CHAPTER III

THE HUMAN ELEMENT

It is a common practice, because it is an easy one, to attribute social phenomena to racial or national causes. Loose generalities of this sort were never more prevalent than now. Observers, seeking to account for the radicalism of the immigrant workers, and particularly of the unions in the clothing industry, point out that the largest single element of these workers is composed of Russian or other eastern Jews and that the next largest racial element has come from Italy.[1] In consequence it is assumed that these people have transplanted to this country a revolutionary socialism which may have been the natural result of the oppression to which they were subjected in Europe, but is out of place in the democratic culture of America. Other observers used to rely on similar generalities to account for other social conditions in this country. Were the slums overcrowded and dirty, and did the workers suffer

[1] No complete figures have ever been compiled. In 1910 the United States Immigration Commission investigated 19,502 wage-earners employed in typical shops in both the men's and women's clothing industry, throughout the country, and discovered the following proportions: Russian Jews, 18.6%, Jews other than Russian, 7.1%, South Italians, 14.4%, Germans, 3.4%, Irish, 0.4%, Swedes, 0.3%. In 1913 the Joint Board of Sanitary Control found that of the 28,484 women in the New York City dress and waist industry, 56% were Jewish, 34% were Italian, and less than 7% were native.

from long hours, poor pay, and insanitary conditions in the sweatshops? That was because they were ignorant foreigners, unaccustomed to the American standard of living. Leaders of the American labor movement not so long ago used to accuse the Jewish immigrants of being incapable of organization, and of undermining the standard of living because their over-eagerness for money led them to work for unlimited hours. And in the middle and latter part of the last century, the squalor of the slums used to be explained by accusing the Irish or the German immigrants of uncleanly or improvident habits. The mutual inconsistency of these arguments is enough to show the need for a closer examination of the matter.

When the ready-made clothing industry first grew up, it came naturally into the hands of the custom tailors of the period, who were for the most part native American, English, or Irish. The American, English, and Irish tailors were the owners and managers of the establishments, the manufacturers, cutters, and foremen. From the German immigrants who arrived in numbers during the middle years of the century were recruited the most of the workers. The Jews who were here at that time, most of them of Spanish or German origin, were dominant in the second-hand clothing trade, for which the first ready-made clothing was manufactured. On account of their knowledge of the market, they also took part in the management and ownership of the industry. The period of its first rapid growth was the period

of large immigration of Germans and German Jews, many of them tailors in the land of their origin. A few Russian Jews arrived after the Civil War, but they were not numerous until after 1880. Since the bulk of the immigrant tailors between 1860 and 1880 were German Jews, most of the employers were by 1880 of German origin. They did not displace the English and Irish, but filled the gaps caused by the growth of the business.

From 1880 on, a rapidly increasing number of Jews came from a region in eastern Europe having its center of Jewish population in the old Kingdom of Poland. Most of them were from west Russia, but others were from Rumania and Austria-Hungary, originating mainly in the provinces of Galicia and Moldavia.[2] Between 1881 and 1910, there were 1,562,800 Jewish immigrants; of these, 1,119,059 or 71.6 per cent came from Russia, 281,150 or 17.9 per cent came from Austria-Hungary, and 67,057, or 4.3 per cent came from Rumania. During these same years but 20,454 Jews came from Germany. About the same proportions continued until 1914, when the war interrupted mass immigration. In the decade from 1881 to 1890, the Jews formed 3.7 per cent of the total number of immigrants, from 1891 to 1900 they formed 10.7 per cent, and from 1901 to 1910, 11.1 per cent.

Of these Jews a large number were tailors. No figures are available before 1899, but between that

[2] Statistics about Jewish immigration in this chapter, except as otherwise stated, are from Jewish Immigration to the United States, by Samuel Joseph, N. Y. Columbia University.

year and 1910, of the 394,000 Jewish immigrants who had learned trades before arriving, 145,272 or 36.6 per cent were tailors, 39,482 or 10.0 per cent were dressmakers and seamstresses, 4,070 were hat and cap makers, 3,144 were furriers and fur workers, and 2,291 were milliners. Thus nearly 50 per cent were ready to step into the needle trades, and most of them did so. Aside from these artisans, the clothing industry recruited from the large proportion of women who had not been gainfully employed before arriving (those without occupation, including women and children, numbered in these years 484,175, or 45.1 per cent of all the Jewish immigrants) and from the professional men and traders who on account of their ignorance of the English language could not pursue their chosen callings.

The period of great expansion of the ready-made clothing business therefore coincided with the period of mass immigration of Jews from eastern Europe. It was not long before the majority of the wage-earners were Russian Jews, although the Irish, the native-born, and the German Jews for some years provided most of the employers. It is probable that the proportions between the two main groups of Jews are now about the same among employers as among employees.

The region from which this great migration poured is in a primitive state of industrial development. In Russia, before the war, over three-quarters of the population were engaged in agricultural labor, and 85 per cent of the exports were agricultural products.

In such factories as existed, much of the labor was drawn from surrounding peasant communities. Similar conditions persisted in Rumania. Industrial establishments as we know them did not begin to arise until 1887, when the government adopted a policy of fostering them with subsidies. In parts of Austria-Hungary industry was further developed, but not in Galicia, from which most of the Austrian Jews came.

Throughout this great territory the bulk of the non-Jewish population consisted either of peasants cultivating the land, or of the nobility, military, clergy, and bureaucracy—the ruling classes. The Jews, however, were excluded from both these levels. They had never been serfs, and they had been prohibited to acquire land. On the other hand, being regarded as aliens by the law, they could not rise to the higher positions in the state, and of course were unable to penetrate the aristocracy. The result was that they took the place of the middle class. They became money-lenders, traders, shop-keepers, artisans in the home industries, supplying local needs. They handled the sales of most of farm products, dealing in grain, cattle, timber, furs, and hides. Some few were professional men, rich bankers, or stewards of great estates for noblemen. They were in Russia the class which Americans are accustomed to think of as the foundation of a liberal and democratic, but not a revolutionary culture. In business they were independent, self-reliant, ambitious, and inured to competition.

A few figures will give a picture of their situation. Although they comprised but 4 per cent of the Russian population, they formed 16 per cent of those living in the towns.[3] Over half of them lived in incorporated cities, although three-quarters of the Russian people were rural. Of those Jews gainfully employed, 39 per cent were engaged in manufacturing—as artisans rather than as employees in factories—32 per cent in commerce, and only 3 per cent in agriculture. In Austria-Hungary, the figures were 44 per cent in commerce and trade, 29 per cent in industry, and 11 per cent in agriculture and allied occupations. In Rumania there was a larger proportion in industry than in the other countries, but it is worth noting that although a quarter of the master workmen and employers in Rumania were Jews, only one-sixth of the laborers were Jews. In many cases Jews were actually excluded from employment in factories.

The main industry of the Jews in all these countries was the manufacture of clothing; in Russia the production of wearing apparel supported one-seventh of the Jewish population, and in Rumania over one-third of the garment-makers were Jews. But in this industry the ready-made factory product was unknown. The tailors were independent artisans.

Of the Jews admitted to this country between 1899 and 1909, 29.1 per cent were artisans, 21 per cent were traders, merchants and of miscellaneous call-

[3] After 1887 Jews were not permitted to settle in rural districts.

ings, 20 per cent had no occupation, 8.5 per cent were engaged in the professions, 6.9 per cent were servants, and but 2.9 per cent were common laborers. Of the artisans, besides the 50 per cent in the needle trades, the only other considerable groups were 40,901 carpenters, joiners etc., or 10.0 per cent, and 23,519 shoemakers, or 5.9 per cent. Probably not one per cent of the immigrant Russian Jews were ever wage-earners in factories before coming to the United States.

Their literacy was far above the average. According to the Russian Census of 1897, there were one-and-one-half times as many literate Jews above ten years of age as there were literate persons in the general population. This is again the sign of an urban, middle-class, and ambitious population. With Jews it is a religious duty to educate the boys, and a large proportion of girls also learned to read. They maintained their own educational institutions, some of which were free to those who could not pay.

The culture of the eastern Jews was based on their religious and racial traditions, and was of a conservative nature. They lived apart, wore for the most part a distinctive dress, did not intermarry with the surrounding peoples, observed strictly their religious fast-days and rituals, and held tenaciously to the customs of life which had developed from the Mosaic laws and the Talmud. They spoke, besides the languages of the countries in which they lived, their own language—Yiddish. They believed it a sign of social inferiority to be engaged in common

manual labor. They thought it a disgrace for their women folk to work outside the home. This culture was by far the strongest influence upon their mode of thought, and opposed a heavy barrier to the growth of socialism or other radical ideas.

The hostility which led to the persecution of the Jews in Russia was compounded of various motives. The tradition of the ruling classes rested upon the orthodox church and the absolutist state, and the nobility felt a strong affinity for the old feudal culture, which they hoped would resist the penetration of western industrialism and the democratic liberalism which went with it. On all these counts the Jews seemed an undesirable element. To the clericals they represented the lowest type of heretics. This religious prejudice was not under ordinary circumstances shared by the people, who were remarkably tolerant. To the nationalists they were an alien and unassimilable people. For years before active persecution began, the Jews had no more rights under the law than aliens, although the duties of citizens were exacted of them. By the autocracy they were hated as fertile soil for political liberalism. The ruling classes also found them convenient scapegoats on whom to place the responsibility for the troubles of the people.

As a result of this almost universal attitude on the part of the ruling classes, a conscious policy towards the Jews, first of restriction, and later of expulsion, was carried out. When the partitions of Poland took place, the Jews within the district later known as the

Pale, which contained the majority of them, were forbidden to move out of it. There were later expulsions from town to town within the Pale and from without the Pale to within it. There came to be over 1,000 special laws regulating their religious and communal life, their occupations, their military service. Special taxes were imposed upon them. Their education was restricted.

The change from restriction to suppression came with the "May Laws" of 1882. In spite of all the burdens placed upon them, the Jews had measurably prospered, as indeed any trading class would have done through the slow but inevitable spread of commerce and industry. Their competitors among Russian traders were jealous of their success. The whole middle-class was growing, and the occupations in which Jews held supremacy began to seem more desirable to the non-Jewish peoples. Since they were the principal traders in crops and the money-lenders, it was easy to arouse the peasants against them. The May Laws were chiefly economic in nature, and were designed to hinder the Jews in business enterprise. In order to justify this attack upon them, the cry was raised that they were extortionists and robbers of the poor. The religious prejudice and the aversion to western European culture were also played upon. The orthodox Russian then looked upon the constitutional democracies of America, England, and France, and their thriving industrial towns, with about as much horror as that with which the orthodox American, Englishman, or Frenchman recently

looked upon Bolshevist Russia.—It was the laws of 1882 which began the mass movements of Russian Jews to the United States.

In Rumania, until the middle of the last century, the Jews suffered under the same disabilities as in Russia. Then, at the instance of the great Powers, liberal laws were passed; but they remained dead letters. In the 'eighties Rumania commenced a policy of discrimination against the Jews more complete even than that of Russia. They were debarred from the artisans' guilds, which exercised a strong control over industry. They were denied the rights of freedom of movement, freedom of work, education, participation in important business enterprises, and employment in the state services.

The anti-Jewish movement in Austria-Hungary is most significant for the present inquiry. There the industrial revolution was felt with greater force than in Russia or Rumania, and the Jews developed not only financial but political power, especially soon after the adoption of the liberal constitution in 1866. The Church, however, in alliance with the nobility, attempted to resist the intrusion of western business methods and culture, deliberately strengthening the survivals of mediaevalism in industry. The most striking of these was the guild, an association of artisans from master workmen down to apprentice, which made its own regulations for the government of industry. Upon the guild basis the Catholics built a party known as the Christian Socialist, which had an anti-Semitic tendency, and denounced the Jews

as exponents of capitalism. An alliance between the Christian Socialists and the Catholic middle-class carried on a campaign against the Jews from 1873 on, which reached its height in the 'nineties. Boycotts were organized against the Jewish traders, money-lenders, and artisans, and restrictive laws were passed.

A month after the accession of Alexander III in Russia began the pogroms, which soon extended to 160 places in South Russia. These were semi-organized killing, looting, and burning expeditions against the Jewish quarters, and they did not spare women and children. Pogroms broke out at intervals thereafter, the ruling classes not scrupling to use the Jews as scapegoats for whatever ills the people might be suffering. The Kishineff massacre in 1903, closely followed by that at Gomel, caused thousands of Jews to emigrate through fear of their lives. The Russo-Japanese War, becoming unpopular, was attributed to the Jews' desire for profit. The government, struggling against revolutionary agitation, attempted to divert attention from its own misdeeds by fomenting anti-Jewish attacks. It was not, however, until after the revolution of 1905 that the cry was raised that the Jews were revolutionary socialists.

The oppression, therefore, from which the Jews fled was not the oppression of the capitalist system which forms such a fruitful theme for the Socialist agitator. What they lacked was just the sort of liberal régime out of which modern industrialism has

grown. They wanted the freedom of movement essential to the trader and business man, they wanted political liberty, and an opportunity for the development of individual business enterprise. They wanted educational opportunities for their children, and an absence of governmental interference with their religious and social customs. They wanted personal safety. In short, they sought the very institutions for which the American anti-Socialist values the United States. They came to the United States because authentic report told them that here such blessings would be found. Some of them were indeed revolutionists again Tsarism, but their spirit was one ready to be transmuted into fervent allegiance to the government of their adopted country.

At no period of Jewish immigration was any large proportion of the newcomers socialist before arriving at our ports, except perhaps after the Russian revolution of 1905. From the beginning, of course, there were socialists among the intellectuals. There were also anarchists among them, and persons holding other forms of dissentient political faith. In the 'nineties a secret socialist organization known as the "Bund" had grown up in Russia, and it claimed the allegiance of some of the most brilliant Jews. These socialists were, most of them, enthusiastic and active propagandists. On the other hand, there were leaders of conservative thought; any innovation was distasteful to most of the religious dignitaries. The religious community of the Jews played a large part not only in their spiritual but in their practical

affairs, isolated as they were from the rest of the population and discriminated against in the laws. Jews would rarely invoke the national law in disputes with each other, but would instead submit to the judgment of the leading member of the congregation. This man as a consequence had great influence, and since he was usually a man of property, his opposition to radical economic doctrine was, as a rule, pronounced. Imagine the difficulty which socialism would have in penetrating a community of devout churchgoers whose leading elder or deacon was not only president of the local bank but magistrate as well. There was little, therefore, in the culture which the Jews brought with them from Russia to indicate that any large proportion of them would embrace radical principles.

The first traces of class feeling in America on the part of the employees as against the employers were of social rather than of economic origin. At the time of the first mass immigration of Russian Jews, most of the clothing manufacturers were German Jews. They had risen appreciably in the social scale, and they had a pride of origin which made them feel that the new arrivals were outsiders. The German Jews in their turn had been a little despised on their arrival by the Sephardic Jews from Spain and Portugal who were the first immigrants of Semitic blood. Thus the Jews were no exception to the other seekers of opportunity in America. We are a nation of immigrants and the children of immigrants, and yet each migratory group, as soon as it becomes

acclimatized, looks down upon the newcomers because they are "foreigners."

The Jewish charities, upon which fell the first responsibility of alleviating the misery of the slums, were in the hands of the Germans, and most of the relief was given to the eastern Jews. This fact again formed a barrier, for in spite of all the merit there may be in charitable institutions, they seldom increase goodwill between the givers and the beneficiaries. In this case the United Hebrew Charities seemed to emphasize the social and economic distinctions between the German and the Russian Jews. Now and again, when the workers were on strike in some shop, the employer would notify the charitable institutions that he was in a position to offer jobs to the needy, and newcomers would be sent him without any inquiry as to the purpose for which they were to be used. To the unions this practice, innocent as it was on the part of the charities, seemed like deliberate strikebreaking.

Later the Jewish workmen, following a rapidly growing practice in this country, attempted to eliminate the need for charity by forming mutual benefit associations. This was the origin of the "Workmen's Circle," which has had a large share in increasing the feeling of solidarity on the part of the workers, and has helped them out of many a difficulty.

Separated as they were from employers of their own race, the Russian Jews had no other point of contact with the community. Their ignorance of English kept them apart, while the fact that they had

their own religious institutions prevented them from mixing much with the immigrants of other nationalities, such as the Irish, Italians, and Poles, who at least had the Catholic Church in common. Owing to their concentration in separate trades they did not come in close touch with the American workmen even in the workshop.

The socialist intellectuals had little opportunity to pursue their chosen professions in a strange country, and many of them consequently entered the clothing shops. They were the only thinkers whose philosophy led them to cultivate the workers as such; and the great majority of the immigrants were and remained employees. Socialist editors started newspapers in Yiddish, and they attained large circulations. Socialists organized trade unions; they brought the workers together, furnished halls for them, and introduced the only community spirit that seemed to fit the new environment. Yet it took years for the radical view of affairs to take hold and develop. The unions remained small and ineffectual. Some of the newspaper readers accepted socialism, but they accepted it only as an affair of ideas, because they still did not understand the modern industrial system and the concentration of capital. Many of them cherished the hope of starting independent businesses and laying up fortunes; some of them, in fact, did so. Others even expected to accumulate money and go back to the land of their origin when a more auspicious time should come.

How far the people were from unity in thought

may be inferred from an early article by Henrietta Izold on "Elements of the Jewish Population in the United States."[4] "At present," wrote this author, "by reason of their tendency to break up into groups, the Russian Jews are looked upon by their patrons and by their own leaders as the most unorganizable material among the Jews, who at best are not distinguished for the quality of being organizable." A person interested in organization is likely to think that any kind of human material is unorganizable, and yet such testimony is not without its significance. The Jewish immigrants did not for a long time cast off their tradition of competitive individualism. Industrial friction was prevalent, and strikes occurred; but the strikes were rather spontaneous rebellions against the awful conditions of life and work than planned battles of a class war. At one time, during the early 'nineties, the anarchists had a considerable influence among the workers, although they opposed trade unions, as palliatives and substitutes for spontaneous action.

Almost from the very beginning of the mass immigration, more Jews brought their wives and children than did immigrants of other races. The sense of permanent American residence grew appreciably among the Jewish settlers as the years went by. There has been much fluctuation in the comparative numbers of men and women immigrants, but the highest proportion of men among the Jewish

[4] Included in "The Russian Jew in the United States," by Charles S. Bernheimer.

newcomers was reached in 1886, when male arrivals made up 67.5 per cent of the totals, and the highest proportion of women came in 1909, when the percentage of females rose to 46. Among immigrants of all nationalities from 1899 to 1910, the percéntage of females was but 30.5. From 1908 to 1912 only 8 Jews departed for every 100 admitted, while of all immigrants 32 departed for every 100 admitted. The only immigrants during these years who showed a greater permanency of residence were the Irish.

It was only after a sense of permanency as employees became general among the clothing workers that unionism received their consistent support. They had become, as it were, acclimatized, they understood better the peculiar difficulties with which they had to contend, and the futility of attempting to avoid them or to contend with them as individuals. At first, for one reason or another, they had accepted the hardship of the slum and the sweatshop as temporary evils, from which an escape might shortly be found. For some the hope of escape took the form of the ambition to become employers, independent store-keepers, or agents, for others it was a vague intention to return to Russia, for still others it was merely a pious faith that some day a beneficent power outside themselves would provide the remedy. But most of the workers never saw any of these doors open, and the promise of the Socialist trade-unionist was the only one which retained any measure of reality. They gave up hope of leaving the country, and they gave up hope of being anything but wage

earners. As soon as the Jewish workers accepted the facts and conditions of America as they were, they became unionists. For them, the process of Americanization was itself the process of accepting the Socialist union.

The wave of Italian immigration began somewhat later than that of the eastern Jews. According to the census of 1890, there were not then 200,000 residents in the United States of Italian birth, and many of these were transients. Between 1890 and 1900, 655,888 Italians arrived, and in 1900 the resident Italian population had increased to 484,703. After 1900 the numbers of Italian immigrants rose rapidly. During the years immediately preceding the Great War, a little over one-sixth as many Italian tailors and dressmakers arrived as Jewish, the former averaging about 2,500 a year, and the latter 12,500.[5] Besides these artisans, however, many unskilled Italians, particularly women, have entered the clothing shops.

Most of the immigrants from Italy, like those from eastern Europe, knew nothing of factory labor before arriving in this country. The modern industries have developed in the northern part of the nation, whereas by far the greater part of the immigrants have come from the South. Most of them are classified as common laborers, farm laborers, or servants. Of the skilled artisans, the largest group were, for instance during the fiscal year of 1903, tailors, seamstresses, and dressmakers, and over nine-tenths of

[5] Annual Reports, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration.

these came from the South of Italy. A recent investigation of Italian women workers in New York[6] showed that of the cases examined, most had never done factory work in their home country, although 93.9 per cent were working in factories here. Of these over half were engaged in making men's and women's clothing.

The motive behind this immigration was in almost every case the desire to make money. Inequitable and annoying taxes, combined with oppressive landlordism and the lack of prosperity at home, have caused the great Italian migration. It was far less stable than the Jewish, even during the last decade. In 1912, for instance, 26,443 persons arrived from the North of Italy and 13,000 returned to it, while 135,830 came from the South, and 96,881 returned.[7] At the beginning of the period there were at least four times as many male immigrants from Italy as female. Many of the immigrants from the South of Italy were illiterate—in 1913-14 the proportion was, of those 14 years of age and over, 47.4 per cent.

All these facts go to show that not many of the Italian immigrants were Socialists before their arrival in this country. The stronghold of Italian Socialism is in the northern industrial regions, where there is a large population of literate factory and mine workers. But the artisan or home-worker who comes from the South with the intention of laying up out of American wages a competency with which he

[6] Italian Women in Industry. By Louise C. Odencrantz. N. Y. Russell Sage Foundation.

[7] Annual Reports, U. S. Commissioner of Immigration.

can later set up his little shop at home, is not likely to take seriously the prospect of a social revolution in the United States. Because of their greater impermanency and lower literacy, the Italians have not been quite as strong a factor as the Jews in the needle-trade unions, proportionately to their numbers in the industry. The radicalism of the unions certainly cannot be traced to the land of their origin. Yet the increasing numbers who have come to regard themselves as permanent residents of America and workers in the clothing trades are as ardent and faithful unionists as any.

So it is with the smaller groups—the Bohemians, who concentrated mostly about Chicago, and the Poles, Slovenians, Russians, Finns, Lithuanians, and others who have found work in the garment shops. No matter what the culture and the traditions various groups of immigrants brought with them, all nationalities and races who have been subjected to the same industrial and social conditions here have embraced the same hope and method of altering those conditions.

Once the trend of their development in America was established, the national characteristics of the Jews had something to do with the strength and effectiveness of their organizations. Whatever lack of unity they have at times exhibited, the tradition of unity is deep within them. After the unions became powerful, they were recognized as among the accepted institutions of the people. A scab became, not only an unfair competitor, but a social outcast.

The alliance of unions known as the United Hebrew Trades has provided not only much practical help, but a strong morale to the workers' organizations at many a critical time. And the establishment of collective agreements with the employers was certainly furthered by the fact that the Jewish community is educated to arbitrate its own disputes rather than to seek outside intervention, and to accept the impartial arbitrament of its prominent men. But these influences merely cluster about the central fact that the industrial and social experience of the Jews in the United States have led them to accept a radical economic philosophy. The same racial traits would have been no less active in promoting social cohesion if the energies of the workers had turned toward any other form of organization.

It would be unfair to underestimate the influence of personal leadership such as that of Morris Hillquit, who himself began as a worker in a shirt factory, or Abraham Cahan, the editor of the Jewish *Forward,* or of other politicians, journalists, and the numerous outstanding figures among the union officials. Without the brilliance and devotion of such leaders, the radical unions would not be what they are. Yet these men would be the first to point out that to separate a leader from the mass tendency of his time is to create an artificial distinction. They were leaders on account of the very fact that they were able to perceive which way the current was flowing, and because they were able consistently to express that which the masses recognized as truth.

In the radical unions, furthermore, leadership plays a less important rôle than in the conservative ones.

The economic attitude of the workers in the clothing industry, in short, cannot be accounted for by any accident unrelated with their social and economic experience. The oppression which they endured in the countries of their birth made them not less, but more ready to accept the prevalent régime in the United States. Their racial heritage was as conservative in its influence as it was helpful to radical institutions after such institutions had become the objects of conservation. Their isolation in this country gave an opportunity to the Socialist "agitators," but what could be made of that opportunity depended not so much on the agitators as upon the pragmatic truth of what they had to say. The former social and national separation between employer and employee gave at least as much promise of blind group hostility as it gave of economic analysis. It is necessary to examine the labor movement itself in order to discover why the socialist theory assumed reality in the mind of the clothing workers; suffice it here to say that without successful unions the worker had no hope, and that only unions built upon and adhering to the principles of the new unionism—the socialist unionism—could overcome the extraordinary difficulties to organization inherent to the needle trades.