

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMEN

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A. F. of L. ELECTS PRES. SCHLESINGER TO BRITISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS

ELECTED BY UNANIMOUS VOTE

The convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati elected President Schlesinger as its fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress which will take place in September in England. It is an event of great importance and came as a decided surprise to a great many friends and well-wishers of our International. Not only was Brother Schlesinger elected as delegate but his election came about unanimously and he was chosen as the spokesman of the delegation of two sent by the American Federation of Labor to the British Congress.

President Schlesinger was nominated by Delegate William Green of the United Mine Workers' Union. The nomination was seconded by Mathew Wolf, one of the most prominent leaders of the Federation and a

member of the Executive Council. In the nominating and seconding speeches they told the convention of Schlesinger's position in the labor movement as President of our International Union. They pointed out the big victorious strike which our Union has waged during his presidency, dwelling on the details of the last cloak strike and underscoring the fact that Schlesinger is thoroughly familiar with all problems that affect the international labor movement of all the world. These remarks were greeted with great applause.

Delegate Coughlin of the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York moved that Schlesinger be made the first fraternal delegate and this motion was carried amidst a storm of applause. The election of President Schlesinger to this honorable

position is a matter of great importance to our Union. It is the first time in the history of the American Federation of Labor that it sends a socialist as its fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress and there certainly was no secret at the convention about it. Everybody knew that but Schlesinger has won the confidence of the Federation and he was elected without opposition. This election adds prestige to our organization and it is bound to react favorably upon its future activities.

President Schlesinger will, therefore, leave for England in the near future to represent the American Labor Movement at the British Trade Union Congress. Together with him as second fraternal delegate was elected Edward J. McGivern, President of the International Plasterers' Union.

International Calls Joint Executive Board Meeting for Miners' Relief

PRESIDENT GOMPERS OF THE A. F. OF L. AND PRESIDENT LEWIS AND SECRETARY GREEN OF THE MINERS' UNION WILL BE PRESENT

President Schlesinger forwarded this week a letter to the Executive Boards of all the International locals in Greater New York calling them to a joint meeting to discuss ways and means of raising a relief fund for the miners of the United States who had been on strike for several months. At this meeting there will be present President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers of America, and William Green, Secretary-Treasurer of the Miners' Union.

The meeting will take place at the new Auditorium of the new International Building, 3 West 16th Street, New York City. The letter forwarded by President Schlesinger reads as follows:

June 27, 1922.

Greetings:—
The Cleveland Convention of our International Union has unanimously

adopted a resolution pledging the support of our organization to the 600,000 miners who are fighting a nation-wide battle for the protection of their union, their national agreements, and humane standards of living.

From the first day of this great strike, our membership has been deeply stirred in sympathy with the miners. The time has now come to translate this sympathy into acts. I request your Executive Board, therefore, to attend a joint meeting of all the executive boards of the locale of our International in Greater New York on Thursday evening, July 6, at 7:30 P. M. at the Auditorium of the International Building at 3 West 16th Street, to give this matter earnest and wholehearted consideration.

President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, President John L. Lewis, and Secretary-Treasurer Wm. Green of the United Mine Workers of America will appear before this joint executive meeting to lay the miners' case before you. I am sure you will appreciate the urgency and historic significance of this meeting and will see to it that your entire executive board is present at the given hour and place without fail.

Awaiting an immediate acknowledgment of this letter and expecting your Executive Board to attend, I am, with best wishes,

Fraternally yours,
BENJ. SCHLESINGER, President.

This letter speaks for itself and requires no comment.

Conferences Resumed With Cloak Associations

The conferences with the Cloak Manufacturers' Association, which were interrupted early this month, first on account of the meeting of the General Executive Board and later by the convention of the American Federation of Labor, which most of the leaders of our organization had had to attend, were again resumed this week at Hotel Martineque.

On Tuesday evening, June 27th, the conference committee of the Union met with the conference committee of the American Association. These two committees have already had two conferences a few weeks ago. At these first conferences, a number of problems relating to the new agreement were taken up and discussed in full.

Brother Israel Feinberg, the General Manager of the Joint Board, and a newly elected member of the General Executive Board, has acted as the spokesman for the Union at

the conferences with the American Association.

On Wednesday evening, June 28th, there took place a conference between the sub-committees of the Union and the Protective Association.

The problems which formed the principal topic of discussion at the first two conferences were again taken up by the representatives of both sides. It will be recalled that the Union has not forwarded any new demands to the Association and that the negotiations center upon the demands put forth by the employers to the Union. The Union's position, of course, is clear. It will not permit the introduction of any new work-standards or conditions that infringe upon the rights of the cloak-makers in the shops and their living conditions.

Another conference will be held with the Protective Association on Thursday, June 29th.

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

New York
Public
N.Y. State
Library
City & Co. Lib.
City & Co. Lib.

Art Denies Injunction to Dress Firm on Strike

In a remarkable decision handed down last week by Justice Cohalan of the New York Supreme Court, the Waist and Dressmakers' Joint Board and the International are clearly absolved from any guilt and the injunction suit demanded by the plaintiff waist and dress firm against the Union is unqualifiedly denied. The firm in question, the Altman Dress Company, sued the Union for damages caused through the strike of the workers in that shop which was declared after the firm had decided to introduce piece work. It is an ordinary case and presents no unusual features. The interesting part in the decision, however, is the summing up of the law of the case.

"The workers," said Justice Cohalan, "have an absolute right to combine and strike, and unions have the right to solicit unorganized workers to join their ranks and the reasons which induce the workers to go on strike are not of concern to the court so long as the workers act in good faith and within the law and in the belief that the strike is for their economic betterment. Moreover, the workers are not called upon to justify a strike, but it is upon those who attack the validity of it to prove that it comes within some exception of the right of workers to strike."

Coming soon after the Appellate Division's affirmation of Justice Wagner's decision against the Protective Association, granted last winter during the cloak strike, it strengthens a great deal the position of union labor in this State and removes the doubts which have accumulated recently in the minds of some judges concerning the right of labor to combine and strike.

Concerts in Unity Houses on July 4

Independence Day will be celebrated in our Unity Houses in Forest Park, Pa., and Orville, Pa., with classic concerts and other amusement features.

Members of the Union who wish to spend a few pleasant days should not fail to take advantage of this opportunity and register at once.

New York members register from 16 West 21st Street. Philadelphia members register from the office of Local 15, 38 North 11th Street, Philadelphia.

TOPICS OF THE WEEK

By N. S.

WHAT THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION HAS ACCOMPLISHED

It would be difficult to find anything to distinguish the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, which closed in Cincinnati last Saturday, from the preceding ones. The same leaders have been re-elected; the old policies have been reaffirmed, while the waves of opposition and challenges were only feebly beating against the solid rocks of tradition.

Take the matter of legislation and politics. How to combat the judicial oligarchy was one of the chief tasks of the convention. A program was carefully worked out by a committee with the help of a group of distinguished labor lawyers, which was later adopted by the convention. This program proposes the adoption of four constitutional amendments providing the prohibition of child labor; specific exemption from legislative or judicial limitation of the right of labor to organize, to deal collectively, or to boycott, or strike; establishment of a Congressional veto over decisions of the United States Supreme Court, and an amendment to make more flexible the power of the citizens to amend the constitution.

But how is labor to put this program across? Through the election of a Congress friendly to labor, of course. How? By hammering away at this program, persistently, tenaciously, unswervingly; by punishing enemies and rewarding friends. How? Labor pursued this policy for decades with the evident results? But politics in this case is like religion. It is a faith which the dearest Catholic might envy, a faith that the Republican and Democratic parties will bring about the millennium, slowly to be sure, but ultimately they will bring it about. Individual Democrats or Republicans like Chief Justice Taft, Judge Anderson, Mitchell Palmer and innumerable others are bitterly assailed and denounced by the Federation, but never the parties. The A. F. of L. leaders obviously believe that by "boring from within" the Republican and Democratic parties they will gain control over the springs of action and then, of course, the workers' salvation is an accomplished fact.

The other matters that came up before the convention have already been briefly discussed in previous issues of JUSTICE. To recapitulate: Unrestricted immigration, overwhelmingly defeated; one big union, and a universal union label resolutions, decisively defeated; the leadership re-elected. On change, however, was made. The next convention will take place in October instead of June.

HERRIN, ILL.

WITHIN a single day Herrin has become a landmark in the industrial history of this country. The clash between the striking miners and the strikebreakers and private guards, resulting in numerous dead and wounded, has forced public attention to the fierce struggle now going on in the coal industry.

A hurricane of condemnation swept this country following this outbreak. From the moment the first news was flashed, before its details became known, the press had already made up its editorial opinion as to the source of responsibility. The head lines announcing the union "massacre" of innocent victims and the stories of the savage atrocities committed by the union miners can only be compared with the stories of "Hun atrocities" in the late war. In the Senate and the pulpit speeches were made echoing this state of mind. Some operators hurriedly issued statements to the effect that the United Mine Workers are responsible. Consequently, it was urged that martial law should be declared in that district, that federal troops should immediately be dispatched to guard Herrin, that the Union should be prosecuted, if not disbanded. The Washington government became uneasy, and soon announcement came via the White House that its neutral attitude is about to be abandoned.

To the disappointment of the coal operators and the press, the Coroner's jury brought out a verdict, after a comprehensive investigation of the outbreak, which shattered their plan to utilize this "strategic moment" for beginning their grand war on labor.

"We, the jury," the verdict reads, "find from the deaths of the deceased that the deaths were due to the acts, direct and indirect, of the Southern Illinois Coal Company."

Or read the account given by a commissary clerk at the mine who was imported by a detective agency as a strikebreaker, and who was badly injured in the clash. Here is part of his story: "I was sent down here by the Bertrand Commissary Company of Chicago. I had no idea what I was running into. I don't much blame the miners 'or attacking us, for we were unknowningly used as dupes to keep them from their jobs. We were given arms when we arrived and a machine gun was set up at one corner of the mine. Guards were with us all the time, and most of the guards were tough fellows sent by a Chicago detective agency. I understand the miners sent us warnings to leave the town or we would be run out. We never got them; perhaps the bosses did. When we saw the miners approaching we did not know what to do. The guards prepared for fight. Most of us workers wanted to surrender."

Who was responsible for the battle of Herrin? This can only be answered by a recital of the events leading up to the outbreak. The miners in Illinois, it must be remembered, are 100 per cent unionized, and when the coal strike was declared on April 1, the Southern Illinois Coal Company, which operates a mine in Herrin, suspended work. Later on the Union allowed strip mine operation, with a specific understanding that the Union would not load coal for industrial purposes. But W. J. Lester, the superintendent of the company, expressed dissatisfaction with this understanding, and he announced that the agreement with the Union was no longer recognized, that he intends to load coal and ship it whether the Union likes it or not. What happened after that is explained by Hugh Willis, the Miners' District Board member. His story follows:

"I made a visit to the mine that afternoon. I found men in charge with guns and they inquired my mission. I asked for the superintendent, and was told I could not see him. I was told to vacate the premises, that I had no business there, and was advised by the leader of the gunmen, or guards, that the sooner I vacated the premises the better they would be satisfied.

Next Monday, June 19, other officers of the district union visited the mine. They were told their presence was not desired and to vacate immediately. Last Wednesday the miners began operating with non-union men as scheduled. The miners resented this, as it repudiated the agreement. They went in a body to visit the mines and asked for a conference with the company officials. They were greeted with machine gun fire. There were two miners killed, George Henderson and Jop Pethenion. All the miners in the community resented this; they marched on mass on the place and demanded the company cease operations. They were ordered away. During the night and on Thursday morning the miners, incensed because of the two killings, rushed the place and took charge."

The conference between President Harding and John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, at the White House last Monday, which was in a large measure brought about by the Herrin outbreak, is the first indication that the government abandoned its "neutrality." So far, however, the situation remains unchanged. It is difficult to say to what extent the efforts of the government will help to bring the contending parties into conference. Some coal operators in Illinois and Indiana threaten the Union with litigation along the Coronado lines. Others still insist on local settlements with the unions. Others again are out for a fight to a finish. The outlook for a settlement, therefore, is not yet favorable.

HAITI, THE PHILIPPINES AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

A WEEK ago the Philippine Parliamentary Mission called upon President Harding and presented a petition for national independence. It must be remembered that the aspiration of the Filipinos for national independence is not an outcome of the war. They first fought for it under the Spanish yoke, and when the United States finally "helped" them to liberate themselves from Spain, they began their struggle for independence against American rule, and with far less success. First, they tried it through armed rebellion, then through successive missions to Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson and now Harding.

The reply of President Harding to the Filipinos was essentially like that of his predecessors. The aspiration for self-determination was highly commended by the President as noble and just. But they must be satisfied with the aspiration. As to virtual independence, that's difficult matter. The reason? Why, they are not ripe enough economically and politically; the time has not yet come; it is too dangerous to let a small, weak and untried nation go out alone and unprotected in a hostile and grasping world; there is a minority of Filipinos who do not want independence, therefore democratic America is suppressing the majority, and so forth.

The Philippine Mission doubtless got a clearer reply by an examination of American administration in Haiti and Santo Domingo. The reign of terror instituted there by American troops has evoked condemnation from liberal groups. It has gone so far that a special Senate committee had been appointed to investigate how our government runs our colonies, but, as was to be expected, the report whitewashes American rule and recommends the continuation of American administration of our colonial possessions.

THE ASSASSINATION OF RATHENAU

THE assassination of Walter Rathenau, Foreign Minister of Germany, is universally recognized as a result of a carefully laid plot by the monarchists to assassinate the German republic. This murder has again awakened Germany to the danger of monarchy, and has united the ranks of the labor unions, Socialist and Communist parties, and liberal groups to hold on to the meager but costly gains won during the bloody years of war and its aftermath.

Rathenau was the most constructive statesman in the present government, and exerted a potent influence in directing its affairs. He was a millionaire, a Jew, a philosopher, an industrialist and statesman who attempted to humanize and liberalize the present capitalist order. His negotiations with the Soviet government culminated in the famous German-Russian pact which put the Genoa Conference in the shade.

The cry "the republic in danger" is surging the Reichstag to adopt drastic measures to curb the sinister activities of the monarchist plotters. One such measure is the establishment of a State Court for the defense of the republic. The court will consist of seven members, three of whom will be appointed by the Supreme Court and four by the President. Several presidential decrees have already been issued to that effect. The Minister of Justice announced that a bill would soon be submitted to the Reichstag granting amnesty to Communists. Crispian, the Independent Socialist leader, demanded that all former officers should be dismissed from the Reichswehr and the police, and that the property of the former ruling houses should be confiscated. It is also reported that the government has conferred with the party leaders to discuss the possibility of expelling active monarchists.

The demonstration of the Socialist parties and labor unions in Berlin last Sunday and the proclamation by the General Federation of Trades Unions of the 24-hour general strike throughout Germany last Tuesday manifested the grim determination of labor to combat reaction.

ATTENTION

Russian-Polish Cloakmakers

The regular meeting of the Russian-Polish Branch will take place on Monday, July 3rd, at 7:30 p. m. sharp, at the People's Home, 315 East 10th Street.

It is the duty of every member of the Branch to be present at this meeting.

A. E. SAULICH, Secretary.

New York, the Nation's Workshop

By J. CHARLES LAUE

New York City, in addition to being the center of the world's finance, is also one of the biggest industrial centers in the world, as shown by the recently compiled statistics of the United States Census Bureau. It produces 45 per cent more manufactured products than Chicago and more than two and a half times as much as Philadelphia, the next two most important industrial centers.

The women's garment industry leads all the rest in the number employed

and the value of its product. It is about double that of the men's clothing industry. Furthermore women's clothing factories of New York produce 73 per cent of the total women's garments made in the United States.

A most interesting computation for unions in the needle trades is published in the 1919 Census of Manufacturers showing the branches of the needle industry of New York city here arranged in the order of their importance:

Apparel Industries
(Not Including Leather)

	Number of Establishments	Total Persons Engaged	Value of Products
Women's Clothing	5,089	119,627	\$866,243,561
Men's Clothing	2,273	57,840	480,596,385
Millinery and Lace Goods	1,789	34,645	162,186,095
Fur Goods	1,153	12,586	132,145,251
Knit Goods	462	10,737	69,308,818
Furnishing Goods (Men's)	233	6,721	50,292,860
Hats and Caps (Men's)	436	8,947	44,823,840

For the woman who wears ready made clothing, New York produces nearly three quarters of the country's entire output. For men New York makes four out of every ten ready made suits, 40 per cent of their shirts and a quarter of their hats and caps.

Three quarters of the fur garments worn in the United States are manufactured in this city and one half of the millinery and lace goods.

There is an average of about 22 persons employed in needle trades factories of the city. The average value of output of the approximate 12,000 shops is \$161,000 per factory and the average value of output per person engaged in the apparel industry is \$7,207.

The factories producing the most value, \$9,675 per person employed, are those manufacturing jewelry. Only

slightly less is the value of food products per person, including breadstuffs, meat products, etc., which are equal, in total value, at least, to the output of diamonds and precious metals. Chemicals and paints are next in value per worker, per factory.

The metal factories are the largest in size employing 43 persons on the average, while the number for all other establishments is about 25.

According to the census which was taken three years ago and just issued, New York in 1919 had upwards of 52,500 factories, employing 825,000 workers; producing more than \$5,000,000,000 worth in goods. This is one twelfth of all the goods manufactured in the United States. Approximately 15 per cent of the city's population was therefore engaged in factory work of various kinds. These workers were paid a total of \$1,132,000,000 in wages. The establishments they worked in consumed materials valued at \$2,800,000,000. The value added to raw materials in the process of manufacture was about \$2,400,000,000.

These are remarkable figures for New York factories are smaller than those of its competitors in other cities. Chicago, for instance, employs an average of 48 persons per establishment, Philadelphia, 37; Boston, 36 and Baltimore, 48. The large scale production in Chicago and Baltimore and the great meat packing industry concentrated in the Windy city are responsible for the high average for large factories in those cities. The largest clothing factory in the world, Hart, Schaffner & Marx is in Chicago.

The average income for persons en-

gaged in New York's factories was \$1,572; the amount added to the value of the product in the course of manufacture and by the workers' toll was \$3,756; while the value of the output per worker was \$8,235 for all factories.

Since 1914 there has been an increase of 10 per cent in the number of manufacturing establishments in this city and nearly 13 per cent in the number of persons employed. Wage workers increased less than the total number of salaried and clerical workers, the tendency to use more office employees being marked here as well as in other cities.

Salaries and wages increased sharply due to the inflation of money value. Since 1914 and based on the 1919 figures, wages of all classes, again according to the census, increased 97 per cent. Factory officials increased theirs, 84 per cent; clerks but 56 per cent; and the wage earners, as the result mainly of their organized effort and their previous low standards increased their wages 107 per cent in five years.

Next to the apparel trades, the important industries in New York are printing and publishing with an output valued at nearly \$346,000,000, employing 81,000 workers in various branches. Tobacco, cigar and cigarette making comes next with a total product valued at \$146,000,000 and employing about 22,000 workers.

The leather goods industry is fourth with an output placed at \$123,000,000 and employing a total of 24,000 persons in all lines. A part of this trade, the fancy leather goods branch, belongs in the needle industry.

Farmer-Labor Party and Socialists Join

A call for a labor convention to nominate candidates for all Congressional, State, legislative and judicial offices vacant this Fall was issued last night by a joint committee of the Socialist Party and the Farmer-Labor Party. The convention will be held Saturday, July 15, in Beethovens Hall, 210 East Fifth Street.

The convention will nominate a full set of candidates and will adopt a labor platform. Both the Socialist Party and the Farmer-Labor Party are pledged to support the candidates and the platform. The concurrence of the Socialist Party in this movement is the first departure in this State from its traditional policy of remaining aloof from less radical political groups and is in line with the movement for a third party, evidences of which have been seen in other States.

The convention call is signed by Morris Hillquit and Algeron Lee for the Socialist Party, and by Ben

Howe and Maurice Williams for the Farmer-Labor Party. The following members of labor unions are also joined in the call:

Captain John Ambrose, of the Masters, Mates and Pilots' Association; Samuel E. Beardsley, President of the International Jewelry Workers; Joseph D. Cannon, of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union; Edward F. Cassidy, of Typographical Union No. 6; Jerome T. DeHunt, of the Railway and Steamship Clerks' Union; Israel Feinberg, Manager of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union; Fred Gas, of the Brotherhood of Painters; Charles Korn, of the Press Feeders' Union; A. Lefkowitz and Henry R. Linville, of the Teachers' Union; George McMillan, of the Carpenters' Union; Philip Umstadter, President of Printing Pressmen's Union No. 51; Ossip Wolinsky, Manager of the Fancy Leather Goods Workers' Union; Timothy Healy, President of the International Union of Stationary Firemen and Oilers,

enough to turn every sane person in the country into a co-operator overnight.

The great gains made in this country by the large scale production are being more than dissipated by inefficient distribution. The farmer gets but the out of every dollar which his finished product brings, the industrial worker but 37c. This gigantic economic waste can and must be stopped by co-operation.

STUDENTS OF UNITY CENTERS AND WORKERS UNIVERSITY WHO HAVE CHANGED RESIDENCE ARE REQUESTED TO SEND NEW ADDRESSES TO OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

and Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The new movement has the support of a number of labor leaders who have hitherto followed the policy of the American Federation of Labor, of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," and remained aloof from the Socialist Party.

The Socialist, Farmer-Labor and labor union signers of the call have united in the following statement of principles and program as the basis for the platform:

Public Utilities and Resources—Public ownership and democratic control of public utilities and natural resources, local and national, especially of the transportation system and the mines.

Labor—A 44-hour work week, or less in case of emergencies; State insurance against industrial hazards beyond the control of the worker—such as unemployment, old age, accident and illness—effective abolition of child labor and protection of motherhood. The absolute right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively, to strike and to picket, and a law prohibiting the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes.

Taxation—The repeal of all taxes on articles of consumption and common use and the substitution thereof of a rapidly progressive inheritance tax, an excess profits tax, high surtaxes on large incomes and a special tax on land values due not to the productive labor of the owner, but to speculation or communal growth.

Housing—The establishment of a Housing Commission with power to inaugurate a program of municipal building and to provide the people with sanitary dwellings at cost. To prevent building rings from strangling municipal enterprises, the commission should be empowered to take over plants for the manufacture of building material.

Education—An elective and paid Board of Education; participation of teachers in educational administration; free and equal public education to all; elimination of part-time and over-size classes; establishment of school health centers; the free use of schools as community, amusement and labor centers; repeal of the Lusk laws, the motion picture censorship law and of all laws tending to repress the freedom of opinion and belief.

High Cost of Living—The creation of a Farm Products Commission to purchase products for domestic use when the prices are being manipulated; the repeal of the Eock-Cummins law; a rural credit system for production and marketing and appropriate agencies for bringing the consumer and producer into direct contact.

Foreign Relations—The immediate withdrawal of the United States from the imperialist enterprises in Haiti and Santo Domingo, and the recognition of the Governments of Mexico and Russia.

Civil Liberties—The immediate restoration of full freedom of speech, press and assembly, and the liberation of all persons imprisoned for their political beliefs.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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HUGE ECONOMIC WASTE CAUSED BY COMPETITION

There are 946,419 retail shops in the United States, or one to every 111 inhabitants, according to figures compiled in response to a Congressional resolution of inquiry. The wholesale establishments number 97,083, or one to every 35 retail shops.

Nearly a million retail stores in the country, most of them trading on each other's heels and competing on a cut-throat basis for the other fellow's business! What a ridiculous commentary upon the alleged "efficiency" of modern competition. The tremendous waste involved in duplicating rentals, advertising, delivery costs, salaries, and other overhead sales expenses, let alone the continuous waste of small scale buying with proportionately higher transportation costs, is

A Letter from England

By EVELYN SHARP
(London Daily Herald Service)

Probably no single blunder of our maldroit coalition government has better served the ends of those who preach a class war than the Home Secretary's recent use of the prerogative of mercy.

Some weeks ago Henry Jacoby, a lad of 18, pantry boy in a residential hotel, was sentenced to death for murdering Lady White, the widow of a baronet. The jury, in finding him guilty, added a strong recommendation to mercy in view of his age and previous history. The boy's object was robbery, and the jury put on record its conviction that he did not strike with the intention to kill. The boy's solicitor described him as "a boy of 18 with the mind of a child of 13."

So much for Jacoby. Another murder trial was running almost concurrently. Ronald True, an ex-airman, about whose parentage considerable mystery was made, was accused of having murdered a woman of the streets. The only defense put forward was that of insanity, and expert evidence was called by the defense. The jury refused to admit the plea, and their verdict was subsequently upheld by the Court of Appeal.

Last Wednesday the boy Jacoby was hanged.

Every effort had been made to save him. Many people thought from the first that his reprieve was a foregone conclusion. After the Home Secretary's curt refusal to reconsider the case, members of the jury, whose recommendation to mercy Mr. Shortt thus ignored, even went to Buckingham Palace in the hope of getting the King personally to intervene. The Home Secretary was bombarded with letters and telegrams. He remained adamant. Jacoby was hanged.

Two days later the reprieve of Ronald True was announced on grounds of mental derangement.

Only one conclusion could be drawn. Jacoby, the poor pantry boy, had murdered a lady of title and must expiate his crime. Ronald True, son, according to rumor, of a peeress, and undoubtedly possessing rich and influential friends, murders a prostitute and—is reprieved.

Public indignation on the subject is considerable. But, while the "Daily Herald" demands to know why no inquiry was made by experts into the mental condition of Jacoby, the rest of the press is chiefly concerned in trying for the blood of True. Yesterday the Home Secretary made an explanation in Parliament—in answer to questions—of his position with regard to True. He had been pronounced insane, and by the law of this country insane persons were not hanged, whether or not they had been in full possession of their faculties at the time when the crime was committed.

Questions were also put down concerning Jacoby. These were ruled "out of order" by the Speaker, on the ground that "the House could not discuss the action of the Home Secretary in advising or omitting to advise the King to exercise the prerogative of mercy."

Singularly enough, this constitutional objection did not apply in the case of Ronald True.

This has been our principal interest during the week. It has dwarfed The Hague, the industrial situation—it has almost dwarfed Ascot, one of the big social events of the year. The industrial situation, however, deserves attention. By a majority of 39,000 (in a total vote of about 115,000) the Amalgamated Engineering Union has accepted defeat at the hands of the employers, thus ending a lockout of fifteen weeks' duration. The builders have accepted a cut of 2d per hour (but have at the same time secured that their working week of 44 hours shall not be attacked). The railway men are preparing to resist an attack on their hours and wages, which, in contravention of the 1919 agreement, is said to be in preparation.

But of all industries that of mining is in the sorriest plight. "So low are

above the 1914 rates, while the cost of living is still 81 per cent above 1914. In actual figures this means that, if they worked a full week, colliers would be drawing an average of 2 pounds 8 shillings a week and laborers an average of 1 pound 16 shillings. But many thousands are not working the full week, and yet more thousands are idle. It must further be remembered that in the mining villages there is no alternative work.

In many cases the miners' families are literally ~~starving~~ without sufficient food; in many others men, nominally "in work," are having to apply for parish relief. The funds at the disposal of the Guardians, however, being drawn from the rates, are by no means inexhaustible, and there is every sign of an approaching crisis in the poorer mining districts. To all this may be added the fact that a new system has been adopted in the payment of unemployment benefit. Miserable as the "dole" is, the last Unemployment Act provided that where men had run out of benefit,

do not appear on the registers, thus making the decrease in unemployment figure greater than it actually is. This point is worth remembering in connection with our official statistics.

The most cheerful event of the week has been the setting up of a new constitution on the part of the Federation of Transport Workers, remodelled so as to allow of the entry of the railway workers. The reconstituted Federation will include the National Union of Railwaymen and the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen. It is the first step towards a reconstruction on a firmer basis of that industrial unity so grievously shattered at the time of the Miners' lockout last year, when the old triple alliance proved unequal to the strain thrown upon it. The Executive points out that the Federation in its new form will be an alliance between "those organizations the circumstances of whose work was more largely comparable" than were those of the unions which formed the triple alliance.



The Union Man's Burden

Every Organized Worker Carries An Unorganized Worker "Strapped to His Back"

BY COURTESY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION

wages and so bad is the situation in the mining industry that, in my judgment, it can be said that the British famine has begun." Such were the words of Frank Hodges, Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, last week. Hodges went on to say that, with one exception, every district in the Federation is now down to the minimum in wages—and that minimum was fixed at 20 per cent

i. e., exhausted their 26 weeks in any one year, all payment should lapse for five weeks, to be renewed for alternate five weekly periods.

This system incidentally vitiated the official unemployment returns. Apparently the numbers are falling, and optimistic persons point to this as evidence of a trade revival. Actually, however, the persons not drawing benefit, although still unemployed,

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Organized Labor Takes Up Banking

By FREDERIC C. HOWE

There is something more than accident which explains the interest on the part of many labor organizations, in banking, especially the labor organizations connected with the operation of the railroads and basic industries. Among the unseen influences are:

(1) The large accumulation of money in the hands of the international unions, which have been estimated as high as \$100,000,000. These and the deposits of workers in the banks of the country amounting to from \$5,000,000,000 to \$7,000,000,000, have suggested to many leaders the possibilities of labor mobilizing its own resources within its own banking institutions.

(2) A realization on the part of labor that it is not using its power to the fullest when it confines itself to collective bargaining.

(3) The recent organized assaults by the banking associations of the country on organized labor through coercive measures, applied not only on railroads, mines and the major industries, but on factory owners, contractors, and employers generally. This nation-wide war upon the closed shop, existing wages and conditions of labor, was inspired largely by the banks, not only in New York, but in social communities all over the country.

(4) In addition, men are coming to realize that credit rules the world. Industry is fast passing under banking control. The railroads, mines, trusts and major industries are already bank-controlled industries, while the tendency all over the country is for economic power to pass into the hands of those who control credit. The entire industrial fabric not only in America, but in England, Germany and France, is fast changing into a credit-controlled fabric, in which the former owners are being ousted from power, or have become little more than managers, acting under orders from banking interests.

(5) The co-operation movement is fast assuming prominence in the minds of labor, as it is among farmers, as a means of still further mobilization of economic power. The co-operative movement needs credit, the existing which it cannot secure from the credit banks.

The First Labor Bank

The International Association of Machinists, under the presidency of Mr. Wm. H. Johnston, was the pioneer of labor banking in the United States. Some time ago the machinists acquired an interest in the Commercial National Bank of Washington, one of the largest commercial banks in the city of Washington. It ultimately acquired a balance of power and now exercises a controlling voice in the official personnel as well as in the policy of the bank. Following this, the machinists organized the Mt. Vernon Savings Bank. It was opened in 1920 with \$200,000 of capital. It now has resources in excess of \$2,000,000. Both of these banks have retained experienced bankers as the operating staff, and have enlisted outside stockholders and business men as directors. Neither of these banks has delicately itself to labor financing, although the Mt. Vernon Savings Bank made a demonstration of the effectiveness of credit when, controlled by labor in connection with the open shop fight in Norfolk, Va.

In November, 1920, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, open to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Co-operative National Bank in Cleveland, Ohio. A nation-

al bank charter was secured because of certain moral advantages which a national bank charter seemed to confer. The capital stock was placed at \$1,000,000 and in addition a surplus of \$100,000 was paid in. All of the stock is owned by the Brotherhood as an organization or by the individual members. The directors of the bank are the grand officers of the organization, although trained bankers have been employed to manage the bank. The bank adopted the word "service" as its motto, and immediately challenged existing banking practices in Cleveland. It kept its doors open until 3 P. M.; it paid 4 per cent interest on savings deposits from the date of deposit to the date of withdrawal; it paid interest on commercial deposits and in a number of ways protected the deposits from practices adopted by the banks to deprive them of interest by a variety of petty devices. This aroused the hostility of the Cleveland Clearing House Association, but the bank boldly faced this opposition and forced the clearing house to a showdown. It refused to join the Clearing House Association, because the rules of the association would have bound the bank to abide by "gentlemen's agreements," which would have prohibited most of the things which the bank desired to do. The bank does all of its clearing through the Federal Reserve System, of which it is a member.

The Growth of the Bank

Despite the misgivings of many, the bank grew. As a matter of fact, it has grown probably more rapidly than any national or state bank in the country. Each month has added a million dollars to its resources. At the end of February, 1922, its total working assets amounted to \$14,000,000. Deposits have come from individuals, from trade unions, and from other international labor organizations. No vigorous attempt has been made to reach other labor organizations, nor have anything like the potential resources of labor been deposited with it. But every service that it rendered brought deposits. It made loans to teachers when other banks refused to assist. This established a school teacher clientele. It aided the carpenters of Cleveland to build a labor temple. This brought large deposits from the labor unions. Some good real estate loans offered to it have been rejected because the conditions demanded by brokers were oppressive to their clients, while loans were refused on the ground that the monopoly of products have been refused.

Substantial loans were made in North Dakota to relieve the agricultural distress. They were made on warrants of cities and school districts, which freed other resources in the state for agricultural uses. Recently the bank purchased outright \$900,000 of soldier bonus bonds issued by the State of Ohio, which the bankers had conspired to discredit because the state refused to fix a high interest rate. This has made friends of the ex-service men.

The policy of the bank has been to keep its resources as fluid as possible, so that it could meet any emergency. It has from large purchases of bonds and other governmental securities, its resources are as nearly absolutely liquid as banking resources could well be.

Requests came to the Brotherhood bank to organize a bank in Hammond, Indiana. It quietly purchased a controlling interest in the People's State Bank of Hammond. It was reorganized in October, 1921, as the People's

Co-operative State Bank, with new directors. The new officers introduced many of the features employed in Cleveland, and as indicative of the confidence and sympathy of labor in a bank of its own, the deposits of the bank grew with great rapidity. Its resources increased in four months' time from \$163,153 to \$300,382; while its deposits increased by 100 per cent.

The Banking Ventures

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers have been considering the advisability of a bank for some years. They finally decided to establish a state bank in the State of Illinois, with a capital stock of \$200,000 and \$100,000 of surplus. It opened for business in April last. As this organization is very powerful; as it has a cohesive, easily mobilized membership, with very intelligent leadership, its bank is very likely to become a powerful institution.

The railroad men have been taking the same line in other parts of the country in the organization of banks. In San Bernardino, California, the workers secured subscriptions amounting to \$200,000 for a labor bank. They made repeated applications to the Comptroller of the Currency for a charter, but were unable to get any encouragement. Finally, they bought into the control of an existing bank, and are now operating it as a co-operative bank under the title of the Brotherhood Trust and Savings Bank, with a control of the stock ownership. It now has \$770,000 of assets and \$500,000 of deposits.

In Tucson, Arizona, labor organized the Cooperative Bank and Trust Company. Its deposits in March, 1922, amounted to \$180,650; its capital to \$70,000, and its total resources to \$252,184.

In Three Forks, Montana, the workers have organized and control the First National Bank of Three Forks.

In the City of Philadelphia, Mr. Wharton Barker, the financier, developed the idea of a bank that would operate without a charter, and as a trustee institution similar to a private bank, but with its resources dedicated to the co-operative idea. One hundred thousand dollars of capital has been subscribed for this enterprise; a splendid banking office on a prominent business street has been secured, and the bank was opened for business some months ago. It already has about \$700,000 of deposits.

Other banking organizations are in process of formation in Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Pa., and in Birmingham, Ala. In addition, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, and the Railway Telegraphers, as well as one or two other railroad organizations, have authorized their executive officers to take the necessary steps to organize a bank, while the officers of the American Federation of Labor were instructed by the Denver Convention to investigate the subject of banking credit.

Quite aside from the needs of labor, there is imperative need of more banks, or for different kinds of banks, with which to meet the needs of business and of small industry. The remnants of the free life of America is being sabotaged by banking monopoly.

From the point of view of labor, the bank is a marvelous agency of economic power. First, it adds dignity to the organization that owns a bank. Second, as averages go, a dollar invested in a bank in a short time increases to fifteen dollars, because the depositors contribute fourteen-fifteenths of a bank's resources. No other business gets its working capital so cheaply and so easily as does the bank.

Through the aid of banking credit,

labor can use its resources in co-operative organizations, for the building of labor temples, for aiding the labor press. It can develop co-operative house building enterprises as has been done in Europe.

In addition to this, credit has become the master of modern life. Credit is the tool of tools. Credit gives men machines. It gives factories, mines, even railroad systems. Thousands of things can be done through the control of credit that are not possible through the control of any other enterprise.

These possibilities, however, will only develop as labor learns the technique of banking, as labor acquires more confidence in its powers, and comes to rely upon its own ability successfully to manage industry, working in co-operation with trained men, interested in the labor movement.

The ultimate mobilization of labor credit will add additional legislation permitting the organization of co-operative banks with limited dividends, with the principle of one man one vote, and more fully protected by public opinion and the laws of the states and the nation, than is now the case.

A New Society

Many vistas of a new society will be opened up when labor mobilizes its credit resources for co-operative purposes. That is demonstrated by the progress made by the peasant farmers in Denmark and the co-operatives in Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Germany. In these countries labor is gradually massing its economic power under its own control. It is placing its savings and its wages in its own banks. It is using these resources to build homes, to start factories, buy land, take contracts and own steamships. If has started stores, bakeries, breweries and printing establishments all over Europe. It is doing this largely through the little credit agencies, joined together in central co-operative banks in the large cities. Europe is training itself for the co-operative commonwealth and banking credit holds the key to power. This is being recognized especially in Italy, Czechoslovakia and Germany.

Credit has become the most powerful agency in the modern world. Economic life is fast passing under the control of credit. But credit is an agency that labor can use as well as capital. Banking is simple. It is easily understood. With ordinary care it is perfectly safe. A bank can be carried on with much less hazard than an ordinary business enterprise, for it deals only in money and credit. And its investments can be standardized in bonds, stocks, mortgages and other securities, if desired. The wages of labor run into the billions. The savings of labor run into billions more. They need only to be mobilized under the control of labor, as they are now mobilized under the control of private bankers, to give labor a position of power. If labor controlled its own credit resources today it would profoundly influence all forms of industry and profoundly check the aggressions of the capitalistic system. Ultimately, it may change our whole industrial system.

(Labor Age, June, 1922.)

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EDITORIALS

EXCHANGING ROLES

More than one odd situation has arisen at the sessions of the recently adjourned convention of the American Federation of Labor, but the queerest of them all certainly occurred when the so-called "radicals" and the so-called "reactionaries," the "light" and the "dark" forces, have, at one time during this convention swapped roles to such an extent that an outside observer could hardly tell who was who.

In order that the reader might grasp fully the absurdity and grotesqueness of that particular situation, we want first to state what we and the rest of the world understand by the term "radicalism" and its antithesis, "conservatism." "Radicalism" conveys the idea of a movement, of a tendency towards a fundamental change for the improving and the ennobling of human life; "conservatism" implies a tendency to retain what exists. "Radicalism" consequently appeals to all that is lofty and high-minded within us, as against the gray, drab realities and the petty, matter-of-fact considerations that overwhelm us in our daily lives. "Conservatism" on the other hand, is presumed to appeal to the ordinary human instincts; it counsels us against spreading our wings and rising above the crust of the earth, lest we break our necks in doing so. In brief, "radicalism" is ultra-idealistic, while "conservatism" is grossly materialistic. "Radicalism" appeals to the highest in human nature, to our super-soul, while "conservatism" appeals to our rudest instincts.

With this brief interpretation of these two tendencies in our social life in mind, the reader will probably be in a better position to judge the gross absurdity of the odd situation which developed at the convention of the American Federation of Labor during its last two sessions when the question arose as to whether or not the American Federation of Labor should call upon the government of the United States to recognize the present Russian government.

It is generally accepted that all those who favor the recognition of the present Russian government are radicals. On the other hand, its opponents are considered as reactionaries and conservatives. It stood to reason, therefore, that those who favored the recognition of the present Russian regime should appeal to the best and the noblest in our natures and that those who were opposed to this recognition, the reactionaries, would appeal to the grossest instincts of the delegates. Nevertheless, just the contrary happened. The majority resolution against the recognition of the Russian government based its claims upon no other ground than that the present Russian government is a despotism which robs the Russian people of all their liberties and their human rights, and that as men and women who treasure freedom as their highest gift, we must not blind ourselves to the fact that one hundred and fifty million people are being terribly oppressed. The resolution also says that we must fight this despotism, even though we might obtain some material advantages by recognizing it. This was the principal argument of the so-called "dark" forces. The principal argument of the forces of "light" was the following: "We are unemployed; millions of us are seeking jobs in vain; let our government recognize the Russian regime and our factories will begin to hum and we shall again be employed."

Doesn't this sound odd, indeed? The "conservative" majority speaks of freedom, of the mutilated will of the Russian peasant, the Russian worker, the Russian trade unionist, the Socialist, of the suppression of freedom of opinion, of assembly, etc. The "radical" minority appeals, however, not to worry about it in the least. It doesn't even make an effort to controvert the damning facts of Russian realities. Its principal argument is: We are unemployed, we want jobs, and the rest be damned.

Our delegation has found itself in a peculiar position. Whom was it to support? It is true, it was instructed by our convention to demand the recognition of the Russian government. But this demand was, first of all, preceded upon an entirely different motive than the minority resolution at the A. F. of L. Convention. Secondly, our convention has also adopted a resolution calling upon the Russian government to remove its iron fetters from the elementary human liberties—freedom of opinion, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly, and to liberate all political prisoners. With these two resolutions of our own convention in mind, our delegation could not, of course, vote for the majority resolution, as it was unqualifiedly opposed to the recognition of the Russian government. Our delegation could not vote for the minority resolution either, as this had only in mind jobs for American workers, and totally disregarded every other motive or reason. What was it to do and how was it to act?

The following thought occurred then to President Schlesinger: He would ask the minority to add to the demand of the recognition of Russia also the demand for freedom of the spoken word, of the press and the liberation of the Socialists and trade unionists in the Russian prisons. He certainly had reason to expect that the radical minority would readily grasp this proposition, as it would at once take the wind out of the sails of the majority report. President Schlesinger arose and asked permission from the chairman to put the question. He was permitted to do so, but even before he had the opportunity of finishing his point a representative of the minority arose and blocked further discussion by making a "point of order." President Gompers quickly divined what Schlesinger had in mind by making this proposal to the minority, and declared the point of order was well taken. The result was that the minority in sheer blindness and through lack of foresight defeated its own resolution for the recognition of Russia. Understand the situation clearly: Schlesinger hit upon the only plausible way for the Federation to adopt the minority resolution. The minority, however, in its fanaticism and near-sightedness, blocked the way to it, and only after the convention came to an end Max S. Hayes, the principal advocate of the minority resolution, declared personally to President Schlesinger that he regretted very much for having failed to adopt Schlesinger's amendment to the minority resolution, which would have added to it the demand for the liberation of the political prisoners and also for the freedom of the press and assembly.

That the refusal of the minority to accept President Schlesinger's amendment had a decisive and momentous effect, we can easily judge, first by the excellent speech delivered by Mathew Woll right after it; and, secondly, from our personal observation. Upon coming from the convention to the hotel, we sat near a delegate whom we hadn't heard utter a word throughout this convention. We were discussing the last events of the convention, and we were quite curious to learn what this silent delegate thought of that last session. He stated to us in simple words that he came to the convention determined to vote for the minority resolution, but when he had learned that the minority is against the liberation of persons who differ from the opinions of the ruling party, and that it would not call upon this government to safeguard the elementary liberties to the Russian people, he could not conscientiously vote for the minority resolution and joined the majority.

The readers will find it now easy to understand what substance and basis there is to the charges emanating from certain "left" sources against Schlesinger that he has "stabbed the Russian Government in the back" by putting this question before the convention and that he had violated the instructions of our membership to the A. F. of L. convention delegation. It is indisputable that Schlesinger wanted the minority resolution to be adopted and it probably would have been adopted, or at least our delegation would have voted for it; but the old proverb that the "Gods themselves fight in vain against stupidity" is still true. Our would-be "radicals" did not have the brains to avail themselves of a chance to save their resolution, at least from such humiliating defeat as it received at the convention. Only twenty-two delegates voted for a roll-call, which is quite a definite index that after the debate on this question, the minority had lost a good many of its original supporters. The explanation that the miners and the railway workers had left the convention hall at about that time, is a poor alibi, for if they had really been interested in this resolution, they would not have left the hall at such a decisive moment.

SPEEDY AID FOR THE STRIKING MINERS

The striking miners have not appealed until this hour to any outside sources for aid. They have managed to get along with whatever little they have had, undergoing the privations which are customary when men fight for their bread and for the right to have a union. And as long as they could keep body and soul together and supply their wives and children with a crust of bread, they fought and endured without appealing for support to the outside world.

The moment has now come when the little which they have is about to give out. They have no other alternative but to turn for help to the labor movement of which the miners' union is one of the strongest and most important divisions. The miners are crying out for help and the workers of America must not permit want, poverty and hunger to drive them back into the collieries under terms of slavery. Can there be any doubt that the labor movement of this country will not fail to respond to this great heart-moving cry for help?

The first to whom the miners come to ask for aid are, let it be said here with a feeling of pride, our organized workers of New York. They come, first of all, to the workers of our International because they know that their appeal need not be repeated twice when they speak to our men and women. There is not the slightest doubt in our minds that the International, as well as all organized labor of New York and other parts of the country, will give the miners material assistance and will help them win their struggle by all means at their command.

The President of our International has called a joint meeting of all the executive boards of our locals in Greater New York for July 6. At this meeting, President Lewis and Secretary-Treasurer Green of the United Mine Workers and Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, will present the miners' situation before the representatives of our Unions in New York City. It would be in accord with the true spirit of our International if the assembled executive members would come to this meeting with something tangible and concrete. We know that had the miners been not so badly in need of funds, they would not have come out

What About the Textile Strike?

By C. L. S.

The textile strike which started in New Hampshire and Rhode Island on February 13th and later spread to other textile centers is still going on and there is no promise of a settlement.

In Manchester, N. H., where the mills of the Amoskeag Company—the largest cotton mills in the world—are located, the strike was characterized by peace and order until the first week in June. Efforts to bring the operators and workers together made by local groups of ministers and by the Governor of the State failed when the operators refused to take part in any such meeting. On May 31st the owners of six plants (the Coolidge mill of the Amoskeag Company, the Nashua and Jackson mills of the Nashua Manufacturing Company, the Dover mill of the Pacific mills, and the Suncook and Newmarket mills) notified Governor Brown that they intended to reopen their mills on Monday, June 5th, regardless of the continuation of the strike and that at that time they would put into effect the wages and working hours announced on February 2nd, that is, a twenty per cent reduction in wages and a working week of 54 instead of 48 hours.

In New Hampshire the strike is being conducted by the United Textile Workers of America. The officials of the Union have sought to bring pressure to bear on public opinion by the publication of such facts as they could secure on the financial condition of the industry, the profits and the effects of southern competition. They have asked the companies to submit to an investigation and have offered to undergo similar investigation and to present any and all facts they have. The operators have refused to make public any such information and have refused to open their books.

The New Hampshire State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration has offered its services and the Manchester strike committee accepted the suggestion that the wage question be arbitrated. The owners of the mills have refused to submit this issue and the Union refuses to submit the question of hours.

On June 5th the mills were reopened as announced, with the exception of the Suncook and Newmarket plants. The latter opened the next day. Comparatively few reported for work. Press reports announced that only 110 of the 15,000 employed by the Coolidge mill re-

turned to work and some of this number walked out again. Only a handful returned to work at the Dover mill and they all walked out again. On June 6th a crowd of strikers gathered in the streets of Manchester near the Coolidge mill. Some one threw stones. It is not known how this started but the police quickly arrested five of the strikers. Fourteen other arrests were made the same day because police orders to "move along" were not obeyed. On the night of June 6th the members of the Board of Strategy of the Manchester strikers were arrested. No formal charge was preferred against them and they were released the next day under bond.

During the strike the United Textile Workers have held a weekly open air mass meeting in Manchester. Because of the disturbance on June 6th withdrawal of the permit for these meetings was contemplated. A hearing was held on the matter before the Parks and Playground Commission on Saturday morning, June 10th. The chief of police appeared to protest against the granting of the permit; representatives of the United Textile Workers appeared to urge that it should be granted. The Rev. Herbert A. Jump, pastor of the Hanover Street Congregational Church, appeared as an interested citizen. Mr. Jump has kept in close touch with the strike from its inception and has been active in trying to bring about a settlement. At the request of the commissioners Mr. Jump presented his opinion which was in part as follows:

"I thought this morning to read over the article of the Constitution of the United States that bears on the matter before coming down to the City Hall, and I find the first amendment reads as follows:

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble."

"And it occurs to me that to deny our fifteen thousand striking operatives the right to continue in the future their series of law-abiding and orderly meetings for popular education on the issues of the strike, would be a supreme disaster. Almost every striker now is a law-respecting and law-obeying citizen. The fact that there was no slightest resistance offered to the police the other day when arrests took place; the fact that Union officials have heartily co-operated according to the testimony of

the chief himself in the maintaining of law and order; these facts are to the credit of the leaders of the strikers, and they stand for law because they believe it to be impartially administered."

"But if now something is done that shows these strikers believe with any show of reason that henceforth the official government of our city is not trying impartially to administer the law but is trying to take sides against them and deprive them of their inalienable rights as free American citizens, then we have brought into our problem a new and altogether dangerous element. And inasmuch as all the sixteen meetings held have counseled law and order, would it not be a very hard decision to explain, if now suddenly the people are robbed of their right to assemble and talk?"

The permit was granted with the provision that only local speakers might address the meeting.

In Rhode Island the strike has been in progress since February. The conduct of the strike is divided—the Amalgamated Textile Workers are in charge in the Pawtuxet Valley and the United Textile Workers in the Blackstone Valley, but both are working for the same end. The issues of the strike here are practically the same as in New Hampshire, a 20 per cent wage reduction and the increase of working hours from 48 to 54 per week. The State Board of Mediation and Conciliation made three attempts to end the strike by mediation or arbitration. Twice both parties refused the proposals offered. The third time the workers agreed to the arbitration of the wage issue but the mill owners refused.

The announcement of wage reductions reacted strongly in the Pawtuxet Valley in favor of union organization. Commenting on this aspect of the situation, the *New York Times* said on March 9, 1922: "Wage reductions have been a boomerang for the employers."

The spontaneous uprising of their unorganized workers has spread throughout the valley tying up practically all the mills. The operatives have flocked into the union ranks and this district is today the stronghold of organized labor in the textile industry of Rhode Island. In the Blackstone Valley the tie-up was not so complete, as some of the larger mills there made no attempt to reduce wages. Due to fear of disorder National guardsmen, including two cavalry troops and a machine gun company and hundreds of deputy sheriffs were put on duty in the Pawtuxet Valley. There have been some disturbances in Rhode Island in contrast with the order in New Hampshire. Two mills have been bombed but responsibility for the bombing has never been satisfactorily fixed.

On April 29th deputy sheriffs in the Pawtuxet Valley began serving eviction notices on families in company houses. On May 2nd the first eviction took place. The household goods of the family of one of the strikers were removed during the absence of the family from the Hope Company's tenement in Hope Village and according to the report in the *New York Times* of May 3rd, they were left "on a public highway 1,000 feet away. Chief of Police Riley of Scituate in which Hope Village is situated, declared that if the goods were not removed within twenty-four hours he would sell them at public auction." This was prevented by the action of the union in securing temporary quarters and helping the family move their possessions in. Plans are being made to establish a tent colony. On June 5th Justice Tanner of the Superior Court granted an injunction restraining B. B. & R. Knight, Inc., from evicting tenants from its houses in Pontiac or Natick for non-payment of rent or any reason. The order was issued while evictions were in progress at Pontiac; a copy of the order was carried to the scene and the work stopped.

NEARLY EATEN BY NEW GUINEA CANNIBALS



Beatrice Grimshaw, daring English author, tells of her knife fights with murderous savages and how she learned a lot of surprising things for her next novel after living fifteen years among treacherous aborigines

Only In
Next Sunday's New York

Sunday American

with this appeal, and it is therefore desirable that the executive boards of the various locals meet in advance and decide definitely, at least, upon the method of raising the money without delay.

When the steel workers were on strike in 1919, the International decided to give the strikers a quarter of a million dollars. Only \$60,000 were collected as the strike ended sooner than what was expected and this money was forwarded to the strikers. (By the way, we received at that time from Wm. Z. Foster, the Secretary of the strike, a receipt for \$65,000. We never could understand how Foster had managed to add \$5,000 to our contribution and we don't understand it to this day. This, however, is a subject that we may touch upon at some other occasion.) Certainly we must not decide upon a smaller sum on miners' appeal. The question only is—How to raise the money. But this must be left over to the executive committee. We are confident that they will find the right and direct method and that they will start the work immediately.

The miners strike is so great, its importance to the entire labor movement so tremendous that it is not necessary to lose another word reiterating the appeal to our own unions and to the labor movement of New York in general to raise a relief fund for the striking miners. We hope that the few words are sufficient to arouse the fullest measure of sympathy and the greatest will to help among our workers to assure the victory of the coal-diggers in their great fight for the preservation of the mighty Mine Workers' Union.

Adventures in Switzerland

By DR. GEORGE M. PRICE

II

Schweizer Verband Volkdienst

May 23, 1922.

After a journey through France with its dirty cars, filthy roller towels, unspeakable toilet accommodations, and unsanitary hotels and general slovenliness rampant all over the land, it is indeed a great pleasure to get into the lovely little country of Switzerland. Here one finds work for body and soul, one feels like working for there is no harrowing disturbance of French propaganda, forcibly attempting to convince the stranger of the great wrongs suffered by France and her right for revenge and retribution.

Unemployment in Switzerland is very bad, but there is an evident attempt on the part of the government and other agencies to improve workers' conditions. Of great interest to me was the unique institution of the Schweizer Verband Volkdienst. Thanks to the introduction of Mary Anderson of the Women's Bureau, I was privileged to become acquainted with Mrs. Zueblin, formerly Miss Elsa Spiller, who is well known in the United States, through an intensive study which she made in 1918. Mrs. Zueblin is the leading spirit and director of the Schweizer Verband Volkdienst.

The special significance of the S.V.V. is the fact that it is a neutral public institution, monopol-

izing, as it were, all industrial welfare work in the country and supported by employer and worker alike, although it is run on a co-operative basis. Perhaps the similarity to our own Joint Board of Sanitary Control of the Ladies' Garment Industry made this movement so much more interesting to me.

At present the organization has under its control forty industrial welfare stations in various factory localities and is taking over in the near future a large tuberculosis sanatorium for workers.

The principal activity of the organization consists in forming for every large industrial unit an industrial welfare organization which supplies and organizes workers' restaurants, kitchens, reading rooms, recreation centers, homes and canteens; it even has a bureau of architects to assist these industrial units in building and equipping their factories according to model plans, and is even running a number of schools.

All the activities of the S.V.V. are managed by an outside corporation, which is directed by a number of public spirited citizens, among whom there are representatives of employers, workers, and the public. Its leading spirit is Mrs. Zueblin and her husband, who is a physician, and Dr. Lorenz, a well-known economist and author of a number of books on sociology and economics.

The equipment of restaurants in

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factories is paid for by the employer, who, however, have the advantage of the architect's service and other assistance from the Verband. The cost of running the kitchen is provided for by a very reasonable charge for food. In two of the factory restaurants, where I had the privilege of visiting during the lunch hour, over one hundred workers were fed. The place was scrupulously clean and had a festive appearance; the food was wholesome and well served. The cost of the meal is but 1 Franc and the workers who live at a great distance from the factory appreciate the restaurant, inasmuch as they are not run by the employer alone, and cannot be considered a form of charity.

Mrs. Zueblin has great dreams for the Verband Volkdienst. She hopes to make it an institution indispensable to all industrial plants in the country and to embrace all activities for workers' welfare, from canteens and restaurants to workers' homes and schools. In fact the S.V.V. is a noteworthy attempt to take the

workers' welfare from the hands of the employers, free it from the stigma of charity, and make it a part of the public concern.

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Vanzetti—A Tribute and an Appeal

By UPTON SINCLAIR

Boston, May 31, 1922.—I have spent an hour in Charlestown Jail with Bartolomeo Vanzetti. I have had some acquaintance with radical agitators of all varieties and races, and I think I can qualify as an expert in this particular line. I offer my testimony in the court of public opinion; that this humble Italian workman is precisely what he pretends to be, an idealist and an apostle of a new social order. I should consider him just about as likely a person to be guilty of highway robbery and murder as I myself should be. He is simple and genuine, openminded as a child, sensitive and possessing that innate refinement which makes good manners without need of teaching. He has devoted his life to the service of his fellow wage-workers and he is still serving them and knows it well.

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Also, I have had some experience in literary criticism, and of human personality as revealed thereby. I have talked with some thousands of people who have read my books, and I am able to judge if they have understood them. Vanzetti has read my novel, "Jimmy Higgins," and it was very plain to see that he had entered into the soul of that working class martyr, that he had shared all those dreams, endured all those privations, and conquered all those terrors. He is indeed "Jimmy Higgins" incarnate—the same as thousands of others who have vowed in their hearts that life has no meaning apart from freedom, and that justice for all the oppressed of our social system is their god in life.

Now, I might say something about the peril to our law and government involved in the fact that those acting in its name have deliberately conspired to send such a man to the gallows. But after meeting Vanzetti one cannot think of legal systems, one can only think of the man. This brother of ours must be saved: warm-hearted, brave and true; the precious life that is in him must not be strangled by the hangman's noose!

He asked me to get him an Italian book, dealing with—what do you think? The making of bombs and dynamite? The tactics of the class war? No, with the making of verses! He wants to write a song to awaken the workers of Italy!

I say to the workers of America, bring this man out from behind the steel bars. Give him his book on Italian versification and let him write his song.

The American Federation of Labor will be called upon to act in behalf of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, at its convention in Cincinnati, by the delegates of the Boston Central Labor Union. The delegation is so instructed in a resolution

setting forth the fimsiness of the evidence on which the Italian workers were condemned to die.

It is anticipated that the issue involved in the railroad to the electric chair of two active labor men will be placed forcibly before the A. F. of L. gathering by other delegations. Endorsements of the defense in some form or other has been made by numerous affiliated internationals and local bodies, among them the United Mine Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Chicago Federation of Labor, Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly, Detroit Federation of Labor, Seattle Central Labor Council, Ohio and Utah Federation of Labor, United Hebrew Trades of New York.

"The Jungle" on the Screen

The faith of Labor Film Service in its adaptation of Upton Sinclair's "The Jungle" is receiving ample justification in the crowds of satisfied theater-goers who are witnessing the production at the National Winter Garden, Second Avenue and Houston Street. That the "labor film cycle," of which "The Jungle" is the inception, would be assured a successful run was apparent even at the first showing last Monday.

The response of labor audiences was sincere and their enthusiasm unbounded. The pictures of Eugene Debs, for instance, awoke mighty cheers and applause. The intense drama portrayed in "The Jungle" deeply affected all those in the theater, many of the working men and women attesting to its reality. A Lithuanian labor editor present at the first showing, declared that the depiction of labor life in "The Jungle" was the closest to reality he had ever seen, and asserted the contention that the picture was in any way overdrawn.

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A Story in Co-operative Coal

By CEDRIC LONG

Lehigh, Pa., is a small town in the Lehigh Valley, between Wilkes-Barre and Allentown. The Lehigh-Co-operative Association, a society 95 per cent railroad men, was hitched up with the ill-fated "National Co-operative Association" that went bankrupt in 1920. Early in 1921 the little association in Lehigh found itself stripped of the \$11,000 capital, with which it had started business; the stock of \$100 a share of the store was worth only \$2,600, the receivers for the Hoboken finance were suing them for the debts of the wholesale, and the majority of their members had lost confidence in Co-operation and were trying to find a method of getting back some of the money they had invested. Co-operation in Lehigh looked like a 100 per cent lost cause.

But there were two assets that these 385 shareholders and the rest of the town had not figured on. The store had a live young manager who not only knew the grocery business from several years of experience in the chain stores, but who likewise was a thorough Co-operator at heart. And the directors of the association, under the leadership of W. D. Hontz, Wm. Begal, Wm. Smoyer and the other officers, were men who refused to acknowledge that a discouraged membership, the loss of their capital, and a lawsuit meant bankruptcy. Therefore, business went on as usual.

But "business as usual" did not

satisfy such men very long. A bold step forward was necessary if Co-operation in Lehigh was to win back its lost prestige. And here begins the story in coal.

There are three or four coal dealers in this town. They all waxed fat off the coal business. Therefore the directors of the co-operative began to investigate, and they found that the coal consumers were being robbed.

The Lehigh Valley Coal Company and other large corporations refused to sell them coal. The men from Lehigh tanked up their Fords with more gas, began a systematic tour of the coal fields, and finally came upon a little independently owned colliery, where the directors were already assembled to decide whether they had not better shut down for lack of business. The two directorates, one looking for a customer, the other looking for coal, talked business, and soon came to an agreement.

How do you start in the coal business without capital? These men did not bother with such abstract questions; they met in turn each difficulty as it came along. Having ordered one car of coal, a few of the Co-operators signed personal notes at the bank and paid for the car. Having no place to put their coal, they went to a fellow townsman who owned a plot of land near a railroad siding, and bought the land for a promise of future payment. Then, with cement and sand and stone, and

all the volunteer labor they could use (railroad men get long vacations and have much leisure time these days) they built four large, open bins near the siding. A portable elevator which would carry the coal from the car into the bins and from the bins into a truck, was procured, just as the coal had been, by a small note and easy payments.

Meanwhile the freight question came up. Lehigh is a Lehigh Valley town. Yet all the coal sold there was being brought in over the New Jersey Central. The Co-operators went to the freight agent of the Lehigh Valley. "We're workers on the L. V. R. R. We are buying coal and we want to bring it in over our own road. What can you do for us?" The agent gave them a low freight rate, and a few days later the same railroad company sent around a man who showed them coal scales at cost, to be paid for as soon as the money was available.

And so started the Co-operative coal business, April, 1921. The private dealers had been selling 2,000 pounds to the ton. The new dealers sold 2,200 pounds to the ton. The private dealers had been making more than \$4 a ton profit. The Co-operators lowered the price between \$2 and \$3, gave the customers the extra 200 pounds, to which they were entitled, sold the highest quality coal instead of the mixture of slate, dirt and coal that others sold, and altogether saved the consumer about \$4 on every ton of coal bought.

By the end of the year the Co-operative Association had sold 97 carloads (4,200 tons) of coal they had

to the bank, owned their own land, their own bins, and had paid off one-third of the value of their new coal truck. The independent coal company up country had given up all thought of closing their colliery, and many of the other coal companies in the same district had come around trying to sell coal to the Co-operators they once despised. Two men were employed regularly getting coal to the customers, and the Co-operative Association is doing the largest coal business in town (more than 10 cars a week on the average). The Association has saved the people of Lehigh over \$14,000 by reducing the price and giving the long ton.

None of the banks in Lehigh is paying more than 3 1/4 or 4 per cent interest this last year, and the First National paid no interest whatever. The Lehigh-Co-operative Association, meanwhile, paid 6 per cent. For, although their \$11,000 original capital was all lost (except a scant \$2,600), their membership was quite disgusted with the whole co-operative business, and other liabilities as lawsuits, united opposition of other merchants and chain stores, etc., had reduced their workmen's organization to a laughing-stock about town, yet there still remained the solid foundation stones upon which true Co-operation is always built, and which make failure impossible; efficient and devoted management on the business side, and determined, wise, self-sacrificing leadership on the part of the directors. Financial liabilities never interfere with the growth of a Co-operative organization which has these two assets.

In Germany

By EDWARD L. GROSS.

That the bourgeoisie will make desperate efforts to escape extinction in the gradual transformation of the capitalist states of today into the proletarian republics of the future is indicated by the organization of a strike-breaking group in Germany, composed of bankers, merchants, and others who long ago left proletarian pursuits for the ease and comfort of employers and capitalists. Instead of hiring gunmen to terrorize pickets and attempting in other ways to handicap the strikers in great industrial battles, the leaders of the capitalist class band together to take the places of those who walk out in what are termed "key" industries.

The leaders of this strike-breaking organization deny that they are foes of the workers. They call their group the "Technische Nothilfe"—Technical Emergency Corps—and declare they will enter the places of strikers only when industries that are vital to the public's welfare are menaced by a general strike. But these men from the ranks of the capitalist class could not be neutral in industrial warfare. All their sympathies are with the forces of the labor unions, so the labor organizations of Germany warn against the rise of the Emergency Group.

Otto Lumitzsch started the corps in 1919, at the time of the Spartacist uprising in Berlin. The idea spread throughout Germany, for the master class saw here an opportunity to develop a White Guard that could fight behind the shield of "public welfare." The headquarters of the corps are now at Steglitz, a suburb of Berlin. The organization is divided into sixteen national districts. The national districts are split up into sub-districts, these into "local groups" and "land groups," according to whether they are to operate on farms or in cities. The national organization is attached to the German Department of the Interior, and its expenses are paid by the government. The staff

of its headquarters and the heads of the sixteen national districts work exclusively for the organization and are supported from the national treasury. All the other members are volunteers. They work for the corps only in strike times and receive the wages of the men they replace, with food, clothing and lodging.

During the recent strikes of electrical workers and railroad workers Germany saw the remarkable spectacle of big-paunched gentlemen coming to work in expensive automobiles. After removing fur coats that were worth a fortune in paper marks, these former proletarians returned to work on engines or in power houses for wages that would not have paid for their dinners.

Of course the emergency corps can not be a permanent strike-breaking organization. The members can not continue for more than a few weeks to hold the jobs of strikers. Their positions do not permit them to take long vacations at strikers' work. Their value as anti-labor forces lies in the ability to prevent a general strike to force a community into granting labor's demands.

An example of the work of the corps was given during the recent strike of railway men and municipal workers of Berlin. During the first two days of the strike the water supply was cut off. The city's coal supply was exhausted and the government had to seize all the privately owned coal it could find to keep some of the hospitals heated. There was no gas for cooking and lighting and no supply of electricity. The elevated and subways came to a standstill. The Technical Emergency Corps restored the water supply in part on the second day. It was in full operation on the fourth day of the strike. Some of the electrical plants of the city were put at work, and finally an emergency railway service was instituted. When the strikers returned to their jobs they found most of the

boilers at the gas works in operation and the city was supplied with considerable gas, electricity, water and food.

The emergency corps can enter almost any industry and operate it partially, pending the outcome of strike negotiations. Already the members have gone into the mining industry, breweries, railways, electrical works, garage digging, gas works, hospitals, farms, harbor work, food transportation, shipping, slaughter houses, waterworks and sugar factories. During a strike at a watering place, women technical helpers mined salt for the baths and attended to patients in the sanatoriums.

In September of last year, when the dock workers of Hamburg struck for wage increases, the emergency corps took charge of the unloading of fishermen's boats. Sixty-three men were summoned from other work and assigned to the unloading job. They carried fish for two days and nights and one million pounds were brought ashore.

The most spectacular service by the corps was rendered during the strikes of railroad workers. The railroad strikers, in a walkout that was not authorized by the national organization, left the locomotives and cars where they happened to be when the strike order reached them. In the unusual cold spell, the water froze in the engine boilers, the tracks became covered with ice and snow. The emergency corps put 1,000 engineers, 1,500 firemen and switchmen and more than 5,000 other experienced railroad workers at other posts. Many of them left high posts in the financial and business worlds to return to engine cars and other places that they had left many years before. The emergency corps men who took charge of the station at Potsdam, near Berlin, succeeded in running seven trains containing both passenger and freight cars.

The emergency corps already numbers a quarter of a million members. Ten per cent of the corps live in Berlin. About one-tenth of the members are women, of whom 1,500 live in the capital. The men belong to all social

classes, professions and trades. Among them are civil clerks, executives of great industrial corporations, engineers, physicians, students of schools of engineering, skilled laborers and farmers.

All the labor organizations are opposed to the formation of the emergency corps, realizing its menace, but they do not hold themselves aloof from it. In order to keep in touch with its activities, trusted members are instructed to enlist in the strike-breaking organization and report on its activities to union headquarters.

There have been similar strike-breaking attempts in the United States, at the time of the "outlaw" railroad strike several years ago and at times of strikes in the coal fields. But they were such failures that there was no talk of volunteer operation of the coal mines when the great general strike began this year.

CENTRALIA JURORS RECALL

Two of the jurors who sent seven I. W. W. members to prison for 25 to 40 years in the trial arising out of the Centralia, Wash., tragedy on Armistice Day, 1919, have become conscience-stricken, and have repudiated their verdict in a joint affidavit which expresses the belief that all seven—and another now in an insane asylum—were innocent of killing or injuring any one that day.

This news has just been received by the General Defense Committee from its representative, in Seattle. Attorneys for the Centralia defendants will begin legal action at once to effect the release of the prisoners, who will become unpopular in Centralia because of their activity in organizing the lumber workers in the big forests nearby.

The two jurors, W. E. Immon and E. E. Sweitzer, of Gray's Harbor County, Washington, admit in their sworn statement that they believed when the trial ended that the defendants were all innocent of the killing of the four marching strike men, and that the marchers attacked the hall before any shots were fired from within.

Workers' Education in America and the I. L. G. W. U.

By FANNIA M. COHN.

"With the vast increase in the size and power of organized labor, the education of the adult workers has become one of the fundamental demands of the labor movement. Constant progress is achieved through the increasing intelligence of the rank and file of the membership. The worker must know the relation of the industry in which he works to the life of the labor movement, but above all, the structure of our modern society. He must be conscious of the spiritual forces which direct and shape the course of the labor movement and inspire the willingness to stand by the movement. Workers' education is the very basis of a permanent and responsible workers' organization; it must be co-ordinated with the labor movement and therefore should be regarded as an integral part of the trade union itself. To develop this sense of relationship on the part of the individual worker and quicken this feeling of responsibility on the part of the trade union, is part of the function of adult workers' education.

"In addition it is becoming increasingly apparent that the character of American democracy depends upon the wisdom and understanding of the adult citizens, and that adult education is not to be regarded as a privilege for a few, nor the concern for a short period of early manhood and womanhood, but is an indispensable part of democratic citizenship and should be universal and lifelong. Adult workers' education gives emphatic support to this principle of democratic government. Indeed, as President Gompers has said: 'It may very well be that organized labor, which took such an active part in the establishment of popular education in the United States, will now take the lead in another movement of vital significance to the cultural development of this country.'

"During the past year the Educational Committee of the American Federation of Labor, with the sanction and approval of the Executive Council, entered into a co-operative relationship with the Workers' Education Bureau of America for the promotion of workers' education for the labor union movement in this country. The value of that co-operation was undoubted, but it was felt that closer unity should exist in order to give greater strength to the movement in this movement. Accordingly, negotiations were entered into looking to closer affiliation. While these negotiations are still pending it is confidently expected that within a short period of time the arrangements will be completed whereby this vital service can be placed at the disposal of the American Labor movement as an organic part of it.

"Your committee recommends that this Forty-second Annual Convention convene the Executive Council and the permanent Educational Committee for the progress of the negotiations with the Workers' Education Bureau of America, and instruct them to continue these negotiations in the interests of the promotion of a comprehensive scheme of adult workers' education. Your committee further recommends that this convention again urge upon all International and National Unions, all State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions the appointment of Educational Committees, one of the fundamental functions of these committees is the furthering of such a program of adult workers' education.

"The report of the Committee was unanimously adopted."

The above is the report of the Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor at its Forty-second Convention held in the City of Cincinnati, June 20, 1922.

This action of the A. F. of L. is the result of five years of strenuous effort on the part of our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Since 1917, our delegates to the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor were instructed to impress upon that body the necessity of inaugurating Workers' Education within trade unions, and to urge it to make a start in that direction by going in record in favor of the establishment of its own educational institutions. It was

our contention that if the labor movement is not to be accused of lack of vision and appreciation of the value of knowledge to the trade union movement, we must make a start at once. In the meantime, we were willing to make the experiment for the labor movement, and we did so.

We realized that the success of the educational undertakings of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union should not make us forget that inauguration of educational activities in trade unions is after all a formidable task. It is not easy to convince those who spend their energies in fighting the economic struggles of the workers, that some energy should also be devoted to the task of educating the men and women that constitute the labor army.

And there is good reason why this should be so. The unions must fight bitterly for every inch of advance. After gaining what they do, they must continue fighting even more bitterly to retain these advances. They must constantly struggle against the power of highly concentrated wealth. No wonder many in the trade union movement feel that all of their attention must be devoted to the purely economic phase of labor struggle.

But, at last after five years' effort, the American trade union movement expressed through the American Federation of Labor that it came to realize that their economic success will be greatly increased if the rank and file and the leadership itself has a proper intellectual background. They realized that with proper education, they will be in a better position to understand their problems and to solve them, and that they will have a better chance of winning the ever-continuing struggle for a better life for workers. They saw that labor education co-ordinated with the needs of the organization, is of immense value. This realization will continue to stimulate the growth of the movement for education within trade unions, until it will become an integral part of union activities.

The work of our International bears splendid evidence of this development. During the past two years our Unions had on their hands several undertakings of a most serious nature. Chief among these were the strikes of the waistmakers, the dressmakers and the cloakmakers, which concerned the lives and happiness of tens of thousands of our workers. The opposition was strong and bitter. The universal industrial depression was utilized by employers in this struggle and was felt in the homes of our workers. Our members had to solve problems of bread and rents and how to fight for the very life of their organization. One would imagine that under such conditions, there would be no inclination or willingness to concern oneself at all with educational activities.

But it was quite different. To the eternal credit of our International it should be recorded that in spite of these depressing conditions, our educational activities went on not only the same as before, but increasing and widening in influence and usefulness. The organized classes continued as usual. Additional educational activities were organized for strikers and for newly enrolled members of the striking unions.

In short, our educational activities continued because we were convinced that they are no longer a mere incident but a fundamental factor in our organization, important because it helps our organization to achieve its glorious aims.

Two Resolutions on Education Presented by the I. L. G. W. U. and Accepted at A. F. of L. Conventions

A few years ago in an Article on "Education and the American Labor Movement," which was published in JUSTICE, the writer among other things said:

"Realizing that the Labor Movement is becoming more and more of a 'big enterprise,' and that it is becoming an influential factor in national and international affairs, it is called upon to participate in questions of far-reaching importance. If it is to be effective, it will have to develop its own statesmen, teachers, journalists and historians. It will be necessary to select among the rank and file those who have inherent intelligence, energy and a desire to serve the Labor Movement, and give them a chance to acquire the necessary knowledge. To attain this object, the labor movement will have to develop its own educational institutions of higher learning.

"Realizing that this can not be accomplished by any single international union, but that this will have to be done by the labor movement as a whole, the Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. in Chicago, May, 1920, adopted the following resolution:

"Whereas, the labor movement is getting in closer touch with national and international problems, and

"Whereas, the workers will be called upon to solve economic, social and political problems of the greatest significance for the future of the working class; and

"Whereas, if labor is to be effective in the development of the world it will require the accumulation of intelligent leadership and knowledge; be it therefore

"Resolved, That the delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention stand instructed to urge upon them the organization of a national university for the entire labor movement, modeled after the Ruskin College of England."

The result was that the Montreal Convention of the A. F. of L. in 1920, adopted the following resolution submitted by the delegations of the I. L. G. W. U.:

"Resolved, by the A. F. of L. in convention assembled, in conformity with its whole-hearted endorsement of the labor education work carried on by its various labor unions, and instruct the Executive Council to found a National Labor University as a central educational place for the entire labor movement, and to conduct the same."

Acting upon this resolution, the Committee on Education submitted the following report:

Our Education Work in Cincinnati

The Teamsters' Union gave a luncheon to the women delegates and women guests to the American Federation of Labor last Wednesday, June 21. The luncheon was also attended by President Gompers and the two fraternal delegates from England, Herbert Smith and Edward Poulton.

Four speakers were introduced. Among them was Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Vice President of our International. She was invited to tell the fraternal delegates what the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union accomplished in the field of Labor Education and what role women members played in it. Great interest was displayed by the audience in what was said about the educational activities of our International and how the women members full-heartedly supported that work.

President Gompers' short talk was devoted entirely to the educational work of our International. When he addressed the fraternal delegates of England he asked them to report to the English trade union movement that it was the vision of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

"While organized labor will always place its main dependence for educational facilities upon the public school system which it did so much to establish and develop, a university endowed by the A. F. of L. would be as legitimate and have at least as important function as a university the endowment of which came from any other private source. But there are practical questions of administration and finance which will require careful study. Your committee, therefore, recommends that the President of the A. F. of L. be instructed to appoint a committee to study the possibility of co-ordinating the present educational instructions and activities conducted under the auspices of organized labor; to investigate the strength of the demand for a central labor university which may be developed among the affiliated international unions; to consider the matter of extension courses and of scholarships, which would make the facilities of such an institution of value to workers; and to consider the practical questions of administration and finance."

Laboring under the same assumption, the Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers held in Cleveland, May, 1922, instructed our delegates to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held in the City of Cincinnati in June, 1922, to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 78—Introduced by the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

"Whereas, the work of adult labor education is proving to be a factor of importance in developing the intellect of an ever-increasing number of men and women in our labor unions; and

"Whereas, the American Federation of Labor at former conventions has gone on record as approving this movement for labor education and has made special investigation into its scope and possibilities of development; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor give its further and full sanction to the work of labor education carried on now by a number of international unions and central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and urge upon each of them the need of labor education and to organize whenever possible throughout the country labor courses and labor colleges under trade union auspices."

The Committee on Education acting upon this resolution said:

"Your Committee concurred in Resolution No. 78 and recommended its adoption by the Convention."

That made the American labor movement consider the necessity of workers' education within international unions, and that this union was responsible for the unanimous adoptions of the report of the Committee on Education dealing with adult workers' education.

CONFERENCE OF LOCAL EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEES

A joint conference of the educational committees of our local unions within the City of New York and vicinity will be held in the very near future.

At this meeting there will be considered the plan of our Educational Department for next season. We are very eager to have delegates make suggestions and exchange opinions on the work in the past as well as on our plans for the future. Therefore, we request those of our local unions that have not yet done so to elect to the Educational Committee three members who are interested in our work and can make a contribution to it, and send their names at once to our Educational Department.

With the Waist and Dress Joint Board

By M. K. MACKOFF, Secretary

Minutes of Meeting, June 3, 1922

Brother Berlin in Chair

Brother Meyer Kata, member of Local 18, came with credentials to the effect that he was appointed at the membership meeting of Local 18, held on June 12, as a delegate to this Joint Board, in place of Brother Julius Levine, who resigned.

Upon motion made, Brother Kata was seated as a delegate.

Brother Yasilevsky, member of Local 60, employed by Chas. Fishel & Co., appeared before the Board on behalf of a girl who formerly worked for Chas. Fishel. Brother Yasilevsky stated that for the last two and a half years this girl was sick and confined to bed, and the workers of the shop, with very little assistance from the organization, cared for her in every way possible. However, he was sorry to state that all of their efforts to bring her back to health were in vain. At the present time this girl is partly paralyzed, and according to a statement made by a reliable physician she cannot live very long. Nevertheless, as long as she does live a place must be found where to keep her, and the workers of the shop find it impossible to secure a home where she can stay. Therefore, Brother Yasilevsky requested the Board to do all it can in order to find a home for this girl.

Upon motion, a committee consisting of Brothers Rabinowitz, Kaminisky, Sister Chanowitz and the Secretary of the Joint Board were appointed to act upon the request of Brother Yasilevsky.

Local 89, in communication, extended an invitation in general to our Joint Board to participate in the opening celebration of the Villa Anita Garibaldi, which will take place July 4. They enclosed three complimentary tickets for a committee which the Joint Board may appoint.

Upon motion, the invitation of Local 89 was accepted, and a committee consisting of Brothers Berlin, Buchman and Sister Hirsh was appointed to represent our Joint Board at the opening celebration of the Villa Anita Garibaldi.

Regarding the minutes of June 3, Local 22 informed the Joint Board that their Executive Board approved this report and the recommendations with the exception of the following:

Considering the fact that the Association Department is a department which requires the constant attention of one person who shall spend all his time in taking up the department problems and disagreement cases; also, that if this is taken care of by the Manager of the Joint Board it would occupy most of his time and would prevent him from performing his duties properly in directing the work of the department of the union, the Executive Board came to the following conclusion: To approve the recommendation of the Joint Board to have one Manager for the entire Joint Board with this modification that, instead of selecting an assistant this manager shall select, with the approval of the Joint Board, a Chief Clerk for the Association Department. This person is to be selected out of the quota of business agents sent in by the locals, and is to be responsible to the Manager of the Joint Board.

Regarding the recommendation that the salary of the Business Agents for the coming term shall be \$50, our Executive Board is of the opinion

that this would mean nothing else than a reduction in their salaries. It was decided to reject this decision of the Joint Board and urge the Joint Board and the delegates representing the locals to reconsider same and decided that the present salary of the Business Agents shall remain. Our Executive Board feels that the salary they receive at present is not too large, and every officer of a union should receive at least a fair living wage. However, we do approve of the decision of the Joint Board regarding the salaries of the Manager of the Joint Board and the assistant, as it is a fair living wage.

As to the salary of the Complaint Clerk, our Executive Board has decided that the one who supervises the work of the department should receive \$45 and the other clerk \$40.

Upon motion, it was decided to place the communication on file, and that the recommendations made by the Executive Board of Local 22 be taken up as a special order of business at the next meeting of the Joint Board.

Brother Morris Feller reported on behalf of the committee which was appointed at the last meeting in reference to the Labor Film Co. Brother Feller reported that a conference was held with the representative of the Labor Film Co., and the following was agreed upon:

That the Labor Film Co. turns over to our main office about 2,500 tickets for the three films, beginning June 10, will be shown for about six weeks; and that the Secretary of the Joint Board should give these tickets out to the Business Agents, urging them to try to sell these tickets to the workers in the shops. By doing this the Joint Board will help the Labor Film Co. a great deal to expand its activities.

Upon motion, the report and the recommendations submitted by Brother Feller were adopted.

Brother Guzman reported on behalf of the committee of five which was appointed in reference to "Tag Day," arranged by the Jewish People's Relief Committee. In substance, Brother Guzman reported that the committee secured the names and addresses of about 100 of our members who volunteered for "Tag Day;" and that a meeting was arranged for these volunteers for Thursday, June 15. Said meeting will be addressed by Brothers Berlin and Zuckerman. Brother Guzman further reported that the committee held a meeting for all the officers of the Joint Board. In conclusion, Brother Guzman stated that our district will be from 23rd to 34th Street on Saturday, June 17. On Sunday, June 18, the committee will move its activities to the Bronx, the work being directed from our branch office.

Upon motion, the report of Brother Guzman was approved.

Brother Riesel reported on behalf of the Unity House Committee. In brief, Brother Riesel stated that up to the present time the Unity House Committee succeeded in bringing all necessities to Forest Park, ready to accommodate all those who may come out there. He furthermore assured the delegates and officers that those who are coming out this year and have spent their vacations in previous years at Unity House, will find many additional comforts and conveniences. Registration is about the same this

year as it was last year. Brother Riesel concluded with an appeal to the delegates and officers to do all they possibly can to induce as many people as possible to spend their vacations at Unity House.

Upon motion, the report of Brother Riesel was approved, and the Joint Board advised the Unity House Committee that the committee men should make it their business to attend to shop meetings in order to speak to the workers and to our members about the comforts and conveniences that await them if they spend their vacations at Unity House. The Unity House Committee was further advised

that as the office is sending out letters to shop chairmen in reference to vacations, they should avail themselves of this opportunity by enclosing announcements of the opening of Unity House in these letters.

Upon request, Sisters Chanowitz, who just returned from the Women's Trade Union League Convention, reported that delegates from all over the country, as well as delegates from abroad, attended this convention. In brief, Sister Chanowitz reported that the movement is no longer a national one, but an international one, and plans to protect the interests of women workers all over the world.

Woman Heads British Co-operative Congress

As we go to press the fifty-fourth annual congress of the co-operative societies of Great Britain is assembling at Brighton, County Sussex, the largest seaside town in the country, bringing together 1,650 delegates, representing 4,500,000 co-operators throughout the United Kingdom.

For the first time in history a national co-operative congress will be presided over by a lady—Miss Margaret Llewellyn Davies—who, from 1889 to 1921, served as the secretary of the British Women's Co-operative Guild. Miss Davies is known and revered throughout Europe for her remarkable executive ability and her broad-visioned co-operative statesmanship. Only two months ago a woman was for the first time elected a director of the powerful co-operative wholesale society. The present tribute to Miss Davies is a further indication of the influence of women in shaping the destiny of the co-operative movement.

Among the most important issues to be decided by the Brighton Co-operative Congress are the establishment of a daily co-operative newspaper, an international co-operative bank, an international co-operative wholesale society, and domestic issues such as unemployment, taxation, and

the expression of the political ideals of co-operators through the Co-operative Party.

The congress will be entertained at Brighton by a local co-operative society with 12,000 members, over a half million dollars in capital, and an annual trade of nearly \$2,000,000. The Brighton co-operators have a large central store with eleven main branches, beside a co-operative bakery producing 45,000 loaves per week. The first co-operative society was formed in Brighton in 1827, followed by the publication of the first co-operative journal in English—a four-page monthly—the next year. The present power of the Brighton co-operators is evidenced by the fact that they have fifteen members on the Town Council, and have been influential in founding the Labor Institute, a progressive workmen's club, with more than 1,000 members.



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The Weeks News in Cutters Union Local 10

By JOSEPH FISH

General

The sixty-fourth regular general meeting of the Union, which was held Monday night, June 26th, at Arlington Hall, saw an exceptionally large gathering of the members, who discussed and acted upon various recommendations of the Executive Board. The more important of these were the two questions left open for the body to decide, as the Executive Board did not bring in any recommendations on them. These related to the request of the Cloakmakers' Branch of the Socialist Party to buy tickets for an excursion to be given by them and the question of granting additional money to the delegates to the last convention. These two questions, as well as that of the Sanatorium Assessment, aroused considerable discussion.

On the request of the Cloakmakers' Branch of the Socialist Party that we purchase tickets for their excursion, the Executive Board, or at least the majority of the Executive Board, felt that this question should be discussed on the floor of the body as at various times there has been opposition to the purchasing of tickets from Socialist Party branches. On the motion the body decided that this request be referred to the various Joint Boards.

Quite a number of brothers participated in this discussion. The main argument against referring this to the Joint Board was that this branch, although a branch of a political party, is nevertheless closely related to our organization, in view of the fact that the members, as the name implies, are cloakmakers. Whereas, those who argued that this should be referred to the Joint Board, maintained that in view of the fact that all money contributions are referred to the Joint Board, there is no reason why exception should be made in this case. After discussions were closed and the matter was put to a vote; the motion was carried and the request was referred to the Joint Boards.

The next proposition that came up for action was the recommendation of the Executive Board that the collection of the Sanatorium Assessment, levied by the International in 1918, and revoked by the last convention in Cleveland, should continue in force until the end of the third quarter of this year, i.e., September, 1922, and that as for the future disposition of the matter, a committee of five, consisting of Brothers David Dubinsky, Samuel Kerr, Philip Ansel, David Fruhling and Joseph Fish, was appointed to go over the matter thoroughly and bring in a recommendation.

It seems that the recommendation of the Executive Board was not very well received by the membership and although there was little discussion on the question, an amendment was offered that the entire matter be referred back to the Executive Board, which motion was carried. Although no motion was made for the calling of a special meeting for the purpose of discussing the recommendations to be brought in by this committee, yet an understanding was reached that the calling of the special meeting be left to the discretion of the Executive Board.

The last subject of discussion was the question of an additional allotment to the delegates to the last International convention. The request of the delegates was that an additional sum of money be granted them, as they found that the original sum of money apportioned them by the body was not sufficient to cover the expenses incurred by them in Cleve-

land. The Executive Board felt that their request is a justifiable one. However, in view of the fact that the allotted amount was decided upon by the body at a general meeting, this matter was referred by them to the body for action.

This question caused much wrangling on technicalities, various points of order being called by a number of individuals for different reasons. After all this had subsided a motion to reconsider the previous decision of the body was entertained by the chair. However, when it was put to a vote, the motion for reconsideration was defeated, the membership thereby deciding that the original amount granted the delegates is in their opinion sufficient and they therefore do not wish to reopen the case.

As previously stated in the columns of JUSTICE, the union's meetings are being very well attended these days, as was also this one. We believe the constitutional amendment, imposing a dollar fine upon members not attending at least one meeting in three months, is bringing the results desired.

We also wish to acquaint our members with the fact that there is a sub-committee of the Executive Board meeting on the General Secretary's office on Saturday afternoons, between 12:30 and 2 p.m. This committee will meet for a few more weeks to consider excuses offered by members who were unable to attend at least one meeting in the first quarter. All those who did not attend a meeting in the first quarter will therefore have the opportunity of explaining their cases. At about the end of July all those members who did not attend a meeting in the first three months of the year and who failed to appear before this committee will be compelled to pay the dollar fine without a hearing.

President Max Stroller appointed the following brothers to serve as the next Ball Committee:

Joseph Fish, Sam B. Shenker, Benjamin Sachs, Samuel Sadowsky, David Fruhling, Albert Wright, John C. Ryan, John W. Settle, Max Silverstein, Jacob Lukin, Henry Robbins, Isidore Nagler, Adolph Sosen, Julius Levine, Louis Pankin, Samuel Perlmutter, David Dubinsky, Abe Reiss, Benjamin Evry and Morris Stenberg.

These brothers all signified their intention to serve and it is hoped that the next affair, scheduled to take place on Saturday, January 5, 1923, will swell the Relief Fund of our organization so that the Executive Board will be in a position to be more liberal with its donations.

At the last session of the Executive Board Brother David Fruhling was elected as vice-chairman of the Executive Board to take the place of Philip Ansel, who succeeded Brother Max Stroller as chairman of the Executive Board.

CLOAK AND SUIT

As has been stated in the columns of JUSTICE, all conferences which were held between the Union and the Manufacturers' Protective Association have been suspended for a period of three weeks, on account of our General Executive Board session and also because Brother Schlesinger and a number of other general officers are away attending the American Federation of Labor Convention in Cincinnati. But, with the arrival of President Schlesinger, negotiations with the Manufacturers' Protective Association and with the American Association will be resumed, and a final conclusion of the conferences

with the Protective Association reached in the very near future.

As for the American Association, negotiations with them are only about to start. The American Association, it has been ascertained, is attempting to get the impartial chairman adjustment machinery, the same as is in existence with the Protective Association.

Aside from this question, which will be fought by the organization, there are various other questions which will be discussed and reported upon to the membership in the near future.

WAIST AND DRESS

At the last meeting of the Joint Board in the Waist and Dress Industry very important changes in the

organization of that body were decided upon. These changes will not go into effect until ratified by the various locals comprising the Joint Board. The reasons for these changes are obvious, as the situation in the Waist and Dress Industry has not improved. The Joint Board therefore feels that by instituting these changes it may be in a position to place the Joint Board on a more sound basis.

These changes, if adopted by the locals, will be instituted in a few weeks, as soon as the reorganization of the Joint Board, proper, will have taken place, due to the fact that all the locals affiliated with the Joint Board hold their elections about July 1st, with the exception of our local, which holds its elections in January of each year.

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NOTICE OF REGULAR MEETINGS

Waist and Dress and Miscellaneous Monday, July 10th

(Owing to the fact that Monday, July 3rd falls on Independence Day Eve, there will be no meeting of the Cloak and Suit Division in the month of July.)

General Monday, July 24th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place

For the summer months, and until further notice, meetings of the Miscellaneous Division will be held jointly with those of the Waist and Dress Division.

Article 7, Section 12, of the Constitution, makes it compulsory for members to attend at least one meeting every three months. Violation of this clause carries with it a fine. Meetings for each month are posted in this notice.