STUDIES IN ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.

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No. 23 in the Series of Monographs by Writers connected with the London School of Esonomics and Political Science,

SEASONAL TRADES

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

SOCIAL INVESTIGATION AND RESEARCH

SEMINAR BY MR. SIDNEY WEBB, ASSISTED BY MR. ARNOLD FREEMAN

SYLLABUS

The object of this Seminar will be to enable those who take part to discover for themselves how to study a given subject; to bring out the points of interest in apparently unpromising material; to accustom the students to use the different methods of investigation and the principal sources of information, and make them realise, by personal experiment and mutual criticism, both how such studies are apt to fall short of accuracy and completeness, and in what manner these defects may be remedied.

The subject chosen for study-selected partly because of the interesting problems it affords in connection with Unemployment, the Standard of Life, the maintenance of the family group, the enforcement of a National Minimum, and the economic competition among different industries for the nation's capital, brains, and labour—is "Seasonal Trades in the United Kingdom." After an introductory lecture, in which these trades will be briefly described, the sources of information and the methods of study indicated, and some of the points for investigation discussed, each student will be expected to undertake one trade or part of a trade for individual study. At the first or second meeting the various trades or parts of trades will be allotted among the students, according to individual preference and opportunities. Each student will then set to work to prepare, during the ensuing three months, with such suggestions and advice as can be given, as accurate and complete a survey of the trade as time and opportunities may permit. The object will be, not at first to write a finished monograph, but to make a preliminary sketch of such a monograph, with detailed studies of portions of the field for subsequent incorporation. For this purpose as much individual guidance and tuition will be afforded as may be practicable. As far as possible, each student will be given an opportunity during 1911 to read the paper, in whole or in part, at a meeting of the Seminar, when suggestions will be made for its improvement and completion. Errors and omissions will be pointed out, additional sources of information will be suggested, and further points for investigation will be indicated. Each student will be expected to continue to work on the trade allotted, gradually elaborating the sketch into a finished monograph, and taking advantage of such opportunities for consultation and discussion, and for personal investigation and research, as can be afforded.

Whatever proves to be of value in the work done may eventually be published, in one form or another, under the names of the respective

authors.

Admission to the Seminar will be exclusively by permission of Mr. Sidney Webb. The number will be limited, and confined to those prepared to study some particular trade in the manner indicated. Individual consultations and tuition, so far as this is possible, will be arranged to suit mutual convenience; and the dates and hours of meeting of the Seminar will be fixed from time to time as may be found generally convenient, but such meetings will probably be at 5 or 5.30 p.m. Application for admission should be made, if possible, before 15th September. Late applications will be considered subject to there being still places vacant.

Open to students paying either the Composition Fee or the Research Fee.

SEASONAL TRADES BY VARIOUS WRITERS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY SIDNEY WEBB

EDITED BY SIDNEY WEBB, LL.B. AND ARNOLD FREEMAN, M.A.

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PREFACE

THE "Seasonal Trades," in which several millions of our fellow citizens find their livelihood periodically interrupted from no fault of their own, have, in the last decade, often been referred to. But they seem never to have been made the subject of detailed study. nineteenth century economists, as appears from the first of the following chapters, scarcely deigned to notice the seasonal tides upon the industrial ocean; and practically no attempt seems to have been made to ascertain, by specific investigation of facts, how far the current generalisations as to rates of wages and conditions of employment were borne out by the actual phenomena. The bibliographical information in the present volume indicates how scanty is our stock of knowledge on the subject. From philanthropic motives, during the past two decades, special attention has been paid to dock and wharf labour, and to the building trades; but the problem of their "seasonality" has not been specifically studied in connection with that of other industries.

The present volume is the outcome of a Seminar at the London School of Economics and Political Science during the session 1910, in which Mr. Arnold Freeman, to whom the putting together of the book is almost wholly due, acted as my assistant. Prepared amid examination and other pressure, in competition with other studies, and necessarily under stress of time, these chapters of "students' work" inevitably fall short of the highest standards of scientific investigation or economic scholarship. But they represent no small amount of patient, original, and independent research, and personal inquiries into the various trades; they add something to our available stock of knowledge; and,

taken together, they serve to bring home to us some of the realities of economic pressure that lie beneath and behind all our abstractions about the capacity of "the labour market" for an indefinite "absorption" of the

temporarily unemployed!

We may realise from the variety of industries dealt with in this volume—a selection which is but a sample of many others—that practically all trades are "seasonal" to a greater or less extent. Sometimes the recurrent seasonal slackness affects practically all those engaged in the industry; sometimes the weight falls upon particular classes of operatives only, but upon the whole of those classes; and sometimes all the burden has to be borne by a fringe of "casual hands." A change from one to another of these varieties of "under-employment" has sometimes been counted as progress! statistical or quantitative estimate of the amount by which the volume of employment is greater at one time than another, it is almost impossible to obtain, though Mr. Frank Popplewell has managed to secure valuable information on this point with regard to Gas manufacture, and Mr. A. D. Webb affords some indication with regard to the building trades. Still more difficult is it to trace exactly on what classes, in what places, and upon which individual workers the burden of a recurrent cessation of the means of livelihood actually falls, and how it affects the life of the household. But every student of the problems of the poor, and every philanthropic worker, knows what difficulties and dangers, how many tragic family breakdowns and degradations of the Standard of Life, these recurrent periods of "slackness" are responsible for.

Is there any need for such purely "seasonal" fluctuations of employment at all? The question seems at first sight vain, for how can we get rid of the alternations of summer and winter, of seed-time and harvest, of light and darkness? It was, however, one of the valuable facts revealed by the late Royal Commission

on the Poor Laws, that, taking all the industries of the United Kingdom together, there is no such striking difference in the total volume of employment from one month to another as is commonly supposed. It is simply not true that we may take it for granted that business is brisk in the spring and dull in the winter. Miss Poyntz brings out in the present volume the fact that, although there is a slack season in nearly all trades, this occurs at different parts of the year. There is, as the Board of Trade, from accurate statistics of the past decade, is able positively to testify, no month in the year in which some great industry is not at its very slackest, and equally no month in the year in which some great industry is not at its very busiest. Thus, taking the actual facts of the last ten years, whilst January is the slackest month in iron-mining and the furnishing trades, it is actually the busiest at the docks of London and other ports (except those dealing with the Baltic), and one of the busiest for coal-mining; in February the plumbers have most unemployment, but the paper-making trade is at its briskest; in March and April the coopers are at their slackest, but the steelsmelters, the great industries of the textiles and multifarious furnishing trades are busy; May and June are the worst of all months for the great industry of coalmining, as well as for the London dock-labourers, but they are the best of all months for the wide ramifications of the clothing trades, as well as for mill-sawyers; July sees the iron and steel and tin-plate works at their lowest ebb, but the railway service and all the occupations of the holiday resorts are near their busiest; in August and September the paper-makers, printers, book-binders, textile operatives, and tobacco-workers are more unemployed than at any other time, but (besides the railway and steamboat lines and all occupations of the holiday resorts) all forms of agriculture harvesting are at their height; the clothing trades are at their very slackest in October, but the iron and steel works are then at their busiest; November, on an average, sees the best of all months for printing and bookbinding, tobacco and tin-plate, and for most of the metal trades; December is the worst of all months for carpenters and engineers, mill-sawyers, and coach-builders, leatherworkers and brush-makers, but then it is the best of all months for coal-miners, the very extensive theatrical industry, the Post Office service and the producers of gas and electric light. If the Board of Trade had available statistical evidence as to other industries, there is every reason to believe that we should find the same "infinite variety" in their seasonal slackness.

Now, I have ventured to postulate as an economic hypothesis, to be tested by the facts whenever we can ascertain them, that there is, in the United Kingdom of to-day, no seasonal slackness in the community as a whole. Leaving aside for a moment the "cyclical" fluctuations of trade, about which we hear so much, and which make the aggregate volume of business differ from year to year; and ignoring the chronic "underemployment" of the casual labourer, of which Mr. W. H. Beveridge has discovered the cause, I suggest that—so far as mere "seasonal" changes are concerned —the volume of employment in the aggregate probably remains pretty constant throughout the year. Stating it definitely, I venture to say that if we could get accurate statistics of the total number of wage-earners actually in employment in the United Kingdom this week we should find it to be very nearly identical with the total number for any other week of the present year. This is almost certainly true with regard to the great mass of unskilled and only slightly specialised labour, which makes up more than half of the whole.

An economic explanation can be given for this hypothetical paradox. In a highly-evolved industrial community, with occupations of the most multifarious kinds, the "product" of industry comes to market uninterruptedly throughout the whole year. There is,

in such a community, no special month of harvest. Translated into practical life, we may say that nearly all of us get our incomes week by week, or quarter by quarter, fairly evenly, throughout the year; and we nearly all of us spend our incomes as we get them. It is true that we do not spend them each week in the same way. Sometimes most of us are buying clothes, and sometimes, most of us, holiday amusements; and this variation in demand causes the seasonal fluctuations in particular trades. But week by week we are all using or consuming much the same amount in the aggregate, giving, in the aggregate, the same number of orders, to the same total amount; and, therefore, indirectly setting to work, in the aggregate, the same amount of labour.

From this hypothesis there seems to flow the momentous conclusion that the seasonal alternations of overpressure and slackness to which so many workers are subjected, with such evil results, are due only to failures of adjustment. There is no more "inevitability." about them than about the rattling of a motor-car. They mean only that our statesmen have not yet given themselves the trouble to make the social adjustments, and to employ the various devices, by which these calamitous dislocations of the lives of so many hundreds of thousands of households can be prevented.

This is the sort of problem which is going to make Twentieth Century economics even more fascinating, and perhaps even more practically useful to Humanity, than Nineteenth Century chemistry or physics. However, it was not the business of my Seminar to discover any practical plan for preventing Seasonal Unemployment; though the brilliant paper on "The Waiter," by Mrs. Drake, affords some suggestive hints; and Mr. Carter's study of the gradual evolution of the great industry which supplies us with Bicycles may give us some more. What Miss Calver has to tell us about the Boot and Shoe industry; and Mlle. Bourat about the various branches of work in Skins and Furs, bring their

own contributions to the problem; whilst the accounts given by Miss Charlotte Saunders of the Millinery trade, and by Mrs. Drake of the Tailoring trade, remind us of the infinite complexities of the economic "philosophy of clothes."

By what steps can we proceed to such a "regularisation" of these seasonal trades, and such a "dovetailing" of their unspecialised and unskilled labour, as would prevent the recurrent fluctuations of employment to which they are now subject? This is "another story," which is perhaps out of place in such a volume as this. Those who are interested to pursue the subject will find in the lately published volume, "The Prevention of Destitution," by S. and B. Webb, an elaborate exposition of the policy by which, as it seems to the writers, the great bulk of involuntary unemployment and "under-employment" can be actually prevented.

SIDNEY WEBB.

June, 1911.

The members of the Seminar have asked me to express their thanks to Mr. B. M. Headicar, Librarian of the London School of Economics, for the valuable help he has given them in the preparation of these papers.

February, 1912.

ARNOLD FREEMAN.

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CONTENTS

Preface, by Sidney Webb	•••	•••	•••	•••	ķ
СНАР	TER I				
INTRODUCTION: SEASONAL T					
Рочити, М.А	•••	•••	•••	•••	I
CHAP	TER II				
THE TAILORING TRADE IN LON	IDON, BY	BARBA	ara Dr	AKE	70
СНАРТ	ER III				
THE WAITER, BY BARBARA D	RAKE	•••	•••	•••	92
СНАРТ	ER IV				
THE CYCLE INDUSTRY, BY G.	R. CARTI	er, M.	A	•••	107
CHAP	TER V				
THE GAS INDUSTRY, BY FRAN	ик Роррі	LEWEL	L, B.Sc	· ···	148
СНАРТ	ER VI				
THE LONDON MILLINERY TO SAUNDERS, M.A	RADE, BY			K.	210
DAVNDUNG MAILA	•••	•••	***	•••	<i></i> 10
	ER VII		_		
THE SKIN AND FUR TRADES, E	Y MARGI	JERITE	Bour	AT	243
CHAPTI	ER VIII				
THE BOOT AND SHOE TRADE,	BY Cons	TANCE	Calve	R	282
CHAPT	ER IX				
THE BUILDING TRADE, BY AUG	сивтив D	. Web	в, В.Sc		312

INDEX

INTRODUCTION: SEASONAL TRADES

Aërated water manufacture. Dovetailing with harness-Recklessness of employer, making, 46. Boots. Aërated water trade. Influence of fashion, 36. Adjustment of employment, Boot making. Unemployment in, in Ger-Agricultural colonies, 18, 19. many, 29. Agriculture. Boot trade. Dovetailing with industrial Overtime and slack time, 41. occupations, 46. Unemployment in, in Ger-Bowley, A. L. On irregularity of employmany, 29. ment, 5.
On statistics of unemploy-Aristocracy of labour. Effect on dovetailing, 48, 49. ment, 5. Box-making. Among women workers, 48. Army, employment in, 5%. Recklessness of employer, 60. Ateliers nationaux, 12. Brickfields. Baking. Dovetailing, 46. Unemployment in, in Ger-Bricklayers. many, 29. Causes of fluctuating employ-Bastiat, 10. ment, 34. Beveridge, W. H., 3, 6, 17.
Evidence before Poor Law Brick-making. Unemployment in, in Ger-Commission, 49%. many, 29. Billiard tables, manufacture of. Brush-making. Adjustment of employment, Unemployment statistics (I.), 43. Blanc, Louis. 20. Builders' labourers. On seasonal unemployment, Unemployment among, 27. 13-14. Causes of fluctuating em-Right to work, 12. ployment, 37. Board of Trade. Building.
In T.U. unemployed percen-Evidence before Poor Law Commission, 33%. tage, 27. Evidence on Unemployment in, in Gerployed percentage, 27. Labour Gasette, 28. many, 29. Building trade. Memorandum on seasonal Causes of seasonal fluctuaunemployment, 20. Boating. tion in, 34. Dismissal of workers, 41. Dovetailing with fish-hawk-Fluctuations in, 34, 38, 39. ing, etc., 46. Permanent men, 42. Bookbinding. Seasonal fluctuations in, 5. Adjustment of employment, Seasonal unemployment in, statistics (I. and III.) 20. 43. Fluctuations in, 38, 39. Butchers' trade. Boot industry. Adjustment of fluctuations at Unemployment in, in Ger-Leeds, 63. many, 29.

Buyer.	Coal mining.
Attitude of, as affecting	Fluctuations in employment,
fluctuation, 59.	statistics (II.), 20.
Cabinet-making.	
	Overtime and slack time, 41.
Unemployment in, in Ger-	Regulation of hours, 64.
many, 29.	Coal mining, etc.
Cabman.	Unemployment in, in Ger-
Seasonal activity of, 35.	many, 29.
Capitalism.	Coiffeur.
And unemployment, 12, 15.	Seasonal activity of, 35.
Carpenters.	Competition.
Causes of fluctuating em-	Influence on fluctuation, 35.
ployment, 37.	Competitive industry, 6.
Employment and wages, 9.	Considérant, Victor.
Fluctuations of employment,	Right to work, 12.
40.	Consumers.
Unemployment among, 27.	Influence on fluctuations, 59.
Unemployment in Germany,	Continuity of Employment, 62.
20.	Coopers.
Unemployment statistics (I.),	Unemployment statistics (I.),
	onomprofitent statistics (1.7,
20.	Cattan Industria
Carpentering.	Cotton industry.
Dovetailing with pattern-	Employment, statistics (III.),
making, 46.	20.
Casual employment, 19.	Regulation of hours, 64.
	Cotton trade.
Casual labour, 27, 42, 44.	A
Professional, sometimes regu-	
lar, 45.	_ wards overtime, 63.
Unemployment, in Germany,	Fluctuations in, 4.
29.	Cycle trade.
Catering.	Effect of fashion, 56.
	Cyclical fluctuation.
Seasonal fluctuation in, 35.	Influence of, 27.
Charity Organisation Review,	Deal timber.
46n.	
Charity Organisation Society.	Fluctuations in supply of, 37.
Report on unskilled labour,	Dearle, N. B.
	On building trade, 33n, 34n.
34n., 46n., et al.	Decasualisation, 18, 61, 64.
Chevalier, 10.	Demarcation of trades, 48.
Clothing.	
Unemployment statistics (I.),	In organised labour market,
	66.
20.	Demoralisation.
Clothing Industry.	From irregularity, 51, 52.
Fluctuations in, 5.	Deseasonalisation, 64.
Unemployment statistics, 20.	Destitution.
Clothing trade.	
	National Conference on Pre-
Fluctuations in, 38, 39.	vention of, 34n.
Employment in, statistics	Detention colonies, 18, 19.
(III.), 20.	Deterrence, in the Poor Law, 18,
"Cloth-working.	19.
Dismissals in slack time, 43.	Discipline.
Coach-building.	
Eluctrotions in all as	Endangered by regular em-
Fluctuations in, 38, 39.	ployment, 60, 61, and 61s.
easonal fluctuation in, 27.	Dismissal.
Unemployment statistics (I.),	Alternatives to, 62, 63.
20.	Dock labour.
Coal miners, 27.	Dismissal of workers, 42.

Inquiry at Liverpool, 33n.	Fashion.
Recklessness of employer, 60.	Cause of fluctuation, 35.
Docks.	Field of production.
Fluctuations at, 36.	Area of, as affecting seasonal
History of decasualisation,	fluctuations, 55.
61.	Flax industry.
Seasonal fluctuations at, 5.	Employment in, statistics
	(III.), 20.
Domestic service, 5n.	Florists' trade.
Unemployment in, in Ger-	
many, 29.	Seasonal activity of, 35.
66, 68.	Fluctuations.
Dovetailing, 6, 19, 32, 44-49, 46.	In industry.
In organised labour market,	Cyclical, 3, 4, 5.
Of industries, 58.	General, 3.
Of prostitution with irregular	Seasonal, 3, 4.
employment, 54.	Fluctuation of industry.
	In proximate sections, 37.
Dresemaking.	Variation in supply of raw
Causes of fluctuation in, 35.	material, 36.
Fluctuations in employment,	Fluctuations, seasonal.
statistics (III.), 20.	
Influence of fashion, 36.	Statistical tables, 20.
Unemployment in, in Ger-	Food, distribution and manufac-
many, 29.	ture.
Drink, distribution and manufac-	Regularity in, 5n.
ture.	Forestry.
	Unemployment in, in Ger-
Regularity in, 5%.	many, 29.
Economic factors.	Fourier.
Affecting seasonality, 55.	Right to Work, 12.
In fluctuation, 34, 35, 36.	7
Education service.	French polishing.
Unemployment in, in Ger-	Adjustment of employment,
many, 29.	43.
Employer.	Fruit trade.
Attitude of, as affecting fluc-	Fluctuations in, 37.
tuations, 60.	Furnishing.
Attitude toward reserve of	Fluctuations in, 38, 39.
	Seasonal fluctuations in, 5.
labour, 55.	Unemployment statistics (I.),
Policy to meet fluctuations,	
43, 44-	20.
Possible penalisation for em-	Gas industry.
ploying casual labour, 61.	Causes of seasonal fluctua-
Employment.	tion in, 34.
Characteristics, 44.	Fluctuations in, 5.
In seasonal trades,	Gas-workers.
Engineering.	Dovetailing with brick fields,
Dismissal of workers, 42.	46.
Flustuations in ag as	Germany.
Fluctuations in, 38, 39.	
In T.U. unemployed per-	
centage, 2, 7.	employment, 28-32.
Seasonal fluctuations in, 4.	Gide, Charles.
Unemployment statistics, 20.	On unemployment, 15.
Unemployment statistics (I.),	Giffen, Sir Robert.
20.	On distress, 7n.
Export trade.	Glass industry.
Diminishing seasonal fluctua-	Adjustment of employment,
tion, 56.	63.
	- J.

	•
Employment in, statistics	Dovetailing with sweets and
(III.), 20.	potted meat, 58.
Gompers, Samuel.	Recklessness of employer,
On over-supply of labour, 44.	60.
Hamilton, C. J.	Jewellery trade.
Report on unskilled labour,	Adjustment of employment,
51n., et al.	43.
Hat-making.	Seasonal activity of, 35.
Unemployment statistics (I.),	Journalist.
20.	Seasonal activity of, 35.
Hatters.	Jute industry.
Adjustment of employment,	Employment in, statistics
43.	
Hobson, J. A.	(III.), 36. Seasonal variation in supply
On agricultural dovetailing,	of, 36.
46n.	Labour Exchange, 18.
Hosiery.	
Employment in, statistics	Labour market, 55.
(ÎII.), 20.	Effect of organisation of, 66.
Hours.	Lace industry.
In coal and cotton, 64.	Employment in, statistics
Reduction of, 19.	(III.), 20.
Regulation of, in accordance	Large-scale production.
with fluctuation, 62.	Effect on seasonal fluctua-
Resistance to overtime, 63.	tion, 56.
Household utensils.	Leather trades.
No change of fashion, 36.	Adjustment of employment,
India-rubber industry.	43.
Dovetailing with laundries,	Seasonal fluctuation in, 38.
46.	Unemployment statistics (I.),
Individualism, 10.	20.
Industry.	Ligue Sociale d'Acheteurs, 59.
Mobility of, 10.	Llewellyn Smith, H.
Instruments, scientific, etc.	On piece-work and time-
No change of fashion, 36.	work, 42n.
Iron and steel works.	Lock-making.
Dismissal of workers, 42.	Unemployment in, in Ger-
Iron mining.	many, 29.
Fluctuations in employment,	McCulloch, J. R.
statistics (II.), 20.	On irregular employment,
Iron-working.	10.
Irregularity of employment, 19.	MacDonald, Ramsay.
Irregularity of employment,	Evidence on trade union
effects of, 6.	
Unemployment in, in Ger-	policy.
many, 29.	MacDonald, Mrs. Ramsay.
Irregularity of income.	Evidence before Poor Law
Economy of regular wage,	Commission, 53.
50.	Evidence on Women's work,
Effect on worker, 50, 51.	53.
Jam industry.	Machine-making.
Adjustment of employment,	Unemployment in, in Ger-
42.	many, 29.
Dependent on fruit season,	Machinery.
37.	Effect on employment, 2.
Dovetailing with hop-fields,	Influence on seasonal fluc-
etc., 46.	tuation, 57, 58.
· •	

Majority Report.	Overtime, 5 ⁿ , 63. In "rush" season, 55.
Poor Law Commission, 17,	in rush season, 55.
18.	To adjust irregularity, 41.
Maithus.	Trade Union policy, 62.
On unemployment, 11.	Owen, Robert.
Manchester school.	On unemployment, 14.
On unemployment, 7.	Painters.
Markets.	Causes of fluctuating em-
International character, as	ployment, 34.
affecting seasonal fluntua-	Pattern-making.
tions, 55.	Dovetailing with carpenter-
Marshall, Prof. A., 10.	ing, 46.
Marx, Karl.	Pawnbroker, 6.
On unemployment, 15.	Permanent men.
Masons.	Staff retained, 42.
Causes of fluctuating em-	Piano industry.
ployment, 34.	Dovetailing with cabinet-
Employment and wages, 9.	making, 46.
Unemployment among, 27.	Piano trade.
Unemployment, in Germany,	Adjustment of employment,
29.	43.
Meat.	Plasterers.
Fluctuations in importation	Causes of fluctuating em-
of, 36.	ployment, 34.
Metal trades.	Plumbers.
. Seasonal fluctuations in, 4,	Causes of fluctuating em-
38.	ployment, 34.
Unemployment statistics (I.),	Fluctuations of unemploy-
20.	ment, statistics (I.), 20.
Mill, John Stuart.	Unemployment among, 27.
On irregular employment,	Plumbing.
15.	Fluctuations in, 38, 39.
Milliners.	Police service.
Adjustment of employment,	Employment in, 5%.
42, 43.	Poor Law Commission.
Millinery.	On unemployment, 17, 18.
Influence of fashion, 36.	Porter.
Seasonal fluctuation in, 35.	Seasonal activity of, 35.
Mill sawyers.	Postal service.
Unemployment statistics (I.),	Unemployment in, in Ger-
20.	many, 29.
Milyonkov, P.	Printing.
On agricultural dovetailing,	Adjustment of employment,
47.	43.
Minority Report.	Fluctuations in, 38, 39.
Poor Law Commission, 18.	Seasonal activity in, 35.
Mobility.	Seasonal fluctuations in, 5.
Industrial and geographical,	Seasonal unemployment in,
49.	statistics, 20.
Navy.	Prostitution.
Employment in, 5%.	Result of irregular employ-
Non-fluctuating trades, 5.	ment, 54.
Over-employment.	Public work.
Result of adjustment of	Regularisation of, 18, 19.
hours, 64.	Railways.
Over-population, 2.	Employment on, 5s.
· · ·	- · · · ·

Railway servants, 27. Attitude towards hours and	Short time, 5n, 62, 63.
dismissals, 63.	Skilled labour, 9, 27, 44.
Railway service.	Difficulty of dovetailing, 45,
Unemployment in, in Ger-	Geographical mobility, 49.
many, 29	Irregular employment of, 6.
Rathbone, E. F.	Proportions and employment
On dock labour in Liver-	in building trade, statis-
pool, 33n.	tics (III.), 20.
Raw material.	Smelting.
Variations in supply of, 36.	Unemployment in, in Ger-
Widening of source of sup-	many, 29.
ply, 55. Reserve of labour, 6, 7.	Smith, Adam.
	On inconsistency of employ- ment, 8.
In seasonal trades, 55. Need for recognised, 19.	Social factors in fluctuation, 34,
Recent social policy, 17.	35.
Theory of Beveridge, 15.	Socialists.
Theory of Karl Marx, 15.	On unemployment, 11-16.
Ricardo.	Social policy.
On distress, 8.	Studies on unemployment,
On irregular employment, 10.	16, 17.
Right to work, 12.	Specialisation of occupations, 47.
Sandwich-man.	Spinning.
Dovetailing with hop-pick-	Unemployment in, in Ger-
ing, etc., 46.	many, 29.
Sanitary service.	Standard of life, 32.
Employment in, 5m. Say, J. B., 10.	Affected by irregularity of employment, 60.
Seasonal fluctuations.	Tendency to expansion, 50.
Adjustment of irregularity,	Statistics.
41.	German, on unemployment,
Importance in manual occu-	28-32.
pations, 5.	On seasonal unemployment,
In employment, 41.	20.
Nature of, 38-40.	On unemployment, p. 20.
Outside manual occupations,	Trade Union unemployed
5.	percentage, 27.
Seasons.	Unemployment in Germany
Different period in different	in selected occupations, 68.
places, 56. Influence of, climatic, social,	Unemployment in Germany, main divisions of indus-
economic, 33%.	try, 67.
Senor, Nassau.	Steel and iron industry.
On irregular employment,	Employment in statistics
10.	of (II.), 20.
Sherwell, Arthur.	Seasons in, 4.
On industrial fluctuation and	Steel smelting.
prostitution, 54%.	Fluctuations in, 38, 39.
Shipbuilding.	Stock, making to.
Dismissal of workers, 42.	Influence of fashion, 35.
In T.U. unemployed percen-	Sweated industries.
tage, 27.	Recklessness of employer,
Fluctuations in, 38, 39. Seasonal fluctuations in, 4.	60. Sweated labour, 27.
Unemployment statistics (I.),	Tailoring.
20.	Employment and wages, 9.

Seasonal activity in, 35.	Unskilled labour, 6, 8, 27, 44.
Unemployment, in, in Ger-	Dovetailing, 49.
many, 29.	Ease of dovetailing, 46, 47.
Tea.	Effects of machinery, 58-59.
Seasonal fluctuation in sup-	Impossibility of adjusting
ply of, 36.	wage and fluctuation, 50.
Textile industries.	Lack of geographical mo-
Overtime and slack time, 41.	bility, 49.
Textile workers, 27.	Seasonal fluctuation in em-
Tobacco industry.	ployment, 66.
Fluctuations in, 38, 39.	Unemployment in building
Unemployment in, in Ger-	trade, statistics (III.), 20.
many, 29.	Vandervelde, E.
Unemployment statistics (I.),	On agricultural dovetailing,
20.	47%.
Trades, seasonal, 4.	Wages.
Trade unions.	Effect of irregular employ-
Attitude toward overtime,	ment on, 8-10.
62.	In relation to short time, 63.
Average monthly unem-	Relation to seasonal fluctua-
ployed percentage, table,	tions, 49, 50.
65.	Specially inadequate for
General yearly fluctuation in	women, 53, 54.
employment, 64.	Waiters.
No regulation for regular	Dovetailing with brick-
employment, 61, 62. Policy toward demarcation	fields, 46.
of trades, 47, 48.	Seasonal activity of, 35.
Delice toward fortunting	Walker, F. A.
Policy toward fluctuating	On irregular employment, 16,
employment, 41.	Weather,
Unemployment in, 27.	Influence of, 34.
Tramways.	Weaving.
Seasonal fluctuations, 5.	Unemployment in, in Ger-
Travelling benefit, 62.	many, 29.
Under-employment.	Webb, S. and B.
Reserve of labour, 54.	On continuity of employ-
Result of adjustment of	ment, 62.
hours, 64.	On demarcation of labour,
Undertaking.	48n.
Adjustment of employment,	On reserve of labour, 6, 7.
43.	On unemployment, 17.
Unemployable.	Webb, Sidney.
Treatment of, 18, 19.	Evidence before Poor Law
Unemployed benefit, 27.	Commission, 198.
Unemployment.	On size of unit as affecting
Effect of industrial revolu-	regularity, 56n.
tion on, 1.	Wheat.
General, 1, 2.	World crop not seasonal, 55.
General, compared, with sea-	White lead industry.
sonal unemployment, 54.	Adjustment of employment,
Unemployment insurance, 6, 9,	43.
18, 32, 62.	Winter season.
Unemployment statistics.	Greater cost of production in,
Distribution of unemploy-	35.
ment, 28.	Wireworkers.
Trade Union, unemployed	· Adjustment of employment,
percentage, 27.	43.
= : •	-

In Indiarubber works and laundries, 46.

Women's trades.

Recklessness of employer, 60. Women workers.

> Dovetailing of occupations. 46.

> Inadequate wages, 53 Seasonal unemployment

among, 53.

Special difficulties of dovetailing, 48.

Wool.

Fluctuations in supply of, 37.

Woollen industry.

Employment in, statistics (ÎII.), 20.

Worsted.

Employment in. statistics (III.), 20.

THE WEST-END TAILORING TRADE

Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, 75.

Apprenticeship, 77.
"Bespoke" and "Wholesale," 70, 71.

Bibliography, 90, 91. Competition with factory, 82, 83,

84. "Cutters," 71. Distribution of work, 76, 85. Earnings, 74, 75, 78, 79. Factory and Workshop Act, 72,

84, 86, 89. "Greener," 84. "Hands," 78-80.

Health conditions, 86, 87.

Holidays, 87. Hours of work, 85. Importation of workers

East End, 85, 90. Individual system, 73. " out -" In - workers " and

workers" system, 71, 72. Jewish character, 77, 80, 88, 89.

Limitation of hours, 89. London Society of Tailors and

Tailoresses, 75. Lowering of rates, 81, 82. "Machinery," 78. "Maker," 78.

Masters' Association of Tailors.

Methods practised, 73, 74, 78, 81. Middleman, 78-81. Old-fashioned tailor, 73.

Overtime, 85.

Relationship between employers and workpeople, 76, 85.

Rent of home workshops, 75, 80. Sanitary conditions, 75, 86. Seasonal depression, 87.

Seasonal fluctuations, 70, 73, 87-90.

Seasonal fluctuations according to months, 73.

Seasonal fluctuations in, causes of, 70. Seasonal fluctuations in outlying

districts, 88.

Sectional methods, 78, 81.

Sectional system, 77.

"Sittings," 75.

"Specials," 72, 85.

"Sweater" (see Middleman). Sweating, 81, 84.

Tailoresses, 75, 76, 79, 86, 87. Tailoring trade, 70.

Trades Boards Act, 83.

Trade Unions, 74, 75, 77. Workshops, 71, 72, 75, 80.

THE WAITER

Austrian International Society of Chefs and Waiters, 94. Bibliography, 106.
British disinclination for trade,

British Section, 97, 98, 99.
Casual waiter, The, 99.
Caterers' Employees' Union, 95.
Cause of seasonal fluctuations, 92.

Christian Home for Waiters, 94. City Waiters' Club, 95. Earnings, 101, 102. Foreign section, 97, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104.

Geneva Association of Hotel and Restaurant Employees, 93. Hotel and Restaurant Employees' (Union Ganymede) Friendly Society, 94.

Hours of Service, 103.
Ideal of the waiter, 104.
International character of trade, 92.
Italian Mutual Aid Society, 95.
Italian Society of Hotel and Restaurant Employees, 95.
"Kartel" of Trade Societies, 95.
London trade, 97, 98, 105.
Loyal British Waiters' Society, 95.
Management of hotels and restaurants, 93, 97, 98.
Methods of life, 103, 104, 105.
Migratory rounds, 96, 97.

Migratory waiter, 92.
Nationality, 92, 100.
Resident Waiter, 97.
Seasonal fluctuations, 96, 97, 98, 99, 105.
Swiss Society of Hotel and Restaurant Employees, 95.
Swiss Union Helvetta, 94.
Trade societies, 94, 95.
Training of youths, 100, 101.
"Trunk" system, 102.
Verein der Gastwirts Gehilfen, 95.
Waiter, the, 92.

THE CYCLE INDUSTRY

Accessories, manufacture 112-3, 120-2, 124, 130-1, 133. Agents, complimentary, 115, 118. Alldays and Onions Ltd., 138. American, imports of, 111. Apprenticeship, 130-1. Automobiles, manufacture of, 108, 110, 119, 123, 127, 130, 136. Bibliography, 107-8, 146-7. Birmingham, conditions at, 109, 113-4, 120, 122, 124, 126, 130, 141-3. Boom, 109-12. Boys, 121, 123-31. Braziers, 125, 128, 130. Bristol, 114. Canadian trade, 137. Continental trade, 137. Coventry, the centre of the industry, 108-9, 113, 122, 124, 129-31, 133, 135, 139-43. Coventry Machinists' Company, 109. Cycle, origin of the, 107.
Cycle industry, seasonal fluctuations in the, 107-47. Cycle workers, classes of, 122-8, 130. Depôts, function of, 114. Depression, 109-11. Distribution, 114-5. Dovetailing, 118, 136, 138-9, 143-45. Dunlop Tyre Co., 112, 120. Enamellers, 126-9. Engineers, Amalgamated Society

of, 135, 140,

Factories, specialised, 109, 112, 114, 120-5, 141-2. Factors, 115. Factory Acts, 130. Fashion, influence of, 116-7. Female workers, 122-31. Finishers, 127-8, 130. Fluctuations, extent of, 135-41. Fluctuations, periods of, 131-5. Frame builders, 125, 127. Girls, 121, 123-31. Glasgow, 113, 122. Government contracts, 137-8. Housing in cycle making centres, 142. Insurance unemployment, and the cycle industry, 141, 143. Labour Bureau and the cycle industry, 108, 135, 144-5. Labour Gazette, 108. Liners, 126, 129-30. Local variations, 117. Location, 109-10, 113-4, 123-4. London and the cycle trade, 109, 111, 114, 117, 142. Lucas Ltd., 112. Machinery, influence of, 109, 111-2, 114, 124-7, 130-1, 134. Manufacture, processes of, 125-8. Markets, foreign, 114-5, 119, 136-7. Motor cycles, 109, 113, 115, 119-20, 122, 127, 131, 133-4,136. Motor mechanics, 127. Nottingham, cycle industry at, 113, 132, 139, 141-3. Overtime, 111-2, 119, 129, 134, 140-1, 145. Piecework rates, 128-9.

Platers, 126, 128-30. Polishers, 126, 128-30. Post Office, cycle contracts for the G.P.O., 137-8. Pressers, 125, 128-9. Production, census of, for cycles, etc., 110. Redditch, cycle industry at, 113, 122, 124, 141-3. Repairing work, 114-8. Retail cycle factors, 115, 117-8. Retail trade, 114-7. Seasons, influence of, 115-119. Short time, 112, 117-9, 121, 136. Specialisation, 108-9, II2-3, 120-1, 125-8, 143. Starley, J. K., the father of the cycle industry, 109, 147. Statistics, lack of, 107-8, 110, 123.

Time work rates, 128-9. Toolmakers, 127-8, 130, 134, 139-40. Trade Unions, 108, 121, 129-30, 133, 135, 138-41. Triumph cycles, 134. Turner's cycle, 112, 125, 128-30. Tyres, manufacture of, 120. Velocipede, introduction of the. Wages of workers, 118, 128-30, 138, 140-2, 145. Weather, unique influence on cycle trade, 115-8. Wheel builders, cycle, 126-8, 130. Wholesale cycle factors, 114-5, 118-20. Wolverhampton, 113. Workshops, 109.

THE GAS INDUSTRY

Age distribution, 158. Cooking, effect of increase in use Amalgamated Society of Gasof gas for, 182. workers, Brick-makers, and Co-partnership, 158, 194-96. General Labourers, 159. Cost of gas manufacture, effect Authorised and non-authorised of introduction of machinery undertakings, 149. on, 177. Bibliography, select, 188-90. Cost of production of gas, fac-Blue water-gas, 155. tors in, 150. Day and night consumption of Brick-making, dovetailing of, with gas compared, 207, 208. gas-making, 169. Daylight-saving schemes, effect Brick-making, seasonal fluctuaof, on regularity of employtions in employment in, 163, ment, 162. Differential charges, 181. 169. Brick-making trade, effect of in-Dovetailing of other seasonal troduction of machinery on, trades, 169. 169. Earnings and hours, 158, 191-3. Carburetted water-gas, 155. Gas. Carburetted water-gas, make of, Cost of production of, 151. per man, 205. Industry, The, 148. Gas Light and Coke Co. Carburetted water-gas, production of, by authorised under-Absorption of other comtakings (1898-1900), 206. panies by, 151. Casual labour, 167. Gas sold by authorised under-takings (1899-1909), 197. Climatic conditions, effect of on employment, 161. Hand labour, supersession of, Coal gas, production of, by 173 authorised undertakings Hand stoking, cost of carbonising (1898-1900), 206. by, 204. Competition, freedom from, 148. Competition of gas with electri-Illuminating power, requirements as to, becoming unnecescity, steam, oil, and coal, sary, 149. Incandescent mantle, effect of Concentration, industrial, 151. introduction of, 184.

Insurance against unemployment, 161. Labour, classes of, 155. Machinery, effect of, on seasonal character of the gas industry, 173 et seq. Machinery, introduction of, 174. Manual machines, cost of carbonising by, 204. Manufacture of coal gas, methods of, 152. Monopoly, statutory, 148, 149. Municipalisation of the gas industry, effect on employ-ment of, 151. Municipalisation of the gas industry, growth in, 151.
National Amalgamated Union of Labour, 159. National Union of Gas Workers and General Labourers, 159. Numbers employed in gas manufacture, estimate of, 156. Statistics of, 209. Numbers employed in the gas industry, seasonal fluctuation in, 196. Occupations, summer, of gas makers, 170. Power machines, cost of carbonising by, 204. Profits and prices in the gas industry, relation of, 150. Profit-sharing in the gas industry. 158, 194-6. Seasonal fluctuations in employment in the gas industry, 163, 196.

Shift systems in gas manufacture, 153. Social conditions among gasworkers, 172. South Metropolitan Gas Co., absorption of other companies by, 152. Statutory and non-statutory undertakings, numbers of, 149. Stoking machinery, introduction of, 174, 201, 202. Stove-rentals, course of (1898-1909), 206. Trade Unions, 159. Training, period of, in gas manufacture, 158. Unemployment. Benefits, 159. Inquiry, results of, 197. Insurance against, 161. Extent of, 172. Vertical retorts. Introduction of, 176. Cost of carbonising by, 201. Wages cost of carbonising (1873-1909), 208. Water gas. Effect of introduction of, 179. Conditions determining production of, 179. Effect of use of, on seasonal fluctuations in employment, 181. Wear-and-tear costs in gas manufacture (1873-1909), 208. Wide distribution of the gas industry, its effect on employment, 151.

THE SKIN AND FUR TRADES

Apprentices, 256, 271, 272.
Causes of seasonality, 243, 276, 277.
Chamber master, 265, 266, 268.
Dovetalling, 257.
Dressing, 247.
Dyeing, 249.
Eight hours' day, 273.
Export, 254.
Female workers, 244.
Fur-pulling, 252.
Furriers' Journeymen's Union, 273.
Fur Skin Dressers' Union, 255.

Health of Workers, 275, 277.
Historical, 244.
Hours of labour, 251.
International Convention, 258.
International Union, 273.
Import, 253.
Jewish Board of Guardians, 271, 272, 275.
Jewish home factory, 270.
Making up, 260, 3
Male workers, 244.
Nationality of workers, 251, 260, 268.
Northampton Institute, 272.

INDEX

Number of people employed, 243, 244, 262, 265, 267, 269, 270. Retail furrier, 262. Sales, 246, 255. Seal dressing, 249, 258, 259. Seal fishery, 258. Seasonality, 252, 255-7, 262, 264-70, 276, 278. Skinners' Company, 244, 272. Slaughter of animals, 246. Small furrier manufacturer, 267.

Trading companies, 245. Union returns, 257. Wages, 248, 251, 262, 265, 267-9, 271, 272. Wearing of fur, 244. Wholesale furrier manufacturer, Women's labour, 247, 249, 261, 266, 268, 270-5. Women's wages, 248, 262, 265, 267, 269.

THE LONDON MILLINERY TRADE

Ages of millinery workers, 224 Australian trade and seasonality in millinery, 229, 230. Australia's developing millinery activity: causes, 230, 231. Cavalier, broad-brimmed hats of, 211. Dovetailing in millinery work, Difficulty of, in West End and City work, 233. Eighteenth century French millinery, 211. Eighteenth century hats, 211. Evening classes in millinery and their benefit, 238. Expert trade in millinery, 231. Statistical tables of, 232. Fashion. A cause of seasonality in millinery, 226.

Plays less part in Australia than in England, 230-31. Hours of millinery workers, 219. Mediæval headgear, 210. Milanese goods, 211. Milliner.

Hat-wearing a mere fashion,

Earliest use of word, 212. Origin of word, 212. The milliner as an artist, 213, 214. The modern milliner and her work, 218, 219. Milliners' and Dressmakers' Pro-

wident Association, 226.
Millinery buyers, 225.
Millinery for Americans and

colonials, 236.

Millinery for Goodwood, 236. Millinery hands in the January and July sales and Christmas bazaars, 235.

Monte Carlo millinery work pre-vents Christmas slackness, 235.

Organisation and arrangement of work a partial preventative of millinery hands' slackness. 235.

Paris-bought millinery shortens English season, 236.

Peripatetic milliners, 236. Remedies for evils caused by seasonality in millinery,

239. Renaissance.

The Renaissance coif and hat,

Seasonality in millinery, 225. Causes of, 226. Feminism and, 226-7.

Seasons in millinery, 227. Shown by statistics, 228-9. Showroom girls in millinery, 224. Temporary millinery workers,

234. Trade schools and millinery, 237.

" Trotters," 224. Victorian millinery, 211. Wages of millinery workers, 220-

23. Wholesale millinery, 215. Apprentices, 217.

Assistants, 216. Designers, 224. Differentiated from West End work, 216. Out-workers, 217.

THE BOOT AND SHOE TRADE.

Peel, Sir Robert, 296.

tions, 307-8.

Rules of boot and shoe organisa-

Rivetted work, 288.

Agreement between Federated Associations and National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives, 290. conciliation Arbitration and boards, 294. Awards, 306-7. Bibliography, 297-309. Bloomfield, Robert, 296. Boot and Shoe Trade, 282. Boy workers, 290. Carey, William, 296. Clicker, work of, 291. Cobblers and Cordwainers. Agreement of (1395), 283. Quarrel between, 283. Cobblers, reference to, in "Julius Cæsar," 283. Cobeler, 282. Cooper, Thomas, 296. Cordouan, 282, footnote 2. Cordwainers, 282. Cordwainers' Guild, 282. Earnings, 310. Exports, value of, 311. Factory, description of, 289. Finishing, 289. Fitter, 284. Fitter, 284, footnote 3. Fox, George, 296. Graded machine for pattern-cutting, 289. Guild, Cordwainers', 282. Habits of shoemakers, 296. Hand-closer, 284. Handsewn boots and shoes, 284. Holding-on machine, 284. Home conditions of shoemakers, 286. Imports, value of, 311. London work made in provinces, 285, and footnote. Machine processes, 289. Machinery, result of introduction of, 295. Manufacturers' Benevolent Association (boot and shoe trade), 294. Manufacture, towns for the, 284. Odger, George, 296. Ordinance respecting boots and shoes (1272), 282. Organisations of employers, 293.

Saint Crispin, 282. Saint Crispin Festival, 282, footnote 3. Saint Monday, 296. Saracens, 282. Seasons, brisk and slack, 284, 293. Sew-round, 286, and footnote 1. Sew-round work. Evils of, 288. Remedy for evils of, 288. Slack time, 287. Shoes, Act of Parliament to keep the toes of, narrow, 283. Chains for, 283, and footnote 1. Early forms of, 282. With toes curled upwards, 283. Shoemakers, ordinance for (1680), 283, footnote 3. Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, 296. Shoemaking, craft of, 282. Slipper, 286, footnote 4. Strikes, 308-9. Sub-contracting in boot and shoe manufacture, 284. Trade organisations, 293. Trade Unions, 293. For women, 294. Twin-shoe, 286, and footnote 1. Drawbacks of the, 288, footnote 1. Unemployment, 285. Uppers, manufacture of, 284. Wage. Average weekly for United Kingdom, 295. Average weekly, of men, 290. Average weekly, of women and girls, 292. Of hand-sewn workers, 285. Of sew-round worker, 287. Wages (boot and shoe trade), 309. Whittier, A., quotation from, 282. Whittier, J. G., 296. employed, Workers, pumber 310.

THE BUILDING TRADE

Ages of workmen unemployed, 353.

Amount of unemployment expeindividuals, rienced by 347, et seq.

Analysis of financial rules of Trade Unions with regard to unemployed and travelling benefits, 377, et seq.

Apprenticeship, 315-6.

Average percentage of trade unionists unemployed, 333.

Bibliography, 361, et seq.

Board of Trade statistics of unemployment are an index to changes in the volume of unemployment, 320.

Bricklayers, slackest time of, 336.

Building trade, the, 312, et seq. Carpenters and Joiners.

> Amount of unemployment experienced by individuals, 350, et seq.

Average monthly percentages of unemployment, 340.

Month of minimum unemployment in different districts, 345, et seq.; 371, et seq.

Statistics of unemployment, 326. Statistics of unemployment

since 1860, 321-2. Carpenters and Joiners and

Plumbers.

Statistics of seasonal unemployment, 333, et seq.

Carpenters and plumbers.

Difference between winter maximum and summer of unemployminimum ment, 336-7.

Carpentry and Joinery, difference between, 313.

Cause of recent depression, 324-5. Character and allity, influence, camount of employment obtained by individual workers in the building trade, 348-9.

Connection with other industries and professions, 314.

Course of seasonal unemployment in building trade, 334-5.

Definition, 312, 314.

Dependence on general industrial conditions, 323.

Difference between winter and summer volume of employment not same for all branches, 341.

Difference between winter maximum and summer minimum of unemployment,

336, et seq. Differences in local hours of labour, 357. ences in local rates of

Differences in wages, 356-7.
Dovetailing of occupations, 354,

359-60.

Trade Union hostility to, 359-60.

Effect of dressing stone and marble at the quarries,

Engagements and dismissals of men made by the foremen, 316.

Experiences long period fluctuation about twice the length of the ordinary cycle, 323-4-

Females, 312-3.

Frazzi system of construction, saving effected by, 331.

Furniture and cabinet ware, imports of, 326.

Human inertia an obstacle to mobility of labour, 357.

Imports of foreign joinery work, effects of, 325, et seq.

of manufactured Imports materials, effects of, 325, et seq.

Index numbers of employment, month by month, in different districts in the United Kingdom, 343.

Index numbers of men paid wages at the end of each month, 334.

Industrial workers, number of, 31Q.

Insurance against unemployment, 354-5.

Intimately affected by the general state of prosperity, or depression of the country,

"Irreducible minimum" of unemployment, 339-40.

Labour Exchanges, a clearinghouse for labour, 317.

Last to feel depression and last to recover, 323.

Less work done in winter, 334. Machinery, effect of on employ-

ment, 327-8.

Marked instance of irregularity

and discontinuity of employment, 312.

Men engaged and dismissed by the foremen, 316.

Methods and materials of construction in building trade, effects of changes in, 328, et seq.

Methods of construction, 329. Cost of separate items compared, 330-1.

Methods of obtaining work, 316-17.

Mobility of labour, 356, et seq.
Sometimes discouraged by
trade union secretaries,

357. Nature of work affects employment of individual workmen, 348.

Numbers engaged in, 312.

Numbers paid wages at end of each month, index numbers of, 334.

Numbers paid wages by certain firms in one week in each month in 1906, 338.

Overbuilding suggested as a cause of unemployment,

Painters and decorators.

Variation in average weekly number employed by a firm in winter and summer, 341-2.

Percentages of average weekly numbers paid wages in different districts in the United Kingdom, 344. Percentages of Carpenters,
Joiners and Plumbers unemployed at the end of
each month in the years
1902 to 1905, 371, et seg.

Percentages of trade unionists unemployed since 1860, 321-2. Plumbers.

Amount of unemployment experienced by individuals, 350, et seq.

Average monthly percentages of unemployment, 340.

Month of minimum unemployment in different districts, 345, et seq.; 371, et seq.

Quasi-seasonal employment, 332, 336.

Reduction of working hours in winter, 354-5.

Regularisation of demand for building work, 354, 360.

Remedies for seasonal unemployment, 354, et seq.

Seasonal maximum or minimum of employment varies from trade to trade, and locality to locality, 332, 340, et seq.

Seasonal unemployment, 332, et sea.

Not the same for all branches, 340, et seq.

Statistics in the building trade, 333, et seq.

Varies in time from place to place, 342, et seq.

Several branches or trades not always kept distinct, 313-4-

Specialisation a cause of irregularity of work, 349.

"Spring cleaning" associated with spring maximum of employment in the building trade, 336.

Statistics of unemployment, 317, et seq.

Criticism of 318-9, 367

Statistics showing course of employment since 1860, 321-2.

Stone and marble, effect of dressing at quarries, 327.

Sub-divisions or branches, 313. Trade Unionists, number of, 319. Trade Union statistics of unemployment, 318-9.

Trade Union unemployed benefits,

355-6, 377, et seq. Two seasons of good employment, 335, 336. Unemployed benefits paid by

trade unions, 355-6, 377, et seq.

Unemployment approximately double that experienced by carpenters and plumbers, 319, 337.

Unemployment due to time lost in going from one job to

another, 339-40.
Unemployment experienced by individuals, 347, et seq.
Unemployment follows cyclic movement, 323.

Unemployment statistics, 319, 321 et seq.; 326, 333, et seq.

Unemployment, statistics of,

since 1860, 321-2. Variations between unemployment in the building trade in the summer and winter,

336, et seq. Wage-earners, how recruited,

314, et seq.

Wooden house frames, fittings, and joinery work, imports of, 326.

Work more costly in winter, 335. Work obtained generally by tender and contract, 347.

Years of greatest depression or prosperity not always synchronous with those in industry generally, 322.

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