

"My righteousness I hold fast,
and will not let
it go."

—Job, 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers
of the world
unite! You
have nothing to
lose but your
chains."

Vol. III. No. 29

New York, Friday, July 15, 1921

Price, 2 Cents

PHILADELPHIA CLOAK JOBBERS' STRIKE IN FULL SWING

The strike in the Philadelphia cloak and skirt shops belonging to the jobbers in the trade and likewise in the shops of the sub-manufacturers and "corporations," started on Wednesday last, July 6th, proved to be a splendid success. As expected, these 130 shops became vacant on that morning and the strikers all marched to the building of the Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union, at 323 North 9th Street.

The enthusiasm among the strikers is very high. They are determined to stay out on strike until the jobbers and the sub-manufacturers will concede the demands of the union. There are involved in this strike about 1,500 workers. A considerable number of them have already returned to work on Monday,—their jobbers having settled with the union in the first few days of the strike. It is generally expected in Philadelphia that the strike will not last very long.

The jobbers who have obtained settlements in the early stages of the strike have signed with the union upon depositing substantial securities binding them to have all their products made in union shops and making them responsible for every garment manufactured by them.

The Settlement Committee of the union has opened headquarters at Centinella Hotel, 9th and Chestnut Streets, where jobbers and sub-con-

tractors are to file their applications for settlement with the union. The shops on strike are rigorously picketed, and as usual several arrests have already been made in connection with the picketing. In front of some shops there have appeared some strong-arm "specials," obviously placed there for the purpose of provoking fights and giving the police an opportunity for making arrests. Of course, such steps of desperation on the part of some of the sub-manufacturers will not help them in the least. They will have to settle with the union as some of their wisser brethren have already done.

The strike affects only, as we have already stated, all shops where work is being made for jobbers. The cloakmakers employed by the regular cloak manufacturers who have agreements with the union remain in their shops ready to aid the strike in every shape and manner possible.

President Schlesinger left last Tuesday morning for Philadelphia in the interests of the cloakmakers and the waist and dressmakers of that city.

On Tuesday evening a conference took place between the Cloakmakers' Union and the Cloak Manufacturers' Association, at which President Schlesinger was present, for the pur-

pose of renewing the collective agreement in the cloak industry. This conference has nothing in common with the strike in the jobbers' shops, as these jobbers do not belong to the manufacturers' association and the union has had no agreement with them before.

The prospects for a peaceful termination of the pending negotiations in the cloak trade of Philadelphia are bright, and it is expected that the cloak employers of Philadelphia will act in this matter in a manner similar to which the cloak employers of New York, Chicago and other cities have acted.

As readers of "Justice" remember, the understanding reached between Local 15, the Waist and Dressmakers' Union of Philadelphia, and the employers' association in the trade, last spring, covering wage scales and other working conditions, was to last until July 1st when new negotiations were to be started.

Accordingly, a conference was arranged for Wednesday last, July 13th, between both parties in which President Schlesinger participated. At the time of this writing, the details of the proceedings of this conference are not yet known. We shall present to our readers a full account of these negotiations in our next issue.

INTERNATIONAL ENJOINED IN "SECONDARY BOYCOTT" SUIT

Justice Thomas F. Donnelly of the New York Supreme Court granted, Monday last, an injunction against our International to the firm of Cohen, Friedlander and Martin, cloak manufacturers of Toledo, Ohio.

It will not be amiss to give readers of "Justice" a brief account of the facts connected with this injunction suit instituted by the Toledo firm against the International in New York.

The Toledo firm has conducted a shop in that city for a number of years past, employing several hundred cloakmakers. Almost a number of weeks prior to the expiration of last season, this firm decided that it would reintroduce piece work in the shop. When the workers refused to obey their order, the firm locked out the workers from the shop. The union replied to it with a strike.

The firm could not obtain any shops in Toledo where to produce its garments and it sent out agents to New York to have its garments made up in some of the New York shops. The Toledo Cloakmakers' Union thereupon appealed to the New York cloakmakers' organization to see to it, as far as possible, that Toledo scab work be not made in the New York shops. The New York union responded to this appeal in a fraternal spirit and the Toledo firm was compelled, as a result, to peddle around with its work from one shop to another. Whenever the workers would learn that the work they were making was intended for the Toledo scab firm they would refuse continuing to make it.

The Toledo firm thereupon instituted a suit against our International claiming that it is responsible for the

fact that the New York cloakmakers would not scab on their sisters and brothers of Toledo. The firm also demanded a special injunction against President Schlesinger personally.

The decision rendered by Judge Donnelly is sweeping in its nature and, unless reversed on appeal, will establish a precedent for outside firms on strike to enter and operate in the New York market without subscribing to the agreements between the union and the various associations of their trade. The judge, in his decision, states that the facts of the case "present a clear case of secondary boycott. They, the defendants, cannot combine to force third persons to do acts undesired by them by deception, compulsion or oppression."

Where the Toledo cloakmakers or the International have used either deception, compulsion or oppression in the fact that the members of the New York Cloakmakers Union have refused to do scab work for that Toledo firm in New York City it would be quite impossible for the ordinary human mind to discern. Certainly members of one labor union belonging to a national organization would in reason be expected willingly and fully on their own accord not to injure the interests of their fellow-workers belonging to the same International without being charged as using "oppression, compulsion or oppression."

Of course, the International will appeal this case to a higher court. The decision of Judge Donnelly, we hope, will be flatly reversed as it is based neither upon reason or logic nor on equity.

CLEVELAND REFEREES RENDER DECISION ON CONTRACTORS SHOPS

The Cleveland Board of Referees, sitting in New York, rendered last week an important decision involving the question of outside contractors' shops in the city of Cleveland. The decision favors the union and establishes rigid provisions governing the right of owners of inside shops to send out work to non-union shops and fixes their responsibility for work sent out in such manner.

The decision of the Board of Referees declares that there is no difference between a shop where garments are being cut and a shop that makes up products cut for them in an inside shop. The responsibility of the owner remains unchanged in all such shops. Secondly, the decision states that manufacturers are prohibited from giving out work to so-called "family shops". Thirdly, owners are prohibited from sending work to any shops on strike until after an investigation has been made and it had been clearly established that union conditions are fully lived up to in inside shops. Each case must be investigated by itself and testimony must be taken separately in each and every instance. The decision is regarded as a distinct victory for the cloakmakers' union of Cleveland.

The Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union of Cleveland held its new delegates at an enthusiastic meeting on Wednesday, July 6th. Vice-President Perlestein officiated in the installation proceedings.

The first question taken up by the Joint Board was the renewal of the agreement which expires in December. According to its terms, three months before its expiration negotiations for a new agreement must be begun. The second question raised at the meeting was financial preparedness. It was advanced during the discussion that no matter how strong the peaceful inclinations on the part of both the workers and the employers in the city of Cleveland may be, it is far more advantageous for the union to have a strong treasury and a substantial reserve fund.

The Joint Board recommended to all locals that a tax be levied upon the members for the raising of such a reserve fund, as follows: \$20 on all men workers, \$15 on women workers over \$20 per week, and \$10 on women earning less than \$20 per week. It is to be expected that the recommendation of the Jt. Bd. will be adopted by the cloakmakers.

Emanuel Reicher Guest of Unity House This Week End

Unity House is to have another artistic treat this Saturday night. It will be in the form of a dramatic recital by Emanuel Reicher, the famous actor-manager. Mr. Reicher needs no introduction to our readers. He has long been known as one of the pioneers in the dramatic field who has striven for artistic perfection, from the point of view of the play and its production.

Business Agents' Election on Wednesday Next

The election of business agents of the Cloakmakers' Union of New York will take place next Wednesday, July 20th. Regular polling places will be established and the members will vote by ballot.

The following places have been designated as polling booths:
Public School 48, 124 West 28th Street.
219 McKibben Street, Brooklyn Office of the Joint Board.
56 East 2nd Street, corner of Second Avenue.
1714 Lexington Avenue, Harlem Office of the Joint Board.
219 McKibben Street, Brooklyn Office of the Joint Board.
59 Sackman Street, Jersey City Office of the Joint Board.
77 Montgomery Street, Jersey City Office of the Joint Board.

The balloting will continue all day on Wednesday, from 8 o'clock in the morning until 7 in the evening. It is expected that on account of the interest aroused in this election and because of the fact that it is the first of its kind for business agents in several years, large masses of cloakmakers will take part in next Wednesday's voting.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By MAX D. DANISH

RAILWAY LABOR TO HOLD REFERENDUM

THE membership of sixteen railroad labor organizations, including the "Big Four" brotherhoods, will decide, through a referendum vote by September 1st, whether to accept or reject the 12½ wage reduction that went into effect on railroads throughout the country on July 1st. This was decided last week by the chief executives and 1500 general chairmen of the railroad workers organizations in conference at Chicago.

The general chairmen decided that they could not assume responsibility for the wage reduction that was ordered by the Railroad Labor Board. It would be, indeed, neither fair nor wise on the part of the rest of the labor movement to criticize or condemn the leaders of the railway workers for their hesitation to take drastic measures to counteract the wage cut ordered by the labor board. In the face of the general anti-labor propaganda conducted by the press throughout the country and the everlasting assertions that labor was the principal factor in retarding the return to normal living conditions, such an act, for instance, as a general strike on the railways with the consequences that is likely to bring in its wake, could not be decided upon by the Chicago conference without a referendum.

Of course, it is a long time between July 1st and September 1st. It could be easily maintained that by September 1st the railway workers will have been reconciled with the wage reduction and will vote against a strike. The responsibility of throwing two million men out of work and the fact that more than five million unemployed are already crowding the streets of American cities have apparently acted as a weighty counterbalance against hasty decisions.

DISARMAMENT FORGES AHEAD

WHATEVER its practical consequences, last week will be chiefly remembered in the world's history for the first concrete step towards world disarmament made by America.

Events, indeed, followed each other with lightning rapidity. Only a week ago the House and the Senate adopted a joint resolution calling upon the President to convene a conference on disarmament of the three principal naval powers, America, England and Japan, for the direct purpose of limiting, for a certain term of years, naval armaments. The adoption of this resolution was a distinct triumph for its sponsor, Senator Borah of Idaho. Several days later President Harding has informally asked Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to participate in a conference on limitation of armaments to be held in Washington. Coupled with the announcement is an official explanatory statement that it is proposed that the Washington Conference shall discuss not only armaments, but also "all matters" pertaining to the Pacific and Far Eastern problems. Of course, this latter step would also involve the participation of China in this conference.

It would seem, therefore, that this step by the Department of State means nothing short of the essence of a world conference. In a way it could be interpreted as the finishing blow at the League of Nations. Indeed, if such matters of world-wide importance like disarmament, the

settlement of Far Eastern Affairs, the problem of the "open door" in the Pacific, are to be settled by a special world conference of the principal powers without even the cooperation of the League of Nations, the helplessness and the futility of the latter institution cannot be emphasized any stronger.

BRITISH RAILMEN STAND BY THOMAS

LAST week witnessed another echo of the recently settled British miners' strike. It came in the form of a general refusal of J. H. Thomas for the supreme leadership of the Railwaymen's Union of England at a conference held by that organization at Newcastle.

It will be recalled that Thomas was the head of the Triple Alliance, the federation of the British railwaymen, miners, transportation workers effected for the purpose of mutual offense and defense in times of emergency. During the miners' strike, it will be recalled, this Triple Alliance was relied upon to call out the railwaymen and the dock workers in a sympathetic general strike to aid the miners. During the preparatory stages for this general walkout it became, however, apparent that neither the dockmen nor the railwaymen and their leaders were unanimous for a general tie-up of the country. When it became known that Hodges, the leader of the miners, was making independent overtures to leaders of Parliament for a settlement of the strike resting upon a promise of future arbitration, the leaders of the Alliance, headed by Thomas, called off the plans for the general strike.

This act has brought down at that time considerable wrath upon the head of Thomas. Later he went to America to represent the British Trades Union Congress at the American Federation of Labor convention at Denver. Though heckled by a number of Irish patriots, Thomas impressed the A. F. of L. convention as a man of remarkable ability, fearlessness and integrity. He returned to England in time for the special convention of his organization at Newcastle. The resolution for unseating Thomas was, it appears, introduced by the executive committee of the Railwaymen's Union. His popularity and genuine leadership, however, proved too much an obstacle to overcome for his opponents, and after this resolution was defeated another motion confirming the appointment of Thomas was carried by a vote of 57 to 17.

It would seem therefrom that, all reports to the contrary notwithstanding, the course adopted by Thomas on matters of recent trade union policy in England has been abundantly sanctioned by the men of the rank and file who represented the railwaymen of England at the Newcastle conference.

UNEMPLOYMENT STILL RISING

THE monthly industrial survey of the employment service of the U. S. Department of Labor shows that employment took another slump of 2.9% in the United States from June 1st to July 1st and 6.2% from January 31st to July. The figures are based on a survey of 1428 firms employing 1,660,000 persons in 65 industrial centers.

Practically all industries with the exception of leather, tobacco, glass, food, show a decided decrease. Unemployment still prevails on a high

scale throughout New York State, New York City showing a decline of 5.5% in the number employed in the plants covered by the report. The cities reporting the greatest employment decreases during June are Syracuse, San Francisco, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Bridgeport, Conn., Baltimore, Newark, N. J., Pittsburgh, Pa., Chicago, Ill., and a number of other less important industrial centers. Only a few towns here and there report slight increases in the number of employed.

What is most depressing in the absence of any signs of a return to normal conditions. What with the continued slump of export aid the unfavorable balance of exchange with Europe the indication would seem to be just to the contrary. When added that we are faced with the imminent possibility of the passage of the Fordney tariff bill, ostensibly designed for the relief of domestic industrial conditions, but obviously purported to stifle imports into America, the prospects for a revival of industry are meagre indeed.

LIGHT ON THE LEGION

THERE have appeared during the last few weeks in the liberal weekly, The Nation, several articles on the American Legion, which we commend to the attention of the readers of Justice. They throw abundant light upon the policy and methods of the Legion, an organization of ex-servicemen banded together ostensibly for the purpose of preserving war-time associations and the spirit of "comradeship" formed during the days of the World War.

In these articles the American Legion is charged with lawlessness and having violated times without number its oath to uphold the laws of the land. The list of offenses charged against the Legion runs from breaking up peaceful meetings to the kidnapping two weeks ago of Kate Richards O'Flaherty, the Socialist speaker. Arthur Warner, the author of these articles presents dates, places and details of the specific cases referred to in these charges. The author points to the fact that the Legion has "carelessly thrown to the wolves" the clause in its constitution forbidding its participation in politics. He cites a number of cases of the Legion's meddling in politics, including the Legion's declaration for rigid restriction of immigration, total exclusion of the Japanese, military training, deportation of Victor Berger, publication of the slacker list asked against the release of conscientious objectors and amnesty for political prisoners.

It is, indeed, a wholesome sign of the awakening of the public conscience and of a general return to sanity, this merciless exposure of a quasi-military organization hide-bound with anti-labor and reactionary influence. Along with the Ku Klux Klan, the Legion stands for all that is dark and retrogressive in American life. Only not so long ago it was "our boys' peace of mind, if not safety, to speak out against this special American product of post-war chauvinism. It should be a matter of sincere gratification to every lover of freedom in this land that at last, together with the waning of the war hysteria, its by-products, such as this Legion, are being subjected to the merciless glare of public exposition and are gradually losing their influence for evil.

MORE HOPE FOR MOONEY?

WE have been accustomed to hear so often of near, releases of Mooney and his fellow martyrs that we are inclined to treat the latest news about their coming freedom with caution and considerable incredulity.

Nevertheless, standing by themselves these stories would seem to indicate that the case of Mooney would not rest and that the innocence of the victims of that horrible Preparedness Day conspiracy in San Francisco is bound to come out sooner or later. It would appear now that the authorities of San Francisco have decided that Mooney and Billings have been in jail long enough and that it is time to substitute someone else in their stead. It is now, accordingly, being asserted that a certain Frederick Emond, an L. W. now in jail for the violation of war time laws and who was the real perpetrator of the Preparedness Day bomb outrage of 1916 for which Mooney and Billings are serving life sentences. These charges have also been substantiated by Chauncey McGovern, the hand-writing expert who had played a prominent part in the Mooney trial, and who now discovered in this Emond the person who had written threatening letters to Mayor Ralph of San Francisco and the warnings prior to that parade in July, 1916.

The matter has now been turned over to a special Grand Jury for action. From the earmarks of this story it would appear that if the San Francisco authorities manage to place these charges together and find a plausible excuse for the releasing of Mooney and Billings, that their prison days are numbered. Of course, there is not a bit of sincerity or genuine effort to recant for the horrible injustice meted out to Mooney and Billings evident in these proceedings. If the powers that be on the Pacific Coast had really wanted to free Mooney on the merits of his innocence, the revelation of the perjuries committed by the witnesses against them during their trial would have been more than sufficient to accomplish that purpose. The persecutors of Mooney, however, want to save their faces by continuing the jail life of two other unfortunate in the place of the reluctantly given up Mooney and Billings. Perhaps in that, and in that alone, there lies a ray of hope for these two martyrs of labor.

HOWAT FOUND GUILTY

Alexander Howat, president of the Kansas district, United Mine Workers, together with Vice-President Dorchy, have been found guilty of violating the Allen "seditious" law. The court gave the jury both a felony and a misdemeanor charge. They were found guilty of a misdemeanor and were released on bond pending appeal.

"The unionists give no indication of accepting the law, and they are backed by the organized trade union movement of this state. The workers' determination has created a condition for Governor Allen and his supporters similar to the man fighting the bear.

In commenting on his conviction President Howat said: "I am guilty of a felony or guilty of nothing. It was the judge's instructions that did it."

SWEDEN'S NEW WORK HOURS

Both Houses of Parliament in Sweden have passed a bill regulating working hours on the basis of those laid down at the Washington labor convention.

Exemptions, however, have been provided for, and the eight-hour working day will not be rigidly applied in establishments employing less than five people. Persons employed in hospitals and restaurants also may be called on to work far longer periods.

Pages From Garment Trades History

By DAVID F. BERENBERG

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

The new International had a great field to traverse and a great many things to learn. It set out on its task, hardly knowing how great the difficulties would be. It had to contend with opposition and misrepresentation from the outside, and with grumbling and criticism in its own ranks. And yet it grew, in spite of all opposition and all grumbling.

The light trades, dresses and waists and children's clothes, employed, from the beginning, a goodly number of girls. Many of these girls were only working until their chance came to get married. Then "good bye shop." That was the way many of them felt, and the more serious-minded girls who tried to organize were often heart-broken by their attitude. Then suddenly, in the fall of 1930, came a change. The conditions in the light trades at that time were very bad. Seasonal unemployment was worse in this part of the garment industry than in any other. The union was weak; many of the shops were not organized at all. As we look back now to the days of the first big strike in the ladies' waist industry many things meet our eyes that look like miracles.

When the great strike started, people said, "It will not last. The

girls won't stick." They did stick. Through the long weeks of hardship they fought like old-timers. They often had to meet with the opposition of their people at home, who could not understand the new spirit that had come over them. They went to the picket line—they called it the "bitcher-shop"—day after day. They were arrested, bullied and beaten by the police. They were sent to the island, sneered at by the newspapers, and subjected to all sorts of insults by passers-by. It made them fight all the harder. When their terms on the island were over they went back to the picket line as if nothing had happened.

They were their struggle. Their long and dignified strike made such an appeal to the sense of fair-play and decency of "the public," that college girls and society women came out on the picket line to help them. The public that had begun by sneering against the girls as a "bunch of foreigners," ended by applauding their courage and determination. They won, not only an increase in wages and a reduction in hours—they also won the recognition of their union. They did more; they taught their own fellow-workers the value of sticking together.

The strike of 1930 is a landmark in the history of the International. It was followed by a strike of even

larger proportions, of greater dramatic interest, and of more far-reaching results. In 1930 the Cloak and Suit makers went out on strike. When the strike started not more than 15,000 of the Cloakmakers belonged to the Union. More than that worked without union cards. When the strike call came, the response to it took even the Union officials by surprise. Between 35,000 and 60,000 men walked out. The Cloak and Suit industry was at a stand-still.

The men stayed out nine weeks. During this time the employers used every weapon they knew to destroy the strikers. They lied to the public about the strikers and their leaders. They brought injunction suits. They tried to get scabs. It did not do them any good. The workers were aroused. They knew what they wanted, and they intended to stay out until they got what they were after. The strike soon became so dramatic that "the public" became interested. Efforts were made to settle the strike by arbitration. At last these efforts were successful, but the settlement was a complete victory for the workers.

A new era now began in the ladies' garment industry. This strike ended in the adoption of the new famous garment industry, which marked a great step forward in the history of industrial conflicts. The Protocol was an agreement, but there had been agreements before. The Protocol granted the demands that the men had worked for, the fifty-hour week, an increase of wages, and the union shop. But it did more. It recognized

that the workers were as much interested in the industry as the employers, and it gave the workers a share in the government of the industry. It established the system of inspection boards, which have prevented much tyranny by the employers. It established the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which has the power to insist on certain standards of health and decency in the factories.

The Protocol attracted the attention of students of the labor movement all over the world. It has been made the model for similar agreements in a number of cases.

While the International grew and developed rapidly, it must not be thought that its progress was always easy. Even the victories that were gained were won at the expense of tremendous effort and self-sacrifice. There were strikes that were not won. In Montreal, in Cleveland and elsewhere the workers had important strikes. But in spite of temporary defeats and set-backs, the International went ahead. There was still grumbling within. The opposition on the outside grew greater as the Union grew stronger. In those days nobody used the word "Bolshevik." But every employer called the union a "socialist" organization, and an organization of "foreigners" in an effort to discredit it in the eyes of the American public. The organization was proud of its socialist character, and its members were not ashamed of being "foreigners." So it went on growing until it became one of the strongest unions in America.

Among The Custom Dressmakers

By J. BERNADSKY

The warm season has brought slack conditions in our trade together with a multitude of complaints. Now that the season is over, some of our employers have apparently made up their minds to square accounts with those of their workers who were not sufficiently "obedient" to suit their tastes during the busy months. The complaints are varied: discharges, unequal distribution of work, reduction in wages—under the pretext that living has become cheaper in New York. It is peculiar how practically all the bosses in our trade grind the same song about the reduced cost of living!

So far all these complaints have been settled to the satisfaction of the members of the union. We just let our bosses know that in case they persist in giving trouble to the union, during slack time, that they will have to pay dearly for it when the season comes "round." It would appear that this admonition has helped quite a bit. We hope that we will not be faced with any acute fighting and should some of the more obstinate employers make up their minds to measure strength with the union, it stands ready to convince them that they have acted in poor judgment this time.

At our last general meeting, the new agreement which is to go into effect in September 15, 1931, was discussed. During the last few years we have been renewing in our trade the agreement without practically any change except as to work-hours. This time, however, there have accumulated a number of questions which must be, once for all, definitely decided.

These problems have made it rather difficult for the union to convince new shops. Take, for in-

stance, the question of equal distribution of work or of overtime during the slack season, when so many workers are idle; or the question of sanitary conditions in the shops. In the custom dressmaking shops this last point is a matter of considerable importance, and in our next agreement we expect to have these improvements inserted without fail. We hope that our bosses will not display any particular stubbornness and will sign the agreement without much ado.

Recently, the question of "shop committees" has become quite popular in some locals of our International. When one speaks with the adherents of this scheme one is always likely to meet with the argument that "the union officers would not permit the members to be active for fear that they might lose their job." Is this true? Do not they know that the officers of the union are deeply interested that the workers in the shops become ever better and ever more active union men and women?

We are mentioning this fact because our own Executive Board has called together, two weeks ago, a conference of shop committees and proposed to them a plan for stimulating activity among our members in the shops. They were prompted to make this proposal, firstly, because we are very eager to create a more active and intelligent element of workers in our shops, and secondly, because we need such type of workers in order to aid the union in its organization work. They may call it "shop committees" or any other name, for what does it matter, as long as these members will aid the union in strengthening the organization and increasing its control. Our Executive Board

members are not a bit afraid of losing their posts. On the other hand, they would be mighty glad for others to come and take their places and continue their work.

Our committees have been active within the last few weeks in distributing quantities of circulars around the non-union shops, and we have, as a result of this work, organized several shops. In these new shops, the workers are already enjoying union conditions and feel quite contented. In the other non-union shops the work of organizing continues rather tardily but we hope that these, too, will be union shops before long.

We request all members of International locals not to ask for work in the following shops: Hattie Carnegie, 86th St. and Broadway; B. Gold, 2228 Broadway; Gold-Ruby, 167 W. 97th St.; Madame Karuse, 195 Lenox Avenue.

Working in the above mentioned

shops is equal to scabbery as it would encourage the bosses to introduce the "open shop" evil in our trade.

We wish to remind our readers that they will shortly receive letters from the union containing notices of arrears in dues and assessments. Do not hesitate and come to the office and pay your debts to the organization.

A few words to our members concerning vacation.

We know that a great many of our members are making ready to leave for a rest in the country. We would advise them, upon this occasion, to make use of the opportunity offered by the Joint Board of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union and to spend their vacation in the Unity Home. The Unity Home offers rest and amusement and comfort that cannot be duplicated anywhere for a much higher price. We expect members of Local 90 to spend their vacation at Unity House in Forest Park.

Union Health Center Raises Charges To Non-Participating Locals

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Union Health Center, held on July 6th, a resolution was adopted to charge the members of all locals of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, except Locals No. 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 23 and 35, for medical services \$1.50 for each examination and treatment, leaving the charge of \$1.00 to the members of Locals 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 23 and 35.

This applies only to the Medical Division and does not apply to the Dental Division, where all charges will remain the same to members of all Locals of the International.

This action was necessary for the reason that Locals 1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 23 and 35 are paying extra for medical

treatment of members of their Locals and it would seem unfair for members of other Locals to receive the same privileges without their Locals paying for them.

The report of the United Construction Accountants has been received on the cost of the building, which has been shown to be \$32,000, all of which, except \$13,000, has been contributed by the six locals.

An extensive and intensive educational campaign to acquaint the members of the International with the work of the Union Health Center will be undertaken in the fall with the hope that all our members will take advantage of all the medical and dental facilities of the Union Health Center.

JUSTICE

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EDITORIALS

THE PHILADELPHIA CLOAKMAKERS' STRIKE

The history of the last few years of our International offers the most convincing proof of its desire to avoid strife where strife can be avoided. Its best efforts have been devoted to avert conflicts where a possibility, no matter how meagre, existed for peaceful settlement. Its greatest victories were accomplished as a result of peaceful negotiations.

The present strike of the cloakmakers in the Philadelphia shops belonging to jobbers, sub-manufacturers and contractors—a strike ordered in spite of rather unfavorable industrial conditions—has, nevertheless, received the full sanction of the International. The response to the strike call was remarkable for its unanimity and offers additional proof that the walkout was ordered not because of any whim or caprice or on account of some trifling cause, but because it involved no less an issue than the very existence of our Philadelphia Union.

It must be stated here that the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union has but recently concluded an agreement with the local Cloak Manufacturers' Association. Most of these employers are abiding by the terms of the agreement, and their shops have not been affected by the walkout. There have, however, come to the surface during the last few years in Philadelphia a number of small shops, the so-called "corporation" shops and shops belonging to sub-contractors where cloak jobbers have been making up their garments at ridiculously low prices. In these small shops the "sweating" business of old was in full swing and, it is needless to emphasize, that with 1,500 cloakmakers in Philadelphia working for meagre pay and under unspeakable conditions in competition with the Union shops, the latter could not have lasted very long. They would either be compelled to close down or sink to the level of these scab nests.

Under such conditions the Union, of course, had little choice but to order a strike in these shops. The jobbers who supply these sweatshops with work had to be made to realize that they cannot get their orders filled except under Union conditions and that they cannot get their work done cheaper than the legitimate manufacturers who comply with all Union standards.

This cloak strike, therefore, has a double significance: It is a definite step in the direction of abolishing the scab nests that threaten the existence of the Union in Philadelphia, and it is a notice and warning to the jobbers that they cannot stimulate and develop such a state of affairs. We are confident that this strike will not be a prolonged affair. The reply of the workers in these shops to the call of the Union is in itself the best guarantee for its success. On the other hand, the Philadelphia cloak jobbers are practical business men, and after they will have found out that the Union means business and that they cannot get their work done except under full Union conditions, they will accept the inevitable.

The Union is equally determined to settle once for all the small-shop problem in Philadelphia. These shops have, perhaps, lulled themselves into a sense of security during the last few years and a feeling of immunity against Union control, largely because of their "mosquito" size. This time, however, these illusions will be made to disappear. If they are to remain, these shops will be put under the rigid control of the Union, under the same scale of wages and standards as prevail in the bigger Union shops. If they refuse to abide by these terms, their complete elimination from the Philadelphia cloak market is inevitable.

AN INJUNCTION THAT MUST BE APPEALED

In a decision handed down a few days ago by Justice Donnelly in the New York Supreme Court, the International is permanently restrained from "interfering with the making of any of the products" of the firm of Cohen, Friedlander & Martin, of Toledo, Ohio, in any of the shops controlled by the Union, no matter where located.

It is an amazing injunction. Through this writ New York union workers can be compelled to make the work of a firm against which their brothers are on strike in another city. In case they refuse to do this scab work, they can be, according to the terms of this injunction, adjudged of criminal conduct, and the Union, the entire International, cited in contempt of court and face severe punishment.

This is, in brief, the substance and the aim of the Donnelly injunction. Needless to say that the International can not meekly submit to such an injunction. To abide by its terms without a fight would mean the giving up of the very basic principle of unionism, the principle of mutual aid in case of emergency. If a labor union is deprived of this right, it loses its reason for existence. On the other hand, not to obey this injunction would mean the taking up of a fight against the courts. As a consequence the Union finds

entire International, cited in contempt of court and made to face severe punishment.

IN THE PHILADELPHIA DRESS INDUSTRY

A few months ago the dress and waist manufacturers in Philadelphia presented, as the fashion is these days, a set of demands to the Waist and Dressmakers' Union of that city. They demanded a reduction of prices, the absolute right of discharge of workers and similar other drastic innovations. The Union, of course, would not concede these demands, and for a time it looked as if a general strike was imminent. After a number of conferences between the Union, represented by President Schlesinger, and the leaders of the employers' association, and also thanks to the intervention of Mayor Moore of Philadelphia, the waist manufacturers have, however, agreed to allow things to remain as before until July 1st, when negotiations would begin anew over these demands of the employers.

In the course of the next few days the first conference on this subject will be held. At the time of this writing the outcome of these negotiations is still very much in the dark. Will the dress employers of Philadelphia still insist upon their attitude of a few months ago? Will it have to come to a test of strength? Or have they finally realized that their demands cannot and will not be conceded by the Union, no matter what come?

The status quo decided upon during the Spring conferences was based principally upon the general uncertainty of the factors involved in the situation. While the general press spoke of material reductions in the cost of living, it was obvious to all that the price of almost all living necessities was as high as during the years of the war. It was calculated that an interval of a few months would clear up this mooted question and would strengthen the position of either one or the other party to this controversy. Can it be honestly asserted at present that the slump in the cost of living has actually arrived? Of course not. Most articles of food, shelter and clothing are still as forbiddingly high as before. It is true the price of automobiles has come down, but, as known even to manufacturers, automobiles find but few consumers among workers. It would, therefore, appear to be perfectly clear that if the dress and waist employers of Philadelphia had consented last Spring to postpone the question of a reduction in wages until July, in the expectation of cheap prices, that they should logically consent to a further postponement of their demands for a few more months.

There is another point to be considered. During the last few months our International has concluded a two-year agreement with the dress and waist manufacturers of New York upon the same terms and conditions as existed during the war years. Agreements based upon similar terms have also been concluded by the International with the cloak manufacturers of New York, Chicago, Baltimore and Cincinnati. These employers have conceded the fact that the time for wage reduction is not yet at hand. It is difficult to see, therefore, upon what logical ground the dress and waist employers of Philadelphia can refuse to accept such a just and reasonable proposition. They should, in reason and justice, consent to wait a few more months, as the cloak employers of New York and Chicago have consented.

We may, therefore, reasonably expect that the coming conferences in Philadelphia will terminate peaceably. President Schlesinger will, we are certain, contribute his best efforts toward the attainment of such a result. Outcome of negotiations do not, however, at this time, depend upon dictates of reason and justice. The Union is, therefore, ready to face the situation in perfect calmness. Whatever the result of these conferences, the Philadelphia waist and dress makers will defend their right to work and live under humane conditions with every ounce of strength they possess.

AN IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD

In a former issue of "Justice" we have engaged in a pessimistic prophesy concerning the outcome of the Socialist Party Convention in Detroit. We are doubly pleased therefore to be able to state at present that we have erred in our judgment.

The decision of the Detroit Convention to make common cause with all other radical groups in America is, indeed, an epoch-making event. American Socialists, it seems, have finally come to the rational conclusion that today, less and less than at any other time in the history of the world, the policy of isolation and of clinging to old slogans in the blissful expectation that the world would, somehow or other, come to accept their holy gospel, is impractical, illogical and erratic. In America, we must be frank, the Socialist Party has heretofore had the semblance of a foreign growth without a footing upon our soil. DeLeonism, though officially banned, has, nevertheless, not lost its hold upon American Socialists through all these years, and whatever deviated, in the least, from accepted Socialist dogma was regarded as harmful heresy and was proscribed. It was this state of affairs that has made it possible for a number of groups, mostly foreign, within the party after they had found out that they were not Socialists but Communists, to all but shatter the entire structure of the party to a frazzle. Indeed, it appeared that while the Socialist Party was in America, it depended for its functioning upon the good will of the Finnish, Russian, Jewish and such other federations, themselves without hardly any rooting upon American soil. And the waves of the reaction that followed has put almost the finishing touches upon whatever was left from the internal upheaval.

It was this state of affairs that has made it possible for the Detroit Convention must have had in mind when they have finally gathered courage enough to break with their old isolation policy, and to decide for an alignment of forces—whenever expedient—with other radical and progressive elements in the land. They their present meagre forces will not bring a social revolution in have at last come to realize that the Socialists themselves with this country. They have finally come to realize that these days, when reaction is in the saddle and sweeping everything in view,

Educational Comment and Notes

Arthur Glensow's New Booklet

Our readers may recall that last winter Arthur Glensow, the well-known authority on labor education, published a pamphlet on the subject of workers education in America. This was the first attempt at the study of the effort of American workers to develop their own educational activities.

This book fills a need, and the demand for it was so great that the first edition was exhausted in a comparatively short time. Its success prompted the Bureau of Industrial Research to issue a second edition of the pamphlet.

Although this book is a second edi-

tion of the original booklet, it is nevertheless but little related to the first and contains a substantial amount of new information. It has a great deal of facts omitted in the first issue and devotes considerable space to the educational activities of our International, giving a generous account of the aims and the work of this department.

In addition this pamphlet contains valuable articles on methods for organizing workers' classes and other helpful material. We recommend it highly to our members. The booklet is published at 50 cents, but can be obtained at the office of our Educational Department for 25 cents.

At The Villa Anita Garibaldi

As the readers of Justice know, the Italian Drom and Wainmakers' Union, Local No. 89, have taken a lead out of the book of experience of their sister organizations in the west and from trades and labor unions in the east and have shared a summer holiday of their own at Staten Island near Midland. Several weeks ago the opening of this summer home of our Italian fellow workers took place at which a number of high officers and leaders of our International, including President Schlesinger and Secretary Russell, were present.

The summer home of the Italian Wait and Drommakers is called "Villa Anita Garibaldi," named after the wife of the celebrated Italian leader and "Father of Modern Italy," Giuseppe Garibaldi, whose name is a household word among liberty-loving and progressive Italians the world over. The house is situated in wonderful surroundings and is within short commuting distance from New York. In addition, it affords its visitors an opportunity for water sports as it is located just far from one of the best-known swimming beaches near New York.

This is what the House Committee of the "Villa Anita Garibaldi," have to say about the way our Italian friends have spent the Fourth at their summer colony:

"Our home is in full swing. The Fourth of July celebration brought out a big crowd, more than the home could hold, and we were compelled to turn away many friends who were eager to spend the three days' holiday with us.

"The one hundred and fifty guests at the Villa Anita have enabled our guests to escape the sultry heat of the city by seeking refuge in the

cooling breezes on the sands of Midland Beach which is a short walking distance from the Villa. The celebration was informal and all the visitors took part in games and entertainments sponsored by themselves. Brother Antonini, the Secretary of Local 89, delivered a short address in commemoration of the birthday of Giuseppe Garibaldi which occurs on July 4th, and is therefore a significant date for every Italian no matter where found.

While most of the visitors were members of Local 89, we also had a goodly sprinkling of members of Local 48, the Italian Clothing Workers Union and some from the Abolished Clothing Workers. We also had among the visitors an executive officer of the Grand Lodge of the Order of the Sons of Italy of the State of New York. We also wish to say that a group of Jewish girl friends have sent to us a beautiful statuette as a token of appreciation of the hospitality extended to them on the day of the opening celebration on June 4th.

The home is now running on a normal basis and only a few places are still left open for additional vacationists. The Executive Committee is doing its best to put in all necessary improvements. Our kitchen is turning out delectable food, and so far there have been no complaints regarding either its quality or quantity. Our Dance Hall is now completed and dancing will go on every evening.

We hope that all the members of Local 89 and our friends will take advantage of the opportunity offered to them and spend a couple of weeks at the Villa Anita Garibaldi where the only motions are Joy and Recreation.

History of the American Labor Movement

By MAX LEVIN

Outlines of lessons given in the Unity Centers of the I. L. C. W. U.

Lesson IV

1860-1890

I. THE CIVIL WAR

- During the Civil War trade unions grew in strength and number.
- Many local, national and international unions and about thirty city trade assemblies were organized.
- Reasons:
 - Recessions demand for war supplies.
 - Industry prospered and rapidly expanded.
 - Great accumulation of wealth by the capitalists.
 - High cost of living.
 - Wages practically remained on the pre-war level.

II. CIVIL WAR OVER

- Beginning of working class consciousness:
 - Great industrial centers being established.
 - Accumulation of wealth by the few.
 - Sharp contrast between wealth and poverty.
 - Abolition of slavery brings forth discussion of labor problems.
 - Influence of "International Workingmen's Association" about this time organized in Europe.
- Tendency towards increased political and industrial activity.
- Tendency towards centralized organization of trade and labor unions.

III. NEW ATTEMPTS OF FEDERATION AND AMALGAMATION

- The National Labor Union was organized in 1869:
 - The basis of its organization was the city assemblies.
 - It did not restrict the form of organization of craft unions.
 - It stood for the eight-hour day, cooperative stores and workshops, etc.
 - During its life it was the only day for federal employees was established by act of Congress in 1869.
 - It maintained a liberal attitude towards women and negro workers.
 - It began to decline in 1869 and disappeared in 1872.
- The Knights of St. Crispin (organized 1869):
 - Order of organization that was household order; lodge, state grade lodge and international grade lodge.
 - Its membership consisted chiefly of shoemakers and at one time numbered as many as 100,000 members.
 - It also was immediate improvement of conditions and cooperative workshop as the ultimate ideal.
- The crisis of 1873, internal dissensions, competition of unskilled labor due to mechanical division of production in the shoe industry, etc., broke this organization.
- The Knights of Labor (organized 1869):
 - The History of the Knights of Labor is one of the most absorbing chapters of the American labor movement. It was organized at Philadelphia by a rather radical group of men. At a short time it became the first labor organization in America to assume the proportions of a national movement. At first it was a secret organization very much on the style of the Masons and was known to the world by its emblem consisting of five stars. However, with its rapid growth alarm spread and it met with the bitter opposition of the press, the clergy, etc., and in 1861 it was decided to make its plans public.
 - The theories of the Knights of Labor may be summarized from the following brief quotations from its constitution: "The right to life carries with it the right to the means of living," "burden of toil or slave the moral and social condition of mankind is the proper stage and field of operation, etc.," "Injury to one is injury to all."
 - The organization of the Knights of Labor was highly centralized. It consisted of local, district (five or more assemblies) and state assemblies. The character and rules of the assemblies were defined entirely by the Governing General Assembly. Its membership was not restricted to workers only, on the contrary it called upon all "those who believe in the greatest good for the greatest number." It called upon all the workers—skilled, unskilled, men, women of all classes to unite in one union irrespective of trade or craft.
 - In 1868 the Knights of Labor waged one of the most aggressive and successful strikes in the history of the American labor movement against the Great Railroad System. During this strike methods of the nature of sabotage were introduced.
 - The Knight of Labor reached its greatest strength in 1869 when its numbered about 800,000 members. Since then it steadily declined.
 - The failure of the Knights of Labor is generally ascribed to:
 - Its failure to emphasize the fundamental difference between the wage-earning class and the employing class.
 - The adoption of the theory, too early in the industrial development, that the interests of the skilled and unskilled workers are identical.

Caution! This is not a complete lesson. It is merely a suggestive outline.

A Letter From Helen Keller

(Reprinted from the Unity House Journal.)

25 Seminole Avenue,
Forest Hills, L. I., N. Y.,
January 31, 1921.

I am deeply interested in the "Workers' Unity House" project. I congratulate "Local 25" upon the splendid and good cause they have taken up, "Unity House" project. The idea is a splendid one, and I admire the perseverance and self-sacrifice of the Workers' Committee in carrying it out.

I suppose I am not a "worker" in the sense in which the word is generally used. But I love all the workers of the world, and I am conscious of my oneness with them in their struggle to free themselves from the economic despotism which destroys their body and soul. Their hopes, their sorrows, their aspirations are

interwoven into the very mesh of my thoughts, my dreams and my sympathies.

I love to think of the young girls and the women and their children in the delightful environment of the Blue Ridge Mountains. When they enter the door of "Unity House," they will leave behind them for a little while the hard conditions that make existence such a burden. I hope they will be able to forget the anxieties, the high prices, the low wages, the strikes and the endless brutalities which are an integral part of the wage-system. They will need all the sunshine and strength and happiness they can find in wood and lake and hillside. For, when I misinterpret the signs of the times, the future is full of trials for those who do the work of the world. The days

spent at "Unity House" will be a bright memory between two darknesses—an oasis in the midst of a desert. Most of us can survive our courage to meet any hardship if we know there is a bit of holiday ahead of us. It is the monotony of the struggle that breaks the spirit and makes the days drag with the length of weariness. A few days of rest and fun and fellowship are as refreshing to the tired body as rain to the parched earth.

I hope that the splendid example of the men and dreamers will be followed by other workmen everywhere. Only by organization can they hope to meet and resist the forces that prey upon them. By united effort alone can they humanize the savage conditions under which they live and labor. Not until all workers, men and women, become thoroughly class-conscious and act together can they change the unjust and destructive system from which we suffer for a noble and better society.

Organization, not platitudes, will

save the world. It is organization and steadfast purpose that the weak are need, not eloquence, not even great leaders to win. Let "Local 25" store up all the sunshine and vigor and health they will breathe in with the summer air at Forest Park against the day when they will be called upon to make the Supreme Sacrifice. For, remember, great victories must be paid for with great heroism. Let us join ourselves with all who hunger and are homeless, with all who toil, with all the unemployed and the dispossessed. Let us make their cause our cause with the strength of mind and soul and the generous might of the earth. Let us stand firmly together, loyal to our class whatever happens, true to the proletarian movement, though all the powers of darkness mobilize to crush us. Let the lessons of "Unity House" be given upon the hearts of those who go there—the comfort, the peace, the freedom, the beauty they will enjoy because of right to all men.

HELEN KELLER.

The House of Unity

A Letter by a Visitor

Through human ingenuity and unceasing improvements and contrivances, life is made sweet and pleasant at Unity House. At the end of a winding path lies Unity Lake—the "Lake of Youth," a product of nature's splendor and generosity. It stretches far and wide, a bed of silver surrounded by high, green walls of beautiful trees. And over it all the sky, great, wide—now deep blue and clear, now strewn with opaque lazy clouds. Enraptured by these beauties, one can readily believe that here somewhere is to be found the "Fountain of Youth."

Through the crystal waters of the lake, countless fish can be seen gliding and rushing hither and thither, driven either by a conscious will or by some mysterious force. And the woods, with its numberless creatures, struggling for existence, the singing of the birds, the whirling of the insects, the quiet, mysterious rustling of the leaves, transport one to thoughts of pious prayer. This place is sacred, Man, so take off your shoes as you approach it!

From many a shop and factory the young folks flock to this place, all sorrows, grievances and bitter feelings left behind. Here are all united by one idea—to enjoy life, to revel in the beauty and wonder of nature. These young folk have to contend

with grief, sorrow and heart-rending toil in the long dreary months of the year. But now, they forget those; their problems are no more. Their only desire is to get as close as they can to nature, to be part of it. Joy and love lives here. Is there anything sadder in all the universe than the human heart filled with sincere devotion to the human kind?

Listen to their folk songs! How human, how sweet! Is there anything that can challenge the depth of feeling of the "plain folk?" Folk songs are the expression of the people. Their melodies are the stories of ages of strife. The vastness of the ocean is but a plaything in comparison with the human soul! To miss listening to the folk songs, or watching the folk dances and games, is to miss dear moments, indeed. Those who have not had this opportunity of seeing workers managing their own home, gardens and fields, cannot comprehend the future where those who will work will be the masters.

How grateful I am to the union of the waist and dressmakers for the splendid opportunity of having been in Unity House. Long live the House of Unity!

S. Garber,
Member Local 3.

Canadian Unions to Confer

The annual convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will be held in Winnipeg, beginning Monday, August 22. In the convention call officers of the congress say:

"The period of reaction through which we are passing has brought into prominence most of the old problems and many new ones which organized labor is called upon to face.

"The struggle of the workers to maintain their standard of living under these adverse circumstances has been taken advantage of by many employers throughout the Dominion to abrogate collective bargaining under the guise of the introduction of the 'open shop,' 'optional plan of employment,' and similar subterfuges.

"Powerful groups of employers have openly declared their opposition to the enactment of progressive social and industrial legislation, and it is noticeable that legislation has been left in abeyance calling for the eight-hour day, unemployment insurance, protection of women and children, and other recommendations recommended at the first annual meeting of the international labor body, Washington, D. C., almost two years ago, and in which the Canadian government delegate concurred. On these and similar questions organized labor must again make itself heard in no uncertain voice."

The Canadian Trades and Labor Congress consists of A. F. of L. affiliates.

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ATTENTION of DRESS and WAISTMAKERS

In view of the fact that some manufacturers are attempting to use this slack period as an opportunity for not employing cutters and also for settling prices for piece workers in an improper way, in violation of our agreement, you are requested, specially the chairmen,

FIRST---To settle to the officers of our Union whether your firm is employing a cutter or not:

SECOND---Before settling any prices for piece workers, come to the office of the Union for advice.

Fraternally yours,

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J. HA'PERIN, General Manager

M. K. MACKOFF, General Secretary

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