

"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. 11.

New York, Friday, March 13, 1925.

Price 2 Cents

## General Stoppage Ordered In New York Dress Industry

**Every Shop in Industry Ceases Work Upon Receipt of Telegraphic Order from Joint Board—Stoppage Ordered to Compel Jobbers to Live Up to Provision Governing Price Schedules in New Agreement—Remarkable Demonstration of Solidarity—Chairmen Hold Great Meeting in Webster Hall and are Addressed by President Sigman and Vice-President Feinberg—All-Day and Evening Parley with Jobbers and Contractors at Hotel McAlpin Fails to Bring Settlement—Dress Strike Looms Unless Jobbers Concede Demand of Union for a Tripartite Committee to Agree on Price Schedules**

A development of first-rate magnitude, occurred last Tuesday morning, March 10, in the dress industry of New York, an event which hardly finds a parallel in the entire history of the organization of the workers in this trade.

On that morning, the chairmen in approximately 2,000 dress shops in Greater New York received a laconic telegram signed by Vice-President Israel Feinberg, the manager of the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board, in which they were ordered to "stop off work and to ask the workers to remain in the shops awaiting further instructions." The chairmen were requested to report at once to a meeting in Webster Hall.

The order of the Union was immediately carried into effect. As if by the wave of a magic wand, the 30,000 dress workers in the city stopped work and the whole industry came to a standstill. The chairmen left immediately for Webster Hall, on East 11th street, to meet with the leaders of the organization.

**Jobbers Cause Stoppage Order**  
Readers of Justice, no doubt, know that the agreement recently concluded with the jobbers in the dress industry, after negotiations lasting a number of weeks, contained an express guarantee on the part of the jobbers for the labor costs on all garments sent

out by them to be made up in the contractor shops. The jobbers also agreed to accept the price schedules prepared for the various branches and parts of the trade. When the agreement went into effect on February 24, the jobbers, however, failed to attach to their order slips the required schedules and began raising objections to the adopted schedules and even refused to send work to contractors who insisted on the new schedules.

The Joint Board demanded that the jobbers live up to the definitely agreed

upon terms of the contract and refused to accept any modifications of the schedules at this time. It was quite obvious that the jobbers were playing for time and were interested in protracting the new dispute until the peak of the season was passed.

**Union Leaders Decide Upon Drastic Step**

Last Monday, the leaders of the organization finally decided to call the jobbers to their responsibility. After a conference, in which President Sigman, Manager Feinberg, Vice-

(Continued on page 2.)

## International Orders Election of Officers in Dress Division

**Holds Members Need Not Be Penalized for Wrong Action of Executive Board of Local 22—Local 89 Wins Appeal—Election to be Held Next Tuesday, March 17—Balloting Will Take Place in Seven Polling Booths**

Readers of Justice recall no doubt that the election of business agents and a manager in the Dress Division of the New York Joint Board, on February 12, did not take place as scheduled after Vice-President Feinberg, the manager of the Joint Board, had ordered a postponement of this election.

This delay was caused by the act of

a certain group in Local 22, who in defiance of the rules and by-laws of the I. L. G. W. U. had issued on the eve of the election a defamatory leaflet in which the candidates opposed to the views entertained by this group were vilified and attacked. This attack appeared all the more revolting in view of the fact that lack of time made it impossible for the slandered candidates to make any reply. Of course, this act was entirely in violation of the rules of election conduct adopted by the G. E. B. for all its subdivisions in the interest of purity and decency of elections which outlawed all forms of "slaters" and forbade the issuing of leaflets containing vituperation of opposing

candidates.  
Vice-President Feinberg, the manager of the Joint Board, after failing to induce the executive board of Local 22 to issue a statement disavowing the action of that group and condemning it, ordered the postponement of this election. It must, however, be remembered that in addition to Local 22, Local 89 and the dress pressers and dress cutters are also represented in the Dress Division of the Joint Board. The order of Vice-President Feinberg thus affected not only the members of Local 22 but the members of the other locals and branches as well.

The special meeting of the General (Continued on Page 2.)

## President Sigman Notifies Local 2 To Elect Manager

**Vice-President Perlestein to Remain Supervisor Until October—General Member Meeting This Saturday.**

When Local 2, the Cloak Operators' Union of New York, had nominations and election for an executive board late last January, to replace the provisional committee appointed in the early fall of 1924 by the General Executive Board of the I. L. G. W. U., the balloting for the post of secretary-manager was postponed until a later date upon the suggestion of President Sigman. It had been deemed advisable to leave the executive work of the local for some time in the hands of Vice-President Perlestein until the completion of the merger of all the New York operators into one local union has been finally achieved.

In the judgment of the General Executive Board, this moment has now arrived. The group of former Local 17 members which has still hampered the completion of the merger has now ceased its activity, and the election of an executive manager for Local 2 need not now be delayed any longer. Accordingly, President Sigman, on

Saturday, March 7, forwarded to the executive board of the Cloak Operators' Union, the following communication:

"March 7, 1925.

"Executive Board of the  
"Cloak, Suit and Reefer  
"Operators' Union, Local 2,  
"128 East 25th Street,  
"New York, N. Y.

"Greeting:

"On December 30, 1924, I communicated with your local, advising them that, according to the decision of the General Executive Board, the time had arrived when an election was to take place for an executive board. In that communication I suggested that the election for secretary-manager be postponed until a later date. This thought was conveyed to you at that time owing to the attitude assumed by a group of former local 17 members, which hampered the completion of the

(Continued on Page 2.)

## N. Y. Joint Board Reopens Dues Payment Office

**Shop Chairmen and Members May Now Again Pay Dues in the Joint Board Building, 25th Street and Lexington Avenue**

The Joint Board of the New York Cloak and Dressmakers' Unions has issued an announcement that its dues-payment department which was closed a short time ago, has again been reopened.

This department was eliminated, as the readers of Justice will recall, on the ground of economy. This change, however, proved to be impracticable. The office of the Joint Board is a central point where thousands of members from all locals gather daily and these it appears at present, find it much more convenient to pay their dues in the main offices rather than in the local offices which are

scattered all over the city. The shop-chairmen, who collect the dues from many of their fellow-members in the shops and pay over these sums to the dues' clerks, find it particularly convenient to pay at the centrally located office of the Joint Board.

Besides that, it appeared that no economy whatever was effected by this change, as, while the Joint Board, for a time, dispensed with the help of a few dues' clerks, the individual locals were compelled to hire additional clerks to receive dues. So that actually nothing had been saved by the elimination of this department in the Joint Board.

## Reunion of Students and Teachers on Sat. March 28

Two weeks remain before the reunion of students and teachers of the I. L. G. W. U. classes, which will be held in the dining room of Washington Irving High School on Saturday, March 28th, at 7 p. m.

This affair is always a memorable event in the life of our Educational Department, and as many more of our members are eager to attend than the space allows, the committee decided, as in previous years, to give preference during the next week to past and present students and members of the executive boards of our local unions.

To defray some of the expenditures, the Students' Council which is arranging this affair has decided to charge a minimum admission of 35 cents. Tickets can be obtained from members of the Students' Council or from the Educational Department, 3 West 16th street, either in person or by writing.

Such of our members as had tickets sent to them by the arrangements committee are requested to account for them at once, as this will greatly facilitate arrangements.

## General Stoppage In N. Y. Dress Industry

(Continued from Page 1)

Presidents Dubinsky, Wander, Brewster and several of the dressmakers' managers participated. It was unanimously agreed to bring the trade to a step in order to compel the jobbers to abide by the agreement. Manager Feinberg thereupon forwarded the order by wire to all shop chairmen.

The demonstration in Webster Hall. The meeting of the shop chairmen in Webster Hall on Tuesday afternoon turned out to be an inspiring demonstration of working class solidarity. The big hall was crisscrossed to the door, and the great throng of shop representatives listened with breathless attention to every word uttered by President Sigman and Manager Feinberg who reported in detail upon the recent developments in the trade. President Sigman explained to the chairmen that the jobbers and no one else in the trade are responsible for the prices. The Union, he stated, is fully aware how the jobbers contrive to force down the settled prices in the trade. They engage as many contractors as they possibly can so as to create feverish competition between them. And when some of these contractors manage by some underhand methods to make the work cheaper than the other, strictly Union contractors can afford to produce it. This is the expense favorite of the jobbers at the expense of the Union shops. This must come to an end; the jobbers will have to pay all their contractors the same prices for the same grade of work.

Vice-President Feinberg explained to the chairmen the reason why the Union decided to resort to the extraordinary method of stepping off the industry. The jobbers, he said, apparently thought, when they signed the agreement, that they could freely ignore it as long as they are able to maintain the old cut-throat competition between the contractors.

In this, however, they have calculated without the Union. The Union may be ready to negotiate with the jobbers concerning some of the details of the price schedules, but the jobbers must in the meantime comply with the agreement and pay the prices they had agreed to.

Wednesday Conferences Fail to Reach Settlement

On the next day, Wednesday, March 11, the representatives of the Union, the jobbers and the contractors met all day and evening in the Hotel McAlpin in an effort to reach a settlement of the controversy. The conferences, however, broke up on the refusal of the jobbers' committee to agree to a proposal advanced by the contractors, and accepted by the leaders of the Joint Board, suggesting the formation of a committee representing the three elements in the industry which would be charged with standardizing price schedules. The jobbers said that they were unable to accept the proposal without further consultation, with the full membership of their association, a meeting of which they promised would be held the next day.

The stoppage of the dressmakers will therefore continue until the jobbers bring their reply to the final demand of the Union. Should this reply be unsatisfactory, the stoppage may result in a general strike. It must be kept in mind that the workers involved in the stoppage turn out 80 per cent of the dresses produced in the country. The season this year has been late, and dresses that should have been on the shelves of storekeepers a month ago are piled high in fabric form in the shops of the contractors who make them up for the jobbers. A continued stoppage or a general strike may ruin the Easter sales of dresses in every part of the United States.

## Local 2 Notified To Elect Manager

(Continued from page 1)

merger of all the operators into one union. Since then, the merger has been practically effected.

"It is the opinion of the supervisory committee elected by the General Executive Board that now, after the executive board of your local has been installed, you be advised to proceed immediately with the election for a manager of your local. I am therefore now advising you to call to this effect.

"I desire to call to your attention, however, the fact that when the General Executive Board made its decision to merge the three locals into Local 2, it also decided that Local 2 shall remain under the direct guidance and supervision of the General Executive Board,

through its committee appointed for that purpose, for one year's time, which will expire on October 15, 1925. I therefore also beg to advise you that, while Vice-President Perlestein will, after the election of your manager, not continue to act in the capacity in which he is acting at present, he will nevertheless remain the supervisor of Local 2, representing the special committee as well as the General Executive Board by whom this committee was created.

"With best wishes for the success of the new local,

"Fraternally yours,

"MORRIS SIGMAN,

"President."

## Local 20 Declares Strike Against Jobbing Firm

The Waterproof Garment Workers' Union of New York, Local 20, declared a strike against the jobbing firm of Joshua Rosenthal & Co., of 58 East 124th street, New York City, for sending out work to non-union shops in violation of its contract with the Union.

According to information received from Brother Wiensart, secretary of Local 20, the Rosenthal firm has been trying to send out its work to some

Amalgamated shops. Local 20 notified the officers of the Amalgamated Joint Board about it, but, as he asserts, he had not received any cooperation from them.

He expects, however, that the Amalgamated officials will realize that they are only helping the firm to break its agreement with the raintest makers, will rectify the error they had made and will now aid Local 20 in bringing the Rosenthal firm to terms.

## International Orders Election of Officers in Dress Division

(Continued from page 1)

Executive Board which met last week in Bridgeport was confronted with this matter in the form of an appeal from Local 89, the Italian Dressmakers' Union. Writing on behalf of his executive board, secretary-manager Luigi Antonini pointed out in his communication that by this order "the Joint Board is penalizing and disciplining his local against which there is not and cannot be any charge, and that they regard the decision of the Joint Board as an humiliation and disfranchisement of the members of Local 89 who committed no crime whatever." He insisted that the election of business agents be held without further delay and the autonomy of Local 89 be not further interfered with.

The General Executive Board considered this appeal very carefully and sustained it. As a result, it decided to order the New York Cloak and Dress Joint Board to proceed with elections for all business agents in the dress industry. The letter to this effect forwarded to the Joint Board reads as follows:

"March 6, 1925.

"Joint Board Cloak, Skirt and  
"Dressmakers' Union of N. Y.,  
"130 East 25th Street.  
"New York, N. Y.

"Greetings:

"On February 25, 1925, Local 89, the Italian Dressmakers' Union sent in an appeal to the General Executive Board against the New York Joint Board for failing to carry through its decision to hold an election for business agents in the dress industry, and instead causing these business agents to be appointed by the election and objection committee. Local 89 states in its appeal that this action of the Joint Board was prompted by the fact that, the day before the election was to take place for the business agents in the cloak and dress industry, some leaflets had been distributed by the Trade Union Educational League in which some of the candidates, members of Local 22, were slandered. The Executive Board of Local 22 was thereupon asked by General Manager Feinberg of the Joint Board to issue a statement condemning the action of the issuers of the slanderous leaflets, and to issue warning as well to their members that those members of Local 22 who had participated in the issuance of such leaflets would be called to account for such action. With this the Execu-

tive Board of Local 22 refused to comply.

Under the circumstances the election for business agents in the dress industry was stopped, involving Local 89 as well as other locals. It is the contention of Local 89 that there was no justification for depriving them of the right of electing their business agents. Local 89 claims that the action of the Joint Board in stopping the election has unjustly disfranchised the membership of this local.

"The New York members of the General Executive Board on March 4 and 5 gave due consideration to the appeal of Local 89. At this time Brother Antonini representing Local 89, and Brother Fish representing the Joint Board, appeared before the Board and stated their case. After deliberation, the Board came to the following conclusions:

"1. That the contentions raised by Local 89 with regard to the decision of the Joint Board are fully justified, and are therefore sustained.

"2. The members of the Board further took into consideration the facts referred to in the appeal of Local 89 with regard to the action of Local 22, and came to the conclusion that, even in the case of Local 22 we do not deem it advisable to penalize the membership of Local 22 in any way and to deprive them of the right to participate in the election for business agents because of a wrong committed by their Executive Board. If the Executive Board had committed a violation against the by-laws of the Joint Board of our International, or has committed any un-union-like act, the Executive Board responsible for such acts should be called to account and the Joint Board may deprive the Executive Board of the right to participate in such election, but the membership is fully entitled to express its will in the election of business agents, as previously decided by the Joint Board.

"The General Executive Board therefore decided to order the Joint Board to proceed with elections for all business agents representing these various locals in the dress industry.

"With sincere greetings, I am,

"Fraternally yours,

"MORRIS SIGMAN,

"President."

## Chairman Ingersoll Holds Hearing On Two Disputes

Last Friday afternoon, March 6, Mr. Raymond V. Ingersoll, impartial chairman in the cloak and suit industry of New York, heard arguments in two disputes brought before the cloak employers and the Union. The first case involved the right of the Cloak and Dress Joint Board to sign an individual agreement with a manufacturer belonging to the Protective Association without first ascertaining definitely whether the firm has resigned from the Industrial Council of this Association. The incident involved the signing of a contract with J. M. Duberstein & Sons, where it was shown that some misunderstanding of the status of the firm existed.

The case was left undecided by Chairman Ingersoll, with the understanding that the parties will try meanwhile to reach an accord on the disputed points.

The other dispute was occasioned

by the circular notice sent out by the Cloak Operators' Local No. 2, forbidding overtime without special permission in all shops having room for the installation of additional machines.

The association's counsel, Mr. William Klein, contended that this circular was a violation of the agreement, and that the overtime was permitted at certain seasons of the year. Brother J. Rubin, on behalf of the Joint Board, stated that specific cases which had been brought to his attention by the association growing out of this order had been satisfactorily adjusted by him, and that the Union taken exception to the circular itself. He was not aware that the association had

Both sides seemed to feel that the dispute could be adjusted and the case was left open by Chairman Ingersoll for further hearing if a settlement is not reached.

# Causes and Cures of War

The findings of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, held recently at Washington by nine large women's organizations, constitute an important document. The conference urged the members of the organization to be represented: (1) To undertake unprejudiced and continuous study of the psychological, political, economic and social causes of war, and (2) To stimulate in every practical manner the development of scientific research in this field in our higher institutions of learning and the popular teaching as to the causes of war based upon ascertained facts.

The causes of war as presented by the speakers at the Conference are summarized as follows:

**1. Psychological:**

- 1. Fear: (a) Feeling of national insecurity; (b) Fear of invasion; (c) Fear of loss of property; (d) Fear of change; 2. Jealousies; 3. Greed; 4. Lust of Power; 5. Hate; 6. Revenge; 7. Jealousy; 8. Envy.

**"II. Economic:**

- 1. Aggressive imperialism; (a) Territorial; (b) Economic; 2. Economic rivalries for: (a) Markets; (b) Energy resources; (c) Essential raw materials; 3. Government protection of private interests without sufficient reference to the general welfare; 4. Disregard of the rights of backward peoples; 5. Population pressure; (a) Inequalities of access to resources; (b) Customs barriers; (c) Migration barriers. 6. Hills in war.

**"III. Political:**

- 1. Principle of balance of power; 2. Secret treaties; 3. Unjust treaties; 4. Violations of treaties; 5. Disregard of rights of minorities; 6. Organization of the State for war; 7. Ineffective or obstructive political machinery.

**"IV. Social and Contributory:**

- 1. Exaggerated nationalism; 2. Competitive armaments; 3. Religious and racial antagonisms; 4. General apathy, indifference and ignorance; 5. War psychology created through various agencies, e. g.: (a) The press; (b) Motion pictures; (c) Text-books; (d) Home influences. 6. Social inequalities; 7. Social causes of war; 8. Lack of spiritual ideals."

On the cures of war the Conference made the following significant recommendations: "The Conference favors the following political measures which, it believes, tend toward that international security which we seek:

- 1. Work for the outlawry of war with the understanding that this involves two definite steps: (a) The enactment through an adequate agency of an international law declaring that war is a crime in which an aggressor nation should be dealt with as a criminal. (b) The use of international machinery through which such a law can become operative among all nations. This involves and actually compels permanent world organization, which shall be continuously operative. 2. United States of America adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice. 3. Progressive codification of international law for the guidance of such a court according to modern standards of international ethics and with reference to modern world conditions. 4. The restoration in the Department of State of the office of Under Secretary of State for Peace, whose special function should be to foster international understanding and peace. 5. Multiplying of such arbitration treaties as contribute to international conciliation, and the revision of such existing

treaties as violate the principles of international justice." 6. Cooperation with the League of Nations and "initiation or sharing by the United States of America in movements looking toward reduction of armaments."

"Economic Forces—Since the struggles of nations to control natural resources, raw materials, routes of commerce and trade are among the causes of war, economic security for all nations must be the principle upon which the remedies for the economic causes of war must be based. The Conference believes that this can be attained only through international cooperation to the following ends: (1) Access to natural resources which furnish the necessities of human life, the raw materials of industry and the employment of peoples. (2) Development of channels of distribution and the agencies of communication between nations. (3) Establishment of a commercial code between nations which shall define unfair competition and taboo the exploitation of weaker peoples for the aggrandizement of the stronger. Only such development is legitimate as is fair to the interests of both sides. (4) Establishment of an industrial code between nations designed to: (a) Set up minimum standards for conditions of employment; (b) Prevent the exploitation of the Labor of children, and (c) Remove industrial injustices between competing nations.

"As the means of accomplishing such international cooperation, we urge (a) International conferences on world resources, the distribution of materials, and the establishment of commercial and industrial codes; and (b) The utilization of existing agencies for international cooperation in the economic field, especially the Economic Section of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization."

"If we are to have a world in which war between nations will be outlawed, we must have a program of education, adapted to new ways of life in international relations. Even after practical measures are agreed upon for organizing the life of the world, this machinery will break down unless men and women are trained to meet changing circumstances with poise of spirit and ability to act intelligently. To this end the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War believes that we must: (1) create certain attitudes of mind, (2) develop intelligent understanding between racial and national groups, and (3) discover ways of education by which individuals can be trained to take an effective part in the new world."

The attitudes of mind stated to be needed today are as follows: (a) Recognition of the possibility of organizing the world life on a basis of cooperative relations; (b) A scientific attitude toward the study of such possible causes of war as overpopulation, inequalities of access to essential raw materials, etc., and (c) Fearless acceptance of change in the life of the world if that change is directed toward the welfare of the whole world."

## Step By Step

Step by step the biggest march  
 Can be won; can be won.  
 Single stones will form an arch  
 One by one, one by one.  
 "And by unto, what we will  
 Can be all accomplished still.  
 Drops of water turn a mill,  
 Singly pass, singly soon."

# International Summer Schools

For the month of August this year the International Federation of Trade Unions offers two most attractive Summer Schools, where the delights of foreign travel may be combined with the opportunity of making a study of the International workers' movement, and of the economic problems which it, once necessary and condition its activities.

For the first school, the National Trade Union Centre of Sweden has offered the use of the People's High School at Brunnevig, delightfully situated on a lake-side, while students of this school will have an opportunity of visiting the centres of Labor activity in Copenhagen and Stockholm on their way to the school. The second school, at Prague, will be housed in the University buildings, and here there will be full opportunity to visit Government buildings and centres of the workers' movement, while boating and walking excursions can be made to the country round.  
 J. W. Brown, Secretary of the I. F.

T. U., will have the direction of both schools. At Brunnevig lectures will be given by the Prime Minister of Sweden, Rickard Sandler, and by the Finance Minister of Denmark, C. V. Brannæs, and by other prominent members of the Scandinavian workers' movements. President Masaryk is expected to visit the Prague school, and there lectures will be given by Engelbert Graf, one of the foremost Labor educationists of Germany, and by members of the Czechoslovakian workers' movement. At the Swedish school English will be the language principally used, and at Prague all lectures not given in English will be translated. The fees for Brunnevig will be £2/10/0 for the fortnight, and those for Prague, which have yet to be fixed, will probably be about the same figure. Information as to terms and curricula, with forms of application, can be obtained on application to the International Federation of Trade Unions, Tesselachdestraat 31, Amsterdam.

## RAND SCHOOL NOTES

On Saturday, March 14, Scott Nearing will resume his classes at the Rand School, 7 East 15th street. The Current Events class will be held as usual in the Debs' Auditorium at 1:30 p. m., while at 11 a. m. he is beginning a twelve-lecture course in Applied Sociology, based on the teaching of Lester F. Ward. Prof. Nearing has just returned from a six weeks' trip to Western Canada, Washington, California and Colorado.

At 3:30 p. m. on Saturday, March 14, Prof. Ferdinand Verrelman will give an illustrated lecture on "The Evolution of the Earth."

On Wednesday evening, March 18, at 8:30 p. m., August Claessens will lecture on Marital Incompatibility in his course on "Sex and Society" and Clement Wood will discuss Dreiser and Anderson in his course on Contemporary Fiction.

## Where Bells Don't Ring

It seems to me I'd like to go  
 Where bells don't ring nor whistles blow,  
 Nor clocks don't strike, nor gears don't sound  
 And I'd have stillness all around.  
 Not real stillness, but just the trees' low  
 Whispers, or the hum of bees,  
 Or brooks' faint babbling over stones  
 In strangely, softly tangled tones.  
 Or maybe a cricket or katydid,  
 Or the songs of birds in the hedge  
 hid  
 Or just some sweet sound as these  
 To fill a tired heart with ease.  
 If it weren't for sight and sound and  
 smell  
 I'd like the city pretty well,  
 But when it comes to getting rest  
 I like the country lots the best.  
 Sometimes it seems to me I must  
 Just quit the city's dim and dust,  
 And get out where the sky is blue—  
 And, say, how does this seem to you?

# Dollar's Purchasing Power Is Test

By PROF. IRVING FISHER  
 Department of Political Economy, Yale University

To the person that can not understand that money changes, and that a thousand dollars today is apt to be very different from a thousand dollars last year, or next year, the postman's argument that he is poorer now than he was in 1913 seems unreasonable.

"He got \$1,200 in 1913," they say, "and has since been raised 50 per cent, getting \$1,800 today. Surely he ought to be satisfied." But money has changed in purchasing power so that \$1,800 today is worth only 1,044 "ppre-war dollars."

If this is true then the postman really hasn't \$600 a year more than he had in 1913, except on paper. On the contrary, in actual purchasing power he has \$166 less. The dollar of today and the dollar of 1913 are very different in purchasing power, although the same in weight of gold. The \$600 raise in terms of gold, or of money representing gold, is not a real raise. He can not eat gold, nor clothe and shelter himself with it. He must convert his gold—or his money—into food, clothing, and shelter. The question then becomes: Will his \$1,800 today buy him more of these things now than his \$1,200 bought him in 1913?

# JUSTICE

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## Review of Last Month in Industry.

The most interesting economic development of the recent month was one little noticed outside the financial world—the increase of the rediscount rate of the New York Federated Reserve Bank from 3 to 3½ per cent. At first sight this looks pretty far removed from the interests of wage-earners and the general public, but it really has an important bearing on them. A rise in the interest rate for short-term loans means a tendency to restriction of credit. This means, in turn, that business men are likely to be more cautious in borrowing money, in expanding production and in building up inventories. In short, when the Federal Reserve authorities begin to raise interest rates, it is a warning to business not to go too fast in the way of boosting prices and rushing headlong into inflation.

There are signs that the rise in the rate did not come a second too soon. Production, on the whole, has increased rather markedly since the low point of last summer, while wholesale and retail trade have not absorbed the augmented output. As a result, stocks of commodities on hand were 14 per cent higher this January than in the corresponding month a year ago, though by no means attaining alarming proportions. Some curtailment in manufacturing output may be expected in the spring months and would be salutary, especially if accompanied by increased purchases. High prices for raw materials and the farming population would furnish the necessary stimulus for increased demand. There seems to be a tendency toward hand-to-mouth buying, accomplished by a piling up of savings as evidenced by life insurance premiums paid and the volume of savings bank deposits.

We pointed out in our last Review that the prophets of a great boom year during 1925 were beginning to be discredited. It is now clearer than ever that the upswing from the recent depression will not attain the proportions that characterize a boom. The prevailing sentiment is now moderately hopeful rather than buoyantly optimistic. Considerable improvement has taken place. It certainly will be far more to the advantage of the wage-earners that the gains that have been made be consolidated by eliminating the unevenness that have crept in, rather than that an unwarranted boom take place bringing with it the inevitable aftermath of a renewed depression.

### PROFITS IN 1924

A compilation of profits made during 1924 by 116 industrial and trading concerns has recently been completed by Dow, Jones & Co. Of these, 68 reported total net earnings greater than in 1923, while 48 reported a falling off from the previous year. Of the 13 groups into which the corporations are divided, 9 showed higher earnings than in 1923 and 4 lower. The decline of the four, however, more than counterbalanced the gain of the nine and resulted in a decrease of 5.4 per cent in the total.

Expressed in terms of the per cent earned on the common stock outstanding, only 4 groups registered an advance, namely mail order houses, metals and mining, oils and pipe lines and chain stores. The balance showed a decrease, with automobile, clothing and steel companies heading the list. The following table presents the data for all groups:

Groups	Number of Companies	Per Cent Earned on Common Stock	1923	1924
Motor	4	35.46	43.86	
Accessories	4	14.43	16.19	
Clothing	4	4.21	15.58	

Leather and shoes	2	7.80	8.75
Metals and mining	4	8.13	7.49
Mail orders	3	18.45	14.38
Tobacco	5	26.80	26.97
Oils and pipe lines	8	9.94	8.91
Chain stores	4	32.08	32.54
Telephone	7	7.66	7.75
Utilities	20	13.46	14.82
Steels	9	9.40	14.42
Miscellaneous	42	18.42	19.38
Totals	116	14.43	16.17

In spite of the general walling that has been heard over the 1924 results, it appears that these 116 companies, at least, had very little justification for lamentations. The earnings of only one group—clothing—fell below 6 per cent on the common stock. Nine of the 13 groups showed earnings of 9 per cent or better. The average was 14.48 per cent in 1924 as against 16.17 per cent in 1923.

The question is whether these 116 concerns on account of their magnitude are typical of conditions throughout industry. They represent an average common stock capitalization of more than \$31,000,000 each. It is, however, just from these "leaders" that the agitation for lower wages and the resistance against increases usually find their original stimulus.

### HAVE YOU

already made reservations for the

### RE-UNION

of past and present students and instructors of our classes arranged by the Students' Council, in the Dining Room of Washington Irving High School, March 25, 1925, at 7:30 p. m.? If not, you can still obtain tickets at the Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street. Admission 35 cents.

## The New Party

By NORMAN THOMAS

Well, a new party was formed at Chicago on the birthday of the Father of Our Country. It wasn't formally named but we suppose it will be called, if it lives long enough, the Progressive Party.

In no unfriendly sense do we express some doubts as to the vitality of the party on a national basis. It has no outstanding leader (owing to the ill health of Senator La Follette), no inspiring philosophy, no paramount issue, no organic relations with the farmers or Labor. It has a hearty dislike of the Republican and Democratic parties and has renewed its faith in the admirable plank of the Cleveland platform. These things are good, but for reasons we have already given in previous editorials they do not seem to us adequate as the basis of a new party. We fear the new party may disappear by the old method of political trades and compromises. It was a dispiriting omen to find that the Progressive Committee in Illinois during the last campaign gave an eleven-hour endorsement to that far from admirable politician, Governor Small.

The new party would, we think, have had a better chance for life if it could have worked out a basis on which the Socialist Party and Labor unions and farmers' organizations could have affiliated as groups. Such affiliation would not be inconsistent with individual membership and geographical organization. However, this plan did not commend itself to the majority of the delegates who remained after the railroad unions had made it clear that they would not participate in the formation of any new party.

If, however, hopes for the future of this new national party are not bright, we think the general situation is far from discouraging. The Con-

vention showed that there are a lot of fine, enthusiastic folk who agree on an progressive a platform as that framed at Cleveland. Even the Labor men who want non-partisan action accept these planks. The delegates were able to discuss their differences in tactics in a wholesome spirit of toleration which may make it easier for them to get together again when the right moment comes.

In the Northwestern states, or several of them, the Progressives already constitute the Second Party and the wise provisions of the Convention for a large degree of State autonomy may encourage the formation of vigorous State parties which later may unite in a national party, under conditions which we hope will admit the affiliation of the Socialist Party and such unions and farmers' organizations as stand for genuine progressive political action. Meanwhile, the Convention was at least another chapter in the preliminary educational work that must precede the final formation of a new party. We can't have a Labor Party without Labor or a Progressive Party without progressives. Hence the need of education.

### How to be Prosperous

The other day we ran across our old friend Henry Hope, the Buckeye philosopher from Old Eden, Ohio. We slapped him on the back as he gazed with fascinated interest at a large crowd of New Yorkers gathered around a man selling unbreakable collar buttons on the street corner. This Mr. Hope tells us it is a sight not to be seen in Old Eden, Ohio, where the farmers are too busy for such diversions. The Buckeye philosopher graciously consented to be interviewed on prosperity. He said that he hadn't noticed much of it until he came to New York and then he found it in the statement of the earnings of the New York banks for the year 1924. These range from 10 to 199 per cent. "I see," said Mr. Hope, "that the hard working lads who own stock in the Kings County Trust Company, the Yorkville Bank, the First National Bank, all got for one year's wage on their investment more than the par value of the stock they got by their own hard savings or their forethought in selecting their ancestors. Now that gives me an idea. I am going back home to tell the boys on the farm and in the factory to buy a bank. My slogan is: 'Prosperity by Banking!'"

We pointed out to this cornfield philosopher that Labor and cooperative banks were already at work and that most of them had a rule of dividing profits over 10 per cent with their savings fund depositors, but that none of them as yet had made over 100 per cent. We doubted whether unemployed textile workers and coal miners would remedy their condition by turning bankers. Mr. Hope absentmindedly agreed, but said he had to hurry away to keep an appointment to talk things over with Will Rogers.

## The Only Way!



—Seen in Labor.

BUY  
WHITE LILY TEA  
COLUMBIA TEA  
ZWETOCHNI CHAI

Exclusively

# Five Hundred Injured Women

By NELLE SWARTZ

Director of the Bureau of Women in Industry for the State of New York

"Some social and economic effects of work accidents to women" is the most recent report published by the Bureau of Women in Industry of the New York State Department of Labor. It is a case study of five hundred women who suffered from permanent partial disabilities. Home visits were made to women who had accidents four and five years ago to find what had happened to them as a result of their injuries while at work.

There are three kinds of injuries as a result of accidents. First: those disabling the worker permanently and totally; second, those disabling her temporarily; third, those disabling her permanently but only partially handicapping her.

It is comparatively easy to fix compensation for a worker who is killed or who received a permanent total disability; by the same method it is comparatively easy to compensate a worker for the time lost for a temporary injury. It is extremely difficult, however, to fix compensation for "permanent partials," those disabling her permanently but only partially handicapping her—such as a finger lost, or the sight of an eye impaired, which must be reckoned with as a definite handicap for the future.

So five hundred women were visited in an effort to find out if the compensation for permanent partial injuries really had compensated them. The cases were divided in such a way as to be thoroughly representative. The findings which are of particular interest are:

First: That only half of the injured women have been able to go back to work at wages as high as they had before the accident; that over one-fifth of the women are still out of industry as a result of the accident; that over one-fourth, though they have returned to work, have not been able to regain their former earning capacity.

Second: Permanent partial injuries in this group of women were caused in two-thirds of the cases by power machines; the punch press being responsible for half of the accidents and 60 per cent of the punch press accidents occurring in the metal industry. Slipping and falling caused 15 per cent of the accidents, and these accidents were, generally speaking, the most serious.

Third: Over two-thirds of the injuries were finger accidents.

Fourth: The large number of infection cases, almost one-fifth of the entire number, showed the need for extreme care, even in the slightest accidents.

Fifth: Lack of schooling proved a great handicap to women in their industrial readjustment. Women with less than grammar school education and women who were unable to speak English made the poorest recovery.

Sixth: The two extremes of ages, the oldest and the youngest workers, made the poorest industrial readjustment. Of girls under sixteen, less than one-half have regained their earning capacity, and of the children under sixteen, five have lower earning capacity and one has never been able to return to work since her injury. Of the twenty-three women 60 years or over, twelve were out of industry altogether and three are at a lower earning capacity.

Seventh: The wages of these working women were little enough. The median wage for the cleaners was \$10 to \$12; for the other group, which includes factory workers, cooks, waitresses and janitresses, the median was \$14 to \$16.

More interesting, however, than statistics which the report

outlines, the implications regarding working women which could hardly be formulated in statistics but which came out incidentally in the course of the study. The occupation of the women at the time of the accident, for example, had a good deal to do with her final readjustment. Where, for example, the occupation at the time of the accident was low paid and very little chance for advancement as in the case of cleaners, the women were forced out of the industry altogether. It would seem from the figures of the report that women cling to industry by a very narrow margin.

Ten women claimed that they were discouraged as a result of their accident so that they hurried their marriages. One girl's fiancé broke the engagement because he could not bear the thought that this maiden right hand would prepare his food. More than one-fifth of the women reported that since their accident they found many difficulties in their home work; some were unable to do their own laundry work of sewing. Because of their inability to do these things, expenses were increased as it was necessary to have it done outside of the home. Some were compelled to give up forms of recreation. Forty-four women had to stop playing the piano.

The mental attitude of women who are hurt is quite as serious as their physical impairment. They seem out of tune with life. Life does not seem to them worth while. They are afraid to go back to their former job. There is a lack of confidence, a bitterness and despondency which is a handicap as great as some of the physical ones.

The study of these five hundred women presents some of the complex factors of responsibility which complicate the work of a woman. She holds two jobs—the one at home and the one in the factory. In addition to the economic loss which she might suffer from a lost finger or a lost hand, there is also the handicap of not being able to launder or to mend.

The cost of work accidents to the employer has been fairly definitely determined. It is known, for example, approximately how many persons will lose their fingers on punch presses during the year. Also how many hands will be lost in mangles. Each employer has come to have a predic-

# A Who's Who for American Labor

For the first time in the history of the American Labor Movement, the personal histories of its leaders have been collected in book form, in the American Labor Who's Who, to be brought out in March by the Hanford Press, New York.

The book contains more than 1,500 concise biographies, including a special section with over 200 of the most prominent European Labor men and women. The field covered includes trade unionism, Labor politics, Labor

journalism, workers' education, and cooperation.

Officials of practically every organized Labor group in the country have assisted in making the information as full and accurate as possible. To indexes, one according to State and city and one according to occupation and organization, add to the usefulness of the nearly 400-page volume.

Arrangements will be made for a special price for the book within all branches of the Labor movement.

able total hazard. But the cost to the employee is by no means so clear. Her reaction to the accident both mental and physical, her economic readjustment, her power of rehabilitation are unknown factors and differ as people differ. The study of the Bureau of Women in Industry was made in an effort to point out some of the common factors in this highly individualistic problem.

In commenting on the study, former Commissioner Bernard L. Shtientag says:

"This investigation demonstrates that compensation for a permanent injury cannot restore the injured workers to the place they formerly occupied in industry. It emphasizes the necessity of increased attention to the prevention of accidents and of prompt measures to prevent infection on the one hand and of a more comprehensive plan for the rehabilitation of the victims of industrial accidents. By these means alone can those who have received permanent injuries be restored to industry, if not in the same occupation, they can in a measure, at any rate, earn a livelihood for themselves and their families in some other way. That is the great problem of the future in connection with the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Law."

—Life and Labor.

## THE SCRAP PILE

Democracy—and a war to end  
The chance of future war,  
Disarmament—and a cut in tax  
To heal the bleeding sore;  
Reparations—and the loan of gold  
To pay the victor's charge,  
Patriotism—(God save the name)  
Now advertised at large;  
Mobilization—on September twelfth  
Wall Street's call to test;  
Americanism—to protect the loan,  
Mortgage, cost and interest.

## Darrow and Bridges Discuss Crime and Punishment

The responsibility of criminals and the purpose of punishment are discussed in the March issue of the Century magazine by Clarence Darrow, the eminent criminal lawyer, and Horace J. Bridges, sociologist and head of the Ethical Culture Society of Chicago.

In this article, Mr. Bridges states his case, while Mr. Darrow's side appears in the form of a reply.

Mr. Darrow is violently opposed to Mr. Bridges's conclusion that the human being is a "machine," that "the laws that control human behavior are as fixed and certain as those that control the physical world," and that man is the puppet of two utterly uncontrollable facts—heredity and environment.

If Mr. Darrow were right, says Mr. Bridges, then there could be no such thing as justice, since man, being a mere machine, the normal man as well as the criminal would be devoid of free will and therefore, of course, of the sense of justice.

Mr. Darrow is utterly opposed to capital punishment. Mr. Bridges is for it. "For me," the latter contends, "the only question is whether the defense of society really does require the execution of irreformable offenders. And at present, conditions being what they are, one must conclude that it does. But I can readily believe that if we had such a fundamental change in the conception of crime, and consequently such a thoroughgoing alteration of the whole penal system that not one criminal in a hundred could escape arrest or conviction, it would then be both possible and desirable to abolish capital punishment."

In refutation of Mr. Bridges' attitude Mr. Darrow says:

"The whole life of man on the earth abounds in the record of the cruel vengeance administered by the State. It is a record of killing in the most ghastly way—killings for what are still crimes and what are no longer crimes. Society punishes those whom it hates, and any fanaticism, religious or social, claims its victims by the thousands. Death is administered because organized society hates and gets joy in killing the ones it hates.

"Those of us who believe that all conduct is the result of law, and that all men are controlled by their heredity and environment, are as anxious as the rest that crime should disappear. We, however, believe that it can be diminished, if not finally obliterated, only by finding the cause and intelligently treating these causes rather than reading and destroying in anger and hate."



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# JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

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## EDITORIALS

### SOME UNFULFILLED EXPECTATIONS

The strike of the underwear and children's dress workers is nearly ended. As these lines are being written, there are, perhaps, a dozen shops in both these trades that have not yet settled with the Union. On the whole, the conflict is, nevertheless, concluded, and not without some improvements in the work conditions of the erstwhile strikers. Yet, in all frankness, we are not at all contented with its outcome, for the main purpose of this strike still remains unattained.

The prime aim of the walkout of the children's dress and underwear workers was to enlist the thousands of unorganized men and women in these trades—mostly women—working under very bad non-union conditions in the drive to unionize their shops and to establish uniform work-trade unions. The history of our Union alone is full of convincing proof of the effectiveness of this method. The waist and dress makers' organization was built up, from a mere handful of loyal trade unionists, as a result of the great strike of 1909, into a large and militant body. The Cloakmakers' Union, until 1910 a small and unimportant group of workers, came into its strength as the outcome of the big walk-out of that year. In the minds of a great many the strike, and only the strike, has come to be fixed as the one and inescapable method for organizing workers. To a considerable extent, this prevailing notion was true; yet, in the light of present-day experience, it is becoming more and more apparent that this theory does not and cannot remain applicable to all situations and under all circumstances.

In former days, the strike, in our industries as well as in other trades, used to be regarded as the sole, time-tested and most potent means for recruiting workers into trade unions. The history of our Union alone is full of convincing proof of the effectiveness of this method. The waist and dress makers' organization was built up, from a mere handful of loyal trade unionists, as a result of the great strike of 1909, into a large and militant body. The Cloakmakers' Union, until 1910 a small and unimportant group of workers, came into its strength as the outcome of the big walk-out of that year. In the minds of a great many the strike, and only the strike, has come to be fixed as the one and inescapable method for organizing workers. To a considerable extent, this prevailing notion was true; yet, in the light of present-day experience, it is becoming more and more apparent that this theory does not and cannot remain applicable to all situations and under all circumstances.

For the spontaneous strike to be invariably a successful means for organizing in unorganized fields there must, first of all, be present among these unorganized workers a fighting spirit, and a readiness to join in the struggle the moment the signal for the fight is given. Our workers in the needle trades, in particular, have in the past earned for themselves an enviable reputation as ready and willing fighters. Whether this fine spirit originated from the mistreatment they had been subjected to in the shops or from other causes is for the moment of no importance. The fact remains that in all our past struggles these workers have responded almost invariably with marvelous fire and will, and this invincible spirit has been mainly responsible in the past for the steady, irresistible advance of our unions and the growth of their influence in the trades under our jurisdiction.

This all-important guarantee of success, this fighting morale, appears to be lacking today among the unorganized portions in our trades. As far as we are able to diagnose the state of their mind, these workers are today dominated by fear of loss of jobs and of the little they had acquired for themselves by dint of inordinate strain and individual effort. Most of the unorganized workers in the women's wear trades in this part of the country today consist of men and women who have only recently escaped from the horrible hell of Russia, Poland and other countries in Europe where they have lived under indescribable conditions of misery, degradation and persecution. Here they have found, at last, a refuge, a meagre crust of bread, and these work-people, badly as they are exploited, are still so much in the shadow of their immediate past that they care not and dare not risk losing the little they have on hand.

These men and women, scared and spiritless victims of wartime savagery and of the soul-crushing after-war experiences in Europe, are not the militants of former years. The fact, nevertheless, remains that they are today, consciously or unconsciously, offering competition to the organized workers in our shops. It stands to reason, of course, that the Union is mindful of this menace and is very eager to bring them into the fold of the organization, as a matter of self-preservation, if not for anything else. This object the Union primarily had in mind when it issued the call for the present strike in the miscellaneous trades. And the Union had reason to expect that, like in former years, the victims of exploitation in the underwear and children's dress shops would respond to its message and leave the factories.

The voice of the Union, however, remained unheeded. The thou-

sands of unorganized men and women in the underwear and children's dress trades did not join in the strike.

Does that mean that we must despair of the Union's ability to organize the new arrivals in our trades? We do not think so. This failure only implies that the old methods of organizing and unionizing are not as effective today as they had been in the past. It only teaches the lesson that we must seek other and better means. True, the District Council had issued the strike call after months of preparatory agitation. But it appears now clearly that this preparation was not sufficient and that the strike had been called out somewhat prematurely.

At any rate it is obvious that, under present circumstances, we must not expect the strike as the all-effective method for organizing the unorganized in our midst. It is evident that the strike must follow the upbuilding of the Union and not be relied upon as the only means for building up an organization.

The other method, the method of slow preparation, may be a longer and a more difficult road than the one employed in the past, but, as far as we can see, it is the only practical method. Surely it is better and safer to gather an army, even though by slow and tedious recruiting, before opening fire than attempting a grand rush without reserves and falling before the aim is reached.

Such, in brief, is to our mind, the lesson to be learned from the strike of the underwear and children's dress workers. The Union cannot and will not give up the task of organizing the non-union workers in these trades; but it will engage in no short cuts or enforced jumps in this direction. It is a task which requires endurance, patience and a prodigious amount of energy, and to the fulfillment of this task in this new spirit the Union will now devote itself steadily and without halt.

Our organizing campaigns in the unorganized sections of the trade may be compared to the numerous "drives" which in recent years had been undertaken by many other, not labor, institutions. These "drives," highly successful when first originated, have now lost most of their effectiveness. New conditions have arisen, and in order to gain results we must now adapt ourselves to less spectacular, day-in-and-day-out activity which in the end will shatter the apathy and timidity of those whom we are resolved to convert to our ideas and persuade to join our ranks.

It is the only kind of activity that will count. Rush-hour tactics in trade union agitation is, at best, not the method calculated to yield most enduring results. Our new members will come to us after we shall have convinced them of the benefits and value of trade union organization, and they will come to stay. Our locals must place the emphasis on organizing new workers permanently on the order of their business. They must learn to count the days and weeks as lost during which they fail to gain a few more recruits to our cause.

The admission to our locals must be made as accessible as possible. A minimum of admission fees must be established. And above all, the atmosphere in the shops and at the Union meetings must be cleared of all bitterness, suspicion and animosity. It must become an atmosphere of real fraternity. We must, by our own example, teach the newcomers to become a propagandist and agitator for the cause of the Union.

Such a program is particularly vital for the locals in the miscellaneous trades. They have a hard road to hoe, and they must apply themselves to this task with deep earnestness. We have no doubt that the District Council will aid them in this task loyally, generously and with every means at its disposal.

### IS A STRUGGLE LOOMING IN THE DRESS INDUSTRY?

The jobbers in the New York dress industry, who only a few weeks ago had signed an agreement with the Joint Board and the International, on the one hand, and with their contractors, on the other, have, of a sudden, changed their mind and are planning to break this contract.

This startling turn is still more surprising when considered that this agreement had been adopted as the result of months of negotiations and of careful analysis of all its clauses. The sudden change of mind of the dress jobbers, and their obvious intention to break the agreement, is, therefore, to say the least, quite an ill-considered step.

To be sure, it is quite difficult to grasp what the dress jobbers are driving at by this attempt to abrogate their agreement with the Union—in the face of the rather disastrous experience of their fellow employers in the cloak line in the same direction only a couple of years ago. Is it likely that they intend to flaunt in the face of a united public opinion which received the new agreement with such uniform approval? Or do they actually believe that they can afford to force a strike upon their workers in the hope that they might come out the winners in such a struggle?

The dress jobbers still have time, we believe, to survey the situation carefully before they make the final leap. They can only hurt themselves if they fail to live up to their pact with the workers. If the jobbers propose to remain the influential factor in the dress industry which today they undoubtedly are, they must bear in mind that they had signed the contract with the Union, firstly—because the terms of the agreement are moderate and of general benefit to every element in the industry, and, secondly—because they wanted to avoid trouble with the Union.

Now, both these considerations are as strong today as they had been four weeks ago. The terms won by the workers are at present just as moderate and fair as they were at the time of the signing of the agreement, and the Union has not lost a whit of its

## -:- Old Age Pensions for Workers -:-

By DR. HERMAN FRANK

One of the severest indictments against the injustices of the present economic order is found in the fact that tens of thousands of wage-earners are forced to remain, after a life of toil, destitute and without any means of existence towards the end of their lives. These veterans of industry who, by their efforts and diligence, contribute so much towards the accumulation of material wealth in society, are in countless cases compelled to appeal to the aid of charitable organizations or to become dependent upon the bounty of relatives and friends.

Meagre, and frequently irregular, earnings, coupled with the burdens of supporting dependents, make it, in most instances, almost impossible for workers to save for old age. Some organized workers have made attempts to seek relief for old age destitution in fraternal benefit societies, collective insurance against old age, and similar ventures. The number of such fraternal benefit societies in America which pay old age pensions is, however, quite small. Only a few Labor unions, among these the International Typographical Union and the Granite Cutters' International Association, pay benefits to aged members.

In looking over social legislation in various countries, we find on their state books the following three forms of old-age support: 1. Aid given by States in the form of subsidies to benefit societies which have old-age pensions; 2. Compulsory old-age insurance with the participation of the workers, the employers and the State; 3. A free system of pensions at the expense of the State given to needy workers.

Only the last two forms of old-age pensions have any significance for the working class as a whole. Compulsory old-age insurance was introduced in Germany as far back as 1889. The German example was later followed in some countries, but nowhere has this particular system taken such root as in Germany, which until 1914 was justly regarded as the classic country of social insurance.

The third form of insurance, under which workers receive old-age pensions free from the State budget, was first introduced about twenty years ago in Australia. England took up this system in 1909 and was later followed by some other European countries, such as France and Denmark. In 1919, the English Parliament enacted an amendment to the Old Age Pension Act which materially improved the workings of that advanced form of social insurance. According to the English law, each worker is entitled to receive from the State, without any contributions on his or her part, a pension upon reaching the age of 70. The law demands, however, that the applicant be a British citizen for not less than twenty years prior to that. Blind workers are entitled to a pension at the age of 50. Weak-minded or alcoholics lose entirely the right to old-age pensions. No worker may be denied a pension if until the age of 65 he had been a member in good standing in a

Labor union which has benefit funds of any kind for at least ten years.

Aged workers having an annual income of \$250 or more are not entitled to pensions, the maximum of which is \$2.50 per week. The size of a worker's pension varies, with his income from other sources as a determining factor. In 1923, 896,000 persons received old-age pensions in England, two-thirds of them women. Over 90 per cent of the pensioners received the maximum rate, and this item of governmental expense amounted to nearly \$100,000,000.

The English old-age pension system has hardly been followed in America. A few years ago the Legislature of Arizona adopted an old-age pension law, which the Supreme Court of that State at once declared unconstitutional. An exception to this general neglect of aged workers in America is found only in provisions and funds for aged governmental and municipal employes, such as policemen and firemen. In 1920, the Federal Government also introduced compulsory insurance for all officials in its employ based upon the payment of premium of 2 1/2 per cent of their salaries by the insured towards the raising of such an insurance fund.

The necessity of old-age pensions for workers in the United States, nevertheless, is very great. Not less than 1,250,000 persons above the age of 65 are in need in this country of private or community support annually. These persons receive annually from the above-mentioned sources about \$250,000,000, without which they could not possibly exist. It is calculated that at least one out of every eighteen persons reaching the age of 65 in the United States is in dire straits and must depend on charity in order to live. The question of old-age pensions has been facing sharply the workers of America since 1913, when the State of Massachusetts, through a special commission, had made a thorough investigation of its aged and dependent workers. Similar investigations have also been made in Ohio and Pennsylvania, all of them, however, without any practical results. Recently this question came up again before the public eye, and from surface indications it would seem as if there are some chances that a basis might be laid here too for State old-age provisions on the English model.

The first skirmish in this battle is at present being fought out in the most industrial State in America, in Pennsylvania, under the leadership of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Two years ago, the Pennsylvania Legislature had adopted an "Old-Age Assistance Act," which created a state commission for the distribution of aid to old destitute persons. The commission received the totally inadequate sum of \$35,000 to go on with its work for the next two years, a sum which barely sufficed for administrative expenses.

The passage of this law was immediately followed by the formation of a reactionary organization, styled "The Poorhouse Brigade" which set itself the task of undermining the old-

age Act on the ground of so-called public economy. It obtained from a county court an injunction against the Old Age State Commission and later the State courts declared the act as unconstitutional.

In the face of this bitter opposition, the progressive elements in Pennsylvania redoubled their efforts to make the first important move in the direction of old-age protection an effective social reform in their State. A short time later, a State conference for old-age pensions took place in Harrisburg, Pa., where representatives of organized Labor met together with representatives of the State administration to consider ways and means for reenacting the bill. Governor Pinchot, who signed the proscribed bill warmly defended at this conference the act and pointed out the extraordinary fact that the laws of Pennsylvania with regard to the protection of poor folks have remained unchanged for the last 300 years. He advocated a complete redefining of the existing multitude of State and county laws concerning the relief of deserving and destitute old workers in a modern, social spirit.

The entire working class of Pennsylvania stands squarely behind this effort of the Federation of Labor and its president, James H. Maurer, who was the chairman of the State Commission charged with the carrying out of the old-age Act. It is humiliating and degrading to compel workers to finish the last years of their lives in poorhouses. Furthermore, it is even more economical to pay them pensions than to maintain such homes, which in the end prove costly to the State and wholly unsatisfactory from every point of view. It is calculated that Pennsylvania could, by spending five million dollars annually, pay from \$20 to \$30 monthly to 2,400 needy old workers who are fully entitled to receive at least that much from the community to support themselves with some degree of self-respect.

The problem of old-age pensions will become an important issue in the Labor movement in America, if the courageous effort of the Pennsylvania is crowned with success. If tens of thousands of workers are compelled to become paupers toward the end of their lives and to be dependent on public or private charity for their sustenance, it is clearly the duty of the organized workers of America to demand the adoption of a modern pension system in each of the States.

## INTERNATIONAL CALENDAR

By H. SCHOOLMAN

This Week Twelve Years Ago

"Beware of agents provocateurs!" the "New Post" warns its readers in describing the activities of a certain "Progressive Cloak and Suit Association," of which one B. Brunstein is president, J. Silliman is treasurer, and Elias Poeser secretary. This association, which boasts of a membership of young men affiliated in responsible capacities with the cloak and suit industry, is, in point of fact, a scab agency organized for the purpose of serving the worst element of employers in the trade. The "New Post" says, among other things: "Our Union has no fear of these underhand agents, but we wouldn't like to see good Union men become ensnared in the tentacles of this 'progressive' association and have later to pay the penalty for it."

After a four-weeks' strike, the wrapper and kimonos workers return to work victoriously. The settlement was made between an association of employers and the International on the basis of the "protocol" in the cloak industry. The "New Post" congratulates the brave strikers and also the officers who organized and led the strike and brought it to a satisfactory conclusion.

### "Is Military Preparedness Necessary?"

"We are the richest nation on earth," says Admiral W. L. Rodgers of the United States Navy, "and if we get into entanglements of legal diplomacy, we shall be despoiled. All the world envies us. Our safety, therefore, lies in being able to maintain our own way in the world by our own strength. We cannot trust the good will of other nations whose doctrine is to take care of themselves, and selfishly profit themselves."

But Professor Scott Nearing of the Rand School of Social Science does not agree with Admiral Rodgers, and they will therefore debate the question, "Is Military Preparedness Necessary for the General Welfare of the People of the United States?" on Sunday afternoon, March 15, at Town Hall, 113 West 43rd street. Professor Nearing has been known as a pacifist since the days of the Great War, when he was indicted for the publication of a pamphlet "The Great Madness" attacking the war. He was acquitted of the indictment.

Admiral Rodgers was commanding officer of the Atlantic fleet, 1916-1918 and Commander-in-Chief of the Atlantic fleet, 1918-1919. He was one of the advocates of the necessity for adequate military preparation at Williamsstown Institute last summer.

## Truth Never Dies

Truth never dies. The ages come and go;  
The mountains wear away; the seas retire;  
Destruction lays earth's mighty cities low;  
And empires, states and dynasties expire;  
But caught and handed onward by the wise,  
Truth never dies.

Though unrecieved and scoffed at through the years,  
Though made the butt of ridicule and jest,  
Though held aloft for mockery and jeers,  
Denied by those of transient power possessed,  
Insulted by the insolence of lies,  
Truth never dies.

It answers not, it does not take offense,  
But with a mighty silence bides its time,  
As some great cliff that braves the elements  
And lifts through all the storm its head sublime.  
It ever stands uplifted by the wise,  
And never dies.

And rests Sphinx amid Egyptian sands,  
As looms on high the snowy peak and crest,  
As firm as Gibraltar stands,  
So Truth, unweary, waits the era best,  
When men shall turn to it with great surprise,  
Truth never dies.

readiness to defend these terms at all cost. We cannot possibly conceive that the dress jobbers would expect to gain strength or prestige from breaking their agreement with the workers.

The Union will not act too hastily in this situation, grave as it is. The jobbers will get some time to give the matter serious thought before it is too late. The jobbers, on the other hand, need not misconstrue the lack of haste on the part of the Union as timidity. We can only remind them of some other struggles our Union had waged in the past to refreshen their memory on this subject. May the jobbers in the dress industry take this reminder to heart and act as responsible people should.



## IN THE REALM OF BOOKS

### Vistas

By SYLVIA KOPALD

A MERCHANT'S HORIZON. By A. Lincoln Filene. In Collaboration with Burton Kline. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924.

Who touches this book touches a man. Such volumes appear but infrequently—these records of experience, recollections of events, even mere recitals of facts—that transmit an immediate sense of fine human contact. Whatever ideas and emotions a reader may garner from Mr. Filene's book—and he garners many—the dominant impression that gives its tone to all his others is instinctive friendship with its author. He turns its last page, grateful that such men as the Filenes are in our midst.

Mr. Filene writes with more than scholarly humility. The experiment he describes is an individual experiment; yet he hopes that the forces behind the Filene Cooperative Association will prove sufficiently universal to make its findings generally useful. From cover-sheet to finis he presents himself to the reader as only a "merchant." The vision of distant things he offers is glimpsed from a merchant's horizon. But there is no mock difference in this insistence. Mr. Filene sees in his merchant career the source of much that he is today. He recognizes in it a challenge and a trust. But only men recognize such a challenge. Let alone meet it. Mr. Filene is a merchant as few others are, and such a citizen as were the best Greeks of old Athens.

How easy it is to pass over the challenge of business. Men born to the favored position in modern society are more fortunate, perhaps, but as much caught by their birthright as the lowly. Many things conspire to keep the boy born to a worker's family a worker through his life; even more conspire to keep the business man just a business man. He has his established position; law and government and social institutions proclaim and protect it as his; winning success early, he identifies his favoring circumstances with his personal ability; able to control men by right of place, he identifies that right with his individual superiority. Admittedly it is his prerogative to accumulate money for himself and his family. He accumulates it.

To such a position the Filenes came some years ago. Their father had built up for William Filene's department store a reputation that passed well beyond Boston, which held it. "William Filene's Sons" received a business from which they might have drawn continuous personal prosperity and to which they had to bring nothing but business acumen. Thus most merchants; why not they? Why not, no one can yet say. That they did not, the record tells.

Of course, the Filenes did bring acumen to their business. There is a successful business and in their business success they find the acid test of new policies. But they brought more than mere acumen—they brought a sense of community trust, and this sense lies behind even their emphasis upon success and efficiency. For service is the community's first demand upon its economic instruments; efficient instruments serve better than inefficient. And this same sense of community trust lies behind every one of the innovations of efficiency tests.

The business man with a deep community sense finds himself in a quandary. Business is still run by domi-

nantly jungle rules, and social sanction still goes to the basic procedure of each man for himself. True qualifications slowly appear; but with all the qualifications the business game is still not a source of easy happiness for the communally-minded men who are caught in it. Two courses are open to such men: They can refuse to play—and some actually have given up fortunes and firms, but, alas, always to the less sensitive who unflinchingly appear—or, recognizing the present stability of the game, they can play the parts chance has forced upon them by accepting and making ever improved rules.

This course the Filenes adopted for their own. In his present volume, Mr. A. Lincoln Filene describes the results this new attitude wrought into their business. A remarkable story—how, out of a department store, the community sense fashioned this:

William Filene's Sons of Boston originated in the business enterprise of William Filene. It passed on to his two sons. In the course of time and the run of things as they run today it might pass on to the heirs of the present owners. But these owners found such a trend out of tune with community demands. The community wants its efficient, business continuous, continuity demands provision—provision of men who will be capable of taking up threads when the shears of fate cut into the unwinding spools of today. They widened the base of their business, adding three members of the firm to the management, full-fledged partners of the two original owners.

Five held greater assurance of continuity than two, but even five are few. Consequently the Filenes created the Operating Committee, a group of management underlindees who will be ready to take their rules whenever principals can no longer perform. The underlindees receive definite training for the parts they may some time play.

But each business is more than a Board of Management. It is a community in itself, and communities have populations. Filene's numbered 3,000. How should the 3,000 workers cooperate in the community undertaking known as Filene's? After much discussion and study the Cooperative Association was formed—a self-governing unit and instrument. Members of the Association are elected to the Board of Directors, and the Filenes have deliberately made the workers' representatives a majority of the Board, so that the workers may outvote the owner-managers on any plan. From the eighteen sections of the store, association arbitration panels are elected. These worker-arbitrators decide on any issue of work wages, rules, conditions arising in the organization. By a two-third vote the Association may nullify any store regulation instituted or suggested by the management.

Through the workers' initiative and from small beginnings various communal activities have been instituted. The workers run their own bank, their own clinic, their own restaurant, their own dramatics, etc.

Finally, the community approach demanded that the workers be assured some share in the ever-increasing financial returns these policies

were bringing. The Filenes have made a wide study of profit-sharing schemes, and are not yet satisfied with existing methods. But during the past eleven years of their operations the Filenes have paid out 41.7 per cent of their earned surplus to employees other than the management.

Indeed, the high aim which the organization has set for itself has been to make all workers participants in management. It has sought continuously to interest workers in management questions, and perhaps the saddest note in Mr. Filene's volume are struck in the chapter describing "Sharing in Management." For the workers, by their own admission, did not want to share in management; they did not consider management their job. There is challenge to workers in this fact. Do they want to share in management? If so, what conditions are necessary to win such participation?

This, then has "Filene's Sons" become—a Board of Directors on which the workers are in the majority; a Board of Management, well widened beyond its original size; an Operating Committee, training management underlindees; a Cooperative Association, giving the 3,000 workers real powers of initiative vote, management, arbitration and control, and a profit-sharing mechanism binding all these with their monetary results.

The workers have been so deceived by industrial democracy schemes that their first reaction to such a shop

democracy mechanism is suspicious. What is behind it? What ulterior designs against the union are beneath this fine cloak. Of course, the initial suspicion of members of the "Igor-nation" in Mr. Filene's case is flattered by their previous acquaintance with him. We have not forgotten his interest and aid and understanding in the "Great Revolt" of 1919 when women's garment workers won industrial citizenship. And indeed this same understanding of unionism is manifested throughout this volume. Worker-unions among his workers exist (e.g., the teamsters and chauffeurs); Mr. Filene deals with them. He looks forward in the day when our American unions will have become the constructive agencies all forces are making them (pp. 206-245). He is consciously fashioning an efficient organization which shall be passed back to the community whenever the community wants it. Filene's passes the union test. It is an honest experiment.

No worker should fail to read this story of it. He should ponder its findings and its challenges. He should follow the wide attention it is receiving. Even now the Russell Sage Foundation announces a report of the study of the experiment made by its industrial investigators. The community is watching this community experiment. Let workers watch it, too. To read this book is to receive first insight—and to follow a fascinating story unraveled by a remarkable man.

## The Worm and The Vulture

A Fable in the Glasgow Forward

A worm in search of modern culture removed his hat and asked a Vulture:

"Excuse me sir, I'm rather green—  
But what's the difference between  
The process called financial dealing  
And plain, old-fashioned, honest stealing?"

The Vulture merely shook his head:  
"Please crawl away, I'm tired," he said.

"But, sir," the little pest persisted:  
"I know my views are rather twisted;  
But why, when you're considered great,  
Should I be merely used for bait?  
Why should I be the butt of Nature,  
When you control a legislature?"

The Vulture ruffled up a wing:  
"Squirm on," he said, "you tender thing!"

"Oblige me, please," the poor worm gurgled,  
"With this queer problem out I've struggled—  
Why profiteers as great they hail,  
While common thieves are clapped in jail!"

Here came a pause—and very neatly  
The Vulture ate the Worm completely,  
 remarking: "Had I spared his life,  
This creature would have stirred up strife."

## Record and Publication Department of the I. L. G. W. U.

Requests all Secretaries of Affiliated Locals to forward to it regularly each month before the 15th:

1. All Day-Book sheets where all income is entered.
2. The especially prepared index cards for all newly transferred or re-initiated members.
3. A detailed report concerning all members dropped during the month.
4. New addresses given by members when changing residence.

According to the Constitution of the I. L. G. W. U., locals may be fined for failure to forward the above requested information. We ask the officers of the local unions therefore to comply with this request promptly.

Respectfully,  
H. A. SCHOOLMAN, Director.





## DOMESTIC ITEMS

**Greedy Textile Barons Now Demand Wage Cuts**

In 22 years stockholders of the Utica Steam and Mohawk cotton mills have received \$16,000,000 in dividends and bonuses, and now the mill management demands a 10 per cent wage cut. The amount of stock outstanding is \$7,000,000, or less than one-half of the profits.

Thomas F. McMahon, president of the United Textile Workers, brought out this information in a speech to employees who are striking against the reduction.

"Aside from these dividend payments," President McMahon said, "all expenses and taxes were paid, as well as corporation taxes to the State and nation, leaving in the company treasury a large surplus over and above this 12 1/2 per cent paid out in dividends on a \$7,000,000 stock issue during the past 22 years, as well as keeping up improvements on machinery and buildings.

"In view of these facts, does it sound reasonable that the workers in the two mills affected, who have made this return possible, should have their wages cut 10 per cent at this time?"

**Venezuelan Workers Are Under Iron Heel**

"Trade unionism is not permitted in Venezuela and the executive committee of our union is functioning in New York," said Bernardino Suarez, president of the Venezuelan Workmen's Union.

"Venezuela is rich in natural resources," said Mr. Suarez. "Its oil reserves are only equalled by Mexico. It has extensive gold fields and its vast area is covered with fruit and cocoa plantations. This has made us the victims of exploitation, especially by United States capitalists.

"Our country is ruled by force, not by public opinion. No trade union activity is permitted, and free assembly, free speech, free press and the presentation of grievances are denied.

"We are sustaining our organization under the guarantees offered by the laws of the United States, continuing our confidential relations with our brothers in Venezuela and those banished in the Pan-American countries until, by employing all honorable and legal means to the purpose, Venezuela shall be emancipated from the tyranny that has been its lot for years, and shall have re-made its national life along constitutional and democratic lines."

**Many Married Women in Ohio Industries**

A study of women in Ohio industries, issued by the United States Women's Bureau, disproves the theory that women marry and abandon their industrial jobs.

Of the 16,222 adult women in Ohio industries who gave information about marital status, 28.4 per cent were married and 17.2 per cent were widowed, separated or divorced, making a total of 45.6 per cent who were or had been married. In this conjugal group were reported more than one-half of the women in each of the following industries: Laundries, the manufacture of auto tops, women's suits and coats, food products, pottery, rubber products, cordage, other textile, and tobacco and cigars. Single women predominated stickingly in 5 and 10-cent stores and in the manufacture of electric products, shirts and overalls; and men's suits and coats, since in each of these industries single women formed more than two-thirds of the women workers.

**Coke Workers Unite; Get First Contract**

President Lewis of the United Mine Workers announces that the first wage agreement ever negotiated in the coke industry has been signed with the Consolidated Coal Company of West Virginia.

This is significant when the opposition of West Virginia anti-union coal owners is recalled.

These employers have resorted to every brutality in their fight against the miners' union. They have employed machine guns, strike guards, injunction judges, and packed juries in an effort to drive workers from the union. Women and children are housed in barracks and tents erected on land leased by the union because they were evicted from company houses.

The new coke agreement is in immediate effect. It covers wages for all classes of coke workers in the Northern West Virginia field and is the beginning of the organizing campaign that has been started by the miners.

**Insurance for Oil Workers**

Officers of the Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers announce that the new form of group insurance, approved by the last convention, will become effective April 1.

This insurance will be compulsory and will cost \$4.80 per year for \$500. Because the International officers act as general agent for the insurance company, about 80 per cent of the cost for insurance in this hazardous industry is eliminated.

**Postal Workers Win Wage Increase**

President Coolidge has signed the post workers' wage bill, which raises wages \$300 a year, dating back to January 1. This was the hardest fight for wage increases that was ever inaugurated by Government employees, and is a defeat for the bureaucracy of the postoffice department, which opposed the measure.

At the first session of this Congress the increase was approved by an almost unanimous vote, but was rejected by the President on the ground that there were many applicants for vacancies, that present rates are comparable to similar work in private employment, and that the bill did not provide for raising the necessary revenue.

The unions of the postal workers affiliated to the A. F. of L. directed the successful wage fight. Three or four company "unions" that are petted by department officialdom took no part in this movement for a living wage.

## FOREIGN ITEMS

## CANADA

**"Back to the Unions" Campaign in Canada**

An intensive organization campaign is about to be launched by the various international trade union organizations in Ontario. This action was decided upon at a recent conference of trade union representatives at Toronto, and the province has been divided into four districts for the purpose.

The general organizer of the American Federation of Labor, John A. Flett, will be in charge of the campaign. Mass meetings will be held throughout the province, and will be addressed by prominent Canadian trade union officials. A similar campaign will also be carried on in the province of Quebec. A conference will be held in Ontario in March to discuss the results of the campaign.

## NORWAY

**A National Economic Conference in Norway**

To remedy the evils of bad trade, the steady rise of prices, and the growth of unemployment, the Norwegian national centre requested the Government to convene a national economic conference, which was held on the 28th and 29th of January, at Oslo (Christiania). All the different economic organizations were represented at this conference, which was attended by eighty persons, eight of whom were trade union representatives.

In the name of the Norwegian trade union centre, Ole O. Lian, the President of the Norwegian trade union centre, presented the following demands:

(1) The immediate appointment of a National Economic Council; (2) The abolition of gold customs; (3) the abolition of military exercises on a large scale, and the reduction of expenditure on armaments; (4) the regulation of imports; (5) an inquiry into the capacity of Norwegian shipyards to compete with those of foreign countries; (6) the establishment of a State of Exchange office; (7) the passing of the bill now before Parliament, which would establish works' councils in industry and the "Committee Men" System in the fishery industry and on board ship.

Needless to say, the employers' representatives throw most of the blame for the bad trade on the eight hours' day and the "high" wages (25 per cent below the real wages of pre-war days).

The Conference was of an advisory character only; no resolutions were submitted. The proposals made in respect of the different points were submitted to the Government for its examination.

## ENGLAND

**Arbitration for Civil Servants**

After long negotiations the Civil Service Clerical Association has decided to accept the Government's offer to refer to the board of arbitration matters in dispute connected with wages and working hours. The Government has refused, however, to refer to arbitration any question connected with the grading of civil servants, a decision which, in the opinion of many of the C. S. C. A., will inevitably lead to future conflict.

Unfortunately, the C. S. C. A., although it has the advantage of being affiliated to the T. U. C., is not an all-inclusive union for civil servants: many civil servants belong to ex-service unions, to ordinary clerical workers' unions, or to departmental organizations, such as that catering for the workers of the Air Ministry. The C. S. C. A. is the more handicapped in the grading question, inasmuch as the administrative members of the civil service have a union of their own, so that the C. S. C. A. represents the lower-grade workers only.

**Refusal of the Railwaymen's Demands**

The national demands of the British railwaymen have been refused by the railroad companies on the ground that the increases of wages asked for would cost another \$45,000,000 a year. The managers have announced counter-proposals for fairly stiff reductions—as much as 6 shillings a week in rural areas, and 4 shillings a week in London.

The question will go before the National Wages Board. The companies' reply is much more drastic than the unions expected, and will no doubt cause considerable indignation.

**Co-Operative and Trade Unions**

Six years of conflict as to whether or not it should be compulsory for co-operative employees of the Co-operative Wholesale Society to be trade unionists has been settled by a recent referendum on the subject; 1,981 votes were given for and 1,086 against the principle of compulsory trade union membership.

## BRAZIL

**Cooperative Fishing Colonies in Brazil**

There were in 1924 some 140 cooperative fishing colonies established and fostered by the Brazilian Government along its coast lines. The number of fishermen in these colonies is 21,056, with 9,011 boats; and the total value of material purchased by them during the year amounts to 23,322 milreis.

Since 1921 a number of such cooperative fishing colonies, each with its system of elementary schools, have been established at various points along the Brazilian seaboard, on the initiative of the Federal Government.

A "Fishing colony" is defined by the establishing decree as a group of at least 40 fishermen, Brazilian by birth or naturalization, inscribed as fishermen in the port registers and established in the zones determined by the Department of Fisheries. The object of this provision is to create a bond of fraternity among the persons concerned. Affiliation to one of those colonies, with the payment of a subscription, is compulsory for all fishermen.



# EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



## "The Women's Garment Workers"

History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Outline of Lectures given at  
WORKERS' UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL  
(Season 1924-1925)

Saturday, February 28, 1925—2:30 P. M.

By E. J. R. STOLPER

### How the Book Came to be Written.

At Cleveland Convention, 1922, the General Board was instructed to publish a history of the International.

### The Author.

Dr. Louis Levine, an honest, competent scholar, thoroughly informed, formerly Professor of Economics, University of Montana.

### His Viewpoint and Methods.

A clear, even dramatic statement of the whole struggle for justice in the garment trade, an unprejudiced examination of past conditions, of the rise to power of the present International, its aims and policies, all firmly based on evidence and documents to which reference is always given. The author remains calm, neither flattering nor scolding either side; but often the facts themselves, intensely dramatic, seem to carry the narrative to emotional reactions.

### The Contents.

Beginning with the earliest account of the garment trade and garment worker in America, the book traces, step by step, the freeing of the worker from the little tyrannies, the unsanitary conditions, the scanty wages, the long hours, the degrading scramble of the "pig market" and the sweat-shop, the series of strikes, understandings and combinations by which all the processes of the whole garment trade were united for the common good in the International; the extraordinary tangle of racial political and economic animosities that eventually straightened to their present smoothness; the rise of the unique educational and recreational policy of the Union; the force and power of this united group in the welfare of the country as of themselves.

### Truth More Vivid and Dramatic than Fiction.

There are moments in the book that beg for a playwright like Galsworthy in "Strife" or Hauptmann in "The Weavers." The chapters on the "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand" and the "Great Revolt," the almost religious fervor of the meeting in Cooper Union, the intense episode of the "black treason" and Dr. Hourwich at the meeting of 1914; the making and dissolving of the protocol—all those demand the boards of a stage as much as the pages of a history.

### More Than a Book to the Garment Worker.

To the garment worker, Dr. Levine's history will be more than a history book; since it makes him conscious of himself, and the part he and his work and his struggle play in the life and culture of his nation, opens his eyes to the real road he is traveling, shows him that growth comes from within, and that it makes no difference in what spot or what job you happen to be, when you begin to grow.

## Bronx Concert with Group Singing, Saturday, April 11th, 1925

On Saturday, April 11th, at 8 p. m., in the auditorium of Public School 51, Charlotte street and Crotona Park East, Bronx, a concert with group singing will be given by the Educational Department of our International.

The program and the names of the artists will be announced later.

Admission will be free to members, on presentation of their union card. Remember to leave that date open. Further announcements next week.

## Dance and Sociable by Tuckers, Pleaters and Hemstitchers' Union, Local 41

This Saturday Evening, March 14th

In the auditorium of the I. L. G. W. U. Building, this Saturday, March 14, at 7:30 p. m., a dance and sociable, arranged by our Tuckers, Pleaters and Hemstitchers' Union, Local 41, will be given.

There will be dancing, a short talk by a representative of the Educational Department of our International, and

refreshments. It will be an evening of fun, sociability and good fellowship.

To cover some of the expenses, the arrangements committee decided to charge fifteen cents admission.

Tickets can be obtained at the office of Local 41, 6 West 21st street.

## WORKERS' UNIVERSITY

Washington Irving High School  
Irving Place and 16th St.  
Room 530

Saturday, March 14

1:30 p. m. B. J. R. Stolper—Clear Voices in English and American Literature: Charles Dickens—English Laughter.

2:30 p. m. Dr. Sylvia Kopald—The Child Labor Amendment and Public Opinion.

Sunday, March 15

10:30 a. m. Arthur W. Calhoun—Economic Psychology—Psychology of Modern Economic System.

11:30 a. m. H. J. Carman—The Industrial Development of Modern Society: Present day problems.

Saturday, March 21

2:30 p. m. A. J. Muste—Why Workers Should Study History.

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' BUILDING  
3 West 16th Street

Wednesday, March 18

6:30 p. m.—A. Fichandler—Economic Basis of Modern Society—Mining.

## UNITY CENTERS

Wednesday, March 18

East Side Unity Center—P. S. 62  
Fourth Street near First Avenue

8:45 p. m. A. L. Wilbert—Social and Economic Forces in American History: Natural Resources and the Labor Movement.

## EXTENSION DIVISION

### YIDDISH

Friday, March 13

Local 2 Club Rooms

8 p. m. Why the Wives of Our Members Should Study the Labor Movement—Max Levin and Fannia M. Cohn.

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street

8:30 p. m. Dr. Bernard Eichner—The Worker and His Health.

Sunday, March 15

Local 2 Club Rooms—1581 Washington Avenue, Bronx

11:00 a. m. Dr. I. Goldstone—How to Live Twenty-four Hours.

Friday, March 20

Beethoven Hall—210 East 5th Street

8:00 p. m. Max Levin—The Industrial Development of Modern Society.

Sunday, March 15

Clack Operators' Centre—1629 Lexington Avenue

10:30 a. m. Max Levin—Industrial Development of Modern Society.

Friday, March 20

Russian-Polish Branch—315 East 10th Street

Subject to be announced.

Local 2 Club Rooms

8:30 p. m. Thomas Wright—Religion and the Public Schools.

Thursday, March 19

Brownsville Labor Lyceum—Room 301

7:30 p. m. Alexander Fichandler, "The Economic Basis of Modern Society." The topic will be "Lumbering and Fishing."

Friday, March 27

Local 2 Club Rooms

8:30 p. m. Ch. Nieger—Subject to be announced.

Saturday, March 20

7 p. m. Students' Get-together in Washington Irving High School Dining Room. Refreshments, Dancing. Admission 25 Cents.

## TICKETS AT REDUCED PRICES FOR PHILHARMONIC CONCERTS

Sunday, March 15—3 P. M.—Metropolitan Opera House

Wednesday, March 18—8:30 P. M.—Carnegie Hall

Tickets for these concerts may be obtained at reduced rates from our Educational Department, 3 West 16th Street, New York.

# РУССКО-ПОЛЬСКИЙ ОТДЕЛ

## ИЮНОВЫЙ ЦЕНТР ЗДОРОВЬЯ.

В 1925 году исполнился восьмидесятилетний юбилей Первой Женской Общины здоровья вильонской. Центр Здоровья имеет учреждение более тысячи и ста лет — это классичнейшая организация здоровья, которая работает на улучшение жизни.

В предстоящие дни в Центре Здоровья будут даны лекции 2, 3, 6 (в субботу), 9, 10, 22, 23, 25 и 24 в обычные часы работы около 40,000 человек.

В своем отчете за 1924 год Центр имеет следующие данные о деятельности Центра:

- 1) Проведено 10,126 часов бесплатных лекций, семинаров, концертов, спектаклей, балов, танцев, около 22,943 человека.
  - 2) Проведено 4,586 часов бесплатных игр, в общей численности около 29,928.
  - 3) Сделано 22,943 санитарно-просветительных и профилактических осмотров.
  - 4) Сделано 5,811 санитарно-врачебных осмотров членов и нечленов.
  - 5) Сделано 6,429 санитарно-врачебных осмотров членов и нечленов (срок бесплатен).
  - 6) Сделано 249 санитарных осмотров беременных.
- Приход Центра за 1924 год 64,079 долларов 25 центов.  
Расход — 60,552 долл. 30 центов.  
Осталось 3,226 долл. 95 центов.

### ОТДЕЛЫ ЦЕНТРА.

Информационный Бюро.  
Отдел книг и рукописей при Центре с целью дать членам и нечленам возможность ознакомиться с книжной литературой по различным вопросам, касающимся здоровья, воспитания, культуры, а также изучить различные методики совершенствования физического и п. к. Атлет.

При Центре есть также ряд кабинетов, которые относятся к различным отраслям науки.

При Центре в предстоящие дни будут проводиться следующие лекции:

- 1) Гигиена беременных. — Проведение лекции в субботу в 11.30 утра до 7 ч. вечера, в субботу до 1 ч. дня.
- 2) Женские болезни. — Проведение лекции, вторник, четвергом и субботой в 11.30 утра до 1 ч. дня.
- 3) Желудочно-кишечные болезни. — Проведение лекции в среду и субботу в 10.30 утра до 2 час. дня.
- 4) Болезни носа и горла. — Проведение лекции в четверг в 5 ч. 30 м. до 7 час. вечера, по субботам в 10.30 утра до 1 ч. дня.
- 5) Хирургический отдел. — Проведение лекции, вторник, среду и четвергом в 11 ч. 30 м. до 1 ч. дня.
- 6) Глазные болезни. — Проведение лекции в среду и в 5 ч. 30 м. вечера до 7 час. вечера.
- 7) Болезни кожи. — Проведение лекции в воскресенье в 11.30 утра до 1 часа дня.
- 8) Отдел хирургического (членов и нечленов). — Проведение лекции в среду в 5.30 до 7 час. вечера.
- 9) Вильонский бассейн. — Проведение лекции в 5.30 до 7 час. вечера.
- 10) Норвичский бассейн. — Проведение лекции в среду в 5 ч. 30 м. вечера до 7 час. вечера.

### Программа Центра Здоровья.

- 1) Провести все лекции Института Национального Юниона и участие в Центре Здоровья.
- 2) Увеличить просветительную деятельность Центра среди членов и нечленов.
- 3) Провести санитарно-врачебные осмотры членов и нечленов.
- 4) Учредить госпиталь для санитарных осмотров.
- 5) Вести статистику на случай болезни.
- 6) Дать возможность каждому члену в его семье получить от Центра полную медицинскую помощь.

## ДОПОЛНИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ПРАВИЛА ОБ УПОРОЯВЛЕНИИ "ДЕВБЕЛ".

В дополнение к ранее опубликованным правилам о "указании мест для доставки и вывоза мяса, засаженных вибрионами чумки и "дизентерийной" бактериями строго следует за исполнением следующих правил:

- 1) Каждый кусок мяса, сделанный из какой-либо части животного, должен быть упакован в пакеты.
- 2) Работники не должны выносить мясо до момента "девиации".
- 3) Овцы, свиньи, лошади, коровы и другие животные, доставляемые в мясной "девиации".
- 4) Работники мясной мастерской не должны выносить мясо до момента "девиации" в другие мастерские.
- 5) Овцы, свиньи, лошади, коровы и другие животные, доставляемые в мясную мастерскую, должны быть доставлены в мясную мастерскую.

### В ИЮНЕ.

На прошлой неделе Генеральный Национальный Комитет заявил членам и нечленам следующее: на котором восточные округа должны быть включены в контроль мясной.

Сейчас восточные округа должны быть включены в контроль мясной, так как в восточных округах было много случаев заболевания скота и человека, вызванного бактериями чумки и дизентерийной бактерией. Члены Национального Юниона должны быть уведомлены.

Отдел мясной промышленности должен быть включен в контроль мясной, так как в восточных округах было много случаев заболевания скота и человека, вызванного бактериями чумки и дизентерийной бактерией. Члены Национального Юниона должны быть уведомлены.

Для проведения в жизнь этой программы в каждом из восточных округов Генеральный Национальный Комитет назначил специальных агентов, которые будут работать под руководством президента Юниона М. Гарнера.

### ИМЕНИЮ ЧЛЕНОВ ЮНИОНА.

На предстоящем Деловом Бюро для установления членов Юниона будет дано указание на членов Юниона, которые должны быть включены в контроль мясной, так как в восточных округах было много случаев заболевания скота и человека, вызванного бактериями чумки и дизентерийной бактерией.

И. Шварцман, секретарь.

## Cooperative Marketing in the United States

Certain recent statistics of the Agricultural Division of the U. S. Department of Agriculture give us an idea of the extent of farmers' cooperative marketing. The Department has reported of about ten thousand local farmers' business organizations. Of these about a thousand do purchasing only. Out of the nine thousand doing selling, questionnaires by this Department indicate that about four-fifths have the one-man, one-unit feature and return surplus to members by "patronage," or by the amount of business done. Figures of the Department indicate that about fifteen hundred of these locals are in twenty-five federations which engage in grading, processing, advertising and selling of the product. The average membership of these locals is estimated by Department of Agriculture officers to be about forty. About one hundred large regional associations have approximately nine

hundred thousand members. There are mainly associations of farmers handling fruit, wheat, wool, cotton and tobacco. There are about a half million tobacco growers in seven states, among the Burley Growers, has over 100,000 members. Thirteen states have cotton growers associations with a total of about two and a quarter million members. In Minnesota the Cooperative Creameries Association is a selling organization for 478 local creameries. The New York Dairy-men's League Cooperative Association has 70,000 members and does a business of \$70,000,000 annually. The greatest growth of farmers' marketing cooperatives, says the director of information of the American Cotton Growers Exchange (a federation of twelve state cotton associations), has been since 1920.

The main economic benefits of efficient cooperative marketing associations are stated by Dr. Theodore Macklin, professor of agricultural marketing at Wisconsin, after a study of several years for the American Farm Bureau Federation to be as follows: Cooperation gives farmers the net profits of marketing, but this amounts in the cheese industry to only one cent for each dollar's worth of produce sold. It reduces the cost of marketing, so far as this may be done; this saving of marketing costs results to farmers in about four times as much financial gain as taking over the middleman's net profit. It improves old and creates new marketing service for members. These are termed tangible or financial benefits. There are also intangible or non-financial gains. Cooperation reduces standards of production; gives farmers confidence in the marketing system, convincing them that their products are marketed as well as they can be; stimulates the development of leadership; and gives farmers experience in commerce.

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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 B. SHENKER

Something it is not given to the Union to renew agreements without either a general walk-out or a stoppage. During the recent negotiations with the two organizations, that is, jobbers and contractors, the Union's conference committee was prompted by a desire to and succeeded at the time in renewing the agreements without a strike.

## Dress Jobbers Rescind Action

However, following the conclusion of the negotiations with the jobbers and contractors, the Union proceeded with the enforcement of the new terms of the agreement and set Tuesday, February 24, as the day when the provisions of the new agreements were to become effective.

The jobbers, following the settlement, requested to meet the Union for the purpose of going over the schedules adopted at the original conference. They sought to obtain modifications which the Union could not consider. The situation became so aggravated that the jobbers, being bent on refusing to observe the agreement which they signed, forced the Union to declare a general stoppage last Tuesday, March 10.

This question was the subject of a lengthy report by Manager Dubinsky before the membership at the regular meeting on Monday, March 9, in Arlington Hall. Israel Fineberg, general manager of the Joint Board, took advantage of the scheduled meeting and appeared and spoke at some length on the situation in the dress trade, and familiarized the cutters with the contemplated action by the Union.

## Union Will Not Go Back

Dubinsky said that the trouble in the dress trade mainly centered itself about the refusal on the part of the jobbers to assume responsibility for the schedules. A peculiar aspect of the conference with the jobbers, when this point was discussed, was that the original jobbers' conference was not present. Their president also was absent.

It was apparent that the failure of the original conference to be present was probably due to a desire on the part of the original conferees to shift the responsibility for their former action. That the Union would insist upon observance of the agreement as it was recently concluded is practically a foregone conclusion. Just as employers demand that the Union observe its agreements, so the Union will insist that the employers do likewise. What is more, Dubinsky said, a Union cannot afford to go backward.

In speaking of the situation to the cutters, Fineberg said that the jobbers were not used to feeling their responsibility to the industry. They, he stated, were as much employers as if they were conducting inside shops. A contractor is but a jobber's production man and if he does not receive the proper pay for producing the garments from the jobber, he, in turn, cannot pay the workers decent living wages.

## May Result in General Strike

The first step in the direction of compelling the jobbers to observe the terms of the agreement to which they lent their signatures was the ordering of the shop chairmen to stop the workers of their shops from working on the garments they had on hand.

Last Monday the workers received this order by telegrams directed to their shops, stopping working, but remained seated at their machines and cutting tables. The shop chairmen proceeded to Stuyvesant Casino, where they were addressed by the manager of the Joint Board and other officers, who acquainted them with the situation as it faced the Union at the time.

At the time of writing, the jobbers were still holding out for modifications of the agreement. As to whether the affair might turn into a general strike could not be said at that time. Manufacturers were not affected by the upheaval. Only those were concerned, that is, Association, as well as independent contractors, who were working for jobbers. Independent jobbers who acceded to the demands of the Union were to have their shops back at work.

## Stoppage Results in Censure

Another occurrence which took place two weeks ago and which affected the cutters of Maurice Bendler was the subject of an interesting report by Manager Dubinsky. Contrary to the instructions of the office, the cutters of this firm made a stoppage for the purpose of obtaining an increase in wages.

While the wages of these cutters are lower than the prevailing rates in the industry, nevertheless, due to the fact that the agreement in the industry was about to expire, the office was of the opinion that a stoppage in this shop at the present time would be inadvisable. This was particularly so since there was a possibility of the men's receiving an increase in wages during the coming season.

The case was brought before the impartial chairman who decided that in accordance with the agreement the men would forfeit their jobs if they failed to return to work within twenty-four hours. The men, however, were determined to hold out and did not return to work. The organization took cognizance of the fact that the incident might develop into a serious situation, which prompted the office to warn the men and order them to return to work.

Here they evinced the spirit of true Union men and returned to work upon the advice of the office. It was only then that the manager was in a position to adjust the matter to the satisfaction of the men as well as the firm, and thus avoided considerable trouble.

That the men deserved to be censured for their action to shut out work. It was only by their return to work that charges against them were waived. The manager also informed the members that in the future they will have to exercise care before taking steps of this kind. As a party to the agreement, the Union is obliged to live up to its provisions, and particularly to decisions of impartial chairmen.

## Employers Admit Cutters Are Underpaid

The incident of the Bendler's cutters' case brought into the manager's report an article on cutters' wages which appeared in the issue of the "Women's Wear" for Monday, March 9, a publication generally recognized as a semi-official organ of the women's apparel industry in New York.

The article was captioned "Cutters' Wages May Be Subject of Negotiations." The article seems somewhat contradictory, for in one instance it concedes the fact that cutters are deserving of higher wages and in another it speaks of a desire on the part of the employers to make the granting of higher wages a subject for grievance-taker.

The article says that "through a rather aggressive policy, the cloak and suit cutters have been able to establish a widely recognized scale of \$35.00 a week." What prompted the aggressive policy could not be stated more clearly than is contained in the article. The paragraph follows:

"The employers generally concede that the cutting of their garments is

one of the most important operations in the whole production scheme. It is also pretty universally agreed that even though the cutters do get paid rather well, that a good many are not able to obtain a very long period of employment, compared with some of the other workers."

## Attempt to Raise Issue Seen

"It seems from the article," the manager told the members, "that the employers sought to strike a bargain. They seek to have the right to lay cutters off in the middle of the week, thereby abolishing an old privilege which existed for the cutters even prior to the existence of the Union."

The opinion expressed at the meeting, when this was discussed, was that the entire matter was one of camouflage and an attempt to raise an issue which does not exist in the trade. It is insignificant and concerns merely a very small number of employers. Even were these employers serious about it, the Union would never consent to giving up its principle of work for cutters and permit their being laid off at any time during the week.

When the demand will be for an increase in wages for cutters in order to alleviate the restlessness to which the craft subjects the cutters and in order to rectify the wrong that has prevailed for years, that is, their being underpaid in comparison with the workers of the other crafts, the demand will have to be adjusted in a legitimate way, without the raising of issues or the seeking of bargains which are not of importance to the trade.

## Miscellaneous General Strike Ends

With the co-operation on the part of the members of the conference committee representing the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association of an increase of \$2.00 for cutters and increases in wages for other workers employed in the trade, as well as the granting of the Union shop and other demands, the strike in the underwear trade practically came to an end on Wednesday, March 4.

Thus the general strike in the Miscellaneous trades ended. The general strike committee disbanded last Monday night, March 9. There remain yet, at the time of writing, one or two strikes against employers in the children's dress trade and some six or seven strikes against employers in the underwear trade.

In addition to the increase, the concessions won by the underwear workers are (1) a Union shop, (2) the determining of minimum scales for workers in every branch of the trade; (3) revision of scales upon thirty

days' notice; (4) no work to be sent out unless the inside workers are fully supplied with work, and (5) the use of the Union label on embroidery and auxiliary parts of underwear.

## Some Association Firms Bolted

The day after the agreement with the Association was concluded, some twelve or fourteen firms broke away from the Association, intending to give the Union a fight in order to secure better terms. However, a majority of these soon realized that the Union would continue striking unless they would agree to abide by the same conditions as were agreed upon with the Association.

After two days' striking the larger firms settled and resumed their membership in the Association, agreeing to abide by the terms of the collective agreement. This leaves about six firms on strike.

## To Begin Control

The next two or three weeks will be taken up by Brother Philip Hansel and Brother Morris Alovin in a control of the Miscellaneous shops. All firms which settle with the Union embracing every Miscellaneous shop, that is, wrapper and kimono, children's dress, bath robe and underwear, will be visited with a view to determining as to whether proper conditions obtain.

All cutters are required to have their Union books and working cards in their possession and show them upon request. Any non-union cutter found in a shop will be stopped off for the purpose of his joining the organization.

## Important Meeting

The next meeting of the Miscellaneous Branch will take place on Monday, March 16, in Arlington Hall. The members of this division are urged to attend, as many matters pertaining to present situation will be taken up.

## SPECIAL NOTICES

Cutters Urged to Attend

Annual Ball

Preparations for the 15th Annual Ball of Local 10 have been completed. The affair will take place on Saturday evening, April 4, at the Hunt's Point Palace, 163rd street and Southern Boulevard, The Bronx. Music will be furnished by Louis Swartzberg's orchestra. Tickets purchased in advance are fifty cents, and at the door, one dollar.

In accordance with the decision of the membership, each member is taxed with one ticket and will receive it in the mails within the next week or so.

## CUTTERS' UNION, LOCAL 10

### Notice of Meetings

MISCELLANEOUS MEETING. . . . . Monday, March 16th  
at Arlington Hall, 23 St. Mark's Place  
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