

"My righteous-  
ness I hold fast,  
and will not let  
it go."

—Job 27.6

# JUSTICE

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

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

Vol. VII, No. 15.

New York, Friday, April 10, 1925.

Price 2 Cents

## Hearings On Cloak Report Postponed By Special Mediation Commission

### Illness of Attorney for Protective Association Causes Delay—No Date Definitely Set— Report Makes Profound Impression

The series of three conference-hearings on the report of the investigators of the New York cloak and suit industry, announced last week by the Special Mediation Commission for Saturday and Sunday, April 4 & 5, did not materialize owing to the illness of Mr. William Klein, attorney for the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association. Although there was a willingness on the part of the other representatives

to go ahead with the conference, the commissioners deemed it advisable to put off the hearings temporarily.

The session were to be held at the Bar Association Building, 43 West 44th street. No new date for the hearings has been set, though it may reasonably be expected that they would be held some time during next week.

**The Issues Before the Commission**  
The issues involved in the report,

which no doubt will be brought forth as a result of the analysis of the facts and findings of the investigators, will in the main be the same as have engaged the attention of the Special Commission last summer, when the Union presented a list of demands calling for a number of thoroughgoing changes in Labor conditions. Only part of that program had been granted at that time upon the recommendation of the Commission, which ordered the investigation so as to be able to form its judgment with regard to the other demands of the workers' organization.

The I. L. G. W. U., among other things, demands a system of limitation of contractors, the guarantee of a certain number of weeks of work per year, and the equalization of wages among certain crafts.

The American Manufacturers' Association, which represents the sub-manufacturers and the contractors in the trade, endorses the demand of the Union for a limitation of contractors to be engaged by jobbers each season, and also demands the recognition of minimum Labor costs.

## Local 50 to Celebrate 10th Anniversary May 24

High Class Concert in the Afternoon and Banquet and Dance in the Evening—Leaders of the Labor Movement Invited  
to Talk—Part—Booklet Will Tell of Achievements of Local for Past Ten Years

The tenth anniversary of the Philadelphia Dress and Waistmakers' Union, Local 50, will be celebrated on Sunday, May 24. The committee in charge of the arrangements of this event decided last week to arrange a high class concert and dance for the afternoon and a banquet to be followed up with a dance in the evening.

This affair is expected to draw the attention not only of Labor circles in Philadelphia, but the profound interest of all the sister organizations of Local 50 all over the country. The ladies' garment workers well remember that only a short ten years ago the workers in the waist and dress shops in Philadelphia were exploited under a most degrading work system. The unsanitary shops, the limitless work-hours and the niggardly pay were the rule in the industry—until a handful of brave men and women, with courage, imagination and a will to work, conceived the possibility of a strong organization of the workers in the dress and waist shops.

The story of the years that followed is a tale of heroic struggles to build up and maintain a union and union conditions in the trade. The twenty-six weeks' strike of the winter of 1923 is but an example of the kind of fighting the Philadelphia dress and waistmakers had to wage to keep their banner flying and to preserve the trade improvements which they won by years of incessant sacrifice.

Aside from the numerous invitations already extended to the leading men and women in our own organization, the I. L. G. W. U., and to the leaders in Philadelphia Labor circles, the committee is now working on a souvenir booklet which will contain a number of articles of an historic nature and will sound the keynote of the celebration. The committee will gladly receive suggestions from friends and will supply information with regard to the jubilee at the office of the local, 1018 Cherry street, whenever requested.

## Dress Label to Go Into Effect April 15

Four and a Half Million Cloak Labels Sold Already

Active steps have been taken for the introduction of the label in the Dress Industry by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

A letter was sent to the manufacturers announcing that the label will be ready for issuance on April 6. Time will be given until about April 15 to cover all the manufacturers having an active agreement with the Union.

The label will be blue on white to differentiate it from the black on white label of the Cloak Industry. Each label will have a serial number.

Order books will be ready for distribution on April 6.

The location of the label in the Dress Industry is as follows:

In one-piece garments—on the hem, on the seam, on the right side.

In garments with waist-lines—at the waist-lines.

The Board is glad to announce that it has received the official letters patent from the Patent Office in Washington for the "Frosans" label, and that dress labels will indicate that they are patented on March 31, 1925. The same wording will be found on future cloak labels as well. The labels are now fully protected against infringement.

That the Board has made substantial progress in the introduction of the label in the Cloak Industry is indicated by the following figures on labels sold in 1924 and 1925, and the total number of labels sold up to date.

In 1924 ..... 1,147,650  
In 1925 ..... 2,391,000  
Up to Date ..... 4,538,000

The Board has covered about 1,500 shops in the Cloak Industry. The remaining shops, about 75, are chiefly small shops, some of whom are even now going out of business.

While the total number of labels sold up to date is substantial, the Board realizes that considerable labels can be sold in the Cloak Industry. With the co-operation of the Union and the Associations, the Board will be able to show larger scales.

Now that the label is patented and is about to be introduced in the Dress Industry, an appeal will be made to the consumers to insist upon a Sanitary label on every garment that is bought. With the pressure of the or-

(Continued on page 2.)

## I. L. G. W. U. Levies Tax to Defray Strike and Organizing Costs

Special Tax to be Collected in the Course of Twenty-five Weeks

The numerous strikes and organizing drives waged by the I. L. G. W. U. during the last six months, in the United States and Canada, have taken a heavy toll from the treasury of the International Union. In most cases these strikes had to be financed by the General Office, as the local organizations involved in these movements have either not had sufficient funds in their own treasuries or were in such bad shape financially that they had to rely entirely upon the money supplied by the International.

The strikes in both Canadian cities, Montreal and Toronto, in the cloak industry, the strike in the miscellaneous trades in New York City, the organizing work in Baltimore, in the Chicago dress trade and all through the territory adjacent to the big metropolitan districts of New York, Boston and Philadelphia, have consumed large sums of money. Such extraordinary expenditures in the past would be covered by special assess-

ments levied by the G. E. R. under the power vested in it by the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U. For the past few years, however, the General Office has not levied any assessments upon the members, endeavoring to meet the regular and extra

costs of the organization from its regular channels of income.

Now, however, a special tax becomes inevitable. To strengthen the fighting power of the International and to meet the big obligations in-

(Continued on Page 2.)

## Cloakmakers Requested Not to Work Saturday Afternoons Or Sundays

All New York cloakmakers are called upon not to work Saturday afternoons or Sundays. Committees from all locals affiliated with the Joint Board will patrol the shop districts every Saturday afternoon and Sunday. Anyone found at work will be hailed before the Grievance Board of the Union and punished severely.

By order of the Joint Board of the Cloak and Dressmakers' Unions.  
ISRAEL FEINBERG, General Manager.

# Montreal Cloakmakers Extend Thanks to Hochman

Shop Chairmen and Active Workers Meet to Bid Farewell to Strike Leader

Sunday, a week ago, the first shop chairman meeting in Montreal since the conclusion of the recent general strike in that city was called together for the special occasion of meeting for the last time with General Organizer Julius Hochman prior to his departure for New York.

Brother Hochman came over from Toronto to bid farewell to the shop representatives with whom he had worked together for eight long months. Together with him came over from Toronto his chief assistant in that city, Brother Sol Polakoff, who took a prominent part in the strike of the Toronto workers.

Brother Hochman reviewed to the shop chairmen the history of the situation in the two Canadian cities for the time he had been with them. He pointed out to them the object lesson of the last strike, the need of solid organization and the paramount importance of the economic struggle as a means of improving the condition of the workers in their fight for social justice. He expressed his hope that the Montreal cloakmakers would now

stick to their organization and would know how to appreciate dearly the help rendered to them by their parent organization, the International Union, and safeguard all the gains they had made.

Brother Hochman was followed by Brothers Polakoff, Shubert and Griffrand, after which the shop chairmen adopted by a unanimous vote the following resolution:

"We, the assembled shop delegates and active members of the Montreal organization of the I. L. G. W. U., express our thanks and appreciation to Brother Julius Hochman for his indefatigable and good work in organizing and leading our strike.

"We hope that the activity which Brother Hochman is now undertaking in New York will be followed by similar success and that he will for many more years be of great use to the Labor movement in general and to our workers in particular."

Brother T. Jacobs of Montreal presided at the meeting.

# Dress Label To Go Into Effect April 15

(Continued from page 1)

gained workers, employers and the consumers, the "Prosanis" label will give, not only a commercial incentive for its use to those manufacturers who are qualified to use it, but it will strengthen the constructive institutions of the agreement between the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the employers.

The label will demonstrate its effectiveness as a device by which the public will actively co-operate with all parties in the industry concerned in maintaining sanitary conditions in the shop and fair conditions of labor, and thus help to eliminate that unscrupulousness which undermines decent standards in industry.

Gratifying results in the control of the label are indicated by the following figures sent to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control by Mr. Charles Jacobson, Manager of the Label and Insurance Departments of the Joint

Board of Cloak, Suit, Dress, Skirt and Reefers Makers' Union of Greater New York:

On December 1, 1924, the number of firms who did not purchase labels, according to statement, totalled . . . . . 982

On March 7, 1925, I checked upon the list of subscribers and found that out of the above number, 814 firms have purchased labels, while 168 failed to do so. Some of these 168 firms do not exist any more, the others are being looked after. Besides this, we received individual complaints against firms in reference to irregularities in connection with the use of the label. Such complaints we had from December 12 to March 7. . . . . 310 thus making the total number of complaints attended to. . . . . 1301

# I. L. G. W. U. Levies Tax to Defray Organizing and Strike Costs

(Continued from Page 1)

currred during the recent strike movement, the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U., at a special meeting in Bridgeport, Connecticut, has decided among other things to levy a special tax of \$2.50 upon the members, collectible in 25 cents at

10 cents a week. Upon the instruction of the G. E. B., Secretary-Treasurer Baroff forwarded last week a letter to all the local unions explaining the purpose of the assessment and the method of its collection in detail. The letter follows:

## To All Local Unions Affiliated With the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Attention of Secretary-Treasurer, Greeting:—

In accordance with the power vested in it by Section 5, Article 12 of the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U., the General Executive Board, at its recent special meeting in Bridgeport, Connecticut, voted to levy upon all the members of the I. L. G. W. U. an assessment of \$2.50 per member, same to be collected in the course of twenty-five weeks at the rate of ten cents per week.

This assessment was levied in compliance with the above referred to provision in our Constitution "for the purpose of assisting organizations engaged in strikes and lockouts." During the last three months, the International has been engaged in a number of costly organizing campaigns, several of which have resulted in strikes. These strikes have drained the regular resources of the General Office and the General Executive Board deemed it imperative to levy this tax in order to bring these

strikes to a successful conclusion.

All Local Unions which have available funds in their treasury are requested at once to remit in advance to the General Office the amount due on this assessment so as to make the task of supporting our strikes and organizing campaigns less burdensome for the International. At the same time we desire to draw your attention to the same section of our Constitution which explicitly provides that "such assessments shall be collected by each Local Union from its members." We emphasize the necessity of such action and the importance of not only meeting this obligation from the ready funds of the Locals but that of making the rank and file of our membership participate in and contribute directly towards the supremely urgent task of assisting their fellow workers in International Union engaged in strikes or lockouts. This assessment goes into effect the 15th day of May, 1925.

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## RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday, April 11, at 1:30 p. m., Scott Nearing will speak on "The Temper of the Far West," in his Current Events Class at the Rand School, 7 East 15th Street.

On Tuesday, April 14, Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg will continue his lectures on "Guiding the Child's Life," at the Rand School.

On Friday, April 17, at 7 p. m., Dr. Morris H. Kahn will lecture on "The Influence of Environment and of Heredity," in his course on "Heredity and Eugenics," at the Rand School.

On the same evening at 8:30 p. m., Mr. Louis Untermyer will lecture on Poetry and Propaganda—Giovanni, Oppenheimer and others.

## WALDMAN & LIEBERMAN LAWYERS

502 Broadway - New York  
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### GRASP THE OPPORTUNITY!

The Office of the International, 3 West 16th street, is open every Monday and Thursday until 7 o'clock to enable members of the Union to purchase

"The Women's Garment Workers" at half price—\$2.50.

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## Four Months' Work of the Label and Insurance Office

By CHARLES JACOBSON, Manager

The first four months of the existence of our Label and Insurance Department, which period is covered by this report, may rightfully be marked as a period of unusual activities in connection with the enforcement of the Sanitary Label and the contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

### The Sanitary Label

Before our Joint Board established this new department the Sanitary Label was not taken seriously by either the employers or the workers. The number of firms which purchased and used the Sanitary Label was very small indeed, while a number of firms merely purchased the Label but did not use it and a still greater number did not even purchase any Labels. While it may be said that the employers who failed to carry out this provision of our agreement acted in bad faith—it must be admitted that the workers employed in such shops as a result of unusual activities in which they performed their duty as Union men and women and refused to make garments without Labels, their employers would have been compelled to use the Label. After all, it is the workers who must be interested in this proposition for their own good and welfare. Time and time again the workers were informed and fully advised by the Union representatives, through the press at all shop and general members' meetings, about the significance of the Sanitary Label and its relation towards the abolition of our modern sweat-shops which are the curse of our industry. It has been stated to them very clearly that by having Sanitary Labels sewed on each garment made in our Union shops the Union jobbers would be compelled to handle the deal in same as UNION-MADE products, as every garment without such Label found on their premises would be considered as a non-union product and they would be dealt with accordingly. By this we do not intend in the least to minimize the responsibility of the employers and the jobbers in so far as it deals with their faithful performance of our agreement; we do say, however, that in a matter as vital as the enforcement of the use of the Sanitary Label, which is intended to protect the bread and butter of our members, it is the duty of our members to insist upon the strict compliance with this provision of our agreement, and if their employers refuse to do so then report this matter to the Union, in which case the Union will take all the necessary steps towards enforcing compliance on the part of such firms. If this was done it would be very easy to determine whether or not our jobbers are dealing ex-

clusively in garments made in Union shops, as provided in their agreements, and the Union would then be in a position to bring all such violators to proper accounting.

This, however, was not done in the first instance, and as a result we received December 1, 1924, a list from the Label Director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control showing that 982 firms did not purchase any Labels. We lost no time in following up all these shops and after having encountered a good deal of hardship we succeeded in enforcing the use of the Label throughout the industry. But the adoption of the Sanitary Label in our Union shops did not end our task by far. There were many cases reported to us (and many more will, undoubtedly, be reported in the future) in which the Label has been improperly used, or other irregularities in connection with its use had been committed. Such complaints have numbered in the 44's cases, and they were attended to with the utmost expediency. The firms in question have been instructed as to their obligations in connection with the use, distribution and control of the Label, and they were warned as to the consequences which will follow as a result of their failure to carry out such instructions.

One of the above number of complaints there were three cases which deserve special attention. These complaints were against firms whose Labels were found in non-union shops, and we preferred charges against these firms to the Label Director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. The Label Director, after hearing the evidence presented in these cases, found that two of these firms were not guilty of misusing the Label, for the reason that the several Labels found in the non-union shops were taken out of these union shops by some unknown employees, without the firms' knowledge, and given to non-union shops. It was purely a case of negligence on the part of these firms in not properly safeguarding the safe-keeping of the Labels, and both firms were instructed by the Label Director to turn over all of their purchased Labels to their respective Label Custodians and provide them with locked drawers wherein to keep the Labels in safety, so that if any Labels should be missing in the future the Label Custodian will be responsible for their loss and he will be brought to proper accounting. In the third case, however, it was definitely proved that one of the firm's authorized representatives gave out a lot of cut work with Labels to a non-union shop in Long Island, and that shop in turn sent over the cut garments and

the Labels to a non-union shop in Brewster to be made-up there. This was done for the purpose of covering all traces which may have led the Union to discover the New York firm's dealing with non-union shop in Long Island. It must be admitted that this scheme is a clever one, indeed, and had it not been for the Sanitary Label it would have been impossible to prove the firm's guilt as the non-union firm's account did not appear on the union firm's books. The Label Director referred the case to the Label Committee for disciplinary action and the Label Committee imposed upon the firm in question a fine of \$250, which fine was turned over to the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

While only three such cases have been reported to us there may, undoubtedly, be many more similar abuses being committed by unscrupulous firms that are dealing with non-union shops who are trying to cover it up on their books. All such abuses can easily be traced through the Sanitary Label if the Label Custodians in each shop will make it their business to keep a correct account of all the Labels purchased by their employers, the amount of Labels used in the shops where the garments are made, and the balances left on hand at the end of each week. Each Label Custodian is provided by the Union with a handy book for the purpose of keeping such records and also with special report cards on which to fill out weekly reports and mail them to the Union, for which purpose the Union furnishes addressed and stamped envelopes. Many Label Custodians have been reporting to the Union regularly every week since the beginning of the season, and have thus enabled the Union to have a proper check and control on the Labels purchased and used in their shops, but a good many did not do so. It is to be hoped, therefore, that all Label Custodians who have so far failed to perform this very important duty will do so at once and thus spare the Union the unpleasant task of bringing them to proper accounting for their failure to perform their duty.

### The Unemployment Insurance Fund

The situation with reference to the Unemployment Insurance Fund is quite similar to that of the Sanitary Label, but the circumstances are somewhat different. The workers in this case have done their share by contributing regularly to the Fund one per cent of their weekly earnings, while a great number of employers have taken undue liberties. Not only have they failed to contribute their own share (2 per cent) to the Fund, but they retained the one per cent which they deducted from their employees' earnings. As soon as our Joint Board established its Label and Insurance Department we requested the Unemployment Insurance Fund to furnish us with a list of delinquent firms. The Director of the Insurance Fund furnished us with such a list on January 2, 1925, which showed 797 firms were totally delinquent, i. e., they did not remit anything at all. We immediately got busy following up all such firms and demanded prompt payment of all monies due as well as complete sets of weekly

reports showing the earnings of each worker. The task was quite a difficult one. In many cases all sorts of excuses were given and our Business agents had to visit some firms several times before they were able to collect all outstanding monies and reports; in some cases we were compelled to call strikes in order to force the employers to meet their obligations.

Besides the above number of total delinquents we also received 1,131 complaints against firms who were partly delinquent. With such firms we had less difficulty in collecting the outstanding monies, but we had considerable difficulty in securing the missing weekly reports. The excuses given by the different firms for not sending in regularly their weekly reports were various, but we could not accept any more than the excuse in the absence of such reports it will be impossible for the Insurance Fund to determine which workers will be entitled to Unemployment Insurance. The Union is doing all it can to secure all such reports and will see to it that all outstanding reports are turned in in due and proper time. The workers, in such cases, can do no more than they are doing, i. e., to pay their weekly share, but there are few firms who are very reluctant about fulfilling this obligation and it may be necessary to resort to stoppages in order to compel them to do it, in which case, we hope, the workers will do their duty whenever they are called upon to do so.

So far we have succeeded in collecting over \$100,000 from delinquent firms, but we are still collecting large sums of money every day.

The Unemployment Insurance Fund began its registration of all our members so as to be able to determine who will be entitled to unemployment insurance. The registration is taken from the weekly reports received from the employers. For that purpose the Unemployment Insurance Fund sent out lists to all our Shop Chairmen, containing the names of all workers who had been reported on the weekly reports, and whose contributions had been forwarded to the Fund. The Shop Chairmen are requested to check up those lists, as to whether their salaries have been reported, also as to whether their salaries have been reported correctly, and to return those lists as soon as possible to the office of the Unemployment Insurance Fund or the Joint Board. If they find that certain workers had been omitted, or that their salaries are not correctly reported, they must make all such corrections on their lists; they must also insert the local and ledger number of each worker.

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Fraternally,

H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Director,

## JUSTICE

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# What Reviewers Say About Our History

## The Garment Workers' Inspiring Story

HERESA WOLFSON in *The New Leader*, March 14, 1925

A veteran official of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union picked up a copy of Dr. Louis Levine's history of the union, thumbed its pages, weighed it in his hands for several moments, and cried, "Ach, this is the story of my life!" And so it is, even as it is the story of the life struggles of 100,000 other workers in the garment history.

When the 1922 convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union authorized the General Executive Board to publish a history of the Union on the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary, it sponsored a unique undertaking. And when the General Executive Board engaged Dr. Louis Levine, former professor of economics, author of several books, and recognized scholar, to become the story-teller of this history, it set a lofty standard, not only for trade union literature but for all social and historical literature. For Dr. Levine has written this history with the directness of a scholar and a poet. The book is a scholarly statement of facts, well documented, and presenting an account of early conditions in the industry, the development of union policies, and the struggles for a unified Union. Interspersed with this account are the warm human emotions, passions, sacrifices, and idealism of a group of workers struggling for bread, for leisure, and for self respect.

Several years ago there appeared in the realm of books the moving, pulsating life story of one cloak maker, Abraham Levinaky. It was the old story of the struggles of an individual to conquer the economic forces which were binding him, and rise out of his class. In "The Women Garment Workers" we have the kaleidoscopic picture of thousands of individuals struggling to rise, not out of their class, but in their class and with their class. It is the story of thousands of individuals, coming from different foreign lands and holding different political beliefs, thrown into a melting pot seething with complex industrial and social conditions, and emerging a unified group with group consciousness and group vision. It is at the same time the story of surging masses beating constantly and feverishly upon the anvil of social forces and hammering out a pattern for a trade union which is more than an economic institution.

One feels overwhelmed by the tale Dr. Levine unfolds. It is so human, so full of the virtues and vices of humans. Step by step we are taken from one period to another. The small, flimsy sweatshops of the '80's and '90's, the long working hours, the low wages, the periodic appearance and disappearance of the Union, make way for the period of greater Union strength, growing complexity of the industry, and developing Union leadership of 1900. The controversies for power between locals and the Internationalists, the petty intrigues of factions within the Union, the injection of political controversies, first between Socialists and Anarchists and more recently between Socialists and Communists, are only indications of what a microcosm the Union really is. The development of collective bargaining, the attempts to put into practice the many ideals of control over the economics of an industry, are graphically described. In the garment industry has been an "industrial experiment station." Voluntary arbitration, industrial courts, industrial legislation, scientific management, production standards, sanitary boards, unemployment insurance, recreation and education are the out-

standing experiments. Even the publication of a history such as this one is, in itself, a revolution, is an invaluable contribution.

Nothing can confirm the relation of psychology to economics, and the interdependence of these two fields, as strongly as does this picture of human groups experimenting with economic forces. Dr. Levine analyzes the reasons for this type of open-mindedness in the preface to the history: "The technical simplicity of the industry has been the main cause of its human complexities. In the absence of potent mechanical factors of organization and standardization, there has been more room as well as greater need for the play of the human mind. The industry attracted men and women with imagination and with large social vision who could test here some of their ideas of industrial organization and of 'out-riders' with the concrete realities of the industry has broadened the story of the book into a chapter in the history of social reform in the United States . . . Judges, lawyers, engineers, medical men, university professors, social workers, financiers, Governors, Mayors, United States Senators, and Cabinet officers, all play some part in the story and help weave into the texture the American life."

The industry and the Union became not only an experiment station for new ideas, but a medium of self-expression for new ideals, political, economic and social. Unlike many workers who are inclined to regard their Union as one of a number of institutions in life, taking its place by the side of the lodge, the club and the political organization, this group of workers in the garment industry have assigned to the Union the role of school, club, and friend. Thus the records of the Union reflect the changing community interest of its membership. At one time money is given to the steel strikers, at another time to a modern experimental school, or to the organized workers of foreign countries. At one time the leaders of the Union engage in political campaigns for the Socialist Party, at another time they participate in the plans for a Labor party. Every movement of social significance evokes a reaction from the Union.

One must read the history to appreciate how deeply the Union penetrated into the lives of the workers. When the sweat shops threatened the workers' health, the Joint Board of Sanitary Control was created to establish sanitation standards in the industry and improve the sanitary conditions of the shops. When tuberculosis, flat feet, round shoulders and other occupational diseases were rampant among the workers, the Union Health Center was established to assume the responsibility of the health of the members. When the garment workers expressed a crystallized desire for recreation, the Unity House at Forest Park, Pa., and the Villa Anita Garibaldi in Staten Island were opened. And when the members became interested not only in the why's and wherefore's of their own Union, but also in the great social forces of the world they lived in, the Educational Department of the Union was created; and classes, lectures, and educational mass meetings were developed.

There are moments when the reader is carried away by the sheer dramatic qualities of the incidents described. When one reads the chapters on the Uprising of the Twenty Thousand and The Great Revolt. One is

impressed with the fact that the Union is an unimpeded source of dramatic material. All the life-or-death humans are capable of are to be found etched upon the canvas of the history, in broad, strong, realistic strokes. Dr. Levine recognized that the stories of the great strikes of 1909 and 1910 told themselves. They need no embellishment; they belong to the realm of great epic.

In the description of the Union's struggles to control the economics of the industry, Dr. Levine points out a number of important facts. One of the most serious problems in the life of the Union has been the cyclic decentralization of the garment factories, the periodic breaking up of large shops into small ones. Though the clothing industry boasts of being one of the fourteen leading industries of the country, with an annual product of over a billion dollars, it does not bear all the ear-marks of monopolistic industry. The skirt and cloak shops of the early days of the industry, familiarly known as "moth" shops, were to be found on Division street and East Broadway. In 1900 these shops apparently competed with the so-called "giant" shops of Broadway. The latter were large shops with installed machines, special salesrooms, and a staff of forty or fifty workers. The "moth" shops, with their low overhead costs, small investments, and constant personal supervision of the boss, prospered and became the "giant" shops of Fifth avenue. But always a new crop of small shops would spring up just when the Union felt it has established a basis of agreement with the manufacturers' associations. Since 1919, the number of small shops has increased even more rapidly than the preceding years. Barring technical inventions, the use of electricity, and sanitary improvements, the small shops of today savor of the overcrowded conditions of the sweat shops of yesterday. In addition, they are difficult to control, from the point of view of the Union.

Dr. Levine, as a Marxist student, recognizes the importance of the theory of concentration of capital and production as factors in a capitalist system of production. The fact that the clothing industry tends to fulfill this theory only in the concentration of capital and not in the matter of production is made his basis of an excellent analysis by the author in the chapter, *The New Industrial Situation*. He explains that the small shop has been successful because the technique of the clothing industry has lagged far behind the evolution of the market. The clothing market must of necessity fulfill the demands of people of varying income strata and varying standards of living. It must satisfy seasonal and fashion changes. Therefore, a sprawling system of commission houses, resident buyers, and credit agencies, to say nothing of extravagant salesrooms, good-looking models, developed to satisfy these market demands.

The jobber stepped into the marketing scheme, shifted the responsibility of production to the small sub-manufacturer, and was responsible for a type of financial concentration that actually depended upon decentralized production. Based upon the recognition of the danger of the small shop in Union agreements, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has adopted an industrial program that is unique in the trade union world.

The description of the role which the trade agreement played in the his-

tory of the Union is another interesting story of control. Coming as a result of great strikes, months of agitation and hardship, these agreements are more than pacts of compromise, they are charters of the rights of the workers. From the settlement of the dramatic strike of 1890, on through the strikes of 1909, 1910, 1916 and 1923, a body of trade union law has been created which prescribes the rules of the game in human terms as well as economic ones. Equal division of work, work committees on grievances and shop disputes, abolition of sub-contracting, and standards of sanitation are only a few of the questions considered and settled in these agreements.

The "Protocol of Peace," as the agreement which was drawn up after the 1910 cloakmakers' strike, was known, was filled with the expectations and hopes of an industry eager for some magic formula assuring industrial peace. It is true "it imposed upon the industry a demand for progressive improvements which could not be met on the existing bases of doing business." But it is also true that the protocol "lifted the women's garment trades from the status of a despised immigrant industry to that of national interest and importance." To this very day the Union has retained the idea of joint responsibility and joint control of the industry, as it was first promulgated in that famous agreement.

It is a momentous epic of human lives—this history of the garment workers. It is a story which every socially conscious person should read, for therein is related the aspirations, the failures, the journeys through countless morasses in an attempt to reach the sunlight. It is a book that is written for the rank and file of the working class as well as for the scholar and student of social movements. It is a book that has given equal importance to artistic presentation and scholarly information. It is a guide to the future, for the last chapter has not yet been written.

## Mexico

Ernest Gruening discusses President Calles of Mexico and his program in *Ceasary* (New York) for March. Mexico has had little real social government since its independence and public office has been commonly regarded as "a spoil of war." The main accomplishments of the Oregon administration are enumerated: the development of greater general interest in popular education, the establishment of the theory of agrarian reform, friendly relations with the United States, the restoration of peace, and "a more nearly democratic presidential succession than Mexico had ever had." The main weaknesses of the administration were the toleration of conditions which led to the de la Huerta revolution; failure to check the "tradition of graft," the toleration of anarchistic attitudes among some of the Labor groups.

In his efforts to improve the Government, President Calles has "made a clean sweep of the Department of Agriculture," though the former secretary was one of his friends and supporters, appointed the head of the Mexican Labor movement as Secretary of the Department of Commerce, Industry and Labor, put Mexico's leading scientist in charge of rural education, appointed an Indian general possessed of an unusual record for organization and loyalty as Secretary of War. President Calles is trying to balance the budget by eliminating graft and unnecessary Government allowances.

# A Food War

By NORMAN THOMAS

There is one kind of war in which man cannot afford to be a pacifist—that is the war with noxious bacteria and destructive insects. No hero-dauntive better of the public than those scientists who in public and private research laboratories are fighting for the life of man. Lately we have been reminded in many newspapers and magazine articles that in spite of science the war against insects is by no means won. The ease of communication by which pests like the gypsy-moth are introduced to new countries without their natural enemies, the destruction of bird life, and other conditions of modern civilization make it by no means certain that man will win an ultimate and complete victory against the tiny forms of animal life that prey upon his food supply, the cotton for his clothes and the timber for his houses.

The practical moral for the average citizen is this: not only must he cooperate loyally with every rule for dealing with these pests, but he must see to it that the scientific employees of the Government who are leaders in this fight are not crippled by lack of funds. Not our Congressmen, but the scientists in Government employ, deserve a raise in salary and, if there is more, greater public recognition for invaluable service.

## Birth Control As a Means of Progress

The sessions of the six international Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference in New York were conducted with dignity, honesty and a genuine spirit of scientific inquiry. The convention was honored by the presence of distinguished foreign delegates and was addressed by them as well as by American scientists and social thinkers. More than one point of view was presented on the important question of over-population and its relation to peace and well-being. The net effect of the conference was powerfully to strengthen belief in modern methods of birth control as a condition for the intelligent control of the size of population, an enormous aid to the improvement of the quality of population, and a great blessing to individuals who too often are forced by their own ignorance and the hypocrisy of our own laws to bring into the world children crippled in health and beyond the ability of their parents to support.

## Labor History At Its Best

Poets have sung of heroes in many a useless war. But they and the historians have neglected the great inspiring struggle of Labor to be free. Only lately have competent historians begun to make vivid for us the men and women, the tactics they used and the heroism they displayed in the struggle up out of unrelieved wage slavery in coal mines and sweat shops and the crowded unsanitary ruins of tenement slums.

Dr. Louis Levine has made the most recent contribution to this new literature of the Labor movement in his fascinating volume, "The Women Garment Workers," prepared at the expense of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The Union honored itself by giving the writer, Dr. Levine, a free hand. It treated him as an historian, not a hired eulogist. He writes not as a sentimentalist, but a student. He combines a human warmth and color with a thoughtful analysis of the ebb and flow of organization in the clothing industry and the successive steps in industrial self-government in which the I. L. G. W. U. has been a pioneer. Every Labor library should contain this volume which has practical sug-

gestions and inspiration for industries far removed from the making of coats and dresses.

## A Labor Chautauqua

When we reached the mining town of Hastings in the mountains of Pennsylvania one blustery March day, the wind had turned a banner stretched across the street upside down, so that two miners, painted on the sign of the Labor Chautauqua, were standing on their heads. But there was nothing upside down about the Labor Chautauqua itself. But five successive nights the comfortable auditorium of the Moose Theatre was filled with miners and their families. They listened to learned addresses and practical organization talks by such men as Professor David Sapiro of the Brookwood Workers' College; President Brophy of District No. 2, United Mine Workers of America; President Manner of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor; Richard Hogue, Director of Labor for the Pennsylvania Federation; Paul W. Fuller, the energetic teacher and leader of educational classes in District No. 2; Louis Budenz of Labor Age, and Norman Thomas of the I. L. D. The community did more than listen. It furnished its own entertainers from the ranks of its own children and young people. And mighty good entertainment they gave night after night. As a result, the workers' education class in the little town of Hastings grew from 22 to 75 members. The whole district, outside of Hastings, has fourteen student classes with a combined membership of 312 students. Classes are studying such subjects as the "History of the Labor Movement," "Some Aspects of Unemployment Insurance" and "The Coal Industry."

# One Hundred Years of Trade Unionism

By HERBERT TRACEY

The Centenary of British Trade Unionism is an event that cannot well be celebrated with bands and banners. Its significance does not lend itself to picturesque illustration. A pageant might, indeed, be organized to present in spectacular form the major incidents of Trade Union history—a task that the Labor colleges, when they have ceased to squabble about doctrine with the venom and vigor of the Council of Niceas, may undertake. But in such a spectacle the passing of 5 Cts. IV, c. 95, could not easily be staged. Yet the passage of that Act in 1824 was an event of vital importance in Trade Union history. It established the legal right of the working people of Great Britain to combine for mutual protection, collective bargaining with the employers, and the progressive advancement of the working class standards of life.

In forcing from a reluctant ruling class this measure of legal recognition, the British workmen set in motion a powerful world-wide movement which has affected the status and the outlook of the workpeople in every industrialized nation. The seed they sowed has multiplied a thousandfold. From a membership of a few thousands the Trade Unions have grown until, at the peak of prosperity in 1920, they had an aggregate membership of over 8,000,000. As an international force the unions have become an organization equal in numbers, though not in discipline, duty, and power, to the standing armies of Europe; nearly 24,000,000 were affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1921.

The British Trade Unions dispose of a combined annual income larger than the revenue of some kingdoms. No other organization in the world affects so deeply and directly the in-

imate daily lives of so many people. It commands an allegiance and devotion that the churches themselves cannot evoke. It has wrong recognition from unwilling employers and from still more reluctant statesmen as an organized power to be reckoned with, consulted, and conciliated. And it is stubbornly and even defiantly a working class movement, incorruptible, self-determined, and conspicuously free from the snobbish weaknesses that beset lesser movements.

The history of this great movement, one of the noblest achievements of mankind, which it is not fantastic to compare with the grand expansion of Christianity itself, properly begins with the Act of 1824. That measure repealed no fewer than thirty-four specific enactments directed against combinations of workmen, extending over a period of 581 years. An inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons had shown that these laws had not been effective in preventing Trade Union organization. But such unions as were in existence were practically secret societies. Their members were held to be criminal conspirators. As the law stood, a workman as an individual might lawfully refuse to work for any wage or under any conditions that seemed to him unfair; but if he merely approached a fellow workman to suggest that they should agree to work only on stipulated terms the operation of the law was such that not only did the agreement become null and void, but they were held to be guilty of a criminal offense! All attempts at combination were repressed with savage severity: three linen-weavers of Knaresborough were convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment, one of them having simply carried a letter to York asking for financial assistance from other workmen; and these cases were typical of many that occurred at this time. In some cases the employers not only used the Combination Laws to prevent action to secure wage advances, but actually to stop legal proceedings for the recovery of wages due.

It is not surprising that under such conditions the workpeople grew more and more determined to abolish the tyrannous restrictions of the law. They found a leader in this phase of the struggle in Francis Place, a master tailor, whose shop at Charing Cross was for a score of years the recognized centre for all the agitators of the time. He led the agitation against the Combination Laws, as he did later the Reform movement, with consummate ability, inventing most of the devices by which a popular cause is furthered—wire-pulling, permanent, lobbying, the drafting of resolutions, petitions, and bills. He was one of the first to give evidence before the Select Committee against the operation of the Combination Laws in his own trade. He offered to act as assistant to Joseph Hume, the chairman of the Select Committee, but members of the committee objected even to his remaining in the room, on the double ground (according to Mr. and Mrs. Webb's "History") that he was neither a Member of Parliament nor a gentleman! But from his Charing Cross shop Place practically controlled the proceedings. All the delegates representing the working people were sent to him, and he heard every man's story, cross-examined every one, and reduced their evidence to briefs, which he sent to Hume. The proceedings of the committee were reported to him every day by Hume. There was nothing he did not know, and the final results of the inquiry which led to the repeal of the

(Continued on Page 11.)

## WITHOUT POWER



—An American Political cartoonist.

# JUSTICE

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## EDITORIALS

### THE REPORT OF THE CLOAK INVESTIGATORS

The report of the investigation of the cloak and suit industry of New York ordered last Summer by Governor Smith's Special Mediation Commission is finally at hand. It is, no doubt, as conscientious a survey and summary of facts as could have been made by a body of expert investigators working without bias and without an inclination to suit facts to this or that pet theory or set of fixed principles. As such, the report is, of course, of outstanding significance for the organization of the workers in the industry, as well as for the industry in general. In this sense we are entirely in agreement with the comment of Governor Smith, who, upon receipt of a copy of the report, is quoted as saying that "the survey contains material that will undoubtedly be of the greatest aid in improving the future standards of this important industry." "It is significant," the Governor is quoted further in his statement, "because it is the first time in the history of the industry that they will endeavor to solve their problems on a basis of scientific fact-finding."

We shall not undertake an analysis of the great mass of facts contained in this report in one single effort. We hope to return to this report as frequently as we may, and to endeavor to place before our readers the outstanding findings of the investigation and the lessons to be derived therefrom. This time we shall point out only a few of the facts and summaries reached by the investigators, which throw a powerful light upon the conditions of the cloakmakers and which to us are, therefore, of overshadowing interest.

To begin with, the report leaves no doubt as to the fact that the average earnings of the cloakmakers are very, very meagre. It is not so long ago that the general press was wont to speak in glowing terms and with a great flourish of the "princely" wages of the cloakmakers. One would frequently hear it commented that many a college professor would be contented with the wages of a worker in the cloak industry. Our employers, naturally, were not adverse to popularizing this legend—so that when, from time to time, our Union would advance a demand for a raise of wages, such a demand would be at once stigmatized by the employers and their apologists as a veritable "hold-up" on the part of the bloated and over-paid workers.

The facts unearthed by the investigators, however, tell an entirely different story. The cloakmakers so states the report, who work in the larger shops and are employed about 40 weeks during the year are earning, on the average, \$2,016 yearly, or about \$38 per week, while the workers employed in the smaller shops who are working only 31 weeks in the year are earning only \$1,675 a year, or about \$31 per week. Such are the munificent wages paid to the cloakmakers, concerning which so much ado and bluster has been made by the employers and the press. It is clear from these facts revealed by the report that the great majority of the cloakmakers—for those who work in the big shops and are employed forty weeks during the year are in a small minority—are earning barely enough to keep body and soul together. And anyone who knows how high living costs are in New York today and have been for some years past must reach the inevitable conclusion that the "princely" wages of the New York cloakmakers are practically starvation wages.

We stated that the cloakmakers who are employed in the big shops and are averaging \$38 weekly are in a small minority. To get this information directly from the report which leaves no doubt of the fact that three-fourths of the cloak output is being made up in the small shops. In other words, the big factories turn out about one-quarter of the \$370,000,000 worth of cloaks manufactured in this city. The great majority of the cloakmakers, therefore, must remain content with but an average of \$31 per week. It must be understood, however, that there are workers in this industry who earn even less than that, as, indeed, not all of them can boast of having full 31 weeks of work throughout the year. We know from our own experience that there are a large number of cloakmakers who are employed much less than that number of weeks during the year, and the condition of these workers is truly very deplorable.

Who, then, is responsible for this state of affairs in the cloak industry? Is it the sub-manufacturers or the contractors who are fattening at the expense of the workers? The report has a clear answer to this query, too. It informs us that each year nearly one-third of the sub-manufacturers in the cloak trade are forced to go out of business. This is, indeed, a very illuminating fact. It shows quite conclusively, first, that it is not the contractor who is enriching himself at the expense of the worker; and on the other hand, it proves that the state of affairs in the industry is quite precarious, as the appalling number of annual failures among this group demonstrates. Second, it makes clear that no matter how shabbily this contractor treats

his own workers, he is himself being exploited even worse and is being forced into insolvency wholesale.

Who is it that is exploiting the sub-manufacturer? No one else, of course, but the controlling factor in the industry—the jobber. It is the jobber who is responsible for one-third of the existing sub-manufacturing shops going out of business annually; it is the jobber who is forcing these establishments to change hands so frequently, to pass over under new, less experienced management, which in turn becomes easy prey for the clever, calculating jobber.

From these facts only one conclusion is possible. If the industry is to be saved from this demoralization, an end must be put to this unbridled playing up by the jobbers of one contractor against another, this unconscionable competition which is ruining the sub-manufacturer, the manufacturer, the workers, and the industry as a whole. These facts make clear that the only effectual curb upon this cut-throat competition is contained in the demands of the Union to limit the number of sub-contractors and contractors to be employed by each jobber and for a guaranteed number of weeks of labor to all the workers employed in the industry. This would mean that each jobber would have to employ only as many contractors as he might need to meet the demands of his output, and it would safeguard the workers against any evasion by the jobber of the limitation-of-contractor rule, by any subterfuge or scheming, as it would compel him to concentrate his work in the shops of the contractors selected by him at the beginning of the season and to supply their workers with labor for a fixed number of weeks.

The adoption of these two reforms in the industry would make an end to the ruinous policy of setting up contractor against contractor and of driving the industry into puny, irresponsible shops the "owners" of which are compelled to sweat their workers under sub-standard conditions in order to meet the shameful labor-prices which the jobbers are so graciously ready to grant to them.

This, in our opinion, is one of the most important facts brought to light by the investigators. To be sure, this was one of the leading causes, as our readers will recall, which prompted the Governor's Mediation Commission last Summer to order an investigation of the cloak industry. The Commission, at that time, had granted only a part of the Union's demands, including the sanitary union label, the unemployment insurance fund, etc. The Commission, however, has had doubts concerning the urgency and the necessity of the other demands of the Union—the limitation of the contractors and the guaranteed time of employment—and it therefore ordered this investigation to enable it to reach a decision with regard to these demands on the basis of such facts as might be brought to light by an expert survey.

This investigation, in our opinion—and by consensus of impartial opinion generally—has made it clear beyond peradventure that only the strictest enforcement of the Union's demands can remedy this deplorable state of affairs in the New York cloak and suit industry. The number of contractors to be employed by each jobber must be limited to meet the requirements of his actual demands and he must be shorn of the power to multiply exorbitant swarms of petty contractors and myriads of pet shops in the trade. The investigation has shown that no other way exists, if the cloak industry is to be raised to the level of an industry where those employed in it might derive a decent livelihood from it.

The report leaves no doubt as to what the present irresponsible regime is doing to the cloak and suit industry. Let us consider for a moment what the reforms proposed by the Union, when realized, might do in the direction of eliminating these evils. The jobber, limited to a legitimate number of contractors to whom he might give his work, will have a lesser field in which to ply his nefarious "competitive" tactics. His contractors will, therefore, not be compelled to exploit their workers as shamelessly as they are forced today; they will be able to live up to Union standards and will not seek to dodge their contractual obligations toward the workers. The limitation of the number of contractors and the guarantee of a fixed amount of weeks of work would naturally tend to lengthen the seasons and to increase the average earnings of the cloakmakers. This would lead to greater contentment among the workers, to their greater attachment to the industry from which they derive their livelihood, and would strengthen the sense of their responsibility for industry.

The cry that the introduction of the Union's demands would tend to increase the cost of garments for the consuming public—a cry which is likely to be raised by the jobbers and such other persons as are interested in preserving the status quo in the cloak trade—is also fully contained in this report in the following manner. The report affirms that the labor costs of each garment today is but 14 per cent of its selling price. In other words, a garment selling at \$100 costs but \$14 to make up. Moreover, the report informs us that present labor costs are materially lower than what they were in 1914. It states that while an appreciable increase in wages had taken place in the cloak industry since 1914, the ratio of labor costs, as compared with the ultimate worth of the product, has fallen from 17.5 per cent in 1914 to 14.9 per cent in 1924. In other words, while the wages of the workers have been somewhat increased, the cost of materials and the profits of the jobbers have mounted a great deal higher. Which leaves us with but one conclusion, namely, that a wage increase not only of three per cent but even a raise of one per cent should not and ought not to be met by a raise of the garment for the public, and that the shedding of crocodile tears for this "poor public" is entirely out of place in this instance.

## Productivity and Labor Costs

Invariably, in each economic dispute between workers and employers in America involving wages, the employers are heard to voice the argument that the American workers are receiving the highest scale of wages of any wage workers in the world and that further wage increases would absolutely shut off world markets from the American manufacturers. In other words, the employers argue, further wage raising would automatically retard American production, cripple manufacture for export, and thus affect adversely the well-being of the working masses themselves.

In point of fact, however, American industry depends but little on foreign trade, not enough, at any rate, for the latter to act as a determining factor with regard to wage scales. On the other hand, American industry is firmly protected against foreign competition by a high tariff wall which makes it practically impossible for cheaply-produced foreign goods to compete with American products in the American market.

There is, however, one side to this question which deserves a more careful analysis with a view to finding out the economic base upon which it is alleged to be founded and the extent to which these factors may be of importance to the workers.

There is no doubt that the assertion that the American workers are the best paid wage earners is based upon certain data and can fairly be substantiated. The wage superiority of the American workmen, however, is not a recent phenomenon, though it has been accentuated particularly in the last few years owing to special conditions which have tended to bring down wages to unusually low levels in Europe. There can, however, be no doubt that such an abnormal state cannot continue for long even in Europe, for the inexorable logic of world-wide industry works inevitably in the direction of equalizing costs of production everywhere. It is quite impossible that the workers in one industrial country should for a great length of time continue to receive eight or ten times less in wages than their fellow workers in industry would receive in another industrially developed land.

A short time ago, a certain great American industrial corporation, which maintains manufacturing plants in the United States and five European countries, had issued a statement concerning wages paid by it to its workers in these countries during 1924. We gather from this statement that this company had paid its American workers \$5.60 per day; in England, \$2.28 a day; in Germany, \$1.55; in France, \$1.35; in Belgium, \$1.14, and in Italy, 90 cents.

At first blush, these figures would impress one with the apparent fact that in America wages are more than

### A Comparison Between America and Europe

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

double than in England, nearly four times as great as wages in Germany and practically six times as high as wages in Italy. As we, however, come to analyze these different wage scales according to their respective purchasing power, the picture assumes a considerably modified shape. In America, we learn, a wage earner was able to obtain twelve years ago for 58 cents what he has to spend a full dollar for today, whereas in England a worker is still in a position to get 30 per cent more for the dollar than what he may obtain for it in the United States.

Yet, the difference in the purchasing power of the dollar in the various countries, no matter how marked, does not and cannot account for or explain in full the contrast between the wages cited above. Though it is admitted that the German worker pays materially less for his rent than the American wage earner, that alone cannot explain the fact of his getting but from 25 to 30 per cent of the American wage scale.

The American worker receives admittedly the highest wages in the world, if we are to lose sight of the periodic unemployment which affects so adversely and so regularly the American industrial workers. All this, however, is but one side of the medal. The other side, which is immensely important and, which can serve as the opening key to this problem, is the question of productivity, its comparative intensity in the various industrial countries and particularly the influence of productivity of industry upon the comparatively high standards of American wages.

This question can be answered without much difficulty. American productivity in almost any of its important industries is by far higher per individual worker than in any other land. It is, of course, due to the application of more modern machinery, a higher industrial technique, and a better developed industrial morale. In America for instance, a miner produces an average of 1,134 tons of coal per annum; in England, 337 tons, and in Belgium, 207 tons. The production of cast iron in the American foundries amounts to 843 ton per worker, while in England production is but 29 tons per individual worker. The difference in the production of steel is even more striking: 77 tons in America and but 25 tons in England. American industry, and for that matter agriculture, is technically very highly developed, and the productivity of the individual worker in industry and agriculture in America is therefore far superior to the productivity of the European worker. So, while the

American worker earns, on the average, twice as high wages as his English fellow worker, he ineffectually produces four times the amount the latter is expected to turn out. It is clear therefore, that under the circumstances, Labor costs in America are not higher but probably lower than in England. The argument or supposition that high wages in this country are a menace to American production for foreign markets is therefore palpably a mere subterfuge and an alibi to defeat occasional demands of the workers for higher wages.

There are, however, some industries in America which have still retained old methods of hand labor, in which labor costs are higher than in Europe, both relatively and actually. This is true of some of the glass industries where wages are comparatively high and productivity rather low. Of course, the solution in such trades lies in the direction of introduction of more modern machinery and improved production methods which alone might give them an opportunity to withstand competition from abroad. As a matter of fact, the last few years have seen a marked technical improvement in the glass blowing industry in the United States and the practical elimination of bottle blowing by hand power, which has already reduced materially production costs in this industry. Also, it must be considered that the cost of coal, which enters as a material item

in the making of glass, is much lower here than in Europe, owing to the very much greater productivity of the miners in the United States as compared with the miners of Europe.

It can be seen, therefore, that the wages earned by the workers in the various countries cannot be taken as a basis for calculating production costs or even labor costs. In the national economy of each country, the determining factor in fixing labor and production costs is usually the ratio between the amount of capital invested in industry in the form of machinery, buildings, research and laboratory equipment, on the one hand, and the number of workers in industry on the other. The greater the amount of investment capital per 1,000, 100,000 or even 1,000,000 workers, the higher is bound to be the productivity of the workers (and this may be the labor cost as well as the costs of the manufactured materials. The capital invested in English industry, calculated on the basis of so much per thousand workers, is no more than one-third of the sum invested in America for an equal number of workers. Small wonder, therefore, that the wages in both countries are strikingly different.

The question of wage standards in the various countries, as well as the productivity and the labor costs in various industries, depends on a great many technical and economic causes. This question, therefore, must be handled both from the viewpoint of practical experience and with a scientific approach if we are to derive any sound conclusions from the attempt to solve it.

## A Decisive Labor Battle

The strike called April 1 in northern West Virginia by the United Mine Workers of America may develop into one of the decisive battles in American labor history.

On account of the extreme fluctuations of demand for soft coal caused by the war, by providential shortage of railroads cars and by former strikes, many bituminous mines have been developed that needed to supply the normal demand. Mines representing about one-third of the total capacity, unless something extraordinary happens.

Ever since the last strike was settled this elimination has been going on in all fields. Naturally the mines with the highest cost of operation are likely to be the first to go. In many cases high cost is caused by thinness of seams, faults, poor quality of management, or lack of capital or failure to install modern equipment.

Unfortunately, however, it is not merely the least efficient mines that are being put out of business. There is a strong tendency toward development of the more important non-union fields at the expense of the union. If we take the figures of production gathered by the U. S. Geological Survey—covering about one-half the nation's output—and compare the production of 1924 with that of 1920-State by State, we see that on the whole the non-union fields have increased about 25 per cent, while the union fields in Illinois and Indiana have fallen about 25 per cent. Ohio and other union States have decreased even more, while Pennsylvania, a mixed field, produced 28 per cent less in 1924 than in 1920. The table follows:

Chiefly Non-union	Mixed	Chiefly Union
Kentucky — 194%	Pa. — 12%	Illinois — 25%
W. Virginia — 122	Ind. — 74	Ohio — 74
Mississippi — 103	Mo. — 62	Pa. — 51
Virginia — 56	Wash. — 47	— 41
Tennessee — 12	Mich. — 34	— 34
Maryland — 42		

How is this tendency to be accounted for? In part it is a matter of discriminatory railroad rates. It is often cheaper to ship coal from West Virginia to Chicago, Wisconsin and

Minnesota than from the much steeper fields in Illinois. It is just as cheap to ship coal from West Virginia to Hampton, Roads, and Delaware by water, to New York and New England ports as it is to ship coal over the much shorter rail route to these same ports from many points in Pennsylvania. These rates are being protested and may be revised by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

There is probably also a concealed move to favor the non-union fields on the part of the open-shop interests, though it is difficult to imagine these interests sacrificing more money to the union. A policy of this kind could be widely effective only when non-union coal was cheaper, or at least as cheap as union.

There is no doubt that a major influence in the shift to non-union fields is the fact that they pay lower wages. While the 1920 scale has been maintained by the power of the union wherever the union controls, the open-shop mines have been cutting wages to the 1910 scale or below.

Unless West Virginia can be organized and put on an even wage-basis with the union fields, the present widespread unemployment in union districts is likely to continue or increase. In fact, it is likely to become permanent, since union mines and miners will be wiped out of the industry unless they can compete in price with those which at present are non-union.

This is why the attempt to bring West Virginia wages up to a decent standard is a crucial struggle in the history of the organized mine workers. It should also be noted that the general public ought to be supremely interested in the outcome. The inevitable elimination of surplus mines ought to come on the basis of the efficiency of management and the nature of the productivity of the mine. This can only happen if wages are standardized. The elimination ought not to come on the basis of a contest among operators as to who can pay the closest to a starvation or dying wage and still get men to work for them.

Such are, as they appear to us, the inevitable deductions to be derived from the facts laid bare by the investigators. May we expect, therefore, that the cloak jobbers will be found ready to accept as logical and as inevitable these results of what Governor Smith so aptly terms "scientific fact-finding"?

We are not yet in a position to forecast their attitude in this matter. We hope, of course, for the best. We should like to hope that the jobbers may realize that no other way is possible, that the Union's demands are fair and just and that they must be accepted. Should the jobbers, however, seek a fight with the Union, they will no doubt find the workers' organization ready for them. One thing is, nevertheless, clear. The Union has done everything in its power to avoid a conflict and it will endeavor to follow the course of peace as long as possible. If, however, owing to the avarice and obduracy of the jobbers, the Union will be compelled to enter the conflict, it will take up the fight with greater determination and a firmer will to win serenely conscious that the facts, the unvarnished realities, are on its side, on the side of the workers and on the side of the entire coal industry.

IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

Pea Porridge Hot

THE SOLUTION OF UNEMPLOYMENT. By W. H. Wakinshaw. New-castle-on-Tyne: Andrew Reid & Company, Ltd., 1924.

By SYLVIA KOPALD

There appears from time to time in the floods of printed works pouring from the presses a book so hot that it stifles a fascination all its own. It makes the spread of literacy just a little appalling. Must one wade through such books these days to find the possible masterpiece? Must one ponder such middleheadedness because there may be between some cardboard covers a real clue to the solution of grave social problems? Why do men rush to write such involved nonsense? Why do other men amusingly print it—250 pages of it? Who, besides book reviewers presented with free copies by the publishers, read it? Is this democracy—the scandal-mongering newspapers, moving pictures, magazines, and Mr. Wakinshaw's "Solution of Unemployment"? Obviously, Mr. Wakinshaw has scored my usual good humor. Tomorrow some admirable piece of thinking and writing will restore it. In the meanwhile it may be worth while to let Mr. Wakinshaw put a moral.

Pea Porridge hot! But what has pea porridge hot, or pea porridge cold got that matter, or even pea porridge in the pot nine days old, to do with Mr. Wakinshaw's book? Just as much as Mr. Wakinshaw's book on the solution of unemployment has to do with solving unemployment. Mr. Wakinshaw mentions unemployment on page 8 of his solution—to dismiss it. The fallacy of unemployment. Remember when the slack season arrives or your shop closes down that "those who argue in terms of 'unemployment' must be here dismissed, as either believers in an inferior level of civilization (whether the servile State of Socialist bureaucracy or that of Capitalist leprocuracy) or victims of such a sloppy thinking that it would be idle to pursue them further." Just so.

But if Mr. Wakinshaw is not solving unemployment in his "Solution of Unemployment," what is he solving? He offers a hint. His sub-title reads, "Or—(or, indeed) The Postulates and Implications of the Social Credit Theorem of Major C. H. Douglas, M. A., M. E." Of course, Mr. Wakinshaw is not solving Major Douglas's theorem. No, indeed. The theorem is the open sesame with which he unlocks every sealed box in the domain of truth and practical affairs. The despatch with which he solves everything under the sun—while you wait—with one wave of the magic wand is wondrous to behold. The Dawes Report. Romanism. Bolshevism. The Jewish Question. Money. China. The Gold Fallacy. War. Peace. Progress. "Inferior" Races and the Racial Peril. Science and Soul. Upon my honor. This hodge-podge which begins with the aim of economics and ends with Science and Soul. Followed, of course, by the seventy pages of appendices proving that Mr. Wakinshaw's solution of unemployment is the correct one!

The devil of it is, you know, as one of his friends might say, that Mr. Wakinshaw has read his sources—industriously, widely. He has combed his master, Major Douglas's theorem and theories are familiar matter to Mr. Wakinshaw. He has followed with close attention the tide of world affairs. He has kept abreast of the

new trends in the social sciences. He has talked and conferred with many men. What, then, has made all these promising ingredients into the sad pea porridge but that is the "Solution of Unemployment." Through some crack religion entered the brew, and ethics, and even mysticism. Poetry, also, has been sprinkled about and highfalutin' florid prose. Little wonder the mixture leaves so indefinite a taste.

Judging from his chapter titles, Mr. Wakinshaw's intent was somewhat as follows: In the first he set out to discuss "The Aim of Economics." In the next five he would outline the content of the Douglas Theorem with the whole financial twist it attempts to give to Guild Socialism. In the seventh chapter he would resolve these considerations into "An Imperial Policy." And in the last he would discuss "Science and Soul" or the peaceful factors making for progress, although he had just admitted that "all progress is conflict." Intentioned, before Mr. Wakinshaw, have paved the way to goals other than the intended meant. Only a perusal of Mr. Wakinshaw's book can give a fair estimate of what became of his intentions. But perhaps a few illustrations may at least indicate their fate.

"In direct consequence (of the fact that the end of Economics and the meaning of Money as Goods Tickets have not clearly defined) the present industrial system is visibly and daily tottering to its fall, and civilization must be clearly re-established upon a new created synthesis of science and soul. . . ."

"Doctors and schoolmasters tend to become public officials, while lawyers and accountants evolve into the upper servants of the wealthy or their commercial corporations, while under the Insurance Act, those of the population enmeshed are not free individuals, but bondsmen who, whether by the stamper of hereditary serfdom or the absorption of modern Marxism, are many of them clamoring for the gilded increase of their fetters." Do tell, Mr. Wakinshaw!

"We have seen that our troubles today proceed mainly from misconceptions of Currency. . . ."

"So far we have confined ourselves to purely destructive criticism. What is to be suggested along constructive lines?" Thirty-five pages ending with the death of Lorenzo de Medici.

"At this moment the United States of America seems more alive than ourselves to the racial perils of the next few years, but the connection between this question and the financial impasse does not seem as yet to be fully grasped." (Sic)

"It is remarkable how the Jew is implicated in finance and all the luxury occupations. . . . If civilization is to consist of a society of producers with leisure, then the Anglo-Saxon genius for creative activity, inherited from the Nordic strain, will gain a stronger hold on the world by virtue of its aptitude for the masculine and imperial occupations. . . . If, however, we are lapsing into a community of a rich few. . . while the rest of the world is sunk in poverty, we cannot compete with the Jew and kindred Gentile types. . . the purveyor of

luxury and the essential student of and provider for all human weakness. . ." (e. g. art)

"The question of race and culture are prone to treat far too lightly in this country. . . . It has been said that there are today three powers in the world fighting for its domination—High Finance, the Jew and Romanism. . . . the English attitude of tolerant amusement toward the Ku Klux Klan, the Orangeman and the Anglo-Indian is illogical when one reflects that in the same circumstances as theirs the Englishman would react similarly as an inevitable symptom of his racial superiority."

The book ends with a quotation showing how a "handful of men survive the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth in noonday from the Finnish

cylinders of science, raining fire and brimstone out of heaven. . . ."

A fascinating book. Major Douglas is an expert student of modern finance. He has founded a special school of Guild Socialism of highly complex theory. Mr. Wakinshaw accepts Major Douglas's theory. Through it he looks at the world. He comes, he sees, he solves. He writes a book about his adventures in Douglasianism. His book begins with the sciences of today and ends with the Fall of Man.

And thus a moral is pointed; Do not seek to solve modern social problems with neatly inclusive formulae; the problems are too complex. But why point to such a moral? Every one will agree to its truth—for the other fellow's formulae.

Child Labor

By W. A. B.

Down in the depths of the factory's gloom  
They gather at early dawn,  
Where the ceaseless whirl of spindle and loom  
Goes on and on and on;  
And the god of gold in the tainted air  
An invisible Moloch stands,  
As he watches the fabrics woven there  
By the toil of childish hands.

Backward and forward, over and up,  
Steadily still they go.  
But they hold to the lip a bitter cup,  
Whose dregs are the dregs of woe;  
For the hopes of youth grow faint and die  
Held fast in those iron hands,  
And the cold, hard world has never a sign  
For the patient, childish hands.

Ah, ye, whose darlings, in flowery ways,  
Know naught of grim despair,  
Think of the heated summer days  
And your children working there,  
Where never a coolingephy comes  
Through the factory's stifling breath,  
Where the looms weave on and the spindles hum  
In the treadmill 'round to death.

And onward, onward, upward and back,  
In the close and crowded rooms,  
In a ditty race on an endless track,  
Go spindles and shafts and looms;  
Till the angel of death, with fateful gias,  
Shakes out the dusky sands,  
As the merciful, longed-for shadows pass  
Over worn-out childish hands.

NEW SLAVE MARTS







## DOMESTIC ITEMS

### Civil Service Shows Women in New Jobs

Entry of women into new fields of work in recent years is reflected in the records of civil service employment, where they now hold many situations for which they were barely considered in the past, said a statement by the Civil Service Commission.

While until recent years "it was difficult to visualize a woman employe of the Government in other than a clerical or stenographic position, an increasing number are now being employed in the fields of chemistry and other scientific work, in addition to teaching, nursing and social work," the statement said.

### Company "Unions" Defends Long Hours

Roundhouse laborers employed by the Great Northern Railroad are forced to accept a 10-hour day, though the Railroad Labor Board has ruled that these workers shall be paid time and one-half after eight hours. The railroad management ignores this decision, and is defended by its company "union."

At the recent convention of the company "union" in St. Paul, the roundhouse workers were denied representation. Then they asked that their grievances be considered, but this, too, was ignored.

Trade unionists declare that every working rule is violated by the company whenever it finds such course profitable. The company "union" invariably defends or excuses such action. It is charged that certain officials of the fake union have served the Great Northern as undercover men.

### Shipping Monopoly Proposed On Pacific

The Dollar shipping interests, together with Herbert Fleischhacker, San Francisco banker, are seeking a monopoly of American shipping on the Pacific Ocean, said former Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, who represents the Pacific Mail Company in his bid for five Government steamships.

Senator Chamberlain told the Shipping Board he spoke from personal knowledge. He said that he attended a dinner in this city given by Fleischhacker several years ago, when the formation of a \$10,000,000 corporation to take over all Government tonnage on the Pacific was discussed.

The present plan is to rejuvenate the scheme that would drive off the seas practically everybody else in the business.

### Oppose Convict Labor

Governor Baker has notified Kansas City business men he agrees with them that State prisoners should not be used in the manufacture of garments, shoes, brooms and other commodities in competition with free labor.

It is stated that the Governor is considering plans to have the prisoners work on the prison farms in this city. Hundreds of acres of idle land could produce crops and dairy products to supply State institutions. The large amount of rock on some of this land could be crushed and used on State roads.

### Physical Defects of Children Increased by Forced Labor

One-half of the working children under 14 and 15 years of age studied by the State Bureau of Women in Industry have physical defects aggravated by their work.

The study included 412 working boys and girls in this city who are under 16. It was the first effort in this State to find out the relationship between the physical condition of working children and the physical requirements of their employment.

Almost one-half of the children entered industry because money was needed at home, but a second, very large group went to work because they were dissatisfied with what school had to offer them. The desire which many of these children have for more education is emphasized by the fact that in addition to working every day, almost one-eighth of the children attended night school.

### U. S. Employers Urge Uniform Work Plan

Standardization of working conditions among Government employes was urged at a meeting of the Executive Council of the National Federation of Federal Employes, affiliated to the A. F. of L. The unionists recommended that a personnel manager be employed by the Government.

These Federal employes show how they are bound by red tape and conflicting rules that each bureau chief evolves, according to his mood and not the needs of employes. There is no co-ordination between departments, and administrative officials, in many instances, are little ears in their own realm.

The Executive Council of the Federation instructed President Luther G. Steward to present their views to the Chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Civil Service.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

### BELGIUM

#### The Dilemma of the Belgian Miners

Belgian miners are faced with a decision of tremendous import. After enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity in 1924 and the first half of 1925, the prices of coal fell. In the first six months of 1926, coal prices fell from twenty to fifty per cent, and coke prices by about thirty-three per cent. The difficulty of finding a sale for the coal led to the accumulation of coal and the beginning of this month to no less than 1,125,000 tons. Miners' wages have fallen also; since May, 1924, underground workers' wages have been cut eleven per cent, and surface workers eight per cent. The employers now want to make another cut—six per cent for underground workers, and two per cent for surface workers—on March 1 next. This would bring some of the wages below the minimum laid down in the Agreement of April, 1920. Moreover, food prices have risen steadily ever since the beginning of 1924. The miners' representatives therefore opposed the cut, whereupon the employers have declared that they intend to give notice to terminate the agreement of 1920 on March 1 unless the new wage-cut is accepted.

The General Council of the Belgian Miners' Union has declared its willingness to negotiate provided that the minimum fixed in the Agreement is maintained. A few days ago it passed a resolution to hold an extraordinary congress, to consider whether or not it will be advisable to strike should the worst come to the worst. In view of the very grave depression of both the Belgian and the international coal markets, the decision is by no means as easy one.

### BRAZIL

#### The Growth of the Brazilian Textile Industry

Thanks to European and North American capital, South American industry has made great strides during the last decade. Its progress was greatly stimulated during the war, when, being cut off from its supplies of European goods, it spared no effort to make itself entirely independent of Europe.

One of the industries which has advanced most rapidly during the last fifteen years is the cultivation and manufacture of raw cotton. If progress should go on at the same rate as at present, it is highly probable that within the next ten years Brazil will have become one of the greatest raw cotton producing countries in the world. Moreover, many great textile factories have recently been built, which, with Government aid, have been equipped with the very latest machinery. One hundred and fifty-four textile factories now exist in Brazil, and probably there will be fifteen or twenty new ones before the end of the present year. A new weaving mill is now being erected which will be used for manufacturing finer goods. It will have about 80,000 spindles and 1,000 looms. The President of Brazil is one of the largest shareholders, but the factory belongs to a consortium, and was built with Brazilian, Italian, French, British and Dutch capital.

The chief centre of the textile industry is San Paulo, where about 175,000 persons are engaged in it, of whom seventy-five per cent are women and children. There is a law prohibiting child labor in Brazil, but it is apparently not difficult to evade it; it is all the easier, because Brazil now has so many penniless immigrants and because eighty-five per cent of the people are illiterate.

### GERMANY

#### The German President as a Trade Unionist

Ebert, the deceased President of the German Republic, became in 1890 a member of the Saddlers' Union which had been founded the year before. In the very first year of his membership he took part in leading a strike which broke out in Cassel. Even after his accession to the first place in the German Republic, he was always careful to retain his membership of the Union, to which he paid his dues regularly. A year or two ago the "left" members of the Berlin branch of the Saddlers' Union marked their disapproval of certain acts of the Government by securing the passing of an absurd resolution expelling the President from the Union. But for this, not only would Germany have lost by Ebert's death an excellent President, but the Trade Union Movement would also have lost a faithful member.

The "free" trade unions (those holding the platform of Amsterdam) have issued a declaration calling upon the workmen to step work for a quarter of an hour while the funeral of Ebert was in progress. This demonstration is to be a proof of loyalty both to the dead President and to the Republic.

#### The Ways of Yellow Trade Unions

A few days ago there was a trial in Berlin which furnished some interesting sidelights on the ways of the so-called yellow trade unions. Fabronhorst, a member of Parliament, who had formerly been a member of the Yellow Federation of Trade Unions, confessed that false lists of members are kept by the yellow unions. One union which had 183 members gave its membership as 5,183, another, which had 137, announced 2127 members. The Union of House and Private Teachers had an income of only 183 marks last year, the income of the hairdressers' union was only 163 marks, and that of the landworkers 1,800 marks, but these unions spent altogether 150,000 marks, the deficit being supplied by the employers. But to throw dust in the eyes of the public, these sums were represented as being members' contributions. Ordinary lists of members are said to begin with the number 1,001, instead of one.

These discoveries will not surprise those who have been in contact with yellow trade unions and knew how devoted they are to the interests of the employers.

# DON'T

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## EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



### A Walk to the Museum of Natural History, Saturday, April 25

Those of our members who wish to join this walk will assemble in a classroom at the Museum where Dr. Sylvia Koppal, in a short lecture, will acquaint the audience with the objects they are going to see.

Then our students will be taken to the various exhibition halls on a tour of investigation by Dr. Koppal. Many fascinating things will be pointed out to them and carefully explained. A discussion on the significance of the material may be given during the afternoon.

The things the students will see at the Museum that Saturday afternoon may be classified under three heads. In the first place the students will be shown Museum material illustrating the evolution of life on this earth. They will be shown, for instance, reconstructed skeletons revealing the emergence of the modern horse. They will be shown specimens illustrating prehistoric animals, such as the dinosaur, the mammoth, the sabre-toothed tiger, the mastodon, etc. They will be taken from the room of the insects to that of the birds, to that of the mammals, and so on to the Hall of Man. All the exhibits of this type shown will reveal clearly and concretely to the student just what science means when it speaks of the evolution of life.

In the second place the student will be shown material which reveals the evolution of and the development of civilization. Skeletal remains showing how man is thought to have emerged from the ape will

be shown the students. They will see the so-called Pithecanthropus erectus, the Piltdown man, the Neanderthal man, the Cro-Magnon man, the men of the New Stone Age, and finally, our modern homo sapiens, or in other words, present-day man. They will trace the evolution of the tools these earlier men used to satisfy their wants—the stone flake, the spear heads, the baton de commandement, the lances, the knives, and all the rest of the tools. They will follow the migrations of these earlier men before the advance and retreat of the vast glaciers that made their environment. They will study the lives of the familiar cavemen—the Cro-Magnon man, with his splendid development of art and industry, and the remarkable developments made possible by the discovery of fire.

Finally, our students will be shown how primitive men live today. This study of contemporary primitive civilizations, as revealed by the exhibits at the Museum, will help them understand the relative positions of our own Western culture. They will see the materials illustrating the life of the Eskimos—the igloos in which they live, the kayaks in which they fish, the weapons with which they hunt, the tools with which they work, the materials in which they dress, and the reproductions of their communal life. They will see the same sort of illustration of the life of the Indians, the African Negroes of the different stages of culture, the Australians, and so on.

### Workers' Education; Sidelights

By ARTHUR GLEASON

(Extract from Pamphlet on Workers' Education)

Workers' education as it develops will be financed on workers' money, controlled (in the sense of policy) and managed (in the sense of administration) by workers' organizations. It is idle to debate whether workers' education can be controlled by others than the workers. It can not be. Controlled by "public authorities," by universities, by middle-class persons, it is adult education. Workers' education can no more be outside the Labor movement than a trade union. When the union is guided by outside benefactors it becomes a "company" union, a welfare club. When education of the workers is controlled by other organizations than the organization of the workers, it remains inside the category of adult education, but it passes out of that special kind of adult education which is workers' education.

Variety  
In the United States there may be one kind of education for a particular racial group. There will be regional solutions, local experiments, experiments in given industry. Our infinite variety of life and our wide spaces will demand a multitude of experiments.

The peasant and cooperative background of Denmark results in a workers' education of the folk high schools, which is possible perhaps for certain Middle Western groups in our country, but which is not universally possible.

The healthy and balanced growth of the three-fold Labor movement of Belgium—the trade unions, the Labor party, the cooperatives—and the com-

monness of the kingdom enable the workers to make a neater classification of needs and to federate the solutions into a single central national administrative body, which would break down among our mountains or sweep away upon the prairie.

The salty individualism of the British, with their fundamental unity of consciousness, permits them to make untidy, unrelated experiments in workers' education, all moving in the one direction, although unaware of its goal. A loose but deeply ground scholarship of the young university men finds ready alliance with the instinctive drive of the workers toward a fuller life.

No such casual unprogrammed adventure into the universe is possible with our practical pragmatic American business unions. We shall demand clear statements of where we are going. There will be dozens of experiments, but each will keep a lodger of exact results.

Already the American experiments have been of many kinds. They have been State-aided, university-aided, independent of State and university.

There has been education for Labor given by wealthy benevolent trustees, as in the Cooper Union. There has been the Hand School on a party basis. There have been schools organized on the basis of the consumers, as the schools of the cooperatives.

There have been schools for the groups of producers: a single union, like the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; groups of unions, as the United Labor Education Committee, the Central Labor Body

### Messages of Greetings Received at Reunion of Students and Teachers

Message from President Sigman:  
I am sorry that a previous important engagement prevents me from joining you in celebrating the end of a successful educational season.

Our International is proud of the contribution it has made to organized Labor's new venture—Workers' Education.

I hope that the information and knowledge you obtain from your studies will result in a better understanding of the history, aims and problems of the Labor movement in particular and society in general.

I hope that we will celebrate many more successful educational seasons.

Fraternally,  
MORRIS SIGMAN,  
President I. L. G. W. U.

Message from Secretary Baroff:  
I regret that illness in my family makes it impossible for me to join you in the celebration of the end of a successful educational season.

Our International always appreciates the need of Workers' Education and we have gladly made the experiment for the Labor movement.

Fraternally Yours,  
ABRAHAM BAROFF,  
Secretary-Treasurer, I. L. G. W. U.  
Message from Vice-President Feinberg:

I am exceedingly sorry that an unforeseen occurrence prevents my being with you tonight to celebrate with you the success of our educational activities, and to tell you that we hope that all of you, students as well as instructors, were inspired to a better understanding of the Labor movement and with a greater willingness to serve it.

Fraternally yours,  
I FEINBERG,  
Chairman, Educational Committee,  
I. L. G. W. U.

From A. J. Masto, Chairman, Brookwood Faculty:

All of us here at Brookwood have the deepest interest in the educational work of the I. L. G. W. U., recognizing how much it has done to arouse interest in workers' education throughout the American Labor movement and thus to make Brookwood itself possible.

of a city, as the Trade Union College of Boston, the State Federation of Labor, as in Pennsylvania.

Next Steps  
Much of the early work of American Labor education will concern itself with elementary and secondary courses in such subjects as English, writing and speaking. Because of the racial and immigration problems, there is no general level of adult attainment. Labor groups differ in ability to read and write, and to read, write and speak English. Until this deficiency is met, there can be but little useful work done in such courses as history and economics. As long as immigration brings new groups each year, classes in English, elementary mathematics and so on will be necessary. These classes absorb a large proportion of the energy of American workers' education. Already many of these adult elementary classes are taught in public buildings by public school teachers. It is probable that

From David J. Sposso, Brookwood Faculty:

Through three years of close observation of and connection with the work, I have come fully to realize the marked quality of the educational activity carried on by the I. L. G. W. U. and to recognize the extent of its value to the Labor movement.

From Spencer Miller, Secretary, Workers' Education Bureau:  
Will you not convey to the students and instructors my compliments and hearty congratulations of the conclusion of another year of successful educational effort!

Message from Vice-President Cobb:  
I regret beyond expression that illness prevents me from joining in our reunion tonight.

These gatherings are always a source of inspiration for all of us, because through them we demonstrate our interest and support of the activities carried on by the Educational Department of our Union.

We believe that the contact between the men and women of theory and action will lead to a better understanding of the groups that are working for a change in the economic and social form of society.

Not only are we now celebrating the close of a successful season, but we are also celebrating the eighth anniversary of our educational work and we are encouraged by the fact that workers' education as initiated by us is now becoming an integral part of the Labor movement in this country.

We all hope that our members who attended our educational activities will have a better understanding of the Labor movement and will be imbued with a greater faith in its ultimate aim.

I trust that this enjoyable evening will have a lasting impression on your minds and that it will encourage us in further achievement in the field of workers' education.

Fraternally yours,  
FANNIA M. COHN,  
Executive Secretary, Educational Department, I. L. G. W. U.

this sort of education will be increasingly taken over by public authorities. This will leave the business of workers' education to the workers.

Workers' education as it spreads, is, of course, vitally concerned with facts in the social sciences. It is concerned with the collection, classification and interpretation of these facts. That means that Labor education requires Labor research. One of the continuous and all-powerful influences in workers' education is the newspaper. Labor education requires the Labor paper. So far as Labor education grows, there will spring up, out of the same root, Labor research and the Labor newspaper. Research is one of the sources of supply for education. The daily, weekly and monthly paper is one of the methods of imparting education to the workers. The Labor movement will remain inside the squirrel-cage of wages and prices until it employs all three—research, education and the newspaper.

# РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

## ДОКАЗА ГУБЕРНАТОРСКОЙ КОМИССИИ.

Дело жалдыя армид Губернаторской Комиссии о нарушении явней" казуры, наказы, субвенции. Доказалам 164 индустриальных стравки, уберастого шрефа.

Продле чте представит и доклад (судит) выслушает, чтеплет (о) пречт-ам, пречт-ам и необходитости распр-амления в индустрии.

Нак известно, можно протек тробле-ам, явном тробле-ам: 1) учбы кажд-ого длабор и фабрикант кама только определеное количество контракторов, каоторы бы тожен мог спавитя рабо-ам бале или мнеее регуларно, 2) Га-рантия рабочим определеного часа ра-боты в год и 3) явном совмеще-ам с контракторами тробле-ам и длаборам и фабрикантам являть обязаню спавитя работам на явном сорте часам (явном контракторам являть обязаню спавитя работам на явном сорте часам), спавитя бы была в свое время заключена на стравках этой явном.

Поразе свое явном совмеще-ам и контракторскими тробле-ам явном-ам, Комиссия, явном, явном, что без явном явном явном индустрии она не явном явном явном явном-ам, спавитя бы была в свое время заключена на стравках этой явном.

Делам это и не явном определеном распр-амления по явном это как явном те тробле-ам явном, а явном явном-ам и в себе факты, собранные аспиритом на явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

Например, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

90 процентов их работы выполняется по-старым контракторами. Этот явном, — явном на явном явном явном-ам явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

Относительно же гарантии определено-го часа явном работ в году, то собранные Комиссией факты явном, что в большинстве случаев контракторские кон-тракты рабочие явном бале 30 недель в году, спавитя явном на явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

Что же касается контракторских кон-трактов, в большинстве явном работам явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

Нельзя же чте явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам.

Такой образом явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам, чте в явном явном явном явном-ам.

Доказ так же явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

Например, по статистике явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

или долларом ежегодно, тогда как все остальные явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

Далее, чтобы представить несколько отрывков явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

Как говорилось ранее, Комиссия не явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам, явном явном явном явном-ам.

## One Hundred Years of Trade Unionism

(Continued from page 5)

Combination Laws were more his work than any other man's.

Judged by actual results, the work of Place in this single instance was certainly one of the cardinal achievements of the century. Yet his name in the orthodox histories is altogether ignored, and is not conspicuous, even in Labor records. School children are still sedulously taught to believe that Wellington was a greater man than Place, just as they are made to think that Waterloo was a more significant event than Peterloo. Place and his associates did not, it is true, seek to attract much attention to their doings. The measure passed through Parliament in less than a week, without debate or division, almost, as he remarked, without the notice of members within or newspapers without. But their attention was soon awakened by the sudden blossoming of the Trade Union movement: Unions multiplied with astonishing rapidity within the first few months, and a series of strikes occurred. This led in the next session of Parliament to a demand for the restoration of the anti-combination laws. During the debates on the situation in 1825, the Prime Minister,

Lord Liverpool, and the Lord Chancellor, Lord Eldon, declared they were quite unaware of the passing of the

Act, and would not have assented to it if they had known what it was. But the work had been done, and repeal of the Act was out of the question.

When the storm was stilled by the passing of "Peel's Act" in 1825, the workers found themselves secure in possession of the right of collective bargaining, the right to strike, the right to organize. The Magna Charta of Trade Unionism had been won.

A quarter of a century passed before the Trade Unions found the right method of organization. In the earlier days they dreamed of the One Big Union, in which all the workers would be gathered. The dream has never been nearer realization than in the Grand Consolidated National Trade Union, of which Robert Owen was the founder. It did not live long, but at the height of its power it numbered more than half a million adherents. By this time industrial organization was well advanced in the principal trades, and with the advent of the Grand National a positive fever of activity set in. Strikes were incessant, and naturally the employers and the Government became alarmed. Their hostility culminated in the brutally savage attack upon the poor farm laborers of Tolpuddle, ending in the deportation of the six leaders. This event, whilst it roused the fiercest indignation, brought utter confusion into the ranks of the Trade Unions, and industrial organization languished during the time of political agitation that followed. For ten years the story of the working class movement is the story of Chartism. But in mid-century a new movement began with the establishment of the engineers' society on the new model. Unions claiming high dues and paying high benefits succeeded where the revolutionary general unionism of the earlier period failed. The characteristic tendency of this later period was for the local trade clubs to amalgamate and form national societies, just as the tendency of our own period has been for the national societies to unite in huge federations and amalgamations.

(To Be Concluded in the Next Issue)

### Step By Step

"Step by step the longest march can be won; can be won. Single stones will form an arch One by one, one by one."

"And by union, what we will Can be all accomplished still. Drops of water turn a mill, Single stones, singly none."

OUT-ALREADY

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P. S. The General Office will be open until 6:30 p. m. every Monday and Thursday to enable our members to purchase the book after work hours.

# The Week In Local 10

By SAM E. SHENKER

True to the purpose for which the affairs of Local 10 are arranged annually, the cutters, together with their wives and sweethearts, flung aside their daily trials and tribulations and made the most of an enjoyable evening last Saturday night, when the fifteenth annual ball of the organization took place in Hunts Point Palace.

Following upon the heels of this affair, there took place the send-off in the form of a bon voyage dinner tendered to Manager Dubinsky upon the occasion of his departure abroad. The send-off took place on Sunday night, April 5, in the banquet hall of the Concourse Plaza, 161st street and Grand Concourse.

**Gathering Symbolic of Progress**  
One of the first impressions that one got at first glance of the gathering and the musical program was that the worker is capable of many things other than toiling in factories.

An instance of this is the excellent musical program which the committee arranged. It was not necessary to go outside of the ranks of the workers to secure the desired talent. Nor were experts secured to arrange this. The pianist, Mr. Ildore Gorn, is the son of a member of Local 10, whose piano selections were from the masterful compositions of Chopin. The violinist, Mr. David Madison, accompanied by Leo Frankal, is the son of a member of Local 35, who chose his selections from the works of masters. Madame Rose Fiore is related to none other than the president of our organization, Brother Philip Ansel. Her vocal selections were taken from Russian and Italian masters. Mr. Victor Rosenblum accompanied her on the piano. The dinner and dance music was supplied by the Russian Balalaika Orchestra, directed by Peter Biljo.

Brother Samuel Perlmutter, who was chosen toastmaster, introduced International President Morris Sigman as the first speaker of the evening. The fact that the affair was arranged by a committee of Local 10 and that the gathering consisted in the main of the active members of Local 10 moved him to point with pride to the progress of the Labor movement, which he said was symbolized by the affair.

In wishing Dubinsky bon voyage Sigman recalled the former's activities and said that he not only made himself conspicuous by his leadership of Local 10, but also as vice-president of the International.

Perlmutter's opening remarks that hundreds of members tried to get into the dinner but could not be accommodated because of the limited capacity prompted the International president to say that this was the highest tribute to the work of Dubinsky that could be paid. His closing remarks consisted of wishing Dubinsky a pleasant journey and hoping that the trip would give him the necessary mental and physical rest, so that he would be equal to the task confronting him upon his return. These remarks were put forth in the name of the International. Sigman said he was confident that contact by the manager of Local 10 with the Labor movement of Europe would be beneficial to the members of the International.

Iracl Feinberg, general manager of the Joint Board, also spoke. Not desiring to take time allotted for entertainment, he made his remarks very brief, wishing Dubinsky bon voyage and congratulating him on the splendid opportunity which was presented to him.

Other speakers were Abraham Baroff, Secretary-Treasurer of the International; Faltia Hansel, Presi-

dent of Local 10; Charles Stein, formerly manager of the Waist and Dress Division of Local 10, and John C. Ryan. Ryan insisted upon representing the old-timers, who, he said, were gratified with the progress made by Local 10, which he said was instanced by the splendor of the evening.

**Letter of Appreciation**  
The last speaker of the evening was Manager Dubinsky, who, one could see, was greatly moved, and his usual ability to find words for expressing his thoughts failed him. He could only outline briefly his experiences in the United States and his activities in the local. How the dinner tendered him affected him and what he really thought are best expressed in a letter which he has submitted to the writer and requested to be published in these columns. The letter follows:

"Dear Brother Shenker:  
"I trust you will find space on the cutters' page of Justice for a few lines in which I desire to express my deepest appreciation to the Executive Board and the membership of Local 10 for arranging such an exceptionally fine send-off on the occasion of my departure for Europe.

"I want to take this means of expressing my sincere thanks to the active members, the many shop chairmen and the head cutters of the various shops, who participated in and made possible such a beautiful evening as the bon voyage dinner tendered me last Sunday night.

"The guests, as well as the musical talent rendered by Madame Fiore and the Messrs. Gorn and Madison, together with their accompanists, needless to say, are in a large measure responsible for this success, and to them, too, I convey my heartiest thanks. The Arrangements Committee, headed by Brother Maurice V. Jacobs, and Brother Samuel Perlmutter, the toastmaster, are deserving of the highest praise for their tireless efforts in having made the occasion a memorable one, not only for myself but for all those who were present.

"I wish to express here my gratefulness for the very fine gifts presented me by the officers of the International and the cutters of the shops of Wilkins and Adler and Jacob Goldstein, which will serve as pleasant reminders of this memorable occasion.

"It was indeed an honor to myself, personally, as well as to the organization itself, to have been greeted and honored by the presence of the president, secretary-treasurer and vice-presidents of the International and the officers of the Joint Board.

"With the hope that the members will give the necessary cooperation for the success of the work of the union to the officers of Local 10 and to Brothers Nagler and Shenker, particularly, who have been placed in temporary charge, I bid farewell. Au revoir to the members of Local 10, my colleagues of the general office, friends, and officers of the Joint Board and our sister local unions.

"Fraternalty yours,  
(Signed) "DAVID DUBINSKY."

That the members wish Brother Dubinsky the success and successful trip was easily seen when mention was made, as Perlmutter stated in his opening remarks as toastmaster, that the committee was forced to turn down many requests for invitations. All that Perlmutter could say to satisfy these members was that on April 13 the regular meeting of the members will take place and that they will there be afforded the opportunity to personally bid the manager farewell, since he is leaving

on April 15.

**Fifteenth Annual Affair a Success**

This is perhaps one time when it may safely be said with regard to an affair that it was both a financial and social success. It will be recalled that the members had decided that each member be obligated to purchase one ticket. This was made into a tax and each member's payment for the ticket is recorded by means of a stamp placed in his book.

Once this was disposed of, by which the financial success of the affair was assured, the Arrangements Committee was able to turn its mind entirely to making the affair a social success.

The large dancing hall of Hunts Point Palace was well filled within a short time after the opening of the doors. One did not have to make inquiries of the guests as to whether they were having a good time; evidence of being pleased was plainly written on their faces. One man who hadn't time enough to enjoy himself was Brother Ildore Nagler. As chairman of the Arrangements Committee he was occupied all evening seeing to it that all the arrangements were being fully carried out. Brothers Louisa Forer and Maurice V. Jacobs were also considerably taken up in this respect. Brother Louis Zwering and his orchestra also acquitted themselves admirably.

**Cloak Hearings Postponed**

Due to the absence of one of the representatives of the Employers' Conference Committee, the conferences which were scheduled to take place last week before the Governor's Special Mediation Commission were postponed.

It will be recalled that the Commission had laid bare their report of the conditions in the cloak and suit industry. This report was to have helped the Commission make recommendations on the balance of the union's demands originally presented to the employers about a year ago. The Commission, before making its final recommendations, had decided to hold three conferences for the purpose of giving all sides an opportunity to interpret the report of the Commission in the light of their demands.

Little else can be added as regards activities in the cloak industry. The cloak cutters are still working. No marked drop as respects work in the industry is yet seen.

**Dress Trade Slows Up**

What was said for the cloak trade as regards work cannot be said for the dress trade. Last week saw a considerable layoff of cutters. That it is the inception of the slack season cannot be stated definitely. The layoff affected the cutters of the better dress shops. No such drop took place among the cutters of the contracting shops making a cheaper line of work.

This condition makes it necessary for the office to set about at once in sending out special controllers. This time the control is not only necessary because of the slack season; that is, it is not merely a slack season control. Recently, it will be remembered, the Joint Board conducted an intensive organization campaign in the dress trade and organized a considerable number of shops.

Due to the fact that work was plentiful and that there were no men

available for controlling purposes, the newly-organized shops were not controlled immediately upon their having been listed as union shops. Of course, the business agents of the Joint Board are required to visit these shops for the purpose of determining as to whether union conditions are adhered to.

The business agents, however, have assigned to them regular districts and they are often taken up with complaints. Hence, they are not afforded the necessary opportunity to visit newly-organized shops as often as is necessary during the first few weeks after an organization campaign.

Manager Dubinsky took cognizance of this long ago and always, following an organization campaign, or at the inception of the slack season, assigns a number of special controllers. These controllers concern themselves mainly with conditions in the cutting department and frequently find a little work for the men who are unemployed.

**International's History Published**  
The members are no doubt familiar with the fact that the I. L. G. W. U., in conformity with the decision of the Cleveland Convention in 1922, has completed and published its history. It is a history of the parent body of the garment workers' local unions since its earliest days. It is neatly and securely bound in a volume of over 600 pages.

Comments from reviewers of such magazines as the New Republic, and from daily papers, including the New York Times, highly praise the work and the material. In addition to this, favorable comment was received from editors, lecturers, professors and teachers, practicing the work.

The Executive Board received a communication from Secretary-Treasurer Abraham Baroff, in which he informs the Executive Board that members of local unions may purchase a copy of the history, regularly sold at \$5 per copy, for \$2.50 each. A limited number of copies has been set aside at the reduced price for members of the union. Members of Local 10 desiring to purchase a copy may place their order with Local 10's office and by paying \$2.50, together with giving their names, ledger numbers, and local, they will be forwarded a copy at this price. The number of copies at the reduced rate, as previously stated, is limited, and members of Local 10 desiring to possess one should take advantage of this offer immediately.

**Important Meeting April 13**

The membership is reminded that the regular meeting of the organization will take place Monday night, April 13, in Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place. Aside from the fact that there are the usual important actions of the Executive Board to be reported, it is the last opportunity Manager Dubinsky will have to address the members before his departure for Europe.

In addition to the opportunity being afforded to the manager to bid the members farewell and the members to bid him good-bye, he will make his report. The most important issue at this time is the scheduled hearings before the Governor's Commission. There are also a number of important decisions of the Executive Board which should make interesting hearing and discussion.

## CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

REGULAR MEETING.....Monday, April 13, 1925

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