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Union Membership, 1939 and 1953

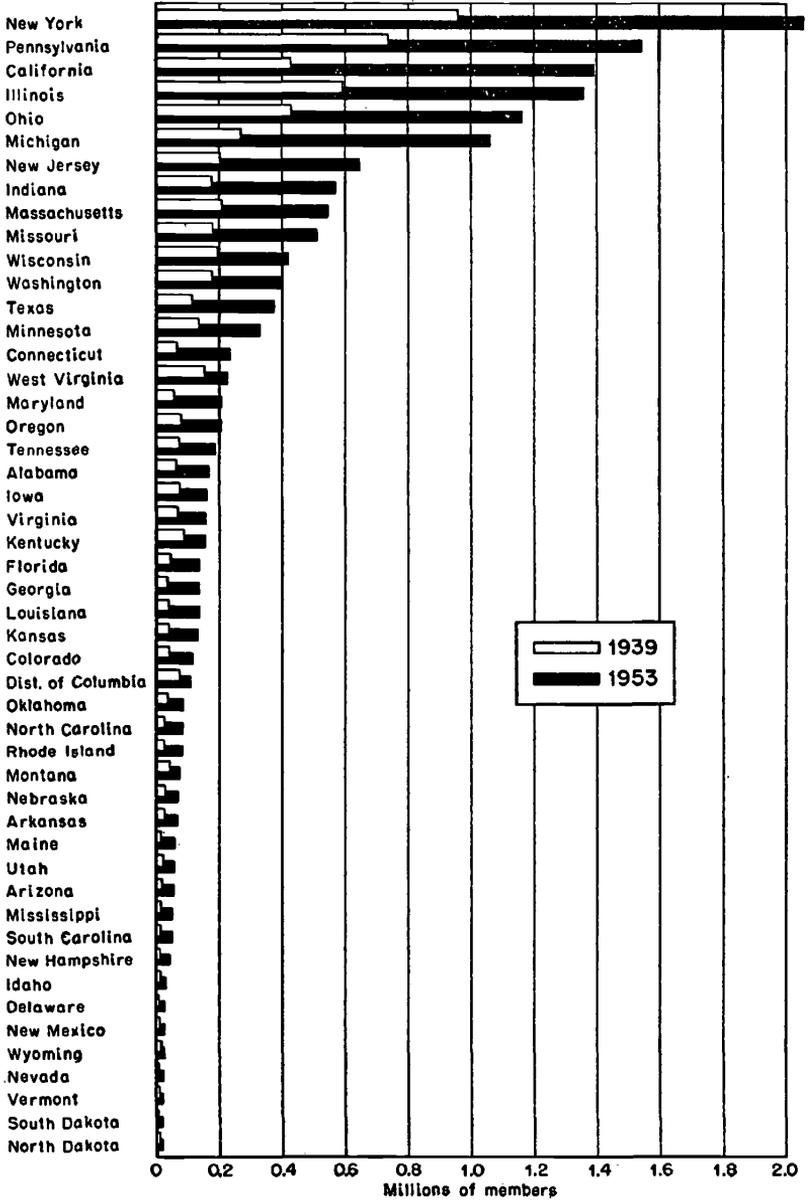
The lack of data showing the membership of labor unions by state and region has always been a noticeable gap in the statistics relating to American unions. Interesting as such figures would have been historically, they have assumed added significance in the past twenty years because of the considerable growth of unions during that period. Between 1939 and 1953, unions added some 10 million new members in the continental United States and lifted the percentage of nonagricultural wage and salaried employees organized from roughly one-fifth to one-third. With unions claiming more than 17 million members in 1953, and with the economic and political influence that goes with such numbers, it has become increasingly important to learn where union membership is located, what geographical and industrial shifts in membership have taken place since 1939, and what these movements may suggest as to the sources of relative union strength and weakness.

The sources of local membership data are, of course, the records of some two hundred national unions, including a number of small independent unions. These records are not equally accessible or reliable and can be explored only with the cooperation and assistance of many union officials. Almost all national unions made their records available and thus made possible the only estimates there are of state and regional union membership. Putting these figures together is a detailed and costly job. The estimates were, therefore, limited to the years 1939 and 1953 and are more complete for the later than for the earlier year. The membership in 1939 which could not be distributed among the states was 6.3 per cent of the total, as against 2.8 per cent in 1953.

A more serious defect in the distribution finally arrived at is due

CHART 1

Union Membership by State, 1939 and 1953



Source: Table 1.

to the failure to collect more complete figures of the membership of local independent unions — unions which were not affiliated with either the AF of L or the CIO, or with such independent national unions as the United Mine Workers or the railroad brotherhoods.

Data available now (though not at the time the figures in this paper were gathered) indicate that inclusion of these unions would substantially increase the membership totals for a number of states. For example, there are approximately 200,000 members of independent unions in telephone communication, telephone equipment manufacturing and installation, and telephone sales and engineering, and of this number only a third could be included in the state totals for 1953. These unions are dispersed through many states, of which Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California are the most important. Independent unions of which we do not have a full record are also important in the petroleum and chemical industries, particularly in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Texas, Louisiana, and California. In one state, New Jersey, membership would be increased perhaps by as much as 100,000 if more complete data for independent unions were available.

A second difficulty, which cannot be solved, arises out of the impossibility of deriving estimates of the industrial composition of union membership by state. Such figures are simply not available. Hence, conclusions as to the extent of union organization by industry and by state must be arrived at by inferences drawn from available estimates of the distribution of membership by industry in the country as a whole. Since, for example, manufacturing and mining are highly unionized in the United States, it may be assumed that states in which a large percentage of the labor force is engaged in manufacturing and mining are likely to be better organized than states whose manufacturing and mining population is relatively small. But the data do not permit determination of the exact effect of a state's industrial composition on the percentages of its labor force that is organized.

Growth of State and Regional Membership

In the fourteen years between 1939 and 1953, total union membership in the continental United States more than doubled. It rose from 6.5 million in 1939 to 16.3 million in 1953, a gain of almost 10 million.¹ In the same period, nonagricultural employment in-

¹Membership of American trade unions outside the continental limits of the United States, in dependent territories and Canada, brought the total to 6,730,300 in 1939 and 17,147,200 in 1953.

TABLE 1

Membership of American Unions by Affiliation and State, 1939 and 1953
(in thousands, except rank and growth rate)

Rank 1939	Rank 1953	State	1939			1953			Percentage Increase 1939-1953		
			AF of L	CIO	Unaffili- ated	Total	AF of L	CIO		Unaffili- ated	Total
1	1	New York	531.6	255.0	173.2	959.8	1,378.4	529.4	144.0	2,051.8	113.8
2	2	Pennsylvania	251.3	424.2	63.1	738.6	717.2	536.0	287.5	1,540.7	108.6
5	3	California	334.2	52.0	37.8	424.0	1,147.9	173.0	71.6	1,392.5	228.4
3	4	Illinois	447.7	85.3	57.7	590.7	985.4	254.9	118.4	1,358.7	130.0
4	5	Ohio	272.9	122.0	34.4	429.3	551.4	530.1	81.1	1,162.6	170.8
6	6	Michigan	124.4	127.2	17.5	269.1	327.4	690.5	44.1	1,062.0	294.6
8	7	New Jersey	122.8	44.3	33.5	200.6	397.8	201.6	46.0	645.4	221.7
11	8	Indiana	104.9	52.8	19.0	176.7	261.7	249.6	58.3	569.6	222.4
7	9	Massachusetts	135.9	45.3	27.7	208.9	327.4	164.4	54.3	546.1	161.4
10	10	Missouri	139.0	23.4	17.6	180.0	388.6	98.5	23.4	510.5	183.6
9	11	Wisconsin	138.8	36.5	18.6	193.9	284.4	105.4	28.9	418.7	115.9
12	12	Washington	142.5	24.4	8.4	175.3	336.8	33.1	23.7	393.6	124.5
15	13	Texas	76.0	8.5	26.0	110.5	223.9	104.5	46.4	374.8	239.2
14	14	Minnesota	108.4	13.6	11.5	133.5	243.8	64.2	19.6	327.6	145.4
23	15	Connecticut	38.8	13.9	10.5	63.2	127.4	92.4	12.3	232.1	267.2
13	16	West Virginia	22.8	123.5	7.2	153.5	70.1	32.1	121.7	223.9	45.9
24	17	Maryland	33.0	12.6	12.9	58.5	99.1	86.9	17.6	203.6	248.0
17	18	Oregon	59.1	13.5	4.8	77.4	165.3	47.5	11.7	201.5	160.3
20	19	Tennessee	41.9	19.6	9.5	71.0	113.5	45.5	26.3	187.3	163.8
22	20	Alabama	30.9	28.6	4.4	63.9	82.5	59.6	26.2	168.3	163.4
18	21	Iowa	46.8	15.0	12.1	73.9	101.8	38.0	19.4	159.2	115.4
21	22	Virginia	40.7	17.8	9.9	68.4	94.2	33.1	28.8	156.1	128.2
16	23	Kentucky	36.2	41.2	7.3	84.7	103.6	27.5	24.0	155.1	83.1

25	24	Florida	39.5	1.1	3.0	43.6	117.4	12.5	6.0	135.9	211.7
30	25	Georgia	26.5	3.1	6.1	35.7	100.6	25.5	9.7	135.8	280.4
29	26	Louisiana	28.7	4.1	5.0	37.8	95.6	27.9	12.3	135.8	259.3
28	27	Kansas	25.0	4.0	10.3	39.3	95.5	20.7	14.6	130.8	232.8
26	28	Colorado	26.5	7.0	6.7	40.2	78.5	22.9	12.8	114.2	184.1
19	29	Dist. of Columbia	54.4	4.3	12.4	71.1	90.9	8.1	8.8	107.8	51.6
31	30	Oklahoma	19.6	8.5	5.6	33.7	53.4	21.3	12.0	86.7	157.3
33	31	North Carolina	17.1	4.4	4.2	25.7	53.7	22.4	7.7	83.8	226.1
35	32	Rhode Island	15.5	3.2	6.0	24.7	47.3	29.5	6.0	82.8	235.2
27	33	Montana	22.4	10.4	7.0	39.8	50.8	1.5	20.2	72.5	82.2
32	34	Nebraska	20.1	0.4	6.6	27.1	47.5	12.7	8.4	68.6	153.1
34	35	Arkansas	14.6	5.4	5.0	25.0	41.9	18.2	7.8	67.9	171.6
38	36	Maine	11.8	1.2	2.2	15.2	35.5	13.9	9.5	58.9	287.5
36	37	Utah	11.3	6.8	3.2	21.3	32.9	12.5	11.5	56.9	167.1
37	38	Arizona	9.6	0.3	5.7	15.6	43.4	5.0	7.3	55.7	257.1
40	39	Mississippi	8.8	0.1	4.1	13.0	33.7	10.5	5.8	50.0	284.6
41	40	South Carolina	8.2	1.2	2.8	12.2	34.1	11.3	4.3	49.7	307.4
43	41	New Hampshire	7.7	1.7	1.2	10.6	21.7	18.9	2.5	43.1	306.6
42	42	Idaho	5.7	0.6	5.2	11.5	21.2	3.4	4.5	29.1	153.0
49	43	Delaware	3.8	0.4	1.6	5.8	14.6	9.1	2.1	25.8	344.8
44	44	New Mexico	5.5	0.2	3.1	8.8	17.7	1.4	5.9	25.0	184.1
39	45	Wyoming	6.6	5.3	2.5	14.4	16.5	1.6	6.1	24.2	68.1
47	46	Nevada	3.9	0.5	1.9	6.3	18.1	0.7	3.0	21.8	246.0
45	47	Vermont	5.1	1.7	1.7	8.5	9.9	6.0	3.7	19.6	130.6
48	48	South Dakota	4.4		1.7	6.1	14.4	0.9	2.1	17.4	185.2
46	49	North Dakota	5.4		2.5	7.9	11.5	1.2	4.6	17.3	119.0
		Not distributed	162.9	120.8	127.7	411.4	244.1	64.0	150.4	458.5
		United States	3,851.2	1,796.9	869.6	6,517.7	9,972.0	4,560.4	1,684.9	16,217.3	148.8

Source: *Membership of American Trade Unions, by Affiliation, State, Territory and Canada, 1939 and 1953*, mimeographed, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1956. All membership figures reported in subsequent tables are also derived from that table.

creased by more than 19 million, but in relative growth union membership far exceeded employment.

Membership grew in all states and the District of Columbia between 1939 and 1953 (Table 1). New York had the largest gain (1,100,000) and also had the largest number of members in both years. North Dakota showed the smallest gain (less than 10,000) and had the smallest membership of any state in 1953, replacing Delaware at the bottom of the list (Chart 1). More than half the total increase was accounted for by six states, and by 1953 five of these, Pennsylvania, California, Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan, had one million or more union members, and one, New York, over two million. In contrast, less than 1 per cent of the total gain was accounted for by New Mexico, Nevada, South Dakota, Vermont, Wyoming, and North Dakota. In 1953, none of these had more than 25,000 union members.

As would be expected, the growth and distribution of union membership are related to the numbers employed outside agriculture. The six states that accumulated almost half the national gain in nonagricultural employment between 1939 and 1953 accounted for slightly more than half the increase in total membership. Their share of employment and membership was about half the total in the country in 1953, as shown by the next table.

	Share in 1953 of:	
	Total nonagricultural employment	Total union membership
New York	12.0%	12.7%
California	7.9	8.6
Pennsylvania	7.8	9.5
Illinois	6.9	8.4
Ohio	6.2	7.2
Michigan	5.0	6.5
Total	45.8%	52.9%

Similarly, the six states that held about 1 per cent of nonagricultural employment in 1953 accounted for approximately 1 per cent of union membership.

The average relative increase in membership for the United States in the period 1939–1953 was just under 150 per cent. Thirty-four states exceeded this rate of growth, while fourteen and the District of Columbia lagged behind it (Map 1). Except for Michigan, the six states that showed the greatest absolute gains in membership

TABLE 2

Membership of American Unions by Geographic Region, 1939 and 1953

Region	1939		1953		Increase, 1939-1953	
	Membership (thousands)	Per cent of total	Membership (thousands)	Per cent of total	(thousands)	(per cent)
New England	331.1	5.1	982.6	6.1	651.5	196.8
Middle Atlantic	1,899.0	29.1	4,237.9	26.1	2,338.9	123.2
East North Central	1,659.7	25.4	4,571.6	28.2	2,911.9	175.4
West North Central	467.8	7.2	1,231.4	7.6	763.6	163.2
South Atlantic	474.5	7.3	1,122.4	6.9	647.9	136.5
East South Central	232.6	3.6	560.7	3.5	328.1	141.1
West South Central	207.0	3.2	665.2	4.1	458.2	221.4
Mountain	157.9	2.4	399.4	2.5	241.5	152.9
Pacific	676.7	10.4	1,987.6	12.2	1,310.9	193.7
Not distributed	411.4	6.3	458.5	2.8	47.1
United States	6,517.7	100.0	16,217.3	100.0	9,699.6	148.8

were not those with the greatest relative increases. In fact, three of the top states, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, lagged behind the national rate of union growth. Some of the most striking gains in the relative growth of union membership occurred in states with small membership in 1939. Several of these, such as Delaware, South Carolina, and New Hampshire, greatly exceeded other states in relative growth but ranked near the bottom of the scale in absolute membership in both 1953 and 1939.

In states where the growth in employment exceeded the growth in the country as a whole, as shown below, the rise in union membership, likewise, exceeded the national average.

	Percentage Increase, 1939 to 1953, in:	
	Nonagricultural employment	Union membership
Florida	117.4	211.7
California	115.0	228.4
Arizona	113.7	257.1
Texas	109.4	239.2
Delaware	87.3	344.8
Michigan	82.1	294.6
Average, United States	63.4	148.8

States that lagged behind the national growth of employment also lagged in the growth of membership.

	Percentage Increase, 1939 to 1953, in:	
	Nonagricultural employment	Union membership
West Virginia	37.7	45.9
Montana	42.4	82.2
New York	42.7	113.8
Pennsylvania	47.4	108.6
Illinois	50.2	130.0
District of Columbia	55.0	51.6
Average, United States	63.4	148.8

If the states are grouped into regions, we can observe more clearly the shifts in the geographic dispersion of membership that occurred between 1939 and 1953. Classified by region,² the largest absolute

²The regional classification is that of the Bureau of the Census:

New England — Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

(Note continues on page 10)

increase in membership, almost 3 million, accumulated in the East North Central States (Table 2). This was also the region that showed the greatest rise in employment in the same period. Membership rose least in the Mountain region, less than a quarter of a million, and there the smallest regional gain in employment took place. Gains in membership exceeding one million occurred in the Middle Atlantic (2.3 million) and Pacific regions (1.3 million).

The West South Central region scored the largest and the Middle Atlantic the smallest relative advance. Within some regions union growth varied markedly among states. In the East North Central group, union membership rose more rapidly than the national average, but in two of the states, Wisconsin and Illinois, it lagged. In contrast, the Middle Atlantic region fell behind the national rate of growth, but New Jersey far surpassed the average. The only region in which all the component states exceeded the national rate of union growth was the West South Central, a region with only 3 per cent of the total membership in the country in 1939 and 4 per cent in 1953.

Structure of State and Regional Membership

As a result of variations in the growth of union membership between 1939 and 1953, 21 states ranked higher in 1953, 18 and the District of Columbia ranked lower, and 9 retained the same standing as in 1939. Among the states that rose in the scale were California, Indiana, New Jersey, Texas, Connecticut, Maryland, Georgia, and Louisiana. Some of those that declined were Illinois, Ohio, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, West Virginia, Iowa, and Kentucky. The positions of New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and six other states remained unchanged.

Despite changes in ranking, union membership in the United States remained centered in a few states. In fact, concentration

Middle Atlantic – New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

East North Central – Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

West North Central – Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

South Atlantic – Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida.

East South Central – Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi.

West South Central – Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas.

Mountain – Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada.

Pacific – Washington, Oregon, and California.

increased slightly between 1939 and 1953. In 1953 the top ten states accounted for 67 per cent of total membership, compared to 64 per cent in 1939. The other thirty-eight states and the District of Columbia accounted for 30 per cent of American membership in 1953, compared to 29 per cent in 1939. The balance, about 3 per cent in 1953 and 6 per cent in 1939, could not be distributed.³

Among the first ten states, there was only one change in rank. Indiana rose to eighth place as Wisconsin dropped from ninth to eleventh. It is noteworthy that employment and membership grew more rapidly in Indiana than in Wisconsin from 1939 to 1953.

Regionally, the "center of gravity" of union membership moved westward from the Middle Atlantic to the East North Central states. In 1939 the Middle Atlantic region accounted for 29 per cent of total membership in the United States, and the East North Central for 25 per cent. By 1953 the share of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin had risen to 28 per cent, while that of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania declined to 26 per cent. The geographic shift in membership corresponded with a parallel sectional movement in manufacturing employment⁴ and the growth of unionism in manufacturing, epitomized by the rise of the CIO.

Membership Growth by Union

Only a small proportion of approximately two hundred national unions covered by this study account for a large part of the increase in total membership and for the concentration of members in relatively few states. Thus, nine unions were responsible for more than half the entire increase in union membership, since these organizations gained almost 5 million of the total increase of 9.7 million. They were the Automobile Workers (CIO), Teamsters, Steelworkers, Machinists, Carpenters, Electrical Workers (AFL), Hod Carriers, the Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union, and the Ladies Garment Workers.

Within the six states that accounted for more than half the national gain in membership from 1939 to 1953, the same nine organizations claimed an even greater share of the aggregate increase. Table 3 records the standing of these unions in each of the six states.

The Automobile Workers increased their membership from 1939 to 1953, by more than 800,000 in the six states combined, over 300,000 above the gain for the union next in growth, the Steel-

³The effect of the undistributed membership on the grouping is negligible.

⁴*Monthly Labor Review*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, July 1954, p. 740.

workers. In Michigan alone, the United Automobile Workers grew by almost a half million, accounting for close to 60 per cent of the total gain in that state. This union also claimed well over 100,000 new members in Ohio (and almost that many in Indiana) in the period 1939-1953. Gains of 100,000 or more members were scored by the Steelworkers in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and the Teamsters and Machinists in California.

In five of the six states shown in Table 3 more than 50 per cent of the increase was accounted for by the nine unions listed. Only in New York did they account for less than half the gain, probably because there is less concentration of industry in New York than in other industrial states. In a few states, unions not included in Table 3 made even greater advances in membership than some of the organizations shown. For example, the Electrical Workers (CIO) ranked third in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

It should be clear from this table that many factors, such as the localization of industry and the history of individual unions, tend to explain the varying rates of growth of specific unions in different parts of the country. For example, nearly one-half of the increased membership of the Ladies Garment Workers was found in New York, where the manufacture of women's clothing is concentrated. The localization of the auto industry in Michigan and the gain of nearly a half million members by the Automobile Workers in that state has already been noted. On the other hand, the early and successful organizing activities of the Teamsters on the West Coast explains why more than one-fourth of the six-state increase in membership of that union took place in California.

Some of the unions shown in Table 3 were also the most important vehicles of membership growth in the South as well as in northern and western sections of the country. Generally, the membership of these unions was in durable goods manufacturing industries such as primary and fabricated metal products, transportation equipment, and lumber. In the five southern states that showed an increase in total union membership of 100,000 or more per state and a total gain of nearly three-quarters of a million — Maryland, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Texas — approximately one-third of the new members were organized by four unions: the Steelworkers (85,000), Automobile Workers (50,000), Machinists (50,000) and Carpenters (40,000). The gains of these unions are in sharp contrast to the small increases of unions in textiles and clothing manufacturing. The principal unions organizing in textiles and clothing, the Textile Workers (AFL and CIO), the Amalgamated Cloth-

TABLE 3

Increase in the Membership of Selected Unions in Six States, 1939-1953
(thousands)

	New York	California	Pennsylvania	Michigan	Illinois	Ohio	Total
Automobile Workers (CIO)	57.6	46.8	37.5	471.3	76.1	144.6	833.9
Teamsters	84.5	142.9	79.8	37.8	86.7	31.6	463.3
Steelworkers	55.9	34.0	173.0	27.9	67.1	152.3	510.2
Machinists	80.4	129.0	36.3	6.6	58.7	37.8	348.8
Carpenters	27.3	89.5	16.9	19.8	26.5	20.9	200.9
Electrical Workers (AFL)	42.5	38.6	23.0	10.6	72.4	19.4	206.5
Hod Carriers	30.4	17.7	14.8	9.8	37.5	16.6	126.8
Hotel, Restaurant and Bartenders Union	36.2	63.3	9.4	13.0	15.2	2.9	140.0
Garment Workers, Ladies	67.8	8.5	34.3	0.8	5.2	3.2	119.8
Combined increase, above unions	482.6	570.3	425.0	597.6	445.4	429.3	2,950.2
Total increase, all unions	1,092.0	968.5	802.1	792.9	768.0	733.3	5,156.8
Percentage share of above unions in total increase	44.2	58.9	53.0	75.4	58.0	58.5	57.2

ing Workers and the Ladies Garment Workers, together increased their membership in the five southern states by only 30,000.

The Teamsters, who scored the third largest gain in membership in the United States (over 700,000) from 1939 to 1953, managed to organize only 6,000 members in Texas, Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama. It is likely, however, that this picture has changed materially in the few years since 1953, as the Teamsters' union has accelerated its organizing drives in the southern states.

Concentration of Membership

Table 3 also reflects the rise of industrial unionism and its influence on the geographic dispersion of membership. Nationally, the membership of the nine unions shown in Table 3 was almost two million, or 30 per cent of the aggregate, in 1939; and nearly 7 million, or over 40 per cent of the total, in 1953.⁵ The growth in concentration was even more marked in certain states, however.

For example, in Michigan the UAW (CIO) grew from a membership of 106,000, or just under 40 per cent of the state total in 1939, to 578,000, or almost 55 per cent in 1953. The only other union occupying a similar position in the entire union organization of a state was the United Mine Workers, which in 1953 had just over 50 per cent of total union membership in West Virginia.

Concentration also increased in Indiana and Ohio, where the auto and steel unions increased their combined share of total state membership from approximately 10 per cent in each state in 1939 to 35 per cent in Indiana and 30 per cent in Ohio in 1953. In Penn-

⁵The membership of these unions in the United States for 1939 and 1953 is shown in the following table, in thousands:

	<i>1939</i>	<i>1953</i>
Auto Workers (CIO)	162.0	1,347.5
Teamsters	436.9	1,172.7
Steelworkers	215.7	1,034.8
Machinists	169.5	830.7
Carpenters	305.5	719.1
Electrical Workers (AFL)	104.1	520.9
Hod Carriers	156.3	416.0
Hotel and Restaurant Workers	207.7	399.5
Ladies Garment Workers	206.6	385.0
Combined membership, above unions	1,964.3	6,826.2
Total membership, United States	6,517.7	16,217.3
Percentage share of above unions in total membership	30.1	42.1

sylvania nearly 40 per cent of state membership was in three unions, the Steelworkers, Mine Workers, and Teamsters. Similarly, three unions, the Teamsters, Machinists, and Carpenters, each with 100,000 or more members, together accounted for more than a third of union membership in California in 1953.

Membership by Affiliation

Much interest attaches to the grouping of membership by affiliation status even though the two major federations have merged since this paper was drafted. Of course, changes in the affiliations of individual unions affect the consistency of the results, but even as they stand, the data reveal the dominating position of the old AF of L. In both 1939 and 1953, the largest number of union members belonged to organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (Table 1). In 1939, AF of L unions accounted for 59 per cent; in 1953, for 62 per cent of total union membership in the United States. The share of unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations stood at 28 per cent in both years. The share of unaffiliated unions declined from 13 to 10 per cent in this period. But the proportion in 1953 might well be somewhat higher if we had a more comprehensive count of the membership of such unions.

Of the aggregate increase of 9.7 million members from 1939 to 1953, AFL affiliates accounted for more than 60 per cent of the total (6.1 million), CIO unions almost 30 per cent (2.8 million), and unaffiliated unions less than 10 per cent (0.8 million). In relative terms, the AFL grew by 159 per cent, the CIO by 154 per cent, and the unaffiliated by 94 per cent in the fourteen-year interval.

In 1939, the AFL was larger than the CIO plus unaffiliated unions in 44 states and the District of Columbia. CIO membership was greater only in Pennsylvania, Michigan, West Virginia, and Kentucky. By 1953, AFL membership exceeded that of the CIO and unaffiliated unions combined, in 46 states and the District of Columbia. The CIO predominated in one state (Michigan), and the unaffiliated unions in another (West Virginia) in 1953. The disaffiliation of the United Mine Workers from the CIO in 1942 accounts for the smaller CIO membership in both Pennsylvania and West Virginia in 1953.

At the beginning of its career, the CIO's membership was concentrated in Pennsylvania and New York, because of its principal affiliates, the mine and steel unions in Pennsylvania and the clothing workers in New York. By 1953, the regional center of CIO mem-

bership had shifted to the East North Central states, chiefly because of the phenomenal growth of the auto and steel unions in that region. As for the AFL, its largest regional membership was in the East North Central states in 1939. By 1953, because of the reaffiliation of the Ladies Garment Workers and the rapid growth of many of its affiliates in the East, the center of AFL membership had moved eastward to the Middle Atlantic states.