The Ladies' Garment Worker, Volume 9, Issue 12

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Full Satisfaction for All Cleveland Cloak-makers.

Varied Activities of General Office—Part of Secretary Baroff's Report.

Among Our Local Unions.

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
31 Union Square, New York

Published Monthly Price 5 cents
# Directory of Local Unions

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Named shoes are frequently made in Non-Union factories

**Do Not Buy Any Shoe**

no matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and readable impression of this UNION STAMP

All shoes without the UNION STAMP are always Non-Union

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the UNION STAMP

**BOOT and SHOE WORKERS UNION**

TWO-FOURTY-SIX SUMMER STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN F. TOBIN, President

CHAS. L. BAINES, Sec'y-Treas.
THE CLOAK AND SUIT INDUSTRY AFTER THE WAR

World peace has everywhere brought with it prospects for great economic and political changes in the relations among men. What prospects will peace have brought for the tens of thousands of workers in the cloak and skirt trade of New York?

The representatives of our International Union have many times made practical suggestions for remedying the situation in the industry. Now, the war and its issues have brought out the fact vividly that our representatives have been on the right track.

Certain evils afflict the industry. These evils can be eliminated up to a certain point by an understanding between both parties as to constructive measures. Ever since 1910 our union in this regard has taken its stand on the principle of organization and cooperation. It was by these methods that America has won the war, and these methods will solve the most thorny industrial problems in the near future. Therefore, while remedies are being sought for improving the situation it must be borne in mind that there can be no question of returning to the old methods of militancy and unhealthy competition. The old methods created nothing but bad blood, hate and ill feeling. Besides, the old methods are dead and buried. Those who seek to revive them are hunting the shadows of yesterday. There is consensus of opinion that the times have changed. Consequently the manufacturers must accept new methods better adapted to the world of to-day.

World peace, after the great victory of our country, revives all the old prospects for the cloak and suit industry and naturally also for the rest of the women's garment industries. There can be no doubt that under certain conditions our industries will grow and flourish and attain the highest pinnacle of prosperity. If the manufacturers in the cloak and suit and other industries will employ proper, human, scientific methods they will have superior chances; but if they will be egotistical, narrow and bellicose the chances will slip away from them. If they will spend their time and energy in antagonizing their workers and opposing their just demands they will be
left behind in the race for markets and the industry will go over into other hands. In this case history will repeat itself; for owing to contentions and bellicose methods the cloak industry has changed hands several times in the last thirty years or so.

Within a few months all countries will return to a peace basis of life. Half the world must be reconstructed physically and economically. The civilized, free life of America, England and France will now be planted not only in that part of Europe which has been hitherto under the yoke of Germany, Austria and Turkey, but as well in Asia and Africa and practically in the entire world; and in this reconstruction America has its great part to play. The smaller countries, now about to rise in Europe and Asia, will need the assistance of the United States—their only prospect of stabilizing economic conditions until able to stand on their own legs and introduce modern methods of production.

They will need American aid and American goods. So far, those countries are only partially developed. For many years they will be wanting in means to foster their commerce and industry and America can help them. America has suffered little in the war. America is now the wealthiest country in the world, having practically everything of which they are in need.

They will need not only steel, machinery, metals, automobiles, cotton and wool, but also clothing. Thus a great expansive world-market opens up to our women's garment manufacturers.

There is not a shadow of doubt that long years of prosperity are in store for our country. All American industries will be busy producing goods for the entire world. And the cloak and suit industry, even if manufacturing only for the United States and the South American republics, will have its hands full of orders. There will be an enormous demand for cloaks and other articles of women's wear.

If during the war there has been a demand for labor, it stands to reason that expanding industry after the war will not diminish the demand. Our ladies' garment industries during the war have been checked at every step. War necessities compelled the Government to restrict the use of materials. Millions of women were restrained in their habits of spending on fashion and luxury. The cloak and suit and other branches of the women's wear trades were not war industries, and the bad seasons of the last four years have been caused by an unsteady market and Government restrictions. But before long, as yet before the spring season, all the checks and restrictions will be removed. The cloak and suit industry will return to its normal level and we may expect good and long seasons.

Of course the leaders of the New York Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association perceive the splendid opportunities in store for the industry in the future. The question is: Do they also perceive that to develop the industry on a large scale they must secure the good-will of the organized workers, must be prepared to afford the workers an opportunity to derive a decent livelihood from their labor? For only in this way will the industry attain the degree of development it ought to attain after the war.
On Thursday, November 14th, the Protective Association called the representatives of our union to a conference. This conference should have been held ten days after the association had granted the July increase. But as President Schlesinger of our International Union has been occupied all the summer with the strike and settlement in Cleveland and with those branches of our industry which were doing work for the Government, the conference had to be continually postponed.

The world war came to an end three days prior to the conference, and the thoughts of all men and women immediately turned to the near future, to the question of reconstruction. There were present at the conference prominent members and past and present officers of the association, and some such thoughts as the following must have crossed the minds of the most farsighted among them, at least, the minds of our representatives; namely: Have we all learned the lessons of the last four years and are we prepared to create a new order in the cloak and suit industry? Are we prepared to concert measures and methods which will insure peace and harmonious relations looking to the removal of the evils and to the placing of the industry on a sensible, scientific basis?

The manufacturers suffer from certain evils. Mr. Getskay, past chief clerk of the association, touched on certain sore spots and pointed out precisely where the shoe pinches the manufacturers. Many manufacturers are going out of business or cutting down the size of their plants. Instead of a trend toward centralization, the industry is spreading to nooks and corners over the entire city. Small shops are sprouting up with mushroom growth. Cut-throat competition to-day is more than ever rampant. The membership of the association has not grown but has shrunk. Only about 200 members belong to the association, although New York has more than 2,000 cloak and skirt manufacturers. In short, the burden of the song was that the industry in recent years has not solved its problems, and the plain inference from Mr. Getskay's words was that chaos and confusion reigns unchecked to-day more than in years past.

If prominent manufacturers are inclined to hold the union responsible for this condition of affairs they are greatly in error. Had the manufacturers in the near past been less indifferent to the plans of our representatives; had there been a mutual understanding as to a system of control, the industry, notwithstanding the war, would have been in a better condition. Let us hope that the manufacturers have learned the lesson.

President Schlesinger addressing the conference spoke much to the point, indicating the main causes of the evils and suggesting measures for improving the situation. We shall dwell here on one or two points brought out in President Schlesinger's remarks; for when it is a question of bringing order and placing the cloak industry on a sounder basis it behooves us to take these points into serious consideration. Incidentally, these points refresh our memory, recalling the past. They demonstrate beyond cavil that the representatives of our organization, in suggesting plans for remedying the shortcomings still existing in the industry, had a farsighted, practical view into the future.
The war has brought to the surface the incontestable fact that no industry can progress unless the captains of the industry reckon with labor as an important factor. Force and unchecked sway in the shops and factories have come to an end, never to rise again. The peace which will soon be concluded for the entire world will establish the fact that the world can return no longer to the pre-war conditions of chaos and disorder, neither in politics nor in industry. Everywhere the will of the workers employed in the industry will have to be taken into account, particularly where they are organized. And no industry will attain the highest point of its development without amicable relations between employers and employees, without a mutual understanding and joint control.

Plans formerly suggested by our union representatives have now received a new aspect and greater force. If the cloak industry is to become truly progressive; if it is to succeed in planting itself on a firm foundation and insure its future it must reckon with the plans which the representatives of our union are prepared to enfold in further parleys with the representatives of the manufacturers' association. Our union is willing to cooperate with the manufacturers in the work of placing the industry on a sure basis.

Why have many manufacturers gone out of business or cut down their working force? Why has the membership of the association shrunk rather than grown? Why is cut-throat competition still rampant in the industry? Why has centralization in the industry not been attained? Why could not effective and vigorous measures be enforced against the "social shops"?

Because in 1916 the manufacturers abandoned the machinery—the only plan by which a systematic control over all shops could have been developed. The strongest inducement which moved manufacturers to join the association was the arbitration agreement the association had with the union, whereby shop disputes were settled amicably and not through strikes. But when the lockout of 1916 ended the arbitration treaty many manufacturers could no longer see the use of belonging to the association, and dropped out of the ranks. If they must have strikes, they thought, then they did not need the association. This change in the relations between the association and the union fastened the hold of competition on the industry and gave the "social shop" a new lease of life. Instead of removing the evils the evils have become more deeply rooted and widespread.

It is not too late to mend the mistakes of that time. If the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association is anxious to insure a splendid future for the industry, its representatives must throw into the discard all their ancient prejudices. New circumstances have arisen requiring new ideas. Let them take into consideration the following proposition of our union representatives:

Elimination of piece work and introduction of week work in the industry. This must be the first step. Week work and a definite scale does away with all the friction between employer and his employees. It does away with all the haggling and wrangling over every sample separately. As time is money to busy manufacturers, the manufacturer must benefit if he, his manager or foreman, does not have to waste many hours on settling and resettling prices.
Under the present system, prices are settled by a different method in every one of the 2,000 shops. Even the same kind of work is settled at different prices in every shop. Hence unfair and unhealthy competition and all the evils from which the industry suffers must grow and increase. Week work will eliminate this unnatural, chaotic system and bring about fair competition.

Besides, the present system of settling prices is so barbarous that it must lead to quarrels, misunderstandings, hot-blood, hostility, revenge, disputes and strikes. If the manufacturer succeeds in striking a favorable bargain and fixing a small price for the garment the workers cannot be satisfied and there must arise trouble and waste of precious time. If, on the other hand, the workers' price committee succeeds in securing a better price, however rarely this might happen, the employer cannot be satisfied, and there is set in motion a series of discriminations and troubles that cause the workers pain and the manufacturer, in the long run, considerable injury. When we bear in mind that all that the workers want is to earn a decent living, and all that the manufacturer wants is to earn his profit—is it necessary to employ a system that causes so much friction and excitement when the result can be attained by a simpler and less irksome method?

Under a system of week work and a minimum scale the industry would be spared 2,000 separate systems of bargaining. At one or two conferences the wage scale embracing every class of workers may be determined for a fixed period, and both parties would be free to pursue their duties with settled minds, unharassed by the disturbances and unrest which disrupt the season and fill the atmosphere with bitterness and conflict. The manufacturer would feel free to develop his business to the utmost. The worker would feel free to do his work without hate, suspicion and distrust.

Will anyone dispute the point that thus and not otherwise ought to be conducted such an industry as the cloak industry—an industry dependent on a mass of organized workers? Is it not clear that only through the judicious cooperation of both sides can the industry successfully promote its future development?

Naturally it would be advisable to have a board of control. Without a board of control there is no way of grappling with the evils successfully.

Recently the Government has sought to bring order in the needle industry. The War Labor Policies Board called representative manufacturers to a conference in Washington and then in New York. Prof. Earl Dean Howard, Secretary of the Industrial Relations Committee of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and Dr. Felix Frankfurter announced the intention of forming a representative organization of manufacturers and labor men to cooperate with the Government in the administration of labor standards. A committee of eleven manufacturers was subsequently organized to proceed in carrying out the plan.

As regards the cloak and suit industry in New York, how can this plan be launched under the existing chaos in the industry? It seems to us as an attempt to erect a superstructure before the foundation is laid and the lower
stories built. First of all, the industry must plant itself on the basis of week work and a system of control. Not until every industry embraced in the plan has ordered its home affairs can a general organization achieve the result aimed at.

President Schlesinger addressed a letter to the Protective Cloak Manufacturers' Association intimating his willingness to appear before a meeting of its Executive Committee for the purpose of further expounding his plans.

While we write these lines the General Executive Board of our International Union is preparing for its quarterly meeting in Chicago, Saturday, November 23. President Schlesinger will submit the question to the meeting, and the board will surely empower him to continue his parleys with the Protective Cloak Manufacturers' Association and come to an understanding, possibly before the Spring season.

These days will also see the commencement of negotiations in some of our other industries. Agreements with the employers are due for renewal in the waist and dress, white goods, children's dress and wrapper and kimono industries, respectively. As yet it is too early to refer to these coming negotiations with any definiteness. All these industries are in a prosperous condition. Much of what we said above regarding the future of the cloak and suit industry applies with equal force to all our industries. In a very short time an insistent demand must arise for production, and the employers are not so thoughtless as to precipitate a quarrel with the workers. We believe that the representatives of both sides will reach an agreement and that the industries will be placed on a basis of peace and prosperity.

The recent settlement in Cleveland adds further strength and potential power to our International Union. We have every reason to congratulate ourselves upon the issue of the struggle in Cleveland which has been going on for so many years and has absorbed so much energy, time and money. We are now preparing to complete our organizing work in the waist, skirt, dress and kimono trade of Chicago. Brother S. Metz, former international vice-president and a district manager of the New York Joint Board, has been directed to launch the campaign in Chicago. Our International Union is firmly determined to apply every means toward crowning the campaign in that city with success.

We, on our part, are willing to come to terms amicably with the manufacturers in every industry and to avoid a conflict in every case, unless this or that group of employers is so shortsighted as to think of no other way than measuring strength with us. In such case we are prepared to meet the challenge. The condition of our union no longer resembles that of years ago. Our members in every branch of our industry have demonstrated more than once their capacity for endurance in a struggle with the employers for justice and right, and their cohesion and fighting capacity knows no limit when they are aroused by a direct attack on their organization. It is impossible to believe that the employers in the industries alluded to above have not realized the full meaning of this fact.
In the years before the war there had existed an International Socialist Bureau and an International Trade Union Federation. A few great industries had so-called international organizations composed of delegates from two or more nations. In 1912 the tailors of several nations established a federation and in 1913 held a convention in Vienna which was attended by delegates from tailors' unions of Germany, France, Austria, England, America and other countries. Our International Union was directly represented at that convention.

All these were loose organizations bound together by slender theoretical ties and thrilling phrases. Unity, fraternity, solidarity, cooperation had not yet taken firm root among the workers of any country, and there is much to be desired in this respect even to-day. When the war came the slender ties quickly snapped asunder. The international bureaus, federations and congresses were burnt up in the hell-fire that consumed millions of souls and devastated hundreds of cities. Finally the fire has burnt itself out, and we are on the threshold of a lasting, if not everlasting, world peace. Shall we also have a world-international union of organized workers, and if so, in what form?

True, as yet it is too early to discuss the form of the future Labor International. Germany, Austria, Russia, which had played such great roles before the war are now in a state of flux. So far, they are traveling in a direction of a Socialist state. But no one can foretell whether their Socialist states will remain permanent.

Putting aside for a moment our deepest wishes and looking facts straight in the face we must come to the conclusion that the capitalist stronghold still displays much power of resistance even in those countries.

In the countries of the Allies and United States of America capitalism is making a supreme effort to renew its youth and vigor. It is at any rate girding its loins for gigantic battles with the organized workers. During the war, while governments needed Labor's assistance, they granted certain privileges. But now, after the war, if there should arise an economic crisis, the workers are less prepared to cope with it than the capitalists. A crisis involving unemployment might so impair our strongest unions that they would be unable to ward off an attack by organized bankers and manufacturers.

And we should not forget another thing: The second Labor International is no more; but international capitalism has been strengthened, and America is now the leader in international finance. All countries of the Allies, large or small, are in debt to the American capitalists. In a struggle with the workers it will pay the American capitalists to come to the rescue of the capitalists of those countries; and naturally those capitalists will feel obliged to support their brothers-in-arms in America. For instance:
France is the country of women's fashions, and the bond of friendship between America and France has been cemented by the war and the victory. The French garment workers are poorly organized, working for small wages. Before long fast merchant ships of gigantic size, and possibly also huge airplanes, will cross and recross the Atlantic. Merchandise and finished products will be imported and exported in considerable quantities. What is to prevent American manufacturers during great strikes to place orders in Paris and London and thus break strikes and crush the labor organizations in America? London and Paris houses in time of strikes might receive similar support from their American capitalist conferees.

We here and our sisters and brothers over there are not at all prepared for such a situation; and even though we have our own troubles and many local problems, we should nevertheless find time to turn this possibility over in our minds. It is in our interest to prepare for such possibilities.

It seems to us that the Labor International of the future will have to rest on an economic rather than a political basis. It will have to be composed mostly of the trade unions; and it will be its duty to safeguard the workers' economic interests internationally. Future industry will be conducted on a colossal scale and with the aid of the most improved machinery and methods. And industry is bound to be the basis of society everywhere.

A general international labor organization based on sentimental values or spiritual solidarity like the former federations will do no one any good. Henceforth there will be required international trade and industrial organizations. Not only will the seamen and the miners have to be combined internationally, but also the women's garment workers. Upon our International Union, as the largest women's garment workers' union in the world, will devolve the sacred duty to watch for every opportunity, and as soon as the war condition is over it will be necessary to open correspondence with well-known labor leaders in Europe with a view to formulating a definite plan for organizing our industry on a true international basis.

Cynics and those who are not accustomed to think will smile and characterize this suggestion as a dream and an impossibility. But the world has reached a stage of activity when nothing is impossible. The following suggestion is surely not out of place: Travel and intercommunication will now be more extensive than ever and human beings will mix more instinctively. Why should we not bring right over from Paris one or two powerful speakers capable of electrifying an audience, who should thus assist in organizing our French-speaking ladies' garment workers in America and Canada? We can return the compliment by sending to Paris a Jewish organizer, if need be. We might similarly exchange speakers with British labor. In the meantime the respective emissaries would learn American and foreign labor methods. This would be of great advantage to us in our plans. Subsequently we might hold a convention and form an international protective organization.

We should thus start the practice of true international solidarity. The time has come when it is unwise merely to give expression to fine phrases about internationalism and solidarity. We must practice solidarity in a practical way in order to safeguard our interests.
Labor in Great Britain

Substance of an Address by J. R. Clynes, Recently the Food Controller of England, on "Unity Between Classes," Showing the Advanced Currents in British Circles of Capital and Labor as Compared with Those in the United States

Mr. J. R. Clynes is a prominent member of the British Labor Party, and preferring to remain loyal to the party he has resigned his ministerial position. Long before the war was expected to come to an end the British Government had appointed what is called the Whitley Committee to investigate industrial relations and recommend measures for improving them. The report of this committee has been referred to several times in isolated publications in this country, and it seems to have attracted considerable attention in Great Britain for the manner in which it recommends dealing with industrial relations in the future. Here is a striking paragraph from the report on which Mr. Clynes based his address:

"We are convinced that a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and employed must be founded upon something other than a cash basis. What is wanted is that the workpeople should have a greater opportunity of participating in the discussion about adjustment of those parts of the industry by which they are affected. For securing improvement in relations it is essential that any proposal put forward should offer to the workpeople the means of attaining improved conditions of employment and a higher standard of comfort generally, and should involve the enlistment of active and continuous cooperation in the promotion of industry."

Mr. Clynes very properly pointed out that the Whitley committee did not end their labors, when they had reported upon methods for bringing employers and employed together in the workshops of the well-organized industries, and went on to allude to the ways and means of district councils for particular industries.

He was not proposing that for the sake of unity the working class must be coddled, praised, and paid highly, in order to keep them contented with conditions which could not be defended. He meant that unity between classes in industrial and economic life could only be secured at a price—by giving a larger yield of the wealth of the nation to those who mainly by their energies made it, and by placing the producing class upon a level where they would receive a higher measure of respect from the nation as a whole.

Mr. Clynes quoted from the Rev. Canon Green, who had had great experience among those engaged in industrial occupations: "The working class do not see why their hours should be so long and their wages so small; their lives so dull and colorless, and their opportunities for reasonable rest and recreation so few. Can we wonder that with growing education and intelligence the workers of England are beginning to contrast their lot with that of the rich, and to ask whether so great inequalities were necessary?" There they had in the plainest and gentlest terms the trend of the working-class ideas of to-day. The more the workers were educated the nearer they were brought to the point of revolting against all unfair conditions. Out of this feeling of discontent there had grown during the last thirty years a very strong organization—the trade union movement. This was a most powerful and important factor, and one to which the country would have to pay more regard. This was not a mere growth of agitation; it was because of the experience of the workers, their low wages, long hours, and bad conditions of employment, that they organized and used the might that came from numbers. No apology was needed for, and he thought no defense was required of, this step to secure power by numbers which, acting singly, it was impossible for them to exercise. The trade union movement was quite alive to the divisions that existed between classes, and might be employed in attaining that unity of classes which they were considering.

The activities and interests of the three main divisions of the nation must not be overlooked—namely, industries, agriculture, and business. By unity of interest, and oneness of purpose and aim in these broad
divisions, the rest of the nation would naturally be brought into harmony, if only by the mere force of example. Mr. Clynes mentioned as a hopeful and significant fact that a National Agricultural Council had been recently formed, consisting of landowners, farmers, and farm workers. A few years ago the farmers would not have tolerated the idea of farm workers having a union. Now all three would recognize a higher sense of duty, of obligation to make agriculture a greater thing for the masses of workers in it. He put the claim of the farm workers first because they were the most numerous body—numbers were a determining factor—and because if they withheld their labor there would be none of that fruit of the soil to which the country looked year by year. Lord Leigh, the Director of the Food Production Department, said: "Does anyone suppose that the agricultural laborer will return from the trenches to the old miserable conditions under which in most parts of the country he was underpaid, wretchedly housed, and denied almost any pleasure in life except such as the public-house could afford him?" Those conditions were a disgrace to the country. He would never be content until they were swept away forever. This was necessary not merely in the interests of the men, but of the farmers and of agriculture.

Unity, oneness of purpose and aim would be driven upon the community largely as one of the by-products of the war. The plain agricultural worker would come back feeling that, as he had fought for the liberty of the country, he was entitled to enjoy a little more of it than in the past. He must have a larger share in the fruits of his labor. By making him a more contented citizen they would make him a more profitable worker than he had ever been.

As to the workshop industries, having secured the good-will of the trade unions, the next step would be to bring home to the individual workmen in the workshop some sense of responsibility. Better relations must precede any effective attempt to secure unity, and better relations were impossible until individual workmen had a greater sense of what they were in the workshop for.

Proceeding briefly to outline how this might be secured, Mr. Clynes said the matter was put quite eloquently and simply in an address to the Trade Union Congress recently delivered by the President of the Congress, Mr. Gosling. He said that the workman wanted a voice in the management of his daily working life, of the condition and atmosphere, the hours of beginning and ending work, the condition of remuneration, and even the manners and practices of the foremen with whom he had to be in contact. In all these matters, said Mr. Gosling, workmen had a right to a voice, even an equal voice, with the management of the workshop itself. He knew, said Mr. Clynes, that was a great and to some an extravagant claim to make; but to set it aside or ignore it was to provoke or invite further trouble. Industry would no longer be run for the profit it produced or even because of the wealth which collective energy could make. Here, indeed, was the mistake out of which this disunity, suspicion and selfishness had grown. The doctrines of political economy, had gradually to be modified during the course of the war, and things which many teachers had said would never be done had come to be considered as simply natural.

"Where now," asked Mr. Clynes, "is the law of supply and demand? The worker is not paid according to the demand for his labor. A very much higher obligation decides for him what his remuneration is to be." He knew that a considerable number of workmen, because they were employed on munitions and so on, were enjoying very high wages, but this was not at all true of the masses of the industrial population, and they ought not to be deceived by these rare instances which were quoted of men coming out of the workshop with £20, £30, or even up to £50.

Speaking of the way in which the committees and councils, to be established under the Whitely report, to adjust shop disputes, would work, Mr. Clynes said:

"We know from experience that very many of the big trade disputes of this country have grown out of trifles, mere nothings, which well could have been settled inside the workshop gates by bringing master and man together empowered to discuss matters which both understand as matters of personal experience. These committees, when created in this atmosphere and spirit to which I refer, would exist not in rebellion against the trade unions or against the trade
union system, to exist as being in revolt against the management of the works or the employers of labor. They would develop a sense of independence, and that sense of just dealing that the doctrine of a “fair day's wage for a fair day's work” should apply not only to the wages, but to the work that was being done. These committees could check—and this was very necessary—the driving methods of some persons in authority, and while getting the best from those above them, could give the best—as he was sure they would, provided that the spirit was created—from the workmen, in return for the fairer treatment they would enjoy. These committees could deal not only with the manual service and ordinary work and wage questions; they could develop a better use of industrial capacity and technical knowledge in matters of workshop life; but the spirit was everything and the best desires of equitable workshop management could find expression through those committees if they were created. It would give the workmen a chance to express their democracy.

Mr. Clynes pointed out that democracy would require the sanest guidance and the most sagacious advice which its leaders were capable of giving. It would not do for those leaders to say that the future of the world should be decided by the will of the peoples instead of by diplomatists and sovereigns. The will of the peoples could only find enduring and beneficent expression if they sought social changes by reasonable installments and not by any violent act or revolution. Democratic leaders would have to show these things continually to the community before they were understood by the masses. Democracy, he said, was not limited to those who now constituted the manual workers; it was not a class formula; it stood for the general progress of mankind.

Reconstruction Turned Inside Out

Current Gossip in Manufacturers’ Circles—They Long to Be Able to Reduce Wages—They Are Looking Forward to Demobilization Rendering the Labor Supply Greater Than the Demand—This Will Be Their “Day of Reckoning.”

By A. ROSEBURY

The end of the war came almost as suddenly and unexpectedly as its outbreak; and the American labor movement is positively unprepared for the various problems confronting it.

Feverish activity is going on in the ranks of the manufacturers. Their whole range of talk is along the line of larger business and greater profits. There is nothing wrong about this as long as our industrial system is based on business and profits. But from time to time a manufacturer, here and there, gives free vent to the inner processes of his mind, revealing the hidden thought of the entire employing class concerning the labor question.

In general their methods are different from ours. We believe in the light of publicity and discuss our plans in the open. They keep their plans concealed from view; and work more energetically for their interests than we for ours.

Do we need stronger proof that they are campaigning with more method, than is furnished by the recent political defeat of most of our candidates? The Democrats and Republicans who oppose each other at every election had this time joined forces; and while they had effected a fusion our people were not quite at one in Meyer London’s district. A small dose of political vision should have convinced us that their fusion ought to have fused us all the more. But this is only a digression.

The manufacturers are preparing not only for profit-making but for exploitation of labor on a large scale. The war aided a certain number of workers only for the time of the war, but it has aided the employers prospectively, for the time after the war. It has shown them the way of closer combination, of economy, of efficiency. Those who follow their varied activities can see that they are straining every effort to-
profit by these lessons. An unfailing topic with them, not less than with us, is cooperation and reconstruction, but reconstruction turned inside out.

Their Reconstruction Plans

All their reconstruction plans are aimed in one direction—to regain full despotic power over the workers. They do not reckon with the new spirit of the time. The new freedom and spirit of humanity, rising even in Germany and Austria, is to them “Bolshevism” and “Anarchy.” Having failed to drag us back to dark reaction when our country entered the war they are exerting all their sinister ingenuity to accomplish this now that the war is over.

In all their reconstruction plans there is not a word about better, more humane methods of dealing with the workers but rather of fighting the unions. With us reconstruction means advancing a step forward, improving the condition of the masses, establishing honesty, straight dealing and justice in industry and business. With them reconstruction means turning the backward. The war compelled some of them to deal justly, but the pressure brought to bear upon them by government boards was limited only to the time of the war; and as the war is over they are now clamoring for unrestricted freedom in industry.

There is a promise of unbounded prosperity for this country. Europe is impoverished; it has no food, no cattle or seed, no industrial machinery, no stock of raw materials, and it is by no means certain that it has an adequate supply of skilled farm and factory labor which the various countries will need.

But America has all these in plenty and endless possibilities of producing them. Europe will need not only American money, materials and products but also American labor to help rebuild the devastated, ruined cities. Europe, therefore should be busy and America even more than Europe.

Thus prospects are distinctly bright. Why then all this hue and cry of the employers about reducing wages and returning to the longer day? Why such feverish preparation for a gigantic conflict with the workers?

The answer is plain. The entire class of traders, whether trading on commodities or high finance, wish to divert the channels of prosperity to their already well-filled coffers of wealth. Wealth brings leisure, and leisure brings pleasures and there is no need for work or worry. Let the common herd work and worry. Such has ever been the prime factor of slavery and oppression.

To clear the coast they must first subdue the unions. With this aim in view they bent all their efforts in the direction of electing a Republican Congress, because they want the Government to aid their plans of conquest. This is reconstruction turned inside out. Back to the good old times!—lockouts, strikebreakers, espionage in the factories, and open shops. Such is their reconstruction program.

... *

Last month we reported the “ideals” of the bankers and manufacturers uttered at a convention of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers. Recently the American Manufacturers’ Export Association held its convention, and according to the resolutions published in one of their commercial organs they voiced these demands:

That the Government shall relinquish control over commerce and industry. All restrictive laws regulating the service of seamen’s labor shall be revoked. Manufacturers and big business must be allowed free use of the merchant marine. Employers shall be unrestricted in the hire and fire of labor as they see fit.

One of the speakers expressed the hope that henceforth there would be ready to hand an abundance of labor—men who served in the army, who know what discipline means and will be ready to obey orders without a murmur.

On November 13th the National Founders’ Association held its convention in New York. This is an association of employers with whom the In-
international Moulders' Union has waged many a conflict. Mr. Barr, the chairman of the association, in his address violently assailed the unions to this effect:

Now, he said, that peace has returned we cannot compete in the world market while keeping up the eight-hour day and present high wages in our mines and factories, and he wants these improvements revoked.

The unions, he continued, would like the soldiers returning from Europe not to receive employment without the unions' consent. But the soldiers do not sympathize with Socialism in industry and will want to have a say in the matter. Mr. Barr evidently wishes and believes that the boys will side with the employers in labor conflicts and act as strikebreakers.

The manufacturers of the country, he went on, should insist upon a dissolution of the strangling compact between politics and labor at the expense of industry. Let the Government and its staff of officials be deprived of their power. In the near peace times the manufacturers should not be asked to give up the open shop. Mr. Barr, however, would like the captains of industry and masters of finance to be free to strangle the laboring masses at will by means of the open shop.

* * *

Not long ago the American Gear Manufacturers' Association held its convention in Syracuse, and a Mr. Otis dangled before his hearers a tantalizing prospect of the labor situation. The armistice had then not yet been signed. He said:

"The time will come when labor will throw up its hands and surrender. They will have no other resources; and that will be our opportunity. Foreign labor is essential. . . . Personally I am in favor of importing 2,000,000 Chinese. . . . I also advocate the importation of German prisoners. I cannot think of any more pleasing prospect than to have 200 Huns working for me, with a gun in my hand and none in theirs. I think I would greatly enjoy it."

This employer wants to go back to the slavery of the ancient Pharaohs. Were the now emancipated German people to hear this, what would they think of America?

* * *

What has the American labor movement to say to all this? Would it not be advisable for the American Federation of Labor to call a special convention for considering reconstruction plans and preparing the workers for the coming struggle, economically and politically. True, President Gompers uttered a protest. But will this protest be of any avail?

Of course, it is possible and perhaps probable that industry will be booming and the foes of labor will have to unbend from their threatening attitude. But should an unexpected situation bring about an economic crisis and serious unemployment, what remedy therefore has the American labor movement?

At the last convention of the American Federation of Labor a committee was elected to consider the question of reconstruction and bring a report to the next convention. It is too long to wait until June, 1919. World occurrences are coming to pass with lightning rapidity. Only a month ago the war was raging. Now we have peace and new anxieties.

The slow-moving British workers were early in the field with a far-reaching reconstruction program, long before there even dawned a prospect of winning the war. And we, quick-lunch Americans, seem to be so remiss and indifferent that we even let the Republicans gain a majority in Congress.

We should at least keep our organizations in fighting trim. With less representatives in the State legislatures and almost no representation in Congress we should hold fast to our unions and be on the lookout earnestly and resolutely.
WALSH RESIGNS FROM WAR LABOR BOARD

The National War Labor Board was appointed only for the time of the war and partly for the purpose of preventing stoppages of production for the war.

Now that the war is over and war materials are no more required, the War Labor Board both from a legal and practical point of view does not seem to be within its proper sphere. No wonder then that Frank P. Walsh has tendered his resignation to President Wilson.

Walsh gives private reasons for the step; but the truth is that he could not now pursue his task with such authority and positive tone as formerly. Officially the war will not be ended until after the peace protocol is signed, and this will not be accomplished until the end of the winter. It is a condition which is neither war nor peace, and earnest people like Walsh find themselves out of joint in their positions.

As the end of the war has come suddenly the work of the Board has been left unfinished. Last month the War Labor Board announced that since its inception in April, 1916, it has made awards and disposed of 358 disputes in war industries. On November 1 there were yet 315 cases awaiting settlement. In all, 673 cases were filed with the Board between April 1 and November 1.

In general the National War Labor Board has done much good. It has proclaimed the right of the workers to organize. In many large industries the eight hour day and time and a half for overtime has been ordered and a living wage fixed in all the 358 cases.

SOME INTERESTING CASES.

In the dispute with the meat packers which began months before the Board was in shape for action the packers were compelled to concede, step by step, the justice of the living wage, and the workers of Waynesboro, Penn., were so poorly paid that their demands for increased pay were a dollar a day less than the Board had determined was a minimum wage.

At a recent meeting in New York Walsh related his experiences as follows:

"In practically every case that was brought to us, the employers told us that the granting of the living wage would ruin the industry. The only reply we had was that in that case, the industry would have to go. If an industry honestly conducted cannot be made to pay a living wage, then it must be parasitic and an unnecessary burden upon the people. In the few cases where the product may be essential but the manufacture of it not commercially profitable, the Government must take it over."

"By extensive scientific studies we came to the conclusion that seventy-three cents an hour was the minimum living wage; but we found that if we applied it to every industry the transfer of wealth would be so great that the Government plans for taxation would be overturned and perhaps the war would be lost. For that reason we set the minimum at forty-two cents, which provides a bare subsistence for the normal family of five.

"To the public service corporation that pleaded bankruptcy if the living wage were paid, we said: 'If you had foresight enough to provide for the increased cost of material, you should have had foresight enough to pay for the increased cost of labor.' To the employer that claimed the right to discharge the unsatisfactory employee we replied that the worker had a property right in his job just as surely as the employer had a property right in his factory, and that according to the constitution it could not be taken away from him without due process of law."

Evidently the Government is not eager to accept Walsh's resignation. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, has written a letter to Frank P. Walsh and William H. Taft, joint chairmen of the Board, asking them to continue their services. He writes:

"While an armistice has been declared we have not yet reached the status of peace. That will not be reached until the President's proclamation has been issued after the peace treaties have been signed and
approved by the Senate. In the meantime many problems of production and readjustment will have to be dealt with. For these reasons it is desired that the National War Labor Board continue its activities."

UNCERTAIN TIMES IN STORE FOR LABOR

What is to happen next? To whom will the workers apply in grave disputes with employers? Since many employers have openly declared that they will now try to get even with the workers, the question is: Does it mean that we are to revert to strikes and the ill winds they bring in their train? It is hard to answer the question. The workers in every industry must be ready. Where they have a strong union and trade is busy no anxiety is called for. Yet we must expect uncertain times.

Progressive people have a hard task before them. The recent election has shown that the American people is still largely indifferent. Evidently the masses do not quite perceive who are their friends and whom to place in power. The result of the election has given the capitalist press cause to turn around and get on the side of capital. Here and there capitalists call for wage reductions and longer hours. "Certainly," say their backers, the reactionary press. In a sense the reconstruction period is fraught with danger. Public opinion is confused. Those who have never had deep convictions and social ideals are apt to seize on any sort of opinion, and a tactical mistake on the part of labor leaders or the rank and file may lead to reactionary measures, particularly because of the uncertain situation in the new European republics.

The new world that the war was going to bring us has not yet arrived, because a new world means new men and women, thoughtful men, honest and earnest men. In the presence of such men and women we would be beyond danger.

A PLAN FOR THE NEAR FUTURE

Frank P. Walsh has a plan for the near future. Not long ago he was asked at a gathering: "How will the work of the War Labor Board contribute to the work of reconstruction after the war?" His answer follows:

"In the first place, a provision that there shall be no strikes should hardly be written into the statutes, but it might easily be stipulated that they should be used only as a last resort, when all other means have been exhausted and proved unavailing. Then the workers should be guaranteed the right to organize and to carry on collective bargaining, and there should be a provision in the law a notice to the Supreme Court not to nullify it. Finally, the worker must be guaranteed a living wage.

"Outside of those declarations the workers must depend on education and their economic strength, (the strength of organization). You cannot demand more of the law, for if compulsory arbitration is provided you run right up against the constitutional provision which prohibits involuntary servitude. I hope and firmly believe that industry will prosper by voluntary cooperation and not by compulsion."

MOONEY'S PROSECUTORS UNDER SUSPICION

On December 13th next, Mooney is to die on the gallows if the executioner's hand is not stayed. All the efforts of his advocates and friends seem to have been misspent. But in the last days of his life there is probably to be uncovered the entire nefarious plot. The director of employment, John B. Densmore, who was sent to San Francisco some time ago by Secretary of Labor Wilson to investigate government affairs, has addressed a report from which it appears that the entire case against Mooney, Mrs. Rena Mooney, and Billings was made to order for a large sum of money. A former judge of the California Supreme Court is mentioned in the case and a payment of $410,000. The report further refers to a state official in connection with whom certain things "render it incredible that he should be either impartial or honest in the conduct of a case of this nature; that he is and has been for some time past cooperating with notorious jury and case fixers."

At this writing a movement is in progress to call a general strike in various parts of the country, should Mooney not be granted a new trial or a pardon.

Judge Griffin, the judge who set the day for Mooney's execution, sent a letter to Governor Stephens of California asking for a conditional pardon, as right and justice demand it. The following passage occurs in the letter:

"The situation of Mooney," the letter reads, "is, that he stands condemned to death
upon evidence concerning the truth of which there has arisen a very grave doubt. Since his trial facts have come to light which seriously reflect upon the credibility of three of the four witnesses, and shake the very foundation of the cases upon which the people rely for his conviction.

THE WORKERS’ REWARD FOR PATRIOTISM?
Frank J. Hayes, president of the United Mine Workers, in discussing the suggestion that wages must be cut, says:

“Wages have gone up during the war, but they have not advanced proportionately to the increased cost of living. All authorities agree that there is no likelihood of prices declining for at least a year. But despite this prophecy, councils of employers are now devising programs to better wages down. It is this scheming that organized labor must combat. We can not parley, linger, wait. Our forces must be up and doing, not only to thwart attempted reduction but to win additional gains to meet living costs which present-day wages are so inadequate to cope with.

“We have talked billions during the war, and as a result commercial leaders who used to think in millions are now planning billion-dollar enterprises. Corners for domestic trade, corners for foreign trade, are the dreams of leaders of proposed gigantic combines to realize their ambitions. And, of course, these leaders point with assurance to their ability to decrease wages to price their production beyond competition.

“Labor must accept no reductions. Having patriotically mined the coal, manufactured the munitions, built the ships and offered their sons, that made possible the defeat of autocracy, labor will not accept as its reward a reduction in wages.”

METAL TRADERS OPPOSE PIECE WORK
Seattle.—The metal trades council has recorded its opposition to race horse methods in shops.

“We declare ourselves on general principles,” the resolution states, “opposed to any piece work, bonus, contract, task, merit (so-called), premiums, or any similar system of working other than day work, based on the principle of a fair day’s work for a fair day’s pay, and further declare it to be our purpose to abolish any and all such systems of working on all work under our jurisdiction, as soon as the industry returns to normal conditions, or when the employers attempt to lay off men or reduce wages.”

It is declared that these systems create distrust, dishonesty and uncertainty among the workers, and that “the most highly skilled worker, whose work is more varied and not subject to piece work rates, receives less pay than the less skilled piece worker, which results in a distinct loss, through removing the incentive to become skilled.”

RESOLUTIONS OF LOREDA LABOR CONVENTION
Early last month a successful international labor convention was held at Loreda, Texas. Mexican labor and American organization of the border states were fully represented. President Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor attended the convention and a Pan-American Labor Federation was formed.

The convention was in session four days and the relations of workers in the various countries were fully discussed and understandings reached. The following officers were elected: Chairman, Samuel Gompers; English secretary, John Murray; Spanish secretary, Canuto Vargas. Panama was selected as the next convention city.

The following set of resolutions was adopted:

“Resolved, That we declare that the following essential fundamental principles must underlie the peace as well as the principles of all civilized nations:

“A league of the free peoples of the world, in a common covenant for genuine and practical cooperation to secure justice and therefore peace in relations between nations.

“No political or economic restrictions meant simply to benefit some nations and to cripple or embarrass others.

“No reprisals based on vindictive purpose or desire to injure, but to right manifest wrong.

“Recognition of rights of small nations and of the principle that no people must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live.

“No territorial changes or adjustments of powers except in furtherance of the welfare
of the people affected and in furtherance of world peace; and, be it further.

Resolved, That, in addition to these basic principles, there should be incorporated in the treaty which shall constitute the guide of nations of the new period and conditions into which we are entering, the following declarations fundamental to the best interests of all nations and of vital importance to wage earners:

"That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of human beings is not a commodity or article of commerce;

"Industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted;

"That in law and in practice the principle shall be recognized that the labor of human beings is not a commodity or article of commerce;

"Industrial servitude shall not exist except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted;

"The right of free association, free assembly, free speech and free press shall not be abridged;

"That the seamen of the merchant marine shall be guaranteed the right of leaving their vessels when the same are safe in harbor;

"No article or commodity shall be shipped or delivered in international commerce in the production of which children under the age of 16 years have been employed or permitted to work;

"It shall be declared that the basic work day in industry and commerce shall not exceed eight hours a day;

"Trial by jury should be established."

Full Satisfaction for all the Cleveland Cloak, Skirt and Dressmakers

The full significance of our great gain in Cleveland was brought out last month even more than before. Not only have the workers gained general rights and privileges denied them in the past, but every worker may be proud of the fact that in the recent settlement provision was made for him or for her personally.

Last month the referees, appointed by Secretary of War Baker to adjust the dispute between the workers and their employers, revised the scales of wages and added a "Schedule B" to the "Schedule A," as Schedule A had not embraced all the workers.

In Cleveland cloak and skirt making is more complicated than in other cities. Some Cleveland shops operate on the section system. Every branch or occupation as cutting, pressing or operating, is divided in parts and every employee performs only a part of the work all the time. For some of these workers the referees had provided no definite minimum scales. Schedule A provides wage scales for the fully skilled and some semi-skilled workers. But many less skilled employees performing minor operations were omitted, and it was not clear what their wages should be and who was to determine them.

Thus the referees were called upon to decide the wages for these workers, and with this in view a second hearing was held which began in New York at the rooms of the Bar Association and concluded in Washington on November 9th.

President Schlesinger and Vice-President M. Pearlstein represented the workers at this as at the previous hearings and made a vigorous defence of their interests against the claims of the Cleveland manufacturers, who were assisted by their experts, lawyers and statisticians. As may be seen from the new schedule the question at the hearing hinged upon the less skilled workers and whether the referees should determine their wages or whether this power should be left to the employers.

In the statement accompanying the revised schedule the referees make this observation:

As the decision stood, it was left for the different manufacturers to determine the scale of wages to be paid to the workers who should not have attained the proficiency necessary to qualify them to receive the wages fixed for the respective classes of occupations for which minimum scales were established. The exercise of such power, however honestly intended, would almost inevitably have led to repeated disputes calling for constant mediation and arbitration by the referees.
Such a result obviously would be not only undesirable but might be dangerous to the industry.

In Schedule "B" every worker's part and the wages to be paid him are clearly defined. It covers the case of certain classes of workers who were not provided for in Schedule "A." From their statement it is evident that the referees considered it their duty to mete out justice to the second and third rate workers as well as to the fully skilled mechanics.

Summarized Details of Schedule "B."

Schedule "B" has a separate scale for the workers at cloaks and suits and separate scales for the dressmakers and skirtmakers, respectively. Schedule "A" in referring to the cutters provides only for the pattern graders, fully skilled cutters and lining and cloth pilers. But the revised schedule specifies the wages also of the semi-skilled cutters who can cut only certain parts of a garment. These receive under the schedule $29 a week during the first year and $31 thereafter. Then there are lining pilers whose wages are fixed at $22 per week.

Regarding Operators

In the new schedule the operators are more distinctly classified. Aside from the skilled operator who is now placed in Class "A" and paid $32 per week there is a Class "B" operator, paid $30.

In the same way the operators who do not make a complete garment are classified into "A" and "B." The former's wages are fixed at $27 and those of the latter at $24 per week.

Then Schedule "B" includes workers at minor operations, sewing seams, linings, cuffs, flaps and belts. These are to be paid $22.

Machine operators at piece work are equally placed in Classes "A" and "B." But the basic rate per hour is the same for both—skilled operators 85 cents and semi-skilled operators or helpers 75 cents.

Regarding Pressers, Men

Schedule "B" adds semi-skilled pressers to the list, those who perform only a section of the work. These are to receive $28 per week in the first year and $30 thereafter.

Under-pressers are placed in Classes "A" and "B." according to their work and their wages are to be $26 and $24 per week, respectively.

Pressers on piece work, though classified into "A" and "B," receive the same basic rate per hour; upper pressers 85 cents and under-pressers 75 cents.

Machine Operators, Women

Schedule "B" includes workers on minor operations, sewing seams, linings, cuffs, flaps and belts, who are provided for as follows: After the first year their wages are $16 per week and after the second year $18. Skilled and semi-skilled operators' wages are $22 and $21, respectively, while special machine operators sewing padding, hooks and eyes, clasps, buttons, etc., are to be paid $16 per week.

Women Pressers

Women pressers are provided for as follows. Complete under-pressers, $21.50 per week. Part pressers, after first year in trade, $18, and after the second year, $20.

Hand Seamstresses

These workers are classed into "A" and "B." The former is described as all-around skilled and her wages are $20 per week. The latter, less skilled, described as lining setters or basters, receives $18. Then there is a semi-skilled seamstress on parts of garments receiving $16.50.

Button sewers and those fixing hooks and eyes, clasps and labels, receive $15 per week.

SEPARATE SCALES FOR THE DRESS INDUSTRY

Schedule "A" lists all branches of trade together. But in Schedule "B," the dressmakers and skirtmakers are listed separately.

In regard to dress cutters the wages are the same as those of the cloak and suit cutters, with the addition of semi-
skilled cutters whose wages are $29 per week the first year and $31 thereafter.

**Machine Operators at Dresses, Men**

Operators making complete garments get $32 per week, while helpers after the first year get $22.50 and after two years $27.

Operators on piece work get the same basic rate per hour as in the cloak and suit industry; skilled 85 cents and helpers 75 cents.

Sample tailors, making original designers' samples, get $28 per week.

**Dress Pressers, Men**

Aside from the top pressers whose wages are $31 per week, Schedule "B" includes a class of top pressers doing simpler work and receiving $28 per week, while under-pressers get $24.

Machine top pressers get $25 per week and machine under-pressers $22.

The basic wages per hour of pressers on piece work remain as before; top pressers 85 cents and under-pressers 70 cents.

**Machine Operators, Women**

First rate operators on dressers receive $22 per week. Helpers doing medium joining, body-closing and edge-stitching $19, while those engaged on minor operations—simple seams, pockets, belts, linings, etc., get $16.

The basic rate per hour for machine operators, women, on piece work remains 55 cents for operators and 50 cents for helpers.

Hand sewers of buttons, hooks and eyes and at similar operations receive $15.

Sample makers, women, get $21; ironers, $19, and the basic rate for piece workers is 45 cents per hour.

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**WAGE SCALE FOR SKIRT MAKERS**

In Schedule "B" the wages of pattern graders is the same as in Schedule "A," namely $34 per week. For other cutters the wages are as follows: Full-fledged, $30.50; semi-skilled, $28; pilots, $26.

Operators, men, are provided for as before, namely operators, $32; helpers, $27. Those working on minor operations receive $22 per week.

The basic rate for piece workers is as follows:

Operators 85 cents per hour, helpers 75 cents and those working on minor operations, 50 cents.

Sample tailors at skirts receive $25 per week, as in Schedule "A."

Upper pressers, men, are to be paid $29; under-pressers $24; part or piece pressers $20; machine pressers (their work to be defined) $25.

The basic rate for pressers on piece work is as follows: Upper pressers 80 cents per hour; under-pressers and machine pressers 70 cents and part pressers 50 cents.

For skirt operators, women, the wages remain as in Schedule "A" $21 for operators and $19 for helpers. Schedule "B," however, includes workers on minor operations—hooks and eyes, clasps, hemstitching, basting, etc. These are to receive $16.

The basic rate for women operators on piece work is 50 cents per hour for regular operators, 45 cents for helpers and 40 cents for those engaged on minor operations.

Skirt finishers sewing on hooks and eyes, buttons, fasteners, labels and doing work requiring no special skill, are to get $15 per week.

Sample tailors, women, receive $21 per week.

**Beginners**

In order to avoid disputes the referees fixed the wages of beginners in the various occupations for the first year as follows:

Men—for the first six weeks $12 per week; for the next four and one-half months $15; for the last six months $18.

Women—for the first six weeks $10 per week; for the next four and one-half months $12; for the next three months $13.50, and for the last three months in the year $15. After the first year every worker gets the wages laid down in the schedules.
In view of the new schedules the referees extended the time to November 30th during which the employers have to pay the excess wages due the workers from August 1st, as agreed.

The referees further request that, pending the determination of issues raised by the workers, principally the creation of a machinery for adjusting differences, the work in slack seasons shall be distributed as equally as possible among the workers of the same class.

Our union has thus achieved a gain of much consequence. The wishes of all the workers have been satisfied. The minimum scales are now so clear that every worker, man or woman, knows how much he or she has to receive in wages.

And the workers realize that without the colossal efforts of the union and its representatives their gains would have been impossible. For years the struggle has been going on. But our union has not lost heart or hope and has not spared money and organizing effort.

Now that the union has pursued its duty to such a splendid close, the Cleveland cloak, skirt and dressmakers must do their duty—maintain and strengthen their locals and thus add to the organized power of their union by which they have been helped to a better life.

EDUCATIONAL COURSES BEGIN DECEMBER 2

The Educational Committee is to be congratulated on this winter’s program at the Washington Irving High School, which opens on Monday, December 2d. The program includes a course of lectures by Dr. Everett Dean Martin to which members’ attention is particularly directed; for Dr. Martin as an expounder of William James’s psychology has much to say on the relation of the individual to society and the meaning of democracy. No one who wishes to understand the problems of to-day in the light of science, philosophy and psychology can well afford to miss this course of lectures. Dr. Martin has a message and he brings it home in a direct, plain yet forcible manner.

The courses are free to all members of the International on presentation of the union book. Members desiring to attend the lectures are requested to register immediately at the office of their local union.

Dr. Everett Dean Martin will open the season with his course on evolution and the labor movement, Monday evening, December 2d, at 8 o’clock. This course includes twenty lectures, and is divided into three sections. The first section discusses the meaning of evolution.

The titles of the lectures of this group are: “The Earth Formed by Natural Sources,” “Where Did Life Come From?” “The Evolution of Life,” “Man’s Place in Nature,” “Darwin and His Followers,” “Herbert Spencer” and “Bergson and the Doctrine of Determinism.”

Dr. Martin has been lecturing at Cooper Union to large audiences now for the third year, and his course in the Workers’ University of the International promises to be equally well received. Other courses scheduled at the Washington Irving High School are:

Wednesday, 8 p. m.—“American Institutions,” by Chester W. Maxey of the University of Wisconsin.

Thursday, 8 p. m.—“Economics,” by Dr. W. E. Mosher.

Friday, 8 p. m.—“Social Problems,” by Dr. Alexander Goldenweiser of Columbia University.

Friday, 8 p. m.—“Social Interpretation of Literature,” by Dr. Henry Newman.

Saturday, 4 p. m.—“Problems of the Labor Movement”; “Labor and the Law” (three lectures), by Dr. Harry Laidler, author of “Boycotts and the Labor Struggle”; “Labor Legislation” (six lectures), by Solon de Leon of the American Association for Labor Legislation; “Trade Union Problems” (ten lectures).

Sunday, 3 p. m.—“Public Speaking—Elementary”; 4:30 p. m, “Public Speaking—Advanced,” by Gustave A. Schultz of City College.

Varied Activities of General Office
Jottings from General Secretary Baroff's Report

A glance at Secretary Baroff's report to the meeting of the G. E. B. in session in Chicago at the end of last month reveals a manifold activity in various directions. No less than twelve committees, all members of the board, appointed at the last sessions in Philadelphia, have since met and discussed matters of far-reaching interest, tending to promote the welfare of the locals and their membership. These committees were expected to report on their work and the results achieved at the Chicago meeting.

A Settlement Effected for the Neckwear Cutters

Secretary Baroff reports that the strike of the ladies' neckwear cutters of some two months ago and their request for assistance had called for his attention and had been referred to a committee of the board consisting of Vice-Presidents J. Halperin, H. Wander and himself. Brother Gollin of Local No. 10 was temporarily appointed to attend to the matter and he succeeded, after meeting with the strikers for two weeks, in settling the strike in a reasonably satisfactory way. The application of these cutters for a charter was to be acted on at the meeting.

Calling for the Sanitarium Assessment

On October 8, 1918, Brother Baroff issued the following communication to the Executive Boards of all affiliated local unions:

The time has finally come when the sanitarium plan, sanctioned and ordered by the Boston convention of our International Union, is to be realized.

The International Union has purchased during the last month a large tract of land in the mountains, consisting of over 300 acres of land and forest, an ideal place in which to build a sanitarium for the afflicted men and women of our union. A place where they can gather new health and hope so that they may again take their place in life along with their more fortunate brothers and sisters.

The building of an International sanitarium will require large funds of money. In undertaking to carry out this plan, the convention provided that the great membership of our union create and maintain it by a yearly assessment of $1 per member. The first year of the sanitarium will involve the greatest expenditure, and if we are to begin to care for our tuberculosis members even on a small scale, within the next six or eight months, we must invest in buildings and general preparations not less than sixty or seventy thousand dollars.

The International has already invested $15,000 in this venture, and we are ready to proceed speedily with the big plan before us. Accordingly, we have issued the Sanitarium Assessment Stamp of $1 per year, divided into four quarters of 25 cents each, to be paid by each member of our union quarterly, to sustain the International Sanitarium. The first quarter of this assessment is dated from October 1, 1918, to January 1, 1919, and the following quarters continue in sequence.

Brothers and sisters, your International has set out to make this sanitarium a model and a great accomplishment for our labor movement. Rally loyally to its support. Make this undertaking the great success it deserves to be, and let us with united efforts help to check the proletarian disease in our ranks and give relief to those unfortunate among us who were stricken by it in the cruel battle for a living.

We are forwarding to you a number of sanitarium stamps under separate cover, and will supply you with additional stamps to meet fully the requirements of your membership.

Fraternally yours,
ABRAHAM BAROFF,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

Dr. Price has also submitted a statement in connection with the building of the sanitarium which outlines in brief a project for the construction of buildings and the minimum expenses necessary for it. He says:

It will be necessary to spend, about $75,000 until July 1, 1919, in order to have the whole project on a running basis. We shall
then, however, have a water supply and drainage system fit for all the time and for the maximum of patients up to 250. We shall also have a prominent building to house at least 24 patients with an administration building, barn, etc., constructed from the present building, a running farm, vegetable garden, berry plants, fruit trees, hay, and so forth. Also full equipment for at least a year to come. It is difficult to make an estimate as to what the prominent building for 60 patients with administration, hospital and other buildings combined will cost. I believe a maximum sum of $100,000 may be needed.

Continuing his report Secretary Baroff says:

During the discussion of this project we came to the realization that it will be impossible for the International to raise a sum amounting to $75,000 up to July, 1919, even if the conditions in the industry should improve and the payment of the assessment be normal. It was further stated by Dr. Price that a semi-open air structure or a lean-to with room for 24 patients can be built for $25,000 and completed by next June, which would give us sufficient space to take care of our own tubercular cases by that time. I wish to point out at this juncture that Locals Nos. 9, 23 and 35 have accumulated sanatorium funds. This money was collected from their membership for the purpose of building a sanatorium and for no other. Now that the International has taken over the sanatorium problem, it is the most logical and legitimate thing that the above mentioned locals transfer all the money, that they have collected for that purpose to the union sanatorium of the International. With this fund at its disposal the International could go ahead and carry out any plan that you may approve of at this meeting, without having to wait for a year or more until sufficient money will have accumulated from the collection of the assessment. I hope that the board will consider this question and render a decision that will enable the Sanatorium Committee to realize its functions and carry them out.

The Baltimore ladies' tailors, Local No. 101, had a strike in the trade which lasted for a few weeks and which was settled satisfactorily to the workers. Vice-President Halpern assisted in the settlement. The following terms were part of the agreement signed with the employers:

1. Minimum wages, $30 per week.
2. A forty-nine-hour work week.
3. Time and a half for overtime.
4. The week-work system only to prevail in the shops.

In his report Secretary Baroff refers to the successful strike of the New York Ladies' Tailors. This is described with more detail elsewhere in this issue. Brother Baroff says:

"The union was strengthened to a great extent owing to this strike, and the workers received average increases of $4 per week. At the writing of this report the committee appointed to amalgamate Locals No. 3 and No. 80 have carried out their purpose and they have decided to give the amalgamated locals the charter No. 22."

The report conveys the information that Vice-Presidents Fannia M. Cohn and S. Lefkovits were assigned to the territory of Bridgeport and New Haven, Conn., to help the corset workers' locals.

Record Department Established

Secretary Baroff reports that in accordance with the decision of the last convention, a department of Records and Statistics has been established in the general office, with Brother N. M. Minkow, lately secretary-treasurer of Local No. 9, as director. Brother Minkow entered on his duties on November 4, 1918. In a communication to the local secretaries the general secretary says:

The work of this department may be summarized as follows:

1. To gather and preserve a complete and up-to-date record of each individual member of each and every local of our International. This will require, first of all, a complete list of the dues-paying members of your local. Likewise you will have to advise the department, by means of special forms which have been prepared, of all members who have been suspended, expelled, transferred, etc., as well as those who are coming into your local.

2. The department will also maintain a research division. Information relative to working hours, wages and conditions of
labor prevailing throughout the ladies' garment and allied industries will be furnished to all locals.

This in substance is what we hope the department will accomplish. Accordingly,

1. Have your green sheets posted to November 1, 1918.

2. Enter on membership ledger all new members to whom member cards were issued up to and including October 31, 1918.

3. Enter on membership ledger all transfers, withdrawals, suspensions and fines issued or imposed prior to November 1, 1918. (Where ledger cards are used remove or reverse same after entries have been made.)

4. Print no new forms of whatsoever kind, as the general office will provide you with same.

The department is expected to be in running order about the middle of January and the cooperation of every local is required. The report continues:

We expect to have to employ a number of clerks to transcribe the membership from the different locals on our records. As I have stated once before, the Record Department will surely cost the International—the first year—about $10,000, but it is doubtless worth while to spend the money as we all expect that the International will gain a lot of strength through this department, will save money to every local and will be in a position to know the actual condition and standing of every local and every member within our International Union. These facts will be absolutely invaluable and indispensable in connection with the establishment of the International Sanatorium.

Weekly Organ Expected in January

We have made a number of practical steps towards the realization of the project to amalgamate all the publications of our International into one. It was finally decided to have three issues of this publication. One of 40,000 copies in Jewish and two of 10,000 copies each in English and Italian. We have received estimates from reliable printing shops for the printing of these issues and are at present compiling lists of the members of the International and their addresses for a stenciled mailing list. The last item is about the biggest part of the work on hand, and we have urged all the officers of the locals to give us personal assistance in this matter. We have also made arrangements with a paper house to supply us with paper by the year. The details of this project will be gradually worked out and will soon take on a practical shape. The name of the publication and the editorial staff have not yet been decided upon by President Schlesinger, and I trust that we shall be all ready for this publication by the middle of January.

* * *

The question of reconstruction will probably affect our International to some degree during the next months. It is estimated that a few thousand of our members have been called into the army during the past year. A considerable proportion of these will come back and seek their places in the shops. A number of cloakmakers have also been employed during the past two years in shops where army uniforms are being made. When the making of army uniforms will gradually cease, these men and women will seek employment at their former occupation. It will be a question of fitting in and adjusting a large number of workers who have dropped out of the trade, and it is difficult at the present moment to say to what extent these factors may hamper conditions in our trades. It may be presumed that inasmuch as the number of ladies' garment workers has not increased during the past four or five years, the difficulty will not be great and the normal demand in the shops will equal the supply that may be created. Of course, all will depend upon the conditions of the next few seasons in our trade in general. We may, however, expect a good deal of hardship in the raincoat trade, which has grown out of its proportions during the past few years and is at the present instance numbering 3,500 men in New York City in comparison with 1,500 in 1916.

We have issued charters to waistmakers in Los Angeles under No. 93 and also a charter to ladies' tailors in Cleveland under No. 94. Local No. 44, Cloak Operators of Chicago, has asked that we give them another number and we have changed their number from No. 44 to No. 5.
Labor Day Celebration of Boston Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 49,
at Camp Unity, Cape Cod, Mass.
AMONG OUR LOCAL UNIONS

PROBLEMS CONFRONTING NEW YORK WAISTMAKERS

Toward the end of last month a committee of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 25, consisting of S. Seidman, manager; I. Schoenholtz, secretary; M. Spivack, manager of the Independent department; Ch. Jacobson of the Financial department and several members of the Executive Board met in first conference the representatives of the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association.

Mr. Gordon, the lawyer of the association, announced the intention of the employers not to submit certain difficult points to the Board of Arbitration constituted in the industry under the protocol of perpetual peace. Still, it is difficult to foretell what the conferences will bring with them—peace or war in the industry. If the manufacturers seriously contemplate the elimination of the Board of Arbitration and follow the path trodden by the cloak manufacturers in 1916 they will subsequently find to their cost that those who counselled them to such a step gave them ill advice. The manufacturers are probably testing the union's attitude and power of resistance, and as soon as they find that the union stands firm they will change their tone.

Vice-President Seidman, the manager of Local No. 25, has this to say concerning the problems confronting the union and the improvements that will be asked of the manufacturers:

Owing to the war the waist and dressmakers have suffered more than other workers. While the cost of living has been rising for all alike, other trades had sufficient work and are still busy. But our people have not been working for the last two months. Our agreements with the employers expire on January 1st, and a new agreement is being drawn up. This year we have larger problems than ever before.

One of the problems is the question of contracting, or sub-manufacturing. That, in plain language, means that our trade is going back to its downtown shops, in this way: A manufacturer has a number of shops under different names, but only one is under agreement with the union, while for the others he is not responsible. In course of the last two years especially, many of the large shops have retained the sample makers and cutters; others have reduced their unionized plants and opened shops under different names. In this a radical change must be made.

If our agreement with the employers is to be renewed amicably we shall stipulate a provision that will make them responsible for all shops with which they are connected. But this alone will not be sufficient, because if we are to rely solely on their responsibility it will avail us little. We shall have to apply all our energy for an active campaign to organize the small shops that have been opened during last year; and the difficulty in our industry is that we shall always have to organize new shops, as they are arising daily with mushroom growth. Every year several hundred shops close their doors and new ones spring up.

Our union will have to devote serious attention to the question of changing the entire system of work in the trade, because organizing and reorganizing new shops will not help us to remove the evil of competition between the workers of one shop and another. Our union must be reconstructed. We have to make a series of improvements in our agreements with individual employers as well as with the association. We also have new demands upon them, namely, (1) regarding the hours of sending out, or, as it is now called, buying the work; (2) settling prices on time; (3) attending complaints on time; (4) regarding the reorganizing of the shops; (5) regarding shops not employing members of the union, yet belonging to the association, and (6) regarding discharge.

These demands are being addressed to the employers, requiring an answer. All these questions are vital to the existence of the union. Until the advent of the season we
expect to be prepared and ready for every answer of the employers. Meetings are being arranged for the purpose of discussing these questions with the workers.

The present trade dullness will not keep our workers from insisting on their rights and all that's coming to them. They must be prepared for eventualities; for the employers think that they have every right, even the right of starving the workers.

True, we have peaceful intentions, provided no attempt is made to deprive us of our rights. But experience has taught us that we cannot rely on the employers' conception of fairness. We shall have to arrive at a clear understanding with them as to a satisfactory way of preserving peace in our industry—a peace that will assure the workers of a decent living and of being treated as human beings. Failing that, the waist and dressmakers will always be ready to defend their rights, no matter by what means.

**ACTIVITY AMONG THE CHILDREN'S DRESSMAKERS**

Local No. 50, Children's Dressmakers' Union, are manifesting much activity in preparation for the near future. Their agreement with the employers also expires at the end of the year, and the union is ready to renew it upon the employers conceding certain improvements.

Brother H. Greenberg, the manager of the local, is quite optimistic in regard to the situation. For three years since 1916 it has succeeded in maintaining its more than 3,000 members by caring for their interests in the shops and protecting them against wrong. Naturally they are solid behind their local executive board and proud of the organization. They realize from past and present experience how they would suffer if they did not put the union in a position to protect them. If the employers often respect their wishes it is because the union has become a power to be reckoned with. Small wonder...
then that they are ever ready to fight under its banner to the last drop of energy.

The activity of the local is evident from the fact that for more than a year it published its own organ, "Our Aim," in English, Yiddish, and Italian. Recently the publication has been discontinued for the reason that the International Union is about to publish a weekly organ in accordance with the decision of the last convention, and the new organ is awaited by the local with impatience.

Local No. 50 has four branch offices; uptown on Seventeenth Street, downtown on Canal Street, one in Brooklyn and one in Brownsville.

HOUSEDRESS AND KIMONO WORKERS LOCAL 41

Much that has been said about Local No. 50 is equally applicable to Local No. 41. The membership of this union is likewise composed of young girls who manifest keen enthusiasm for their local union. Here the membership is somewhat smaller, but in good standing with the union—a fact of which Brother Zucker, the local manager, is very proud.

Local No. 41 similarly has a collective agreement with the employers' association in the industry, entered into in 1916, after a general strike, and recently extended to January 1, 1919. So that the union is preparing to renew it and secure improved conditions.

First of all the union stresses the point that the association shall be an association in fact, or should disband. If the association will remain constituted as at present the union will refuse to deal with it collectively. While the union controls sixty shops in Greater New York the association consists only of seven members, employing in the aggregate only one-fourth of the union membership; the remaining three-fourths being employed in independent shops. Thus the connection of the union with the association is fruitless and ineffective, says Brother Zucker. This situation makes it necessary that Local No. 41 should be prepared for a general strike.

The demands to be presented to the employers are the eight-hour working day; half a day on Saturday; an increase of 25 per cent. in wages; three legal holidays to be paid for, namely Election Day, Labor Day and Washington's Birthday; a minimum wage scale for all branches of the trade; a weekly wage of $27 for pressers, men, and $20 for pressers, women. If the association is to be reorganized, the union shall have the right of sending its business agents to the shops for the purpose of investigating conditions, as it acts in regard to the independent shops.

Local No. 41 controls mostly the housedress shops. Few kimono shops are now under its control. The reason for this is that the kimono shops, in which are made the "Japanese kimonos," are in the hands of Syrian and Spanish or Portuguese workers. Difficulties of language and the fact that they are all relatives and countrymen stand in the way of organizing them. In past years these workers were composed exclusively of newly-arrived immigrants from the said countries. They were so poor and lowly that they could be got to toil for the most miserable wages, and no access to them could be gained.

Our International Union has made several attempts to organize them, but with little success. Now, Brother Zucker believes the time for getting access to them is more favorable, as during the war there were few immigrants from those countries, and the workers have become more or less accustomed to American ways.

Plans are under way for placing in that field organizers who are familiar with the said languages; and with the assistance of the International Union it is hoped to bring them in line in the coming general strike.

On the whole the local union is in fairly good condition. Its young women membership is enthusiastic, inspired with confidence in its plans and ready to back the coming struggle with all the energy it can muster, in order
to secure victory. Needless to say, the International Union will help all the locals whose agreements expire this season to renew them in conferences with the employers and in other ways. President Schlesinger, Secretary Baroff and the General Executive Board are already mapping out their course how to aid these unions in securing their just demands.

WHITEGOODS WORKERS' UNION MODERATE IN ITS DEMANDS

Local No. 62, Whitegoods workers, occupies a prominent place among the solid, strong unions of our International in New York. When it is borne in mind that the great majority of its members are young girls whom it is not easy to organize and difficult to keep together in the union, the solid strength of Local No. 62 is a great achievement. It is hardly necessary to give details in proof of the statement. The fact has been long known in the ranks of the International Union.

It was in 1913 when the Whitegoods Workers' Union first succeeded in establishing a powerful organization, after the general strike in the whitegoods and underwear industry. The workers then waged a brave struggle, and the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association representing the organized employers in the trade was compelled to recognize the union and enter into a peace pact with its representatives; for the union had become a power to be reckoned with. Since then a trade agreement and friendly relations have subsisted between the union and association. Of course, sometimes the interests clash and the relations become strained. But as Brother Shore, the manager of the union, informed me, both sides have done their best to prevent any local dispute bursting into the flame of open conflict as in 1913.

During six years the trade agreement has been twice renewed, in 1915 and 1917, each renewal accompanied by an increase of wages, a slight reduction of hours, and sundry improvements in shop conditions. All this, says Brother Shore, the local has won with the assistance of the International officers in conference with the representatives of the employers. Occasionally excited arguments were used, but the amicable relations have never been broken off.

Ordinary shop disputes between workers and employers are adjusted by the machinery provided for in the agreement. In this case the manager of the union and the manager of the association investigate the grievance and issue a decision.

Just at present the situation is as follows:

On March 17, 1919, the agreement expires. There is a distinct provision to the effect that six months prior to its expiration both parties are to meet and discuss the terms of a further renewal. But as yet the parties have not met. War conditions and the uncertainty of the situation generally are adduced as a reason for the delay. It is, however, suggested that the Cotton Garment Manufacturers' Association has been in no hurry to meet the union because presumably, it has not regarded the time as favorable to itself and has waited for a more opportune moment.

It is explained that the employers have thus probably wished to ward off the new demands of the workers, of which the union has made no secret. The new demands are quite plain and go straight to the point, namely:

1. Higher wages for all week workers and piece workers.
2. Shorter hours.
3. A union shop.

In regard to point 3, Brother Shore explains that in the coming negotiations with the employers the union representatives will not be so compromising as in the past. The time has come, he thinks, for insisting on the manufacturers to be more consistent. In entering into a collective agreement with the union to maintain peace and amicable relations in the industry they thereby recognized the right of the workers to organize for their protection and therefore they should throw no obstacles in the path of the union trying to bring the workers into line or
deny the union's right to control the shops and maintain a thorough union shop.

Brother Shore's claim has much reason on its side. In undertaking to maintain friendly relations with the employers the union shoulders the responsibility of insuring peace in the industry and preventing strikes. But how can the union act up to its responsibility if the manufacturers give the union no possibility to control all the workers in the trade? How can the union assume responsibility for those workers who are not affiliated with the union and not subject to its control? So the demand for a thorough union shop is of vital significance to the Whitegoods Workers' Union will insist upon securing the reform.

In regard to the demand for an increase of wages the attitude of the employers is well known in the trade. They say that the wages are already "high enough." They claim that owing to the shortage of labor they were compelled to raise wages without the union's formal demand. But this "raise" was not generally applicable and the union has attached no importance to it. "We should rather have definitely fixed wage scales for week workers and a standard wage for piece work," said Brother Shore. The determination of wage scales should not be left to the caprice of the employers.

Then the union will insist upon the employers being responsible for the work they send to their contractors. The contracting evil in the whitegoods trade has spread more than ever, and one way to check its growth is to make the manufacturers responsible for the outside shops which do their work.

Local No. 62 is not relying on chance to gain these demands. An effective agitation is being carried on among the rank and file with the object of imparting to them the knowledge of these demands and the efforts of the union on their behalf, and preparing them for eventualities. To test the sentiment of the workers and convince the employers that the masses are solid in their determination to fight for these demands, if a fight should be forced on them, a demonstration took place at Cooper Union on Thursday, November 21. The workers laid aside their work at 2 p.m. mid-may, mustered in great force to hear Congressman Meyer London; S. Shore, their manager; A. Baroff, General Secretary of the International Union; Max Pine of the United Hebrew Trades; Rose Schneiderman and Maud Swartz of the Women's Trade Union League and other speakers. The speakers stressed the point that the war was over; that they might have to fight for their rights and should be ready. This demonstration was a loud and unmistakable intimation to the employers to be reasonable, for the workers would stand by the union and their officers. Local No. 62 would not stand alone; it has the full and undivided support of the International Union, besides a 5,000 membership and a substantial treasury.

The demonstration and the necessities of the industry will make the cotton garment manufacturers pause not to plunge the industry into turmoil with a light heart. Once the parties meet in conference they will find the means of adjusting differences and arrive at a working agreement for a period satisfactory to both sides.

LOCAL No. 80, LADIES TAILORS, AFTER THE STRIKE

The quick victory of the New York Ladies' and Alteration Tailors' Union, Local No. 80, recalls to mind the checkered career of this local union. Ever since 1909 its organization thermometer has registered annual ups and downs. But it is felt now, after the strike, that the local will settle down to a permanent period of consolidation and stability.

On Tuesday, September 24th, the strike had been declared; and Wednesday evening, October 2d, the strike committee disbanded, for a victory was gained; by far the largest number of employers having signed agreements conceding an increase of 20 per cent. in wages and other union conditions. The union has considerably extended its control over the trade and bids fair...
to retain its strengthened influence over the workers even when the season has passed.

A Glance at the Past

In 1911 the Ladies' Tailors' Union, then Local No. 38, emerged triumphantly from a strike which involved this entire branch of trade. Some 6,000 to 8,000 workers were organized. Subsequently all might have been plain sailing but for two disrupting elements. Flushed with victory the active intelligent membership forgot that moderation is a counsel of wisdom in the upbuilding of a union. Aside from this the local leadership was lacking in foresight and tact. Petty shop disputes were made the cause of strikes and created, quite unnecessarily, bad blood between the union and the employers. Thus the local was losing power because its executive board defied not only the employers but also the International Union.

Early in 1912 the General Executive Board revoked the local charter. Two months later the convention decided to restore the charter after restoring order and discipline, and for a number of subsequent years the local could not recover the position it had attained in 1911.

At times, particularly in slack seasons, only a limited number of members to whom the union was a living reality clung to the organization. But under depressing circumstances it was difficult even for the most loyal-hearted ones to manifest their usual enthusiasm. Up to the end of 1916 the outlook for the ladies' tailors continued to be hopeless.

Side by side with the former Local No. 38 there was a local of alteration tailors that had been formed in 1910 as a branch of the Cloak Tailors' Local 9, and subsequently granted a charter as Local No. 30. There was also a union of ladies' tailors in Brooklyn, known as Local No. 65. These locals, from the beginning, kept up a struggle for existence. At the Philadelphia convention in 1916 it was decided that being part of the same trade they might merge their forces with advantage to themselves.

The membership in these three locals have been always working together in the same shops and an amalgamation promised to facilitate their organizing work. Immediately after the convention the idea was carried into effect and the three locals joined forces under the designation "Ladies' and Alteration Tailors' Union, Local No. 80," while the dressmakers were separated from the ladies' tailors and formed into Local No. 90.

This reorganization was carried out early in 1917 under the guidance and with the assistance of the General Executive Board. Vice-President S. Lefkovits was placed in charge of affairs; and while trying to evolve order and proper management within he was called upon at the same time to launch an agitation and an organizing campaign, preparing the workers for future events. Much clearing work had to be done; for the path to his eventual goal was overlaid with thorns. After a long period of depression and demoralization the mass of the workers for months turned a deaf ear to appeals. It was not easy to convince them that the union would now succeed where it had previously failed. They could not be moved without a general strike shaking the trade to its very foundations, and the active spirits began planning a strike to be called at the approach of the season.

Apparently thousands of workers were awaiting a strike; for when the call reached them in September, 1917, they readily responded by joining the ranks. Of course, the strike was not all-embracing, yet sufficiently effective in a large number of establishments to render it a success as far as it went.

Soon after the season the shortcomings of the incomplete success were clearly seen. The shops which remained unmoved during the strike naturally proved a source of weakness to the union, and the defiant attitude of one large firm that went back upon the union agreement and locked out its employees on a slight pretext was
traceable to this fact. A shop strike followed upon the lockout which exhausted the local's resources.

In spite of this weakness, however, the general strike improved the situation. A large number of members, swept in by the tide of the strike, remained steadfast and enabled the local to preserve its influence in some of the largest ladies' tailoring establishments. In these and all the other shops under its control the union asserted itself by enforcing the conditions prescribed in the agreement, and even though the circumstances were unfavorable the local retained its hold over 1,400 members.

This effective control enabled the officers to win over unorganized workers and increase the ranks. All the union shops were subject to strict supervision. Every new worker coming to work in a controlled shop was required to be a member of the union, and the requirement was carried out in a deliberate, businesslike manner. So that, whenever workers had to change places and go to work in a non-union shop they retained their membership in the union feeling instinctively that a membership card would prove an advantage to them at all times.

Thus, even though the local had not succeeded in organizing the entire trade during the strike of 1917, the International Union by its guidance and support helped to place it in a position of moral strength and influence.

Local No. 80 has emerged from the recent strike stronger than ever. It has added to the number of union shops such influential firms as the Hickson and Bendel establishments, which before the strike had been beyond union control; and the experience gained in the manner of looking after the organized shops is proving helpful in the safeguarding of the workers' interests and placing the local union on solid ground.

Pending Amalgamation of Local No. 3 and Local 80

The project of amalgamating these two locals has been engaging attention for many months, and the project is now near completion.

Local No. 3 consists of piece tailors and sample makers, and it has been shown that these workers frequently work in the ladies' tailoring and alteration shops, while the members of Local No. 80 in the busy season find employment in the cloak shops. So that it would be to the mutual advantage of both to be subject to one control emanating from one united body.

As yet before the Boston convention the suggestion for uniting these two locals had found much favor among a number of leaders and members of both locals. Local No. 3 is affiliated with the Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union of New York. A junction of forces would benefit the ladies' and alteration tailors in bringing them under the protection of this influential central body.

Representatives of both locals had met in conference, and finding that the proposal was both ripe and feasible, they had submitted it for ratification to a referendum vote of their respective membership. The proposal was approved by a majority vote and laid before the convention where it received the final sanction.

Recently the Joint Board, Cloak and Skirtmakers' Union, also put its seal of approval on the amalgamation project, and a committee was appointed to settle the details.

IN OUR CHICAGO LOCALS

Vice-President H. Schoolman, Secretary of the Chicago Joint Board, Locals 44, 18, 81, writes:

In the cloak and skirt trade this year we have not had any season at all. How, our members manage to make ends meet is a puzzle. The truth is that we are suffering. Yet our employers cry themselves hoarse at every opportunity that every presser is piling up a fortune and every operator is becoming a Rockefeller. They allege that our workers are making $70 to $80 a week and thus they shake off their responsibility for our dire need.
In time of slackness the union is the first to suffer; for with some workers the union is a secondary matter. These become "slackers." They fail to pay their assessments and lag behind in the payment of dues. For this reason our income in the first six months of this year was some $400 less than in the second six months of the past year, and $600 less than in the first six months of that year.

I state this frankly, so that our members may know the real condition of affairs in our organization. The fair seasons of the last few years have strengthened our organization. But our expenses are heavy, and if the members will neglect the union on account of the bad times the time will come when we shall not be able to stand the strain.

I know and feel that owing to these hard times our members will have a hard struggle this coming winter. But we must make every effort and not neglect the best and the most precious thing we possess—our union. We cannot afford to weaken it by one hair's breadth. We must maintain it in the state of strength and efficiency to which we have recently brought it.

CHICAGO PRESSERS' UNION, LOCAL 18

The executive board of this local union has been rendered memorable by a beautiful, artistic picture of its members hung recently in the union headquarters. I am not aware that they have specially distinguished themselves in any way to deserve the honor. But we must admit that it is a splendid idea. Even if our executive board and active members have no special achievement to their credit, they deserve to be rewarded for the days and evenings of their leisure time spent for the good and welfare of the union.

CLOAK OPERATORS, LOCAL 44

I should not omit to mention the fact that Local 44, the biggest and most energetic local in our Joint Board, has appealed to the International Union for restoration of the No. 5, which the local originally had had.

I am not familiar with all the details and motives that actuated the executive board of this local to request the restoration of its original number. But I can imagine that being one of the first five locals composing our now powerful International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in its first stages of development, it is but natural that the executive board should wish to have this honor perpetuated. In receiving back its old number the local will justly be able to point to its continuous activity as a well organized regiment in our International Union.

The Campaign of the Chicago Waistmakers

In regard to the waist, skirt, dress, kimono and white goods workers of Chicago it should be reported that Sol. Metz, formerly the manager of the New York Reelfarmers' Union and International vice-president in the last two terms, has been appointed by the general office as organizer and manager of the coming organizing campaign. The last strike in this industry, though crushed by injunction judges, was a moral victory and left our Local 100 in good condition. There is no doubt that the coming campaign will bring good results and render this local one of the largest in the International Union.
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<th>OFFICE ADDRESS</th>
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<td>173 Edgewood Ave., New Haven, Conn.</td>
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<td>76. Philadelphia Ladies’ Tailors</td>
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<td>78. St. Louis Cloak Operators</td>
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<td>79. Ladies’ Tailors, Alteration and Special Order Workers</td>
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<td>80. Chicago Cloak and Suit Cutters</td>
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<td>82. Toronto, Canada, Cutters</td>
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<td>85. Boston Ladies’ Cloakmakers’ Union</td>
<td>411 Elm St, Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
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<td>86. Custom Dressmakers’ Union</td>
<td>22 W. 17th St, New York City</td>
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<td>87. Toronto, Canada, Cloak Pressers</td>
<td>1023 E. Baltimore St, Baltimore, Md.</td>
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<td>88. Cincinnati Skirtpressers’ Union</td>
<td>311 Odd Fellows Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio</td>
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<td>89. Chicago Waists, Dress and White Goods Workers</td>
<td>1815 W. Division St., Chi., Ill.</td>
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<td>90. Baltimore Ladies’ Tailors</td>
<td>1023 E. Baltimore St, Baltimore, Md.</td>
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