

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

—Job 27.6

82,941

# JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. V, No. 29.

New York, Friday, July 13, 1923.

Price 2 Cents

## PRESIDENT SIGMAN GREETED BY INJUNCTION IN CHICAGO

Sigman and Perlstein Address Meetings of Joint Board and Local Executives — Arraigned on Severely Disruptive Tactics of "Lefts" in Union

to New York yesterday after an absence of three weeks which he spent in organization work in the Middle West.

Immediately upon his arrival in Chicago, he was greeted by a deputy clerk of the United States District Court and was served with a notice to the effect that Mr. Mitchell of the firm of Mitchell Brothers, dress manufacturers, and president of the dress manufacturers' association of Chicago, applied for an injunction to Judge Carpenter of the Federal Court before whom Sigman and other officers of the Chicago Joint Board are to appear to show cause why an injunction should not be granted against them.

Mr. Mitchell alleges in his plea for a restraining order that he has individual contracts with all his employees, who would not join the union and will not strike, and he asks the Federal court to forbid our International Union and its officers to

attempt to organize, speak, agitate or do any act that might induce his workers to join the union or join a strike movement.

Mr. Mitchell has organized all the other dress manufacturers of Chicago into an association and they have each deposited security bonds that they would stick together and fight every attempt of the International to organize the dress trade in Chicago.

President Sigman came to Chicago on his way to New York and while there addressed meetings of the local executive boards and a meeting of the Joint Board on the general condition in the cloak and dress industries all over the country and especially in Chicago. He dwelt on the new developments which have arisen in the ladies' garment industry and declared that the International will present to the manufacturers in our trades a set of new demands that

would meet, from the work of view, these changed conditions, he discussed the "Lefts" in the Board who are mar "leagues" from the are hampering the of the union, and ternational is a stop to these disru that do not let our organiz ck out its destiny and attend to its business without outside interference.

Vice-president Perlstein, who attended all these meetings together with President Sigman, spoke in the same tone and pointed out that these "Left" elements are obstructing his organizing work and making it impossible for him to make any headway in the campaign in the dress and skirt trades undertaken by the International. The Chicago Joint Board will take up this problem at a special meeting called for that purpose.

## Clothing Workers Congress Postponed Until Next Year

As our readers know, the annual of the International Clothing Workers' Federation with headquarters at Amsterdam, Holland, which our International Union is affiliated, was to have been held this year at Stuttgart, Germany. The Clothing Workers' Federation was reorganized in 1919 after it had suspended activities during the war years, and its revival was in no small degree due to the initiative of our International.

The importance of constant fraternal contact for our own union with the garment workers in Europe has been more than once pointed out in the columns of this journal. Our International deems this affiliation of great interest to our workers and has regularly sent delegates to its congress. This year, however, our General Executive Board notified Secretary Van Der Heeg of the Federation that it would be impossible for our union to send delegates and that we would have to limit our participation in their meeting by proposing the name of President Sigman as a member of the executive council of the Clothing Workers' Federation.

This week we received a cablegram from Brother Van Der Heeg to the effect that the congress was postponed until next year. A number of causes must have militated against the holding of the congress, not the least among these being the fact that it was well-nigh impossible to get together a representative gathering from the European garment workers unions in view of the depleted state of their treasuries and the depreciated condition of their currency.

## Ladies' Garment Button Workers Ratify Settlement

Secretary Baroff Reads Agreement to the Strikers—Contract Adopted Unanimously

The strike of the ladies' garment button-makers which lasted only a few days ended in a gratifying victory for the workers. The button-makers returned to the shops with an agreement guaranteeing them a forty-four hour week, week-work, a flat raise of \$3.00 weekly, a union shop, and a collective agreement with the manufacturers' association in the trade.

The most important thing of all for the strikers, however, is the fact

that they have won a union, a compact, solid local of about 1,000 members and a substantial treasury. Henceforth the local will devote all of its activities to organize the workers that are employed on covered buttons and other lines used exclusively in the women's wear trades. The agreement between the union and the association was concluded for two years. The strike ended in an enthusiastic mass meeting at Beethovens Hall, where Secretary Baroff

read from the platform to the assembled strikers all the clauses of the agreement which one after another were ratified by an acclamation vote.

Local 132 is perhaps the most mixed-local in our union. It consists of Jews, Italians, native Americans, Spaniards and Negroes. The local has a substantial number of women workers. About 100 workers were still left on strike and these will be sent to work in settled shops where workers are greatly in demand.

## Baltimore Cloak Strike in Excellent Shape

The general strike of the cloakmakers in Baltimore is in splendid fighting trim and there is hardly a doubt that it will end in a victory for the workers. As we go to press, we received a telegram from the Baltimore cloakmakers' union which gives the last-minute details of this conflict. The telegram reads as follows:

About fifteen shops settled with union. Many other applications are pending, which are being considered by the settlement commit-

tee. Two strikers arrested on the picket line a few days ago received severe terms in court. One was sentenced to fifteen and the other to five days for the mere act of picketing. Interesting situation arose in the K. M. W. shop which took an injunction against the union as soon as the strike broke out. Fearing that its workers might join the union, they have introduced the 40-hour week to show that the firm will give the workers more than the union demand.

## Boston Cloakmakers' Locals Elect Officers for 1923-24

Another Worcester Shop Settled—Worcester Cloakmakers Renew Agreement

The agreement in the cloak industry of Boston expired on July 1st. Notwithstanding that fact, there appears to be no rush on either side to renew the contract as there is little work in the shops and the employers are maintaining the work conditions that prevailed heretofore in such shops as are operating at present.

The Boston Joint Board is ready for any move on the part of the employers. It is confidently expected, however, that no trouble will take place and that, as soon as the trade livenes up, the agreement will be signed on the terms offered by the workers. Meanwhile elections for officers are taking place in all the local unions, and as soon as the local executives are installed in office, the Joint Board will turn its entire attention to the

speedy conclusion of an understanding with the employers.

In Worcester things moved pretty fast last week. A conference was held between Local 75, the cloakmakers' local of that city, and the cloak employers, and the agreement in the cloak trade which expired on July 1st was renewed with slight changes. On Tuesday, July 10th, Local 75 had a general meeting where this agreement was ratified and nominations were made for officers that are elected annually in that local.

The striking dressmakers in Worcester have scored another victory in signing an agreement with one of the biggest dress shops in that city, the T. & T. Dress Company. The settlement was made through Vice-president Monosson.

All told, there are two more shops on strike in Worcester and it is confidently expected that, within a very short time, these two shops will follow suit and settle with their workers.

## Unity House Season Breaks Records

The current season in the Forest Park Unity House is already proving a striking success from every point of view. It bids fair to exceed any of the preceding seasons in point of attendance, the completeness of preparations, and the tireless endeavor on the part of the management to satisfy and make happy Unity House visitors.

The management requests all prospective vacationists to take care to register before they leave New York and not to take any chances on com-

ing to Forest Park and finding themselves without accommodations. Nightly there are entertainments, dances and concerts in the main hall of the House, for which very often talent is imported from New York. The indefatigable Mrs. Mildred Fox, the directress of social activities in the Unity House, is driving away tedium and ennui from Unity House in an unprecedented manner.

The Fourth of July at the Unity House was a memorable day. The invasion from New York at one time

seemed to surpass the housing facilities, but the ingenious manager, Brother Peter Rothenberg, succeeded in coping with this emergency to the great satisfaction of all concerned.

## Topics of the Week

By MAX D. DANISH

### WHAT THE MINERS DEMAND

**T**HE contract between the anthracite miners and the mine owners will expire on August 31st, and with the experience of the hard fight of last summer fresh in its mind, the public is naturally keyed up in expectation of what the joint conference between the United Mine Workers and the operators will agree or disagree upon.

Straight from their convention at Scranton last week, the anthracite miners' delegates, under the chairmanship of President John Lewis, have gone to Atlantic City to lay their demands before the joint conference. For the first time in the history of these joint meetings, Lewis was elected chairman of the conference, a fact which is generally regarded as a favorable token, pointing to harmony which may lead to eventual agreement.

Among the principal demands of the miners are: complete and unconditional recognition of the union, a twenty per cent increase in contract wages, an eight-hour day for all persons working in and around collieries, and a definite fixing of 2240 pounds as the standard ton where coal is mined on a car basis.

It is barely possible that this joint conference will result either in a deadlock or in a definite break. The eleven proposals submitted by the miners were not presented as ultimatums, but were coupled with a request that they be submitted to a general analysis of their merits. At worst the miners might be compelled to compromise some of their demands. It is practically certain, nevertheless, that there will be no strike in the anthracite fields this summer or fall.

### THE FIGHT IN MINNESOTA

**N**EXT week, Minnesota, where last fall Dr. Hendrick Shipstead, Farmer-Labor candidate, defeated one of Harding's favorites, Kellogg, by over 80,000, will vote in a special election for another United States Senator.

The Farmer-Labor movement in the Northwest has obviously come to stay. The victory scored by Shipstead last fall was not an accidental flare but a definite expression of the will of the farmers and workers in the Northwest. Johnson, the candidate of the Farmer-Labor forces, appears far in the lead and his victory next week is more than probable.

Last week Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin, who is taking a keen interest in the Minnesota battle, forwarded a ringing appeal to the Minnesota voters to elect another Farmer-Labor Senator, and to wipe out standpat Republicanism from that State forever. The other Farmer-Labor Senators and their colleagues, Frazier of North Dakota, Wheeler of Montana, Shipstead and Dr. Ladd are covering the State from end to end and marshaling every ounce of strength in support of Johnson.

The winning of Minnesota for the second time in one year for the labor and farmer movement will be mighty cheerful news for every member of organized labor and every believer in independent political action throughout the land. It will mean the beginning of a real third party in America, a solid and uncompromising expression of deep-laid discontent equipped with a sound and aggressive policy.

### ENGLAND AND FRANCE NEARING BREAK

**T**HE strained relations between France and England on the Ruhr question did not improve last week. If anything, the feeling between Paris and London in the last few days has become even more aggravated and unpleasant.

It need not, nevertheless, be presumed that it is the Ruhr or the sufferings of the German masses that are stirring the ire of the Tories who are in the saddle in England. It is rather the accumulating evidence that the ruling clique in France, spurred on by that group of French imperialists who have been colossally enriched by acquisition of Lorraine ore and Sarre coal, has made up its mind to become the supreme dictators in Europe. Already the French have the greatest army on the continent, far greater than the German army in its halcyon days. But the British are most alarmed by the reports that the French have today what is conceded to be unchallenged mastery of the air, and that their fighting air fleet is six times as great as that of England and could within five hours convert London into a heap of ashes should it choose to descend upon it and bombard it.

It is this position of France as the military master of Europe that disturbs England most of all. England knows that it has itself contributed to this startling and menacing result. It has but itself to thank for the rather ignominious role that it is compelled to play in the Ruhr tragedy, where for several months against its own interest it had to support the policy of bloody repression for its "ally"—Poincaré.

### GARY MAKES A PROMISE

**T**HE drive for an eight-hour day in the steel industry is nearing its logical close.

President Gary of the Steel Trust was compelled last week, in response to the avalanche of protest aroused from literally every nook and corner of the country against the so-called impartial report of his Steel and Iron Institute in favor of continuing the twelve-hour day and the seven-day week in the steel industry, to make a vague promise that very soon the steel mills will be working on a three-shift basis provided "the public will help." Gary added that the only obstacle in the way is the lack of steel workers and that 60,000 additional men in the mills would enable the Steel Trust to begin the eight-hour shift.

Gary's promise is not taken very seriously by the crusaders for humane labor conditions in America's principal industry. His sibil for the twelve-hour day, namely the lack of workers—was shot full of holes no sooner than it was uttered by experts who pointed out that in the shops where the eight-hour shift is already in operation there does not seem to appear any lack of help and that it is the twelve-hour day that repels workers from entering the steel mills. President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, retorted to Gary's vague promise with the statement that it will not be the benevolence of the Steel Trust, but only the

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effort of the workers themselves, that will win the eight-hour day in the steel industry.

Nevertheless, the eight-hour day in the steel mills is coming, and coming fast. And it is coming not because of the beneficent mood of the steel magnates, either. Four years ago Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other steel territory were converted into a battleground by the hundreds of thousands of steel workers who went out demanding a humane working day and the recognition of the union in the steel mills. They were defeated by methods of blood and iron, but out of their defeat there grew that movement for the recognition of their demands which is today forcing Gary and his associates to make promises that the eight-hour day in the steel mills is at the door. It seems a foregone conclusion that before another national election comes around, the steel mills of this country will be operated on an eight-hour basis and the defeat of the steel workers in 1919 will yet blossom out in a substantial victory for their cause.

### \$100,000 FOR A WORLD PEACE PLAN

**L**AST week, Edward Bok of Philadelphia, offered a prize of \$100,000 to any American individual or organization for the "best practicable" plan for the cooperation of the United States with other nations to bring an end to war.

It is said that the principal purpose of this offer is to obtain from the American people as a whole a direct expression of opinion on a problem for which a solution has been sought through agencies in vain. No doubt plans and schemes of every possible description will pour in upon the committee organized to administer the award—ranging from a suggestion to enter the League of Nations to a proposal to outlaw war by international legislation.

It is equally certain that the prize will not be awarded to any plan which will touch rock bottom in seeking to lay bare the causes of war. Today, there is hardly an honest person the world over who will fail to admit that the last great catastrophe was principally an economic war, a war for the elimination of dangerous economic rivals. The next war, now that the principal thrones in Europe are dashed to the ground, will, if it occurs, be even more so an outgrowth of bitter economic, industrial, and territorial rivalry and greed.

Until the principal basic industries in every country on the European continent and on every other continent are nationalized and administered for use and not for profit or mad speculation, the hope for world peace remains all indeed. Only such a drastic move would take the claws out of the sinister international financial and profiteering rings who today toy with the peace of the world. Only such a radical reform would make possible the scrapping of the huge military establishments, greater today in impoverished and prostrate Europe than even in 1914.

## Union Health Center News

During the months of July and August the Dental Department of the Union Health Center will be closed all day Friday.

Dr. George M. Price, director of the Union Health Center, has returned from California last week. He has attended the conferences of the American Medical Association and the National Tuberculosis Association.

The special Neurological Clinic will be continued during the summer months under the supervision of Dr.

J. Smith on Wednesday between 5 and 7 o'clock. Appointments must be made to see the nerve specialist. Patients coming to this clinic require more time than the physician is able to give in the ordinary clinic and consequently only a limited number of patients can be accepted.

The Union Health Center has been making arrangements to send away for several weeks' vacation, the children of members of the Union who are in particularly bad physical condition.

# FROM OUR JOINT BOARDS AND LOCALS

## Boston News

By A LOCAL OBSERVER

### CLOAKS AND SUITS

Some of the larger cloak and suit shops have already renewed the agreement with the union. The others are expected to follow suit within a week or ten days. Considerable difficulty is met with in renewing the agreement with the contractors' association, but conferences with them are still going on. The season is a little late in coming and that gives the contractors' association a chance to haggie and bargain, but we can assure these small employers that none of their shops will be permitted to start work for the winter season unless the demands of the union are granted and the agreement signed.

The installation of the newly elected officials of cutters local No. 73 and pressers local No. 12 took place on Saturday, June 29, at the headquarters of the Joint Board. Particularly impressive was the installation of the officers of the pressers' local, which was celebrated with a band of music and some "agua distillada." In both instances the ceremony was performed by Vice-president of the International, Brother Fred Monosson. The entire joint board of cloakmakers was present.

### WAIST AND DRESS

The week of the Fourth of July was really the first slow week that we had in the dress industry since February. Many of the shops closed down entirely, some of them doing so with the object of escaping payment for Independence Day to the workers. They, however, will find that they only fooled themselves for the agreement provides payment for six legal holidays, whether there is work or not in the shop during a holiday week.

With the coming of the cloak season, we are beginning to experience a little trouble. The Merit Dress Company of 745 Washington Street notified its workers on Saturday, June 29, that it is giving up its business and asked them to take their tools out of the shop. When a representative of the union inquired of the firm the reason for the shut-down, they stated that they are desirous of going into the jobbing business. The Executive Board at its meeting on Thursday evening, July 5, decided

that, unless the employer reopens his plant and reengages the workers who were locked out, a strike shall be declared against the firm. The following day the employer was notified of the decision of the Executive Board. This action of the Executive Board seemed to have had the desired effect on the employer, for he requested the representatives of the union to delay action until Wednesday, July 11th, when he will let us know definitely what he plans to do for the coming season.

Preparations for our excursion on Saturday, July 28th, are going on at a merry pace. Arrangements were made with the Cape Cod Steamship Company for a boat to Provincetown, the place where the Pilgrims landed and one of the historical landmarks of the United States. The regular price for return trip ticket is \$2.00. By special arrangements with the steamship company, it will cost only \$1.25 for our members. Circulars announcing this excursion were sent to all our shops and we expect that a great many of our members will avail themselves of this opportunity to spend a pleasant day on the sea among friends and comrades.

### WORCESTER NEWS

Again we are glad to inform our readers that another one of the striking shops has capitulated. This time it is the P. & D. Dress Co., of 16 Harding Street, one of the largest dress firms in Worcester. During the week the firm applied for a settlement and on Friday, July 6th, peace was concluded. The negotiations were conducted by Vice-president Monosson. There are only two shops out on strike now, and we hope that before long, these two will also walk the plank.

The agreement with the cloak and suit manufacturers in Worcester expired July 1st. Without losing any time, the employers, after one conference renewed the same agreement with but a few slight changes. Now, that almost perfect peace reigns in Worcester, the members decided to return to the routine work of the union. With this in view a membership meeting of all cloak and suit and dress workers was called for Tuesday, July 10th, where nominations for officers for the coming year will take place.

## Local 89 Protests Against

### Action of Central Council

Following the grant of a permission by the Central Trades and Labor Council to some representatives of the Citizens' Military Training Camp Association to appear before trade unions in New York where they might recruit adherents to their cause, the Italian Dress and Waist Makers' Union have adopted by a unanimous vote the following resolution. It is signed by Luigi Antonini, secretary of Local 89.

WHEREAS, The official permission by the Central Trades and Labor Council to the representatives of the Citizens' Military Training Camp Association to appear before labor unions to appeal for recruits to the military training camps, puts the stamp of approval of the bona fide labor movement upon an institution fostering militarism and ultimately war, and

WHEREAS, Organized labor of New York cannot be a party to

such an anti-working-class move to aid in the recruiting of an unencumbered armed force for the preparation of an army to be used in the furnishing of cannon-fodder for the benefit of WAR PROFITEERS, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Executive Board of the Italian Dress and Waistmakers' Union, Local 89, I. L. G. W. U. in a regular meeting assembled on June 29, at 8 West 21st Street, herewith protest against this action of the Central Trades and Labor Council and request the withdrawal of this indirect endorsement of militarism and war, and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the Central Trades and Labor Council and to the Labor press and that our delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council be instructed to bring this matter up and vote for reconsideration.

## In Local 82

By M. J. ASHPITZ

The question of sick relief for our members has been on the order of the day in our local for some time. Theoretically such relief to needy members may sound somewhat outside of the regular range of business for a labor union. In practice, however, it is something which stares us painfully in the face very often and which demands a solution. We began therefore to consider seriously the introduction of a regular relief fund in our local with regular relief dues.

The first practical step in this direction was taken on June 4th, at a special meeting called for this purpose, when the question of a regular fund and benefits was unanimously decided upon. We adopted the system for such funds prevailing in locals 23 and 35.

Our members will commence paying for this relief fund on July 1st and remittance for relief dues will be made obligatory on all members—so that the clerk will not sell any of the members any regular union stamps unless the relief stamp for the preceding month appears pasted on the union card. This is done in order to safeguard our members themselves, for no member will be entitled to any benefit unless he is in good standing on his relief account. The tubercular assessment which has heretofore been

in operation in our local will now be given and merged into the new general relief due stamp.

There are still a number of examiners in our trade who believe that there are more examiners' jobs than men in the trade and who act as if they were independent enough not to file any complaint against an employer as promptly as they ought to do. Some of them turn up with such grievances weeks after their claim arose and some leave their jobs without asking the advice of the officers of the organization. We warn these members again against such rash and entirely unjustifiable action. "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," runs the old adage and so a job on hand is worth a great deal more than a half dozen quits. At any rate, before you quit or right after it, come to the office and let us know about it. We will, in such a case, at least send a union man to take up the job that has become vacant.

Last week the examiners of Reisman, Rothman and Dieber renewed their time contract for another year. The examiners showed their appreciation of their chairman, Brother M. Greifer, by presenting him with a diamond pin at their meeting. Brother Greifer is, in addition to being the shop-chairman, also the president of Local 82; he is an active, loyal union man, and he has surely fully earned this gift from his fellow-examiners.

## Local 38 News

By B. DRASIN, Sec'y

I am glad to state that we have succeeded in putting Local 38 in the position of taking full charge of our members and of the shops under our control. The office has already tackled some very important business and all matters were satisfactorily adjusted. Our meetings are well attended, conducted in a fine manner and based on good union principles.

It might be interesting to note that we have established for our Italian members their own branch meetings. All minutes read before the local meetings are read before the Italian Branch for action. All minutes read and business transacted is in the Italian language in order to make it easier for those who do not speak or understand English very well. In this way the members are aided in intelligently grasping the matters in question. The Italian Branch meetings are held every first and third Saturdays of the month at 2 p. m.

We have reestablished the shop chairmen's meetings where reports of conditions in the shops, important trade questions are taken up, discussed, and recommendations sent to

the Executive Board, where these recommendations receive closest attention. The shop chairmen's meetings take place every first Monday of the month in the office of the union.

While we are doing the best under the circumstances, we believe that still more can be done through the cooperation of the members. We carry on our union business in the most democratic way, giving full expression to every individual.

This coming season we intend to launch a great organization campaign so that we hope to bring the whole trade under union control and in that way conditions of our workers will be greatly improved.

During the hot weather the shop chairmen's meetings will not be held. Watch for the announcement in the labor press when our next shop chairmen's meetings will take place. The next Italian Branch meeting will be held on Saturday, July 14th, at 2 p. m., at our office, 877 Sixth Avenue, between 49th and 50th Streets. The next local meeting will be held Tuesday, June 17th, at 62 East 196th Street.

## JUSTICE

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# Which Britain?

By SYLVIA KOPALD.

IF BRITAIN IS TO LIVE. By Norman Angell. 1923. (G. Putnam's Sons; New York and London.

Humpty-Dumpty Capital  
Sat upon a Wall.  
Humpty-Dumpty Capital  
Had a mighty fall.  
All the learned scientists,  
All the great rich men  
Couldn't make the pieces  
Into a whole again.  
Mr. Edwin W. Bok's recent offer of \$100,000 for a practicable plan by which the United States could be induced to participate in the World Court is merely part of a larger thing. Probably many suggestions will pour in upon the Bok office. It is not only that \$100,000 is an undoubted "drawing card." The \$100,000 is also offered for such a popular pastime. Everybody seems to be doing it. Doing what? Why, saving capitalism. The League of Nations, the World Court, disarmament, moratoria, balanced budgets, cancellation of debts, these are only some of the pet nostrums. There are many others, and every George F. Babbitt seems to carry a program of world-reconstruction in his vest-pocket.

That does not mean that world capitalism is not sorely in need of reconstruction. It is. And perhaps that fact contains the secret of the difference between Norman Angell's latest book and the reconstruction-schemes of Main Street and Zenith. True enough, Mr. Angell also is offering the present-day world a plan by which it may continue to live. Moreover I, for one, do not think Mr. Angell's program contains much more promise than those of the great Mr. Man-in-the-Street. But Mr. Angell has a thorough-going appreciation of the gravity of the problem. He sees with clear-eyed seriousness the complexity of the issues involved and the momentous consequences tied up in them. In this respect one may be sure he is head and shoulders above your

usual neighbor in every street car who will tell you glibly and eloquently at the slightest encouragement just how to save the world. Mr. Angell knows the facts of what's wrong with present-day capitalism. Perhaps he also knows the causes of the disease and its cure. But here there is room for difference of opinion. I, for one, beg to differ.

One can have little quarrel with Mr. Angell's analysis of the present situation. Writing originally for a British public, he approaches his facts from the viewpoint of British welfare. But in the modern world no nation can stand alone; the welfare of Britain is tied with the well-being of Continental Europe and Eastern Europe and Asia and Africa and America. That is Mr. Angell's main contention; if Britain is to live, the rest of the world must live. For humanity today is an international economic unit.

His analysis, however, has behind it the prestige of former achievement. In 1908, Mr. Angell wrote "The Great Illusion," to prove that the most unquestioned triumph in a modern war could not profit the victors. His theory was much debated and was laughed out of court by many wiseacres. The war of 1914-1918 and the peace that followed it certainly have vindicated his forecast. In 1918 the Allies faced a completely vanquished foe. They wrote their own terms of peace and attempted to force them upon a disarmed enemy. Today they face a world bankrupt and disordered.

The state of that world furnished the material for the major portion of Mr. Angell's latest book as well as a vindication of his earliest one. It is indeed a challenge to complacency that he has crammed into these pages. His first chapter attempts to puzzle out the basis of men's complacency.

Why, after the experience of the war and the failure of the peace, are men content with mouthing the worn-out discredited phrases of the pre-war regime? Why do they meet every suggestion for the adoption of a workable reconstruction policy with the question, Why this tenderness for the Hun? The newspapers and the mechanism of democracy have much to answer for here. Few statesmen hold privately the same opinions that they voice in public. But simple hate policies are always easier to get across and to "sell" than the complexities of economics. Therefore, well-being is sacrificed to popularity and vote-catching.

Yet there is a certain stark simplicity about the facts of this situation. And sooner or later the well-known general public will have to realize those facts. In Great Britain the need of foreign trade, the present conditions of the world, argues Mr. Angell, will force them to realize that Britain's present policies lead straight to destruction and that a complete turn-about-face is imperative "if Britain is to live."

Great Britain today holds at least twice as many people as its soil can support "at an adequate standard." The population, moreover, is steadily increasing. Consequently Britain must participate in an international division of labor. Its excess population must be supplied out of the surplus of foreigners. That surplus has been steadily declining for various reasons, but since the war especially, because of the paralysis of international trade and the credit system.

The causes for that dangerous paralysis are multiple. In a final analysis, however, they all come back to the political nationalism that cuts through our economic internationalism. Every country is out for itself; every country seeks to hog as much of the world's natural resources as it can; every nation keeps the others "off its grass" by protective tariffs, frontiers, harbor restrictions, etc. The treaty of peace has strengthened this exclusive nationalism by "Balkanizing Europe." The upshot of these policies, of course, is the need for military

force to safeguard one's own interests against an equally greedy world. Through imperialist self-sufficiency (which Mr. Angell proves an unpromising policy even for capitalist Britain), balance of power commitments and huge armament rivalries, nations thus seek to safeguard themselves—and fall into war.

In place of such policies, Mr. Angell would have the powers draw up a "code of economic intercourse" which would define the rights and obligations of each nation under a common code and which would have the pooled power of all behind it.

And there you have it. Certainly Mr. Angell's facts draw a true picture of the present world. But one wonders whether his interpretation of those facts does not put the cart before the horse. It is true that our industrial, economic world is international. But industrial processes today are owned by private individuals. Is not political nationalism in economic affairs an expression of that private ownership? Do not the individual capitalists use the state to further their own competitive interests?

On the other hand, there can be little doubt but that Mr. Angell's solution constitutes a grave danger. For, after all, there are two Britains today just as there are two worlds in general. There is the Britain of the owning capitalists and the Britain of those who do not own. Mr. Angell's scheme would mark the formation of an international trust of the owners. Just as the competing capitalists within the various countries found a way out of the evils of competition through trustification, so they might find a way out of the present lag through international trustification. Such a policy might give them a new lease on life. And Britain would continue to live. The question is, however, which Britain.

But there is comfort in the knowledge that those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. Can you see France entering an economic code with Germany—and with Russia? And then, there is always that other world.

## The English Independent Labor Party in Conference

By EVELYN SHARP

(London Daily Herald Service)

The growing influence of British Labor in the country is amply demonstrated both by the recent election of Mr. Robert Smillie to Parliament and by the Labor Party Conference now proceeding in London.

The return of the veteran miners' leader by the magnificent majority of 6,968 votes was all the more significant, as being considered an "extremist," he had been seven times defeated on previous occasions and, in the recent contest, had both Liberals and Conservatives ranged against him in the constituency and in the Press. His extraordinary value to the Parliamentary Labor Party may be estimated by the efforts that were made by his enemies to keep him out of the House of Commons. His great strength lies in his utter sincerity as well as in his ability and his wit as a speaker. He is no more an "extremist" than any other man or woman who does not compromise with principles. You have only to be in his company five minutes to realize how much his charm of personality reflects his character. They say the women's vote contributed largely to his success, and it is easily believed by any electorship who knows how the women voter looks more for character than for party policies in a candidate.

### THE LABOR CONFERENCE

The Labor Party Conference (not to be confused with the Trade Union Conference held later in the summer) is a specially important event this year because it is the first to be held since Labor became the official opposition in Parliament. Its pronouncements and decisions, therefore, are being looked for with unusual interest; not to say anxiety, in some quarters. Mr. Sidney Webb, as chairman, made a speech calculated to show what sort of policy Labor would adopt if in power. It was an answer, in fact, to the monotonous query of the capitalist papers—"Can Labor Govern?" By far the most important passage of his speech outlined Labor's foreign policy as one of "mutual service as contrasted with a policy of the deliberate pursuit of profit for self." A Labor Government, he declared, would disassociate itself boldly from France's action in the Ruhr, would accept the German offer to make good the material war damage in France and in Belgium, and to compensate civilian victims provided extravagant indemnity claims were dropped; would in consideration of a general settlement waive other claims and press for cancellation of war debts; would convert the League of Nations into a worldwide and effective organization; would

work for the abolition of passports and other hindrances to international understanding and communication; and, finally, would urge the universal adoption of "a common policy of education in internationalism" in schools and universities, in place of the present patriotic and "hugely false history and economics."

After the fluctuations of Mr. Lloyd George's foreign policy, the ineffectiveness of Mr. Bonar Law's, and the obscurity of Mr. Baldwin's, this definite pronouncement from one of the Labor Party's greatest intellectuals is of very great importance. The only other event of note on the opening day of the conference was the rejection of the motion committing the affiliation of the British Communist Party. While many may still regret that the Labor Party does not show more courage in this matter and take the risk of admitting the Communists into the Party, the very large majority against such a course shows that the fear of their destroying the Party from within, and of their substituting armed revolution for the "inevitability of gradualism," which was Mr. Webb's definition of the Party's rate of progress, remains as real as it was when Russia's "Bolsheviks" were first misrepresented in this country.

### IN PARLIAMENT

To turn to affairs in Parliament is to experience a cold douche. For in the House of Commons the reactionary majority still operates with deadly effect, and all the efforts of the Labor minority could not stay the passage of a Housing Bill that will scarcely benefit the workers at all, or prevent the putting on of the government whips against the Coal Mines

Minimum Wage Bill. The rejection of the latter bill destroys the last hope of a peaceful settlement of the grave question of miners' wages, and leaves the two more or less district Poor Law Guardians are being compelled to depart from their rule not to assist miners who are in employment. What the miners will do to better their parlous condition cannot be decided until their executive meets on July 9th; but rumors are afloat of restriction of output in order to force up the price of coal until the owners can afford to pay a living wage—a thoroughly uneconomic substitute for nationalization, of course. But what are the men to do if the owners, backed by the government, refuse nationalization, and there is no other solution possible?

The progress of the Matrimonial Causes Bill through the House of Lords—where the second reading was passed—adds to the surprise of its passage through the House of Commons three weeks ago. That a measure for equality of divorce allowing a woman to divorce her husband for misconduct as he has always been able to divorce her, should even meet with the organized opposition of bishops, is one of the greatest testimonies yet shown to the new atmosphere created in politics by the woman's vote.

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# The Need for Health Insurance

By J. CHARLES LAURE

In anticipation of the time when the State of New York will have legislation to provide funds for health insurance for workers in addition to insurance against industrial accidents and death, the State Department of Labor has made a survey of a portion of the industrial population of the State, to learn how much time is lost annually by wage earners through illness.

The annual wage loss among factory workers in the State that would be compensable under a compulsory health insurance law, such as has been proposed in a number of bills that have been introduced in the legislature, is not less than \$13,000,000 in any single year, based on the assumption that 1,500,000 factory workers are employed in the State.

The majority of the cases of sickness reported in the survey which was made in large industrial establishments in cooperation with the employers was not covered by any form of health insurance.

The law now protects the workers injured in the course of their employment although there is still much room for improvement in the scope and benefits of this act, but the equally prevalent hardship among workers' families when the chief bread winner becomes ill and his earning stops has not thus far been relieved by the community.

The usual health insurance plan which has been carried out successfully by a number of industrial insurance companies that write policies for individual workers or blanket policies to cover the entire working force of large industrial and mercantile establishments provides for compensation for illness after a three-day waiting period and not to exceed twenty-six weeks.

The investigation conducted by the State of New York shows that the average loss of time from work or account of sickness of three days' to

six months' duration would be 2 1/3 days. Under the proposed plans therefore only the more severe attacks of illness would be compensable.

The average loss of time in this State, it was found, is somewhat less than that of other communities in the United States that average a loss of working time through sickness of from five to nine days a year. Causes for the discrepancy are thought to be the relatively better sanitary conditions, the better wages and the better state of organization among the wage earners here than in the case among the workers of North Carolina or West Virginia for example.

The sickness rate per thousand workers as established by various surveys in different sections of the United States follows:

Locality—	Sickness rate per 1,000
New York State . . . . .	7.2
Rochester . . . . .	7.9
Boston . . . . .	8.6
Pittsburgh . . . . .	10.1
Pennsylvania . . . . .	10.5
Kansas City . . . . .	14.0
North Carolina . . . . .	15.1
West Virginia . . . . .	20.8

The investigation was limited to 70,559 employees in representative establishments. From these factories in the six month period of the survey 8,761 workers lost from three days to six months through sickness, a total loss of working time of 84,065 days and a wage loss of \$321,516.

Sickness is more prevalent in the winter months than in summer, the worst month for illness being January while the healthiest month is July. It was also found that the average loss of time for serious illnesses among men within the limits of the survey was 9.3 days and \$40.61 in wages; for women the loss was 10.3 days and, since the wage rate is lower, the wage loss was \$29.22. The

sickness rate therefore was fifty per cent greater for women than for men but the period of illness was less, since they were less subject to severe attacks.

Sixty per cent of the total number of cases reported were of not more than six days' duration, eighty per cent involved disability of 11 days or less, and only ten per cent involved disability of more than 19 working days.

Diseases of the respiratory system constitute the largest group in the number of cases. The second largest group numerically was diseases of the digestive system, with 25 per cent of all cases. The general disease group was third, this including typhoid fever, malaria, diphtheria, influenza and grippa.

A few allied diseases—influenza and grippa, "colds" and bronchitis, and tonsillitis and other diseases of the throat—made up 45 per cent of all cases of disability reported and were responsible for over one third of the total loss of time by sickness.

One of the interesting results of the investigation is that sickness of brief duration is of less importance in the loss of time and wages than the number of cases. Sickness causing disability of three to six days, which constituted 60 per cent of the total number of cases reported, involved only 26 per cent of the total time lost. More than half of the total time lost was caused by sickness lasting more than two weeks and it is these instances that bring about the severest cases of hardship among the workers.

The great interest aroused among all classes in the subject of health within the last three years, an activity in which the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been the pioneer among labor organizations, has also brought under closest scrutiny the working of the compensation act, after which the proposed Health Insurance Act will be patterned.

While sickness is preventable by frequent physical examinations, good food and living conditions and

arily by a wage that will maintain the worker in health and comfort, most accidents can be prevented by forethought on the part of the worker and employer. Yet there were 348,673 industrial accidents reported to the Department of Labor in the year ending 1920, but only 51,099 were compensable under the law. Among the most tragic of these cases were the 1,983 accidents to children under 18 years of age, one of the most severe indictments of a State which, according to the last census report, had 270,546 children toiling in factories, farms and in domestic service.

Among the boy workers that gave their lives to earn bread for their families was Tony, 17, who was working for a contractor on concrete work and fell from the roof into the engine room, suffering a fractured skull and laceration of the brain. Another was a boy of 16, earning \$3 a day and providing for a dependent mother, who was working as an errand boy. He jumped off the elevator at the second floor and fell through the shaft down into the basement. A third boy, who was earning \$3.45 a day as an electrician's helper died from a 35-foot fall from a ladder where he was working. Another lad, with a dependent father and mother, working near an exposed line shaft in a machine shop had both arms twisted off at the shoulder and died from his frightful injuries.

These accidents and deaths, but a small portion of those that occurred that year, were compensated under a small extension under the law against accidents.

It is equally important that losses due to illness, much greater in the aggregate than that of violent injuries in industry and only slightly less necessary should be repaid by some form of health insurance. This is part of a form of enlightened labor legislation which, in spite of the total failure in the closing session of the New York legislature, will again be agitated until another remedial law is written on the statute books of this and other States.

## The Business Cycle

The severity of the depression of 1921, which followed a period of almost unprecedented expansion, brought before the public what has been emphasized the need of finding some way of avoiding these continuous cycles. When the President's Conference on Unemployment met in Washington in September, 1921, a preliminary program was drawn up to be applied to the immediate emergency, but it was agreed that a way should be found to prevent its recurrence. To this end a Committee on Unemployment and Business Cycles was appointed. A brief report by this Committee has now been published, with a foreword by Secretary Hoover, which explains that a "special volume will be issued at an early date, giving an exhaustive presentation of the facts and causes in relation to the business cycle and the views developed as to prevention and remedy."

The term "business cycle" as here used means "the series of changes in business conditions which are characterized by an upward movement into depression." Seasonal fluctuations are not considered. The Committee finds that the causes of the cycles must be looked for within business itself, and that "the most productive results in controlling it are likely to be obtained from consideration of business rather than from efforts to explore remote considerations." Continuing, the Committee says: "Analyses of past cycles of business show certain common tendencies. If we begin the analysis

when business is reviving, in general the characteristic features are increased stock exchange prices, rising stock exchange prices followed by rising commodity prices, then by business expansion and increased demand for credit from both business men and speculators. As the result of the advance of commodity prices, money rates stiffen and credit gradually becomes strained, and these conditions may be accompanied by a curtailment of credit for speculative purposes. Then stock exchange prices fall; for a while longer general business continues to increase unevenly, transportation facilities are delayed, burdens and deliveries are delayed, the apparent shortage of goods is intensified by speculative buying and duplication of orders by merchants and other buyers until credit expansion nears its limit. Public confidence is then shaken, resulting in widespread cancellation of orders if the cycle is extreme. This is always followed by liquidation of businesses and sharp and irregular fall of prices. During the period of depression there is always more or less widespread unemployment."

As a result of their study the Committee makes a series of recommendations for the control of business cycles.

- "Collection of fundamental data"—to be gathered from separate establishments.
- "Larger statistical service"—specifically, the expansion, standardization, and full publication of government statistics "in order that there

may be promptly available a connected, uniform series of facts about the trend of business."

3. "Research"—into economic forces, business currents, and broad questions of economic method.

4. "Control of credit expansion by banks." The banks must bear responsibility for the overexpansion of loans. Expansion of bank credit is a factor in the expansion of business and a sudden contraction of loans is commonly the chief factor in bringing about business collapse.

5. "Possible control of inflation by the federal reserve system." "Additions to credits which cannot be economically validated by a commensurate effect in actual production are speculative, and as such should be subjected to control, so that business and industry can be maintained in a healthy state."

6. "Control by business men of the expansion of the business cycle, laying out extensions of plant and equipment ahead of immediate requirements with the object of carrying them out in periods of depression and carrying through such construction plans during periods of low prices in conformity with the long-time trend, the accumulation of financial

reserves in prosperity in order to mark down inventories at the peak, and the maintenance of a long view of business problems rather than a short view, will enable firms to make headway toward stabilization."

7. "Control of private and public construction at the peak." Under this recommendation is advocated the cessation and postponement of construction by the government, railroads, public utilities, and private owners in boom periods when prices are high.

8. "Public utilities." It is pointed out that the reduced earnings and high rates customary at the peak of inflation create a natural tendency for public utilities to postpone improvements until net earnings are better and interest rates lower, so that they experience less difficulty than private enterprises with the program outlined under recommendation 7. The difference is due to government relation of earnings and rates.

9. "Unemployment reserve funds"—to lessen the iniquity of a business depression by maintaining in some measure the purchasing power of labor.

(Federal Council Information Service)

### BEGINNING JULY NINTH

## RAND SUMMER SCHOOL

Mornings		
Contemporary Poetry	- - -	CLEMENT WOOD
Economics and Sociology	- - -	SCOTT NEARING
Socialism	- - -	ALGERNON LEE
Political Parties	- - -	JAMES ONAL
Evenings		
Literature	- - -	H. W. L. DANA
Psychology	- - -	DE JOHN B. WATSON
Philosophy	- - -	WM. P. MONTAGUE

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# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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## EDITORIALS

### A FEW MORE WORDS ABOUT SAN FRANCISCO

A short while ago one of our readers outside of New York asked us in a letter whether or not he might go to San Francisco. We replied that, unless he was looking for a strikebreaking job, he had better remain where he was.

Now that the strike is at an end, it is quite likely that our correspondent, and perhaps many others, might think of seeking jobs in San Francisco. We deem it necessary, therefore, to warn them against it. From all reports, it would seem that not all the strikers have gone back to work. The San Francisco Industrial Association is still trying to do every possible mischief to the local organization of our workers, which has steadfastly refused to recognize it as a factor in the industry. The Association is still endeavoring to get from Los Angeles and elsewhere scabs for San Francisco and is actually forcing them on the cloak manufacturers. Then, too, there is very little work in San Francisco and those who go there now are likely to face very hard times.

Another thing, we already stated in this journal a couple of weeks ago, the General Executive Board is very much dissatisfied with this settlement, if such it can be called. Consequently, the situation in San Francisco is far from definite. It may be that in a favorable moment Local 8, with the consent of the International, will again call the cloakmakers out to fight. From the correspondence received at the General Office from Local 8 and from other active labor organizations, the union has never had in mind to sign, nor did it sign that so-called agreement. The union is therefore entirely clear of any accusation that we may have made against it that it was pursuing a wrong course. Our San Francisco local has simply concluded a truce with the manufacturers. It has not, however, through this truce lost its right to take up the fight against them at any time it might find this necessary.

For the time being, however, it will be clear to our readers that no union worker need go to San Francisco to look for work—not until the union succeeds in obtaining beyond a shadow of a doubt full recognition from the cloak manufacturers' association of that city. That may happen through negotiations or by means of an open struggle, but the fewer cloakmakers there are in San Francisco until that time, the better are the chances of the union.

### THE STRIKE AND VICTORY OF THE BUTTON WORKERS

Garments must have buttons and buttons are therefore an integral part of the garment. Button-making is consequently part and parcel of our industry, the women's wear industry. That is why, when the button-makers in the ladies' garment industry organized into a union several years ago, they obtained a charter from the International.

While we are not entirely clear about the causes which have led to it, the fact remains that the button-makers' local has for a long time been in a state of coma. For several years all that remained of that local was a number. The button-workers meanwhile continued to work in the shops, their wages becoming smaller and their working-hours longer and longer. Only when their situation became wellnigh unbearable, they recalled that once upon a time they had had a union and that they belonged to the International.

One bright morning a few months ago, a committee of these button-makers came to the office of President Sigman and told him their tale of woe. They had no money in their treasury, they had had no meeting for many months and had no place where to meet, but they hoped, if they did call a meeting, that a large number of workers would respond. President Sigman immediately granted them the free use of our auditorium and promised to attend their meeting. Thus began the revival of the moribund Local 132, the ladies' garment button-makers.

This took place only a couple of months ago and now Local 132 is again a live, active organization which already passed through a strike involving over a thousand workers that ended very successfully for the button-workers. Owing to the absence of President Sigman from New York, the negotiations with the employers were conducted, in addition to the officers of the new local, by General Secretary Baroff, and the workers obtained a collective agreement which granted week-work, the 44-hour week, a raise of \$3.00 weekly, and full recognition of the union.

It is a simple, ordinary story. The button-workers, who are despondent, weak and spiritless, as individuals, have got

together and appealed for leadership and aid to the proper agency. And presto! These weak and browbeaten workers of a sudden became a power before which their employers had to bow. The key of the whole situation is very, very plain,—the workers have organized, declared their readiness to fight for a better living, and have won it.

We sincerely congratulate these workers but we warn them to watch out against a repetition of what befell them only a few years ago. The International has treated them very generously this time. It is therefore their sacred duty to keep their organization intact and never allow it to slink back to the condition it found itself in a few months ago.

### CHILD SLAVERY IN JERSEY SWEATSHOPS

In the last number of this journal, there was a brief report mentioning the fines imposed on a few sweatshop owners in a court in Jersey City. The case, however, deserves much more than a brief notice. It appears that Jersey City is actually infested with these sweatshops. Most of them are located in tenements and serve both as homes and shops for large immigrant families. These tenements are devoid of light, air and cleanliness where children of school age are compelled to work from early morning until ten o'clock at night all for a miserable, unbelievably small pittance. These shops abound not only in Jersey City, but in Hoboken, Newark, Bayonne and other Jersey towns.

The guilt for New Jersey's becoming a favorable playground for the sweatshoppers in the garment industry should be squarely placed upon the same authorities who at present are ostensibly so awfully shocked by their great "discovery." To our organizers and to the labor movement this sweatshop epidemic and this inhuman torture of children has not been a secret. They have known about it right along and have done all in their power to suppress and overcome it. The obstacles they met in their endeavor to blot out these infamous conditions in New Jersey have come from no others than these self-same authorities who have regarded union organizers as nothing short of criminals and who would not infrequently deport them from these towns as soon as they set foot in them, with a warning not to dare come back to "disturb the peace" of the sweatshop community.

That was what made possible the development of this abomination in New Jersey. At the last meeting of our General Executive Board there appeared a committee from Local 6, the embroidery workers, who told of the struggle their local had waged in Jersey City which had cost them tens of thousands of dollars. This fight had to be given up because the police had given these sweatshop owners all the protection and aid that was within their power.

The investigation that is going on in Jersey City at present will very likely end up in the fining and jailing of a few contractors and perhaps of some of the very victims of these sweatshops whose children were found working in them. The big manufacturers who have supplied these sweatshops with work will get away unscathed. They will still be regarded as prominent citizens, pillars of society and benevolent philanthropists.

Therein lies the tragedy of this entire affair. The sweatshop business in New Jersey and in other cities and towns surrounding New York emanates directly from New York City, from the big manufacturers who maintain small sanitary show shops in New York City but who send most of their work out to these small-town sweatshops that are infested with tuberculosis bacteria and other infectious diseases. In New York, thousands upon thousands of union workers are going around idle, while the work is being done in these sweatshops by minors and by sick women who work from morning to night for a starvation wage.

And not only in New Jersey—in New York too there are sweatshops by the hundreds in our garment trades. The sweatshop was only abolished for a time, but it has now been resurrected in small towns around New York and in New York proper. It is high time to arouse public opinion against this nuisance which actually constitutes a great public menace.

Let the public realize that in the clothes which they buy on Broadway and Fifth Avenue there are likely to be microbes of infectious diseases because these garments are likely to have been made in the kitchens and bedrooms of horribly overcrowded tenements. Let the public demand strict accounting from our jobbers and manufacturers as to where and by whom these garments are being made. Let the public, for the sake of its own safety, demand that each garment have a stamp from the union as a guarantee that it is made by union hands under real sanitary conditions.

The union must not allow this situation to go on unchecked. These sweatshops nullify all our plans and make nothing of all our victories. The more we gain in New York, the greater becomes the number of these runaway sweatshops in Jersey City, in Bayonne and wherever we cast an eye.

Of course, this must not be the task of the union only. We must interest the press and public opinion in this matter. Our organizers must not be deterred from their legitimate activity in these small towns by some arrogant constables who act as the protectors and fosterers of these sweatshops. It is a big task which must not be shelved or laid over. The sweatshop epidemic must be rooted out or else it will destroy and demolish all that has heretofore been accomplished by our labor unions in the various needle industries.

# What the Fifth Quarterly Meeting Has Accomplished

By S. YANOVSKY

## IV.

There was another committee which we cannot pass over in silence as it involved a very important subject, the decision on which will quite likely lead to a very definite and determined stand to be adopted by our International Union. At the last meeting of the Board it had already become known that a body which styles itself the Shop Delegates' League is trying its hardest to control some of our locals, to decide their policies for them, and to determine in advance who their officers shall be. It is a body which is not officially connected with the union and is not responsible to any one. Due to the fact that there are in some of our local members who like to call themselves "Lefts," and who are therefore ready to follow any adventurer who drapes himself in the mantle of Leftism, it would seem that this so-called Shop Delegates' League has acquired considerable influence in these locals. So when a decision upon an important subject is pending, the League calls upon a number of picked members of the union whom they know to be in sympathy with their leaning, to come to a meeting at which decisions are made beforehand this or that office is candidates for this or that office is settled. Later this group comes to the regular meeting of the union with ready-made decisions and the union meetings thus become nothing more than rubber-stamp assemblies.

These tactics of the Shop Delegates' League became particularly clear in the course of the last election for officers in Local 22. A committee consisting of several members of Local 22 appeared before the G. E. B. and made the following statement:

"They have in their possession two letters sent by a certain Miller who was expelled from the local some time ago and who now appears to be the secretary of this Shop Delegates' League. In these two letters the members of Local 22 are called upon to come to a meeting where the can-

didates for the executive board will be determined upon, and, in the second letter, to come to a meeting and decide which of that slate shall be chosen for this or that office.

When the time came to install these elected officers, Brother Liebowitz, one of the oldest members of the local, protested against their installation. With these letters in his hand, he demonstrated that these men were picked in advance for their office by a body which has no connection with the union and that the entire installation ceremony so far as they were concerned was nothing but a farce. He stated that they are not fit and cannot be leaders of a union as they are not free agents, have no opinions of their own, and are only acting as the blind tools of a Shop Delegates' League which was formed for the purpose of destroying the union as it exists today. He demanded therefore that the installation of these "elected" officers be at least postponed until the entire situation was investigated and thrashed out. But as the entire executive with a few exceptions consists of this type of Lefts, his protest was ignored, though none of the delegates attempted to deny the stated facts. Thereupon this committee of members of Local 22 lodged this protest with the General Executive Board.

The question was thoroughly discussed. The Board strongly opposed the dictatorship from without to manipulate affairs in our local union. Here was an expelled member of a local who became the secretary of a Shop Delegates' League and thereby became capable of directing the policies of the selfsame local which cast him out of its midst. Besides that, this Shop Delegates' League appears to be a motley organization composed of members of various unions who do not even belong to our trades and these pretend to dictate the management of a local of dressmakers which is nominally a local of the International! It is clear enough that it is a situation which cannot be tolerated

for a moment by the International.

A considerable majority of the members of the Board favored the invalidation of the election of Local 22 and the ordering of a new election. Finally, however, a unanimous decision was adopted to investigate the affair first and to instruct Vice-presidents Feinberg, Reisberg and Heller to carry out this investigation. Last week the inquiry into this matter took place in the office of the International Union. The entire executive of Local 22 was invited to the hearing and none of them denied that they had received such letters. Most of them admitted that they were members of the Shop Delegates' League and were present at both meetings indicated in the two letters. But while some of them had forgotten what took place at these meetings only a couple of weeks ago, the others were frank enough to admit that at the last meeting it was determined which of the candidates were fit for this or that office. It is peculiar, however, that those who were determined as fit at that meeting were later elected for the same office without difficulty.

We do not know yet what decision the investigating committee has reached in this matter. Perhaps the whole situation will come up again before President Sigman or before the New York members of the Board. As soon as a final determination is reached in this matter, we shall not fail to communicate it to the readers of our journal.

The Worcester strike is the result of some agitation conducted there by Vice-president Monosson. The strike is in good shape; there are no strike-breakers, and it may be expected that the local employers will soon meet the terms of the workers. Local 7, the Boston raincoat makers, are also expecting to obtain a wage increase.

Vice-presidents Ninfo, Seidman, Fannia M. Cohn, and Halprin each delivered reports covering their field of special activity, which are more or

## INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

### This Week Twelve Years Ago

All officers of the Cloakmakers' Union take themselves 18 per cent of their salaries for the heroic strikers in Cleveland.

New York locals give another \$48,000 for the Cleveland strike. The International sends \$15,000 from its treasury for the third time.

New York Joint Board forces the firm of Edward Culbert & Company to discard one of its partners because he was instrumental in the firm's doing work for some Cleveland manufacturers against whom the Cleveland union is on strike.

The Raincoat Makers' Union and the Raincoat Manufacturers' Association form a grievance committee. The union is represented as this committee by Shapiro and George Wishnik. The manufacturers are represented by Messrs. Lazarus and Sanborn.

Sam Rosenthal, a cloakmaker, is fined \$99.50 for having sold to the highest bidder union books which he mysteriously procured somewhere. He was also ordered to return every cent to those whom he had succeeded in securing.

The woolen firm of Blackmer & Company, 90 West 16th Street, discharged three workers solely because they had protested against the perennial "mistake" which the firm made in paying off the workers.

less known to our readers. General Organizer Arturo Giovanitti also reported on his experiences as organizer. He is very optimistic about his work and points out that he is devoting a great deal of his time in bringing together the various elements in the local Italian labor movement who until recently have been bitterly inimical towards each other.

Vice-president Schoolman reported that a great deal has already been accomplished by him to bring better system in the Record Department which he manages and that very soon this department will become a model of its kind in the labor field.

### GARY PROMISES AGAIN

President Harding has extracted a promise from Gary and the other steel magnates that, as soon as the shortage of labor in the steel mills disappears, the twelve-hour day in the steel-mills will be abolished and the eight-hour day will be established for the majority of the workers in the industry and a ten-hour day for the remainder.

Mr. Gary and his associates obviously are familiar with the old saying that promises never drained a treasury, and quite likely have acted on that assumption. On the other hand, President Harding is naturally so credulous and easily satisfied that he had already, on the strength of this promise, congratulated the Steel Trust upon its wonderful achievement. Harding's glee would have been brimful indeed hadn't it been for Gompers, who loves so much to pour cold water upon some people's overheated heads. In essence this is what Samuel Gompers said anent this promise:

The President must have been either too optimistic or humorously inclined. His statement that Gary, Schwab et cetera have promised to abolish the twelve-hour day as soon as there is a surplusage of workers in the steel mills will give very little solace to the steel workers. They are not going to Alaska, neither do they run for office. The eight-hour day is coming in the steel industry, but we do not expect that it will come in any other way save through the organization of the steel workers.

So Gompers is the eternal "doubting Thomas," and to an extent he is right. One need not place much faith in the promises of a Gary—yet this time, so are we impressed, Gary, Schwab, and the other masters of steel have made their promise earnestly. On the one hand we see that public opinion in America is strongly aroused over the twelve-hour day in the steel mills, and on the other, they still vividly remember the strike of the steel workers four years ago. They have good reason to fear that the steel workers will attempt to organize and strike again, a strike that would this time receive almost unanimous support from the public. It might be a shrewd move on their part to promise to concede voluntarily now what they would have to give willy-nilly in the future.

Indeed, we believe that Gary is earnest this time in his promise to abolish the twelve-hour day in his mills "as soon as possible," i. e. as soon as he can find enough cheap labor, enough Mexicans, Philippines, Canadians, etc. Under these conditions we fail to conceive what the Steel Trust stands to lose thereby anyway. Harding does not ask the Steel Trust to abolish the twelve-hour day and pay the workers for the eight-hour day, as much as for the twelve hours. The problem, as far as the steel magnates are concerned, is therefore actually reduced to the point of obtaining an additional 60,000 workers for the same pay-rolls on which they are now employing their 300,000 men in the mills.

And should it even occur that the pay-roll of the Steel Trust will somewhat increase, we dare assure our readers that the steel combination will under no circumstances suffer the loss. It will come out of the pockets of the dear public. All these considerations lead us to believe that sooner or later the eight-hour day will be established in the steel mills—after which the workers, if they are to make a living, will have to organize and fight for a proper living wage. That perhaps is the only menacing prospect which holds Gary back from granting the eight-hour day in the steel factories.

### THE COMMUNISTS GET ANOTHER PARTY

One party, the Workers' party, was not enough for them.

So they have gone and "captured" another, the "Federated Farmer-Labor party." But they will have just as little luck with their new party as they have had with the old outfit. At most, both parties will supply them with sufficient tumult, enough verbosity, and a chance to "impress" their Moscow overlords that something big is being "put over" here.

Of course, it is all froth and sham—but what do they care? That's the right grist for their mill, the kind of a noise they love and cherish. Yet, there's something good that's come out of this Chicago affair. John Fitzpatrick and the other leaders of the Chicago Federation of Labor who for some time have shown signs of intoxication with Fosterian phraseology have sobered up. The American labor movement can only gain therefrom.



## Facts and Facts

By BERTHA WALLERSTEIN

Unemployment waves are bad at times, but it is hard to believe that printers are ever out of work. The amount of printed matter that the morning mail brings is unbelievable. There are advertising circulars, and subscription blanks and pictures of summer resorts and bills and appeals and removal announcements. And besides all this, clamoring for money, comes a bulk of information, a mass of facts which somebody has paid to have printed. Facts, facts, facts! What good are they?

On my desk this month, for instance, is a study of wages in American industries made by the National Industrial Conference Board. On top of that is the annual report of the Labor Bureau, Incorporated, for the year 1922. And beside it is a copy of JUSTICE. There is also a circular of the Lucy Stone League, urging me to join a band of women who refuse to change their names when they marry.

What good is it all? I doubt if the Lucy Stone League report will do anybody much good. It seems to me that changing your name when you marry is purely an individual matter. If you choose to take your husband's name, you need not cooperate with any other women about it. Likewise, if you choose to keep your own name, your success will not be strengthened by organizing with other women who wish to do so. You might as well have a League for the Promotion of Bobbed Hair.

The other things on my desk are more serious matters. That report

of the N. I. C. B. on wages, for instance, is going to do some people a lot of good. But I am not sure that those people are wage-earners. The report is advertised as containing "Four Facts for Forward-Looking Manufacturers." (Doesn't it mean manufacturers?)

"1. Wages are the largest single item in manufacturing costs. They make up more than two-fifths of the value added by manufacture in American industries."

"2. Wages are rising steadily. From May 15 to June 15, 1923, 287 wage increases were reported in American industries."

"3. Wages will largely determine whether business prosperity will last." (That is a positive warning to refractory manufacturers who are paying too much.)

The report shows that weekly wages in 1923 more than double the value of wages in 1914. It further shows that real wages—or the purchasing power of wages in 1923 are 30 per cent more than in 1914. That means that wages have increased 30 per cent more than the cost of living in those nine years.

Now, do you begin to see what is the good of all this information? It is valuable to the open-shop campaign. It presents the increasing wage budget to the manufacturers as a menace looming ever larger. It seems to imply that wages have increased unjustly by showing that the worker has been enabled to raise his standard of living. There are a good many sleepy, indifferent employers

of labor, you know, just as there are sleepy, indifferent workers. You know the kind of worker who never comes to meetings, and is behind in his dues? Well, there are employers who are not active in the open-shop campaign just because they don't want to take the trouble. A report of this kind is made to stir them up. The National Industrial Conference Board, which made the report, is supported by manufacturers associations. One of its members is the National Association of Manufacturers itself. You would hardly expect a totally impartial survey to be made by such an organization. This report for instance, tells nothing of wages between 1914 and June, 1920, all the war years when wages lagged behind the cost of living. Moreover, it shows only weekly wages—therefore, it gives no picture of how the workers' yearly income is reduced by unemployment. It simply picks out such facts as will contribute to the open-shop campaign.

Well, that is one kind of information that does some good—for some people.

I have on my desk another type. It is the report of the Labor Bureau, Incorporated, for the year 1922. The Labor Bureau handles facts, too: "The members of the Bureau believe," the report says, "that whatever professional skill they may be able to command may profitably be utilized by labor organizations and those co-operating with labor. There are plenty of technicians ready to serve employers' and others' interests, but a special outlook and technique must be developed for rendering technical service to unions." So the Labor Bureau offers the services of its engineers, statisticians, and economists

to labor.

In contrast to the Conference Board, it has made charts showing how the cost of living shot up during the war before the unions had time to raise the workers' wages. It shows the trend of business conditions and gets information about the dividends which the manufacturers are paying their stockholders. It is one thing for a corporation, for instance, to plead that it will go broke if it grants a wage increase, but it is quite another thing to maintain that fact when an economist—or just a plain man—points out that the corporation is paying 8 per cent stock dividends besides the regular cash dividends.

The Labor Bureau gathers facts which count, which have been useful. (By the way, they prepared the case for the Cleveland members of the I. L. G. W. U. this very spring.)

Then another kind of facts have found their way to my desk. These are a number of reports of the Children's Bureau of the United States Government. These reports are concerned with infant mortality in 8 or 10 industrial towns of this country. In every case they find that more babies die in families where the income is small. In the poorest group one baby out of every four dies. In the group just above, 15 per cent of them die. In the next higher group, less than 10 per cent, and in the best paid group only 8 per cent. That means that three times as many babies die in the poorest families as in those who are most well to do. Here are facts and figures, rather dry looking affairs, yet they prove just this: Poverty murders babies!

I am inclined to think that these facts can do somebody good.

## Review of the Month

(Facts for Workers, July, 1923.)

The developments of the month indicate with certainty that there will be no great falling off in employment, wages, or general business activity in the near future.

Periods of prosperity have always been followed by periods of depression, and no doubt this year will not prove an exception. The gloomiest prophets, however, do not look for a drop of activity until the end of the year, and even these are inclined to believe that we shall have merely a moderation of present activity rather than a sharp depression.

The favorable factors in the situation are that wages are still increasing, the cost of living remains but little changed, the purchases of both wage-earners and farmers are maintaining a brisk retail and mail-order trade, production and employment remain at high levels, and there is as yet no inflation of credit such as would bring about soaring prices.

Factors which have been thought by some to indicate that the end of prosperity is approaching are a fairly steady fall of prices of stocks on the New York Stock Exchange for several weeks, a hesitation in buying for future delivery by wholesale buyers, consumers of steel, etc., and a slight downward trend in wholesale prices of commodities. We do not regard these as unfavorable signs under the circumstances. The fall of the stock market may easily be explained by the fact that money is needed for working capital in actual production and business, and is being withdrawn from the market for that purpose because industry is now so prosperous that more can be earned in production than in the purchase of securities at the high levels recently reached. The hesitation in wholesale buying was accompanied by an increase in retail trade, and there is not a great deal of "buyers'

strike" of the ultimate consumer. Rather it is a sign that dealers are using caution in not becoming overstocked, an action which tends to prevent depression rather than otherwise. The slight falling off of unfilled orders in steel is similarly healthy, and shows that the dangerous duplication of orders which occurred in 1920 is not being repeated. The fact that the rise of wholesale prices has ceased while production and trade are still active is also a healthy sign.

There is still a possibility of disastrous inflation, if business men and banks forget their caution, and having recovered from their recent scare, believe that they have clear sailing and may raise prices and extend credit indefinitely. Such a situation might arise later in the summer, since the banks still have an enormous supply of gold and could easily extend credit more rapidly than the market for goods warrants. Another development there is little chance of any sudden collapse of industry.

If inflation of that type does not occur, and the purchasing power of wage-earners is not decreased by rising costs of living or wage reductions, we expect the period of prosperity to be ended in the course of time by a falling off of equipment orders, and automobile production. As explained in another article, there is as yet no appreciable falling off in actual building, and the industry is likely to be kept at capacity the rest of the year. Railroad equipment orders have shown a marked drop recently, but the manufacture of present orders will keep the industry and its steel demands up for the rest of this year. Automobile production still continues at the highest level in history, and although a seasonal drop was expected in May, an increase occurred instead.

## The Working Women's Clubhouse

Trade-union women are proving that a woman's club can be self-supporting.

The club, the Working Women's Clubhouse, at 247 Lexington Avenue, was opened in December, 1922. During the first six months the club has paid its own expenses.

Unions, shop committees, women's organizations and other groups have rented space for meetings, for parties and for banquets, all of which has helped with maintenance expenses. Dances, parties of all kinds and banquets are weekly events at the clubhouse, serving the double purpose of furnishing a place for wage-earning women to have social good times and to support their club by having their good times there.

Now comes the problem of the dining room which has faced many a club before this. The cafeteria has been in operation almost six months. The overhead equipment was high. The clubhouse is in a district removed from that in which many of the members dine, and their support cannot be counted on for luncheons. Neighbors and men and women interested in the venture have been patronizing the French bistro and white dining room where food is served at remarkably low prices in decidedly attractive surroundings. The League of Women Voters and such organizations have held their dining parties there, all of which has added to the prestige and to the balance sheet, with the result that the cafeteria is just beginning to be self-supporting as well.

A garden has just been opened making space for twice as many patrons of the cafeteria. This garden has been paved with large square red bricks and is furnished with blue tables and chairs, giving it the appearance of a real Dutch garden. Members of the League have started a campaign for making this garden popular and the cafeteria a money-

making concern so far as the clubhouse is concerned.

The purchasing, remodeling and furnishing of the Club was directed by a committee, at the head of which was Mrs. Willard Straight, whose devotion to the cause of labor has long been cause for sincere thanksgiving. At the time the club was opened, the committee agreed that if the plans made by the Women's Trade Union League for operating the house were successful they would have proved that it was possible for working women to have their own clubs, which could be self-supporting, not run at a deficit nor obliged to charge such exorbitant yearly dues as to prohibit their enjoyment by the working women. The plan of doing this was to throw the cafeteria open to the public and to make this part of the club such a success that it would contribute toward the expense of the house. Hence an appeal is being broadcasted by the club members to men and women interested in organized working women to try the cafeteria once—and come again.

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## DOMESTIC ITEMS

## LONG WORKING HOURS CONDEMNED BY RABBIS.

The eight-hour day was indorsed by the general conference of American rabbis, which adopted a report by its social justice commission.

The conference indorsed the following industrial standards: "The eight-hour day as the maximum for all industrial workers, a compulsory one day of rest in seven, the regulation of industrial conditions, secure for all workers a safe and sanitary working environment, the abolition of child labor, social insurance against the contingencies of unemployment and old age."

## HUGE COPPER PROFITS NO HELP TO LABOR.

Copper barons in Arizona are rolling in wealth, while their workers are rewarded by low wages and poor working conditions.

It is declared that the profits hunger of the copper barons equals the "clean up" of 1916 to 1918 when their incomes averaged a net profit of 84 per cent a year on their capital stock.

While the copper barons are perfecting plans for this gouging of the public, they continue the blacklist and terrorize any employee who dares suggest that through organization a living wage can be secured.

## WORKERS' INJURIES COST \$125,000,000.

More than 400,000 claimants have shared in \$125,000,000 paid to injured workmen and to dependents of those killed in industrial accidents in the nine years that the New York workmen's compensation law has been in operation, according to the State Industrial Commissioner.

Industrial accidents totalled more than 2,500,000 during the nine-year period, an average of about 300,000 yearly.

## WAGE LAW BEING FOUGHT.

Arizona wage working women are the latest to discover that if they would secure a living wage they must depend on themselves.

The last State legislature increased the minimum wage for women to \$16 a week. The amendment is in the courts and the attorney general has stated that no attempt will be made to enforce the act until its legality is settled.

## STEEL RECORD SMASHED; NO LABOR SHORTAGE.

Records for the first half of 1923 show that the production of steel ingots is about 23,500,000 gross tons. This is the greatest production for any consecutive six months in the industry's history, and was made at a time when Garyism was screaming "labor shortage."

The figures excel wartime production, when all records were broken up to that time. The new record shows how reliable have been the claims of those who would lessen immigration restriction not because of a labor shortage, but to lower wages through a surplus of workers.

## EIGHT-HOUR DAY IN OHIO STEEL MILLS.

Officials of steel workers' unions announced that some independent steel mills in Youngstown, Ohio had broken away from the Steel Corporation's policy, putting into effect an eight-hour day with 3 shifts of workers in open hearth furnaces. The union men quote officials of the mills as saying results are more than satisfactory.

## LABOR BRINGS ABOUT FIVE-DAY WEEK.

Labor unions have been partly successful in compelling manufacturers to adopt the five-day week, it is revealed by a questionnaire sent by the Merchants' Association to 40 manufacturers throughout the Eastern States. Twenty were opposed to the idea and nineteen were in favor of it and, one neutral.

## VACATION TIME

is a

Good time to have your teeth taken care of.

Have your teeth thoroughly examined by your own dentist at the Union Health Center, 131 East 17th Street, before you have your vacation.

You will feel one hundred per cent better with good teeth in your mouth.

The Dental Department of the Union Health Center is Your Dentist. Charges are based on costs, not profits. Remember, a small cavity today means a bad tooth tomorrow.

Office Hours: Daily . . . . . 10 A. M. — 8 P. M.

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Closed All Day FRIDAY During July and August.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

## ENGLAND

## BRITISH LABOR PARTY'S WORK FOR WOMEN APRIL-MAY, 1922-23.

The Women's Sections of the party have increased from 800 to 1,000, and the total membership is now over 120,000. The largest section is that of Woolwich, which numbers over 1,000. The Labor Women's Advisory Councils have also increased in number. Thirty speakers' classes have been held and the circulation of the "Labor Woman" has increased.

British Labor Women held a Conference at York on May 8 and 9. It passed resolutions condemning the two-shift system for girls, the dismissal of married women teachers, the deplorable scale of agricultural wages, etc. It also discussed reports on Motherhood and Child Endowments, juvenile unemployment, etc.

## RAID ON THE DAILY HERALD.

Under the "Official Secrets Act," detectives raided the offices of the Daily Herald, London, to search for the original and all copies of the picture published in the issue of June 20th, of the giant submarine XI, which had been secretly launched on the previous day.

## WOMAN DIPLOMAT RESIGNS.

Mlle. Stancioff of the Bulgarian Legation in London, designated as First Secretary to the Legation in Washington, has resigned, as she was an adherent of the Stambulski government. Though often called the only woman diplomat, there is another, Alexandra Kolontai, the Russian revolutionary who has been for some time the Soviet representative in Norway.

## PUNISHMENT OR REFORM?

At the annual meeting in London of the Howard League for Penal Reform, strong pleas were made for a revision of the laws governing crime. Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, M. P., condemned a system that sent people to prison who ought to be treated for mental deficiency, and Mrs. Wintingham, M. P., made a great onslaught on the system of capital punishment, calling for its abolition.

## OXFORD UNIVERSITY AND LABOR.

The latest statistics of the Oxford University Labor Federation show a membership of 119. It is maintained that these numbers do not represent the total strength of the labor movement in the University.

## JAPAN

## WOMEN WORKERS.

The latest available statistics show that the number of working women in Japan totals 3,000,000. The largest proportion of these work on the land; the next largest number in private factories.

## AUSTRIA

## AUSTRIAN REGULATION OF WOMEN'S HOME-WORK WAGES.

A home-work commission has recently been appointed to regulate the wages of the women engaged in making cotton goods at home in the villages of Upper and Lower Austria.

## RUSSIA

## TRANSPORT WORKERS AND RUSSIA.

The General Council of the International Transport Workers' Federation has issued a manifesto stating that the International Federation of Trade Unions disagrees with its recent action in forming a united front with the Russian Transport Workers, and inviting the I. F. T. U. to fix a basis for the concentration of all working-class forces. In connection with this resolution, Mr. O. Grady, M. P., secretary of the National Federation of General Workers, and president of the International Federation of General Factory Workers, writes to the Daily Herald to express his agreement with the action of the I. T. W. F., saying, "The economic system of the Russian Revolution is gradually changing, as the result of world economic circumstances. May it not be that we have something to learn from the experiences of our Russian brethren, and they, too, something to learn from our difficulties?"

## GERMANY

## RUHR WORKERS AND PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

A conference of trade unionists in the Ruhr has unanimously decided not to consider the abandonment of passive resistance until foreign military oppression ceases and fair terms of negotiation are agreed upon. The conference wonders why the conscience of the world remains silent when millions of peaceful people are being driven to famine.

## THE WAGE PROBLEM ON THE RUHR.

Negotiations between the government and trade unions are continuing, as to the new wage regulations. It is now generally agreed that wages must be calculated on the basic wage multiplied by the cost-of-living index.

## AUSTRALIA

## LABOR EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA.

Coal miners in New South Wales have formed Plebs Leagues for the purpose of furthering the interests of independent working-class education as a partisan effort to improve the position of labor in the present and ultimately to assist in the abolition of wage slavery.



# EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



## A Course on Social and Political History of the United States

By Dr. H. J. CARMAN

Given at the

WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

of the

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Season 1922-1923

### LESSON 15—HALF A CENTURY OF EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES.

#### I. Importance of Problem.

1. Our story of the social and economic development of the United States since the Civil War would be incomplete without some account of the manner in which the resources of our country have been exploited. As a result of the Civil War, America, as noted, became a business man's country. Manufacturing, as we have seen, spread to all parts of the country and business men became more and more the dominant or all-powerful group. In order to develop their industries and to amass greater profits, business men
  - (a) Increased the size of their plants
  - (b) Exploited the resources of the country, both natural and human
  - (c) Reached out for new markets by means of an elaborate transportation system (railroads), and
  - (d) More recently, by means of imperialistic enterprises
  - (e) Sought control of the agencies of government.
2. One hundred years ago America treasured some of the finest resources of the world. These forest, mineral and water resources should have been retained by the state for the benefit of all the people. Instead, however, a policy of private business must be kept prosperous on the assumption that thereby everybody would be prosperous.
3. From 1865 to 1900, therefore, just at the time when our great private corporations were in process of formation, our finest resources passed out of the hands of the government.
  - (a) Most of our water-power fell into the hands of private owners.
  - (b) Our iron fields became the property of the steel interests headed by Andrew Carnegie.
  - (c) Our oil resources came under the control of the Standard Oil people.
4. In a word, America, from the standpoint of natural resources has become a disinherited nation.
5. Even if one accepted the laissez-faire capitalistic philosophy, there would still be much to criticize, for those who have acquired title to our resources have not always used them wisely. On the whole, they have exploited them ruthlessly for their own private benefit. The story of the exploitation of our resources for the fifty years after the Civil War was one of pillage and waste. Even today Americans have the reputation of being the most wasteful people on the face of the earth.

#### II. Our Natural Resources.

1. Land is our principal natural resource. On it we grow the greater part of our food and clothing. From it we must also obtain our timber. On it also build our homes, highways, railroads, factories and other business establishments.
  - (a) Abundance of land in 1865, although considerable portions had already been disposed of before that date.
  - (b) The land system of the United States has been of the character that enabled speculators and land grabbers to gain control of resources. (At this point the land policy of the United States will be traced from 1789 to the present.)
  - (c) In recent years the government has made some progress in reclaiming hitherto unusable land by draining swamps and by irrigating desert and semi-arid tracts.
2. Water.
  - (a) Necessary for plant and animal life.
  - (b) Can be used for water-power which in turn is so important for
    - (1) Generation of electrical energy.
    - (2) For manufacturing purposes.
    - (3) And as a substitute for fuel minerals.
  - (c) Today private corporations are seeking to gain absolute control of the water-power of the United States.
3. Forests:
  - (a) Our forest resources, like our other natural re-

## Report of Education Sub-Committee, Trades Union Congress General Council

(Continued from Last Week.)

### INCLUSIVE SCHEME

#### Comprehensive Character

The above brief summary of the educational needs of trade unionism has convinced your committee of the importance of aiming at developing an inclusive scheme of a much more comprehensive character than any that has yet been considered. An organization that aims at meeting these varied needs must cover England, Scotland, and Wales. It involves national, district, and local organization. The cost involved in providing tuition under such a scheme is, however, far beyond that which trade unions will be prepared to consider for some time to come. In addition to costs of tuition, costs of organization must also be considered.

Your committee, being of opinion that the costs involved in an inclusive scheme cannot be met from trade union funds, has found it necessary to consider whether it will be best to recommend a scheme that depends entirely upon monies provided by trade unions, and, therefore, seriously limited, or whether other means can be devised by which the financial difficulties can be overcome in such a way that the wider needs can be met.

#### Costs of Tuition

How to meet costs of tuition is the key to the education problem that

confronts the working-class movement. If this problem can be solved, if a means can be devised by which an educational organization controlled by the organized workers themselves can offer to its teachers and lecturers rates of remuneration that represent a reasonable standard of living, it would attract to its service many of the best teachers and lecturers in the kingdom who are in entire sympathy with the social outlook and ultimate aims of the working-class movement; but the resources of the trade union movement are not adequate to this purpose. At present many teachers give their services free or accept low fees to assist voluntary education movements. But immediately the trade union movement accepts responsibility, it will be expected to apply trade union principles, and offer reasonable conditions of service. If, therefore, the Congress approves a scheme which aims at meeting the large and varied needs of our movement, it must, owing to obvious financial difficulties, provide for the use of public money to meet the costs of tuition. It is equally obvious, however, that there are many aspects of working-class education for which public funds will not be available. These will require to be financed entirely from working-class funds and run on entirely independent lines.

resources, have been and still are being exploited by private capital. Especially they have been wasteful in

- (1) Cutting
- (2) Milling and manufacturing
- (3) Turpentine
- (4) By allowing great tracts to be destroyed by fire, and
- (5) By allowing the spread of fungus and destructive insects in forests.
- (b) An intimate relationship exists and should continue to exist between forests and forest products and man for the following reasons:
  - (1) Furnish timber for building and construction purposes
  - (2) Furnish wood for fuel, furniture, implements and vehicles
  - (3) Furnish wood-fibre for print paper (very important).
  - (4) Regulate water supply, prevent erosion, check winds and modify temperature
  - (5) Serve as homes for birds and animals
  - (6) Are useful as rest and recreation grounds for man
  - (7) Add beauty to landscape.
- (c) The forest policy of the United States has been notoriously weak. "It is a story of reckless and wasteful destruction of magnificent forests, and of flagrant and notorious theft of valuable lands" by private capitalists—a policy which no honest person can justify or defend. (At this point the forest policy of the United States will be traced in considerable detail in order that the student may appreciate the manner in which not only our forests but our other natural resources have been stolen, and pillaged, and wasted under our individualistic capitalistic system.
4. In the course of the last twenty years a definite movement for conservation of our natural resources has gained considerable headway.
  - (a) This movement has been vigorously opposed by the lumber, oil and mineral capitalists.
5. The present situation and the policy for the future.
  - (a) Our remaining natural resources should be retained by society for society. Instead of private interest, the watchword should be social utility.

READING: Beard, History of the United States, Chapter XXL

# SEND DOLLARS

To Relatives in Russia

Through the First Labor Bank in New York

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## ALL WAGE-EARNERS

Should See

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## Negroes in Industrial Life

In an interesting article on "Negroes at Work in Baltimore, Md.," in the June number of Opportunity, Charles S. Johnson points out that while the Negro population is "just large enough to be a factor in the social structure of the city," it is "not quite large enough to constitute an independent support for the city's industrial structure as they do further South." They represent, however, the largest element gainfully employed. They are practically in control of domestic and personal service and unskilled labor. In a survey of 175 plants, 113 employed 30,281 Negroes, and 62 employed none. Some plants exclude all Negroes as "below the standard for workers; others with the identical processes regard them as best fitted for their work." The fertilizer industry, the docks, construction labor, tanning, and brick-making employ Negroes principally. They are also employed in large numbers in steel mills and ship-building plants where "their range of work is wider, perhaps, than in any other forms of employment in the city." The industries which exclude Negroes present a variety of causes for such exclusion,

among them being fear of racial difficulties between white and Negro employees, traditional beliefs about the Negro's inability, lack of training of Negroes, unsatisfactory experience in previous employment of Negroes, and "objection of labor unions."

The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor has just issued its Bulletin No. 26, embodying its study of women in Arkansas industries. Arkansas is primarily not a manufacturing state; so only 761 of the white women and 71 of the Negro women were found in strictly manufacturing plants. The report shows that in factories manufacturing wood products, in general mercantile establishments, in laundries, hotels, and restaurants there were 2,636 white women and 481 Negro women employed. "Negro women were found in greatest numbers in restaurant and hotel service and in laundries, both industries akin to domestic service and requiring but little additional training. In laundries, white and Negro women were generally employed in the same establishments but usually on different work, the white women being chiefly markers, checkers, mangle operators, starchers, and menders, and the Negro women hand ironers and steam-press operators."

That Negro migration is affecting community life both North and South is evident from the attention now being given it in both sections. The most outstanding events of the past month occurred in Mississippi, where white planters and leaders of Jackson, the Capitol, called into conference a group of Negro representatives and inquired of them why Negroes were leaving the State in such large numbers. These colored citizens drew up, signed and presented probably the

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most outspoken public statement from an organized group of Negroes in the South that has been made in recent years. They cited a number of grievances, among them the following:

"That the Negro feels that his life is not safe in Mississippi, and that it may be taken with impunity at any time upon the slightest pretext or provocation, by a white man....

"For every dollar spent for the education of the Negro child in the State of Mississippi there are about \$20 spent for the education of the white child.... That there are more than one thousand high schools in the State for whites, while there is but one such public school in the State maintained for Negroes.... That though there are about eight hundred consolidated rural schools in the State for whites, there is not one for Negroes.

"That though the State has established a reformatory for the derelict white youth, at a cost of more than \$1,000,000 and spends \$30 per month, per capita, upon each white derelict youth, to bring him back to good citizenship, not one dollar is spent for the reformation of the Negro derelict, who is instead thrown into prison among the most hardened criminals....

"That the State has spent several millions in the establishment and maintenance of a tuberculosis hospital for the whites of the State, yet there is not one place whatever in the State where the Negro may go and receive treatment for this great malady.

"The Negro charges that one white man's word may outweigh that of several dozen Negroes of probity.

"That public improvements, as a rule, are not made in those sections of the towns and cities occupied by Negroes."

"They conclude that such a state and condition must ever remain, just so long as he is denied the ballot, since history affords no example of mutual cooperation, contentment, and mutual welfare, where one group assumes guardianship of another, and attempts to govern without the consent of the governed.... There is no hope whatever of bringing back the Negroes who have already left the State, but the only hope now lies in taking the proper steps to retain as many as possible of those who are here."

Following the reception of this statement by a mass meeting of white citizens, local interracial meetings of white and colored people were called at the county seats of every county in the State to discuss the situation and formulate plans to meet it.

The National Industrial Conference Board estimates that about 100,000 Negroes migrated North in the last six months, and quotes the employers who have for the most part expressed satisfaction with Negro labor. One

employer said, "In looking over their service record we find continuous service records of five, ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty-five and even thirty years. These Negroes have faithfully, loyally, and honestly performed the service that was required of them."

In an extended article in The New York Times of May 6, Dr. R. R. Moton of Tuskegee says, "An investigation both of causes and results will disclose this fact: that the migration has undoubtedly produced beneficial results to the North, to the South, and to the Negro himself in spite of whatever conflict or confusion has been incident to the readjustments made necessary by the movement." In an editorial in the June Survey Graphic the migration situation is summed up as follows: "This migration, of course, as such is not a solution of the problem for America; the South itself must eventually find a new relationship between white and colored citizens. But the exodus will help to emphasize in very practical ways the needs already recognized among socially-minded white Southerners."

—Federal Council Information Service.



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## DR. FICHANDLER

### LEFT FOR EUROPE

Mr. Alexander Fichandler, our Educational Director, and Mrs. Fichandler, left for Europe on the Majestic for Cherbourg. From there they expect to proceed to Spain and Italy and then to visit Egypt. On their way back, they will stop over in England.

We hope that they will have a profitable vacation and bring much information with them.

# The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Official notification has been received by the executive board of the action of the General Executive Board of the International in the matter of the disposition of the amalgamation of the dressmaking locals and their affiliation with the Cloakmakers Joint Board.

This means that the local's constitution committee will begin its sessions very shortly for the purpose of effecting such changes within the local as will meet with this situation.

It will be recalled that mention was made here of the recommendation made by Manager Dubinsky to, and concurred in, by the executive board, that Local 10 will have to combine the cloak and dress branches. This is in line with the G. E. B.'s decision to merge the dress and cloak locals. The recommendation was submitted to the members at the last general meeting and approved of. A constitution committee was appointed which will have to take this question up. The committee could not meet to consider this problem until official notification was received by the local. Now that this has been received by the board, the work will proceed. The secretary will no doubt convene the committee within a short time.

## WAIST AND DRESS

One of the largest meetings of the waist and dress cutters was held in Arlington Hall last Monday night, where, in addition to Manager Dubinsky's quarterly report of the activities of this branch, the action of two delegates on a request by the executive board to the joint board in the dress trade, was taken up.

Manager Dubinsky's report shows that a total of 1010 complaints were filed for the six months just ended,—that is from January 1st to June 30th. Of these, 289 were filed from January 1st to March 31st and 721 were filed during the three months, ending June 30th.

Of course, the question arose in everyone's mind why more than double the amount of complaints were filed in a period approaching the slack season. In fact a large number of these complaints were filed during the actual slow time of the season.

The manager stated, in anticipation of the question, that this was attributable to the fact that it is during the slack season when the employers do a good deal of their own cutting. Hence when the slack season approached, Dubinsky immediately made a survey of all the shops from his records, and whenever a shop was found upon which the employment of a cutter was not recorded, he at once filed a complaint and called the attention of the manager of the joint board to these complaints.

The adjustment of these complaints by no means lessened the number of shops against which complaints were filed that the bosses were cutting. Of the total number filed, 885 complaints were adjusted and 125 are still pending. The report is for the past three months. The manager mentioned the grand total only in passing.

There were 595 cases filed with the complaint department of the Joint Board to the effect that bosses were doing their own cutting and did not employ cutters. One hundred and sixty-three of these were unfounded, as cutters were employed but failed to secure cards.

In thirty-two shops, cutters were placed to work as a result of these complaints. In 101 shops there was no work. These shops are constantly being visited with a view to compelling the employers to hire cutters when they secure orders.

Twenty-five employers paid fines to the union imposed as liquidated dam-

ages for violation of the agreement. Thirty-nine firms proved that they were receiving cut work from union shops. Thirty-seven shops went out of business and the complaints against them could not be held. Thirty-three shops resigned from the dress association. The union has declared strikes against these as they practically have no agreement with the organization.

Twenty employers against whom charges were made that they were doing their own cutting claimed that they employed cutters but failed to secure their names to substantiate this statement. Workers of the shops and shop chairmen are as a rule controlled as to the reliability of this claim. In these twenty cases the firms were given instructions for future guidance.

Two shops were called out on strike as a result of these complaints. In four cases the charges were withdrawn by the business agents as there was no evidence to prove the charge. Twenty-seven shops were engaged in the making of tucking and hemstitching. One hundred and eight shops were not in relation with the union, and the only thing to be done was to refer these shops to the organization department.

Eight complaints were filed that the bosses were helping the cutters. Four of these were unfounded; three firms were instructed to discontinue the practice and one complaint is pending.

Twelve discharge cases were filed with the office. Three men were reinstated; four men were satisfied with compensation in lieu of their discharge; one firm was going out of business; two shops were declared on strike and one case was dropped, as the cutter was hired temporarily; that is for the purpose of filling a sick man's job.

Twenty-five complaints were filed against shops charged with employing non-union men. Sixteen were adjusted in favor of the union,—that is, the men were either taken from their jobs or were made to join the union. Four were unfounded; four are pending and one was found to be a member of the firm.

Five complaints by men who were not receiving an equal share of work were filed. One was adjusted in favor of the union; one was unfounded; two were dropped and one is pending. Nine complaints were filed against shops the cutters of which were violating union rules. Four were adjusted in favor of the union; these are unfounded and two are pending.

Twenty-one cases were filed relating to the failure on the part of the employers to pay their cutters wages due them. Fifteen were adjusted in favor of the union. One shop was called out on strike; one case was referred to the union's lawyer and four cases are pending.

Four dropped members were found to have been working in union shops. In all these instances the men were reinstated. Two cases where cutters were working without working cards were filed; the men secured them.

Nine complaints were filed against employers who did not pay their cutters double time for overtime; six were adjusted in favor of the union, one was unfounded, another was referred to the lawyer, and the third is pending.

Four cutters were found guilty of serious violations of the union's laws and were ordered to get off the jobs. The men failed to comply and complaints were filed. The adjustments were all in favor of the union.

Twenty-seven cutters either were not in good standing or, if obligated recently, failed to take the union books out. Complaints were filed and twenty-four of these were adjusted in the union's favor; three are pending.

In speaking of the number of cases pending, Manager Dubinsky stated that he took this matter up with the manager of the joint board and urged speedy adjustments. He particularly called the attention of the joint board to the firms which did not employ cutters. He stated in one of the letters which he dispatched on this subject that it was very important for the business agent to make a survey of the shops in the slack season.

The manager contended that if a strict control were kept in the slack season, a number of cutters could secure employment as the employers themselves very often cut whatever work they have in the slack season.

At the close of this report the tension of those present seemed to quicken as the secretary began reading the executive board's recommendation with regard to one of its decisions which had reference to joint board delegates Harry Berlin and Abraham Beckerman.

This decision related to a communication which the executive board had sent to the joint board in which this body was requested to readjust the wages of the business' agents in line with present conditions.

When the matter came to a vote before the Joint Board of the two delegates, one voted in the negative and the other delegate voted "present." When this was reported to the board, it decided to call these delegates before it to hear their reasons for voting in this way, particularly in view of its decision to request the delegates to be present at the meeting when this question would be taken up by the joint board.

Not being satisfied with the action of the delegates, and wishing to establish the fact that delegates to joint boards were in duty bound to support and represent the organization which elected them, the board recommended to the members that the two delegates be reprimanded for their failure to support the organization's stand.

The following is the recommendation of the executive board as contained in its minutes for the May 10th meeting:

"Brother Berlin stated to the executive board that he had voted against the recommendation of the board for the reason that he is the president of the joint board. He also stated that he knew that the finances of the joint board did not warrant that course of action."

"After carefully discussing the question, the executive board is of the opinion that Brother Berlin, by voting against the decision of the executive board, has committed an act contrary to our representative form of organization. The executive board also took into consideration that this is a violation. However, since this is the first instance where Brother

Berlin took the regrettable stand contrary to the decision of the executive board, it was decided, on motion, that a letter be sent Delegate Berlin, reprimanding him for his action,—stating that this will serve as a warning against a repetition of such action."

"In the case of Brother Beckerman, he explained to the executive board that he did not defy its decision because he did not vote in the affirmative or the negative, but simply voted "present," thereby representing his personal opinion on the question. The executive board is of the opinion that this, too, is a breach of our representative form of organization. It feels that if every delegate would vote "present" on its decisions instead of voting in the affirmative, the organization would be deprived of its means of representation. The executive board therefore considers Brother Beckerman's act of a sure for which his resignation should be accepted. In view of the fact, however, that in the case of Brother Berlin the executive board took a liberal stand, it decided on motion upon a similar decision in the case of Delegate Beckerman."

The manager, stated that he, as such, could not carry out the wishes of the members at the joint board if he did not receive the support of the delegates. And, he said, by their vote on the board's recommendation the members would show whether delegates were bound to carry out the wishes of the organization. The result of the balloting of the members showed a close vote, the majority voting in favor.

## CORRECTION

A regrettable error crept into last week's account regarding the increase secured for the cutters of Portfolios. The account in effect stated that the majority of the cutters were receiving \$44 per week and that the men were not working steadily.

The truth of the matter is that only a few men, a minority, received but the minimum scale. When the representatives of the union negotiated this question with the firm, Mr. Salvini's, its manager, at once conceded the fact that the few men who received \$44 per week should get a bigger increase. As a result, the men getting the minimum weekly wage were given a \$4 increase and the majority of the cutters, who received more, secured smaller raises. The total increase granted will amount to about \$5,000.00 per year.

Regarding the length of employment period, in the Portfolio shop, as compared with the rest of the industry, while the men do not work all year 'round, the average is, nevertheless, a fair one.

## CUTTERS' UNION LOCAL 10

### Notice of Regular Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS.....	Monday, July 16th
GENERAL.....	Monday, July 30th
CLOAK AND SUIT.....	Monday, Aug. 6th
WAIST AND DRESS.....	Monday, August 13th

Meetings Begin at 7:30 P. M.

AT ARLINGTON HALL, 23 St. Marks Place