

Representative Industry and Trade Unionism of an American City

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Representative Industry *and* Trade Unionism

Representative Industry *and* Trade Unionism

of an

American City

BY

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Published by

W. D. GRAY

106 SEVENTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

W. D. Gray

2331.88
29132

FOREWORD

ROCHESTER is the third largest city in the State of New York, possessing a population of approximately 230,000. It is neither a large city nor a small city but an average American city reflecting, in certain respects, average industrial conditions in the United States. If, for example, we draw a comparison between the United States and this city in respect of the five leading causes of strikes, we find that the same causes in the same order of importance hold equally good for the city as for the nation during the last twenty-five years. Again we find that when during 1889-1890 the percentage of successful strikes in the United States was above the average, the same was true of Rochester; and when during 1892-1894 the percentage was below the average, again the same held true for Rochester, and when during 1899-1905 the percentage rose approximately to 8 per cent above the average throughout the country, it likewise rose to 9 per cent in this city. In some respects the city's industrial status is quite superior to average American conditions. It is claimed that Rochester industries are 60 per cent more diversified than the average conditions of the country. On the other hand the success that has attended the efforts of organized labor is somewhat below the average as compared with the results achieved by American trade unionism in other places.

The city led in the transition from the handicraft to the factory stage in the manufacture of men's ready-

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FOREWORD—Continued

made clothing. It was the first city in the United States to organize a City Central Trades' and Labor Council to serve as a clearing house for the trade unions of the municipality. Its example in this respect was widely followed throughout the country. It has the largest manufacturing of thermometers, optical instruments and photographic supplies in the world. The following pages treat the principal phases of the city's industrial development during the past quarter of a century.

This monograph had its origin in an investigation carried on by the writer while a graduate student in The University of Rochester. Documentary study has been supplemented by personal interviews with trade-union officials and employers of labor and by the immediate study of labor conditions. The writer wishes to express his appreciation of the suggestions received from Professor William Kirk, Head of the Department of Economics, and of the helpful criticism received from Dr. Frank T. Stockton of this Department.

Rochester, 1912.

B. L.

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PART I.

CHAPTER I.

A BRIEF INDUSTRIAL SURVEY

THE industrial beginnings of Rochester were very humble. In 1789 Ebenezer Allan built a gristmill at the Genesee Falls,—“a mill as yet without customers, and which at its raising, although mustering every white man in the region and the country round about, had but fourteen wherewithal to make merry with the canoe load of rum which arrived at the mouth of the river just in season.”¹

Milling Interests.—A second mill was built in 1807, and “by 1834 Rochester had become the greatest manufactory of flour in the world, turning out six hundred thousand barrels of flour annually,—Genesee flour having achieved a world-wide fame.”² Numerous inventions and improvements subsequent to 1870 have given an added impetus to this branch of industry, and, although Rochester has yielded to the West its pre-eminence as the leading flour-producing center of the nation, its output of this commodity has not diminished.

Boot and Shoe Industry.—For about fifty years the city has been noted for the manufacture of shoes, turning out in men's, ladies', boys', children's and infants' shoes a product worth over \$8,000,000 in 1905,³ and estimated at present to be worth about \$18,000,000.

¹ Parker, *Rochester, A Story Historical*, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, p. 388.

³ See report of Federal Commissioner of Labor on *Woman and Child Wage Earners in United States* transmitted to the Senate, Aug. 8, 1910.

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Clothing Trade.—The last mentioned industry is surpassed in magnitude by but one other and that is the manufacture of men's ready-made clothing, of which a more detailed study appears in succeeding chapters. In 1884 J. M. Parker wrote: "Forty years ago, when it was feared by our citizens that, from one cause and another, the milling interest might not keep pace with the same industry in other parts of the country, thus retarding the growth and prosperity of the city, it was hoped that our excellent water power would attract other kinds of business, and make up for what might be lost in connection with the manufacture of flour, which first gave Rochester its early and rapid growth. This hope to a considerable extent has been realized. Still it is plain to be seen that Rochester no longer is dependent upon its water power to insure its future prosperity. The 'Sewing Machine' is already doing more than the water power can do hereafter. The important industry of clothing manufacture is one of the most extensive and important in our city. More than twenty firms composed of thorough business men, and with ample capital are giving work to thousands of operatives, thus indicating most plainly its vast importance to our city."⁴ The value of the clothing output was over \$14,000,000 in 1905 and is estimated at \$22,000,000 now. Although the production of clothing and shoes comprises the two leading industries of the city, Rochester does not lead the country in the output of either of these articles.

Nurseries and Seedfarms.—The nurseries and seedfarms in and around, Rochester have become world-famed. The celebrated firm of Ellwanger & Barry is counted among the founders of the nursery industry,

⁴ *Rochester, A Story etc.*, p. 390.

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while James Vick is named the pioneer in America in the systematic growing of flower seeds.

Other Important Industries.—The city possesses over 1400 manufacturing establishments; among them a thermometer plant, an optical works and a manufactory of photographic supplies, each one of which is the largest establishment of its kind in the world. Other important commodities produced in large quantities are steel tanks, paper boxes, buttons, lubricating oil, canned fruit and vegetables, cider and vinegar, telephones, beer, furniture, carriages, lithographic materials, perfumes, picture frames, *etc.*

Table of Industries.

Agricultural and Dairy.

	No. of Firms. ⁵
Agricultural Implements	4
Cream Separators	1
Fertilizer	2
Nurserymen	26
Seedsmen	6
Sprayers	2
Stanchions	2

Amusement

Billiard Tables	1
Bowling Alley Balls and Ten Pins	1
Fishing Table	1

⁵ Under this classification there is some repetition in stating the number of firms. See publications of Chamber of Commerce.

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Books, Paper, Printing and Supplies.

	No. of Firms.
Blank Books	5
Blue Printing Machinery	1
Book Binding	9
Die Stamipng	3
Electrotype Foundries	4
Engravers	26
Paste	3
Printers	85
Printers' Composition	1
Printers' Rollers	2
Printers' Supplies	2
Publishers, etc.	34
Sales Books	1

Building Materials and Supplies.

Architectural Iron Works	7
Cabinet Makers	4
Cement and Concrete Blocks	12
Concrete Roofing Tiles	1
Conduit Pipe	1
Cornices (metal)	1
Cut Stone	1
Drain Pipe	1
Elevators	5
Elevator Doors	1
Fence (iron)	4
Fire Escapes	3
Floor Tile	2
Flue Linings	1
Furnaces	5

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	No. of Firms.
Grille Work	2
Interior Wood Work	22
Iron Columns	2
Locks	2
Mail Chutes	1
Mantles, Grates and Tilings	3
Marble Workers	5
Masons' Supplies	3
Mouldings	2
Paints	1
Plaster	3
Radiators	2
Roofing	3
Sash Balances and Locks	1
Sewer Pipe	4
Sidewalks	8
Structural Steel	3
Varnishes	1
Ventilators and Skylights	2
Weather Strips	1
Wire Screens (door and window)	1

Chemical Products.

Barbers' Supplies	3
Disinfectants	5
Fire Extinguishers	2
Fireworks	1
Germicides and Insecticides	4
Manufacturing Chemists	5
Medicine	22
Metal Hardening Solutions	1

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	No. of Firms.
Oil	12
Perfumes	8
Polishers	7
Toilet Specialties	25

Cutlery and Tools.

Cutlery	3
Edge Tolls	2
Saws	1
Tools	5

Electricity and Gas.

Electrical Apparatus	6
Electric Power	1
Electric Motors	1
Gas	1
Gas Appliances	2
Gas Engines	3
Gas Machines	1

Founders.

Brass Founders	6
Iron Founders	7

Glass.

Cut Glass	1
Glass Workers	6
Glass Manufacturers	1
Mirrors	3
Stained and Art Glass	5

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Household Equipment.

	No. of Firms.
Beds, Mattresses, Supplies	8
Cans, Pails, Tubs	1
Carpets and Rugs	5
Chairs	5
Couches	2
Draperies, Curtains, etc.	1
Furniture	14
Furniture Supplies	4
Hassocks	1
Iron Clothing Posts	1
Ironing Boards	1
Kitchen Apparatus	5
Lamps	1
Refrigerators	2
Silverware	1
Stoves	4
Vacuum Cleaners	5
Washboards	1
Washing Machines	1
Window and Door Screens	1

Household Supplies.

Bakers	9
Baking Powder	4
Bluing	2
Brewers	10
Brewers' Supplies	1
Brooms	3
Brushes	4
Canned Goods	2

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	No. of Firms.
Cider and Vinegar	3
Confectioners	21
Distillers	3
Evaporated Fruits	1
Flavoring Extracts	12
Flour	11
Food Products	7
Fruit Products	1
Ice (artificial)	2
Ice Cream	9
Jams	3
Ketchups, etc.	1
Liquors, Wines, etc.	2
Macaroni	2
Peanut Butter	1
Pork Products	1
Potato Chips	2
Sausages	6
Soap	4
Soda and Mineral Waters, Grape Juice, Ginger, Beer	12
Spices	1
Tissue Paper	1

Leather, Rubber Goods, Furs.

Fur Tanners	1
Leather Specialties	4
Rubber Goods	3

Machinery and Supplies.

Babbit Metal	3
Barrel Machinery	2

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	No. of Firms.
Belting	4
Boilers	5
Boiler Compound	2
Concrete Machinery	3
Dishwashing Machinery	1
Evaporating Machinery	1
Hoisting and Carrying Devices	1
Laundry Machinery and Supplies	2
Lubricating Devices	1
Machinery	47
Machine Tools	3
Machinists' Supplies	3
Pattern and Model Makers	7
Pumps	6
Woodworking Machinery	1

Merchandising Apparatus, Devices, Supplies

Advertising Novelties	5
Badges	1
Calendars	2
Celluloid Novelties	1
Display Fixtures	4
Office Furniture	2
Office Specialties	10
Show Cards	4
Soda Fountains	1
Soda Fountain Requisites	1
Stores and Office Fixtures	7
Vending Machines	1

Metal Work.

Ball Bearings	1
---------------------	---

INDUSTRY AND TRADE UNIONISM

	No. of Firms.
Brass and Copper Goods.....	2
Drop Forgings	1
Gold Leaf	1
Hardware Specialties	12
Metal Specialties, Supplies	5
Screws	1
Sheet Metal Work	14
Smelters and Refiners	1
Solder	1
Steel Balls	1
Wire Goods	3

Miscellaneous

Abstracting Machines	1
Awnings, Tents, Flags	3
Barber Chairs	1
Charcoal	2
Check Protectors	2
Church Furniture	2
Cistern and Tanks	3
College Seals	1
Communion Outfits	1
Crayon	1
Drafting Furniture	1
Dust Collectors, Blower Pipes	1
Faucets	3
Inks	2
Ladders	2
Lanterns	6
Parasolls and Umbrellas	1
Picture Frame Mouldings	10

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	No. of Firms.
Pins	1
Pipes	2
Pipe Cleaners and Stems	5
Poultry Coops	1
Railway Signals	1
Railway Specialties	1
Rubber Stamps, Stencils, etc.....	4
Scales, Trucks, etc.	1
Statuary	2
Tacks	1
Tallow	2
Telephones	1
Thread	3
Tobacco	3
Typewriter Supplies	16
Wood Carvers	6

Mortuary

Caskets	2
Casket Trimmings	1
Mausoleums	1
Monuments	1
Undertakers' Supplies	2

Musical Instruments

Musical Instruments	4
Pianos	4
Piano Cases	2
Piano Players	2

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Packages and Materials

	No. of Firms.
Paper Bags	2
Barrels	3
Baskets	9
Boxes—Fibre	2
Boxes—Paper	21
Boxes—Wood	7
Box Machinery	4
Egg Carriers	1
Egg Trays	1
Suit Cases	3
Traveling Bags, etc.....	3
Trunks	2

Personal Apparel.

Buttons	3
Caps	4
Cloaks and Suits	3
Clothing	23
Cloth Sponging Machinery	1
Coat Pads	1
Collars and Cuffs	2
Corsets	5
Feathers and Ostrich Plumes	2
Furriers	10
Gloves	1
Hair Goods	1
Hats	3
Hooks and Eyes (garment)	1
Jewelers, Engravers	13

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	No. of Firms.
Knit Goods	1
Neckwear	5
Regalias and Uniforms	3
Shirts	5
Shoe and Boot Patterns, Lasts, Tools.....	8
Shoe Machinery	3
Shoe Manufacturers	48
Shoe Racks	2
Shoe Supplies	12
Specialties	1
Tailors' Accessories	1
Trousers, Overalls	1
Underwear	3
Woolen Goods	1

Photographic Apparatus and Supplies.

Cameras	5
Fire Proof Film	1
Photographic Supplies	13
Special Photographic Apparatus	2

Plating and Stamping.

Nickel Plated Goods	10
Perforated Metals	3
Stamping	3
Stencil Cutters	1

Scientific Apparatus and Supplies.

Barometers	1
Drafting Instruments	1
Lens, Crystal	1

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	No. of Firms.
Lens—Grinders (prescription).....	5
Microscopes	1
Natural History Supplies and Apparatus.....	1
Optical Goods	5
Optical Instruments	3

Surgical, Orthopedic, and Medicinal Supplies.

Arch Supports	1
Artificial Limbs	2
Deformity Appliances	2
Dental Chairs	2
Dental Engines	1
Scientific Instruments, not Otherwise Specified..	1
Sterilizers and Bacteriological Apparatus.....	1
Surgical Instruments	1
Truss and Abdominal Supporters	3
Thermometers	3
Thermostats	1

Transportation Devices and Supplies

Automobiles	3
Automobile Accessories and Supplies	15
Automobile Motors	1
Baby Carriages and Go-Carts	2
Boat Builders	4
Carriages	10
Carriage and Hearse Trimmings	3
Carriage Washers	2
Car Wheels	1
Fire Apparatus	2
Harness	23

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	No. of Firms.
Head Lights	4
Hearses	1
Horse Collars	3
Wagons	10
Whips	1

Factory Conditions.—The city is essentially a factory town and presents a noteworthy example of the possibilities and advantages of factory distribution as opposed to the factory concentration which is responsible for the unsanitary, ugly and congested factory sections in many of our industrial centers. The factories are scattered about the city and frequently are surrounded by well-kept lawns; in many instances they are in close proximity to elegant residence sections. For example, adjacent to the campus of The University of Rochester on the north and east is a row of large, modern factories, but a few blocks from, and running parallel with, East Avenue, the wealthiest residence section of the city. Of the many industrial establishments with modern facilities conspiring for the health, well-being and general convenience of the employees, the city has reason to be proud.

These favorable observations, however, are not intended to conceal the fact that there are conditions, even in Rochester, which it would be better to improve; for on the Genesee (which, although it might be the prettiest, is in many places the most unsightly and malodorous, section of the city) are factory buildings and basements in which distinctly bad conditions have been known to prevail.

Labor Force.—The employees for the most part have

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their own separate houses, enclosed by a small lawn and located in various parts of the city, a condition greatly facilitated by an efficient electric-car service. Of the city's 75,000 wage earners, over 48,000 work in factories.⁶

Men in factories	31,637
Youths (16 to 18)	972
Boys (14 to 16)	316
Women in factories	14,691
Girls (14 to 16)	450
<hr/>	
Total	48,066

In the percentage of its population employed in shops and factories the city ranks third in the state.⁷

The following table indicates the general distribution of labor.⁸

Metals, Machines, Conveyances....	14,986
Clothing, Millinery, Laundry.....	12,121
Leather and Rubber Goods.....	8,912
Wood Manufactures	4,596
Food, Liquors and Tobacco.....	4,404
Printing and Paper Goods.....	3,294
Stone, Clay and Glass Products.....	820
Chemicals, Oils and Paints	794
Textiles	756
Water, Light and Power	280
Paper and Pulp	25

⁶ See Publications of Rochester Chamber of Commerce, 1912.

⁷ Article, as yet unpublished, by Dr. Paul Moore Strayer.

⁸ See Publications of Rochester Chamber, *etc.*, 1912.

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This table serves to illustrate the diversity of the city's industries, which makes it possible for labor to find employment the year round. "The industries of Rochester are 60 per cent more diversified than the average condition of the country."⁹

A large percentage (about 31 or 32 per cent) of the female population are breadwinners.¹⁰ The main industries employing women are as follows:

Tailoring establishments
Boots and shoes
Canning and preserving
Optical and photographic apparatus
Laundry
Dressmaking
Buttonmaking
Chemical and drugs
Paper boxes and tubes.

It is claimed that the ratio of skilled to unskilled labor is three to one. That the labor force is of unusually high-grade character is borne out by a study of the population, a condition largely due to the character of the industries of the city. A spirit of friendliness exists between employer and employee which is unusual for this age of economic and class competition. The situation in the city with reference to organized labor will be considered in following chapters.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Paper by Dr. Strayer.

CHAPTER II

GROWTH AND EXTENT OF TRADE-UNIONISM

ROCHESTER trade-unionism has had its ups and downs; but looked at in perspective, it gives ample evidence of a slow but steady growth, as a result of which over 15,000 workers out of a wage-earning population of 75,000 are at present organized. Among the unions which early figured in this growth are Typographical Union No. 15 (1860), the Cigar Makers' Union (1879), the present Cutters' Union (1891), and Local Union No. 82 of Boot and Shoe Workers International Union (1892). During the prosperous decade subsequent to 1895, union organization in the city became exceedingly active. It is apt to be the case that, in periods when wages are good and places in which to work are plentiful, workers become emboldened to make more strenuous efforts to better their conditions of labor; while in hard times, they dare not risk the loss of their positions and income by antagonizing employers. The extent of the "union revival" at this time may be indicated by noting the variety of trades in which new unions suddenly sprang up. In 1896, the steam engineers organized; in 1898, the barbers; in 1899, machinists, bartenders, waiters, and over one thousand street laborers who had called a strike; in 1900, laundry workers; in 1901, paper hangers, metal workers and milkmen; in 1902, metal polishers and brass workers entered the union ranks,—in fact, the number of unions increased from 41 with a membership of 4,217 in

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1897 to 1903 with a membership of 13,165 in 1903. There are at present about 77 unions in the city with a total of over 15,000 members. The following from the report of the New York State Department of Labor¹ indicates the general progress of unionism in Rochester since 1897.

Year	No. of Unions	Men	Women	Total
1897	41	4,144	73	4,217
1898	42	4,475	48	4,523
1899	51	7,308	13	7,321
1900	71	7,429	111	7,540
1901	85	8,999	284	9,283
1902	93	11,096	371	11,467
1903	103	12,598	567	13,165
1904	98	11,696	559	12,255
1905	89	13,530	401	13,931
1906	87	13,972	322	14,294
1907	84	15,128	268	15,396
1908	77	12,530	324	12,854
1909	75	12,550	348	12,898
1911	77			15,078 ²

The majority of these unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. In the early nineties the Knights of Labor had several important unions in the city, but these have nearly all disappeared. The English organization of Amalgamated Carpenters has a Rochester union which works in perfect harmony with the local organization of Brotherhood Carpenters of the American Federation. The local unions at present affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are as follows:³

¹ Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1909, p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, 1911.

³ *Rochester Labor Journal*, April 5, 1912.

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Architectural Iron Workers	No. 115
Barbers	No. 246
Bartenders	No. 171
Bakers	No. 14
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers	No. 33
Brewery Workers	No. 74
Brewery Workers	No. 156
Boot and Shoe Workers	No. 15
Boiler Makers and Iron Shop Builders	No. 229
Block Pavers and Curb Stone Setters	
Carpenters and Joiners	No. 72
Carpenters and Joiners	No. 179
Carpenters and Joiners	No. 231
Coopers	No. 24
Coopers	No. 68
Clothing Cutters	No. 136
Cigar Makers	No. 5
Electrical Workers	No. 86
Electrical Workers	No. 44
Garment Workers	No. 14
Glass Bottle Blowers	No. 26
Horseshoers	No. 44
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers	German
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers	Italian
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers	Polish
Hoisting and Portable Engineers	No. 483
Ice Handlers and Peddlers	No. 398
Iron Molders	No. 11
Iron Molders	No. 12
Journeyman Tailors	No. 259
Lathers	No. 14
Lithographic Press Feeders	No. 7
Millwrights	No. 909

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Machinists	No. 93
Metal Polishers	No. 113
Meat Cutters	No. 95
Musicians	No. 66
Painters and Decorators	No. 150
Paper Hangers	No. 286
Pattern Makers' Association	
Photo Engravers	No. 22
Plumbers	No. 13
Sheet Metal Workers	No. 46
Stove Mounters	No. 39
Stationary Firemen	No. 37
Steam Engineers	No. 71
Street Railway Employees, Division	No. 282
Stained Glass Workers	No. 47
Stone Cutters Association	
Typographical Union	No. 15
Typographia	No. 5
Theatrical Stage Employees	
Tobacco Workers	No. 23
Truck Drivers	No. 304
Truck Painters and Stainers	
Upholsterers	No. 35
Waiters Alliance	No. 763
Wood Finishers and Polishers	No. 235
Wood Carvers	

Numerical Strength of Organized and Unorganized Labor by Groups.—The numerical strength of organized and unorganized labor is indicated approximately by the following table. The figures for the total number of laborers in each group are taken from the publication of the Rochester Chamber of Commerce, 1912, and the

INDUSTRY AND TRADE UNIONISM

figures for the number of organized laborers in each are derived from the report of the New York State Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1909.⁴

Group.	Total No. in Group	No. Or- ganized	P.C. Organ- ized.
Metals, Machines and Convey- ances	14,986	1,705	11.37
Clothing, Millinery and Laun- dry	12,121	155	12.78
Leather and Rubber	8,912	1,250	14.02
Wood Manufactures	4,596	496	10.79
Food, Liquors and Tobacco..	4,404	758	17.21
Printing and Paper Goods....	3,294	238	7.22
Stone, Clay and Glass Manu- factures	820	82	10.00
Other Trades	25,000	8,214	31.75
	75,00	12,898	17.19

Of the 8,214 unionists in the last group, 4,144 were in the building trades; 2,142, in the transportation trades; and 1,928 in other miscellaneous trades and vocations.

Central Trades and Labor Council, and Building Trades Council.—These Councils are the clearing houses for the various trade-unions of the city and are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. From a publication of 1897, entitled *Rochester Trades Assembly and Building Trades Council, Illustrated History*, is taken the following extract which sets forth the general history and

⁴ Union membership since 1909 has increased from 12,898 to 15,078.

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structure of the Councils and at the same time gives characteristic expression to the aims and sentiments of organized labor in Rochester: "The Rochester Trades Assembly and Building Trades Council were originally patterned after Central Bodies in other cities,⁵ there being two distinct sections, the Building Trades section and Miscellaneous section. . . . Matters other than Trade Unionism having crept into the Central Body caused its disruption. The different local unions from then until the organization of the Rochester Trades Assembly and Building Trades Council were left to shift for themselves without any local head or Central Body. All protection was secured through the respective national unions. . . .

"In order that both bodies should work harmoniously together it was decided that a stated number of delegates from one body should attend the meetings of the other body. Up to the present writing this plan has proved very successful and it can readily be seen that a connection closer than this among a large number of unions, whose interests at times are divided should not be expected under the present circumstances. It is to be hoped that the time will come when all organized labor shall unite under one flag for one purpose and with the determination that labor of all kinds must and shall be organized."

⁵ This evidently does not take account of the following facts: "Soon after these local unions came together in city central bodies or 'trades' assemblies', the new name for the 'trades' unions' of the thirties. The first one was organized at Rochester, N. Y., in March, 1863, and thirty of them were organized before the end of 1865." Commons and Andrews, *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Vol. IX. p. 23.

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Each union in good standing may send three delegates to the Trades Assembly, which is now called the Rochester Central Trades and Labor Council and holds fortnightly sessions at the Reynolds Arcade. Besides these two councils, there are at present in the city an Allied Printing Trades Council and a metal Trades Council; there has also been organized a Woman's Union Label League. Funds are now being raised for the erection of a Labor Temple where the various organizations in the interest of labor may find a permanent home.

CHAPTER III.

STRIKES AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

The economic principle has become quite generally established that the prevalence of strikes bears a close relation to the industrial prosperity of the times, and the total number of strikes and percentage of successful strikes vary more or less in direct proportion to this prosperity. The reasons for this are not hard to understand. The laborer chooses a time of prosperity in which to block the wheels of industry; because (1) at this time, the necessities of life are easily obtained and opportunities to work are most numerous, and (2) at this time, the employer is least willing to shut down his factory and, therefore, most apt to accede to the demands of his employees. In hard times, jobs are scarce and the necessities of life, difficult to acquire; consequently, the laborer does not dare to risk the loss of his position by striking. In fact, employers frequently are only too glad of an excuse to close their factories at such times.

This principle is well illustrated by the history of Rochester's strikes for the twenty-three years, 1887-1909; of 163 strikes,¹ occurring in this period, just about 50

¹ This number included all the strikes of which the writer could find record. See the reports of the New York State Board of Mediation and Arbitration.

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per cent succeeded wholly or in part; and 50 per cent failed to gain the desired end of the strikers. Accordingly, taking 50 per cent as the normal percentage of success for the city's strikes, let us see how the periods in which they have been most numerous and successful have been the periods of greatest prosperity.

In 1890 occurred an unusual number of strikes; 53 per cent of them were successful and 15 per cent partially successful. In other words, the percentage of strikes attaining to at least some degree of success was 68 per cent or 18 per cent above the average. Business at this time was fairly prosperous. But in the following years, 1892-1894, which, it will be remembered, were fraught with great industrial disaster, the average number of strikes per year appreciably decreased. Only 36 1-3 per cent of the strikes of this period could boast of any success at all, a drop of 13 2-3 per cent from the normal percentage of success. As the industrial world became more settled, we find that from 1895 on, the average number of strikes per year begins to increase. This increase reaches its high-water mark in the five prosperous years, 1899-1903. Of the strikes during these five years, 59 per cent (9 per cent above the normal) were to the advantage of the strikers. In the years following (1905-1908) we once more come upon a business depression which culminated in the panic of 1907. During this period, only one-half as many strikes took place as in the preceding period (1899-1903), and only 35 1-2 per cent of these disputes were successful; a decrease, this time, of 14 1-2 per cent from the average standard of success. In a following table these conditions are

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compared with the average conditions of the country at large,² for the same periods.

Such in rough outline has been the proportional increase and decrease in the number of Rochester's strikes, and in the percentage of their success. Factors other than the general prosperity of the times may have had their effect, but the consistency of the relations as indicated cannot be overlooked as significant of the fact that prosperous times afford a strike stimulus. The laboring man has learned to take advantage of the propitious moment for bettering his condition and the Rochester laborer has been no exception to the general rule.

The Causes of the Strikes

Increase of Wages.—In the causes of strikes Rochester seems to reflect the average conditions of the country to a very noticeable degree; of the five leading causes, the order of importance for the nation³ is the same as for the city, *e. g.*: the demand for higher wages has been provocative of more strikes than any other single cause both locally and nationally. The strikes for this cause have decreased in number in the city since 1904,

² All national statistics referred to in this chapter are for the years, 1881-1905. The national percentages are based on the number of establishments in which the strikes succeeded, partially succeeded, and failed. The writer's percentages are based on the strikes without reference to the establishments involved. Again, it may be noted that the years for which the national and local statistics are compiled are not wholly identical. See the *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor*, 1906.

³ National statistics for causes of strikes (based on establishments involved) refer to strikes due solely to each cause mentioned.

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a tendency explained partially at least by two facts: (1) The standard of wages has been raised sufficiently to lessen the urgent demand of the laborers, a supposition borne out by the fact that Rochester employees receive fairly high wages as a general rule. (2) The employers have become more ready to concede to reasonable demands for increased pay. Thus, in the past number of years, there have been wage increases among laborers, printers, street-railway men, and others, with almost no attendant trouble.

Concerning Recognition of the Union and Union Rules.—The second leading cause of strikes concerns the recognition of the union and union rules, among which we may note the principle of the closed shop. Even the printers' establishments, frequently closed because of the efficient organization of the trade, are, to a great extent, open; and the building trades, likewise frequently having the closed shop, have not gained a completely closed shop in the city.

For Reduction of Hours.—With reference to the third cause, concerning reduction of hours, it is significant to note that the eight- or nine-hour day is now quite generally enjoyed by workmen. Of forty-four unions regarding which special inquiry was made by the writer, twenty-four had the eight-hour day; seven, the nine-hour day; five, a week of from forty-eight to fifty-four hours, while only eight unions had longer hours.

Against Reduction of Wages.—In the majority of cases failure to withstand reduction of wages in the city has been on the part of factory girls, generally unorganized.

The Sympathetic Strike.—The issue most uniformly disastrous to the laboring man is that of the sympathetic strike. In Rochester these strikes have generally failed.

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Four-fifths of them usually fail according to national statistics. Labor, as a whole, in city or nation, is not yet enough of a unit to effectively wield the sympathetic strike.

Employers' Agreements.—An issue which Rochester labor has been most uniformly successful in defending has been the refusal by employees to sign agreements submitted by employers. In five-sixths of these cases the union men have forced the employer to withdraw his demand. These strikes have comprised four per cent of the total number.

Piecework.—Next to sympathetic strikes, piecework disputes have been most unfortunate in their outcome for local labor. While comprising but a little over two per cent of the city's strikes, three-fourths of them have failed.

Other Causes.—The remaining 18 per cent of Rochester's strikes have been for various causes:

- (1) In behalf of some individual.
- (2) Concerning jurisdictional disagreements.
- (3) Against some individuals.
- (4) Concerning change in method or time of payment.
- (5) Because of employers' failure to recognize a boycott.
- (6) Against use of certain machinery.
- (7) For payment of an arrear in wages.
- (8) Because of disagreement involving an apprentice.
- (9) Over disagreement as to proper measurement of type.
- (10) Because of poor power curtailing piecework earnings.

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- (11) Against increase of hours of labor.
- (12) For the abolition of night work.
- (13) Because of rumor.

Strikes According to Trades

Building Trades.—The building trades have had more strikes than any other department of labor in both Rochester and the United States. The following trades have called 18 per cent of the strikes of the city: Carpenters, painters, plumbers, plasterers, stone cutters, stone masons, tile workers, bridge and structural iron workers, and sheet metal workers. Labor has succeeded in 79 per cent of these strikes and gained a partial victory in 7 per cent, a very unusual percentage of success for Rochester trades. Nationally, these trades have attained to complete success in 53 per cent of their strikes and partial success in 17 per cent. They have usually met with greater success than other trades in their strikes for the following reasons: (1) The work of the building laborer permits of effective standardization and hence effective organization. (2) Working under a contract with a time limit makes employers more ready to grant workmen's demands. (3) The products of the building contractor, *viz.*, buildings, are not moveable commodities, and are not subject to cutthroat competition of other cities; hence, the employers of a given locality can grant their employees' demands and shift the incidence of added cost upon the customer.

Shoe Workers.—Next in number have been the disputes of the shoeworkers whose strikes aggregate 14.7 per cent of all those in the city. This trade has completely failed in nearly one-half of its strikes. The industry is a difficult one in which to standardize the work.

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Printers.—The printers and linotypists have occasioned 5 1-2 per cent of the strikes of the city, winning complete or partial success in 45 per cent of them. Important issues of the printers have been the closed shop and the shorter workday, the former of which has met with only partial success. The eight-hour day, however, is now quite generally enjoyed by the trade.

None of the strikes of the following trades have exceeded five per cent of the total number of strikes in the city for the years, 1887-1909.

Machinists.—Although the machinists' strikes, of which about one-half have failed, involve the closed shop, wage increase, and a shorter workday as important causes, it is the piecework difficulty which has been peculiar to the trade and has generally been the greatest source of strife in Rochester as elsewhere. Ever since the organization of this class of workers in England, "piecework rates" have been their "bugbear." Comparatively few pieces of material upon which they work are exactly the same; hence, the constant higgling of the employer and employee over the pay which they think each separate piece of work should command, with endless trouble and frequently a strike as the consequence.

Iron Molders.—These workmen have been successful in the majority of their strikes.

Clothing Workers.—Of the strikes of the clothing workers 71 per cent have failed. This craft has been one of the most conspicuously least successful of any of the labor organizations of the city. Its percentage of complete success nationally (70.94 per cent) is as great as its percentage of failure in Rochester. A more detailed

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study of the garment workers is given in succeeding chapters.

Factory Girls.—The strikes of girls in mitten, hosiery, box, cigarette, and button factories have failed almost invariably; such is the evidence of the general inability of the girls to win their strikes. Against reduction of wages they seem to be helpless. This condition is explained largely by the following facts: (1) There is an over abundant supply of this class of labor. (2) Girl workers receive partial support at home. (3) Many leave the shop after the marriageable age. (4) The girls have no efficient labor organization and seem to take little interest in such.

The above are the trades in which the greatest number of strikes have occurred. We see that the building trades have been most successful while the clothing workers have been among the most unsuccessful.

Strikes of Unorganized Labor.—Of the 163 strikes to which reference has been made, 85 per cent were those of organized labor and 15 per cent those of unorganized labor. Of the strikes of the former, 40 per cent succeeded wholly, 18 per cent partly, and 42 per cent failed; of those of the latter, nearly all failed. In other words, whereas trade-unionists succeeded wholly or in part in 58 per cent of their strikes, non-unionists lost nearly all of theirs. These figures become more significant in view of the fact that of Rochester's 230,000 inhabitants, 75,000 are working people of whom only about 15,000⁴ belong to unions.

In the country in general 65 per cent of the establish-

⁴ Report of N. Y. State Bureau of Labor, 1911.

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ments, in which labor organization has ordered the strikes, have forced entire or partial compliance with their demands; while only 44 per cent of the establishments in which the strikes were not ordered by labor organization, have gained similar success. Organized labor has ordered the strikes in 90.34 per cent of the total number of establishments in which strikes have occurred.

Status of Organized Labor in Rochester.—We may conclude in view of the comparative success and failure of the strikes of organized and unorganized labor in the city that trade-unionism in Rochester has demonstrated itself to be a powerful factor in bettering the conditions of the laboring man. Trade-unionism has borne the brunt of the struggle in the vast majority of cases, and unorganized labor has, to a large extent, reaped the benefits of the reduced hours of labor and higher wage standards established. It is affirmed in some cases that a premium has been placed upon nonunion labor in opposition to unionism's advancement; but, if this is so, the increased remuneration, although enjoyed by the nonunion man, is none the less due to the efforts of organized labor.

On the other hand, the history of strikes in the city would seem to indicate that unionism has failed to achieve the success in Rochester that it has in many other places throughout the country. Whereas only 50 per cent of the disputes in this city have met with any degree of success, national statistics show that, throughout New York State, 75 per cent, and, throughout the nation, 63 per cent of all strikes have attained the partial or complete realization of their purpose.⁵

⁵ *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1906, pp. 80, 83.*

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The following conditions are largely responsible for whatever lack of progress trade-unionism has shown in the city: (1) The employers are noted for their general fairness; hence, there is less incentive for employees to organize. (2) The laboring classes of Rochester are more contented than is the case in many places. High-grade industry only, has found Rochester atmosphere congenial, and in consequence standards and conditions of life have always been comparatively high. Moreover, the conditions of employment are generally good. Of forty-four unions regarding which special inquiry was made as to wage scales, nearly all had a minimum scale and the average minimum was \$2.85 per day. (3) The large number of nonunion workers necessarily saps the strength of the unionism that does exist. (4) The great number of opportunities in Rochester makes it possible for a man to obtain work whether a union man or not. (5) Many girls in button, kodak and other factories either refuse or are unable to organize; at least, do not. (6) Rochester labor does not have any one great leader with time, money and energy for the cause. The leadership is more or less divided. (7) There are many industries in which general technical knowledge is not required; hence, inexperienced hands can quickly become of service. (8) There is a large foreign element which it is hard to organize.

PART II

CHAPTER I.

THE LEADING INDUSTRY

The leading industry of Rochester is the manufacture of clothing. By the time of the Civil War, men's ready-made clothing was quite extensively produced in New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Boston, Baltimore, and Rochester.¹ The present industry in the city has developed out of the wholesale clothiers' trade as it was carried on in the sixties. There seems to be no peculiar advantage which attracted the clothing manufacturers to Rochester in preference to any other place. In fact, one of the leading employers of the city, when questioned on this point, said that he knew of but one or two clothing manufacturers who were ever attracted to Rochester because of any special advantages which the city offered. The enterprise and thrift of the clothing dealers here built up the business, which, according to federal investigation for 1905,² ranks fifth³ in the nation in point of the value of the product produced and among the very first in point of quality. There have been certain local con-

¹ Report of Commissioner of Labor on men's ready-made clothing industry in the United States, August 8, 1910. *Federal Senate Document No. 645* (61st Congress, 2nd Session). See Federal Report on the condition of *Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, Vol. 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ In the *History of Rochester and Monroe County* by Peck, published in 1908, the statement is made that Rochester now ranks third "in the matter of clothing." Authority for the statement is not given.

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ditions, however, which have made possible the growth of an industry of this character. The industry itself has been possible; because, in the first place, there has been a labor supply suitable to, and sufficient to maintain, the trade. A large proportion of Rochester's population is composed of working people as is shown by the fact that it has the third largest percentage of shop and factory workers of any city in the State. In Schenectady 28 per cent of the people, in Troy 25 1-2 per cent, and in Rochester 23 per cent are occupied in shops and factories.⁴ In the second place, there is little competition for female labor which is an asset peculiarly important for the clothing producer: there is in Rochester a higher percentage of female clothing workers than will be found in almost any other city of the country.⁵ The industry has been of high-grade character because the labor supply has been of such character, *e. g.*: there is in the city a class of exceptionally fine German tailors who could not be employed with profit on cheap clothes. This characteristic of the labor force is largely due to the fact that the city escapes the lower classes of immigrants found in an important port-city. Consequently local conditions have never been suited to the sweat-shop régime which has been considered necessary for the production of cheap clothes on a big scale. The labor supply is restricted to a high-class working population and the production of high-grade articles only is the result.

It may be well to note that there are what might be considered by a clothing manufacturer, distinct disadvantages to the industry in the city; for, by some, the

⁴ Article, as yet unpublished, by Dr. Paul Moore Strayer.

⁵ See Federal Report on the condition of *Woman and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*. Vol. 2.

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very scarcity of cheap immigrant labor would be considered a disadvantage and the shipping facilities are not equal to those of some of its rivals in this industry.

Development of Clothing Industry.—The evolution of the clothing industry forms an important and interesting feature of its history. A demand for cheap clothes ready for immediate use was originally responsible for the introduction of "ready-made" clothing as distinguished from "custom-made." Prior to the Civil War most of the "ready makes" were worked up by hand although the sewing machine came gradually into use during the fifties. Until about 1880, the manufacture of clothing was carried on largely under the "family system;" that is, the clothing materials to be made up were let out by wholesale merchants, and sometimes sublet, to various families in whose homes the clothes were made. In the latter part of the period, the cutting and buttonhole machines run by foot power were introduced. Between 1880 and 1895, the "family system" was displaced by the "shop system," and has since been generally adopted throughout the country. Under this system steam- and electric-power machinery has come into general use and our large clothing factories have been built.

In Rochester the eighties witnessed a partial introduction of the "factory system;" indeed, the city has the honor of being the recognized pioneer in the introduction of this system.⁶ Of course it must not be thought that all clothing is now made in factories; for home work, out-side-shop work, and sweat-shop conditions still prevail to a greater or less degree in the various clothing centers of the country as will be shown later. Since

⁶ Federal Report on the condition of *Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*. Vol. 2.

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1890 there has been a steady increase in the magnitude of this industry in the city. In 1890 there were 192 establishments with an annual output of \$9,133,562 worth of goods; in 1900, 307 establishments with an output worth \$11,138,220; and in 1905, 219 establishments with a product valued at \$14,948,913. Although there has been a decrease in the number of the establishments since 1900, nevertheless, there has been a steady increase in the amount of goods produced, or in other words, a steady growth in the industry.⁷

Factory Buildings.—The more recent clothing factories have been built according to the most up-to-date, twentieth-century models. It has been said that between New York and Chicago there can be found no clothing factory superior, if indeed equal, in architectural beauty and scientific equipment, to the lately constructed plant of Adler Brothers. As one enters the building from the carefully kept lawn and ascends the marble stairway, he can easily imagine himself entering an art gallery rather than a clothing establishment. The construction of modern buildings with landscape gardening on the outside and scientific equipment and conveniences on the inside is becoming the prevailing policy of Rochester employers. Among the numerous conveniences to be found in the well-lighted and spacious establishment of Adler Brothers may be mentioned private dressing rooms and lockers, cozy dining rooms, rooms for smoking and the playing of games, and a fully equipped emergency hospital ready for immediate use in case of accident.

Welfare Work.—This firm also maintains a Mutual Benefit Association to which the employees may belong

⁷ *Ibid.* (A large proportion of the statistics quoted in this chapter are drawn from this source.)

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if they desire. The object of this Association is "to assist sick and disabled members, to aid in the support of members in certain contingencies of family life and to pay death benefits." The dues range from twenty cents to forty cents per month according to the employee's rank which is determined by the amount of his weekly wage. The sick or disabled members receive from \$2.00 to \$8.00 per week according to their rank and the length of their illness. The death benefits range from \$50.00 to \$100.00.

Hours of Labor.—With reference to the number of hours per week the employees are required to work in the shops, the policy of the employers may be ascertained from the report of a special commission sent out by the Bureau of Commerce and Labor of the United States:⁸ "The average establishments' hours (for clothing factories) are shortest in Chicago and Rochester for all classes; men, women, and children. The hours in both these cities are approximately 54 1-2 per week for men and women, for children, 45.8 and 44.5 hours respectively." Moreover, a full noon hour is the rule among the factories.

Wages.—Again, Rochester has little cause to blush unless it be for pride when the payrolls of the different cities are compared with a representative week in representative establishments. In Chicago, 29.5 per cent of the employees earn less than \$5.00 per week; in New York, 37 per cent; in Philadelphia, 42.2 per cent; in Baltimore, 64.2 per cent, while in Rochester only 17.3 per cent earn less than \$5.00 per week.

The average wage per week for home workers has

⁸ *Ibid.*

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been found to be as follows: Baltimore, \$2.24; Philadelphia, \$2.88; New York, \$3.61; Rochester, \$4.14; Chicago, \$4.35.

Of women sixteen years of age and over, the largest number earn \$7.00 or \$8.00 per week. In Chicago and Philadelphia, the largest group earn \$5.00 to \$6.00 per week, and in Baltimore, \$4.00 to \$5.00. In Rochester the ages at which the greatest percentage of females earn \$8.00 or more range from thirty to thirty-four years. About one-third of the total female force earns \$8.00 or over per week, while about four-fifths of the men report these earnings. The wage conditions prevalent among the female clothing workers in the city rank among the very best in the country.

The percentages of males earning \$12.00 per week or over in the various cities are: Baltimore, 18.4 per cent; Philadelphia, 27.5 per cent; Chicago, 34.6 per cent; New York, 34.7 per cent; Rochester, 43.1 per cent.

In comparing the average hourly earnings of the different races in the city, it is found that, among the men, Lithunians earn 13 per cent above the average; Germans, 9.6 per cent above; Hebrews, 4.2 per cent above; and the Poles .5 per cent above; the Americans earn 8.4 per cent below the average, and the Italians, 13.5 per cent below. Among the females the Germans lead with hourly earnings 8.4 per cent above the average; Americans, 1 per cent above; Poles, 4.4 per cent below; Hebrews, 8.6 per cent below; Italians, 18.2 per cent below; and Lithuanians 16.6 per cent below.

Home Work.—Although the conditions generally connoted by the term "sweat shop," exist but rarely in Rochester, nevertheless, a certain amount of work is let out by factories to outside shops and home workers.

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About 60 per cent of the tailored product⁹ is done in the factories, 32 per cent in the outside shops, and 8 per cent in the homes. About 6.7 per cent of the total force of female employees are home workers here, as against 17.1 per cent in New York City. Home work in this city is done under exceedingly favorable conditions when compared with other cities: wages are above the average, the homes, generally comfortable; and the houses usually stand apart with a small lawn surrounding each. The poorest houses are among the Italians who, however, constitute only a minority of this class of workers; but even the Italian quarters present a favorable appearance in comparison with other cities. Home work, nevertheless, is not desirable and various Rochester manufacturers are reported as making the following assertions: "Home finishings cannot be counted on as sanitary." "The abolition of home finishing would be a good thing making for more sanitary production." "Home finishers are probably employed chiefly by outside shops. Most of the manufacturers do not believe home finishing to be a good thing for the community, but the outside shops have to employ them on account of the scarcity of labor. It is no cheaper as a mode of production."

Living Conditions.—In considering the living conditions of the whole class of garment workers in the city, it is found that extreme overcrowding in the homes is not prevalent; that rents compare favorably with other places; and that, in consequence of the large number of workers who live in homes of their own, the boarder and lodger do not present the problem here that they do in many other cities. In order to better understand the em-

⁹ Article by Dr. Strayer.

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ployed classes and their condition, the following is a brief discussion of them according to sex, age, and race.

Female Employees.—About 61.3 per cent of the clothing employees are women, comprising about one-third of the number employed by manufacturing plants of the city. The ages of the largest group range from sixteen to twenty years; the women comprising the second largest group are thirty years old or more. The percentage of older women working in Rochester clothing factories exceeds that of other cities, due to the fact that there is a highly skilled class of Germans, English and Irish whom the employers are loath to lose. About 58 per cent of the workers, from sixteen to twenty-four years of age, are away from their homes ten to eleven hours per day. Work is to be had 90.1 per cent of the full time, a most favorable circumstance to which, among cities elsewhere, New York City approaches the nearest with the female force working 87.3 per cent of the full time.

An investigation on the part of the federal commission as to the literacy of these women gave the following results: Out of 198 representative women and children in the clothing industry, 167 had attended school, leaving it after an average attendance of 68.7 months and at the average age of 13 1-2 years. Of this number, 154 could read or write English, 29 others could read or write some other language, while 15 could not read or write at all. Compare this with an investigation in New York City. Of 488 females there examined with regard to literacy, 120 had attended school on an average of 38.2 weeks, leaving it at the age of 12 1-2 years; 367 never attended school; only 7 of the whole number could read or write

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English; 108 others could read or write some foreign language, while 373 could not read or write.

In the local industry, 15.8 per cent of the women are married; 78.3 per cent, unmarried; and 5.9 per cent are widowed or divorced.

Male Employees.—The clothing trade employs 11 per cent of the men in the manufacturing industries of the city. Of the entire force of clothiers' employees, 36.8 per cent are men. They work about 92.5 per cent of the full time; 45.8 per cent of them are married.

Child Labor.—The percentage of child labor in this industry is so small as to be almost negligible. But 1.9 per cent of the clothing employees can be classed as child laborers, for whom the manufacture of men's clothing affords the second largest field in the city: the boot and shoe shops employ one-third of the child workers and the clothing factories, one-fifth. The low percentage of this kind of labor is due to the general character of the city's population. The parents among the employed classes are able to, and do, keep their children in the schools; consequently, the children employed in all the manufactories put together comprise little over one per cent of the employees. Illegal employment is of comparatively rare occurrence in the city.

Racial Characteristics.—The labor force is divided among various nationalities in the following proportion:

American	8.7 per cent
German	35.7 per cent
Hebrew	20.5 per cent
Italian	16.0 per cent
Poles	3.1 per cent
Others	16.0 per cent

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The Germans not only constitute the largest element in the working class, but are also the oldest of these races in the city, having maintained themselves in the vest making part of the business, which is the easier and more agreeable of the departments in the trade. This is a branch in which the Scandinavians predominate in Chicago. In the local clothing industry, 53.2 per cent of the male employees, sixteen years of age and over, are Hebrews; 24 per cent, Italians; 13.1 per cent, Germans; .5 per cent, Americans; among the women workers of like age, 41.6 per cent are Germans; 13.9 per cent, Italians; 11.3 per cent, Hebrews; and 11 per cent, Americans. Thus, whereas the German race predominates among the female employees, the Hebrew predominates among the men; among the women 46.3 per cent are native-born of foreign parents, and 38.9 per cent are foreign-born.

It is interesting to note the race preferences for certain kinds of work. In representative establishments, it was found that among the female operators nearly 34 per cent are Germans and 19 per cent, Americans; less than 6 per cent are Italians and only 3 per cent are Hebrews. Hand sewing attracts much larger percentages of Italians and Hebrews who constitute 25 per cent and 13 per cent of this force, respectively; while of the same force, Germans constitute 30 per cent, and Americans, 14 per cent.

CHAPTER II.

TRADE-UNIONISM IN THE CLOTHING TRADE

Prior to 1880 there existed an organization of garment workers known as the Sons of Adam, concerning which little is known save that it was a social organization whose treasurer absconded with \$300.00.¹

In 1881 the Knights of Labor formed a cutters' union in the city, but in 1882 a strike was called in J. W. Rosenthal's shop against the employment of a nonunion man for whom unionists entertained a dislike. The shop was not a closed shop and Mr. Rosenthal continued to employ the man. The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor condemned the strike and the local organization was disrupted.

The cutters remained unorganized until 1884; and then, under the direction of a special agent, a new union was called into being under the name of a benevolent society, which by 1888 had become openly affiliated with the Knights of Labor, under whose direction for several subsequent years the organization of the various trades in the industry was rapid and most successful. By 1890 five local unions, comprising nearly all the garment work-

¹ Many facts concerning the early history of unionism in this industry were gained principally from Mr. Christian Miller, President of Cutters Union, No. 136, and an old-time unionist and resident of Rochester.

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ers of the city, had affiliated with the Knights of Labor, and were designated as follows:

Garment Cutters and Trimmers.....	No. 1727
Tailors	No. 1910
Tailors	No. 2930
Stockkeepers	No. 2742
Lady Tailors.....	No. 2558

The Lady Tailors' Local last named was accredited with a membership of 2100. These local unions were connected with National Trades Asembly No. 231 with headquarters at Chicago and with Mr. James Hughes as chairman of the Executive Board; this National Trades Assembly was in turn a department of the international organization of the Knights of Labor.

By 1890 the wage rate had increased over that paid in the early eighties, and in 1889 the nine-hour day instead of the ten-hour day was conceded by the employers to the unionists.²

Conditions Leading to the Lockout of 1891.—The phenomenal success of this labor movement tended to make the labor men so over confident and arrogant in their demands that the employers became exasperated and finally decided upon a lockout as the best means of self-defence. Among the most important of the numerous regulations which had caused the employers no little trouble were the apprenticeship rules;³ and of the many interesting cases⁴ in which such trouble occurred, that of the wholesale establishment of Michael Kolb & Son is typical.

² See Union Policies—Shorter Workday, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, Apprenticeship rules, p. 67

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67

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Mr. Kolb, employing a young man who was a relative as an apprentice, was informed by the union that such employment was in violation of its apprenticeship rules, and that the individual in question should be discharged. In consequence of Mr. Kolb's refusal to take this action, a boycott was instituted against his firm through the agency of the National Trades Assembly, by informing its patrons that they could no longer buy his goods without incurring the loss of trade and enmity of organized labor throughout the country. Mr. Kolb, after experiencing for a short time the disastrous results of this hostility, changed his attitude, complied with the unionists' demands, and began to negotiate the lifting of the boycott with Mr. Hughes of Chicago. This official demanded \$287.00 to defray expenses already incurred by the affair, and Mr. Kolb promptly paid the sum; but then, to finance the raising of the boycott, \$971.00 more were demanded, upon the asseveration that it would cost on an average \$50.00 to lift the same in the case of each individual customer. On investigating the list of firms for which he was charged \$50.00 each, Mr. Kolb discovered the names of many that did not trade with him, and that by striking these off the list, instead of \$971.00, the indemnity required should be \$500.00, an amount which he immediately added to his former payment, much to the disgust of Mr. Hughes who still demanded \$471.00 more.

This affair raises the problem as to how far it is advisable for an outside union official to interfere in local union affairs. The officials of the Knights of Labor seemed to follow frequently, as in the present case, a policy of general interference, in contrast to which it is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to practise

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the minimum of interference and that only in such matters as involve the interests of organized labor in general.⁵

Mr. Thein, Vice Chairman of the National Executive Board, of which Mr. Hughes was chairman, and a citizen of Rochester as well as a leader among the local garment workers, agreed with Mr. Kolb that \$500.00, rather than \$971.00, constituted the amount which should be required of him upon the basis specified. Consequently, when Mr. Hughes refused to raise completely the boycott in consideration of the \$787.00 of fines already paid, Mr. Thein wrote letters to customers in Mr. Kolb's behalf. Upon hearing of this, Mr. Hughes, under date of March 7, 1890, sent to Mr. Kolb the following statement:⁶ "Mr. Thein cannot release embargo against your product and the fact of your having him write will only make matters worse." In view of this and other similar cases, it is evident that the national organization resorted to, and drove local unionists to, harsh measures, which in all probability the Rochester men of themselves would not have executed. Messrs. Hughes and Kolb finally compromised upon an additional payment of \$300.00, instead of \$471.00 as previously demanded, and the boycott was lifted after a total cost to Mr. Kolb of \$1087.00 and the temporary demoralization of his business. As has been said, this case was but one of several which involved the employers in many thousands of dollars of fines.

Among other causes of frequent trouble between unionists and employers were the union regulations as to the limitation of the number of workers, the time during

⁵ See Union Policies—Interference of National Officials in Local Matters, p. 64.

⁶ See N. Y. State Senate Documents, 1891.

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which they might work and the amount of work that they might do. All these restrictions with others, discussed at length under the topic "Union Rules," so harassed the employers that they organized themselves into a body called the Clothiers' Exchange, incorporated in November, 1890.

Clothiers' Exchange and Employers' Policy.—The following extracts from the by-laws of the Exchange will clearly set forth the purpose and character of the organization.

Article I. Section 2. Purpose.—The purpose of this organization shall be to foster trade and commerce, to reform abuses in trade and business, to secure freedom from unjust or unlawful exactions, to diffuse accurate and reliable information among its members, as to the standing of merchants, to produce uniformity and certainty in the customs and usages of the trade and commerce, to settle differences between its members and to promote a more enlarged and friendly intercourse between merchants and business men.

Article V. Section 3, Executive Committee. . . . It shall take such measures and make such rules as it may determine . . . to collect and furnish accurate and reliable information among its members concerning employees. . . .

Section 6. Committee on Exactions.—The committee on unjust and unlawful exactions shall have exclusive jurisdiction and cognizance . . . of any and every alleged, unjust and unlawful exaction . . . of or against this corporation . . . the committee may order and direct that the persons, partnerships and corporations represented in this corporation . . . shall totally shut down and cease to manufacture or operate their respective factories or give employment to their respective employees for such time as may be necessary and until such unjust and unlawful exaction shall cease . . .

Article VIII. Section 1. Acts Prohibited.—No member of this corporation . . . shall employ . . . any employee of any

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other member . . . without the consent in writing of such member . . . unless three months have elapsed since said employee has been in such employment; the time of any strike, shut-down or lockout, not however, to form any part of said three months.

The policy stated in this last section is sometimes termed "blacklisting." The laborer's point of view concerning the same was stated to the writer by a prominent labor leader in the city to the effect that this agreement between the manufacturers made it impossible for any employee to better his condition by obtaining a job with some other firm without his employer's consent, and thus at the mercy of the latter, the laboring man was often deprived of the opportunity to rise. On the other hand, the employer's point of view was stated by a Rochester manufacturer, Bernard Rothschild, before representatives of the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration, as follows: "Well I would say that it has always been customary among the merchants here not to hire each other's help away as a matter of courtesy, but when we found that these officers of the union commenced to trade in our men, took them away from one place to another; when we found that we could not employ nonunion help, could not take young men and teach them the trade—union cutters we could not get—it was a rather dangerous thing for us to go to New York and contract for hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of goods and not be able to depend on the help we had at that time to cut them up; we then came to the conclusion, that as a matter of financial safety, it was necessary for us to adopt some means, in view of the restriction which the union had put on us, to secure for ourselves at least

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that help which we had at that time in the house, so that we could make our contracts accordingly."

Lockout of 1891.—As a result of their conflicting policies, there continued to be constant friction between the organized employers and employees, until, on the morning of the seventh of March, three hundred and fifty cutters found themselves locked out and one of the greatest, if not the greatest, labor struggle in Rochester's history was on. Work ceased throughout the entire industry, thus depriving 20,000 people of their means of support. The fight was extremely bitter. In the *Rochester Times* of March 27, 1891, appeared a statement of the employers' case as follows: "We are convinced that the branch of the Knights of Labor which includes the clothing industry in Rochester has been directed by a set of unscrupulous men to serve their own means, regardless of anything else. They have terrorized their followers; they have also made every effort to terrorize us. They have subjected us to all manner of insult and imposition until they have compelled us to rise up and take the steps we have.

"We believe that we are not safe in fostering this branch of the Knights of Labor and for this reason refuse to hire them."

None of the cutters were allowed to return to work until they had withdrawn from the labor organization and advertisements appeared in the *New York World* for 250 more cutters to come to Rochester. Several labor leaders were arraigned on the charge of conspiracy, while an additional charge of extortion was preferred against Mr. James Hughes, under which he was convicted and sentenced to the Monroe County Penitentiary for one year.

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A statement of the employees' side of the case appeared in the *Journal* of the Knights of Labor: "The wholesale clothing manufacturers of Rochester, N. Y., have formed a combine with \$166,500.00 (This was the amount actually paid into the treasury of the Exchange by the employers) paid in to stand together and break up the Locals of our order They (manufacturers) have the district attorney of Rochester in their employ to send the members of our district board to the state prison."

The unionists were not without their supporters. The *Post Express* came out with the following: "We think the clothing manufacturers were wrong in declaring that they would employ no Knights of Labor." In commenting on this statement, an editorial of the *Times* for March 25, 1891, said: "You think so. We know that they are wrong."

The lockout nevertheless proved disastrous to the Knights. It has been averred that only 55 members remained in the ranks of the cutters' union. An editorial of the *Times* for April 1, 1891, stated that the employers were allowing their men to go back to the factories on condition that they had severed all relations with the Knights of Labor.

Reorganization and Progress After the Lockout.—Not long after these events, another cutters' union was formed by the United Garment Workers of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, under the direction of a Mr. White, who, it is confidently avowed by some, though not admitting of adequate proof, formed this local union with an understanding between the clothing employers of the city and himself, for the purpose of nullifying the effects among labor sympathizers of the

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boycott instituted by the Knights of Labor against Rochester-made clothing. In support of this supposition, the words of Mr. Chambers, President of the Cutters' Union, in the *Rochester Labor Journal*, Oct. 24, 1903, may be noted: "Moreover, the present union (Cutters No. 136 of U. G. W. A.) is a creation of the manufacturers of this city brought into being some time after Hughes had been disposed of." It certainly appears strange that the employers should countenance the formation of a union so soon after the struggle with the Knights of Labor, unless they had some ulterior end in view; while, on the other hand, it does not seem at all strange that members of the American Federation of Labor should be found willing by them to antagonize a definite policy of the Knights. That very bitter enmity existed between the two Orders was evidenced by an incident which occurred in the city before the lockout. Certain Knights who were required by their Order to take stock in a concern in Chicago rebelled and secretly prepared to join the American Federation of Labor. There is nothing to show that they did so, but the bitter feeling engendered and the charges preferred against a member who was alleged to be of this number betrayed a spirit of jealousy and enmity from which one might naturally infer that the Federation would have had slight scruples in antagonizing a boycott of the Knights such as existed against Rochester clothing after the lockout of 1891.

Beside the union of the United Garment Workers, a purely local union was established, while a feeble organization maintained by the Knights still existed. The latter died out and the local union in a few years joined the

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United Garment Workers who made such steady progress that by 1903 their membership list contained the names of between 400 and 500 cutters. Subsequent to 1899 agitation in favor of the union label⁷ was carried on with vigor by this union as was also an aid policy.⁸ In 1900 the Garment Workers had a disagreement with other unionists in the city, in consequence of which the former withdrew from the Central Trades and Labor Council; an action for which the *Labor Journal*, Feb. 3, 1900, had the following explanation to give: "Committee to visit the Garment Workers and Shoe Workers Unions who had served notice of withdrawal reported that their organization claimed the Assembly was so rotten and contaminated that they were in order to preserve the good and welfare of themselves and fellow members compelled to cease affiliating with the nest of unclean birds." Unionism suffers not a little from strife within its own ranks; in this instance, however, the Garment Workers not long after re-established their connection with the "unclean birds," although just what manner of regeneration had in the meantime been experienced by the latter is not stated. The union of the local clothing workers had again become very prosperous when in 1903 they entered upon the second great crisis of their career as an organized body.

Strike of 1903-4.—After having given previous notice to their employers, four hundred and twenty cutters struck for the eight-hour day on Oct. 2, 1903. The nine-hour day, it will be remembered, had been gained in 1899. Given among the reasons for this demand was the fact of a similar movement throughout the State, coincident

⁷ See Union Policies—Label Agitation, p. 71.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Aid Policy, p. 73.

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with the introduction of new cutting machines which reduced the number of working days per year.⁹ The trade-unionists of Chicago took active measures to help the Rochester strikers, instructing retail clerks of the city to cease pushing Rochester clothing, and voting assessments amounting to \$3,000.00 for aid. By November of the same year, \$22,000 had been pledged to the assistance of the striking cutters.

As usual the strike generated very bad feeling between the contending parties. Mr. Chambers, President of Local Cutters' Union No. 136, was arrested on a charge of grand larceny. Upon his acquittal he commenced action against Mr. Sole Wile, Secretary of the Clothiers' Exchange, for \$50,000.00 damages. Numerous conflicts between individuals took place, resulting in arrests and indictments for assault or incitement to riot, some of which led to conviction on pleas of guilty, involving a striker, in one case, in a fine of \$250.00, and, in another instance, a three months' term in the penitentiary.

The firm of Rothschild's agreed to the eight-hour day on the following condition: "If within six months the eight-hour day should not be granted also by a majority of the other firms, then the nine-hour day should be restored. "At the expiration of the time set the firm returned to the nine-hour schedule. The strike was an utter failure. The factories trained apprentices and imported help so that by January, 1904, they were operating the cutting departments full-handed. The seventeen clothing companies which thus again broke the back of unionism in this trade were:

Stein-Block Co.

Michaels, Stern & Co.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Shorter Workday, p. 66.

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Garson, Meyer & Co.
Adler Bros.
Solomon Bros. & Lempert.
Moore & Biers.
Meyer & Simon.
A. Dinkelspiel.
Block & Co.
Hickey Freeman Co.
Steefel, Straus & Connor.
R. Goldstein.
H. A. Hayes.
Herman Stern.
Holtz & Son.
Levy Bros.
Rosenberg Bros.

Antiunion Shops.—Most of these firms have since operated, though not always avowedly, as antiunion shops. No union man may work in them. Members of the Cutters' Union have frequently been compelled to resign to hold their positions. In 1909 Michaels, Stern & Co. requested all of their cutters to resign formally from the Union; "consequently," as the *Labor Journal* puts it, "men who were never members of the Union were obliged to resign as members from an organization to which they never belonged." Goldwater's establishment is now about the only clothing factory in the city favorable to unionists. This firm maintains a strictly closed shop.

Present Status of Garment Workers' Unions.—At present there are two United Garment Workers' Locals in the city, *viz.*, the old Cutters' Union, No. 136, and Tailors' Union, No. 14, which was organized in 1910.

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There is also a third but very small clothing workers' organization among the Lithuanians who work at Goldwater's union factory. The union movement in this industry is now very weak so that the clothing trade may be said to present one of the most conspicuous failures in all Rochester trade-unionism. Constant friction between large German and Jewish elements in the industry, rendering coöperation on the part of these employees very difficult, does not help the situation any. Nevertheless the spirit of organization among these workers is not dead and one would not dare to predict what its future may be.

When we endeavor to look at these industrial problems from the viewpoint of both the employer and employee and then judge impartially and sympathetically, but with due justice to each, we are forced to the conclusion that the unionist for adherence to his principles has frequently suffered gross injustice; on the other hand, the employers' assertion that trade-unionism is often very unfair in its demands and that in the height of its power it has been guilty of rank injustice to its employers, is equally true. The fact is we are all more or less selfish whether employers or employees and, when possessed of power, are in grave danger of exercising it to our own advantage regardless of the rights of the other side. Under our present industrial régime, the employees have rights to protect, rights often best defended by organization; likewise, employers have rights, for the maintenance of which corporate coöperation on their part is not to be arbitrarily condemned.

CHAPTER III.

UNION POLICIES OF GARMENT WORKERS

The general purpose of a union is substantially indicated in the preamble of the old Rochester Cutters' Union of the Knights of Labor:

"The object of this organization shall be for the protection of our mutual rights and the cultivation of a more social and fraternal spirit amongst the members of our craft and union and the maintenance of a fair rate of wages and the objects that are substantially set forth in the preamble of the Constitution of the Knights of Labor."

The purposes of unionism, as set forth by the American Federation of Labor, may be enumerated under six general headings: (1) A minimum wage enabling a man to live in conformity to American standards. (2) An eight-hour day. (3) The nonemployment of children of tender age. (4) Legislation safeguarding the lives and limbs of workmen. (5) Compensation for the death or injury of the workman. (6) Improvement in sanitary conditions in factories and in the housing of the workers.

*Forms of Organization.*¹—Belonging to the Knights of Labor in 1890, there were in Rochester five garment workers' unions representing various divisions of the trade, *viz.*, cutters, stockkeepers, shipping clerks, and

¹ For structural features of general labor federations, see, Kirk, "National Labor Federations in the United States", Part I., Chapter II., in *Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Ser. XXIV., p. 631.

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tailors. These locals were amalgamated with National Trades Assembly, No. 231, which had its headquarters at Chicago and which represented numerous clothing workers' unions in various cities. This Assembly was in turn subordinate to the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, which had under its jurisdiction many other National Assemblies representing unions in various industries and of various types. Each local elected its own officers; the National Assembly had an Executive Board whose chairman devoted his time to the management of the locals in its jurisdiction; and the activities of the entire Order were directed by a president² and other officers elected by representatives from the affiliated bodies. In Rochester the clothing workers' unions of the Knights of Labor were disrupted in 1891 and an entirely new organization entered the city.

Local Cutters' Union, No. 136, and Tailors' Union, No. 14, under this new régime are federated with the United Garment Workers of America, a national society of clothing workers, which, in common with state and national organizations of other trades, is one of the parts constituent of the American Federation of Labor. The officers of the American Federation, like those of the national unions, are elected in convention to which the affiliated bodies send representatives. But aside from this mode of representation, the two local unions referred to are at present connected with the American Federation in still another way, *viz.*, through the Rochester Central Trades and Labor Council, which is entitled to a delegate in the annual convention of the Federation, and in which, as a clearing house for the unions of the city, each local

² Called the General Master Workman in the Knights of Labor.

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body may have a stipulated number of representatives; provided the Council sees fit to seat them. The local officers elected by the city unions are: President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, Guard (for outside password), Guide (for inside password), and the Executive Board, composed of the four principal officers and three other members, whose duty it is to tend to important matters of business, and deal with questions demanding immediate attention between regular meetings of the union.

Interference of National Officers in Local Matters.—The national officials of the Knights of Labor took an active part in local disputes often without regard to the desires of the local unionists and to the great aggravation of employers. An important example of this has been cited.³ Another instance in which a national officer interfered, this time in a petty local quarrel, occurred in the shop of Max Brickner, a clothing merchant of the city. Mr. Katz, unionist and employee, told a new employee that, unless he joined the union, he could not work there, to which the newcomer replied that he had not money sufficient to meet the expense of joining the union. Mr. Katz, however, caused this man to leave, and as a result, Mr. Brickner discharged Mr. Katz for interference in his business. Mr. Thein, a resident of the city, member of the local union, and Vice Chairman of the National Executive Board of Trades Assembly, No. 231, seemed satisfied with Mr. Brickner's explanation that Mr. Katz had exceeded his duty as an officer of the union; but Mr. Hughes of Chicago, Chairman of the Executive Board of Trades Assembly, No. 231, took up the case and wrote Mr. Brickner in threatening language

³. See Trade-Unionism in the Clothing Trade, p. 49.

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to the effect that Mr. Katz must be re-employed. Mr. Brickner hastened to adjust the matter, but the affair by no means increased his love of the union. Such outside interference involved local unionists in frequent trouble which placed them in a bad light before employers to a degree that might have been avoided.

The policy of the national organization with which the Garment Workers are at present affiliated is to interfere as little as possible in purely local affairs, but to enforce only such regulations as are necessary for the welfare of the organization nationally. This policy is a marked characteristic of the American Federation of Labor as distinguished from the old policy of interference of certain branches of the Knights of Labor.

Union Rules

Standard Wage.—It has always been a rule of the Garment Workers to maintain if possible a standard rate of wages. Among the cutters the standard wage for a normal week's work is \$20.00. Those who are unable to earn this amount may be allowed to work, but must be paid for what they do turn out on the basis of the standard rate.

Limitation of Amount of Work to Be Done.—Although there was nothing in the Constitution of the Cutters' Union of the Knights to so indicate, they seemed to adhere to a policy of limiting the amount of work to be done in a certain time. Mr. Rothschild, a wholesale clothier, in testifying before the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration presented instances of such limitation among his workmen.

The present unions do not have any rule as to such limitation. Each shop has a tacit understanding, how-

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ever, as to about what amount of work should be done in a given time for a given wage. The logical effect of this policy is to protect the standard rate of wages.

Shorter Workday.—In 1899 the Knights agitated for, and gained a nine-hour day. The working day had previously been ten hours. A manufacturer by the name of Jacob A. Britenstol made an attempt to withstand the demand, but when threatened with a boycott yielded to the unionists.

In 1903 the cutters instituted a strike for the eight-hour day, after having given previous notice. The eight-hour day had been granted in New York, Utica and Syracuse. Employers in Buffalo had conceded a week of fifty-one hours, and promised one of forty-eight hours when Rochester should obtain the same. Baltimore had made the same concession and the same promise to be fulfilled upon the introduction of the week of forty-eight hours in both Rochester and Buffalo.

It was claimed by advocates of the union that the introduction of cutting machines had reduced the number of working days per year, thereby necessitating a shorter day to insure steady employment. Also, as the credit for inventing the machine was claimed by labor, it was argued that labor should have a share in the profits accruing therefrom. Although the strike was a failure, a week of forty-eight hours has come to be quite generally enjoyed by the trade.

Overtime Work.—The Cutters' Union of the Knights prohibited overtime, or night work, although the employers were willing to pay extra wages and many unionists would have been glad to have earned them. It was feared that, if overtime work was allowed, it would tend to undermine the standard workday, the destruc-

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tion of which would also involve the overthrow of the standard wage rate. This policy was especially exasperating to the employers as may be surmised from the following statement of Mr. Rothschilds regarding it, in describing a futile attempt to obtain overtime work in his shop: "I went down to see Mr. Archer myself and told him: 'Now I think this is a perfect outrage, here my men are willing to work . . . I am willing to pay for it, and your union won't allow it, I think it is arbitrary and tyrannical.'"

The unions at present allow night work at the rate of "one and one-half" which is the rate for all overtime work.

Apprenticeship Rules.—The Knights' apprenticeship policy as set forth in the local Cutters' Constitution was as follows:

Article IV. Section 1.—Apprentices shall be regulated by the local.

Section 2.—The number of apprentices to be taught are one to every shop; two to every twenty journeymen and one to every additional ten journeymen in a shop and are to serve three years until they become competent cutters or trimmers. All cases not in strict accordance with the above shall be left to the discretion of the executive board of the local assembly.

The wages of the apprentices were to be as follows:

First year.....	\$3.00 per week
Second year.....	5.00 per week
Third year.....	7.00 per week

Difficulties with the employers over these rules were frequent and serious in the few years previous to the lockout of 1891. The history of Mr. Kolb's case has

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already been recited.⁴ Henry Michaels, wholesale clothier, found himself unable to teach his own son the trade through the operation of these laws. Stein-Block & Co. endeavored to oppose these regulations, but they soon received a letter from the union official, Mr. Hughes, threatening to boycott their goods in a long list of cities specifically named where their customers were located. The threat was executed and immediately Stein-Block & Co. received a letter from a patron in Albany desiring them to settle with the Knights, as this Albany firm did not dare risk buying their goods under a boycott. These boycotts almost invariably succeeded in bringing the employers to time. Abram Adler of Adler Co. and Isaac Wile of Wile, Stern & Co., after refusing to remove certain apprentices, were boycotted and forced to pay \$1,000.00 or more each in fines.

After the downfall of the Knights in the city, the United Garment Workers maintained very similar apprenticeship rules until the strike of 1903. Since that time the unions have been too weak to enforce such rules.

Methods of Rule Enforcement

Boycott.—The chief weapon by which the Knights enforced recognition of their policies by the employers was the boycott. The union had means of finding out who their employers' customers were. Mr. Lewis Steller, a shipping clerk, for Rothschild, Hays & Co., when questioned by the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration in 1891, testified that he had been indirectly asked to furnish a list of customers to the union. Also, Mr. Frederick Thon, stockkeeper for Stein-Block & Co. when

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

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asked: "Have you been requested to furnish a list of the customers of the house that you serve?" replied, "I have." When asked, "To whom?", he said, "I think I am now fully able to state that it was given out by the union that we must make up a list of all the customers of our houses and forward them to the union." After thus learning who the customers of their employers were, the Knights would warn them not to patronize a boycotted firm on penalty of losing the trade of labor sympathizers and being themselves boycotted. To accomplish these ends money was not spared. This method of enforcing their policies was finally declared unlawful and involved the leaders of the union in criminal proceedings for extortion, under which Chairman Hughes, as has elsewhere been stated, was convicted and sentenced to prison for one year.

In enforcing their rules against employers, the United Garment Workers resort to the label, the unfair list, and the strike. If an employer refuses to comply with the regulations of a union, he is denied the use of the label without which loyal trade-unionists will not buy his product. Moreover, his firm may be placed upon the unfair list in labor papers, which exhort their readers not to patronize any firm so listed; but no further steps are taken in the direction of a boycott. These devices at present do not seem to hamper seriously the clothing manufacturers of Rochester, as nearly all local shops are nonunion.

In forcing the observance of the union's rules upon their own members, the Knights boycotted any offender. The employers were warned not to hire him at the risk of a boycott of their firm until the man in question made his peace with the union. These measures were usually

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very effective. Moreover, the Knights took special pains to discipline their members if guilty of unreasonable conduct toward their employer as is set forth by Article VIII in the Constitution of the Cutters' Union:

Section 1.—Any member of this assembly who shall wilfully violate his position, namely: when absenting himself from the shop without proper cause when he had ought to be at work and thereby be discharged or censured by his principals, he will not be sustained by this assembly for his action and he must consider that he is doing himself a personal injury.

At the present time, although an offender might suffer expulsion from the union for violation of its rules, the organization can do nothing to hinder him from obtaining work, since local employers discriminate in favor of nonunionists. It is not the policy of the union to sustain any member in unreasonable conduct toward an employer; but a guilty member, in all probability, would not be censured; because the union is in too great need of the few members it has to risk offending any.

Blacklisting a Position.—Another method of enforcing the union's policies in spite of the opposition of employers is explained in the following section from the Constitution before referred to:

Article VII. Section 2.—When a member shall be discharged by his employer without a satisfactory cause for his dismissal, no other brother shall be allowed to take his vacancy until satisfactory proof has been given to the executive board.

A similar policy would probably not be adhered to now; because, as a cutter said to the writer, the union would prefer to have one of their number hold the po-

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sition even if the employer could not be persuaded to re-employ the discharged unionist.

Label.—The label signifies that the goods bearing it have been made under the conditions prescribed by the union, and no employer is allowed the use of it until he has met all such requirements. Those who sympathize with labor are urged by members of the union to purchase no goods which do not bear this emblem.

In 1898 the local Garment Workers pronounced the Flour City Manufacturing Co. to be the only Rochester establishment selling clothing with the union label. Seemingly there had been little or no action previous to this time concerning its use, but a very definite movement was now inaugurated. Firms were investigated as to whether or not they handled union-made clothing bearing the label and those not doing so were advertised as unfair. Thus in the *Labor Journal*, June 3, 1904, appeared the following admonition: "Stay away from the Union Clothing Company, Garsons, McFarlins and Strauss Brothers as they don't want your patronage." This agitation has been carried on more or less spasmodically ever since; but it has never attained to a great degree of success in the city. In 1909 it was announced that the McFarlin Clothing Company would handle a large line of union-made clothing; but the movement in Rochester is so weak that many stores, which carry few or no labeled goods, are advertised in the *Labor Journal*. It seems somewhat incongruous to read in one section of this paper a request to purchase only union-made goods and then find, on the opposite page possibly, the prominent advertisement of a firm which pays but scant attention to the label.

Closed Shop.—The Knights adhered strictly to the

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policy of the closed shop. Although they frequently were not able to furnish the employers with all the union help they desired, the employment of nonunionists was not permitted. Thus Adler Brothers and many other firms found themselves unable to fill their orders because nonunion help they could not hire and of more union help they was none. The boycott was again the chief instrument in the enforcement of this policy. The Knights resorted to but few strikes, but maintained a closed shop in almost every factory in the city.

Under the United Garment Workers, before the strike in 1903, the principle of the closed shop was tacitly, though not by written agreement, enforced by the Cutters' Union and recognized by the employers; but now a member of the union will work wherever he can get a job; for the clothing makers to-day have but one closed shop in the city, *viz.*, Goldwater's. The local unions are practically powerless to force the closed shop upon unwilling employers.

Welfare Features

Benefits.—It was the policy of the Knights to pay sick benefits. Subsequent to the disruption of that local organization and previous to the strike in 1903, the United Garment Workers of the city also paid sick and death benefits; but since the strike the union has been too weak to carry out any beneficiary policies.

Labor Bureau.—The cutters who belonged to the Knights of Labor and were out of work procured positions in the manner described in their Constitution:

Article V. Section 1.—This assembly shall have a labor bureau under the control of the executive board. No person shall make application for work in any shop without permission from

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the board and they shall send members in the order in which they applied or had their names registered on the books of the secretary of the labor bureau.

Section 2.—Should any firm apply for any particular man, such a man may be sent regardless of what position his name occupies on the book.

Section 5.—No member of this assembly shall be permitted to apply for work in any shop unless sent there by the secretary of the labor bureau and no organized shop shall permit any brother of this class to work in their shop unless they have an order from the secretary of the bureau after being notified by the executive board through their shop committee.

The United Garment Workers maintained a similar bureau previous to the strike in 1903. Since then the bureau has ceased to exist.

Aid Policy.—A voluntary aid policy to help unionists of other trades has been supported by the clothing workers of the city. In 1898 they adopted measures to prohibit members patronizing nonunion dailies; in 1899 they contributed to the Pennsylvania coal miners, and in 1901 to needy metal polishers in Dayton; they even threatened members with punishment who patronized a nonunion barber shop. These measures tend to bind organized trades together in common sympathy and reciprocal support.

Protection of Public Health.—The policy of the unions is to eliminate as far as possible all conditions of garment making inimical to the health of the ultimate purchaser. The following cases will illustrate. In 1905 a special committee investigated and made public unsanitary conditions in a certain sweatshop. The publicity helped to correct the evil. In 1906 Secretary Bohrer of the Central Trades and Labor Council wrote the Board of Health as follows: "I was instructed to notify you

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of the fact that the parties residing at No. 16, Philander St., had a scarlet fever sign tacked on the house and were at the same time working on clothing on said premises." Needless to say this was speedily attended to. This policy of the unions is of inestimable value to the community in general as well as to each one of us in particular when we wear ready-made clothing.

**TABLE COMPARING THE RELATION OF THE PERCENTAGE OF SUCCESSFUL STRIKES
TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE TIMES, IN ROCHESTER (N. Y.) AND
THE UNITED STATES.**

This table shows the relation of the per cent. of strikes that are successful to the industrial pros- perity of the times		The average percentage of Rochester strikes, wholly or partially successful is 50%				The average percentage of strikes in the United States (on basis of establishments involved, wholly or partially successful is 63.22%			
		Per cent. of Rochester strikes				Per cent. of strikes in nation			
Years	Condi- tion of business	Above average per cent. of success	Below average per cent. of success	Succeed- ing wholly or in part	Failing	Above average per cent. of success	Below average per cent. of success	Succeed- ing wholly or in part	Failing
1889 1890	Pros- perous	14.00		64.00	36.00	00.81		64.03	35.97
1892 1894	Panicky		13.66	36.33½	63.66½		9.62¾	53.59½	46.40¾
1899 1903	Pros- perous	9.00		59.00	41.00	7.75%		70.97%	29.02%

**TABLE COMPARING THE CAUSES OF STRIKES IN ROCHESTER AND THE
UNITED STATES.**

This table shows the relative importance of the leading causes of strikers, both in Rochester and in the United States, and percentage of strikes for each cause wholly or partially successful	Relative importance of causes in Rochester	Per cent. of total Rochester strikes		Relative importance of causes in the United States	Per cent. of total strikes (on basis of establishments involved) in the United States	
		For cause specified	Succeeding wholly or in part		For cause specified	Succeeding wholly or in part
Cause or object						
For increase of wages	1	28.00	50.00	1	33.27	68.64
Concerning recognition of Union and Union laws	2	20.00	62.50	2	10.26	57.12
For reduction of hours	3	14.00	62.50	3	9.78	60.77
Against reduction of wages	4	7.00	48.00	4	5.81	47.69
In sympathy with strikers and employes locked out elsewhere . . .	5	7.00	19.19	5	3.51	23.47

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