

# ILGWU NEWS-HISTORY

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION ISSUE

YEARS OF THE PROTOCOL

CHAPTER 5  
1911-1915

## Roosevelt Talks to Wrapper Strikers On Visits to Halls

NEW YORK, Jan. 22, 1913—Col. Theodore Roosevelt visited the East Side yesterday to study, at first hand, the conditions surrounding the young women now on strike in the kimono and wrapper industry.

The party went to a hall at 49 Henry St. where between 500 and 600 girl strikers had assembled. When those in the hall saw the Colonel in the taxicab, they ran to the street to greet him.

Shaking hands with them as he walked toward the entrance, and with his hat pressed under his elbow, the Colonel hurried into the hall. Inside there was no attempt at formality. Col. Roosevelt marched to the front of the room, but instead of standing on the platform, he leaned against a desk and waved his hand for silence.

"Now, young ladies," he began, "I want to know all about your lives; how you work, and how you manage to be cheerful. Just gather around me and tell your stories."

When this had been translated into Spanish, Italian, Turkish and Greek, the girls, ranging in age from 18 to 14 years, formed a close circle around their distinguished visitor. He sat on a desk, swinging his feet.

"Now, tell me about yourself," the Colonel said, pointing to a tall and attractive-looking Spanish girl.

### Earned 4c a Kimono

Through an interpreter, the girl said she had come to this country when she was 14 years old. She started at once, she asserted, to earn her living as a wrapper maker and she had been employed at that work ever since. Beginning work at 8 o'clock in the morning and finishing at 9 o'clock at night, she earned between \$6 and \$7 a week. She made 36 kimonos a day at 4 cents each, she said. For the machine on which she did her sewing in the factory and which was owned by the company she had to pay \$32,

### Brief Bridgeport Stoppage Secures Shorter Work-Day

BRIDGEPORT, Oct. 21, 1911—In one day, the Ladies' Tailors Union of Bridgeport succeeded in winning a reduction of the workday from 10 to nine hours throughout the trade. A number of employers also agreed to recognize the union.

One of the bosses had decided to resist the union, and declared he would not settle. However, it only required a two-day strike to convince him he was wrong.

—NEW POST

## PASSAIC EMPLOYERS SECURE ARRESTS TO FRIGHTEN NEW UNION

PASSAIC, N. J., Feb. 22, 1911—In the face of intimidations and threats from employers, the newly organized Cloakmakers' Union in Passaic is energetically carrying on its activities.

Following the lead of the Brody & Funt Cloak Co., the employers are resorting to two methods: firing of devoted union members and causing the arrest of union leaders.

Last week, Brody & Funt succeeded in having three union members arrested on charges of beating a scab. None of these workers were in any way connected with the event; the bosses had them arrested solely because they have been active in establishing an ILGWU local in Passaic.

—NEW POST

she told the Colonel, the price being taken out of her weekly wages.

The Colonel could hardly wait till the story closed to express anger at such conditions. The smile of greeting which he had worn on (Continued on Page 3)

## 12 Jailed for Exposing Kalamazoo Firm's Sins

KALAMAZOO, Mich., June, 1912—The jail sentence passed on 12 of the striking members of the Corset Workers' Union by Judge Knappen of the Circuit Court, confirms the opinion of many that it was not so much contempt of court arising out of

the injunction which had annoyed the bench, as the charges of immorality to which the girls were exposed at the Kalamazoo Corset Co. factory.

The unearthing of a vicious system by which capitalist enterprise

escaped the payment of just wages by subjecting the girls in its employ to shame and dishonor was too much of a disgrace for the city and state to admit. It was this (Continued on Page 3)

## Strike Forges Mighty Union In Cleveland

CLEVELAND, 1911—The call to the Cleveland garment workers to strike was issued on June 6 at 10 A.M. Thousands of people flowed out of the shops, though appealed to by their employers to remain.

### ILG Members Asked To Donate \$1.00 for Cleveland Strikers

NEW YORK, Aug. 9, 1911—At the last meeting of the Cloak Joint Board, it was decided to assess all members 5 per cent of their wages for the benefit of the Cleveland strikers.

The Cutters' Union levied a \$1 tax on its members, and a total of \$5,000 is expected to be collected. In Local 17, all male workers will pay 50 cents and female workers 25 cents weekly.

The International has appealed to all locals to obtain contributions of at least \$1 from each member, payable in four installments. A sizable sum undoubtedly will be realized to bolster the fight of the Cleveland strikers.

—NEW POST

### "The Lady or the Dragon"



During the following weeks the manufacturers made no effort to open their factories, thinking that the strike would collapse. This false hope was created in the (Continued on Page 2)

### Local in Kentucky Opens Campaign to Corral Open Shops

LOUISVILLE, Ky., July 19, 1911—It has been common practice here for employers to entice cloakmakers and ladies' tailors from New York through rosy promises, employ them for a few weeks and then fire them, without even so much as contributing half of the train fare home. Many workers actually were unable to raise enough money to return to New York, and had to wander around town for weeks.

Now that an ILGWU local has been organized here, every effort will be made to unionize the shops and put an end to these unscrupulous practices by the bosses.

—NEW POST



## 10-DAY CHILDREN'S DRESS STRIKE WINS PROTOCOL, \$1 RISE

NEW YORK, April, 1913 — The strike of the misses' and children's dressmakers, the last of the New York series of strikes, was remarkable in more than one sense.

First, it was organized in a very short time and rather late in the season. Second, the negotiations with the manufacturers and contractors were not protracted. Third, the settlement was so all-embracing as to leave nothing to be rectified after the strike, and there was practically no suffering and no necessity of relieving suffering when the strike was over. All of the shops that were seized with the spirit of fight and resistance will have benefited by the settlement and the employees have returned to work in less than two weeks.

Many of the new protocol's provisions have been borrowed from the protocols in the dress and waist and wrapper and kimono industries, excepting the raise in wages which is divided in two amounts of 50 cents each, because the strike was called in the middle of the season. Notwithstanding this arrangement, thousands of employees have already actually received their raise of \$1 a week, while the wages and prices of the higher grade employees have likewise been substantially advanced.

The salient feature of this strike was that an insignificant union existing only in Brownsville had with the assistance of the International Union conducted a strike in New York and won within 10

## Carriage Trade Hits Cleveland Picket Line



Mrs. Raymond Robbins (right) with a group of mothers and children who understood that the welfare of their homes was at stake in the battle against the sweatshop. —Life and Labor

days a victory as remarkable, if not more so, as those of the white goods workers and wrapper and kimono makers.

—LADIES' GARMET WORKER

# All Shops Stop in Cleveland Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

hearts of the manufacturers by the sub-contractors who formed cliques for the purpose of creating dissension in the ranks.

After four weeks the employers, seeing the stalwart front being put up by their employees, decided to import strikebreakers in an endeavor to create a panic. Hundreds of men of the meaner sort were brought to Cleveland from New York. The feeling toward them was intensely bitter. Out of fear they slept and ate in the squalid, dirty shops, never daring to thrust their heads out of the window for a breath of air. Being unskilled they produced little or no work and demanded good salaries.

On this account the garment manufacturers opened shops in small towns in Ohio, and imported scabs from New York, to make good their statement to their customers that all would soon be over. But aided by the Socialist and trade union workers in those cities, we succeeded in locating and closing them.

After 15 weeks of this tireless struggle, the season rapidly drawing to a close, the officials saw that the chances of victory were growing smaller. Nevertheless, they continued to believe that the manufacturers, though successful in making some garments outside of Cleveland, would scarcely be able to do the same with their special measurement garments which require special care and workmanship.

September came and there being no immediate prospect of a settlement, we decided to call a mass meeting on the evening of the ninth and submit to a referendum vote the question whether or not to continue the fight. The facts were laid before the people and three days given for their consideration. Headed by bands and banners and carrying flags, the Italians, Hungarians and Bohemians paraded from their meeting places to strike headquarters to protest the calling off of the strike and refused to vote saying: "We voted to come out and now will stay out."

### Vote to Stay Out

Over 3,500 strikers nevertheless cast ballots and decided by a vote of 20 to 1 to continue. When the vote was announced the cheering lasted for 20 minutes. That evening the younger strikers gave a ball at Utopia Hall, that showed convincingly that 10 weeks of striking had not dampened their ardor and enthusiasm.

September being almost over and there then being no possibility of settlement unless we could hold out over winter, the International officers decided to call a special convention in New York City, to learn from our various locals the amount of money available for the continuation of the struggle. The special convention named a committee to proceed to Cleveland with full power to do as they thought best. This committee, guided by the fact that

there was a shortage of funds, came to the conclusion that it was impossible to hold out.

On Oct. 5 those who could find employment returned to work. Those who were unable to find employment received financial aid from the International Union for many weeks thereafter. The organization has done more for its members in Cleveland than any other organization in the history of this or any other trade. The strike to this very day is not officially off, as we are still maintaining a boycott against the manufacturers of Cleveland that will not terminate for many a day.

The expenses of the garment manufacturers can easily be calculated when one realizes that one manufacturing concern, H. Black & Co., paid \$1,000 per week for auto hire and kept 100 guards and paid for them at the rate of \$8 per day. That, combined with the cost of importing strikebreakers, and the irreparable loss of trade will have taught the Cleveland manufacturers a lesson they will ever remember.

It is true our expenses were also great, but the lesson we taught



Downtown Cleveland looked like this 10 minutes after the strike became effective. —Cleveland Press

## 60,000 Berliners Out On General Strike

BERLIN, Germany, Nov. 24, 1911—A general strike of 60,000 cloakmakers, skirtmakers, ladies' tailors and children's cloakmakers was declared yesterday. Their principal demand is for a wage increase of 10 to 15 per cent.

Many women are employed in these trades in Berlin, and all of them joined the strikers' ranks, together with the men workers. The union conducting the strike has organized strong picket lines around all shops, to prevent employers from sending out work.

—NEW POST

them was well worth the price. It showed us how great our power really was. Thousands of men and women of every nationality standing together for 22 weeks, fighting labor's great battle.

—REPORT AND PROCEEDINGS, 11th Convention, ILGWU.

## Walkout Endorsed By Cleveland Press

CLEVELAND, June 8, 1911—The garment workers of Cleveland are conducting the first general strike in which they have ever been engaged.

The wage question is only a part of the strike. The garment workers are asking for a general change in conditions that will enable them to live as they have a right to expect to live. They ask for the abolition of that curse, the rush season. They call upon their employers to put an end to the practice of running factories from 12 to 15 hours a day part of the year and half that time or less for the rest of the year.

Back of the strike lies the question of the right of the garment workers to form a union for the improvement of their conditions. It seems a late day for the denial of this right, but apparently there are still a few employers who have not learned it.

—CLEVELAND PRESS



# Signing of Dress Protocol Settles Strike of 30,000

NEW YORK, 1913—January 15 was the day fixed for calling the strike in the dress and waist industry. On the first day about 20,000 employees, 90 per cent of whom were women workers, left the shops. These included some of the biggest shops in New York, shops which the union had never expected to join a strike.

On the second day an additional 10,000 workers swelled the ranks of the strikers. The fact that the employees of the most important shops had responded to the strike-call produced tremendous enthusiasm among the workers, and the entire trade was tied up.

When the association manufacturers saw that the strike had become general throughout the trade, they signed the collective agreement. This, in principle, was similar to the Protocol adopted in the cloak trade in 1910.

There was an additional feature in the provision to establish a wage scale board, with the object of investigating the earnings of the employees, standardizing the prices for piece and week workers and establishing a scientific basis for insuring a minimum wage.

Another new feature was the proposition to introduce a label for certificating garments, to be controlled jointly by the union and the association through the Joint Board of Sanitary Control.

—REPORT, 12th Convention, ILGWU

## TWELVE KALAMAZOO WORKERS GO TO JAIL

(Continued from Page 1)

scathing revelation which had exasperated the employer.

Miss Josephine Casey, and her comrades on whom this harsh sentence was imposed, had simply been too outspoken with regard to the immoral practices permitted to exist in the Kalamazoo corset factory. It shocked the sensibilities of the fine people who can afford to pose as upholders of justice, law and morality. Had Miss Casey and the strike committee suppressed these ugly facts, there would have been no contempt and no jail sentence.

Judge Knappen himself admitted that he knew and believed that labor unions had just as much right to organize as manufacturers had to combine, and it had been amply proven by the defense that the accused did not break the law.

"Miss Josephine Casey," said Judge W. A. Barnum, one of the attorneys for the strikers, "is fighting for a principle. This woman has made the cause of labor her life-work. If she must be charged with conspiracy for carrying on this life-work for the betterment of the working classes, then I say it is better that all courts be abolished."

It was therefore not so much the picketing for which the 12 brave strikers were sentenced as for the manner in which they brought a scandalous and shameful situation of filth and syphilitic disease before the public, for which managers and superintendents of the Kalamazoo Corset Co. were directly responsible.

—LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

## 125 Newark Ladies' Tailors Return to Work; Bosses Sign

NEWARK, N. J., Oct. 14, 1911—Twelve bosses already have settled with the union, granting all strike demands. About 125 workers, out of the 300 ladies' tailors who went on strike, have returned to their jobs.

It is to be hoped that the remaining employers will soon be convinced that the workers' demands are just, so that the strike may be speedily concluded.

In the meantime, New York workers are advised not to accept jobs in Newark unless they check with the Ladies' Tailors Union.

—NEW POST

# Roosevelt Visits Kimono Workers in Strike Halls

(Continued from Page 1)

entering the hall had by this time completely disappeared, and in its stead was an expression of anger mixed with sympathy. The stories poured in upon the Colonel, girls pressing forward to take the places of those who had finished their recitals. No hesitation was shown, only eagerness to gain the Colonel's attention.

Occasionally the interviewer hastened the proceedings by talking directly to the French girls in their language. Always the story was the same: extreme privations, long working hours and small wages. When the Colonel quit the hall at 6 o'clock, he turned to the leaders and those accompanying him and exclaimed:

"This is crushing the future motherhood of the country. It must be stopped. It is too horrible for words."

From the Henry St. hall, and with the girls crowding about and cheering his departure, the Colonel went to Odd Fellows' Hall at 67 St. Marks Pl., where another gathering awaited him. The girls here had not been informed that a noted man was to visit them, and they were startled at first when the Colonel pushed his way into the gathering.

### No One Sings

At this place most of the girls could speak English and the time needed for translation was saved. Col. Roosevelt's method of gaining the confidence of the girls was the same. He was quite informal and soon had the young women at their ease.

A story that touched the Colonel deeply was told by a 15-year-old Italian girl. At the end of her narrative she said with a catch in her voice:

"If only they would let us sing while we work."

## ILGWU Champions in Toronto



Five pickets who know they are going to win the strike at Eaton's.

# Toronto Lockout Called When Operators Protect Finishers

TORONTO, Canada, March, 1912—A lockout of about 800 cloakmakers has been enforced by the Eaton House. The trouble began when the management compelled the employees to make extra work by machine on a new line of garments. This, besides barring the finishers from work altogether, has increased the labor while decreasing the earning capacity of the operators, who in that department also act as pressers.

At the shop meetings this was considered a grievance that called for immediate redress, pending

which the employees refused to make the garments in question.

A committee was sent to the head of the department, but this gentleman referred their request back to the manager and the manager, seemingly intent on a trial of strength with the employees, took little notice of the matter.

The local leaders, who have been trying their utmost to allay the men's clamors, believe that the management would have increased the price of operating the garment, but the operators, with admirable solidarity, insist that the finishers shall not be deprived of their share of the work. It was this tiny spark that caused the present blaze. The employers will have to learn that such solidarity is the essence of unionism.

Employees of a shop in Montreal, belonging to the same firm, have suspended operations in sympathy with the Toronto workers.

—LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

his home he said that he would continue his investigation on Thursday.

—NEW YORK TIMES

# Human Factor Lost In Legal Wrangle At Triangle Trial

An investigation of the conditions in the Triangle Waist Company's shop was begun by New York officials to determine how it could be that 147 girls and men in a factory on the ninth floor of a supposedly fireproof building could find no escape except by leaping from windows. After months of legal quibbling and official fussing it was discovered that **THOSE PEOPLE WERE LOCKED INTO THEIR WORKSHOP** and the precautions required by law had not been taken against such a disaster.

Isaac Harris and Max Blanck, owners of the Triangle, were finally indicted and tried on the charge of manslaughter. The jury, made up mainly of manufacturers and real estate men, did not see the bodies piled up on the sidewalk, nor hear the cries of the girls as they swirled through the air, nor see that praying girl on the window ledge. The trial was the usual formal, dignified affair and there was much talk about Section No. Blankety-Blank of the Revised Statutes, and "Hear-ye, hear-ye," and "May it please your honor." In fact, the human blood of the holocaust was quite neglected for jargon.

**THE JURY SET HARRIS AND BLANCK FREE.** The district attorney thought that somebody should be punished for that mid-air massacre of innocent people and he caused the Triangle proprietors to be indicted again. Another jury was selected and now Justice Seabury announces that it isn't legal to jeopardize the lives of Harris and Blanck after they had once been tried and acquitted, and the case is thrown out of court.

A legal technicality is more potent than a locked factory door; a bailiff's "Hear-ye" is heard above that dying girl's scream; a lawyer's quibbling citation from the dead laws of 1540 is more to the point than a live mother's grief.

—THE COLUMBUS CITIZEN, March 20, 1912.

## Leaders of the Waistmakers' Union



Executive Board of Local 25, 1912.



# Girls Ran Moral Risk at Mich. Co.

By MISS JOSEPHINE CASEY  
Written in the Kalamazoo County Jail

It is not pleasant to be confined in jail for nearly a week, even if your friends do call on you and bring you flowers and dainty things to eat. But we are determined to win our fight for the principle of a living wage for the girl corset makers of Kalamazoo, and moral conditions in the factory where they work.

I came into this to do the work of a union official. I find now that the work properly belongs to a sociological worker. If the women of Michigan only understood the situation in Kalamazoo, the conditions under which 500 or more girls have been working and what those conditions make for as to their moral status, I am sure they would not blame us for doing as we did, and they would not chide us for disobeying the court's order under the circumstances.

The fight began for higher wages. During the last few weeks the question of wages has been put in the background and we are now fighting to purify the factory, to bring about the dismissal of the foremen and those male employees who have been continuously insulting the girl employees and who have been dragging not a few of them down to ruin. The time has passed when an employer can expect to hold girl employees who are subjected to indignities, no matter how attractive the mingling with men may be to a certain class of girls.

I have held several conferences with Manager Hatfield with reference to the conditions existing in the factory. I told him the condi-

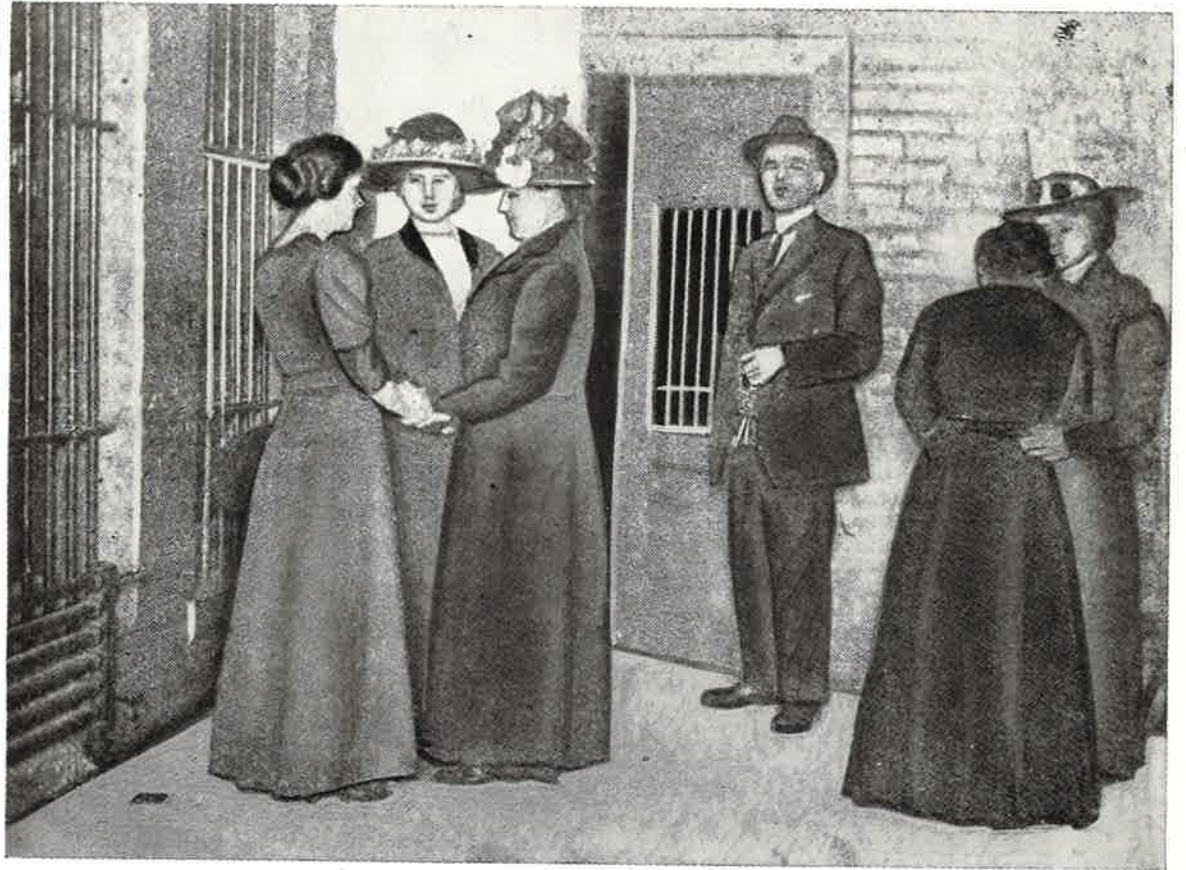
tions were immoral and unsanitary. The state factory inspectors may be ever so conscientious, but there are certain conditions which they may overlook, and these conditions are apparent to the girls who work in the factory. For instance, I told Manager Hatfield that a large number of girls were compelled to use the same towel used by a man with a loathsome disease. After I called his attention to this, the man "resigned."

This is but one instance of the conditions confronting the girls, and if Mr. Hatfield had offered to increase their wages, I do not believe they would have accepted unless there was a guarantee that moral conditions were to be improved. These girls were running terrible risks.

## Ashamed to Tell Conditions

The girls are compelled to pay for their own thread and this is quite an item. It was a common practice for foremen to forget to charge them for the thread for several days and then suggest to them a way which these girls might repay them for their act of "kindness." Many of the girls were working under conditions such as they

## Five Minutes with Dear Friends



The Kalamazoo prisoners receive visitors as the jailor stands guard. In the brief respite the prisoners receive reports of how their co-workers are carrying on in their behalf.

were ashamed and afraid to describe.

You might ask why the parents of these girls permit them to work in the factory. They are compelled to do so because they are confronted by the old question of living expenses. The families of many of these girls have moved to Kalamazoo because there is an opportunity here for the girls to work in the big corset factory. The company is now advertising throughout the state to bring girls here.

Early in 1911 the girls' wages were reduced 20 per cent. The entire shop went out on strike. The company was compelled to give back the old scale of wages and a year's contract was signed. The girls were not organized at that time. Since that strike the girls have organized, and there were comparatively few in the factory who were not members of the union when the strike was called in March of this year.

Before the strike was called I saw Mr. Hatfield and explained to him that the girls were members of an intelligent organization, the Ladies' Garment Workers. I told him what this organization had accomplished in New York and how New York people had cooperated with it. President Roosevelt has referred to it as a progressive movement.

I told him our object in organizing the girls of Kalamazoo was to insure for them a living wage, a wage which would stand between them and want and possibly a life of shame. Mr. Hatfield was so pleased with the conference that he invited me to come again.

## Submit Wage Demand

In the meantime, we had several meetings and on Feb. 28 I called the second time on Mr. Hatfield and presented the agreement we wanted him to sign—a demand for more wages. He declared that he wouldn't pay a penny more and that he wouldn't negotiate. The following day 12 active members of our union were dismissed. We held a meeting that evening and in the afternoon two prominent clergymen called on us and informed us Mr. Hatfield would again receive us. We went to him the next morning and told him the first thing in order was the reinstatement of the

## Whitegoods Strike Victorious; 10% Boost, Recognition Won

March, 1913—Six weeks on strike, in a trade 90 per cent unorganized before the strike, and a settlement granting recognition of the union, a 10 per cent increase in wages, a 50-hour week, sanitary shops, board of arbitration for industrial disputes. This is the victory of the White Goods Workers' Local 62—a nine days' wonder!

It was claimed by the manufacturers that the leaders called this strike against the will of the workers, to get their dollars into the treasury for the benefit of the "walking delegates." All who gave any credence to this absurd claim should have been present when, on Feb. 11, these leaders submitted the terms of a proposed settlement to the strikers for their consideration.

So great was the suffering among many of the most exploited girls that no leader had the heart to turn down this settlement which contained substantial gains, without explaining its features to the army on strike and giving them the decision. It is not easy to advise others to "stick it out" and starve, however much leaders might desire to fight to a finish.

Therefore, the leaders put the proposed settlement up to the workers, advising its careful consideration because of its many good features. The scenes in the various halls when the matter was laid before the strikers were answer enough to those who had made the claim that the workers were mere helpless tools of unscrupulous union officials. Mothers of half-starved children fairly drowned the voices of officers and organizers as they strove to speak. Girls of 16 and 17 developed remarkable powers of oratory as they sprang to the platform to urge their sisters to stand out for full union recognition.

The vote which followed declared against the proposed settlement by more than a two-thirds majority. This splendid courage was rewarded, a few days later, by further concessions in the matter of shop chairmen, price committees and full recognition of the union, and the happy strikers celebrated the victory at a glorious "celebration" at Kessler's Theatre, Feb. 19, and returned to work "in a body" next morning.

—LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

## Strike of 1,000 in Boston Wins 8-Hour Day, Overtime Pay

BOSTON, Apr. 4, 1913—The strike of the ladies' tailors in Boston has ended with an outstanding victory for the workers.

Terms of the settlement include an immediate wage increase, an eight-hour day, double time for overtime and the setting up of a committee to draw up a minimum wage scale.

Over 1,000 workers participated in the strike.

—NEW POST

## In Jail for Freedom's Cause



Josephine Casey, seated, and Belle Yount in their Kalamazoo cell.

12 girls dismissed. He said if we would send the girls to him separately he would deal with them as individuals, but we contended that inasmuch as he had dismissed them in a body he should take them back in a body.

The strike was called that afternoon and about 400 girls came out. About 50 men also joined us, they having made a demand for an increase in wages.

We do not expect to return to work until the conditions I have outlined have been remedied.

—THE DETROIT TIMES,  
May 4, 1912



# THE SHOP... 1911

"The real menace to the health of the workers, and the real danger in their lives, lies not in the nature of the industry itself, but in the defective sanitary conditions of the shops; not in the peculiar character of the work, but in the inadequate provisions for fire protection, in the insufficient light and illumination, in the overcrowded and unventilated shops, in the lack of cleanliness and in the absence of needed comforts and conveniences."



"During the 1911 inspection 469 shops were found in which foot power was still used by the operators."



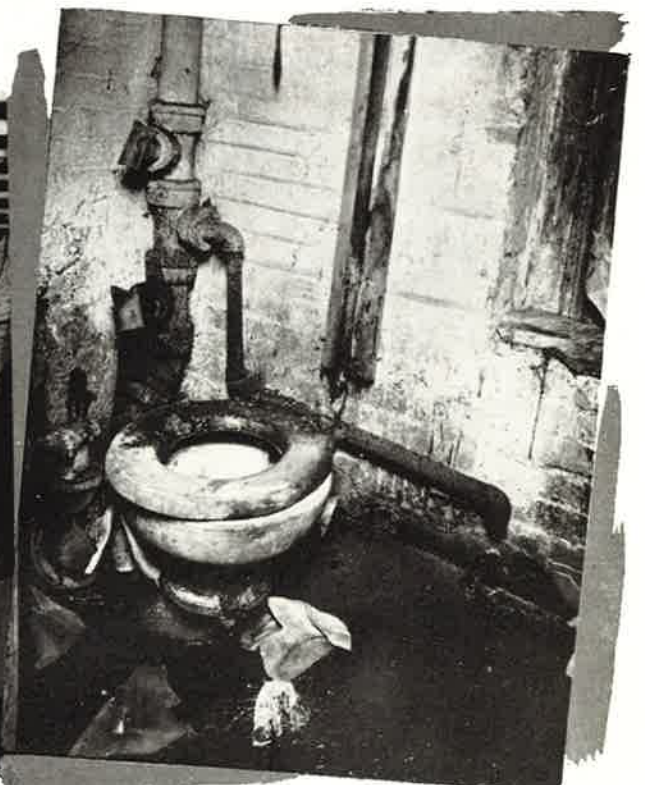
"In 1,738 shops there were found 1,886 fire escapes, showing that in very few buildings was there more than one. In 63 there were no fire escapes at all!"



"Much of the ill health of the cloakmakers is undoubtedly due to defective ventilation, to the foul air, and the stooping posture of the workers."



"The employer regards the real season as a temporary period during which he may with impunity overcrowd his shop to the limits and reduce the conveniences to the minimum."  
Picture and text from *First Annual Report of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, October, 1911.*



"The legal limit of one watercloset for every 25 persons working is exceeded in very many shops, in some it is one to 85."



# Mediation vs. Arbitration

Present differences between officers of the ILGWU and some officers of the New York Joint Board center around conflicting beliefs about the effectiveness of mediation and arbitration. On this page the editors of "The Ladies' Garment Worker," speaking for the International, cross swords with Dr. Hourwich and Zivion. The survival of the Protocol depends on which side the cloak-makers judge to be correct.

Both Prof. Hourwich and Zivion have devoted four columns in the "New Post" of June 20 to the editorial in the June issue of our journal, on "Mediation versus Arbitration." Both admit that mediation is a better method of adjusting disputes than arbitration. But they argue that since we can get no agreement in the Board of Grievances on most questions, a deadlock results, and there remains one of the two alternatives, either a general strike or arbitration. Since they prefer arbitration to a general strike, hence this demand for an impartial chairman.

In other words, there can be only one deduction from their arguments and that is that if they could come to understanding through mediation they would prefer it; but being unable to do so at the Board of Grievances they want to substitute arbitration.

The question we ought to ask ourselves is: How is it that most unions in other industries can win by mediation and, therefore, prefer it to arbitration; and why is it an admitted failure in the cloak industry? Why has not the Board of Grievances become a dead letter in the other associations the International is dealing with? Why were there no deadlocks at the Board of Grievances in the cloak industry the first year or two of its existence? Why has it only lately become so?

## Mediators at Fault

Our answer is: The present mediators in the cloak and suit industry have not the ability to mediate. Through mediation in the past the union has gained control of the membership in the houses of the association. The preferential shop has become a complete union shop in every sense of the term. Those who have been on the Board of Grievances in the cloak and suit trade from its inception know that through mediation we have gained many things which no arbitrator would give us. The abolition of section work has been conceded to us through mediation. The calendar will show that in the largest number of disputes the decision was in favor of the union. This is a matter which cannot be disputed; there is documentary evidence to prove it.

It is only since last year, when the union made a mistake in appointing as a clerk a tactless outsider who from the very first day created at the Board of Grievances an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and ill-will, and made mediation impossible, that the cry for an impartial chairman has been raised. After the departure of that gentleman, the Board of Grievances again began to work satisfactorily. As soon, however, as we got in a new imported gentleman, again an atmosphere of distrust, suspicion and ill will has been created, with the result that we have

again a deadlock and a breakdown of the machinery for mediation.

We repeat again that the question of mediation and the question of adjusting disputes depends, in a large measure, on the personnel of the board. The present mediators are an impossibility. Mediation is after all a fine art; it is not a science. It appears that the present intellectuals and scientists who are at the head of the Cloakmakers' Union are not the proper people for that kind of work.

All that is needed to establish friendly relations between the association and the union and make the Protocol again a working instrument, through which the union in the past has gained advantage and which no Board of Arbitration would grant us, is to change the personnel of the mediators. The danger lies in the fact that the Cloakmakers' Union, unlike other organizations in this country or abroad, has adopted a dangerous precedent of having the guidance of the organization put into the hands of doctors, professors, scientists and intellectuals who have never in their lives seen the inside of a workshop.

The Cloakmakers' Union will have to resort to the practice adopted by all labor organizations in this country and abroad and have at its head people whose university has been the workshop. There is nothing else for it. The "Herrn Gelehrte" intellectuals and academicians inside the labor organizations have everywhere proved themselves to be a dead failure.

—LADIES' GARMENT WORKER, July, 1913

By Isaac A. Hourwich

"Which is better," asks the editor of the "Ladies' Garment Worker," "mediation or arbitration?" That is, should the workers depend on intermediaries to haggle with the bosses for a few concessions, or should disputes between capital and labor be given over to a court of disinterested individuals?

His view is that mediators are always better than courts of decision. Why? Because he feels if the matter is handed over to a third party, like a court of arbitration "then strangers are in a position to dominate and dictate in every question that is brought before them."

Well, what happens if the parties engage in mediation between themselves and no agreement is reached? This question the editor is unable to answer.

However, does anyone believe that it's really so easy to end the Protocol? At any rate, the Protocol is still in effect; so, since we can't strike and since there is a reluctance to trust to arbitration in fear of "arbitrary domination" by outsiders, what is left?

"Mediation," is the usual reply. That is, representatives of the union should meet with spokesmen for the association to see which group can convince the other. And if the union cannot convince the bosses, who wins? Obviously, the defendant, not the plaintiff! And since union complaints outnumber those of the bosses by about 100 to one, it is evident that the unionists' case depends entirely upon the bosses' wishes: if they wish to give in, that's fine; but if not, then everything is lost.

Supporters of mediation have pointed to the dangers of "dictation" inherent in arbitration, but it appears, instead, that through mediation the manager of the bosses' association really becomes the ruler and dictator of the union!

This is the situation now confronting the Cloakmakers'

## Between Picketing Stints



Rose Pastor Stokes, right, discusses labor problems with a group of striking white goods workers at their union hall.

Union as a result of reliance upon mediation. That's why demands now are being voiced that arbitration provisions of the contract be used, instead of merely being listed in the contract, and that workers should be provided with arbitration facilities whenever they have grievances.

Those who do not believe in arbitration and who only wish mediation have no right to bind the workers with a Protocol which takes away from them their right to strike when they are unable to obtain justice from mediation.

—NEW POST, June 20, 1913

By Zivion (B. Hoffman)

We really are no fervent advocates of arbitration; actually, we would prefer mediation, but we want the kind of mediation from which the union could also benefit, not only the bosses.

To be effective, therefore, mediation must be backed up by stronger recourses, should they become necessary. Normally, the threat of a strike in the event mediation fails is a powerful spur to the mediators to reach a satisfactory agreement. However, under the Protocol we are unable to resort to strikes.

Under these conditions, the only alternative we can turn to if mediation does not work is arbitration. While we certainly are not guaranteed complete satisfaction of our demands under arbitration, we stand a better chance of obtaining more gains than under mediation only, where employers can afford to be adamant in the knowledge that the workers can do nothing if their demands are refused.

Like the threat of a strike, the likelihood of arbitration can act as a pressure upon the parties in a mediation to seriously work for agreement, instead of engaging in a marathon of words.

—NEW POST, June 20, 1913

## Kimono and Wrapper Strikers



Outside Astoria Hall in New York after a strike meeting during the winter of 1912-13.

# Enforcement of Protocol Hinges on Balance of Power Between Parties

Regardless of how good provisions of the Protocol may be, the compact is not self-enforceable. The Protocol itself is but a piece of paper, containing certain points of agreement between the union and the manufacturers' association. The paper does not possess any power which the parties to it do not possess themselves. The paper becomes valuable only when the forces behind it are powerful enough to compel compliance with its provisions.

The Protocol is not a document of justice, because justice does not mean the same thing to all men, and absolute justice simply does not exist, in any case. The workers' idea of justice is quite different from that of the manufacturers.

The Protocol really is a power-document, reflecting the power-relationships of the union and the manufacturers at the time it was signed. Had the union been stronger than it was, the pact's provi-

sions would have been more favorable to it, and had the manufacturers felt in a stronger position to resist, the provisions would have been worse for us than they are.

The Protocol can be considered an instrument to measure the strength of the union and the manufacturers. The relative power of the two forces can best be measured in examining the manner in which the Protocol is administered. If it is being strictly enforced, that is a sign that the power equilibrium has not been disturbed. On the other hand, if it is not being obeyed, then that is an indication that one side or the other has been weakened.

The first condition for effective implementation of the Protocol is a balance of power among the parties. However, the way things are, the manufacturers usually are in a better position than the union; the fact that most cases are brought

in by the union makes the situation unequal. The position of the accuser is always weaker, because the burden of proof rests with him, that an attack against his rights has been made. Meantime, the attacker enjoys the benefits of his action.

The situation could not be remedied through appealing to the employers for justice; the only remedy was to restore, more or less, the equality of power between the parties, and the only way to do so was to strengthen the union.

And the best way to strengthen the union is to educate the members, inform them of all that takes place, make them feel the organization is theirs, involve them in union activity.

And as the union grows stronger, we can be certain that the Protocol not only will be enforced, but will be continually improved.

—Excerpts from editorial in the NEW POST, Feb. 13, 1914



## Lubin Reveals Cleveland Assn. Provoked Violence

CLEVELAND, August, 1913—Our readers will remember that during the entire progress of the cloakmakers' strike in Cleveland in 1911 and ever since, we have been reiterating the statement that all of the violence then committed had been directly instigated by the Cloak Manufacturers' Assn. of that city. Early last month authoritative confirmation of that statement came from Cleveland, where a despicable anti-union spy, Morris Lubin, was convicted of assault and sentenced to six months' hard labor and \$200 fine.

Philip Frankel, who as secretary of the Cleveland Manufacturers' Assn. is largely responsible for the instigation of the violence in that strike, has the hardihood to deny that Lubin was in the pay of his association, despite the fact that the court proceedings and Lubin's confession of guilt amply prove it.

### Lubin Confesses

"I managed, planned and directed all the violence during the general strike of cloakmakers in Cleveland, 1911," Lubin stated. "I was chairman of the picket committee. I drew \$7 per week strike benefit from the union and at the same time was getting \$10 per day and my expenses from Philip Frankel, secretary of the Cloak Manufacturers' Assn."

In pronouncing sentence Judge Vickery said: "Morris Lubin, you have been found guilty by the jury of committing the assault upon Morris Gelbman after a fair and impartial trial, and I am satisfied that the evidence showed conclusively that you were in the employ of the Cloak Manufacturers' Assn. from the commencement of the strike and received pay from them while at the same time you were drawing weekly strike benefit from the union, and that you were there for the purpose of inciting, instigating and provoking violence so that you might in a measure discredit and reflect upon the union, thereby defeating the aims and objects of the strike, involving the 6,000 men and women.

"I know of but two characters in history that you can be compared

## Strikers Barred From Picket Line, Meet for Prayer

KALAMAZOO, Mich., March, 1912—Members of the Garment Workers' Union in this city attempted to picket the corset factory yesterday morning and evening in the absence of the strikers, who have been enjoined by a writ of injunction. The police quickly dispersed the groups and no demonstrations were made, verbal or otherwise. So large was the number of pickets at closing time, however, that the police were compelled to call reserves in order to drive the garment workers away.

While the garment workers were on duty at the factory, the strikers were assembled in the Trades and Labor Council Hall in prayer, termed as "silent picketing." They will be at the hall every afternoon from 5 until 5:30 o'clock until the strike is settled or the injunction dissolved, to pray. The union organizer who is in charge led the strikers in the opening of the prayer, begging for sincerity in their fight for an increased wage scale.

—KALAMAZOO GAZETTE

## Remove Baltimore Injunction; Union Staging Comeback

BALTIMORE, March, 1912—The injunction which hung over the heads of the officers and members of the Cloakmakers' Union, Local 4, for two years has at last been removed.

As shown by counsel, this injunction was illegally issued contrary to a state law that corporate bodies are not responsible for acts of individuals. One of its redeeming features is the heroic and persistent stand made by the union despite the sinister efforts of the employers to destroy it root and branch. The union will now speedily renew its strength.

—LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

## Jt. Board Accepts Resignation Of Hourwich, Asks 2 to Quit

NEW YORK, Jan. 23, 1914—In a secret ballot, the Joint Board delegates voted 28 to 14 to accept the resignation of Isaac Hourwich. Immediately thereafter, they unanimously adopted a resolution demanding the resignations of ILGWU Pres. Abraham Rosenberg and Secretary John Dyche, charging that their actions brought about the crisis in the union.

The action was taken at a special meeting of the Joint Board held last night at 79 East 116th St. It was scheduled for 7 P.M., but as William O. Thompson and

Abraham Bisno, who had been working on a solution to the problem, were not ready with their report, the meeting did not begin until 11 P.M., and lasted until 11 A.M. the next morning.

Brother Thompson of Chicago, who thoroughly investigated the entire situation, declared it was a certainty that the manufacturers' association would end the Protocol next Monday, 12 noon, unless Dr. Hourwich would resign from his post as chief clerk and counsel for the union.

Thompson stated that, while the union has the unquestioned right to elect as chief clerk whomever it wishes, the manufacturers also have the undisputed right to end the Protocol when they do not want to deal with one or another of the union's officials. No one can prevent them from breaking up the Protocol whenever they wish to, he said.

At the same time, Thompson emphasized that the union could not accept the ultimatum of the bosses, presented at last Sunday's conference, which insisted that the status quo be maintained aside from Hourwich's resignation.

### Want Impartial Arbiter

However, he suggested the following solution: the union would accept Hourwich's resignation and the employers should grant the principle union demand, the appointment of a permanent impartial chairman of the Board of Grievances, who could render decisions when the parties were unable to come to agreement.

In the discussion that developed, Joint Board delegates seemed determined that, unless the manufacturers' association agreed to a permanent chairman, the resignation of Dr. Hourwich should not be accepted, and all preparations should be made for an open battle.

Just then, Thompson announced that he, Bisno, and Louis D. Brandeis would guarantee that, if the union would accept Hourwich's resignation, an impartial chairman would be appointed within a few days.

Bisno appealed to the delegates to accept the chief clerk's resignation, despite the fact that he agreed with Hourwich's policies. The obtaining of an impartial chairman was more important than any individual, even Dr. Hourwich, for whom he had the greatest respect and trust.

In the course of the night's proceedings, many of the delegates and spectators were visibly moved by the turn of events they felt were forced upon them. Mature men and women wept openly; the delegates of Local 1, with tears in their eyes, declared that though they had fought resolutely to keep Dr. Hourwich in the union, they would submit to the decision of the majority, and would cooperate wholeheartedly to ensure that the union would emerge united and unharmed from the conflict of the past several months.

Numerous workers who have been active in the union movement for decades stated they never before had participated in a meeting so serious and deeply moving as the one last night.

—NEW POST

## Assn. Hides Real Reasons For Abrogating Protocol

NEW YORK, June, 1915—It suits the Cloak Manufacturers' Assn. to proclaim to the world that the Protocol has been abrogated by the acts of the union—a plausible defense of a step taken by themselves that will surprise everyone who looked to collective agreements for the solution of tough problems between employers and employees.

Trivial reasons do not explain the real motives of the employers' abrogation of the Protocol. These must be sought in the events of the last seven months, in the pending questions of discharge, reorganization and equal distribution of the work. Obviously the manufacturers anticipated or feared a ruling favorable to the union since in substance these demands were

a measure of justice patent to all fair-minded people, and hastily sought to prevent it by abrogating the Protocol.

Of course they had a right to reject such a ruling by the Board of Arbitration and abrogate the Protocol that way, but this form of abrogation would have presented them to the public in an unfavorable light, and so they seized upon frivolous excuses to save their face

before the bar of an enlightened public opinion, and at the same time to dispense with the necessity of pledging themselves to better and more just conditions of labor.

We have been willing to help the industry on condition that the industry make a determined effort to help us—the mass of toilers and their wives and little ones. Recently, however, the employers were prone to disregard the principle that the employees are an essential and indispensable part of the industry and have now set the final seal on that attitude.

It remains for us to show that we have not abandoned and will not abandon the claim to be regarded as an indispensable part of the industry and to be treated fairly and squarely in all our dealings with the employers. Our means to attain that end is through the very old, yet ever new motto: Union is strength!

—LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

## Praying for Their Jailed Sisters



Workers employed by the Kalamazoo Corset Co. held open prayer meetings while the twelve Kalamazoo girls were in jail.



# NEWS-HISTORY Editorials

## Cleveland-N. Y.-Kalamazoo

Perhaps the most important event in ILGWU life since 1911 was the great though brief strike of the 30,000 waist and dress-makers in January, 1913, when all the key plants were paralyzed in two days, forcing the employers' association to grant, for the first time, a real collective agreement similar to the protocol pact accepted in the cloak industry in 1910. This victory has contributed a great deal to our material and spiritual buildup.

\* \* \*

Since 1911, we fought a savage battle for unionism in the Cleveland cloak industry, and lost it after four long months of agonizing strife. What examples of heroism, of courage on the part of our men and women on the picket lines! What a fight these often hungry and exhausted people put up against an army of imported scabs and thugs, against police persecution and a solid wall of anti-union employers!

Did we lose the Cleveland strike? Has that struggle in which so many suffered and sacrificed been in vain? Time will tell—for our part, we've always clung to the faith that no effort is ever lost in the march of labor toward a better life. . . .

We had a dramatic strike in the Kalamazoo, Mich., Corset Co. factory where an injunction was procured against the women strikers and 12 of them were put in jail. That was, in the full sense of the word, a strike for elementary decency and against the meanest exploitation of womanhood on record. We made no headway with that strike and the girls were beaten back into the shop to work under the old conditions of abject misery.

But we had, on the other hand, very substantial successes in other fields. For the first time, thousands of whitegoods workers marched out in New York City from the non-union shops and won a settlement of which we can be proud. The wrapper and kimono workers in New York and Brooklyn joined in the strike movement, and scored a victory, winning a union with fine working conditions.

## Salute Heroism of Women Battling in Philly Union Ranks

Hats off to the garment workers of Philadelphia! In the whole history of industrial warfare in Philadelphia there is no record of a struggle in which more heroism, higher courage or a finer enthusiasm has been shown than that displayed by the thousands of strikers who are now in the 19th week of their fight.

During all those bitter weeks hunger and want have drawn them closer, scores of strikers have fallen victims to the ignorant and brutal police, two have paid the penalty of their devotion with their lives, but never for a moment has there been any faltering, never have the ranks weakened, never has the word "surrender" been uttered.

And hats off especially to the women strikers. Shoulder to shoulder they have stood in the battle line with the men; they have endured hardship, persecution and suffering without a murmur; they have been insulted, assaulted and jailed by the police thugs, and always in the end it has been their inspiration which has spurred lover, husband, brother and so on to keep up the fight.

The strikers have appealed to Mayor Blankenburg, Director Porter and other city officials to use their influence to bring about arbitration. Their appeal was ignored, naturally.

There is one recourse left. The strikers have appealed to the final, the highest and most powerful court in the world; they have taken their cause before the bar of public opinion. Before an aroused public opinion the stubborn greed-crazed manufacturers must give way. You are part of that public opinion. Here is your chance to use your voice and your influence on the side of Justice.

—PHILADELPHIA NEWS POST, November, 1913.

## 'Times' Hails Good Judgment Shown By Waist Strikers

NEW YORK, Jan. 18, 1913—The biggest and best employers of the striking women waistmakers recognize that the sweatshop and collateral abuses should be done away with, and that the economic status of the workers should be raised.

Individual shops cannot accomplish this by bargaining with their workers, since they would then come into ruinous competition with the shops where worse but cheaper conditions prevail. The only recourse is a strong organization of the workers throughout the industry that can compel better terms on a non-competitive basis.

The entire strike movement has been conducted with remarkable judgment, with a minimum of violence and inflammatory speech-making, and with the manifestation in most instances of a desire to conduct negotiations peaceably toward a proper settlement. It is right that unions both of workers and of employers should be formed in the various garment industries, that they should appoint committees of investigation, and, when the facts are ascertained, proceed upon a definite program to supplant intolerable conditions. If such a program increases the cost of products in these industries to the consuming public, there need be no serious objection. It is merely a rule of live and let live.

—Editorial, NEW YORK TIMES

## "Lovey Dovey"



—Lola in "The Big Stick"

## The Standard Rate

By JOHN A. DYCHE

(General Secretary and Treasurer, ILGWU, 1904-14)

By N. I. STONE

(Chief statistician of the Wage Scale Board, N. Y. Dress Industry)

In the ladies' garment industry where the styles keep changing and where operators are paid by the piece, the question of fixing prices is always a difficult and complicated one. But in all cases, even in non-union shops where only the employer fixes prices, there are two elements taken into consideration when piece rates are fixed. The first is the rate of earnings per hour or per day of the employee, the second is how many garments or how many parts of a garment can an employee make or operate in a specific time, or how long does it take to make a particular part or a whole garment.

Previous to the strike each shop had its own standard; in some shops the average earnings of the girls, or the standard, were as low as 15 cents per hour, some 18, 20, 25, 28 and 30 cents, reaching as high as 40 cents per hour for a girl of average skill.

In this Protocol a standard of 30 cents is set for all shops where the rate has previously been less than that rate. In shops where the standard has been above that previous to the strike, there can be no reduction.

And now that we know what the rate per hour is, it remains for each shop to find out the value of the labor of each particular garment or part of a garment. This could be done by ascertaining how long it takes to make the garment or part of the garment in question. If we know that a particular garment takes three hours to operate then the price is 90 cents, and the employer can pay no less and the employee can demand no more.

—"PROTOCOL OF PEACE IN THE DRESS AND WAIST INDUSTRY."

The sanitary conditions in one shop do not affect the manufacturer or owner of another shop in the slightest way. Your neighbor in one building may have a very unsanitary shop and your shop in the adjoining building need not be affected at all. But wages certainly change every day and conditions change almost every day, so wages are subject to frequent change and frequent fluctuations.

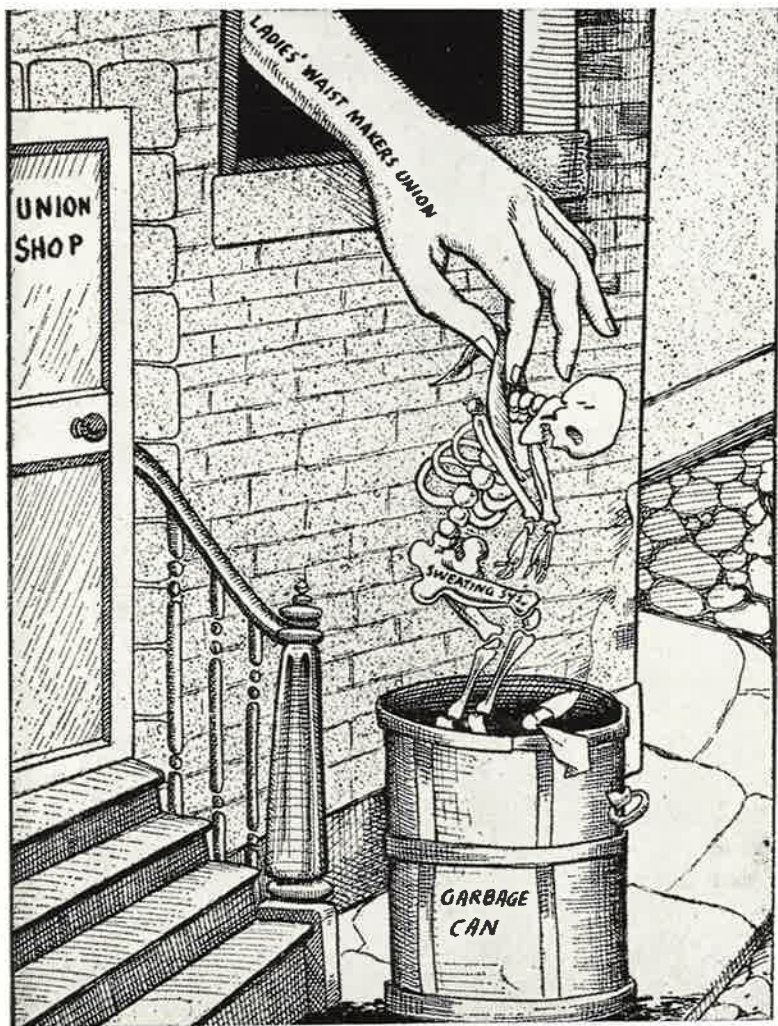
What is more important, from the viewpoint of the manufacturer, is that "I am my brother's keeper" especially applies to wages. I should say, if I may put it in a paradoxical form, that it is more important to the manufacturer to know what wages his neighbor pays than what he pays himself. A manufacturer can afford to pay \$25 a week to his cleaners if his competitors are paying \$25, but he cannot afford to pay them \$10 if others are paying \$5. So what his competitor pays is of greater importance to him than what he pays.

Therefore, if you find it necessary to control sanitary conditions in the industry—which is probably more a matter of pride with the manufacturers though a matter of necessity with the union—when it comes to wages, they are of very vital interest to the manufacturer and to the union.

Starting thus I take another step and say it is of vital importance to the manufacturer as well as to the union to control all the rates, and not only the apprentices' rates. The Wage Scale Board should become a Board of Wage Control as much as the Joint Sanitary Board has been made a Board of Sanitary Control.

—THE MESSAGE, Aug. 7, 1914

## "Dumped"



—"The Big Stick"