

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

—Job 27.6

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

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

Vol. VII, No. 17.

New York, Friday, April 24, 1925.

Price 2 Cents

Cloak Hearings End; Commissioners Adjourn to Study Issues of Industry

Series of Seven Sessions Concluded—Union, Protective Association, Jobbers' Group and Sub-Manufacturers, Each in Turn Present Again Arguments to Commissioners—Sigan, Hillquit and Feinberg Stress Workers' Demands as Substantiated by Experts' Report—Commission May Call on Parties to Present Additional Information at Executive Hearings

The hearings before Governor Smith's Advisory Commission in the Cloak and Suit Industry of New York, begun on Monday, April 13, at the Bar Association Building, 42 West 44th street, which continued all during last week and part of this week, practically came to an end on Wednesday evening, April 21. There were seven sessions in all, each of them marked by a very earnest dis-

cussion of the important problems confronting the cloakmaking industry, accentuated by the findings of the experts employed by the Advisory Commission to investigate the trade and in the main revolving around the two paramount demands of the workers—a guaranteed term of employment and the limitation of the number of contractors to be employed by the jobbers in the industry.

Figures throwing light on two of the minor demands of the Union presented to the Commission, namely, for the unionization of examiners, and for the use of embroidery, hemstitching and buttons bearing the Union Label, were given to the commissioners in a supplementary report by the investigators on Wednesday, April 15. This supplementary statement, after detailing the work done by the examiners, recites the number of workers engaged in examining garments in the cloak shops, and the arguments for and against the Union's demand. The statement also contains a detailed account of the hemstitching and other auxiliary trades and also analyzes the demand of the Union for the label on these parts.

On the inter, retention of these figures will hinge, to a great extent, the decision of the commission on these two subjects, which the Union regards as of vital importance to the workers and to the conscientious observance of union condition in the shops.

After a short session on Saturday, (Continued on Page 5.)

Sanitary Label Launched In New York Dress Industry

Prominent Social Workers Present—Miss Emily Smith, daughter of Governor Smith, Sews on First Label on Dress—Support of "Prosanis" Label Pledged by Women Leaders in Civic Affairs—Shop Chairmen Instructed to Insist Rigidly on Label

On Monday, April 20, the first "Prosanis" label in the dress industry, the sanitary Union label, was sewed on, in the presence of an impressive gathering of men and women prominent in every walk of social and civic life of New York City, by Miss Emily Smith, daughter of Governor Alfred E. Smith, in the shop of Maurice Bentner, after a luncheon at the Garment Center Capitol. Miss Smith was assisted by Mrs. Charles S. Brown, Jr., daughter of Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, chairman of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, who presided at the gathering.

The luncheon, which was arranged by Dr. Henry Moskowitz, label director of the Sanitary Board, was for the purpose of launching the "Prosanis" label on the course by enlisting the support of society and club women generally and by arousing interest for it among the great consuming public of the metropolis. "The burden in the garment industries," Dr. Moskowitz told the assembled guests at the luncheon, "has hereto-

fore been borne by but three parties—the Union, the manufacturers and the jobbers; the public should be so to (Continued on Page 2.)

International Locals to Celebrate May Day in New York at Great Meetings and Concerts

Locals 2 and 9 to Have Mass Meeting and Concert in Metropolitan Opera House—Local 22 to Celebrate Workers' Holiday at Carnegie Hall—District Council Will Have Meeting—Concert in Central Opera House—Local 35 Will Have May Day Festival at Tammany Hall—Local 62 Will Gather for Concert-Meeting and Banquet at Mansion Hall, and Local 38 Will Celebrate May Day Eve at Charlton Hall

May Day, the holiday of the working class the world over, will be celebrated this year by the locals of the I. L. G. W. U. in New York City on a scale never exceeded before in May Day celebrations in America. Literally, our organizations are going to take possession for that day of the most spacious and imposing auditoria in New York, where they will gather

in tens of thousands to listen to speeches and to festive music and song, symbolizing the ideal and the spirit of the international solidarity of the working class, the underlying thought of May Day.

Though May Day is not among the legal holidays in our industry, few members of the I. L. G. W. U. remain in the shops on that day. The

spirit of the First of May, of festive merry-making together with their fellow-workers, is too deeply ingrained in their hearts for that. Many of them will remember how under different skies, in other lands, they have fought and suffered for the right to celebrate free and unmolested this holiday of the working class, and this (Continued on Page 2.)

Sigman and Baroff Greet Labor Educators in Phila.

Stress Cooperation and Support Given by I. L. G. W. U.

The fourth convention of the Workers' Education Bureau, held in Philadelphia from Friday, April 17, to Sunday, April 19, inclusive, proved by far the most successful gathering of active workers in the cause of labor education yet held in the United States. The convention was attended by over 100 delegates who represented international unions, state federations of labor, and educational classes and colleges from all over the country.

On page 18 of this issue will be found extracts of a speech delivered by President William Green of the A.

F. of L. to the delegates. Elsewhere in this issue will be found a complete report of the work of the convention and of its plans for the forthcoming two years. The I. L. G. W. U. delegation at the convention was headed by Vice-president Fannie M. Cohn, a pioneer and one of the most active spirits in the cause of workers' education in America.

President Sigman and Secretary Baroff forwarded to the convention the following messages:

April 16, 1925.

Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., (Continued on Page 3.)

Local 50 to Celebrate Tenth Anniversary in Arch St. Theatre

Banquet and Dance in the Evening

The Tenth Anniversary Committee of Local 50, the Waist and Dress-makers' Union of Philadelphia, is now working out the final details of its plan for a large-scale celebration of the ten years of the local's existence. The committee elected from the shop chairmen is cooperating vigorously with the rest of the standing committees to make this affair the most important the Philadelphia local ever had.

Arch Street Theatre has been engaged for a concert and mass meeting for the afternoon of Sunday, May 24. A number of the leading performers of the Jewish stage in Philadelphia

have promised to take part in the program. The banquet and dance committee is not yet ready with its arrangements. By next week, according to Brother Abraham Bloomfield, the secretary of the local, the full program of the anniversary day will have been completed and announced.

The committee is publishing a souvenir journal which will contain articles from the pens of some of the best known leaders in our movement and of workers who have been most active in the affairs of Local 50 during the ten years of existence.

Corset Locals Begin To Stir

After long months of inactivity, due partly to depressed conditions in the trade and part to the steady anti-union pressure exerted by the corset manufacturers of Bridgeport, Conn., on Monday, April 6, the Corset Workers and Corset Cutters, respectively, are beginning to show signs of lively interest and are astir with a will to put their organization on a more solid footing and to enlist into it the large numbers of the apathetic, stay-away workers.

Brother Bernard Shub, International Organizer for the Connecticut district, held a meeting with members of the Corset Cutters' Union, Local 34, on Monday, April 6, the first in a long time, and discussed with them the problems of the local industry, the mass of accumulated grievances of the workers in the shops, and plans for interesting the corset workers of Bridgeport to join the existing locals of the I. L. G. W. U. in their trade.

Next Tuesday, April 28, a general meeting of the Corset Workers' Union, Local 33, which is composed entirely of women workers, will meet, at which Organizer Shub and Vice-President Jacob Halperin will be present. An earnest effort will be made to begin a drive for organization in all the local corset shops with a view of preparing the ground for the improvement of work conditions in the big corset factories of the City of Bridgeport.

Sanitary Label Launched In New York Dress Industry

(Continued from page 1)

some part of the burden of insuring to the workers in the industry proper sanitation conditions, and to the employers who give such conditions freedom from unfair competition."

A resolution pledging support for the "Prosanis" label was adopted by the following: "Be it resolved—That we urge our members to purchase only garments carrying the 'Prosanis' label, and that this meeting endorse the fundamental idea of the 'Prosanis' label which aims to use the purchasing power of the consuming public for industrial justice and peace."

Among those who spoke at the luncheon were Judge Bernard L. Shientag, a member of the Governor's Advisory Committee in the Cloak Industry; Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the National Consumers' League, who related some of her experiences years ago when her organization tried to introduce a union label in the women's wear industry; Julius Hochman, the manager of the Dress Division of the Joint Board; Vice-President Fannia M. Cohn of the I. L. G. W. U., and Hyman Press, manager of the Association of Dress Manufacturers. Mr. Hochman then presented working cards to Miss Smith and Mrs. Brown.

Miss Cohn, in part, told the gathering: "I speak as a woman to women. We women are the active consumers. It is we who buy all the articles which we and our families must use. Especially, of course, is this true in the purchase of women's garments."

"Recently there has been an attempt on the part of the smaller contractor, the old sweat-shop manufacturer, to gain a renewed and uncontrolled foothold in our industry. If he should succeed he would endanger not only our workers' conditions, but also, once again, the health of the consumer."

"Thus it is that tens of thousands of working men and women who produce the garments that you wear are expecting you to use this opportunity to help them in their continued struggle against the sweatshop and for decent conditions, dignified treatment and better lives. By refusing to buy any other kind you can compel the storekeepers to handle only those garments carrying the guarantee of the sanitary label."

Society Leaders Present

Guests at the luncheon, besides those already mentioned, included Mrs. John Blair, secretary of the Cooperative Neurological Institute; Miss Ruth Perkins, National Board, Y. W. C. A.; Mrs. Edith S. King; Miss Rose Schneiderman, Women's Trade Union League; Miss Mildred D. Sutwiltz, United Neighborhood Houses; Dr. George M. Price, director of the Joint Board; Raymond V. Ingersoll, impartial chairman, coat and suit industry; Mrs. Walter Weyl; Hon. James A. Hamilton, former State Industrial Commissioner.

Miss Mary Drier, Miss Lydia E. Sayer, and Miss Henrietta Jones, Joint Legislative Conference; Miss Katherine Deane, Girls' Friendly Society; Miss Jennie V. Minor, N. Y. Child Labor Committee; Miss Olga Law, N. Y. League of Girls' Clubs; Miss Della McGrath, St. Catharine's Welfare Association; Miss Marion Halburd, United Neighborhood Houses.

Mrs. Mary Holmes Hayes, Vocational Service for Juniors; Miss Mary Downon, Women's City Club; Mrs. Benjamin Marshall, Y. M. H. A.

Charles Jacobson, Harry Wandler, and Joseph Fish, of the International Union; Maxwell Copeloff and George Levy, the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association; Henry L. Finder, William Klein, the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association.

ers, but will also enable them to understand the social, economic and industrial conditions under which they work and live.

I also appreciate the efforts made by your Bureau in maintaining the principle that workers' education should be a part of the Labor movement and must be conducted under the auspices of trade unions. It was my privilege, as member of the Committee on Education at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, to participate in the preparation of the recommendation that organized Labor of America be urged to finance your Bureau. Labor has always adhered to the policy of financing all its activities. I hope that we shall be successful in our efforts to help support the work of the Bureau and that the Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor will increase the activities for the education of their members.

Please accept my sincerest wishes for the success of your convention. I hope that it will result in the formulation of policies and methods which will enable your Bureau to continue its splendid work and report still greater achievements at the next Convention.

With fraternal greetings, I remain,
Sincerely yours,
MORRIS SIGMAN,

Sigman and Baroff Greet W. E. B. Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

Secretary, Workers' Education Bureau,
Hotel Benjamin Franklin,
Philadelphia, Pa.
My Dear Mr. Miller:

I regret greatly that important conferences in our industry make it impossible for me to attend the Convention of the Workers' Education Bureau. I am grateful for the kind invitation to address you, and wish I could tell you personally how much satisfaction I have derived from the achievements of the Bureau.

It is needless for me to tell you with what interest I have followed your work. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has always been interested in workers' education. With many others in the Labor movement, it has realized the necessity of developing educational activities within the trade unions.

Within the past few years, trade unions in America have extended their sphere of action in many directions. In the process of development they have accumulated a large body of information and experience. It is obvious that this should be capitalized for the benefit of coming generations of workers.

I am aware of the fact that this presents a difficult problem, for it is your task to develop activities which will not merely satisfy the cultural needs of American work-

International Locals Too Celebrate May Day

(Continued from Page 1)

memory lingers fast in their minds, a sacred memory coupled with the poignant reality of the undiminished significance of May Day.

The Cloak and Suit Operators' Union of Greater New York, Local No. 2, and the Cloak Finishers' and Tailors' Union, Local No. 9, will jointly celebrate the day at an afternoon mass meeting and concert Friday, May 1, at the Metropolitan Opera House, 40th Street and Broadway. This is, perhaps, the first time in the experience of the trade union movement in New York City that a Labor organization has ventured to take the staid old Opera House for a meeting. On Friday next, the cloak operators and finishers, who heretofore have been able only occasionally to look down upon the magnificent abode of grand opera in New York, its gilded tiers and luxurious parquet seats, from the giddy height of the third balcony, will take possession of the entire house. In addition to the speeches, the musical program of the afternoon will be filled by Nahm Frank's Symphony Orchestra.

Local 22, the Dressmakers' Union of New York, will assemble on the same afternoon, at 2 P. M., at Carnegie Music Hall, New York's most famous temple of music. Speeches and an elaborate musical program are on the order of the day's festivities, and among the artists there will be such well-known performers as the violinist Michel Piastro and Estelle Schreiner, soprano.

The Miscellaneous District Council,

with the participation of six locals affiliated with it, will celebrate the day at the Central Opera House, on 67th Street, near Third Avenue. The speaker of the day there will be Vice-President Israel Feinberg, general manager of the Joint Board, and Vice-President Lefkowitz will preside. Among the artists taking part in the musical program of the event are the New York Trio, Marcel Sahlinger, Vienna baritone, and the well-known dancer, Mlle. Doraba.

The White Goods Workers' Union of New York, Local 62, will have a meeting and a concert on Friday afternoon, May 1, at the Manhattan Hall, St. Marks' Place. The concert will be followed by an elaborate banquet tendered by the local to all the shop chairladies in the trade in recognition of their excellent services rendered during the last strike.

Local 38, the Ladies' Tailors' Union, will celebrate May Day together with the District Council on Friday, May 1, at the Central Opera House. In addition to this general festivity, the Ladies' Tailors will celebrate the second anniversary of their functioning as a separate local of the I. L. G. W. U. at a banquet, concert and dance on Thursday evening, April 30, May Day Eve, at Carlton Hall, 111th Street, near Fifth Avenue. The arrangement committee of this anniversary affair has spared no effort to make it a holiday night for the ladies' tailors and an event long to be remembered by them.

"Walk" to the Museum of Natural History This Saturday Afternoon

This Saturday, April 25, at 1.30 p. m., Dr. Sylvia Kopald will give a talk to a large group of I. L. G. W. members. The group will walk to the assembly room of the Museum of Natural History, 77th Street and Columbus Avenue. After that, the group will proceed, under the direction of Dr. Kopald, to the various exhibits, where a detailed explanation of the objects under observation will be given them.

Admission is free to the members of our union and their friends, who

will be directed by a guide to the room.

The Museum may be reached either by Sixth or Ninth Avenue "L," or the West Side Subway; get off at 79th Street station.

We advise those who wish to join in this "walk" to be on time.

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Secretary Baroff's Message
April 27, 1926.
Workers' Education Bureau,
Hotel Benjamin Franklin,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Please convey to your delegates and officers our congratulations and best wishes for a successful convention. Our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has always been interested in Workers' Education and willingly gave the necessary energy and support to experiments in that field, in the hope that the American Labor movement would soon participate fully heartily in it. It is for this

reason that the I. L. G. W. U. participated in the founding of the Workers' Education Bureau of America and gave it moral and financial support.

May your deliberations result in devising means for insuring a steady development of the movement for workers' education, so as to make it a powerful instrument for helping organized Labor to gain its immediate and ultimate aims.

ABRAHAM BAROFF,
General Secretary, Int. Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

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Union's Memorandum to Cloak Mediators

Governor's Advisory Commission in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry of New York:

Gentlemen:

On the basis of the Report of the Special Investigators appointed by you to make a survey of certain disputed conditions in our industry the Union hereby renews its request for the establishment of a minimum guaranteed period of employment for every regular worker.

Concretely the Union requests:

1. That each manufacturer provide all regular workers in his inside shop, his contractors' shops and shops of steady sub-manufacturers with sufficient work to keep them employed for equivalent of at least fifty full weeks between the 1st day of January and the 30th day of June, and for the equivalent of at least seventeen full weeks between the 1st day of July and the 31st day of December in each year, and that he pay to such workers their full wages for the number of weeks above specified in each season.

2. That each jobber provide each of his steady manufacturers with sufficient work to enable him to keep all of his regular workers employed during the equivalent of at least fifty full weeks between the 1st day of January and the 30th day of June and for the equivalent of at least seventeen full weeks between the 1st day of July and the 31st day of December in each year.

3. Each inside manufacturer shall assume the following obligations with respect to all contractors employed by him:

- (a) That he will not discharge any contractor or cease dealing with him during the calendar year, except for good cause.
- (b) That in slow seasons, he will divide all available work equally and equitably among all his contractors.

No contractor shall be employed by more than one manufacturer.

4. Each jobber shall assume the following obligations with respect to the steady sub-manufacturers employed by him:

- (a) That he will not give work to or order or purchase garments from any other sub-manufacturer so long as his steady sub-manufacturers are not provided with work to their full capacity.
- (b) That he will not discharge such steady sub-manufacturers or cease dealing with them during the calendar year except for good cause.
- (c) That in slow seasons he will divide all available work equally and equitably between his steady sub-manufacturers.

No sub-manufacturer shall be designated or employed as a steady sub-manufacturer by more than one jobber.

A "steady sub-manufacturer" within the meaning of these provisions is one engaged primarily in producing garments for a specific jobber. A "jobber" within the meaning of these provisions is one who employs a sub-manufacturer or orders or purchases garments from him. To the extent to which an inside manufacturer deals with sub-manufacturers, he shall be considered a jobber for the purposes of these provisions.

5. The Industrial Council of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association and the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association shall prepare and deliver to the Union full lists of the contractors and steady sub-manufacturers employed by their respective members, and all changes in such lists shall be immediately reported by the members of such Associations to their respective Associations

and by the latter to the Union. All independent manufacturers and jobbers in contractual relations with the Union shall prepare and deliver to the latter complete lists of the contractors and steady sub-manufacturers employed by them and shall immediately report to the Union any changes in such lists.

6. The Industrial Council of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association and the said Association shall collectively guarantee the performance of these provisions by each of its members. The amount of deficiency in wages of all the workers receiving less employment than above provided shall be paid by members of the Industrial Council for themselves, their contractors and sub-manufacturers.

7. The Merchant Ladies' Garment Association shall guarantee collectively the performance of these provisions by each of its members. Should any member of the Association fail to comply with such provisions, and should the employees of any of his steady sub-manufacturers, by reason of such failure, remain unemployed or fail to receive full wages during any part of such guaranteed periods of full employment, such Association member shall become liable to the employees of his steady sub-manufacturers for the full deficiency of such wages.

8. All manufacturers who are not members of the Industrial Council shall guarantee for themselves, their contractors and sub-manufacturers, and all jobbers who are not members of the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association shall guarantee for their steady sub-manufacturers the minimum periods of employment above provided. Such guarantee shall be secured either by a bond of a surety company in an amount equal to at least \$250 for every employee, to be renewed for every season, or by weekly cash payments of amounts equal to fifteen per cent of their payrolls into a fund to be created for that purpose. In the latter event all deficiencies in the payment of wages to any employee of the depositor shall be deducted from the accumulated deposit and paid over to the workers entitled thereto, and the balance, if any, shall be returned to the depositor.

9. Settlements under the above provisions shall be made in the first weeks of July and January of each year for the preceding six-month period. Such settlements shall become due to employees by reason of deficiencies in the wages of the guaranteed periods of employment shall be paid to the Union for distribution among the workers entitled thereto. In the case of Association members such payment shall be made by their respective associations. Independent manufacturers or jobbers shall make payments personally or through their sureties or from the special fund established for that purpose.

10. The members of the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association shall collectively at all times employ or deal with a number of steady sub-manufacturers equal to the full number of such members multiplied by six. The total number of such steady sub-manufacturers shall be apportioned ratably among the individual mem-

bers of the Association on the basis of their relative values of business.

11. Independent jobbers in contractual relations with the Union shall at all times employ or deal with such number of steady sub-manufacturers as will equal their annual production (determined by the volume of business done by him in the year 1924) divided by \$250,000.

12. With respect to members of the Industrial Council who do jobbing within the definition above set forth, they shall at all times collectively employ or deal with a number of steady sub-manufacturers equal to the total amount of their annual production through jobbing divided by \$250,000 and they may apportion the total number among their members in any manner they may choose.

13. The provisions above set forth shall be deemed to be made by and in behalf of the employers in the industry for the benefit of all of their respective workers, members of the Union, with the same force and effect as if they were contained in direct and individual agreements between each employer and each of their workers and shall be enforceable in legal actions by such employees or by the Union in their behalf.

Necessity of Guaranteed Employment

The requests thus submitted are more precise in form but similar in substance to those which the Union presented to the Association of employers about a year ago and your Commission in July, 1924.

For a long time past the Union has felt that the most crucial problem in the cloak and suit industry is the stabilization of employment. The elaborate and illuminating Report of the investigation now before you fully supports our contentions on that point. It indicates that the evil of chronically recurring unemployment in the industry is deep seated; that it is growing ever more acute, and that if allowed to go unchecked it threatens the industry with total demoralization.

The survey shows that the average period of employment is forty weeks per year in the inside shops and only thirty-one and one-half weeks in the sub-manufacturers' shops. As the number of workers employed in the sub-manufacturers' shops is at least twice as large as that in the inside shops, the average employment for all workers is somewhat below thirty-four weeks, i. e., less than two-thirds of the year. But this is not the whole story. The "average period of employment" is, of course, a pure abstraction. It is arrived at by adding up the individual period of employment of all workers in the industry and dividing the sum by the total number of workers. In real life, however, the workers do not put all their work and earnings into one pot to be equally divided among them. Every worker is an entity complete in itself. There are undoubtedly many who have more than the average period of employment, but for every one of each unfortunate worker there is one who gets less than the average.

The Report does not attempt a direct classification of the workers according to the respective quantity of their employment, but Table XII (p. 81) throws some light on the subject. This table is in many ways the most striking feature of the Report. It records the percentage of employment (in equivalents of full weeks) in the inside and sub-manufacturing shops. The figures with respect to employment in sub-manufacturing shops are eloquent and appalling. It appears there are some shops which give their workers less than fifteen weeks' employment per year: 17.7 per cent of all sub-manufacturing shops, i. e., a number substantially in excess of one hundred, offer their workers less than twenty weeks' employment; 51.6 per cent, i. e., more than a full half of the shops, work less than half the time. Over 90 per cent of these shops fall below the average thirty-four weeks per year.

In what condition are the workers in these shops left during the long stretches of unemployment? A few of them probably secure some work elsewhere, but the vast majority remain unemployed. The acute seasons of unemployment in the sub-manufacturers' shops coincide with the general periods of dullness in the industry, i. e., just the time when a worker, displaced from his shop, finds it exceedingly difficult to secure employment elsewhere.

The majority of the workers in the sub-manufacturers' shops are thus limited in work and earnings to periods ranging between fifteen and twenty-six weeks in the year and condemned to idleness and improvidence during the remainder of the year. This large number of workers can hardly be considered as "casual" or "surplus" workers. They are a legitimate and integral part of the producing forces of the cloak and suit industry, and are called into active operation during some periods of the year. Yet during the greater part of the year they are left without income or means of supporting themselves and their families, to be relieved by public charity or to get along the best way they can on their own resources. The industry of which they are an essential part and which depends upon their work to a large extent assumes no responsibility whatever towards them. This is in itself a crying injustice. The cloak and suit industry in the City of New York represents an annual production of between \$350,000,000 and \$400,000,000 per year and yields very substantial profits to the employers. The census figures for the year 1919 placed the "surplus over expenditures" in the production of cloaks and suits at 20.2 per cent of the value of the total product (Report, pp. 1 and 2, 9, 10). It is by no means a pauper industry and is inherently quite capable of taking reasonable care of its workers.

But the feature of privation and economic misery of large numbers of workers is not the only one that pays the worst price of unemployment, and particularly the glaring inequality of distribution of the available work among the workers dependent on the industry. The more fatal result of the system or rather lack of system

(Continued From Page 9)

JUSTICE

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Free Speech in Paterson

By NORMAN THOMAS

A court room in Paterson. Before the judge appear a line of burly policemen, headed by a chief of the old, rather ignorant, bullying school. Also a lot of silk workers mostly foreign born, underdressed and undermanned. And Roger Baldwin, a Harvard graduate, a noted pacifist, militant but non-violent fighter for civil liberties. The policemen swear in effect that they were afraid of these unarmed silk workers. They are supporting a case brought under a curious old law taken over by New Jersey from England in 1798, under which these silk workers and Mr. Baldwin were arraigned on the charge that they "did then and there unlawfully, riotously, and tumultuously assemble" to "commit assault and battery upon the police officers, patrolmen, and officers of the police department of the said city of Paterson, and to break, injure, damage, and destroy and wreck the City Hall."

To the spectators in the hall the proceedings on the face of them were absurd and they grew more absurd as the facts became known. Paterson is a town owned body and run by an employing class. The workers, mostly foreign born, have on several occasions conducted spectacular strikes against intolerable conditions, but they have never learned properly to organize either politically or industrially. A few months ago a non-A. F. of L. union, the Associated Silk Workers, conducting a strike, found themselves as usual denied any hall in which to meet. The Civil Liberties Union, in accordance with its principles, intervened for the right of free speech. Barred from a hall, Mr. Baldwin arranged a meeting on the steps of the City Hall where there could be no possible charge of interfering with traffic. He began the meeting with reading the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and assembly. The police promptly charged the meeting, broke some heads, and arrested Mr. Baldwin and six others. But they permitted the next meeting to be held unmolested. Later the prisoners were brought to trial on the absurd and hitherto unheard-of statute from which we have quoted. It took the judge more than three months to make up his mind on what to decide. Whether he heard only the voice of conscience during these long months of delay we do not know. If so, his conscience was singularly unenlightened. He sentenced the prisoners. Mr. Baldwin to six months in jail and the others to a \$50 fine, but did not render an opinion. Of course, the case will be appealed. The prisoners are out on bail. The Civil Liberties Union will fight it through to the end. We understand Samuel Untermyer has volunteered his service as attorney. That such a verdict should

ever have been possible is a shocking commentary on justice and common sense.

Justice

On what looks to a layman like a technicality involving no essential point of justice, the criminal indictments against Fall, Sinclair and Doherty have been dismissed. Should this action of the 159th Court be finally sustained, the Government, under the Statute of Limitations, cannot get a new indictment for bribery though it may for conspiracy. Fall, Sinclair and Doherty may escape trial together on the most important charge as the result of technical incompetence on the part of the Government's expensive special counsel.

But Senator Wheeler, who did so much to expose corruption in the oil leases, must stand trial twice for practically the same alleged offense, once in Montana, once in Washington, and transport his witnesses to both places. Senator Wheeler is relatively a poor man. Unless his friends rally to him he cannot afford an adequate defense. Even if he is victorious he may be ruined financially.

Forbes was convicted of about the dirtiest graft in recent history at the expense of wounded veterans as well as of American taxpayers. He was sentenced to two years in prison and is out on bail pending an appeal.

But two inconspicuous soldiers in Hawaii have just been sentenced to twenty-six and forty years, respectively. So far as we can make out the "crime" which cost them from thirteen to twenty times as many years in prison as were given to Forbes was some rather vehement criticism of the Government and some correspondence with the Third International of the Communist party.

FIRST INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE WHOLESALE FORMED

The international war between cooperative and private profit-seeking, to be fought not with bayonets or gas but with prices and costs, as predicted by Huxton Thompson, recent chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, has already assumed more definite form. The cooperatives have girded for the contest by organizing the International Cooperative Wholesale Society, with headquarters at Manchester, England.

Already in several European countries, such as Great Britain, Russia, Denmark and Belgium, the cooperatives are the biggest trusts, and now, through the international alliance, it is hoped to stimulate cooperative trade between nations, which already adds up to the imposing figure of \$145,000,000 yearly. The International Cooperative hopes to strengthen existing ties between Europe and America by fostering purchases of raw materials in this country from European cooperative factories.

CLEVELAND SHOWS HOW TO CUT COAL COSTS

Savings of \$300,000 for Cleveland coal buyers in the past 14 months are claimed by the Cleveland Cooperative Coal Company, a non-profit consumers' fuel company organized in little over a year ago to stop coal profiteering in the big lake city.

"When our company entered the coal market here, Pocahontas coal was selling for \$13.10," declared Albert P. Coyle, secretary of the Cooperative and also of the All-American Cooperative Commission, "while West Virginia lump was quoted at \$10.50 to \$12. Since then coal prices have been

forced down by the economies of cooperative distribution until now the Cleveland grades are \$7.75 and \$7.50, respectively."

In Toledo, a market enjoying exactly the same rates from the coal fields, prices average 67 cents a ton higher than here. As all other factors are equal, the only explanation of this disparity lies in the moderating effect the Cooperative Coal Company exercised on the local market.

Basing its figures on the 500,000 tons of coal marketed here for household use annually in Cleveland, the Cooperative Coal Company points out that the result of the economy of 67 cents a ton it has effected means a net saving of \$200,000 to Cleveland consumers on their coal bills. The company has recently enlarged its facilities to three coal yards, in the west, east and south sides of the city.

PEOPLE'S HOUSE DEFIES PROFITEERS

La Maison du Peuple means more than just a "People's House" to the good cooperators of Brussels, Belgium, a city with a metropolitan population of 1,000,000. Twenty-two thousand families turn to the Maison to shield them from the profiteering of private dealers, and as a result they have four bakeries, a pastry shop, 57 grocery stores, a coal store and departments for wearing apparel. The business of the society amounts to 35,000,000 francs annually, while savings deposited in the cooperative bank total 25,000,000 francs.

COOPERATION TO FIGHT FAMINE

Cooperation knows no color line, nor does it hesitate to spread its helpful services to the farthest corners of the earth, comments the All-American Commission on the action of Chinese farmers near Peking in forming producers' credit societies. Their lands devastated by floods, the peasants in the Province of Chihli, which surrounds Peking, are resorting to cooperative credit to protect themselves from being gouged by money lenders from the capital in improving and restoring their farms.

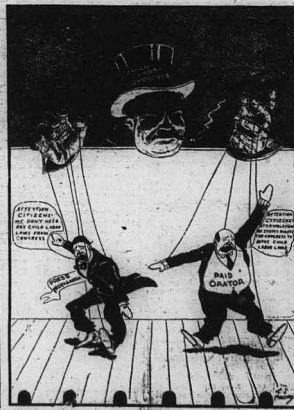
Progressive leaders who have seen the great success of the farmers' credit unions in India, where conditions are very similar, are planning a chain of cooperative finance societies for the Chinese farmers. The cooperative plan permits loans at reasonable rates, whereas farmers have either groined under usury or left their fertile lands to lie fallow.

The Indian central societies not only furnish credit, but also accounts, arbitrate money disputes, and advise in sewing and other farm problems. When established, the cooperatives will stand between the Chinese peasants and famine, just as they have saved the Indian cooperators. The International Famine Relief Commission of China is being urged to foster the movement.

SWISS FIND ECONOMIC FREEDOM BY COOPERATION

Switzerland, first nation in Europe to strike for political freedom and democracy, is also forging to the front for economic liberty. With fewer inhabitants than Massachusetts, the Alpine nation has 11,500 cooperative societies. Of these, 2,700 are cheese factories, 1,500 are devoted to cattle raising, 770 to farm supplies, and 670 to consumers' stores. Water supply is furnished by 404 societies, electricity and gas by 400, and credit by 347 more.

THE CAPITALIST AND THE CHILDREN



BUY

WHITE LILY TEA
COLUMBIA TEA
ZWETOCHNI CHAI

Exclusively

Cloak Hearings Ended; Mediators Study Issues

(Continued from page 1)

April 18, which had to be interrupted owing to the sudden illness of the attorney for the Merchant Ladies' Garment Association, the jobbers, the Commission got down to work again on Sunday, April 19. This session, which lasted all afternoon, was devoted entirely to the presentation of their cases by the representatives of the jobbers' and sub-manufacturers' associations.

The argument for the jobbers was presented by Mr. Samuel Blumberg and his associate Mr. Gustave Leight. Mr. Blumberg urged that the present contract between the Union and the jobbers be continued pending a further investigation of the industry and the relations between the jobbers and the sub-manufacturers, arguing that the report of the investigators was incomplete in many important details. It would be impossible, said Mr. Blumberg, to base a minimum labor cost upon the figures thus far submitted in the report as they are inadequate because most of the sub-manufacturers do not keep regular books.

Mr. Leight argued that the frequent change of views makes it impossible to do essential figuring and work out the necessary calculations in preparing labor costs and that at best only an approximation could be reached. He further stated that the cost of guaranteeing 32 weeks of employment would be prohibitive, and suggested that a guarantee of even 26 weeks would be a "serious" matter in the sub-manufacturing shops. He spoke of the Union's demand for a limitation of contractors, Mr. Blumberg asserted that while most of the jobbers are at present limiting their main work to a few shops, it was "voluntary" concentration, but that the jobbers are opposed to "compulsory" limitation, as this would tend to curtail "free competition." He ascribed the growth of the sub-manufacturing to the seasonal character of the trade and the excess of workers employed by the industry. He supported the demand of the "inside" manufacturers for the re-development of the inside shops. In conclusion he suggested that a permanent fact-finding bureau to gather facts on these problems be established so as to obtain in time a "complete picture of the industry" for the solution of its problems.

The jobbers were followed by Mr. H. Uviller, manager of the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, the sub-manufacturers' group, who began his talk with an analysis of the growth of sub-manufacturing. He named specialization as the prime factor in the growth of the number of contractor shops. Because of his direct control, Mr. Uviller argued, the sub-manufacturer can produce goods more efficiently with the aid of labor-saving machinery. Many inside manufacturers, unable to departmentalize their production rapidly enough to keep pace with the developments in the industry, became jobbers, and the economic advantages accruing to the jobbing system guarantee its continuance. He protested against the appellation of "sweat shops" given to the sub-manufacturers' shops and stated that in their overwhelming majority they comply with the sanitation standards.

On Monday evening, April 20, the Industrial Council of the Protective Association, represented by William Klein, attorney for the "inside" group of employers, presented its final argument before the commissioners. Mr. Klein, on the whole, reiterated the position of the "inside" manufacturers as stated by them at the initial hearing before the mediators. Again and again Mr.

Klein returned in his argument to the charge of "soldiering" on the job by the workers, failure to produce, the Union's neglect to suppress shop strikes, and attacked Mr. Hillquit's statement with regard to the high profits reaped by cloak manufacturers. Regarding the last point, Mr. Klein asserted that the average profits in the trade do not exceed net 3%. Mr. Klein blamed the Union for bad conditions in the industry and declared that the guarantee of 32 weeks of employment is an "impossibility" and would saddle unbearable risks upon the employer.

President Morris Sigman of the International Union speeded in rebuttal for the workers. He pointed out to the representatives of the Industrial Council that the jobbing industry is not a child of yesterday but that it dates back to 1912. Most of the early jobbers dealt in finishing garments, he added. Jobbing had been brought into being by the inside manufacturers, the ones now complaining against the jobbing situation, he declared.

"If anyone was responsible for jobbing it was the Protective Association members who wanted to circumvent their sacred obligations," Sigman declared.

The remedies suggested by the Protective association have been heard frequently since 1910, he said. He suggested the Protective Association wanted to go back to conditions before the organization of workers. What the Protective association wants cannot be had from workers who are organized, he stated emphatically.

President Sigman already has the modified right to discharge. He reminded them that many of the discharge cases brought before the impartial chairman had been decided against the workers. He declared that the Union is not organized to extend the discharge rights of the employers.

Stoppages, complained about by the Protective association, grow fewer with the year, he said. No plan can be perfected to absolutely overcome all stoppages, he declared. He stoutly insisted that garments made in the outside shops cannot be compared honestly with garments in the inside shops from a workmanship standpoint. He declared the retailer expects a better grade of garment when he buys from the inside manufacturers.

"Sub-manufacturing is here to stay," he declared. It is fitted to the medium and cheaper grades of work, he insisted. It is impossible to bring back the inside shop by artificial methods, he declared.

All the union suggestions have been

studied for many months, he pointed out. Jobbers have not carried proper obligations in the past, he stated; they have broken down all labor standards.

He made a plea for concentration of workers in fewer shops. There are too many superfluous shops, he argued. The remedy is a guarantee of employment for 32 weeks, he suggested. Such a plan would discourage the growth of new sub-manufacturing shops, he declared. Stabilization in the industry would follow, he added. Workmanship would be improved, he said, too.

"The workers, he asserted, cannot continue under the present demoralized conditions. They would go through a struggle like 1910, much as they would regret it, to obtain more secure conditions, he declared. He said it was up to the Protective association to choose between collective and individual relations with the union.

Union Urges Equitable Work Division

Morris Hillquit, counsel for the L. G. W. U., held the following facts established, that the jobbing-sub-manufacturing system is well established; that it needs control. He urged the commissions not to be too much impressed by the shrinkage in the number of inside manufacturers.

The report indicates that irregularity of employment is a serious matter, he pointed out. Equitable division of work is the natural solution, he declared.

He urged the commission to discount partisan claims introduced by the different factors.

He declared the 32 weeks' guarantee demand justified by the report; that the inside manufacturers could well afford to concede the point; the jobbers could supply the work if the work were centralized. He said the inside manufacturer should support the proposition.

It is vital to regularize all the work there is in the industry among the workers and the sub-manufacturers, he insisted.

"We are not abandoning our requests for higher wages," he concluded.

Closing Arguments Presented by Union, Jobbers, and Contractors.

The final session of the hearings before the cloak mediators took place on Tuesday, April 21. Maxwell Coppeloff, president of the jobbers' association, opened the evening's argument by an attack on the principle of limitation of contractors, characterizing it as a "limitation of the sources of supply" and an infringement of the individual "right of management." He demanded freedom of action in the industry. He charged the union with an attempt to "socialize" a portion of the trade.

He was followed by Mr. Blumberg, who declared that the demand of the American Association for minimum labor costs is impracticable, and criticized the union for having told

the commission that "no power on earth can bring back piece-work."

With regard to limitation of contractors, he reiterated his opinion that "uncertainty of style tendencies" makes it essential that the jobbers have freedom of action to meet changes as they arise.

Messrs. Solomon and Uviller, speaking for the sub-manufacturers, urged a better adjustment of relations between the jobbers and the contractors. They denied the existence of a "speeding up" system in the sub-manufacturing shops and asserted that the members of their group have at least as large shops as the "inside" employers have. They insisted that the proposal to limit sub-manufacturers would simply regularize and recognize a state of affairs already existing and that no evil results are likely to arise therefrom, ridiculing the assertion that the sub-manufacturer would become unemployed as a result of such a limitation.

Vice-president Israel Feinberg, general manager of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board, took the floor before the session adjourned to refute the claim made the night before by the attorney for the Protective Association that the Union had been unreasonable in its treatment of the "inside" manufacturers. Vice-president Feinberg asserted that it is entirely futile to try to force the blame for the present chaotic conditions. The realities of the industry are the concrete things we have to deal with and these facts and problems are clear to all. They are, in the main, unequal division of work and insufficient remuneration for the workers.

Under the present system, he said, the employer has unlimited resources of manufacturing for limited needs. A manufacturer or jobber whose line can be made up by 200 workers, for example, under the present system has his pick of the entire Labor market.

Naturally, he said, under such conditions the jobber evades all responsibility for those who make his garments.

What the Union asks, he said, is that a limited labor market be provided for each jobber's limited needs, and that the jobber be made responsible for the conditions under which his labor works.

Union Plan Would Hold Up Standard

Replying to the comments of the Protective on shop strikes, Mr. Feinberg said, in effect, that while he does not condone shop strikes, it must be acknowledged that the workers sometimes have strong provocation. It is futile to argue for the return to the large shop. The presence of the jobber must be recognized, and he must loom up largely in any picture of the industry, said Feinberg.

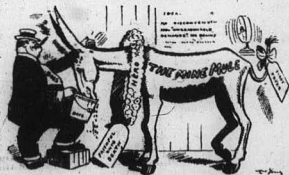
Vice-president Feinberg then passed to a resume of the Union's reasons for asking an increase in wages. The workers are not now getting a living wage, he insisted, and the industry is sufficiently prosperous to grant it to them.

He quoted budgetary analyses to prove that the worker is not paid enough to maintain a worker's family of five.

After the conclusion of the last hearing, Chairman Battle of the Commission expressed to all parties the gratification of his associates at the spirit in which the proceedings had been carried on. The Commission began meeting in executive session Wednesday, April 22.

It is expected that the mediators will issue shortly a statement on the progress of their work. It is quite likely that they may invite representatives of the parties involved in the hearings to appear before their executive sessions to offer additional information or data relative to the issues under consideration.

A PRIZE WINNER



—Herald Photo

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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EDITORIALS

OUR TWO CHIEF DEMANDS

The most tragic feature of our social "order," no doubt, is that its most useful class, its producing class, is the least secured against the hazards and ravages of idleness and its consequent misery and want. On the whole, the feeble attempts of the wage earner to save against these "rainy" days are seldom more than futile, for at best his scanty savings afford but a minor safeguard during the long weeks and often months of enforced idleness, the black and sterile periods which perennially darken the lives of the great masses of the workers.

This paralyzing fear of tomorrow, harassing as it is to the men and men employed in non-seasonal trades, has a particularly plaguing effect upon the workers whom fate has cast into the seasonal trades. This dread never leaves the seasonal worker; it hangs like a pall over him during the long period of "slack," and it pursues him even during the "busy" weeks, when work seems plenty and the prospects for eking out a hand-to-mouth existence are the brightest.

The cloakmaker is a classic example of this fear-ridden seasonal worker who always is compelled to live and work within the shadow of idleness and insecurity. And the cloakmaker's lot is perhaps harder because he, as a rule, is a thinking worker, thoroughly familiar with the accursed cycles of his trade, who knows but too well that the few "busy" weeks of his season are bound to be followed by months of stark "slack" as surely as the day is trailed by the shadows of the night.

Little wonder that the cloakmaker is forever seeking a way to solve for himself and his fellow workers this dread problem. To help solve it he had organized a strong and powerful union in his trade, and today he boldly offers to the masters of his industry definite and equitable measures that would go a long way toward removing this blight of insecurity which has for generations harassed the industry and has made the lives of its workers a unbroken nightmare. Must fear of the next day remain forever a "natural law" in the cloak industry for its workers? Are the producers in an industry which manufactures annually in one city products amounting to four hundred million dollars, and is one of the wealthiest in the country, to be doomed forever to the soul-devouring hazards of insecurity of livelihood?

The cloakmaker has answered in a clear and resolute voice: No. There must be and will be a change in the industry. He must be made secure with his modest livelihood in return for the hard and conscientious labor which he always has given and is ready to give today to his industry!

The Union's demand that the employers in the cloak industry of New York guarantee to the workers a minimum of 32 weeks of employment was born of this determination to place the problem of earning a livelihood in the cloak shop on a tolerably sane and ordered basis. It is palpably not an extravagant demand. It would by no means have been unreasonable for workers to have asked of their industry that they be employed all year around. The cloakmakers, however, are content, for the present, with 32 weeks, as they are confident that this is the least the industry may give them now.

The report just rendered by the investigators of the New York cloak industry thoroughly justifies this moderate demand of the workers. According to the figures submitted by the investigators, the average time of employment in the "inside" shop is 40 weeks in the year, while the workers in the "outside" shops, the sub-manufacturer outfits, average but 31 weeks. In demanding a guaranteed minimum of 32 weeks of work, the Union demands clearly nothing that the industry already is giving that much to the workers, except that it is giving it without system, orderliness and without any equitable arrangement.

Let us make this point clear. When it is said that the workers in the sub-manufacturing shops are averaging 31 weeks during the year, it, of course, does not imply that all the cloakmakers in these shops are working that many weeks in the course of each twelve months. The truth is that there are a great many workers who are employed much less than that—some of them not more than 16 weeks during the whole year, and even less. To obviate this haphazard and unjust arrangement or lack of it, the Union demands that all the cloakmakers in the industry be given a guarantee of at least 32 weeks of work, namely, an assured employment for 15 weeks between January 1 to June 30, and of 17 weeks between July 1 to December 31. Could the employers in the cloak industry of New York offer less than such modest terms?

The Union, it is true, is fully aware that there are sub-manufacturers in the New York cloak and suit trade who could not provide their workers with 32 weeks of work, not even with 15 weeks of employment. Such "employers" however, do not belong

and should have no room in a well-ordered cloak industry. Such "employers" cannot help becoming the meanest sort of exploiters, and the sooner the industry is rid of them the better for every one of its factors. What concerns such sub-manufacturers as give employment to their workers approximately as much as the minimum period now demanded by the Union, these will have to coordinate their production as to insure work for their employees for such a minimum number of weeks or else be ready to meet the deficiency in wages, just as they unquestioningly meet any other current or overhead expense incurred in the run of their business.

We, naturally, expect that the jobbers, upon whom the Union is determined to place the responsibility for the strict enforcement of this guarantee, will oppose it. It cannot be questioned, however, that their opposition to this measure is based on neither fairness, logic, nor the best interests of the industry as a whole. It may be prompted by fear that their profits would shrink somewhat, but, in the face of the figures produced in the experts' report touching upon the profits in the cloak industry, our employers surely cannot justifiably raise the cry of "bad business" or scanty returns. After including most of the expenses incurred in the production of cloaks for 1919, the surplus of value of product over manufacturing costs amounted to \$79,679,000, and this figure has been, no doubt, materially swelled within the last five years.

Of this huge sum, the jobbers today receive the major portion, and of this tremendous surplus the jobbers can safely afford, we maintain, to pare down a part in favor of the men and women who produce the wealth represented in the cloak and suit industry of the metropolis.

Moreover, we are inclined to believe that, when a more sensible, just and equitable arrangement of labor and employment is brought about in the industry, neither the jobber nor the manufacturer stand the risk of losing even a small particle of their swollen profits. The "inside" manufacturers and the jobbers have in the past made use, among other stock arguments, of this charge that the cloakmakers have been "soldiering" or "yawning" on the job. We deny this charge; we affirm that our men and women in the cloak shops have always given a fair day's labor for their wage. But we are equally certain that, when given a guarantee of a minimum period of employment, our workers will gain added incentive for increased interest in their work and will acquire a greater responsibility for production as a whole. It will improve their condition materially, and it will increase their concern for the industry upon which they depend for a living and which is in a fair position to give it to them.

Let us illustrate our argument by the following example: There was a time in the New York cloak trade when the right of arbitrary "firing and hiring" was considered a "sacred" prerogative of the employers, a state of affairs for which, no doubt, many a manufacturer is yearning and sighing to this day. But that period was also a time of shop-strikes without number and of the worst evils of sweating in the cloak shops. The limitation of the right of the manufacturer to discharge cloakmakers and of subjecting the business of "firing" to review and to final adjudication of each case by an impartial agency has since done away with the shop-strike epidemics and has materially improved and stabilized the trade as a whole.

The introduction of a guaranteed period of employment in the industry is bound, in a like degree, to benefit the trade as a whole. It will produce a material change in the psychological attitude of the worker toward the industry, and inasmuch as it will eliminate the catch-at-chance factor dominating employment today, it will stimulate his concern that nothing that he may do should tend to impair the larger interests of the trade upon which he and his family depend for a living.

The second demand of the Union, for the limitation of the number of sub-manufacturers to be employed by jobbers, is based upon the same living realities of the cloak industry as the first. As a matter of fact, this second demand inevitably flows out of the first, and serves as the logical method for carrying the first demand, the 32 weeks' guarantee of employment, into effect.

Under prevailing practices, the jobber may engage at will as many sub-manufacturers as he likes and he may manipulate with them to his heart's content, without restraint. He may supply them with work at any given part of the season, or take it away, if he should choose so, leaving them high and dry in the height of the producing period. Under such a system, there can, of course, be no talk of a guaranteed period of employment, and, if granted, such a guarantee would probably be of no value to the workers. The guaranteed period of work can only be made workable and feasible after the jobbers had been limited to as many sub-manufacturers as they legitimately require to produce their wares during each season.

Under such a modified system, a guaranteed period of employment becomes a comparatively easy matter. The sub-manufacturer, having himself obtained the assurance of work from his jobber for the entire season, and having thereby become less the plaything of the latter's caprice, and, consequently, less the victim of unholy competition from his fellow sub-manufacturer, will be in a position to determine in advance of the season the number of men he may require to do his work with a view of honestly fulfilling the obligation of a guaranteed minimum period of employment.

It is also clear as daylight that both these measures will jointly work in the direction of eliminating the obnoxious puny, "social" shops from the industry. It is true, according to this report, that about one-third of the total number of sub-manufacturers in the trade are being annually forced out of business by existing chaotic conditions of production. But it is equally true that the place of these hundreds of failures is being filled as rapidly as they fall off the industry's map by other prospective

What Reviewers Say About Our History

JOHN P. FREY, in Moulder's Journal, April, 1925.

Another valuable addition has been made to the little book-shelf of trade-union histories which have been written in America. The latest volume is a splendid example of a well-balanced and complete record of an international organization and its activities. Some of the histories of international unions which have been prepared have contained considerable matter of interest to the membership, but were wanting in those qualities which make history truly valuable.

The number of trade-union histories of truly scholarly and historical merit is, unfortunately, limited. Among these is a history of the United Mine Workers' of America, one of the International Typographical Union, and one of the International Molders' Union, the latter volume being probably the first one in which the full story and history of a trade-union was thoroughly presented by a trained historian and economist.

The latest volume to add to our fund of knowledge is the history of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, prepared by Dr. Louis Levine. Dr. Levine has written a history which gives the anatomy and the psychology, as well as the record, of one of the most interesting and successful international unions.

Every international union has peculiar problems of its own, due to the character of the industry in which it functions and the personalities and traits of its membership. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in addition to the peculiar industrial problems attached to the needle trades, has had another which arises from the fact that its membership in the beginning, and the bulk of its members today, are composed of Jewish immigrants, and the first and second generation born in this country.

The Jewish immigrants, centering largely in New York City, entered into the garment-making trades in much larger numbers than in any other industry. They lived in communities composed very largely of their own race and religion. When they arrived in New York they knew no language but their own. Their newspapers and their literature were in their native tongue. They were as unfamiliar with the English language as they were with American institutions and social conditions. Their conception of what existed in the United States was secured largely through the interpretation given to them by members of their own race.

Unfamiliar in the beginning with American ideals and standards, unable to successfully protect themselves from employers of their own race who, as garment manufacturers, were exploiting them, they sought for ways and means by which to protect themselves from industrial injustice.

Through their own literature they

were familiar with the revolutionary ideas prevalent in Europe. They were acquainted with the theories and the writings of the leaders and teachers of Anarchistic and Socialist philosophy and theory.

They were unfamiliar with the principles and politics of American trade-unionism, and what little they knew concerning the American trade-union movement was derived from the generally distorted, prejudiced statements contained in some of the Anarchistic and Socialist literature with which they were familiar. There were no books in Yiddish which, in an unbiased manner, explained the American trade-union movement.

It was under these great handicaps that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union began its efforts to build up an effective, well-disciplined, trade-union movement which would give to its members the protection which was so necessary to their welfare, and which would teach them how to use their collective strength effectively for their own

benefit, and also for that of their industry and the community in which they lived.

Dr. Levine, in his history, has carefully studied the formative years of this international Union and outlined for our supervision the successive steps by which this Union was able to establish sound policies and stable methods, and through these eliminate the sweat-shop and the injustices which existed through the "middle-man" contractor.

With rare skill and thoroughness Dr. Levine has described that part of the organization's history when there was serious internal factional strife, during the years when the Knights of Labor were active and when there were bitter rivalries and clashes of policy between Socialists and Anarchists within the membership. The part played by those who believed in the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Democratic party, and the I. W. W., are adequately referred to. The result is a striking picture of the successive internal contriver-

— A Vanishing Myth —

By ISRAEL MUFSON

Pop! goes the home. Not that the physical structure known as the home is smashed to bits. The walls still remain to offer seclusion to family confidences. The floors are still in their customary positions. Pictures are on the walls and curtains on the windows. As a matter of fact, with the tendency towards the apartment dwelling increasing, physical home-life is more concentrated than ever before. But the spiritual foundation of this unit of social existence—its "atmosphere"—is being shattered without remorse.

The forces of disruption are not Bolsheviks or atheists or free lovers. They are the age. Our own industrial era that is giving out modern comforts and conveniences; that is supplying us with new forms of fun, pleasure and excitement; exacts the toll for its great munificence in the form of home dissolution.

But, while the machine age has forced suppressed individuality to throw itself with abandon into the arms of jazz, speed roadsters, road-house parties, hip-flasks and go-go impulses, it has also made possible incessant drudgery and extreme discomfort to balance its cost sheets. Especially to women, the changing social habits have been most cruel. To thousands the oft-repeated song, "eight hours work, eight hours sleep and eight hours recreation," has turned into a discord of "kome work, factory work and sleep when we can."

Let's take a close-range peek at a cross-section of this throbbing life—the part that sweats and aches and labors—through the penetrating eyes of the Women's Bureau of the De-

partment of Labor. Wilkes-Barre, Pa.; Passaic, N. J.; Jacksonville, Fla., and Butte, Mont., are the sectors on the industrial front under scrutiny. Some of the most famous battle fields where Labor history was written with the blood of the workers. For present purposes only the cold pencil will record the statistical data of their fame—or shame.

Statistics are dry, therefore let us bunch them together, hurry through them, and leisurely present an analysis: 38.4 per cent of all women in those cities over 14 years of age are earning their own livelihood. More than half are, or 55 per cent, are married or have families to look after. Over 53 per cent of all mothers have children, 2.5 having children under five years of age. Over 60 per cent of the working mothers of Passaic have children under five.

There, enough figures to supply a year of Sunday sermons.

"Well," says the Nordic, proudly swelling his chest, "these women, no doubt, are all foreign born and therefore their condition should not be taken as true of the life of the 100 per cent Americans." Not much nourishment for our superiority complexes and Ku Kluxers when the facts tell us that with the exception of Passaic, N. J., and Jacksonville, Fla. (in the latter city the majority of such women are negroes), between 70 and 80 per cent of the mothers are native-born whites.

Now let us correlate these facts to the actual problem of living. Can we picture a home properly taken care of, children well fed, clothed, kept sanitary, with the mother away at a machine eight or ten or twelve hours

and experiences which finally led this group of garment workers to thoroughly establish themselves within the American Federation of Labor.

The history contains separate chapters dealing with the special features which the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has developed. Their social ideals and policy, their educational efforts, the community centers which they have established, and in particular their Educational Department. This department, established in 1917, is one of the outstanding features of the organization's accomplishments. Other international unions years before had undertaken and carried out educational work among their members, but the educational program of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was much further gone. It practically marked a distinctive departure, a new feature in trade-union activity, and placed the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in this respect in the lead as a progressive and truly constructive force. The work accomplished by this Educational Department has had an extensive and most beneficial influence upon the membership. In addition to teaching English and the history, principles and policies of trade-unionism, it has supplied the rudiments and much of the substance of a general education which the members would not have secured otherwise.

The latest addition to the book-shelf of trade-union histories is a valuable contribution to the trade-union movement as a whole. Every trade-unionist, every student of our movement, every one who is striving to secure a better understanding of the industrial problem, is indebted to Dr. Levine and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union for one of the most valuable, comprehensive, and interpretive histories of a trade-union which has been written.

a day? Of course somebody suffers. In these instances, constituting one-fifth of all American homes, most every one connected with the families of working mothers suffers. The babies, the husband, the mother, the home, all feel the neglect that is theirs because of the impossibility of the mistress of the house to be in two places at the same time.

Worn from an arduous day of toil at machine or bench, the mother returns to find the work of the household waiting for her. In what mood and capacity can she care for those dependent upon her ministrations? The kids, dirty and hungry, are cuffed and scared into silence. The husband is rebuffed and backs back in sullen salutation. Neither are prepared, either physically or mentally, for those fine psychological insights that can make of marital relations an experience of delightful adventure. Harsh words reverberate through space, cups fly, canned dinners rushed down the gullet, weariness, meanness, a feeling to flee—that's home.

These are the homes where the daughters over fourteen years of age who go to make up the 38.4 per cent of working women are reared in.

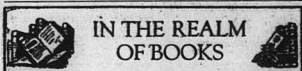
(Continued on page 8)

victims of this merciless, grinding system of self-destructive competition. The limitation of steady contractors to be employed by the jobbers demanded by the Union will definitely and once for all abolish this abominable evil from the cloak trade of New York.

The introduction of this reform may also serve as an acid test to the disputed problem whether or not the jobber is a useful and desirable factor in the cloak industry. Should the new arrangement make it impossible for the jobber to exist, it will prove but one thing, namely, that the huge profits which he has been deriving from the industry at the expense of the sub-manufacturer and the workers have been illegitimate and his place in the trade entirely superfluous. If the jobber is, on the other hand, an important and necessary factor in the trade, he will and should do business on the basis of fair relations and not by juggling with the welfare and the livelihood of tens of thousands of human beings.

Briefly, the two main demands of the Union represent the urgent need of the hour in the cloak and suit trade. If these demands are left unsatisfied, the demoralization in the industry is bound to grow from season to season and there is no telling but that the industry may shortly revert to the infamous sweat-shop conditions which disgraced it years ago. The salvation lies in the constructive proposals advanced by the Union. They are practical, feasible and they are dominated by a spirit of sincere concern for the welfare of every factor in the trade.

The employers do not even assume to claim that they have anything better to offer in the form of constructive remedies for the industry's evils. They have been busying themselves with digging out Jeremiahs and worthless grievances against the workers. But this perennial complaining and fault-finding will contribute nothing towards eliminating the ills of our main industry. The Union offers the only constructive set of reforms and this plan must and will be materialized.



Epic and Reality

ADJUSTING IMMIGRANT AND INDUSTRY. By William M. Leiserson. Americanization Studies. Allan T. Burns, Director. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1924.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There can be few books more exciting than factual studies of American immigration. The wanderings of the people, the restless surging over the lands of the world, have made world epic since the days when men first recorded their experience. But the new world beckoned Europe's millions long after mankind's childhood. It was civilizations grown to maturity that answered its promise. And so American development from its beginning drew upon great stocks of knowledge which the race had already accumulated, repeated man's age-old history in the swift span of four centuries, telescoped the record of geological periods into high-life drama. Little wonder American history is exciting; little wonder American experience is drawn on the epic scale.

Before the advent of large-scale industry to America and the economic revolution that followed the Civil War, the hero of its epic was Man. The lonely, bravely individual frontiersman—and frontierswoman, tracking pathless forests, hewing roads where there were but primal tangles, fording torrents, stalking wild beasts, building homes where there were but empty stretches of loneliness—these were the centers of the first pages of our epic. With the coming of industry, however, Man faded before the mass. Large-scale industry brought with it large-scale immigration. Millions of men were essential to the success of the new order and the nameless masses became the unrecognized heroes of the unfolding drama. The Hunk of the mine and steel mill, the Pole and Russian of the packing centers, the Jew and Italian of the clothing sweat shops—the millions of them all wrote the new epoch.

The dreams which these voiceless millions brought with them and the dust of realization, the bleak bewilderment of the first years and the mass struggles underneath the union achievement of the slow after years, some day will be eternalized by the great American poet. Surely no mightier theme could be found. Even today artists and scientists are realizing the overshadowing importance of that theme in our national life; and their records of its emotions and its facts constitute some of the most important and exciting sections of our present thought output. The history of the worn garment workers in America, recently published under the auspices of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, makes an outstanding example of the mass epic in such records. Dr. Leiserson's book furnishes a record of some of their outstanding problems.

The Americanization Series of which Dr. Leiserson's volume is a part has brought together much of the essential material from which the picture of immigrant life in America may be reconstructed. The reality emerges from its soberly collected facts, a reality overwhelming in its complexity, its humanness, its Americanism. They reveal to us the hesitant, eager wanderer as he sets foot upon the shore of the golden land, buoyant with hopes, plant, dream, yet terrified by the huge strangeness of it all. They reveal him as he searches for jobs in vast industry, as

he attempts to live the life of a man with rights to a family, love, beauty, friendship. They reveal him beset by "imperial business," by the cruelties of being used for great purposes not his own, by the ceaseless rush of American commerce life. How can he find his place amidst the older American stocks, whose earlier immigration to the new country has given them great advantages—amidst American institutions and American problems? The court, the school, the neighborhood, the land, the community, politics, home-building, the immigrant's immigrant culture, industry—before such agencies and such problems, how are Americans made?

In supplying the funds that made possible these studies the Carnegie Corporation has rendered a real service to science and public welfare. For the end of the Great War and the rise of the Fifty-Nine Varieties of Guaranteed Holier-than-thou-ness that followed it, made the very term Americanization an instrument of intolerance. After millions of our youth had been killed and maimed many people did feel that all was not as right as might be with the world that produced such calamities. There was even a revolution in Russia. So the herds of middle-aged Babbitts who had insisted from the outset that victory must be pursued to the last drop of other people's blood rose in holy wrath to demand that all men conform to the Babbittian image: Hundred percenters, Ku-Klux-Klanners, Sentinels of the Republic, Guardians of things as they are in all shapes and forms, cast startled eyes about them. Who more unlike the Babbittian image, and thus who more dangerous, than workers, especially immigrant workers? Americanize them by force. Which meant—make them admit how wonderful we and our society are.

Their senseless turmoil for long months submerged the real problem of Americanization. For a problem there undoubtedly is. If America is to become a nation capable of offering its masses the good life, those masses must become a homogeneous unit whose members are able to understand each other. The Carnegie study, therefore, has defined Americanization as "the uniting of new with native born Americans in fuller common understanding and appreciation to secure by means of self-government the highest welfare of all. Such Americanization should perpetuate no interchangeable optical, domestic and economic regime delivered once for all to the fathers, but growing and broadening national life, inclusive of the best wherever found. With all our rich heritages, Americanism will develop best through a mutual giving and taking of contribution from both newer and older Americans in the interest of the commonweal." Thus science and thought to the hundred per cent.

Dr. Leiserson's volume considers the particular problems confronting the immigrant in industry. And thereby he probably attacks the central of all the problems confronting our immigrants. For these masses have been urged to our shores chiefly by the industrialists: their main role in

our lives thus far has been the crucial one of upholders of American industry; the principal scene—locale—of their drama has been the shop. Undoubtedly industry and all that goes with it is the dominant source of our immigrant's ideas upon America and the most important instrument of Americanization in the real sense.

Consequently the survey of industrial factors contributing to these ends in this volume is extremely significant to all concerned with the workers' problems in America. These factors begin with the immigrant's first search for a place, a job, in industry, and proceed through his contacts with placement agencies and the lack of them, with employers, management, training schools, working conditions, "company unions," organized labor, the government agencies of help and supervision, to the immigrant's adjustment to American life. A special chapter is devoted to a consideration of the special problems of the woman immigrant worker, whose natural difficulties as an immigrant and a worker are greatly multiplied by the fact that she is a woman. Immigrant, worker and woman—a knotted combination, indeed. His study leaves him an advocate of a national policy in adjusting immigrant and industry, and Dr. Leiserson devotes his last pages to detailed suggestions for such a policy.

There is fascination in all this. The human story of how friends and relatives help the newcomer in his search for work; how the worker who can speak hardly a word of English is given involved applications and questionnaires to fill out; how he meets slave-driving foremen or understanding supervisors, and the difference they can make in his work; how self-formed group organizations help the immigrant; and all the complex rest. However, to organized workers, those sections dealing with the influence of the union upon the immigrant workers' life and position in industry will probably be most interesting. Ah, fortunately for them, these chapters are the most informing and profound in the book.

There is real insight to be found in much of their discussion. They point at from the start how unwarranted by the facts is the current notion of "large" a section of the old-laborers of the American Federation of Labor that immigrant workers are impossible to organize. Most immigrants are unskilled workers and, consequently, there are serious problems to be faced in organizing them. But if these problems are faced and wisely met, immigrants make strong unionists. Their drift is abstract radicalism, to dual unionism comes only when the older unions neglect the new workers or fail to understand them. Basically they, like all workers, want a union that will help them improve their conditions and will offer the hope of a better future.

To substantiate this analysis, the study reviews the actual experience of various unions whose members include immigrant and unskilled workers. The policies of unions which have been successful in winning and holding a large immigrant membership. For instance, the United Mine Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, are contrasted with those of the less successful, such as the United Garment Workers, the Boot and Shoe Workers, the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers, and others. The conclusion drawn is apparently irrefutable: in union management lies the final explanation of success and failure. Finally, a stirring picture is drawn of the influence exerted by the union upon the immigrant's life and upon his transformation into an American.

It is probably ungracious to end a review of so interesting a volume

with criticism. Yet Dr. Leiserson has offered an interpretation so mistaken and so unfounded in one instance that we cannot permit it to pass without serious objection. On page 155 of his volume Dr. Leiserson concludes a classification of company unions with what he calls "real 'company unions'—presumably the best of the type. He goes on to say, "These organizations are unions in every sense of the word, except that they have not the right to strike. But in this they are in the same position as the ordinary trade unions after they have entered into arbitration agreements with employers. The only difference is that when an ordinary trade-union agreement expires, the workers have the right to strike to force a change in the agreement." And so on.

Now this, of course, is distinctly not so. There are several other very important differences between the "ordinary trade union" (sic!) and the best of company unions beside the right to strike. The company union, for one thing has no independent treasury as has the trade union. It negotiates, for another, only for its local shop as against the national area over which the trade union controls its funds. (It must be remembered, of course, that trade unions include local and national representatives; company unions only local.) It has no existence, finally, outside the shop whose management introduced it and may at any time withdraw it. These are significant contrasts, assuredly, and contrasts which no student as conversant with Labor affairs as is Dr. Leiserson should overlook.

Perhaps Dr. Leiserson will be able to correct this error in the next edition. For there should by all means be a large enough audience for his study to make necessary multiple editions.

A Vanishing Myth

(Continued from page 7)

Escape from parental squabbles and ugly surroundings become the dominant desire. The daughters of Martha want to be Marys, so they welcome the opportunity for independence in industrial activity. But alienation is the result. The alienation at home is paid for by dragging slavery at the machine. Stunted in development, dreading and loathing the real, they seek relief in further escape, most a marriage, where they soon find their drudgery doubled. A good many finally do become Marys but their repentance there is no proof. Painted faces and lips in search of beauty, Tinsel and toys, movies and men, autos and jazz, the romance of an effortless existence. Lonesome at home, by day deserted for the machine. At night an abiding place of tradition while life is out seeking adventure.

Butterfly and ant are equally immersed in an emotional jag. The system that makes life dull because of nothing to do and because of too much to do is playing havoc with old landmarks. This is the period of transition. Today 20 per cent of American homes are neglected by machine demand. Tomorrow the percentage will be 50. It will go to thirty, thirty-five, perhaps fifty. What new generations can develop under these conditions?

The labors of birth are painful. Traditional hang-overs go popping. Institutions, morals, habits crash down about our ears. Perplexed and bewildered we look with a fearful eye at the resultant chaos. The moorings of our existence are slipping. But whenever we become timid and remonstrous, let's turn to the statistics collected by the Women's Bureau and resolve that if these be the props of our civilization, let them crash. Homes for thousands of men, women and children have vanished long ago. They are but a myth.

Union's Memorandum to Cloak Mediators

(Continued from Page 3)

is the demoralization of all standards in the industry. The employees in the sub-manufacturers' shops which offer them work and earnings during only fifteen to twenty-five weeks in the year are bound to enter into frenzied competition with each other for additional work or more steady employment. Their Union cannot help them. They are forced to take work wherever they find it and under whatever conditions it is obtainable. This situation largely contributes to the "social" shops and the other throat-cutting establishments in and around the City of New York.

In the course of the first hearings before your Commission and on numerous subsequent occasions the spokesmen of the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association charged the Union with neglecting its duty to organize the workers in the industry. They justly complained that the operation of non-union shops operating on inferior standards undermines the position of the Union shops and works to the disadvantage of the jobbers who deal with Union sub-manufacturers. On that point the investigation discloses that the number of non-union workers in the industry is only about 11.5 per cent of the total and confirms the claim of the Union that it has at all times made consistent and energetic efforts to unionize the entire industry (pp. 30 to 43). If, however, hardly to be doubted that even the small number of non-union shops has a baneful influence on the morale of the industry. Under normal conditions the Union could probably eliminate a large part of the non-union shops and also secure a better observance of standards in the Union shops. But that task is humanly impossible with the acute condition of unemployment mentioned above. So long as the Union cannot provide them with a minimum of work required for the satisfaction of their prime needs, workers will be driven to look for work outside of the Union by the inexorable forces of their physical needs. Mere police measures will not keep the workers in line, no matter how strenuous and persistent the Union's organization campaign may be.

The "reserve army" of chronically unemployed in our industry, kept alive by the unstable and fluctuating sub-manufacturers' shops and the irresponsible system of jobbing, depresses the standards of the workers, breeds unfair competition among the employers and generally demoralizes the industry. The Union maintains that the guarantee of a reasonable minimum period of employment to each worker in the industry by agreement between the employers and the Union would almost automatically bring to the Union the greater part of the still unorganized workers, eliminate the "fly by night" sub-manufacturers and place both classes of employers, the inside manufacturers and the jobbers, in a position of greater equality and fairness in competition towards and among each other.

Feasibility of Plan

The establishment of a minimum guaranteed period of employment presents essentially different problems for inside shops and the sub-manufacturing shops.

As to the inside shops, the average employment which they give to their workers is the equivalent of forty full weeks per year per worker (Table VIII, p. 75). I. e., eight weeks in excess of the minimum guaranty requested by the Union; 81.7 per cent of the total number of inside shops furnish their employees with work exceeding thirty-two full weeks per year. Only 18.3 per cent of inside employers fall short of the standards sought to be set up. Of these, only 13 per cent have less than thirty-one

full weeks' work and none less than twenty-six weeks. If a minimum guarantee of thirty-two full weeks' employment per year be established in the industry, only 2.6 per cent of the inside employers would have to lengthen the period of work in their shops by six weeks; 2.6 per cent by five weeks; 2.6 per cent by four weeks; 2.6 per cent by three weeks; 2.6 per cent by two weeks and 5.3 per cent by only one week. To put it in a different way, less than one-fifth of the inside manufacturers have to lengthen their period of employment by an average of three weeks per year. This should certainly not prove a task of extraordinary difficulty. It does not devolve upon the Union to indicate to the employers the proper methods to secure more careful planning and organization of their business and to eliminate the ruinous effects arising from violent fluctuations in their work during the period of unemployment. The Report of the experts employed by the Commission contains an interesting discussion of the problem and suggests several lines of possible improvement. The point the Union desires to emphasize in this connection is that the employers in our industry have heretofore made little incentive or inducement to do so under the existing Labor conditions and under the terms of their agreements with the Union.

With respect to the sub-manufacturing shops, an entirely different picture is presented. The establishment of a minimum period of employment equivalent to thirty-two full weeks' work would mean that eighty per cent of the sub-manufacturers would have to radically reorganize their methods of work. Such a reorganization, however, is absolutely indispensable to the healthy progress of the industry. It would secure more reasonable earnings and steady employment to a majority of the workers employed in such shops and eliminate the ruinous competition among them for other or additional work; it would eliminate the large number of sub-manufacturers, who occupy a precarious and hazardous position in the industry, coming into it in large numbers at the beginning of every season; and falling before the end of the season, losing their little investments and leaving disorganization and demoralization in the trade. It would stabilize the remaining sub-manufacturers and enable them to earn a living and to accord fair treatment to their employees. It would also have a salutary effect on the jobbers by diminishing unfair competition among them and enabling them to deal with steady and responsible sub-manufacturers.

The sub-manufacturer, however, is quite powerless to reform his methods of operation and lengthen his seasons of employment by his own efforts or planning. He is not an independent economic entity. He does not produce for the market and has no means of calculating in advance the volume of his production or to spread it over a given time. The volume of his work and the time within which it must be produced depend entirely upon the orders he secures from the jobbers. In the unregulated competition for the jobber's patronage it must naturally occur that some of the cheapest and most unscrupulous sub-manufacturers will often get more than their share of work measured by the number of their employees, while others who maintain better standards will get far less than their proportion of the available work.

The evils of seasonal fluctuations in employment and the appalling annual turnover of sub-manufacturers (see p. 38 of Report) cannot be successfully overcome without the active cooperation of the jobber. The sys-

tem of sub-manufacturing is an organic part of the jobbing system, and the one cannot be regulated or rationalized without the other. To solve the problem of chronic unemployment and abnormal fluctuations in the sub-manufacturers' shops, it therefore becomes necessary to devise a plan which will insure to them steadier and more evenly distributed work from the jobbers. It is with that object in view solely that the Union urges the principle that the jobbers assume responsibility for steadier employment in the sub-manufacturers' shops. The specific requests of the Union formulated in this memorandum are only devised for the purpose of providing the mechanics for the realization of this principle. It is quite obvious that a jobber cannot undertake to guarantee a minimum period of employment to the workers in a sub-manufacturer so long as such sub-manufacturer is free for him to only a limited extent and serves equally and indiscriminately a large number of additional jobbers. It is only when a sub-manufacturer works exclusively or almost exclusively for a specified jobber that the latter can be asked to assume certain guarantees towards the employees of the sub-manufacturer.

The proposal that each jobber designate a specified number of "steady" sub-manufacturers does not mean a revolution in the industry, as representatives of the Merchants' Association claimed when the proposal was first submitted to them. The carefully prepared figures in the report of the special investigators indicate that the institution of steady sub-manufacturers employed by specified jobbers has already developed in the industry to a large extent, as a matter of common practice. The analysis of employment of sub-manufacturers by jobbers is one of the most interesting and instructive parts of the Report. The total number of jobbers whose dealings with sub-manufacturers were investigated are thirty-five. These represent about twenty-five per cent of the entire volume of jobbing business done in the city. The number of sub-manufacturers whose dealings with jobbers were examined is 157. These employed together fifteen per cent of the total number of workers. In the case of the jobbers as well as the sub-manufacturers all types were included, so that each may be considered as a representative cross-section of the respective classes of employers. The investigators divided the sub-manufacturers into principal and casual, with respect to the jobbers for whom they work. A principal sub-manufacturer is one who does a large part of his work and produces merchandise for him to the extent of at least \$25,000 per year. All other sub-manufacturers are designated as casual. A similar classification is made among the jobbers with respect to their dealings with specific sub-manufacturers. A jobber who gives to a specified sub-manufacturer at least \$25,000 worth of work during the year is termed a principal jobber. Jobbers whose dealings with the sub-manufacturer fall below that figure are considered casual. On this basis, the investigators report:

"These principal sub-manufacturers . . . produce the major portion of the jobbers' garments. . . . Of the thirty-one (31) jobbers from whom data was obtained for the fall season, nine (9) procured between 90 and 100 per cent of their production from principal sub-manufacturers; twelve (12) between 80 and 90 per cent; four (4)—between 70 and 80 per cent, two (2)—between 60 and 70 per cent, and two (2)—between 50 and

60 per cent. Only two (2) jobbers, neither of whom is a member of the Merchants' Association, received from their principal sub-manufacturers less than 50 per cent of their production. Of these two, one No. 26, started jobbing during that season and, apparently, had not yet retained a full complement of principal sub-manufacturers. During the next season, with a production of three times as large as during the previous season, he received 82 per cent of his garments from principal sub-manufacturers.

Of the thirty-five (35) jobbers from whom information was received for the spring season, one worked with principal sub-manufacturers exclusively; thirteen (13) procured from principal sub-manufacturers between 90 and 100 per cent of their production; eleven (11), between 80 and 90 per cent; seven (7), between 70 and 80 per cent; one (1), 60 per cent; one (1), 64 per cent, and only one (1), less than 50 per cent. This jobber is not a member of the Merchants' Association.

The principal sub-manufacturers, although they constituted only 18.5 per cent of the aggregate number of sub-manufacturers employed by the jobbers investigated, produced during the year 86.3 per cent of all the purchases by such jobbers from sub-manufacturers (Report, pp. 108-101).

While the number of sub-manufacturers employed by each jobber is, as a rule, very large, ranging from twenty to seventy, these figures are very misleading, because the bulk of the work of each jobber is done by a comparatively small number of steady sub-manufacturers. Thus jobber No. 4 employs 207 sub-manufacturers, but only 21 of them, i. e., about ten per cent, do 70 per cent of his work. Jobber No. 6 deals with 63 sub-manufacturers, but only nine of them furnish him with almost 95 per cent of his merchandise; while the remaining five per cent is distributed among casual sub-manufacturers. Jobber No. 9 has 99.7 per cent of his work done by twelve principal sub-manufacturers, while the remaining per cent is divided among fifteen casual jobbers. Jobber No. 14 deals with 87 sub-manufacturers, of whom just eight do 97.35 per cent of his work, while 2.65 per cent of his work is done by 79 jobbers, each getting an average of about one-third of one per cent of his work. Jobber No. 34 employs 24 casual sub-manufacturers, but produces almost 90 per cent of his work.

Practically the same situation is revealed by an examination of the relations between jobbers and sub-manufacturers from the latter's point of view. Table VI on page 102 shows that 8.45 per cent of the sub-manufacturers work exclusively for principal jobbers and almost two-thirds of their whole number produce 90 per cent to 100 per cent of their output for principal jobbers. Under this heading, the investigators draw the following conclusions:

"As a rule sub-manufacturers depend upon their principal jobbers for the major portion of their work. A sub-manufacturer may try to obtain orders from a large number of jobbers, but the number of his principal jobbers is relatively small. In the fall seventy-two per cent (72 per cent) and in the spring seventy-six per cent (76 per cent) of all the sub-manufacturers investigated worked for one or two principal jobbers and only one-fourth of the sub-manufacturers worked for more than two principal jobbers" (Report, p. 103).

Table No. VII on page 103 is even more illuminating. It shows that an average of about 42.5 per cent of sub-manufacturers work for one

(Continued on Page 11)



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



President Green on.

Workers' Education

Extracts from Address Delivered by William Green, President American Federation of Labor, at Convention of Workers' Education Bureau, held in Philadelphia, April 18, 1925

Out of the evolutionary processes incidental to the expansion and progress of trade unionism has come to us all a deeper appreciation of the significance of that oft-repeated truism that "Knowledge is Power." The average worker is conscious of the fact that organization embraces within it the elements of strength, power and influence, but the same force can be made increasingly powerful, serviceable and influential through knowledge and education. It is one thing to organize; it is another matter to intelligently direct and guide organized forces along constructive lines toward the accomplishment of a definite purpose and the realization of a fixed goal. The forces of Labor, like other groups of society organized for definite and fixed purposes, have learned through experience the value of training, study and understanding. In keeping with the developments which have attended modern civilization and industrial progress organized Labor originated an educational policy which it is seeking to broaden and make responsive to the needs of the individual workers. The desired objective is that all workers shall be made more efficient and capable through the knowledge which they may obtain.

It is most interesting to note the stages of growth and expansion of the trade union movement. The first, or pioneer, period can be characterized as that of origin and primitive formation. The second period can well be classified as a period of stabilization and the establishment of the principle and practice of collective bargaining. The third period, into which we are now entering, is rich with promise and illumined with hope. It contains vast opportunities for enlightened education and spiritual advancement.

During the first or formative period the workers were guided more by instinct than by knowledge and training. They were inspired to move forward towards higher living plane but they did not have a clear conception of the course which would bring success. The pioneers in this movement were courageous and confident as they blazed the trail which has served as a pathway for the organized Labor movement.

Figuratively speaking, they hewed a course through the forests of dense ignorance and across the mountains of towering opposition, into the plains of industrial sacrifice. This was work which required the exercise of great faith and indomitable will and purpose and the exposition of these qualities in such a successful and praiseworthy manner forms the basis of the trade union spirit. Their education was crude and the methods employed were primitive but what they lacked in knowledge and education was compensated by a hardy spirit, a willingness to struggle and sacrifice and a purpose and determination that brooked no defeat. Labor has been its own architect and builder. It planned wisely. It laid a firm foundation. It marked out a constructive and well-defined course and its work and achievements, from the beginning, stand as a tribute to the sagacity and vision of the originators of the plan which resulted in the erection of the structure of organized Labor.

The second or present stage in this forward movement, classed as that of stabilization and the establishment of the principle and practice of collective bargaining, has been marked by a degree of constructive progress culminating in higher wages, in the acceptance of trade unionism as an institution and in the promotion of industrial freedom, liberty and independence. The principle of collective bargaining has been accepted by many employers of labor, statesmen, economists and students of industrial research. It is the one stabilizing force in industry which serves to maintain an equitable competitive relationship between employers and employees. From the more simple form of collective bargaining, when individual industrial establishments were more dependent, we have steadily progressed toward the application of the principle in a broader, more complex and comprehensive way. This has been brought about through the organization of industrial enterprises upon a larger scale, through closer communication, better transportation facilities and world organization of markets.

Labor fully understands that collective bargaining could not be successful unless supported by and through the mobilization of Labor's economic power. This involves organization of the workers. The more complete and thorough the organization becomes the more effective become the principles of collective bargaining. It is easy to understand how much more effective the leaders of Labor can be and how much more authoritatively they can speak when the workers whom they represent are thoroughly and completely organized.

This leads to the consideration of a new development growing out of collective bargaining. I refer to the diverse requirements which the spokesmen and advocates of Labor must possess. The trade union representative must know his case and his cause and must be qualified to present the facts in a logical and convincing way. This qualification is required only through experience, training and education. It is an unwritten law of trade unionism that the workers be represented in wage scale conferences and in all negotiations with employers by men who work with them who speak their language, who know the trade, who have been active in trade unionism, who possess an abundance of natural ability and who have a standing with their fellows which invites confidence and trust. The operation of this rule serves a double purpose in that it affords opportunity for individual advancement and encourages the workers to study and master their problems, inspiring them to greater endeavor. The trade union is the direct beneficiary of this operating process for it receives the service of its most able and best equipped members. Invariably the discussion in the conference room covers a wide range. Trade terms are used and the technical features of industry are discussed. Management and managerial problems often become involved in the discussion. Efficiency and economics in production, together with the problems of human welfare and human interests, are all covered in the general review

Last October I was, I am glad to say, asked by the Workers' Education Bureau and by the Ohio Federation of Labor to come to Ohio and explain the benefits of workers' classes to the Labor organizations in this State.

One Labor college had already been formed in the State—that at Cincinnati. Acting under the direction of Secretary Spencer Miller of the Bureau and of President John P. Frey of the Federation, I have visited as many industrial centers as possible and conferred with union officials, addressed central bodies, spoken to meetings of local unions, distributed literature of the Bureau and done whatever else seemed possible to promote this form of union activity.

My experiences have been most pleasant and encouraging.

So far as I have been able to learn, nobody in Ohio connected with organized Labor denies the desirability of workers forming classes of their own, hiring competent instructors and studying those subjects that seem most useful to themselves and to the Labor movement. Everywhere there has been the "glad hand," the thorough approval, the promise of support.

At the same time, there has been in evidence a realization of the practical difficulties in the way and a willingness to cope with them. There has been enthusiasm but no "whirlwind enthusiasm." Adequate instructors must be secured, usually from nearby educational institutions; meeting places must be arranged for; programs must be worked out; funds must be provided; above all the interest of large numbers of workers

must be aroused, for Workers' Colleges are democratic. These very real and practical problems have been seen by organized Labor and steps have been taken to overcome them, even though considerable time was involved.

Six cities in Ohio now have Workers' Colleges. They are: Cincinnati, Hamilton, Columbus, Springfield, Marion and Bucyrus.

These are conducting ten week terms this winter and are laying plans for a more extensive development next fall.

Every other place where the Workers' Education idea has been presented is preparing to start classes in the near future or next autumn.

No two Workers' Colleges are conducted exactly alike. Each is self-governing and is carried on to meet the needs of its particular locality. The subjects studied differ; the places of meeting differ; the manner of conducting classes differ; the times for meeting differ. Workers' Colleges have not become "standardized" and it is to be hoped that it will not be long before they are. They are conducted by workers for the promotion of thought among themselves and "standardization" does not promote thought.

In general the classes meet once a week in the evening. They are held in union halls if available—if not, then in school houses. They are supported by nominal fees from those who attend and by contributions from the unions. The most popular subjects are Economics, Public Speaking, English Composition and Literature. The

(Continued on Page 11)

and discussions which take place. Mere references to these matters directs attention to the practical and technical qualifications which the present-day representative of organized Labor must possess.

Labor stands upon the threshold of the third definite period of accomplishment. There is every indication that the organizations of Labor are entering upon a new era, one in which education is going to play a greater part. This will involve not only an understanding of the way in which to present the demands of the workers in the conference room but also the successful way in which the economic strength of the workers can be consolidated, centralized and efficiently used when occasion requires.

Quite early the membership of organized Labor properly appraised the value of education. This is shown by their early declarations and stand in favor of and in support of free public schools and compulsory education. Trade unions demand that every child should be afforded an opportunity to acquire an education. They fought for child labor legislation, for the widest, fullest and freest opportunity for school attendance and for legislation which would compel children to attend school. After this principle was established, the workers realized more than ever that education is not a process ending with common school experience. Organization of industrial enterprises upon a constantly enlarging basis, with the introduction of machinery and other economic agencies of production, brought home

the necessity of a plan of adult education. When this need became apparent a plan was evolved. The Workers' Education Bureau is the medium through which we are giving to the worker an understanding of industry and society and his relation to both. The worker is being taught, through a course of study formulated and arranged by the Workers' Education Bureau, the value of his economic strength and the importance of joining with his fellow-men in wisely directing the use of their intellectual and organized powers along constructive lines in the furtherance of the work of organized Labor. Through this work of education much latent ability is being developed into active use and service. The net result is that the cause of the worker is being intelligently strengthened educationally and economically.

We want the public to understand organized Labor, its creed, its philosophy and its principles. We do not want these principles to be confused with principles advocated by the spokesmen of other alleged organizations who constantly insist upon speaking about Labor and aver they speak in the name of Labor. We propose to bring about much understanding through the use of literature, through education and through information which is available for public use. We are confident that much of the hostility directed toward organized Labor can be overcome through a proper understanding of the high and patriotic purposes which organized Labor enunciates and champions.

The Week In Local 10

By SAM B. SHENKER

Hearings before the Governor's Commission in its report of the investigation in the cloak and suit industry continue at the Bar Association. The position of the Union, touching on its demands in the light of the report, was presented masterfully by the Union's counsel, Mr. Morris Hillquit.

That the presentation was a masterful one was conceded by practically every one present at the hearing. Aside from the Union, which is represented at the hearings, there are also present representatives of the American Association, the contractors' organization in the cloak industry, the Protective and the Jobbers' Associations.

Union No Hindrance to Manufacturers' Progress

The Union's counsel presented his arguments on the basis of the Commission's report and showed by facts and figures that the union was not responsible for the growth of the jobbing and contracting system. What largely made for this growth, something the employers do not take cognizance of, is the demand by the retailer for immediate deliveries.

It was pointed out that jobbing and contracting establishments in the dress industry are more numerous in spite of the fact that the employers in these trades are working under the optional piece-work system.

The number of average workers per shop since 1916 gradually decreased. And when the week-work system was introduced there was a gradual rise until at the present time, in spite of the present growth of the jobbing system, the average number of workers per shop is nearly the same as in 1916. Hence, as the manufacturers turned to jobbing and insisted that they were driven to it by week work and increased wages, the size of the inside shops at the present time is practically as great as it was eight or nine years ago.

Wages About the Same, Profits Greater

The hue and cry of the employers that the jacking-up of the wages was also responsible for the disappearance of the large shop was not only ridiculed by Mr. Hillquit in his presentation, but was disproven by the Commission's report.

It was pointed out that census figures in 1914 gave 35,000 workers in the industry with an annual average wage of \$1,734. Present figures show the employment of 35,000 workers, whose average annual wage is \$1,780. Hillquit showed, therefore, the wages to be the same at the present time as in 1914. He showed that materials and other expenses are practically the same now as they were ten years ago.

Twenty per cent of the receipt for garments are figured as surplus over expenditures. "In other words," Mr. Hillquit said, "employers in the cloak industry took out of the industry more profits than the workers did wages. And of this sum the inside manufacturers get their share, for none of them are in business for philanthropic motives."

"Re-organization" Is Ambition to Discharge

During the course of the hearings, when the counsel for the associations delivered their arguments for the employers' side, they considerably stressed their demand for the right to re-organize their factories periodically. This, the Union's representative pointed out, is nothing but an ambition on the part of the employers to discharge workers periodically.

This would mean that in the slack season of the place of equal division of work a re-organization would take place. Thus, the employers would be

afforded the opportunity to keep their favorites. The only thing, the Union pointed out, that would stabilize the industry would be the guaranteed time of employment and the limitation of the contractors.

Mr. Hillquit said that the industry owes the worker a living. The workers have spent years in the trade and in mastering it. For the employer to be given the right to re-organize his plant periodically would mean the inception of the casual worker who would only secure employment in the peak of the season. He would practically be faced with starvation for the greater part of the year.

What the Union Demands

The hearings continued all last week. Even towards the end of the week it could not be said as to when they would come to a close. The bulk of the demands of the Union are to be elaborated on before the Commission is to make its recommendations.

The demands of the Union under consideration by the Commission are: The limitation of contractors, the establishment of a guaranteed period of 32 weeks of employment per year, no discharge of contractors by inside manufacturers, and an equal division of work among them, a full list of contractors employed by members of the Protective Association, a reduction of hours and an increase in wages.

A collective guarantee by the industrial council of the Protective Association of the performance of these provisions by its members is also demanded. The amount of deficiency in the wages of all the workers receiving less employment than 32 weeks shall be paid by the members of the Council for themselves, their contractors and sub-manufacturers.

The employer, on the other hand, back the re-introduction of piece-work. They are opposed to an increase in wages; they oppose the guarantee of employment, the unionization of the designers and examiners; they demand the right to discharge and to re-organize their shops. They oppose equal division of work and regard the sanitary label as superfluous. They also say that the policy of the union encourages "soldiering" on the job.

Office Busy with Slack-Time Problems

The inspection of the slack season in the cloak and dress trades brought with it, naturally, new complaints peculiar to this time of the year.

Isidore Nagler, acting manager of the cloak division, has been swamped this and last week with shop meetings, where the topic was the lack of equal division of work. In spite of the fact that this system is as much a part of the union as the union itself to the members, nevertheless complaints of this nature occupy the greater part of the office's activities. And this is solely caused by the fact that an employer or foreman thinks he has found a new meaning and tries to interpret it so that he may be enabled to keep a particularly favored cutter for the slack season.

In the language of the street, no cutter "gets away with it." To Nagler, this "problem" is an old one and he lays down the law to the men at the shop meetings in every short order.

Control Begun

The acting manager of the cloak division has caused a list to be gotten up of the shops, the owners of which are in the habit of doing their own cutting, particularly in the slack season. It is during this period of the year in the industry that the so-called "one-man houses" have not

sufficient work for a full week. Instead of calling a man to do what cutting there is to be done the employer does the work himself.

Nagler therefore assigned Brother Jacob White t. controlling these shops. He is charged with the duty of visiting daily a number of plants and reports the results of his investigations to the office. Complaints are at once filed and the shops are followed up. In this way men are often placed to work.

Dress Department Also Active

The dress division is also flooded with complaints peculiar to the slack season. The writer, who has charge of this branch, has fewer complaints regarding division of work. The reason is that there are fewer large shops in this division of the trade. The nature of the complaints in this trade relate more to discharges.

The bulk of the cutters are employed in contractors' shops and employers whose cutters watch the shops in the slack season and report when their bosses cut invariably discharge their cutters, thinking that in this way they will be free to do their cutting in the slack season. In this not one has yet been successful since the slack season set in. The office knows that the discharge is but a subterfuge.

By the end of the week the control under the direct supervision of the office will be instituted. The control in the dress trade is important. The recent organization campaign of the Joint Board added a few hundred shops to the union's list and these have to be followed up until the owners of the newly-organized shops learn what a union shop means.

Under normal conditions these controls would be made by the business agents of the Joint Board. Owing, however, to the number of the shops added to the Union list, the business agents are over-laid with complaints. The number of complaints has been increased since the organization campaign. Hence the office, in order to make a control of the shops in the slack season, must carry on this work itself.

Manager Sends Omen Letter

No one expected to hear from Manager Dubinsky who left aboard the S. S. Berengaria on Wednesday, April 15, for Europe, until he would land. Considerable surprise was manifested last Monday when an omen letter was received from him. It was wirelessly sent from the Berengaria to the Mauretania for transmission, and then delivered by mail to the office.

In the letter Brother Dubinsky requests the writer to "convey word of love and appreciation to the Executive Board members and the special committee," which was appointed to see him off. Among the shops which sent him flowers were the cutters of J. S. Becker and Hatlie Carnegie. He also wished his appreciation to be conveyed to Brothers Neufeld, Rosenthal and their friends, and "all members who participated in that splendid demonstration. Their beautiful flowers brightened the boat and their many baskets of fruit sweetened the road."

Stubbornness Brings Heavy Fine

It is seldom that a case is so interesting and consumes as much time as that which involved cutters Jacob Tobias, Hyman Slavin and David Hein, cutters of the shop of Dworetz-

Ky-Brothers. The reason why Manager Dubinsky, who handled the case just prior to his departure, stressed its importance was that the violation in point occurred immediately after these men had been found guilty of and fined by the Executive Board for another offense.

A week after the three cutters in question were fined by the Executive Board they were seen to leave their shops through the roof of the building at one o'clock in the morning.

The committee which usually pickets the districts on Saturday afternoons remained in the neighborhood of this shop until late in the evening. Action which they saw these men go into the building. They were too slow to apprehend them as they were decided thereupon that the members of the Committee station themselves in front of the shop and wait. It was not, as was stated, until one in the morning that these men emerged.

The cutters were subsequently summoned before the Executive Board and charged with the violation. The three men at first emphatically denied their guilt. One of them in fact swore "by my wife and children" that he had not been working and that he was home at the time in question.

They were then subjected to a second grilling individually. Two men were ordered out of the Executive Board room and the third, on the promise that he would be dealt with leniency were he to confess, finally did break down. He said that the three of them were told to come in and in order to avoid detection did as they planned. They reported to work at 10 p. m. and worked until one in the morning.

The second cutter called in at first persisted in his denial of the charge, maintaining it was all a frame-up. He insisted that he had nothing else to say. However, when he was confronted with the confession of the other cutter he appeared to be ready to admit his guilt. He pleaded after a moment's hesitation that he be saved the agony of a confession in view of his having sworn to his first claim of innocence.

There were a number of board members who are familiar with Talmudic teachings and who quoted a section of the law which would make it possible for him to overcome his objection. This seemed to satisfy him and he confessed accordingly.

Jacob Tobias, who is foreman of the cutters of this shop, refused to confess even in the face of the positive assertion of Slavin and Hein that he worked together with them.

The Executive Board imposed fines upon the three cutters. In addition, Tobias' working card was withdrawn and he was ordered not to go back to work on pain of expulsion. Brother Nagler, however, says that Tobias then admitted his guilt to him and requested permission to appeal to the Executive Board for more lenient action and promised he would make a clean breast of his actions.

CUTTERS—ATTENTION!

I will teach you enough PATTERN-MAKING in ten lessons, Days or Evenings to hold a one-man job.

JOSEPH R. SCHIEFFEL
Room 1204. 131 West 26th St., N. Y.

CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

REGULAR MEETING.....Monday, April 27

At Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place
Meetings Begin Promptly at 7:30 P. M.