9	9	..	15		
Aug.	37		21,402	16	552	18	25	6	..	6	7	9	14	7		
Sept.	30		1,794	7	42	22	23	..	..	7	..	4	6	20	
Oct.	21		3,910	9	134	14	14	1	..	6	5	3	4	9		
Nov.	11		875	..	74	8	5	..	..	6	1	2	1	7	
Dec.	11		1,282	1	32	8	8	..	..	3	2	2	2	5	
		256	63,225	83	1,533	153	175	21	..	60	49	39	40	128		
1920	Textiles	Jan.	6	158	2	30	4	2	..	..	4	..	1	1	4
		Feb.	2	84	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
		Mar.	6	5,075	..	36	4	3	1	1	1	..	1	1	4	
		Apr.	13	4,149	3	70	6	7	..	..	6	3	3	2	5
		May	7	23,585	2	4	6	4	..	..	3	..	..	1	6
		June	3	75	1	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
		Sept.	1	350	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Oct.	2	100	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
		Nov.	2	425	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
		Dec.	3	109	..	..	3	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
		45	34,110	9	141	32	23	4	1	17	4	5	5	31		

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1920	Boots	Jan.	3	345	1	...	3	2	1	..	1	..	2	
		Feb.	8	707	1	141	5	5	3	1	..	2	5	
		Mar.	5	380	..	72	2	2	3	2	3	
		Apr.	5	110	3	...	2	3	2	5	
		May	6	426	2	26	1	5	1	2	1	3	..	
		June	5	3,773	..	7	4	3	2	1	4	
		July	3	20	2	28	2	3	1	2	
		Aug.	4	632	..	12	2	3	1	2	2	
		Sept.	3	370	3	3	
		Dec.	2	50	1	...	2	1	1	2	
				44	6,813	10	286	23	24	20	7	2	7	28
		Metals	Jan.	1	1	1	1	1
			Feb.	2	88	..	4	2	2	1	..	1
Mar.	5		18,114	1	10	3	3	..	..	2	1	..	..	4
Apr.	12		865	2	14	8	10	..	..	2	3	..	1	8
May	8		1,035	2	19	5	4	..	..	4	1	1	2	4
June	4		1,275	1	26	2	3	..	..	1	1	1	..	2
July	4		371	1	13	2	3	..	..	1	..	2	..	2
Aug.	2		140	..	...	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
Sept.	1		....	1	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Oct.	2		600	..	...	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
Dec.	1		75	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
			42	22,563	9	87	28	27	1	1	13	6	6	3	27	
All Other	Jan.	20	4,833	2	105	3	13	2	2	3	1	2	5	12		
	Feb.	18	1,706	4	75	11	11	..	..	7	2	1	5	10
	Mar.	31	4,903	5	199	17	18	..	..	13	6	2	4	19
	Apr.	42	6,104	10	97	26	28	..	1	13	4	7	6	25		
	May	44	3,450	6	97	13	37	..	2	5	13	5	3	23		
	June	13	2,013	3	13	10	10	..	1	2	2	1	..	10		
	July	18	1,500	5	18	15	11	..	..	7	..	3	..	15
	Aug.	13	383	2	60	5	11	..	..	2	3	1	3	6
	Sept.	14	1,818	2	21	11	8	..	1	5	2	..	3	9		
	Oct.	3	28	..	6	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	2

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1920	All	Nov.	8	327	4	1	7	1	1	1	5	..	..	..	8
	Other	Dec.	8	568	3	3	7	3	1	..	4	1	..	..	7
			232	27,633	46	695	127	154	4	8	66	34	22	30	146	
1921	Textiles	Jan.	4	576	1	60	3	1	2	..	1	..	1	..	3	
		Feb.	3	299	1	20	2	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	2	
		Apr.	1	66	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		May	1	56	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		June	1	13	..	8	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		July	1	110	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Sept.	1	300	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	2	215	..	28	1	..	2	..	..	1	..	..	1
	Dec.	1	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
				15	1,635	3	121	9	4	6	..	5	1	2	3	9
	Metals	Jan.	5	177	..	102	3	1	2	..	2	..	..	2	3
		Feb.	3	129	..	132	1	..	1	..	2	..	1	1	1	
		Mar.	3	212	..	1	1	..	3	..	..	..	1	..	2
Apr.		1	600	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
May		3	170	1	..	3	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	2	
June		2	21	1	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	
Aug.		1	10	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
			18	1,319	2	235	12	2	9	..	7	1	3	3	11	
Boots	Jan.	2	27	1	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1		
	Feb.	3	584	..	..	3	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	2	
	Mar.	2	1,500	1	6	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	
	Apr.	2	....	2	19	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..	
	May	4	850	2	27	1	..	..	..	4	..	..	3	1	
	June	1	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
	July	3	75	2	10	2	..	1	..	2	..	..	1	2	
	Aug.	2	89	..	7	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	
	Sept.	4	243	..	31	2	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	2		
	Oct.	2	33	..	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1921	Boots	Nov.	5	488	..	1	3	2	2	..	1	..	1	1	3
		Dec.	6	963	..	15	4	1	3	..	2	..	1	1	4
			36	4,852	9	116	22	7	12	1	16	..	8	8	20
	All Other	Jan.	23	2,273	2	107	18	10	6	..	7	1	7	..	15
		Feb.	9	3,658	1	268	4	..	6	3	..	..	7	..	2
		Mar.	15	1,693	4	228	4	..	8	1	6	1	6	1	7
		Apr.	16	10,155	4	395	1	1	11	..	4	1	12	1	2
		May	24	3,928	2	148	18	2	13	5	4	..	8	2	14
		June	13	1,805	4	43	4	1	8	3	1	..	7	..	6
		July	7	225	1	61	5	2	2	..	3	1	2	..	4
		Aug.	7	60	5	27	9	2	3	..	2	1	2	..	4
		Sept.	6	567	2	29	2	..	4	1	1	..	..	4	2
		Oct.	2	16	..	7	1	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1
Nov.		2	20	1	6	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	
Dec.		3	200	2	4	2	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	2	
		127	24,600	28	1,323	69	19	62	13	33	7	52	8	60	
1922	Textiles	Jan.	1	45	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Feb.	3	2,214	..	3	2	..	3	..	..	..	1	1	1
		Mar.	2	13,450	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
		Apr.	2	41	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	1
		May	1	25	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		July	1	1,000	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Aug.	1	20	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Sept.	2	662	..	5	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	1
		Oct.	1	50	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	1	150	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Dec.	1	13	..	7	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
				16	17,670	..	16	12	5	8	1	2	..	1	4	11
		Metals	Mar.	1	450	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
		May	2	640	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	1	
		July	1	22	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	
		Sept.	1	275	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	* Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1922	Metals	Oct.	4	95	1	39	2	1	..	..	3	..	1	1	2
		Nov.	1	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Dec.	1	50	..	210	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
			11	1,532	2	258	4	4	3	..	4	..	2	4	5
	Boots	Jan.	5	580	..	22	3	1	2	..	2	..	..	2	3
		Feb.	2	150	1	12	1	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1
		Mar.	4	422	1	8	3	..	3	..	1	1	..	..	3
		Apr.	7	347	..	6	4	1	2	..	4	1	..	3	3
		May	5	152	1	68	1	..	1	..	4	2	..	2	1
		June	1	50	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		July	5	868	1	1	4	..	3	1	1	1	..	1	3
		Aug.	9	4,117	1	13	7	3	..	..	6	3	3	2	1
		Sept.	6	1,255	1	8	2	2	2	1	1	..	3	1	2
Oct.		3	200	..	5	2	1	..	..	2	1	..	..	2	
Nov.		1	25	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Dec.		1	40	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
		49	8,206	6	145	28	8	15	2	24	11	6	11	21	
All Other	Jan.	10	630	..	5	8	..	5	3	2	1	2	1	6	
	Feb.	7	181	1	17	5	..	5	..	2	..	2	1	4	
	Mar.	6	2,186	1	24	3	..	3	1	2	3	1	..	2	
	Apr.	9	667	3	32	8	3	3	..	3	1	1	1	6	
	May	4	152	..	7	3	3	1	..	..	..	3	..	1	
	June	3	352	1	..	3	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	2	
	July	4	20	3	12	2	2	..	..	2	1	..	2	1	
	Aug.	5	238	1	..	5	3	1	..	1	..	3	..	2	
	Sept.	10	880	3	7	5	7	..	..	3	2	1	1	6	
	Oct.	3	49	1	3	1	2	..	1	..	..	1	1	1	
	Nov.	11	1,017	2	11	8	7	2	..	2	..	..	2	9	
	Dec.	2	82	..	14	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	
		74	6,454	16	132	51	29	21	5	19	9	14	9	42	
1923	Textiles	Jan.	1	600	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Feb.	2	75	..	12	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1	..
		Mar.	4	425	..	13	1	3	..	..	1	..	..	2	2

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1923	Textiles	Apr.	5	1,191	..	23	3	3	2	1	..	1	3	
		May	5	1,463	1	21	3	4	1	2	3	
		June	1	180	1	1	1	
		July	2	15	1	7	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	
		Aug.	2	285	2	2	2	
		Oct.	1	1	6	1	1	
			23	4,234	3	84	11	15	8	3	1	7	12	
		Metals	Mar.	2	600	2	1	1	2
	Apr.		2	55	..	2	1	2	1	1	1	
	May		4	336	..	3	3	2	1	1	3	
			8	991	..	5	6	5	3	2	6	
		Boots	Jan.	4	410	1	1	3	..	1	..	3	4
Feb.	4		62	1	1	3	2	..	..	2	1	..	2	1
Mar.	3		100	..	...	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
Apr.	5		1,400	2	13	2	3	..	..	2	2	..	..	3
May	3		1,400	..	...	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
June	3		475	..	16	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	1	..
July	5		71	1	13	3	3	..	..	2	..	1	1	3
Aug.	4		1,680	..	206	2	2	..	..	2	..	..	1	3
Sept.	1		10	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Oct.	5		225	1	1	4	2	..	..	3	1	1	1	2
Dec.	3		56	..	...	3	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
			40	5,889	6	251	27	17	1	..	22	6	2	6	26	
	All Other	Jan.	2	250	2	2	2	
Feb.		5	4,522	..	3	4	4	..	..	1	..	..	1	4
Mar.		5	30	1	3	4	2	1	..	2	1	..	..	4
Apr.		10	582	2	27	5	7	1	1	1	2	1	3	4		
May		26	1,840	6	60	16	18	..	..	8	5	..	4	17
June		11	608	3	27	3	7	..	1	3	2	..	..	9
July		7	1,427	..	10	5	5	..	..	2	1	..	1	5
Aug.		2	710	4	4	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1923	All Other	Sept.	1	60	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Oct.	2	4	1	...	2	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	1
			71	10,033	17	135	41	46	2	2	21	12	2	10	47	
1924	Textiles	Mar.	1	50	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Apr.	1	160	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		May.	2	350	..	...	2	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1
		Aug.	1	60	..	14	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Sept.	2	40	1	...	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		Oct.	1	550	..	7	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Nov.	1	60	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Dec.	1	90	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
				10	1,360	1	27	6	..	3	..	7	2	2	1	5
		Metals	Apr.	1	150	..	1	1	1
May	1		150	..	...	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
			2	300	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	
	Boots	Jan.	1	125	..	...	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Feb.		1	200	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
Mar.		1	25	..	15	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	
June		1	250	..	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
July		2	150	1	41	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..
Aug.		3	389	..	15	..	..	1	..	2	1	..	2	1	
Sept.		4	450	..	1	3	..	..	..	4	..	1	..	2	
Dec.		1	16	..	...	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
			14	1,605	1	72	7	3	3	..	8	2	2	3	7	
	All Other	Jan.	3	390	..	49	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	2	..
Feb.		1	1,700	..	41	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
Mar.		1	...	1	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
Apr.		5	418	1	...	5	3	..	..	2	..	..	..	5	
May		5	155	4	44	2	4	..	..	1	2	1	..	2	
June		3	112	1	4	1	..	2	..	1	1	1	..	1		

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1924	All Other	July	2	350	..	29	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	..
		Aug.	6	4,625	3	15	4	3	2	..	1	..	..	2	4
		Sept.	5	1,745	1	14	2	1	1	..	3	2	..	1	2		
		Oct.	4	540	1	..	4	..	1	..	3	1	..	..	3
		Nov.	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Dec.	1	100	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
					37	10,135	13	196	21	15	7	1	14	7	4	6	20
1925	Textiles	Jan.	5	4,267	..	37	1	..	5	2	3	..	
		Feb.	2	54	..	6	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	..
		Mar.	4	390	..	12	1	1	..	..	3	..	1	2	1
		June	1	100	..	6	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Aug.	8	3,030	..	40	2	..	6	1	1	1	3	2	2		
		Sept.	2	182	..	57	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Oct.	1	50	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	2	..	..
		Dec.	1	35	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
					24	8,108	..	158	6	4	11	1	8	1	10	9	4
		Metals	July	1	50	..	3	..	1	1	
			Aug.	1	6	..	1	1	..	1	
Sept.	1		40	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Oct.	1		350	..	15	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	
			4	446	..	24	..	3	..	..	1	1	2	1	..
Boots	Jan.	1	14	..	6	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	
	Feb.	1	600	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
	Mar.	1	25	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
	Apr.	1	7	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
	May	1	100	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	
	July	1	30	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
	Aug.	2	525	..	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2	
	Sept.	1	200	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
	Nov.	1	200	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
	Dec.	1	60	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
				11	1,761	..	16	6	1	3	..	7	2	1	3	5	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1925	All Other	Feb.	2	140	..	20	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	..
		Mar.	3	225	1	13	2	..	..	2	1	1	..	..	2
		Apr.	7	2,685	..	77	1	5	..	..	2	1	3	3	..
		May	2	5,150	..	9	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
		June	1	....	1	5	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		July	4	505	..	57	2	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	2
		Aug.	4	570	..	19	1	..	1	1	2	2	2	..	..
		Sept.	4	1,445	..	17	1	3	..	..	1	2	1	1	..
		Oct.	1	....	1	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	2	300	1	15	..	1	..	1	..	2	..	..	..
				30	11,020	4	232	10	14	1	4	11	9	8	7	6
1926	Textiles	Jan.	2	560	..	21	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
		Feb.	1	50	..	8	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
		Mar.	1	16	..	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		June	2	2,100	..	....	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		July	1	150	..	70	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Sept.	1	100	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Oct.	1	15	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	1	70	..	14	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Dec.	1	500	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
				11	3,561	..	114	5	3	2	..	6	1	4	1	6
			Metals	Dec.	1	50	..	60	..	1	1	..
			1	50	..	60	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Boots	Jan.	3	350	1	15	1	2	1	1	..	1	1
		Feb.	1	175	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
		Apr.	2	120	..	8	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..
		July	1	100	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Aug.	2	156	..	2	1	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..
		Oct.	2	565	..	20	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	1	..
		Nov.	1	250	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		12	1,716	1	50	3	5	..	..	7	6	..	4	2	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result						
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1925	All Other	Jan.	1	700	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Feb.	3	4,400	..	19	1	1	1	..	1	1	..	1	1		
		Mar.	1	30	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Apr.	5	2,025	1	32	3	4	..	1	..	1	1	..	3		
		May	5	399	..	8	2	4	..	..	1	..	..	2	3
		June	2	1,315	..	31	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
		July	5	840	..	35	3	1	1	..	3	1	2	1	1		
		Aug.	9	2,596	1	196	1	3	..	..	6	5	3	..	1
		Sept.	2	150	1	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
		Oct.	2	52	..	....	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
		Nov.	4	205	..	60	2	1	1	..	2	..	1	1	2		
		Dec.	2	760	..	12	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	1
			41	13,472	3	398	17	17	5	1	18	10	7	8	16		
1927	Textiles	Feb.	2	850	..	5	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
		Mar.	2	112	..	15	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
		Apr.	3	760	..	9	2	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	2
		June	3	169	..	50	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	2	..
		July	2	224	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1		
		Aug.	1	20	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		Sept.	2	150	..	....	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	2
		Oct.	1	20	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
					16	2,305	..	82	6	7	3	1	5	1	5	3	7
		Metals	May	1	18	1	1	1	
				1	18	1	1	1	
		Boots	Feb.	2	147	..	20	1	1	1	1	..	1	..	
Mar.	1		8	..	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Apr.	1		35	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	
May	2		208	..	....	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	
Sept.	2		280	..	....	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2	
Oct.	1		300	..	18	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	
Dec.	1		28	..	7	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
			10	1,006	..	50	6	6	1	..	3	2	1	2	5		

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1927	All Other	Jan.	3	215	..	....	3	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
		Feb.	3	525	..	44	1	2	..	..	1	1	1	1	..
		Mar.	4	510	..	31	1	1	..	1	2	1	..	1	2
		Apr.	4	235	1	6	3	2	..	..	2	..	..	1	3
		May	4	286	..	4	3	4	..	..	..	1	..	..	3
		June	1	100	..	13	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		July	1	18	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Aug.	4	2,680	1	22	..	1	..	..	3	..	1	3	..
		Sept.	6	738	..	59	2	1	..	..	5	1	2	1	2
		Oct.	2	34	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	1
		Nov.	3	57	..	1	2	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
		Dec.	1	400	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
				36	5,798	2	186	17	13	..	1	22	4	6	8
1928	Textiles	Jan.	4	840	..	16	2	..	2	..	2	..	1	1	2
		Feb.	2	543	..	90	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
		Apr.	2	26,022	..	180	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1
		June	4	290	1	35	1	2	..	..	2	1	..	1	2
		Aug.	1	1,000	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	2	50	..	5	1	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
		Dec.	2	100	1	15	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	..
			17	28,845	2	341	7	7	4	..	6	2	1	6	8
	Metals	May	1	800	..	13	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
			1	800	..	13	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
	Boots	Jan.	2	7,100	..	3	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1
		Feb.	2	8,158	1	....	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		Mar.	4	161	..	6	2	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	3
Apr.		2	75	1	8	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	
May		1	....	1	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
June		1	40	..	27	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
July		3	430	1	67	1	1	2	..	..	1	..	1	1	
Aug.		8	266	2	47	3	5	..	..	3	4	2	1	1	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1928	Boots	Sept.	1	50	..	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Oct.	2	19	1	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1
			26	16,299	7	163	10	11	6	..	9	6	5	5	10
	All Other	Feb.	2	200	..	....	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
		Mar.	7	658	2	29	5	1	..	..	6	..	1	2	4
		Apr.	4	165	..	8	2	2	1	..	1	..	1	1	2
		May	4	215	2	1	3	1	2	..	1	..	..	1	3
		June	3	1,150	1	5	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	2
		July	3	45	1	2	1	1	..	1	1	2	..	..	1
		Aug.	2	1,084	..	16	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
		Oct.	5	2,119	1	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	..	1	3
		Dec.	1	300	..	2	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1
			31	5,936	7	64	20	11	4	4	12	3	2	7	19
1929	Textiles	Jan.	3	150	..	8	1	..	2	..	1	..	1	..	2
		Feb.	1	20	..	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Apr.	2	83	..	....	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	2
		June	1	....	1	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Aug.	2	141	1	1	..	..	1	1	1	..	1	..	1
		Sept.	1	3	..	....	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..
		Oct.	4	184	1	10	2	2	..	..	2	..	1	..	3
		Nov.	1	400	..	6	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
	Dec.	2	50	1	5	..	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	
		17	1,031	4	30	8	3	5	2	7	..	4	2	11	
	Boots	Jan.	4	620	..	2	2	..	..	..	4	..	..	2	2
		Feb.	2	1,850	..	16	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
		Mar.	2	425	..	8	1	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	1
Apr.		5	1,871	..	27	2	..	..	..	5	1	..	1	3	
May		1	100	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
June		1	1,300	..	23	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
Aug.	2	3,000	1	....	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2		
Dec.	1	....	1	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1		
	18	9,166	2	79	9	1	1	..	16	2	1	4	11		

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1929	All Other	Jan.	1	10	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
		Feb.	1	....	1	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Mar.	4	40	3	17	2	1	..	..	3	2	..	..	2
		Apr.	5	525	2	21	2	4	..	..	1	2	..	..	3
		May	3	125	2	9	..	..	..	..	3	2	1	..	..
		June	3	40	1	....	3	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	3
		July	7	204	3	10	4	1	..	..	6	..	2	..	5
		Aug.	3	380	..	11	2	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	2
		Sept.	1	33	..	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Oct.	2	200	1	....	2	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
		Nov.	3	110	1	....	3	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
			33	1,667	14	69	20	10	2	..	21	7	4	..	22
1930	Textiles	Jan.	2	75	1	....	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
		Feb.	1	150	..	14	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Mar.	1	26	..	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Apr.	1	120	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Dec.	1	11	..	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
			6	382	1	14	5	2	2	..	2	..	..	1	5
	Metals	June	1	30	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
			1	30	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
	Boots	Feb.	1	36	..	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Mar.	1	300	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Apr.	2	....	2	2	..	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	1
		May	1	30	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		June	1	12	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
July		1	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
Sept.		1	20	..	3	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
Oct.		1	....	1	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	
		9	398	4	14	3	2	2	..	5	4	..	1	4	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1930	All Other	Feb.	2	1,120	..	39	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	..
		Mar.	5	84	1	12	4	2	..	..	3	1	..	..	4
		Apr.	4	176	2	28	1	1	..	..	3	2	..	..	2
		May	2	80	..	13	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	1
		June	3	....	3	20	2	1	..	1	1	..	..	1	2
		July	2	80	1	7	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1
		Aug.	2	18	1	....	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		Nov.	1	23	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
				21	1,581	8	119	12	6	1	1	13	5	..	3	13
		1931	Textiles	Feb.	2	10,021	..	17	1	1	1	1	..
Mar.	2			490	..	12	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	2
Apr.	3			1,000	1	19	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	1	
May	1			....	1	14	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
June	1			4	..	4	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
July	1			78	..	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
Aug.	2			162	..	10	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	1
Oct.	3			22,800	..	49	1	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	2
Nov.	1			1,200	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
				16	35,755	2	131	3	3	7	2	4	1	4	3	8
	Metals		May	1	28	..	16	1	1
Nov.			1	21	..	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
			2	49	..	16	1	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	1
	Boots	Jan.	1	300	..	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
Feb.		1	184	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
Mar.		1	....	1	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
May		3	51	..	12	2	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	2	
Aug.		3	349	..	1	2	1	..	..	2	..	1	..	2	
Oct.		1	50	..	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
		Nov.	1	20	..	3	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	
			11	954	1	17	7	4	4	..	3	1	2	1	7	

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result			
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown
1931	All Other	Jan.	1	15	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Feb.	2	66	..	....	2	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
		Mar.	3	65	1	....	3	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	2
		Apr.	5	84	1	4	4	4	..	1	..	1	1	..	3
		May	5	47	2	....	5	1	1	..	3	..	..	..	5
		June	1	8	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
		July	7	262	1	12	2	2	1	2	2	..	3	1	3
		Aug.	9	2,682	1	7	4	4	..	..	5	..	4	..	5
		Sept.	5	317	..	5	3	1	2	..	2	..	3	1	1
		Oct.	4	3,105	1	64	2	2	1	..	1	1	2	..	1
		Nov.	3	103	1	....	3	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	2
		Dec.	2	....	2	8	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
				47	6,754	10	101	30	17	5	3	22	4	14	3	26
1932	Textiles	Jan.	1	800	..	5	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
		Mar.	2	50	1	2	1	..	2	..	..	2	..	..
		May	1	153	..	15	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..
		July	1	120	..	....	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	
		Aug.	2	540	..	3	1	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	
		Sept.	3	552	..	27	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	3	
			10	2,215	1	52	4	2	7	..	1	..	5	1	4
	Metals	May	2	400	..	....	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	
			2	400	..	....	2	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	
	Boots	Jan.	1	20	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	
		Feb.	1	700	..	....	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	
		Mar.	2	....	2	7	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	2	
		Apr.	2	400	1	2	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	
May		1	14	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1		
June		1	100	..	40	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1		
July		4	197	..	4	2	1	3	..	..	1	..	3		
Aug.		9	1,050	1	8	8	6	1	..	2	..	..	2		
Oct.	1	65	..	....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	1			

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1932	Boots	Nov.	1	1	10	..	1	1
		Dec.	1	1	...	1	..	1	1
			24	2,546	6	72	15	11	5	..	8	..	2	6	16	
	All Other	Jan.	2	72	..	2	1	..	1	..	1	2
		Feb.	3	3,620	..	36	1	1	..	..	2	1	1	..	1
		Mar.	5	650	2	4	3	1	1	..	3	1	1	2	1	
		Apr.	12	712	3	184	5	3	4	..	5	..	1	5	6	
		May	6	249	3	57	2	2	4	..	..	..	1	3	2
		June	6	1,100	3	37	4	2	1	..	3	1	..	..	5
		Aug.	3	144	1	22	1	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	2
		Sept.	3	52	1	5	2	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
		Oct.	3	8	..	2	2	1	1	..	1	..	..	1	2
		Nov.	1	....	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..
Dec.	2	13	..	...	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2		
		46	6,620	14	351	22	12	14	..	20	4	5	11	26		
1933	Textiles	Mar.	2	600	..	13	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..
		May	3	2,200	..	90	1	1	..	..	2	1	1	..	1
		June	9	1,918	1	21	3	7	2	..	..	4	..	1	4
		July	8	1,368	2	44	4	6	..	..	2	..	..	1	7
		Aug.	2	190	..	5	1	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	2
		Sept.	4	670	1	6	1	4	..	..	..	1	..	2	1
		28	6,946	4	179	10	19	3	..	6	7	2	4	15		
	Metals	June	1	40	..	15	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
		Aug.	1	....	1	...	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	1	20	..	...	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..
	3*	60	1	15	2	2	1	..	..	2	..	..	1		
Boots	Jan.	2	140	..	90	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	
	Feb.	1	4,000	..	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	
	Mar.	15	27,770	2	619	..	13	..	..	2	10	1	2	2	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1933	Boots	Apr.	6	6,609	1	100	1	1	..	..	5	5	..	..	1
		May	4	275	1	9	1	3	..	1	..	1	1	1	1	
		June	4	1,120	..	14	3	2	2	..	..	1	..	..	3
		July	10	3,320	4	14	5	6	..	..	4	1	..	1	8
		Aug.	8	17,695	1	90	2	5	..	..	3	1	..	1	6
		Sept.	1	7,000	..	8	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..
		Oct.	1	400	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	3	675	..	44	1	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	2
				55	69,004	9	989	15	34	3	1	17	21	3	5	26
			All Other	Jan.	4	228	..	16	1	1	3	4
		Feb.		2	4	1	90	1	1	1	1	..	1
	Mar.	5		104	3	60	4	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	5
	Apr.	5		265	1	6	3	..	2	..	3	1	1	..	3	
	May	10		3,484	1	51	4	3	2	1	4	2	2	1	5	
	June	5		335	..	..	5	1	2	..	2	..	..	..	5
	July	18		6,133	4	83	10	15	..	..	3	5	..	..	13
	Aug.	10		1,335	3	7	9	7	..	..	3	1	..	..	9
	Sept.	14	7,610	2	53	8	4	2	..	8	2	..	3	9		
	Oct.	5	1,110	1	39	1	2	1	..	2	1	..	1	3		
Nov.	2	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2		
Dec.	2	17	..	1	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1		
		82	20,625	18	406	49	34	12	1	35	12	4	6	60		
1934	Textiles	Mar.	1	300	..	10	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
		Apr.	2	2,850	..	25	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	1	
		June	1	200	..	5	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	
		July	2	1,520	..	10	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	
		Sept.	1	70,000	..	20	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
		Nov.	4	2,425	..	52	1	3	..	..	1	1	..	2	
			11	77,295	..	122	2	5	..	..	6	2	1	5	
		Metals	Jan.	1	40	..	5	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
	May		1	30	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	
	July		1	150	..	21	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	
		3	220	..	29	..	2	..	..	1	1	..	1		

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause			Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1934	Boots	Jan.	6	1,488	..	50	..	3	..	..	3	..	..	3	3
		Feb.	5	1,000	..	19	1	3	..	..	2	1	..	..	4
		Mar.	8	9,678	..	126	3	2	1	..	5	..	..	..	8
		Apr.	3	305	..	6	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	2
		May	4	8,062	1	19	..	1	..	..	3	2	..	1	1
		June	1	....	1	30	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		July	3	800	1	20	1	..	..	..	3	1	..	1	1
		Aug.	4	6,212	..	15	..	3	..	..	1	1	..	2	1
		Sept.	1	400	..	4	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Oct.	6	642	2	24	3	4	..	..	2	..	..	3	3
				41	28,607	5	313	9	17	1	..	23	5	..	11	25
		All Other	Jan.	5	4,118	..	56	2	2	3	1	4
	Feb.		4	197	2	54	2	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	4
	Mar.		9	1,295	4	77	3	4	1	..	4	1	..	1	7	
	Apr.		4	385	1	14	1	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	2
	May		5	350	..	22	1	3	..	..	2	..	1	..	4
	June		1	32	..	...	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
	July		5	185	2	...	5	2	..	..	3	..	..	1	4
	Aug.		8	1,455	2	19	2	2	2	..	4	3	..	..	5
Sept.	4		1,733	..	14	3	1	..	..	3	..	..	1	3	
Oct.	5	3,355	1	34	1	3	..	..	2	..	1	1	3		
Nov.	3	750	1	26	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	3		
			53	13,855	13	316	22	25	3	..	25	4	3	6	40	
1935	Textiles	Mar.	2	1,700	..	57	..	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
		June	2	1,250	..	62	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
		Aug.	3	3,180	..	102	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
		Sept.	1	....	1	...	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Nov.	3	340	..	12	2	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
				11	6,470	1	233	3	7	4	1	1	4	5
	Metals	June	1	30	..	9	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Dec.		2	205	..	31	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	
			3	235	..	40	1	..	1	..	2	..	..	..	3

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

APPENDIX B

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result					
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown		
1935	Boots	Jan.	3	610	..	43	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
		Feb.	2	312	..	26	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		Apr.	1	50	..	21	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		May	1	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..
		June	3	443	..	16	1	..	..	2	1	1	..	1	1
		July	4	1,360	..	7	1	2	..	..	2	2	..	..	2
		Aug.	7	1,064	1	16	3	3	1	..	3	..	1	1	5		
		Sept.	1	50	..	4	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
		Oct.	5	280	3	19	3	..	1	1	3	..	..	..	5
		Dec.	2	312	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
				29	4,511	4	152	10	6	3	3	17	3	1	3	22	
		All Other		Jan.	3	96	1	6	2	1	2	3
				Feb.	4	235	..	26	3	1	3	4
Mar.	8			884	1	12	5	2	..	..	6	1	..	..	7
Apr.	5			559	1	77	..	3	1	..	1	3	..	..	2
May	8			2,925	2	190	3	4	..	1	3	..	1	1	6		
June	9			1,956	3	43	3	2	..	2	5	1	1	2	5		
July	10			434	2	48	2	3	2	1	4	1	1	2	6		
Aug.	9			481	2	35	5	2	1	1	5	1	..	3	5		
Sept.	2			75	1	12	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	2
Oct.	5			218	2	11	2	3	..	..	2	1	1	..	3
Nov.	2			25	1	14	..	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1
Dec.	2			210	..	2	1	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	1
				67	8,098	16	476	26	23	5	5	34	9	5	8	45	
1936	Textiles	Jan.	3	1,200	1	69	1	1	..	..	2	1	..	1	1
		Feb.	2	600	1	26	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	1
		Apr.	2	35	1	1	1	..	1	..	1	1	..	..	1
		July	2	540	..	48	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
		Aug.	3	20	2	69	..	1	..	..	2	..	..	..	3
		Oct.	3	968	..	20	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
		Dec.	2	327	..	31	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	1
		17	3,690	5	264	4	7	3	..	7	2	..	3	12			

* A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE I-B—Continued

Year	Industry	Mo.	Number of			Duration		Cause				Result				
			Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	Wage Increase	Wage Decrease	Hours	Others	Succeeded	Failed	Compromised	Unknown	
1936	Boots	Jan.	2	60	1	5	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	..	..
		Feb.	1	200	..	6	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1
		Apr.	2	33	1	3	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		June	2	1,200	1	3	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2
		July	3	124	1	31	1	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	3
		Aug.	3	535	1	17	1	..	..	..	3	..	..	1	2
					13	2,152	5	65	3	1	2	..	10	1	1	1	10
	All Other	Jan.	5	810	1	70	1	2	2	..	1	..	..	3	2
		Feb.	5	4,925	1	85	1	2	..	..	3	..	1	..	4
		Mar.	6	383	..	6	4	4	..	..	2	..	..	1	5
		Apr.	5	2,300	..	19	1	3	1	..	1	1	..	..	4
		May	3	253	..	50	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	1	2
June		3	1,150	..	45	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	2	1	
July		6	328	1	20	3	3	..	..	3	..	..	..	6	
Aug.		10	1,959	3	45	5	5	..	..	5	1	..	3	6	
Sept.		2	135	1	9	1	2	..	..	1	..	..	1	1	
Oct.		5	68	3	16	4	..	3	1	1	1	..	..	4	
Nov.		7	867	1	34	2	2	..	..	5	..	1	..	6	
Dec.		4	285	..	22	..	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	2	
			61	13,463	11	421	23	28	6	1	26	3	3	12	43	

*A Summary by years will be found in Table II below.

TABLE II-B
 STRIKES IN MASSACHUSETTS, SUMMARY BY YEARS AND BY INDUSTRIES
 1881-1894, 1900-1936
 SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN TEXTILES—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1881	4	660	....	69	....	1	1	...	2	1	2	1	....
1882	8	952	....	222	....	3	1	...	4	4	3	1	....
1883	3	126	....	29	....	1	2	...	....	....	3	....	....
1884	10	1,235	....	459	....	4	5	...	1	2	8	....	....
1885	4	887	....	107	....	1	2	...	1	1	3	....	....
1886	23	2,068	....	481	....	15	2	...	6	8	14	1	....
1887	30	1,651	....	313	....	13	1	1	15	9	18	3	....
1888	29	2,805	1	379	....	7	5	...	17	14	11	4	....
1889	28	10,375	....	205	....	10	3	...	15	8	19	1	....
1890	16	1,308	....	180	....	2	2	1	11	7	7	2	....
1891	25	1,377	....	224	....	12	4	1	8	11	12	2	....
1892	34	2,348	....	366	....	11	9	2	12	12	20	2	....
1893	22	1,357	....	176	....	12	6	...	4	1	19	2	....
1894*	19	4,244	....	582	....	4	13	...	2	7	11	1	....
1900	35	2,058	16	217	9	18	2	...	15	10	12	10	3
1901	29	1,552	1	235	2	18	2	3	6	3	15	11	....
1902	48	4,586	5	515	7	31	...	2	15	12	24	12	....

* Statistics to June 30.

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN TEXTILES—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1903	30	3,607	3	673	3	10	5	2	13	7	16	7	....
1904	23	27,869	2	282	9	3	8	1	11	1	17	5	....
1905	39	3,222	2	233	5	14	5	1	19	9	15	15	....
1906	54	4,169	....	351	....	28	3	2	21	14	31	9	....
1907	49	6,298	....	437	....	27	1	1	20	6	38	5	....
1908	15	839	....	160	....	2	5	...	8	2	12	1	....
1909	27	4,868	....	264	....	17	3	4	3	2	15	10	....
1910	50	4,046	....	451	....	21	19	...	10	6	40	4	....
1911	29	1,394	....	199	....	14	1	1	13	3	21	5	....
1912	88	30,285	....	1,009	....	43	10	...	35	23	47	18	....
1913	28	2,391	10	459	12	12	2	2	12	7	4	7	10
1914	23	939	3	28	15	13	3	...	7	6	....	1	16
1915	47	4,224	6	165	17	27	1	3	16	25	2	2	18
1916	113	12,377	13	496	53	83	1	8	21	31	17	8	57
1917	65	12,331	15	174	41	35	2	1	27	1	8	8	48
1918	62	56,577	17	237	33	39	2	5	16	12	5	13	32
1919	64	85,151	7	480	38	32	5	6	21	13	7	11	33
1920	45	34,110	9	141	32	23	4	1	17	4	5	5	31
1921	15	1,635	3	121	9	4	6	...	5	1	2	3	9
1922	16	17,670	....	16	12	5	8	1	2	....	1	4	11
1923	23	4,234	3	84	11	15	...	...	8	3	1	7	12
1924	10	1,360	1	27	6	....	3	...	7	2	2	1	5

TABLE II-B—Continued
SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN TEXTILES—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1925	24	8,108	....	158	6	4	11	1	8	1	10	9	4
1926	11	3,561	....	114	5	3	2	...	6	....	4	1	6
1927	16	2,305	....	82	6	7	3	1	5	1	5	3	7
1928	17	28,845	2	341	7	7	4	...	6	2	1	6	8
1929	17	1,031	4	30	8	3	5	2	7	....	4	2	11
1930	6	382	1	14	5	2	2	...	2	....	....	1	5
1931	16	35,755	2	131	3	3	7	2	4	1	4	3	8
1932	10	2,215	1	52	4	2	7	...	1	....	5	1	4
1933	28	6,946	4	179	10	19	3	...	6	7	2	4	15
1934	11	77,295	....	122	2	5	...	...	6	2	1	5	3
1935	11	6,470	1	233	3	7	...	...	4	1	1	4	5
1936	17	3,690	5	264	4	7	3	...	7	2	....	3	12
Textiles	1,466	535,788	137	12,966	377	699	204	55	508	305	544	244	373

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN METALS—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1881	2	85	....	36	....	1	1	...	....	1	1	....	....
1882	3	88	....	17	....	2	1	...	....	3	....	....	....
1883	1	442	....	22	....	....	1	...	....	....	1	....	....
1884	8	467	....	431	....	....	8	...	....	....	8	....	....
1885	6	564	....	190	....	4	1	...	1	3	3	....	....
1886	9	693	....	155	....	8	...	...	1	2	6	1	....
1887	9	987	....	60	....	3	...	1	5	....	8	1	....
1888	2	373	....	15	....	....	...	...	2	1	1	....	....
1889	4	53	....	165	....	2	...	...	2	1	2	1	....
1890	5	144	....	472	....	3	...	...	2	1	4	....	....
1891	7	249	....	200	....	2	...	...	5	4	3	....	....
1892	5	1,138	....	67	....	1	1	1	2	....	4	1	....
1893	16	1,513	....	284	....	3	...	9	4	7	6	3	....
1894*	5	141	....	38	....	2	...	...	3	....	5	....	....
1900	17	783	4	362	9	9	1	4	3	6	8	3	....
1901	47	2,699	....	740	9	5	2	28	12	14	18	15	....
1902	23	1,112	4	179	6	9	2	8	4	5	10	8	....
1903	24	2,125	4	325	5	6	4	12	2	7	9	8	....
1904	16	3,672	2	416	3	4	2	3	7	8	5	3	....
1905	16	597	1	224	5	4	1	2	9	3	6	7	....

* Statistics to June 30.

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN METALS—MASSACHUSETTS

278

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1906	31	1,742	....	1,563	2	17	...	5	9	10	12	6	3
1907	25	1,605	....	642	....	13	...	3	9	4	20	1	....
1908	4	83	....	34	....	....	...	1	3	1	2	1	....
1909	7	373	....	39	....	5	...	...	2	3	4	....	....
1910	23	1,426	....	273	....	10	1	4	8	7	11	5	....
1911	14	684	....	181	....	2	1	1	10	1	10	3	....
1912	23	1,811	1	217	....	13	1	3	6	6	10	7	....
1913	52	5,157	13	503	26	28	4	4	16	10	7	7	28
1914	13	734	1	57	4	5	...	...	8	3	4	2	4
1915	53	11,328	6	442	30	22	1	12	18	14	5	3	31
1916	77	13,734	8	670	40	45	1	10	21	15	10	7	45
1917	59	17,838	8	264	33	36	...	5	18	13	6	8	32
1918	44	27,493	4	191	19	18	...	9	17	14	2	12	16
1919	47	5,979	7	805	18	28	11	1	7	11	3	10	23
1920	42	22,563	9	87	28	27	1	1	13	6	6	3	27
1921	18	1,319	2	235	12	2	9	...	7	1	3	3	11
1922	11	1,532	2	258	4	4	3	...	4	....	2	4	5
1923	8	991	....	5	6	5	...	...	3	....	....	2	6
1924	2	300	....	1	1	....	1	...	1	....	1	....	1
1925	4	446	....	24	....	3	...	...	1	1	2	1	....
1926	1	50	....	60	....	1	...	...	....	....	....	1	....
1927	1	18	....	....	1	1	...	...	....	....	....	....	1

APPENDIX B

TABLE II-B—Continued

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN METALS—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1928	1	800	....	13	....	1	...	...	....	....	....	1	....
1929	0	.....	....	.....	....	....	...	...	....	....	....	....	....
1930	1	30	....	3	....	1	...	...	....	1	....	....	....
1931	2	49	....	16	1	....	2	...	....	....	1	....	1
1932	2	400	....	.....	2	....	1	...	1	....	....	....	2
1933	3	60	1	15	2	2	1	...	....	2	....	....	1
1934	3	220	....	29	....	2	...	...	1	1	....	1	1
1935	3	235	....	40	1	....	1	...	2	....	....	....	3
1936	0	.....	....	.....	....	....	...	...	....	....	....	....	....
Metals	799	136,925	77	11,065	267	359	64	127	249	190	229	139	241

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN BOOTS—MASSACHUSETTS

280

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1881	0	.....	....	.....	....	....	...	...	....	....	....	....	....
1882	4	203	....	135	....	1	3	...	....	1	2	1	....
1883	5	1,361	....	418	....	1	2	...	2	2	3	....	....
1884	13	918	....	477	....	5	2	...	6	6	6	1	....
1885	26	3,047	....	1,963	....	13	1	...	12	17	8	1	....
1886	81	18,053	....	3,634	....	45	5	...	31	32	37	12	....
1887	40	8,551	....	424	....	13	10	...	17	18	18	4	....
1888	37	1,374	....	626	....	10	11	...	16	11	20	6	....
1889	54	4,832	....	842	....	14	22	...	18	21	23	9	1
1890	54	5,451	....	779	....	20	7	...	27	20	27	7	....
1891	37	2,826	....	392	....	12	7	...	18	11	21	5	....
1892	32	1,801	....	523	....	17	2	...	13	11	18	3	....
1893	38	968	....	412	....	18	10	...	10	15	20	3	....
1894*	35	1,586	....	300	....	10	14	...	11	11	19	5	....
1900	40	993	4	289	5	21	5	1	13	14	18	7	1
1901	61	4,350	5	652	9	24	9	3	25	27	17	11	6
1902	31	804	3	194	10	18	...	1	12	11	11	3	6
1903	31	3,304	1	647	8	11	2	1	17	7	13	6	5
1904	18	954	1	122	3	9	2	...	7	6	10	1	1
1905	31	1,011	3	163	7	18	2	1	10	8	10	7	6

* Statistics to June 30.

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN BOOTS—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1906	33	1,459	....	234	....	19	...	5	9	12	12	8	1
1907	33	2,055	....	315	....	20	...	1	12	5	22	6	....
1908	19	2,402	....	196	....	7	2	...	10	5	10	4	....
1909	48	2,234	....	345	....	30	...	1	17	15	22	11	....
1910	54	1,897	....	445	....	25	2	1	26	34	16	4	....
1911	50	2,278	....	716	....	29	2	...	19	20	17	13	....
1912	53	3,898	....	668	....	33	1	4	15	24	18	11	....
1913	34	1,666	13	259	10	19	...	2	13	16	1	1	16
1914	26	1,898	6	81	12	7	2	1	16	6	1	5	14
1915	15	2,202	1	59	7	12	...	...	3	7	2	....	6
1916	42	6,317	13	266	5	30	...	4	8	12	5	1	24
1917	25	2,240	4	189	15	20	...	...	5	5	3	2	15
1918	29	9,107	7	168	16	20	...	...	9	11	1	....	17
1919	58	16,787	12	600	27	29	2	...	27	11	3	16	28
1920	44	6,813	10	286	23	24	...	...	20	7	2	7	28
1921	36	4,852	9	116	22	7	12	1	16	....	8	8	20
1922	49	8,206	6	145	28	8	15	2	24	11	6	11	21
1923	40	5,889	6	251	27	17	1	...	22	6	2	6	26
1924	14	1,605	1	72	7	3	3	...	8	2	2	3	7
1925	11	1,761	....	16	6	1	3	...	7	2	1	3	5
1926	12	1,716	1	50	3	5	...	...	7	6	....	4	2
1927	10	1,006	....	50	6	6	1	...	3	2	1	2	5

TABLE II-B—Continued

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN BOOTS—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1928	26	16,299	7	163	10	11	6	...	9	6	5	5	10
1929	18	9,166	2	79	9	1	1	...	16	2	1	4	11
1930	9	398	4	14	3	2	2	...	5	4	....	1	4
1931	11	954	1	17	7	4	4	...	3	1	2	1	7
1932	24	2,546	6	72	15	11	5	...	8	....	2	6	16
1933	55	69,004	9	989	15	34	3	1	17	21	3	5	26
1934	41	28,607	5	313	9	17	1	...	23	5	....	11	25
1935	29	4,511	4	152	10	6	3	3	17	3	1	3	22
1936	13	2,152	5	65	3	1	2	...	10	1	1	1	10
Boots	1,629	284,312	149	20,383	337	738	189	33	669	511	471	255	392

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN ALL OTHER—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1881	10	702	....	235	....	9	...	...	1	4	5	1	....
1882	11	3,438	....	75	....	9	1	...	1	6	5	....	....
1883	23	700	....	237	....	18	3	...	2	17	5	1	....
1884	9	559	....	296	....	3	2	...	4	4	5	....	....
1885	17	2,667	....	560	....	9	4	...	4	4	10	3	....
1886	44	12,477	....	845	....	19	5	5	15	15	23	6	....
1887	63	8,572	....	1,650	....	20	7	16	20	26	31	6	....
1888	32	3,219	....	1,437	....	9	7	5	11	10	20	2	....
1889	44	2,179	....	1,196	....	11	7	12	14	10	31	3	....
1890	83	9,159	....	1,713	....	29	4	23	27	30	44	9	....
1891	76	5,159	....	1,493	....	40	6	8	22	33	34	9	....
1892	90	9,751	....	1,625	....	35	8	11	36	39	45	6	....
1893	98	4,315	....	1,415	....	32	12	12	42	46	44	8	....
1894*	41	2,788	....	544	....	18	7	2	14	24	14	3	....
1900	66	2,702	1	295	2	30	19	2	15	26	15	18	7
1901	176	25,643	22	1,800	32	58	49	13	56	69	70	21	16
1902	167	31,365	25	1,314	51	74	1	42	50	58	65	43	1
1903	125	10,347	19	1,283	39	59	1	13	52	44	59	22	....
1904	75	7,588	6	898	22	20	3	6	46	21	36	18	....
1905	93	5,824	11	937	33	21	5	13	54	29	38	26	....

* Statistics to June 30.

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN ALL OTHER—MASSACHUSETTS

284

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1906	98	10,156	....	1,198	4	45	...	16	37	36	50	7	5
1907	106	7,831	....	1,510	....	57	1	10	38	20	77	8	1
1908	55	3,978	....	665	....	26	7	1	21	9	36	10	....
1909	101	5,026	....	751	....	41	3	9	48	37	52	12	....
1910	115	6,060	....	724	....	58	2	13	42	42	54	19	....
1911	128	5,475	....	1,581	....	59	7	14	48	52	52	24	....
1912	131	12,754	....	1,492	....	61	2	16	52	51	55	25	....
1913	204	21,941	62	1,052	115	96	22	2	84	61	18	12	113
1914	143	5,793	40	391	98	62	3	11	67	21	17	9	96
1915	128	10,794	26	1,067	61	59	2	4	63	38	12	13	65
1916	403	54,372	74	1,220	239	281	1	35	86	88	36	82	197
1917	253	24,450	70	913	190	158	...	27	68	31	25	17	180
1918	183	27,385	65	654	104	139	1	21	22	41	12	23	107
1919	256	63,225	83	1,533	153	175	21	...	60	49	39	40	128
1920	232	27,633	46	695	127	154	4	8	66	34	22	30	146
1921	127	24,600	28	1,323	69	19	62	13	33	7	52	8	60
1922	74	6,454	16	132	51	29	21	5	19	9	14	9	42
1923	71	10,033	17	135	41	46	2	2	21	12	2	10	47
1924	37	10,135	13	196	21	15	7	1	14	7	4	6	20
1925	30	11,020	4	232	10	14	1	4	11	9	8	7	6
1926	41	13,472	3	398	17	17	5	1	18	10	7	8	16
1927	36	5,798	2	186	17	13	...	1	22	4	6	8	18

APPENDIX B

TABLE II-B—Continued

SUMMARY OF STRIKES IN ALL OTHER—MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1928	31	5,936	7	64	20	11	4	4	12	3	2	7	19
1929	33	1,667	14	69	20	10	2	...	21	7	4	....	22
1930	21	1,581	8	119	12	6	1	1	13	5	....	3	13
1931	47	6,754	10	101	30	17	5	3	22	4	14	3	26
1932	46	6,620	14	351	22	12	14	...	20	4	5	11	26
1933	82	20,625	18	406	49	34	12	1	35	12	4	6	60
1934	53	13,855	13	316	22	25	3	...	25	4	3	6	40
1935	67	8,098	16	476	26	23	5	5	34	9	5	8	45
1936	61	13,463	11	421	23	28	6	1	26	3	3	12	43
Other	4,736	596,138	744	40,219	1,720	2,313	377	412	1,634	1,234	1,289	648	1,565

SUMMARY OF ALL STRIKES IN MASSACHUSETTS

286

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1881	16	1,447	....	340	....	11	2	...	3	6	8	2	....
1882	26	4,681	....	449	....	15	6	...	5	14	10	2	....
1883	32	2,629	....	706	....	20	8	...	4	19	12	1	....
1884	40	3,179	....	1,663	....	12	17	...	11	12	27	1	....
1885	53	7,165	....	2,820	....	27	8	...	18	25	24	4	....
1886	157	33,291	....	5,115	....	87	12	5	53	57	80	20	....
1887	142	19,761	....	2,447	....	49	18	18	57	53	75	14	....
1888	100	7,771	1	2,457	....	26	23	5	46	36	52	12	....
1889	130	17,439	....	2,408	....	37	32	12	49	40	75	14	1
1890	158	16,062	....	3,144	....	54	13	24	67	58	82	18	....
1891	145	9,611	....	2,309	....	66	17	9	53	59	70	16	....
1892	161	15,038	....	2,581	....	64	20	14	63	62	87	12	....
1893	174	8,153	....	2,287	....	65	28	21	60	69	89	16	....
1894*	100	8,759	....	1,464	....	34	34	2	30	42	49	9	....
1900	158	6,536	25	1,163	25	78	27	7	46	56	53	38	11
1901	313	34,244	28	3,427	52	105	62	47	99	113	120	58	22
1902	269	37,867	37	2,202	74	132	3	53	81	86	110	66	7
1903	210	19,383	27	2,928	55	86	12	28	84	65	97	43	5
1904	132	40,083	11	1,718	37	36	15	10	71	36	68	27	1
1905	179	10,654	17	1,557	50	57	13	17	92	49	69	55	6

APPENDIX B

* Statistics to June 30.

SUMMARY OF ALL STRIKES IN MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1906	216	17,526	....	3,346	6	109	3	28	76	72	105	30	9
1907	213	17,789	....	2,904	....	117	2	15	79	35	157	20	1
1908	93	7,302	....	1,055	....	35	14	2	42	17	60	16	....
1909	183	12,501	....	1,399	....	93	6	14	70	57	93	33	....
1910	242	13,429	....	1,893	....	114	24	18	86	89	121	32	....
1911	221	9,831	....	2,677	....	104	11	16	90	76	100	45	....
1912	295	48,748	1	3,386	....	150	14	23	108	104	130	61	....
1913	318	31,155	98	2,273	163	155	28	10	125	94	30	27	167
1914	205	9,364	50	557	129	87	8	12	98	36	22	17	130
1915	243	28,548	39	1,733	115	120	4	19	100	84	21	18	120
1916	635	86,800	108	2,652	337	439	3	57	136	146	68	98	323
1917	402	56,859	97	1,540	279	249	2	33	118	50	42	35	275
1918	318	120,562	93	1,250	172	216	3	35	64	78	20	48	172
1919	425	171,142	109	3,418	236	264	39	7	115	84	52	77	212
1920	363	91,119	74	1,209	210	228	9	10	116	51	35	45	232
1921	196	32,406	42	1,795	112	32	89	14	61	9	65	22	100
1922	150	33,862	24	551	95	46	47	8	49	20	23	28	79
1923	142	21,147	26	475	85	83	3	2	54	21	5	25	91
1924	63	13,400	15	296	35	18	14	1	30	11	9	10	33
1925	69	21,335	4	430	22	22	15	5	27	13	21	20	15
1926	65	18,799	4	622	25	26	7	1	31	16	11	14	24
1927	63	9,127	2	318	30	27	4	2	30	7	12	13	31

TABLE II-B—Continued

SUMMARY OF ALL STRIKES IN MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Number of			Duration		Causes				Results			
	Strikes	Strikers	Strikers Unknown	Days	Unknown	WI	WD	H	O	S	F	C	Unknown
1928	75	51,880	16	581	37	30	14	4	27	11	8	19	37
1929	68	11,864	20	178	37	14	8	2	44	9	9	6	44
1930	37	2,391	13	150	20	11	5	1	20	10	....	5	22
1931	76	43,512	13	265	41	24	18	5	29	6	21	7	42
1932	82	11,781	21	475	43	25	27	...	30	4	12	18	48
1933	168	96,635	32	1,589	76	89	19	2	58	42	9	15	102
1934	108	119,977	18	780	33	49	4	...	55	12	4	23	69
1935	110	19,314	21	901	40	36	9	8	57	13	7	15	75
1936	91	19,305	21	750	30	36	11	1	43	6	4	16	65
Totals	8,630	1,553,163	1,107	84,633	2,701	4,109	834	627	3,060	2,240	2,533	1,286	2,571

TABLE III-B

MONTHLY FLUCTUATIONS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN MASSACHUSETTS 1913-1922
 WAGE EARNERS (A). WORKERS INVOLVED IN STRIKES (B). UNION
 MEMBERSHIP, EACH YEAR AS OF DEC. 30 (C). PERCENTAGE OF
 UNION MEMBERSHIP UNEMPLOYED, ALL CAUSES, AS OF
 MAR. 31, JE. 30, SEPT. 30, DEC. 31 (D).

Year	Mo.	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	Year	Mo.	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1913	Ja	172	.....	.....	...	1915	O	170	338	.....	...
	F	172	30	.....	...		N	172	31	.....	...
	Mr	171	.....	.....	14.7		D	171	312	17,287	4.0
	Ap	167	500	.....	...	1916	Ja	172	766	.....	...
	My	161	727	.....	...		F	173	910	.....	...
	Je	158	439	.....	12.8		Mr	176	886	.....	4.3
	Jl	151	25	.....	...		Ap	174	2,902	.....	...
	Ag	157	25	.....	...		My	173	941	.....	...
	S	166	75	.....	13.0		Je	171	436	.....	3.1
	O	166	80	.....	...		Jl	169	927	.....	...
	N	167	300	.....	...		Ag	166	1,317	.....	...
	D	168	190	25,028	5.9		S	167	875	.....	2.2
1914	Ja	169	38	.....	...		O	171	262	.....	...
	F	170	82	.....	...		N	174	1,245	.....	...
	Mr	172	153	.....	5.1		D	174	910	18,058	3.5
	Ap	173	175	.....	...	1917	Ja	174	45	.....	...
	My	173	.....	.....	...		F	177	439	.....	...
	Je	170	270	.....	6.4		Mr	179	830	.....	4.5
	Jl	164	159	.....	...		Ap	176	336	.....	...
	Ag	160	.....	.....	...		My	176	6,541	.....	...
	S	162	18	.....	11.6		Je	177	1,150	.....	4.2
	O	162	18	.....	...		Jl	175	990	.....	...
	N	162	26	.....	...		Ag	171	116	.....	...
	D	157	.....	18,777	21.2		S	176	200	.....	3.8
1915	Ja	161	.....	.....	...		O	180	657	.....	...
	F	161	.....	.....	...		N	182	765	.....	...
	Mr	164	153	.....	10.1		D	183	262	20,617	3.1
	Ap	165	381	.....	...	1918	Ja	179	362	.....	...
	My	163	747	.....	...		F	176	98	.....	...
	Je	160	534	.....	6.9		Mr	181	484	.....	2.9
	Jl	162	1,175	.....	...		Ap	180	995	.....	...
	Ag	162	292	.....	...		My	179	498	.....	...
	S	166	261	.....	3.6		Je	179	36,387	.....	1.8

TABLE III-B—Continued

Year	Mo.	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	Year	Mo.	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1918	Jl	177	15,734	.....	...	1920	O	149	100	.....	...
	Ag	171	661	.....	...		N	134	425	.....	...
	S	173	200	.....	6.7		D	118	109	35,375	58.2
	O	163	1,040	.....	...	1921	Ja	124	576	.....	...
	N	169	.....	.....	...		F	145	299	.....	...
	D	170	118	24,664	9.2		Mr	152	.....	.....	37.4
1919	Ja	169	22	.....	...		Ap	160	66	.....	...
	F	155	25,544	.....	...		My	167	56	.....	...
	Mr	160	46	.....	21.1		Je	171	13	.....	32.0
	Ap	163	200	.....	...	Jl	171	110	.....	...
	My	170	11,000	.....	...	Ag	172	.....	.....	...
	Je	182	2,764	.....	2.7	S	174	300	.....	14.4	
	Jl	186	330	.....	...	O	172	.....	.....	...
	Ag	185	766	.....	...	N	174	215	.....	...
	S	188	1,640	.....	2.8	D	174	.....	30,743	12.1	
	O	183	245	.....	...	1922	Ja	174	45	.....	...
N	187	1,241	.....	...	F		173	2,214	.....	...
D	189	41,353	39,538	3.0	Mr		168	13,450	.....	57.9	
1920	Ja	187	158	.....	...		Ap	154	41	.....	...
	F	185	84	.....	...		My	153	25	.....	...
	Mr	188	5,075	.....	11.9		Je	155	.....	.....	42.2
	Ap	186	4,149	.....	...	Jl	156	1,000	.....	...
	My	180	23,585	.....	...	Ag	158	20	.....	...
	Je	174	75	.....	19.8	S	170	662	.....	6.8	
	Jl	166	.....	.....	...	O	178	50	.....	...
	Ag	158	.....	.....	...	N	175	150	.....	...
S	154	350	.....	26.3	D	184	13	31,789	4.4		

TABLE IV-B

WAGE EARNERS IN MANUFACTURING IN MASSACHUSETTS 1894-1936
(in thousands)

Year	(A) Wage Earners	Trend Value	Deviation of Actual from Trend Value	(B)
				Percentage of Unionists Unemployed
1894	253	430.0	- 177.0	....
1895	307	433.7	- 126.7	....
1896	305	437.4	- 132.4	....
1897	326	441.1	- 115.1	....
1898	329	444.8	- 115.8	....
1899	350	448.5	- 98.5	....
1900	386	452.2	- 66.2	....
1901	395	455.9	- 60.9	....
1902	431	459.6	- 28.6	....
1903	445	463.3	- 18.3	....
1904	430	467.0	- 37.0	....
1905	476	470.7	+ 5.3	....
1906	509	474.4	+ 34.6	....
1907	540	478.1	+ 61.9	....
1908	480	481.8	- 1.8	14.2
1909	585	485.5	+ 99.5	8.0
1910	579	489.2	+ 89.8	7.5
1911	584	492.9	+ 91.1	8.1
1912	609	496.6	+ 112.4	8.3
1913	617	500.3	+ 116.7	8.7
1914	607	504.0	+ 103.0	13.0
1915	596	507.7	+ 88.3	10.7
1916	683	511.4	+ 171.6	5.7
1917	708	515.1	+ 192.9	7.2
1918	719	518.8	+ 200.2	6.1
1919	714	522.5	+ 191.5	7.5
1920	696	526.2	+ 169.8	19.7
1921	579	529.9	+ 49.1	26.5
1922	613	533.6	+ 79.4	18.0
1923	650	537.3	+ 112.7	8.9
1924	551	541.0	+ 10.0	....
1925	591	544.7	+ 46.3	....
1926	602	548.4	+ 53.6	....
1927	578	552.1	+ 25.9	....
1928	542	555.8	- 13.8	....

TABLE IV-B—Continued
(in thousands)

Year	(A) Wage Earners	Trend Value	Deviation of Actual from Trend Value	(B) Percentage of Unionists Unemployed
1929	557	559.5	— 2.5	....
1930	482	563.2	— 81.2	....
1931	413	566.9	— 153.9	....
1932	343	570.6	— 227.6	....
1933	388	574.3	— 186.3	....
1934	403	578.0	— 175.0	....
1935	418	581.7	— 163.7	....
1936	455	585.4	— 130.4	....

Source: (A) Massachusetts Census of Manufactures.

(B) Labor Bulletin 140 and Unpublished Material.

TABLE V-B

NUMBER OF WAGE EARNERS (ANNUAL AVERAGES) MASSACHUSETTS
INDUSTRIES 1894-1936

Year	Cotton Textiles A.	Woolen and Worsted Goods B.	Boots and Shoes and Leather C.	Metals and Machine Shop Products D.
1894	72,054	22,538	40,061	10,231
1895	79,800	28,429	50,296	14,680
1896	77,580	26,046	51,430	13,671
1897	81,184	32,245	55,606	13,419
1898	80,846	32,308	56,970	13,469
1899	90,176	33,401	63,790	14,540
1900	90,993	35,819	62,916	20,646
1901	89,908	38,435	66,235	22,226
1902	96,533	44,253	67,971	22,822
1903	93,784	44,957	73,833	24,261
1904	86,635	43,630	71,036	22,200
1905	95,985	47,064	78,777	25,825
1906	99,074	47,745	85,586	28,414
1907	102,425	50,752	91,814	31,037
1908	90,935	41,969	86,152	31,112
1909	108,018	52,564	93,315	37,376
1910	107,944	48,553	95,764	41,730
1911	108,866	48,568	97,675	37,667
1912	111,421	53,697	101,990	37,544
1913	114,960	49,709	99,859	37,717
1914	112,609	53,377	95,278	34,398
1915	112,221	52,489	92,637	38,585
1916	114,826	56,841	106,824	58,025
1917	118,452	58,728	98,714	64,627
1918	114,489	60,300	98,454	56,246
1919	122,499	53,864	105,873	27,801
1920	113,145	51,689	89,848	34,473
1921	106,337	56,644	79,935	20,021
1922	111,165	55,886	88,513	20,837
1923	113,707	64,842	88,183	24,660
1924	89,095	54,277	80,515	22,414
1925	96,175	54,864	74,837	19,542
1926	91,456	54,630	77,817	20,418
1927	90,843	51,060	74,602	19,889
1928	65,189	45,238	74,014	19,785

TABLE V-B—Continued

Year	Cotton Textiles A.	Woolen and Worsted Goods B.	Boots and Shoes and Leather C.	Metals and Machine Shop Products D.
1929	70,845	45,675	73,465	21,242
1930	52,618	37,437	70,777	18,942
1931	45,338	35,239	59,673	14,989
1932	36,169	28,492	57,276	9,639
1933	45,214	43,669	60,943	9,339
1934	47,016	39,300	59,300	11,409
1935	44,177	54,780	54,432	12,485
1936	47,527	44,750	59,751	14,727

Source: Census of Manufactures, Massachusetts (Computed).

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