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CHAPTER III

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMMIGRANTS

The Significance of a Measure of Employment Opportunity.

With the passing of the era of abundant and fertile free land, industrial employment rather than agricultural opportunity has been the lodestone attracting the foreign worker to our shores. Particularly within the last three or four decades the typical immigrant has been a prospective wage earner seeking employment in factory, mine, or construction camp.

Data concerning fluctuations in the employment of wage earners are, accordingly, particularly pertinent to our study. The cycle of employment is the aspect of the business cycle which is of direct meaning to the immigrant. It is the most tangible measure of the conditions affecting his economic welfare; and hence it affords the obvious and logical basis for appraising the influence upon migration of fluctuations in economic opportunities and the celerity with which immigration and emigration currents respond to such changes.

The Ideal Measure.

The ideal index of employment, for our purpose, would cover all of those occupations in which immigrants engage in large numbers and would indicate, not merely the variations in the number of workers employed, but also the extent of part-time and over-time employment.

Not only that, but to give a complete picture of the relative economic opportunity afforded the immigrant, our ideal index would be adjusted to variations in real wage rates, that is, in money rates reduced to terms of comparable purchasing power by allowance for changes in the prices of those articles which comprise the budget of the immigrant worker. In short, such an index would make allowance for both the volume of employment and the real rate of compensation and thus measure changes in the real earnings in the immigrant industries.

An index of employment portraying the condition of employment for the unskilled laborer would be particularly valuable, for it is the concensus of opinion of commentators on employment conditions that this class bears the chief brunt of cyclical and seasonal variations in employment, and furthermore, it is the immigrant who makes up a large part of the unskilled labor group.

For much of our analysis, monthly, or at least quarterly, rather than annual data are essential. Annual data serve well to give indications of general tendencies, but the picture which may be drawn with them is necessarily only in broad outline and permits symptomatic details to be obscured. For example, with only annual data, it becomes impossible to determine, with any reasonable degree of precision, whether the immigrant tide slackens in premonition of an impending industrial slump, or, on the contrary, begins to ebb only after employment has been on the decline for several months.

Lastly, if we could have an equally comprehensive index of fluctuations of economic opportunities in the country from which immigrants come, we should feel excellently equipped for the task before us.

The data actually available do not make possible the construction of such an ideal index as that just outlined, but, nevertheless, afford, in our judgment, a basis for reasonably accurate conclusions, particularly when reinforced by other indices of industrial activity.

Types of Employment Statistics.

The principal sources of information concerning employment conditions in the United States are of four types: (1) indirect evidences of employment conditions as found in statistics of production and such even less direct indices of employment opportunities as are afforded by prices, clearings, and other indicators of business activity; (2) records of the average number of wage earners employed during the month, or the number employed on a given day, as shown by payroll data; (3) statistics of the percentage of trade union members unemployed; and (4) employment office statistics, giving the ratio of applicants to jobs. All four of these types have been utilized in the subsequent analysis, although the primary index of factory employment by months, for the period beginning with 1889, has been constructed from statistics of the average number employed, supplemented for a portion of the period by trade union statistics of unemployment.

ANNUAL STATISTICS OF INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

To obtain a picture of the major features of changes in employment conditions, let us first turn our attention to the fluctuations in various series of annual data which serve as more or less satisfactory indicators of conditions in the several industries in which immigrants find employment.

For this purpose we have used the following series: for factory employment, an index of estimated average number employed, 1890 to 1922; for coal mining, the number of tons of anthracite and bituminous coal, respectively, produced each year from 1870 to 1922; for construction, the annual increase in the operated mileage of railroads from 1891 to 1916 and an index of the estimated annual total value of construction from 1902 to 1920; for railway maintenance, the average number of trackmen employed from 1889 to 1914; and for general industrial and business conditions, several series, including the value of imports of merchandise 1870 to 1923, pig iron production 1870 to 1923, the clearings index computed by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York for 1876 to 1923, wholesale prices 1870 to 1922, and Professor E. E. Day's index of manufacture 1899 to 1923.

For convenience in comparison, these series have been charted in two groups, on pages 59 and 62, one group consisting of those series which refer to calendar years (Tables 12-A and 12-B and Chart 6); and the other group, those series which refer to fiscal years ending June 30th (Tables 13-A and 13-B and Chart 7).

The Calendar Year Group.

The annual production of pig iron, bituminous coal, and anthracite coal, respectively, an index of the physical volume of manufacturing, an index of the estimated total value of construction, the number of railway trackmen employed, and an index of wholesale prices comprise the calendar year group. Pig iron is discussed more fully at subsequent points in this chapter. A few words concerning the reason for choice of some of the other series are pertinent.

Railway Employment.

Large numbers of immigrants are employed in the maintenance of railway track and roadbeds, and, consequently, we have included in our evidences of employment conditions a curve showing the fluctuations in the numbers of railway trackmen, other than section foremen, on June 30th of each year from 1889 to 1914.

Coal Mining.

The United States Geological Survey has published statistics of the movement of men employed and of days worked in anthracite and bituminous mining, respectively, for the years 1890 to 1921, and statistics of the production of coal are available from 1870 to date. Based upon a careful study of the returns filed with them, the Survey reaches the conclusion that the figures of the average number employed represent "not the average number of men actually working at any one time, nor the aggregate number of men who have worked at any time during the year, nor the absolute average number on the payrolls, but rather the number of men commonly dependent on the mine for employment." Hence, by multiplying the average number of men employed in each year by the average number of days worked, we obtain a figure which affords a better index of employment conditions in the mines than the average number of employed. To illustrate, the reported average number of men employed in bituminous mines is even greater in the depression year of 1908 than in 1907, but the number of days worked was but 193 as compared with 223 in 1907.

The resulting estimate of employment was compared with the statistics of bituminous coal production, which are available for a longer period, and the two series were found to agree so closely that the longer, or production series, has been used for an indicator of probable conditions of employment in the bituminous coal industry. In like manner, the production of anthracite coal is used as an approximate index of employment in that phase of mining.

Construction.

Especially valuable for our purposes would be a comprehensive index of the number of men, particularly of common laborers, employed upon new construction—buildings, sewers, railways, and streets and highways—but unfortunately no such index is available. Fragmentary evidence is furnished by statistics of building permits, miles of railroad constructed, and building contracts awarded, but none of these series is both comprehensive enough and available over a sufficiently long period to afford an adequate index of employment conditions over the period in which we wish to study the relations of migration and employment. Statistics of the miles of railroad constructed, partly on a calendar year and partly on a fiscal year basis, are available throughout the period covered by Charts 6 and 7 (1870-1923); but the best of the construction indices, the volume of building covered by contracts awarded, is available only beginning in 1910 and has changed somewhat in scope during this period. However, an estimate of the annual total value of construction is given in Chart 6 as a rough index of employment conditions in the construction industry.

The Fiscal Year Group.

To aid in the identification of boom and depression periods when data applying to fiscal years ending June 30th are considered, we have used annual statistics of the number of miles of railroad constructed, imports of merchandise, the estimated average daily production of pig iron, the estimated average number employed in factories, and an index of business conditions compiled by Mr. Carl Snyder, of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

The curve for factory employment represents an estimate based primarily upon data more fully described later in this chapter in connection with monthly estimates of employment. This curve presumably underestimates somewhat the size of the fluctuations in factory employment, in that it gives no consideration to part-time employment and, also, particularly in the earlier years, is based primarily upon data for Massachusetts, in which State industrial conditions were probably relatively stable.

The mileage of railroad constructed is significant because it reflects general industrial conditions and because immigrant laborers in large numbers have been employed as laborers in such construction.

Method of Interpreting the Accompanying Charts (6 and 7).

The several series discussed in the above paragraphs are plotted in Charts 6 and 7, which are so-called "ratio charts," or charts with the vertical scale so proportioned that equal percentage declines between any two years are represented by equal vertical declines on the curves involved. If one curve declines ten per cent in 1900, and another series ten per cent in 1900 and also in 1904, in each of these three cases the vertical drop on the chart would be the same. In like manner, equal percentage increases are represented by equal vertical rises in the respective curves. Hence, despite the fact that the series are expressed in widely different units, it is possible, by inspection of these charts, to approximate with the eye the relative change in different years or in the several curves for any one year.

Depression Years.

When examining the fluctuations in migration, we shall have frequent occasion to refer to the depression years in industry. These years of depression may be quite satisfactorily identified for preliminary comparisons by examination of Charts 6 and 7, on

CHART 6

INDICES OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, BY CALENDAR YEARS: 1870-1923.



Ratio scale

•Numerical data in Tables 12-A and 12-B.

pages 59 and 62, which show the relative fluctuations in the annual statistics. With the exception of the clearings index of business, the data plotted in these charts have not been corrected for the growth element, hence a mild depression tendency may be evidenced merely by a slackening in the rate of increase rather than by a decided downward slope of the curve. The fluctuations in the production of pig iron, when they are reasonably well supported by MIGRATION AND BUSINESS CYCLES

the other series, have been taken as the primary determinants of which years should be designated as depression years.

Calendar Years.

From Chart 6, page 59, in which calendar year totals are plotted, we note that in the period since 1870 the slack years appear to be

YEAR	 I (RODUCT	ОN ns)	WHOLE- SALE	Vnin		WHOLE- SALE			
YEAR	PIG IRON ⁴	BITUMIN- OUS COAL ^b	ANTHRA- CITE COAL ^b	1913 ± 100	IBAR	Pig Iron ^a	BITUMIN- OUS COAL ^b	ANTHRA- cite Coal ^b	1913 = 100	
1870	1.67	17.4	15.7	122	1900	13.79	212.3	57.4	81	
1871	1.71	27.5	19.3	118	1901	15.88	225.8	67.5	79	
1872	2.55	27.2	24.2	123	1902	17.82	260.2	41.4	84	
1873	2.56	31.4	26.2	118	1903	18.01	282.7	74.6	86	
1874	2.40	27.8	24.8	114	1904	16.50	278.7	73.2	86	
1875	2.02	29.9	22.5	110	1905	22.99	315.1	77.7	86	
1876	1.87	30.5	22.8	100	1906	25.31	342.9	71.3	89	
1877	2.07	34.8	25.7	99	1907	25.78	394.8	85.6	94	
1878	2.30	36.2	21.7	85	1908	15.94	332.6	83.3	90	
1878	2.74	37.9	30.2	81	1909	25.80	379.7	81.1	97	
1880	3.84	42.8	28.6	94	1910	27.30	417.1	84.5	101	
1881	4.14	54.0	31.9	97	1911	23.65	405.9	90.5	93	
1882	4.62	68.4	35.1	103	1912	29.73	450.1	84.4	99	
1883	4.60	77.3	38.5	91	1913	30.97	478.4	91.5	100	
1884	4.10	83.0	37.2	83	1914	23.33	422.7	90.8	98	
1885	4.04	72.8	38.3	77	1915	29.92	442.6	89.0	101	
1886	5.68	74.6	39.0	74	1916	39.43	502.5	87.6	127	
1887	6.42	88.6	42.1	76	1917	38.62	551.8	99.6	177	
1888	6.49	102.0	46.6	81	1918	39.05	579.4	98.8	194	
1888	7.60	95.7	45.5	79	1918	31.02	465.9	88.1	206	
1890 1891 1892 1893 1894	9.20 8.28 9.16 7.12 6.66	111.3 117.9 126.9 128.4 118.8	46.5 50.7 52.5 54.0 51.9	78 80 75 77 69	1920 1921 1922 1923	36.93 16.69 27.22 40.36	568.7 415.9 422.3 545.4	89.6 90.5 54.7 95.4	226 147 149 154	
1895 1896 1897 1898 1899	9.45 8.62 9.65 11.77 13.62	135.1 137.6 147.6 166.6 193.3	58.0 54.3 52.6 53.4 60.4	70 67 67 70 75						

TABLE 12-A—INDICES OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, BY CALENDAR YEARS, 1870-1923

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1923, pp. 264-265, 272.
United States Geological Survey, Coal in 1919, 1920 and 1921, p. 482.
Based, prior to 1891, upon the index number compiled by Joseph L. Snider, "Wholesale Prices in the United States, 1866-91", in the Review of Economic Statistics, April, 1924, pp. 93-118, especially p. 112, converted to 1913 base; for 1891 to 1923, upon the index number of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 335, p. 9, and Survey of Current Business, Feb., 1923, p. 135.

as follows: first, a slump in the late seventies, the exact year differing in the several series; then 1885, 1888 (slight), 1893 and 1894, 1896 or 1897, 1902 in anthracite coal, due to strikes, 1904, 1908 (severe), 1911 (relatively mild), 1914 and to a lesser extent 1915 and 1919, 1921 (severe), and 1922. Further indication of the depression characteristic of these years is found in Chart 8 on a subsequent

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page, in which are plotted pig iron production and a composite index of economic conditions, with their trends eliminated.

YEAR	Volume of Manufac- ture 1899=100*	VALUE OF CONSTRUC- TION ^b 1914=100	RAILWAY TRACK- MEN (THOUS- ANDS)•	Year	Volume of Manufac- ture 1899=100	VALUE OF CONSTRUC- TION 1914=100	RAILWAY TRACK- MEN (THOUS- ANDS)
1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1893	···· ···· ····	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	145 157 164 172 180 151	1910 1911 1912 1913 1914	159 153 177 184 169	116.6 112.8 119.2 109.4 100.0	379 363 357 377 337
1895 1896 1897 1898 1899	···· ··· ···	••••• •••• ••••	155 170 172 184 202	1915 1916 1917 1918 1918 1919	189 225 227 223 218	$101.5 \\ 127.6 \\ 103.7 \\ 92.2 \\ 147.0 \\$	•••• ••• •••
1900 1901 1902 1903 1904	101 112 122 124 122	61.8 66.7 77.3	227 239 281 301 289	1920 1921 1922 1923	227 174 238 277	143.3 	••••
1905 1906 1907 1908 1909	143 152 151 126 155	$106.3 \\ 112.0 \\ 103.2 \\ 90.5 \\ 123.6$	311 344 367 299 321				

TABLE	12-B.—INDICES	OF	ECON	ОМІС	CONDITIONS
	by Calenda	RΥ	EARS:	1889-	1923

•Professor E. E. Day's index of the physical volume of production in manufacture, unadjusted for secular trend, *Review of t.conomic Statistics*, July, 1924, p. 200. •An estimate compiled by Dr. W. I. King, and based, prior to 1909, chiefly upon building permits in selected cities for which continuous records are available; subsequent to 1908 this index also includes es-timates based on construction by the Federal Government and by railways. •Compiled from Interstate Commerce Commission, *Statistics of Railways in the United States*. In-cludes "trackmen other than section foremen"; as of June 30th of each year.

Fiscal Years.

In many instances migration data are available by fiscal years ending June 30th rather than by calendar years. Consequently, it is desirable to note what fiscal years are marked by depression conditions. In Chart 7 are given five series which are available on the fiscal year basis. The shift to the fiscal year basis does not make much change in the years which stand out as depression years. For the data compiled on the fiscal year basis we find that the relatively low years include the late seventies, 1885, 1894, 1897

(1898 for imports), 1901 (slight), 1904, 1908 (and 1909, also, for clearings), 1914 and 1915, 1919, and 1921 and 1922.

CHART 7

INDICES OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, BY FISCAL YEARS: 1870-1923. Ratio Scale



•Numerical data in Tables 13-A and 13-B.

Pig Iron Production and a Composite Index of Business Cycles.

Pig iron is basic to many manufacturing industries and to much construction work, and, in the form of machinery or other products of iron and steel, is supplementary to practically all industrial activities, hence fluctuations in the production of pig iron ordinarily bear a close relation to the volume of industrial activity. This relationship has been frequently noted in previous statistical studies of economic conditions. For example, Professor E. E. Day, in his construction of an index of manufacturing, compares annual statistics of pig iron production with his index and finds a striking similarity in the fluctuations of the two series.¹ Because of this

¹Review of Economic Statistics, 1920, p. 367, "The correspondence of pig-iron production with manufacture, when both are adjusted for secular trend, is extraordinary. The correlation coefficient is .97." (Based upon the period 1899-1919).

close association between pig iron and industrial activity, we have made frequent use of pig iron production in comparisons with migratory fluctuations in this and other countries, partly because direct employment figures are not available and partly because it is

Year	Merchan- dise imports¤ (Million dollars)	Clearings index of business (Trend= 100) ^b	DAILY PIG IRON PRODUC- TION• (THOUS- AND TONS)	Year	Merchan- dise imports* (Million dollars)	Clearings index of business (Trend = 100)b	DAILY PIG IRON PRODUC- TION (THOUS- AND TONS)
1870 1871 1872 1873 1874	$\begin{array}{r} 436.0\\520.2\\626.6\\642.1\\567.4\end{array}$	••••• •••• ••••	· · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1900 1901 1902 1903 1904	849.9 823.2 903.3 1025.7 991.1	102.9 102.8 108.4 106.2 102.7	39.9 37.1 45.4 50.0 43.6
1875 1876 1877 1878 1878	$533.0 \\ 460.7 \\ 451.3 \\ 437.1 \\ 445.8$	96.9 96.1 91.4 90.4	· · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1905 1906 1907 1908 1909	1117.5 1226.6 1434.4 1194.3 1311.9	104.9 111.9 112.2 99.0 98.0	$52.6 \\ 65.5 \\ 70.6 \\ 51.4 \\ 54.3$
1880 1881 1882 1883 1884	$\begin{array}{c} 668.0 \\ 642.7 \\ 724.6 \\ 723.2 \\ 667.7 \end{array}$	102.8 107.9 114.4 105.6 98.0	••••• ••••• ••••	1910 1911 1912 1913 1914	1556.9 1527.2 1653.3 1813.0 1893.9	103.9 100.6 100.4 100.8 96.6	80.3 64.6 70.4 87.3 73.3
1885 1886 1887 1888 1889	577.5 635.4 692.3 724.0 745.1	83.8 92.1 103.3 101.7 103.4	9.9 11.9 15.6 15.8 18.1	1915 1916 1917 1918 1919	1674.2 2197.9 2659.4 2945.7 3095.7	88.0 97.9 108.2 105.6 103.5	62.3 101.1 106.0 101.6 100.1
1890 1891 1892 1893 1894	789.3844.9827.4866.4655.0	110.1 111.2 111.7 115.0 86.9	$21.8 \\ 20.7 \\ 24.4 \\ 23.2 \\ 13.6$	1920 1921 1922 1923	$5238.4 \\ 3654.5 \\ 2608.1 \\ 4068.6$	107.7 94.3 96.3 105.1	89.4 75.8 52.6 97.8
1895 1896 1897 1898 1899	$732.0 \\ 779.7 \\ 764.7 \\ 616.0 \\ 697.1$	89.3 92.3 82.7 91.7 98.4	$21.7 \\ 27.2 \\ 21.3 \\ 30.0 \\ 32.5$				

TABLE 13-A.-INDICES OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, BY FISCAL YEARS ENDING JUNE 30TH: 1870-1923

•U. S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance. bAn average of monthly figures of an index of business conditions based upon clearings outside New York, corrected for trend, compiled by Mr. Carl Snyder, Federal Reserve Bank, New York, Journal of the American Statistical Association, September, 1924, p. 335. Annual averages computed from monthly data published in the Iron Age, and based prior to October, 1902, upon the number of furnaces in blast and thereafter upon monthly statistics of pig iron produced.

not improbable that pig iron, related as it is to other industries as well as manufacturing, may be an index of employment opportunities for immigrants at least as significant as the ordinary index of numbers employed in factories, which at best does not make adequate allowance for part-time employment.

Year	Number em- ployed in factories= (1890=100)	Miles of railroad ^b constructed	Year	Number em- ployed in factories (1890=100)	Miles of railroad constructed
1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904 1905	100.0 103.5 107.0 112.4 97.3 102.7 108.6 105.9 110.5 117.5 128.2 129.3 138.2 146.8 145.7 148.4 160.2	$\begin{array}{c}\\ 4,844\\ 3,656\\ 4,143\\ 2,899\\ 1,895\\ 2,053\\ 2,053\\ 2,163\\ 2,026\\ 3,466\\ 4,628\\ 3,324\\ 4,965\\ 6,169\\ 6,690\\ 5,084\\ 5,565\end{array}$	1910 1911 1912 1913 1914 1915 1916 1917 1918 1919 1920 1921 1922	177.7 176.9 181.2 189.5 190.3 180.4 208.3 233.9 243.3 242.2 253.0 208.1 192.7	5,908 4,740 3,301 3,003 2,511 831 1,653
1907 1907 1908 1909	170.2 162.6 165.9	6,188 3,238			

TABLE 13-B.—INDICES OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, BY FISCAL YEARS ENDING JUNE 30TH: 1890-1922

•An estimate for the United States, based upon Census of Manufactures statistics for census years and on interpolations in intervening years with the aid of State employment and unemployment statistics. •Statistical Abstract of the United States. In 1908 and the subsequent years, these data exclude switching and terminal companies hence are not strictly comparable with those for the years prior to 1908.

To indicate the extent to which the fluctuations in pig iron production are similar to those of other indices of economic conditions, there is given in Chart 8 a comparison between pig iron production and a composite index of business conditions, both expressed as deviations from computed trends. This composite index is one computed by Professor W. F. Ogburn and Dorothy S. Thomas, using nine economic series, namely: wholesale prices (1870-1913), commercial failures (1870-1920), bituminous coal production

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(1870-1920), pig iron production (1870-1920), railroad freight ton mileage (1882-1920), bank clearings outside New York (1881-1915), employment in Massachusetts (1889-1920), railroad mileage constructed (1870-1888), and imports (1870-1888).²

CHART 8

Cycles in Economic Conditions in the United States: 1870-1919.



Unit = one standard deviation

•The numerical data for pig iron are in Table 14. For source of the "Composite Index," see accompanying text.

It will be noted that all major cycles and most of the minor fluctuations are common to the two curves, that there is no lag of sufficient extent to be obvious in these annual data, and that only in a few years are changes in the two series opposite in direction. It appears that, on the whole, no marked differences in results will arise whether pig iron production or such a composite index as that plotted in Chart 8 is used in analyzing annual cycles in economic conditions.

²"The Influence of the Business Cycle on Certain Social Conditions," Journal of the American Statistical Association, September, 1922, p. 327.

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TABLE 14.—Cycles of Pig Iron Production, by Calendar Years: 1860-1919-

PIG IRON PIG IRON Pig iron YEAR YEAR YEAR PRODUCTION PRODUCTION PRODUCTION 1860 1900 -0.32+0.971880 +0.821861 1881 +0.801901 +0.28-1.23 1862 -0.991902 1882 +1.20+0.411863 -0.201883 +0.291903 -0.25-1.481864 +0.651884 -1.151904 1865 ---1.62 1885 ---1.67 1905 +1.031866 +0.09+0.171906 +1.401886 1867 -0.021887 +0.251907 +1.03-0.38 1908 -2.611868 +0.131888 1869 +0.28+0.061909 +0.321889 1870 -0.781890 +1.471910 +0.53-0.50 1871 -1.171891 +0.501911 +0.721872 +1.741892 +0.911912 +1.68+0.481873 1893 1913 ---1.16 -1.65---1.92 1874 +0.841894 1914 -0.80 +0.471915 -0.741875 1895 1876 1896 -0.77**191**6 +1.48-1.271897 -0.64 1917 +1.061877 1878 -1.20 1898 -0.03 1918 +1.421879 0.88 1899 +0.361919 -0.41

Percentage deviations from a seven-year moving average, expressed in multiples of their standard deviation (12.68 per cent)

•Computed from data given in Table 12-A for 1870-1919.

INDEXES OF EMPLOYMENT BY MONTHS

We have previously noted the desirability of a monthly index of employment conditions. For the quarter century preceding the Great War it has been possible to build up by the synthesis of somewhat fragmentary series, an index of factory employment. This index has been supplemented by an index of monthly changes in pig iron production. Charts of the cyclical movements in these two series are given in Chapter V. The methods of compilation are set forth in the subsequent pages of this chapter.

The Census of Manufactures.

The United States Census of Manufactures furnishes a virtually complete census of the number of wage earners employed in factories, by months, for the years 1899, 1904, 1914, 1919, and 1921. In taking the census of manufactures in 1899 workers in the hand and neighborhood industries were included, but in the subsequent censuses only factory workers were counted, hence in order to make the 1899 figures comparable with those for the later years, it was necessary to adjust them to exclude, as far as practicable, the number of workers in hand and neighborhood industries.

Other Available Monthly Statistics.

Although varying in their comprehensiveness and throughout a portion of the period lacking in strict continuity, monthly statistics of the average number of wage earners in Massachusetts factories are available for the period 1889 to 1922.³ For the years 1889 to 1906, inclusive, a census of manufactures was taken annually, and included the number of wage earners employed by the reporting concerns, by months, over a period of two years. The fraction of the total represented by the reporting factories varied from year to year, but, due to the fact that each annual report covers two years, it is possible to splice the reports together to produce a consecutive index.

Beginning with 1907 the annual Massachusetts Census of Manufactures is intended to be a substantially complete enumeration rather than a mere sample, and each census covers only twelve months instead of tweny-four as previously. An examination of the data indicates that for the first years following this change in method the census did not approach a complete enumeration with equal consistency; and adjustments, more completely indicated below, have been made to make the series approximately homogeneous.

Somewhat similar statistics of wage earners employed are available for New Jersey. Two special inquiries afford some evidence of employment conditions in the State from June, 1893, to May, 1895, and an annual survey of factory wage workers, by months, covers the period from 1895 to 1919, inclusive.⁴ The fraction represented by the firms reporting has not been invariable and the samples do not overlap in the way that the Massachusetts statistics did prior to 1907, so that splicing estimates have been necessary in utilizing the New Jersey statistics.

Quarterly statistics of the percentage of trade union members unemployed in Massachusetts are available beginning with 1908,

³The results of the 1923 Census of Manufactures were not available in time for use in this study.

See Table 16 on a later page in this chapter.

and have been used in supplemental studies, but have not been incorporated in the major index of employment conditions.

Similar statistics, however, for trade union unemployment in New York State, by months, have been utilized in widening the scope of our employment index during the years 1904-1914.

An index of factory employment in New York State is available beginning in June, 1914, and in the following year the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics began an index of factory employment. In the post-war period still more complete data are available. The Federal Reserve Board has consolidated various series into an index of industrial employment for the years 1919 to 1923, and has also published an "index of the labor market" showing the fluctuations in the ratio of applicants to jobs in the operations of the public employment offices during the period January, 1919, to December, 1923.⁵

Previous Studies in Employment Fluctuations.

Several economists have utilized the series described above, together with supplementary information, in the construction of more or less comprehensive estimates of the course of employment and unemployment. Mr. Hornell Hart made an estimate of the volume of unemployment by months during the period 1902 to 1917, inclusive;⁶ Mr. Ralph D. Hurlin, of the Staff of the Russell Sage Foundation utilized the Massachusetts data in constructing a picture of "Three Decades of Employment Fluctuations";⁷ and Professor William A. Berridge, in a series of valuable studies presented in the *Review of Economic Statistics* and elsewhere,⁸ has analyzed the cyclical fluctuations in employment from 1903 to date.

As employment is the primary measure of immigrant opportunity used in this study, and as it is desirable to carry our comparisons through as long a period as possible, it has seemed advisable to prepare an index especially for our purposes rather than to rely

⁶Federal Reserve Bulletin, Dec., 1923 (index of industrial employment); and Feb., 1924 ("labor market" index).

⁶Hornell Hart, Fluctuations in Unemployment in Cities of the United States, 1902-1917, Studies from the Helen S. Trounstine Foundation, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 47-59. ⁷Ralph D. Hurlin, "Massachusetts Employment in Factories," Annalist, Oct.

24, 1921, pp. 387-388.

⁸Cf. articles in the Journal of the American Statistical Association, March, 1922, pp. 42-55, and June, 1922, pp. 227-240; the Review of Economic Statistics, January, 1922, pp. 1-56; the Federal Reserve Bulletin, December 1923, pp. 1272-1279, and February, 1924, pp. 83-87; also his volume entitled Cycles of Unemployment in the United States, 1903-1922.

solely upon any of the available series or analytic studies. However, these valuable pioneer studies have been utilized in some of the subsequent comparisons, and have afforded many suggestions for the preparation of our special employment index.

Index of Factory Employment, by Months, 1889-1923.

The index of employment opportunity which is most extensively used in the subsequent chapters is an Index of Factory Employment. representing an estimate obtained by the synthesis of some of the employment and unemployment series mentioned in above para-This index covers the period from January 1, 1889, to graphs. December, 1923, by months. For 1889 to 1894 the estimate is based upon Massachusetts data; for 1895 to 1903, on statistics for Massachusetts and New Jersey; for 1904 to 1919, New York is added; and for the years subsequent to 1919, the New Jersey series ceases to be available and the index rests upon data for New York and Massachusetts alone. For the period subsequent to 1914 other employment series are available and are used to corroborate the evidence presented by the Index of Factory Employment. The methods used in welding the available fragmentary data into a continuous comparable index may be briefly summarized as follows:

- 1. The Census of Manufactures' statistics of wage earners employed in factories in the years 1899, 1904, 1909, 1914, 1919, and 1921, were adjusted for known variations in their comprehensiveness, in order to make them as comparable as possible throughout the entire period.
- 2. Estimates, by months, of the number employed in factories in each of the three States—Massachusetts, New Jersey, and New York—were made by using the Census data for the given State as basing points and interpolating between Census years by means of indexes constructed from the available employment and unemployment (inverted) data for the given State.
- 3. The separate State estimates of numbers employed were then added together to get a consolidated estimate for the groups, and from this estimate an index, with the average for 1914 =100, was computed, due allowance being made for the changes in 1895, 1904, and 1920 in the number of States included

The monthly figures for this *Index of Factory Employment*, in terms of percentages of the 1914 average, are given in Table IV in the Appendix, for the convenience of investigators who may wish

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to make use of them. More details of its construction are given in the following paragraphs.

The Estimate for Massachusetts.⁹

An examination of Chart 9 will aid in following the process used in constructing the estimate of factory employment in Massachusetts. The fragments of curves in the lower part of the chart

CHART 9

Illustration of Method of Estimating Factory Employment in Massachusetts.



•See explanation in accompanying text.

represent the unadjusted data for numbers employed in identical establishments. Each fragment is twenty-four months long and, for the second twelve months, runs substantially parallel to the succeeding fragment. The upper curve on the chart represents the revised estimate of factory employment in Massachusetts obtained by (1) splicing the fragments together at the December points which are common to two fragments, and (2) raising the resulting index to make it consistent with the complete enumeration of the Census years.

The black circle for 1899 represents the Census average for that *See Table 15.

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year adjusted for the exclusion of hand and neighborhood industries. Adjusted figures by months were not obtainable. For 1904, and all subsequent Census years, the Census monthly data represented by

						-						
YEAR	Jan.	FEB.	Mar.	Apr.	Мач	June	JULY	AUG.	Sept.	Ост.	Nov.	DEC.
1889	388	391	391	390	390	390	386	388	390	393	391	388
1890 1891	389 402	395 403	399 404	398 406	398 407	398 403	392 399	395 399	400 403	405 404	402 403	400 402
1892 1893 1894	408 423 364	413 426 370	418 432 371	425 435 378	424 434 381	418 421 373	413 399 360	414 360 352	421 337 355	426 368 382	425 368 388	421 371 384
1895	398	398 406	402	403 405	407	406	398 373	402	406 267	407	410	406
1897 1898	391 399	393 399	398 406	403 406	403	393 397	380 391	374 394	397 397	404 407	404 407	402 408
1900	417	424 462	455 463	456 456	459 454	430 446	430 430	430 437	445 444	440 449	451 450	451 452
1901 1902 1903	456 488 507	457 489 511	462 493 514	451 488 501	457 489 498	453 486 505	449 485 497	456 487 496	465 496 504	473 506 510	476 507 506	474 503 503
1904	493	493	499	497 595	492	485	473	463	474 520	495 521	497 524	499 526
1905 1906 1907	549 579	552 589	556 595	525 555 590	554 586	550 584	546 575	525 549 580	555 584	563 586	570 574	530 570 545
1908 1909	533 566	527 573	523 580	514 577	510 576	513 576	510 573	518 581	544 595	563 602	563 604	561 61 3
1910 1911	624 612	628 614	628 619	622 612	616 600	601 592	587 587	594 593	597 605	606 615	614 620	614 620
1912 1913 1914	612 640 627	642 629	621 641 634	617 630 628	620 617 619	620 611 612	595 596	614 607 589	626 617 589	638 622 591	645 625 587	640 622 580
1915 1916	584 677	592 687	600 698	598 697	595 692	597 689	596 686	608 688	619 689	639 702	651 719	659 725
1917 1918 1919	727 723 696	734 728 677	738 741 681	721 735 679	710 734 689	706 734 705	696 730 716	693 724 727	704 717 736	716 701 742	731 720 752	737 708 766
1920	757	749	756	748 578	739	720	697 579	684 584	669 506	657	611	558
1921	593*	604	603	585	584 584	588 588	589	584 603	596 629	598 649	598 662	590 662

TABLE 15ESTIMATES OF FACTORY EMPLOYMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS,
BY MONTHS, 1889-1922 ^a
Thousands of persons

•Computed, by methods described in the accompanying text, from statistics of manufactures, by months, published annually in *Public Document No. 36* by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for the years 1886 to 1907, by the Bureau of Statistics for 1908 to 1918, and by the Department of Labor and Industries subsequent to 1919. For the years 1904, 1909, 1914, 1919, and 1921 the above estimates are the U.S. Census of Manufactures' statistics for Massachusetts. A portion of the original data from which the above estimates were computed are republished in *Bulletin 310* of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

the solid black dots are used. For each intercensal period any discrepancy which appears between the index and the Census is prorated over the intervening months so that the final curve shows no sudden changes at the junctures with the Census years.

After 1907, as previously noted, the annual censuses do not overlap, and it becomes necessary to estimate the December-to-January change.

December-to-January Interpolations.

Beginning in 1907, as we have noted, the Massachusetts Census of Industries was designed to be virtually a complete census. However, on plotting the data, it became apparent that in some years, particularly in those immediately after the abandonment of the former method of making each census cover twenty-four months, in order to make the series reasonably continuous, it would be necessary to substitute for the December-to-January change which is indicated by the raw data, an estimated percentage change. This was done for the December-to-January change of 1906-07, 1907-08, 1908-09, 1909-10, 1913-14, 1914-15, and 1918-19. For the other years since 1907, it was judged, upon the basis of a comparison of the raw data, that no adjustments were necessary.

The principle upon which these interpolations were made is that the best clew to the joint effect of the seasonal and cyclical influences is found in the typical relation in the past of the Decemberto-January change to the changes in contiguous months. Two estimates were made for each year in question. For one, the median ratio in the years 1889-1906 between the November-to-December and the December-to-January movements was found and this ratio assumed to hold in the years for which the actual December-to-January movement was not known. A similar estimate was made for the relation of the December-to-January change to the January-to-February change. The two estimates were then averaged for the final estimate.

For 1923 the estimate is based upon the index of employment in Massachusetts, recently inaugurated by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics. The final result of the Massachusetts computation is an estimate of the average number of wage earners employed in factories with a product of \$500 or more, from 1889 to 1923 by months.

The Estimate for New Jersey.¹⁰

A similar estimate was constructed for New Jersey. Inasmuch as the New Jersev data are based, particularly in the early years,

TABLE 16.—ESTIMATES OF FACTORY EMI	PLOYMENT IN	New	JERSEY,
BY MONTHS: 1893-	•191 9 •		•
Thousands of pers	ons		

YEAR	Jan.	FEB.	Mar.	Apr.	May	June	JULY	AUG.	Sept.	Ост.	Nov.	Dec.
189 3 1894	 143	 143	 147	$\frac{11}{152}$	 153	196 151	178 150	160 152	$\begin{array}{c} 155\\ 156 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 155\\ 160 \end{array}$	152 165	148 162
1895 1896 1897 1898 1899	163 176 173 183 199	$164 \\ 177 \\ 179 \\ 186 \\ 203$	171 177 181 191 208	$175 \\ 177 \\ 184 \\ 192 \\ 212$	$172 \\ 173 \\ 183 \\ 192 \\ 215$	169 169 180 191 218	$167 \\ 162 \\ 173 \\ 184 \\ 210$	$171 \\ 161 \\ 175 \\ 186 \\ 215$	175 169 188 193 222	$179 \\ 172 \\ 190 \\ 196 \\ 224$	$178 \\ 170 \\ 185 \\ 195 \\ 222$	$178 \\ 173 \\ 184 \\ 195 \\ 221$
1900 1901 1902 1903 1904	225 227 251 267 259	$226 \\ 231 \\ 254 \\ 268 \\ 262$	230 235 258 274 267	232 237 263 273 269	232 238 262 273 268	228 236 257 270 264	$219 \\ 231 \\ 252 \\ 262 \\ 258 $	$220 \\ 233 \\ 257 \\ 262 \\ 264$	224 239 265 266 272	227 245 271 269 273	$225 \\ 245 \\ 270 \\ 265 \\ 269$	$225 \\ 244 \\ 269 \\ 262 \\ 267 \\$
1905 1906 1907 1908 1909	274 300 328 296 313	277 304 329 295 313	284 310 335 296 318	289 315 334 297 322	287 315 340 293 322	286 315 337 292 322	280 307 327 286 318	$282 \\ 311 \\ 329 \\ 294 \\ 324$	290 317 334 302 335	294 322 336 311 342	$296 \\ 322 \\ 323 \\ 312 \\ 343$	294 321 303 310 343
1910 1911 1912 1913 1914	343 350 359 384 376	347 352 363 385 378	354 356 367 378 381	355 358 367 375 384	354 354 372 371 383	352 352 370 369 379	340 344 365 376 371	347 350 372 385 367	352 354 379 390 372	358 358 381 392 373	360 359 386 393 362	357 355 385 386 3 56
1915 1916 1917 1918 1919	$356 \\ 446 \\ 496 \\ 518 \\ 505$	363 453 500 524 485	$\begin{array}{c} 372 \\ 465 \\ 504 \\ 533 \\ 482 \end{array}$	379 470 499 539 490	386 473 498 546 496	393 477 497 551 503	400 478 495 560 511	408 478 498 558 517	418 486 506 560 519	431 492 513 549 528	440 499 519 538 530	446 501 519 530 538

*For 1895 to 1919, the above estimates were computed, by methods described in the accompanying text, from the U. S. Census of Manufactures' statistics of numbers employed in New Jersey factories for the years 1904, 1909, 1914, and 1919, supplemented by statistics of employment in reporting factories pub-lished annually by the New Jersey Bureau of Statistics, of Labor and Industries for the years prior to 1914, and by the Bureau of Industrial Statistics of New Jersey for 1914 to 1919. The estimates prior to 1895 are based chiefly on fragmentary data contained in two special "panic inquiries" covering the periods from June, 1893, to May, 1894, and June, 1894, to May, 1895, respectively, and were not used in computing the index of manufacturing given in Table IV, in the appendix.

upon a sample representing each year a varying proportion of the total, it was necessary to make an estimate of the December-to-January movement. For the years 1889-1909 the known or estimated change in Massachusetts was used. For the years 1909-

¹⁰See Table 16.

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1914 the changes as shown by the raw data were accepted; for 1914-1919, the New Jersey data are given the same movement as exhibited by the industrially-akin State of New York.

The Estimate for New York.¹¹

In making the estimates of the average number employed in New York factories, which cover the period 1904 to 1922, inclusive, the interpolations between Census data were made for the years 1905-

YEAR	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	Мач	June	July	AUG.	Sept.	Ост.	Nov.	DEC.
1904	817	839	857	862	849	836	829	853	892	905	888	856
1905	858	872	871	899	904	902	911	920	897	917	922	930
1906	923	909	916	915	924	951	967	967	956	951	962	936
1907	963	952	963	958	946	966	990	983	942	804	801	740
1908	710	690	694	669	687	719	848	909	837	874	893	912
1909	945	971	992	989	984	981	977	999	1041	1063	1060	1045
1910	1068	1068	1039	1037	1040	1047	1073	1073	1068	1053	1049	1022
1911	1037	1059	1058	1060	1038	1060	1081	1082	1082	1082	1052	1007
1912	1046	1085	1077	1079	1050	1032	1038	1101	1107	1101	1064	1032
1913	1083	1096	1071	1069	1062	1070	1074	1076	1088	1081	1059	1023
1914	1056*	1078	1095	1084	1067	1053	1034	1037	1067	1073	1035	1015
1915	1014	1034	1033	1042	1061	1071	1059	1048	1099	1109	1150	1170
1916	1169	1199	1198	1238	1216	1215	1204	1213	1254	1253	1284	1304
1917	1291	1290	1310	1288	1276	1265	1253	1231	1251	1271	1280	1289
1918	1277	1297	1307	1295	1294	1293	1313	1280	1278	1225	1255	1244
1919	1179	1182	1188	1195	1187	1192	1228	1261	1273	1260	1282	1311
1920	1318	1305	1333	1319	1295	1283	1279	1245	1231	1207	1130	1042
1921	966¤	998	1018	1014	992	985	985	999	1028	1040	1027	1003
1922	982	1014	1025	1014	1025	1035	1035	1067	1088	1119	1140	1161

TABLE 17.---ESTIMATES OF FACTORY EMPLOYMENT IN NEW YORK STATE, BY MONTHS: 1904-1922

Thousands of persons

•The above estimates were computed, by methods described in the accompanying text, from the U.S. Census of Manufactures' statistics of numbers employed in New York factories for the years 1904, 1909 1914, 1919, and 1921, with interpolations for the intervening years computed from data on unemployment among trade union members for the years 1905 to 1913, and from data on employment in representative factories from 1915 to 1922, published by the New York State Department of Labor.

1908 and 1910-1913, inclusive, upon the basis of the trade union statistics of unemployment; and for the subsequent years upon the index of factory employment published by the New York State Department of Labor.

In utilizing the trade union figures, an index of unemployment in the factory trades, weighted by the numbers in each trade. was ¹¹See Table 17.

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computed. For the years 1909-1914, this index exhibited fluctuations considerably more violent than exhibited by the same series in 1904-1908 or by the census data in 1909 and 1914. Consequently, in order to get a consecutive series on a reasonably homogeneous basis, the fluctuations of the trade union unemployment data were scaled down in the ratio which they bore in 1914 to the fluctuations shown by the Census.

Monthly Production of Pig Iron.

For evidence supplementary to that afforded by our index of factory employment by months, we have used monthly statistics of pig iron production. The original figures were adjusted for seasonal variation by a method designed to make allowance for the tendency of the typical seasonal variation to change over a long period of years. The method used is developed by Dr. W. I. King in an article published in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association.*¹² His data, seasonally corrected, were used for the years 1905 to 1914, and together with figures obtained by similar methods for the years 1884 to 1904, were corrected for a computed trend based upon a seven-year moving average smoothed to eliminate minor irregularities. Small fluctuations were then ironed out by taking a three-month moving average of the indices obtained by correction for trend and seasonal variation. The results appear in Chart 14 in Chapter V.

The Numerical Volume of Employment and Unemployment.

Information concerning the actual number of workers represented by fluctuations in employment or unemployment is scant. We have made use, however, of two studies of this nature. The first, covering unemployment in non-agricultural occupations during the years 1902 to 1917, by months, was made by Professor Hornell Hart.¹³ The method used, as described by Professor Hart, was to ascertain for each year and month the total number of persons normally occupied in non-agricultural pursuits, and to subtract from these normal supply figures the estimated "connected demand" for labor. This "connected demand" for labor was determined "by a synthesis of widely scattered information on employment fluctuations," chiefly from various Federal and State statistical publica-

¹²"An Improved Method for Measuring the Seasonal Factor," September, 1924. ¹³Hornell Hart, Fluctuations in Unemployment in Cities of the United States, 1902 to 1917, Studies from the Helen S. Trounstine Foundation, Volume 1, Number 2.

tions. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the data available, there is necessarily a considerable margin of error in these estimates, and hence the comparisons made with their aid must be interpreted as giving roughly approximate rather than closely accurate results.

A second estimate of the actual numbers represented by fluctuations in employment is found in the study made by Dr. W. I. King for the 1921 depression period and described more fully in Volume V of the publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, *Employment Hours and Earnings in Prosperity and Depression*, 1920-1922. Based upon returns from a large number of employers in various lines of industry, estimates were made of the changes in numbers employed from the first quarter of 1920 to the first quarter of 1922, inclusive. From these estimates, which are given by industries, we have selected, in Chapter VI, those industries which are most significant from the point of view of employment opportunities for immigrants and made comparisons with the number of immigrants and emigrants during the period covered by the estimates.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The direct and indirect indices of employment conditions to be utilized in the following chapters include (1) for the entire period over which immigration statistics are available, the annual statistics of imports of merchandise; (2) for the decades between the Civil War and 1890, annual statistics of pig iron production and quarterly statistics of imports of merchandise; (3) for the period beginning in 1890, estimates of factory employment and of pig iron production, by months, and (4) particularly in the post-war years, various short-period indices of employment conditions, the description of some of which is deferred to the chapters in which they are used.

In this chapter we have noted the nature of the major series of statistics of economic conditions to be used, made some comparisons between these indices and other evidences of economic activity, and indicated the methods used in putting these employment data into convenient form for statistical comparisons. The subsequent chapters are devoted chiefly to the analysis of fluctuations in immigration with the aid of the employment indexes to which attention has been directed in this chapter.