

The LADIES' GARMENT WORKER



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Workers' Union
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Directory of Local Unions

LOCAL UNION	OFFICE ADDRESS
1. New York Cloak Operators	238 Fourth Ave., New York City
2. Philadelphia Cloakmakers	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
3. New York Piece Tailors	9 W. 21st St., New York City
4. Baltimore Cloakmakers	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
5. New Jersey Embroiderers	144 Bergenline Ave., Union Hill, N. J.
6. New York Embroiderers	519 Bergen Ave., New York City
7. Boston Raincoat Makers	38 Causeway St., Boston, Mass.
8. San Francisco Ladies' Garment Workers	354-23rd Ave.
9. New York Cloak and Suit Tailors	228 Second Ave., New York City
10. New York Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters	7 W. 21st St., New York City
11. Brownsville, N. Y., Cloakmakers	219 Sackman St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
12. Boston Cloak Pressers	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
13. Montreal, Canada, Cloakmakers	37 Prince Arthur, E. Montreal, Canada
14. Toronto, Canada, Cloakmakers	208 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
15. Philadelphia Waistmakers	40 N. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
16. St. Louis Cloak Cutters	Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.
17. New York Reefmakers	117 Second Ave., New York City
18. Chicago Cloak and Suit Pressers	1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
19. Montreal, Canada, Cloak Cutters	1178 Cadieux, Montreal, Canada
20. New York Waterproof-Garment Workers	22 W. 17th St., New York City
21. Newark, N. J., Cloak and Suitmakers	103 Montgomery St., Newark, N. J.
22. New York Skirtmakers	231 E. 14th St., New York City
23. Boston Skirt and Dressmakers' Union	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
24. New York Waist and Dressmakers	16 W. 21st St., New York City
25. Cleveland Ladies' Garment Workers	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
26. Cleveland Skirt Makers	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
27. Seattle, Wash., Ladies' Garment Workers	153-15th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
28. Cleveland Cloak Finishers' Union	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
29. Cincinnati Ladies' Garment Cutters	311 Odd Fellows Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio
30. Ladies' Garment Workers	721 N. Market St., Louisville, Ky.
31. Winnipeg Ladies' Garment Workers	Labor Temple, Winnipeg, Man.
32. Bridgeport Corset Workers	409 Warner Building, Bridgeport, Conn.
33. Bridgeport Corset Cutters	409 Warner Building, Bridgeport, Conn.
34. New York Pressers	228 Second Ave., New York City
35. Boston Ladies' Tailors	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
36. Cleveland Cloak Pressers' Union	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
37. New Haven Corset Cutters	173 Edgewood Ave., New Haven, Conn.

(CONTINUED ON INSIDE BACK COVER)



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in Non-Union factories

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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

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TWO-FORTY-SIX SUMMER STREET : : BOSTON, MASS.

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THE CLOAKMAKERS' STRIKE AT CLEVELAND

The cloak manufacturers of Cleveland still adhere to their old view regarding the union. In 1911 they had one argument which did duty all the time. That argument was that as the officers of the union were New Yorkers they had no right to come to Cleveland to organize the cloakmakers. Strange to say, the same contention is still of service to them to this very day, though in a somewhat altered form.

Since 1911 a great change has taken place. The entire world has begun thinking of the question as between capital and labor in different terms. The government of our country recognizes the trade unions. Its various labor boards and committees, in arranging their system, have taken the methods of our union into account, and they deal with manufacturers on the principle of trying to adjust disputes by conciliation or by calling in impartial arbitration, just as our union has acted everywhere in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and other cities. In this way our union has averted strikes and improved conditions of labor:

Moreover, employers concerned are satisfied with these business-like methods, because it affords them an opportunity to live in peace with the union. It saves them the necessity of dealing with spies and scab agencies, or of pursuing other shady, back-stair ways which, after all, are more expensive, yet loathsome and inhuman. But the cloak manufacturers of Cleveland remain unchanged; they have learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They are still looking at the labor question through the same old spectacles, still holding on to the notion of "No union recognition," "no dealings with the representatives of the union" and "there's nothing to arbitrate."

Cleveland is practically the only city in the United States and Canada where the cloak manufacturers have all these years fought the union idea. Mr. Black, of the firm of H. Black and Company, indeed believes in organization, but only for the manufacturers and not for his employees. Mr. Black and his colleagues of the Western Cloak Manufacturers' Association, of which he is president, seem to entertain the dread that if they should permit their employees to be organized in a strong union it would lift them out of their lowly status, their mental thralldom; it would make them more manly; it would impart to them a certain pride and human dignity, and this might bring their domination over them to an end.

Workers possessing a dignified union spirit do not fit into the antiquated system of ideas of the Cleveland cloak manufacturers. The psychology of these employers is still that of the French Bourbon kings prior to the great French Revolution. Those kings refused to grant the people any rights or voice in the government. "I am the state," was the historic phrase of Louis XIV. of France. The cloak manufacturers of Cleveland entertain the same idea in regard to the workers in their factories. "We are the masters; we alone must determine the workers' lot, their hours of labor, their wages, whether or not they should be speeded up; whether or not they should try to protect themselves through the union."

And they have built up a system of fortifications around this idea. Some of them have spent considerable sums on efficiency experts, to speed up the workers; on the welfare system, to make the workers think that they mean their benefit, so that they should be satisfied with their lot, demand no increase in wages or seek protection through the union; on the bonus system, allowing the workers a slight extra payment once or twice a year, providing they are very good and make more work than the task allotted them; on factory guards and sluggers in times of strikes; on a host of watchers and door keepers, who with a benevolent smile bid the workers good morning and watch over them like thieves. Then their system of blacklist, which pursues with hate every energetic, earnest worker whose eyes are open to all these methods and who ventures to speak of them to others! Such worker has no access to any factory. And because men have shown a spirit of resistance they have been in many large factories replaced by women because women are more flexible. All these methods have been resorted to in order to prevent the workers from joining the union and to inspire them with dread at the mere mention of the word. Such has been the state of affairs in a variety of forms, prevailing in the Cleveland cloak and skirt factories for ten years.

* * *

It is this iron wall that our union is seeking to break through by arousing the spirit of the workers, by agitation, education, informing literature, organization, and by businesslike propositions to the manufacturers to adjust grievances in an amicable manner.

The question of organizing the cloak and skirt makers of Cleveland has always been confronting our union. It has occupied time and attention at every convention. Ever since 1914 the officers of our union have employed cautious and moderate methods. Almost every season demands have been presented in those shops where the workers were alive to their interests, seeking amelioration of their lot. Here and there they have won by organization and unity. But in the largest shops the situation has remained unchanged.

At our last convention in Boston it was unanimously resolved to take measures for establishing union conditions in the cloak and skirt shops of Cleveland, by negotiation with the manufacturers, if that method should prove acceptable to the employers, or by a general strike.

Pursuant to that resolution the following communication was addressed to the cloak manufacturers of Cleveland on July 16th:

Gentlemen:—

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, acting for itself and in behalf of its local unions in Cleveland whose members are employed in the cloak, suit and skirt industry, hereby respectfully presents to you the following scale of wages to take effect in your establishment on the 22nd day of July, 1918:

Cutters.....	\$35.00 per week
Upper Pressers	32.50 per week
Under Pressers	28.50 per week
Operators working by piece: piece rates to be computed on a basis that will yield to a full-fledged operator of average skill, for each hour of continuous work.....	.90c per hour
All other workers, an increase over their present rates of wages of.....	30 per cent

The request is made after a most careful and thorough examination of the situation in our industry. It represents an effort to raise the earnings of our members to a point that will approximate a living wage in view of the present prices of necessities, and is, in our opinion, entirely just and fair to the employers.

Ever since the outbreak of the war in Europe the Government of the United States has adopted a wide and humane policy of protecting American labor against undue deterioration of living standards on account of abnormal war conditions, and in the great majority of cases the employers of the country have accepted the policy. In most industries the workers have received substantial and repeated wage increases in keeping with the steadily rising cost of living. The cloak and suit industry on the whole has formed no exception to this general rule. In New York, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and other centers of the industry, the employers and workers have within the last three years made several successive agreements for upward revision of the wage scale. Cleveland is the only cloak manufacturing city in which the employers and workers do not operate under a collective agreement, and this accounts for the deplorable fact that the workers in that city lag behind their fellow workers in all other places in point of wages and working conditions. Whatever wage increases have been granted in Cleveland within the last three years have been irregular and grossly inadequate and entirely out of keeping with the increased cost of necessities. The cloak workers of Cleveland today cannot subsist with any degree of decency upon their meager earnings.

Another request which we hereby present to you in behalf of our workers in Cleveland is for the establishment of a fair, just and uniform method of adjusting all disputes that may from time to time arise in your establishment between yourself and your employees. Next to the question of wages, the protection of the worker against arbitrary treatment and unjust discrimination for union activity or other causes is most vital and important. Such protection is especially indispensable in our industry, which, more than any other, provokes disputes and offers opportunity for discrimination by reason of the seasonal and uncertain character of the work, the change of style, the prevalence of the piece-work system, etc. No agreement between the employers and the workers in the cloak and suit industry will bring about harmony and lasting peace unless it contains adequate and equitable provisions for the redress of the workers' grievances.

Our members and our organization, however, do not want a strike. We realize that a general strike in the Cleveland cloak industry, protracted and embittered as it would be bound to be, would spell disaster to the industry, ruin to many employers and intense suffering to many workers' families. Our union is eager to avert a struggle, and will exhaust all reasonable efforts to bring about a voluntary and amicable adjustment with the employers.

With that object in view, we respectfully invite you to a conference to be held on the 20th day of July, 1918, at one o'clock in the afternoon, at the Statler Hotel. We shall be ready to discuss our requests with the employers individually or collectively, as they may prefer, and assure you that we are ready to meet them in a fair and reasonable spirit.

Similar letters have been sent to all cloak, suit and skirt manufacturers of Cleveland, and copies have been transmitted to the Governor of Ohio, the Mayor of Cleveland, the Ohio State Board of Mediation, the Administration of Labor Standards for Army Clothing, the Industrial Relations Branch of the Quartermaster General's office and the Federal War Labor Board.

Respectfully yours,

BENJ. SCHLESINGER, President.

The manufacturers made no reply to this communication. Yet they were uneasy at the possibility of a strike being called, and forthwith began addressing themselves to their employees, warning them against joining the union or the strike and trotting out the ancient argument that the union would deprive them of their liberty, and so forth. They followed this up by presenting to them for signature statements to the effect that they were contented with existing conditions and desired no union.

The above communication was not the only one. President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor also addressed to Mr. Maurice Black the following letter:

Mr. Maurice Black, President, Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Sir:—Advices reach me that there is a likelihood of an early interruption in production in the cloak and suit industry of Cleveland, and because I am aware of the fact that considerable of the work now is for the use of our fighting boys, and because I am much concerned and earnestly hope that every honorable action will be taken by all parties in interest to avoid a strike, I address this letter to you as President of the Manufacturers' Association of Cleveland.

May I suggest that a conciliatory spirit shall prevail to meet the situation and that conciliation and if need be arbitration on disputed points be resorted to.

If there be anything within my power that I can do to be helpful in this situation on the lines indicated above, I shall be glad to respond to the best of my ability.

I am addressing a letter of identical purpose to Mr. Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

I shall be pleased to hear from you at your convenience.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) SAML. GOMPERS, President,

American Federation of Labor.

To this letter Mr. Black replied that he did not believe there would be a strike, because the employees did not desire to join the union, as they had satisfactory working agreements with the employers, and he could not believe that the strike "would have your sanction and support."

The employers tried hard to give the impression that the union has no cause whatever to make demands upon them. In this effort they utterly failed. If it were the case that the workers desired no union and were contented with their conditions, it would be impossible to call a strike, because the workers would remain at work. But the truth is that most of the workers in the presence of the employers may betray no outward sign of their inner feeling, which might lead the employers to imagine that they are a contented lot. Of course, the employers wish them to say so, and the workers, being in

habitual fear of referring to the union, feel constrained to "lie low and say nothing," particularly when veiled threats are implied. But in their hearts they feel that the union is their redeemer.

This is clear from the fact that the workers have been for three years awaiting the call of a general strike. As yet in 1915 they had decided, if called upon, to vacate the shops. But the International Union then had its hands full with the situation in the cloak industry of New York. Similar situations cut short their hopes in 1916 and 1917.

But now the opportune time has arrived. One may see from the enthusiasm with which eighty per cent. of the workers have responded to the call of the union for a strike, even in the factory of H. Black and Company, that the employers' statement as to the contentment of the workers is essentially incorrect. The workers feel that all the benefits they are supposed to have enjoyed in some shops; namely, the so-called "republic" in the Printz, Biederman shop, of which the employer himself was the president and some of the **chosen favorites** in the shop the so-called congressmen and senators; the welfare system, the efficiency system, the lofty and airy shops and sanitary arrangements—all these things have been like the fleshpots in Egypt for the ancient Israelites. Those fleshpots and other dainties suited the gluttonous appetite of certain people whose taste was corrupted in the course of years; but they were slaves nevertheless. In the Cleveland shops and factories the oppressive atmosphere is felt in spite of all outward arrangements carried out with an eye to effect. The workers, after all, can not lift up their heads, except in isolated shops, where they had the good sense of freeing themselves from this sort of slavery through unity and with the assistance of the union.

* * *

Even now, when the strike is in full swing, the manufacturers may choose the better way, the way of peace. It is in their interest, if they will only see it, that the strike should be speedily settled, because if it should be unduly protracted they have much to lose. They must bear in mind that seven years have elapsed since 1911, and that the means and methods they then employed will not succeed this time. Our union in these years has learned much from experience how to bar all their courses of starving the workers and break the strike.

They may rest assured that strict measures will be taken to prevent the shops in New York and elsewhere from making their work. This struggle is the struggle of our entire union everywhere, and our members in all parts of the country realize that while the cloakmakers of Cleveland are bearing the brunt of the battle, they all indirectly share in the struggle. One of the most effective means is to fight every treacherous and criminal desire to make work for Cleveland, thus helping the Cleveland manufacturers and betraying their fighting brothers and sisters.

Our local unions in all cities and particularly in New York must be on guard. All chairmen and active members in the shops must keep a watchful eye on the work submitted to them; and if they have the least suspicion that it may be work for Cleveland they must forthwith notify the union. And the Joint Board or other local authority should immediately stop the work, if their suspicion be confirmed.

Our union is also financially and morally strong to bring the strike to victory, even if it must be prolonged for months. The last convention in Boston has specially provided a one dollar assessment upon every member of the International Union. The recent convention of the American Federation of Labor expressly pledged itself to render our union every assistance in the struggle. This means a great deal. It means that the Cleveland manufacturers have arrayed against them not only all the workers of our industry, but also all the forces of American labor, as well as public opinion. Our government, which has distinguished itself with its progressive view of the labor question, is likewise much interested in the speedy settlement of the strike. Of course, the Cleveland cloak manufacturers still cherish their obsolete view of labor's position, but they will presently have to admit that the times have completely changed and that certain methods which were possible seven years ago are now entirely played out.

Optimistic information from the battlefield shows that the strike is a great success. The workers of some of the largest shops are active as pickets, while the officers of the Cleveland Federation of Labor and leaders of the progressive forces, notably Max Hayes, the editor of the Cleveland Citizen, are rendering much assistance.

There is every reason to believe that the employers will soon feel convinced that they must climb down from their position of antagonism and meet the representatives of the union with a view to a settlement.

Representatives of the Federal Labor Department and of the War Department have been in Cleveland for some time, and they are trying to find the best middle course for an adjustment of the dispute. One of these is Prof. Ripley, who is known all over the country, among the railroad workers and ship-building employees, as the government mediator who has settled a number of bitter quarrels between capital and labor in these industries and also among our waist makers in Boston and other garment workers, whom he helped in similar difficulties. Prof. Ripley has had conferences with the leading cloak manufacturers of Cleveland, endeavoring to bring them to the modern, enlightened view of a union agreement between employers and their employees to avoid interruption of work caused by strikes and labor unrest.

Then there is, at this writing, present in Cleveland, Mr. Faulkner of the National War Labor Board. He has proposed several plans of settling the strike. One of these is by conciliation with the aid of the government mediator; by arbitrators to be chosen by both parties, or by referring the dispute to the National War Labor Board, through which a number of large industrial concerns had arrived at a satisfactory settlement of their differences with their employees.

But all these prospects of a speedy settlement must not lull our members into neglect of duty. They must not imagine that matters will somehow work out for the best, and therefore they are free from obligations to our brave fighters in Cleveland. They must exercise strict surveillance over the work, preventing Cleveland garments from being made in their shops, and

they must at once remit the one dollar assessment to the general office. These two measures will assure the success of the strike and will place Cleveland on the map of our International Union alongside with New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Toronto, Cincinnati and other cities.

The following communication has been addressed to all our local unions by the General Office:

July 24, 1918.

To the Executive Boards of Our Local Unions.

Greeting:—The Boston convention of our International Union, held on the 20th of May, 1918, adopted the following resolution (No. 50):

"RESOLVED, That this Convention endorses a general strike in the cloak and skirt trades of Cleveland and instructs the incoming General Executive Board to begin preparations for same at once; and be it further

"RESOLVED, That in order to be able to carry through financially the above mentioned general strike, all the members of the I. L. G. W. U. be assessed with \$1.00 for this purpose"

The General Executive Board, at its first meeting, decided to carry out the mission entrusted to it by the convention. Organizers were sent to Cleveland to carry on a strenuous campaign for the betterment of conditions for the cloakmakers of that city and for a strong union. The General Executive Board employed all available means to adjust the just grievances of the Cleveland cloakmakers with their employers through conciliation and mediation, but the employers have, as ever, shown great stubbornness and have "refused" to meet the representatives of our International Union.

Therefore, in accordance with the decision of the convention, a strike has been declared against the cloak manufacturers of Cleveland on the 23rd of this month. The workers have enthusiastically responded to the call of the union and about 75 to 80 per cent. of the workers have declared their loyalty to the International.

Friends, you are all aware of the fact that the Cleveland situation has for years been a dark spot on the horizon of our International, and the aim of each one of us has been to force the Cleveland manufacturers to recognize the fact that we are American citizens and that we have the right to be organized and to be treated as human beings. Now is the time for all the members of our International to show that they are ready to stand behind the Cleveland cloakmakers. We must give them all possible aid to enable them to continue the struggle until the stubbornness of the Cleveland manufacturers will be broken and they will be compelled to recognize the strength of our International.

You are, therefore, called upon to collect from every member of your local the \$1.00 assessment which was decided upon by the convention, to finance the Cleveland strike. Your membership at the time of the Convention was..... and you are therefore to collect and forward to this office the sum of \$.....

Friends, we feel that we are in duty bound to support these men and women and not permit the dread of hunger to drive them back into the shops helpless and dispersed. We hope that your local, which has always acted fairly and big-heartedly on all such occasions and has helped fellow workers in their struggles, will understand and appreciate the importance of your quick action in the collection of this assessment. You must see to it that your International Union is enabled to crown its organization work in Cleveland with complete victory.

Expecting that you will send us this sum without the least delay, we are

Fraternally yours,

AB. BAROFF,

General Secretary-Treasurer.

Position of the Government Towards The Workers

Address of Prof. Ripley at Our Recent Convention

Ladies and gentlemen, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and Mr. President:

I see what it means in the way of a reception to have your President express his personal feelings for me—the cordiality of the greeting which comes from the relationship that it has been my privilege to establish with your officers.

My training in this kind of work began right here in this organization and it began in Local No. 49, something like three years ago, when the local was not as big as it is today. Now I am told that under the able leadership of Brother Jacobson they have fifteen hundred members in that local. That is a record for us all to be proud of and I am glad to have known it and to have watched it grow. I know it will keep on growing, if its affairs are handled as they have been during these last few years.

National 50 in a Colossal Strike.

But this time it is my privilege to come to you, not in relation to Local No. 49, but in relation to National 50—that is, I represent, in a small way, a Union of fifty great and sovereign states—a Union which is engaged in a colossal strike at this time at one of the most monstrous and unjust powers that ever prevailed upon the face of the globe, and it is my privilege to say just a word as to what may be done as a representative of National Fifty,—namely: The United States of America (great applause) in its relation to the industrial situation.

You will bear in mind what it has meant to be taken out of the quiet life of a university and put through what it has been my experience to go through in the last two years.

There was first a period of working with the railroad brotherhoods—for a number of months going over the country in the cabs of locomotives, in the cabooses of freight trains, trying

to understand the great eight-hour movement which brought such a victory to the Brotherhoods a little while ago. Then came the shipping industry. That meant going to shipyards and seeing how the riveters, the passer-boys and the heater boys worked. And then came this experience which has brought me in touch with the garment industries.

And, now, tomorrow, or the next day, there will be problems concerning the great cotton industry, which is very important in this section. Where would you be if you were in my position? Would you not wake in the night, once in a while, trying to figure out some of the problems connected with this work?

Just try and remember what it has meant to try to do the right thing—to be hurried along from one industry to another, trying to learn in five minutes the things it takes years to learn. If you can not excuse mistakes, ascribe them to that experience.

The Need of a Universal Standard Wage.

One of the first things that comes home to me is the need of the adoption of something like a standard wage for industry throughout the United States. I have been brought in contact in every one of these industries, except railroading, with the conflict and the unrest and the injustice, the migration of men and women from place to place, due to a failure to fix somehow by agreement, what shall be a good standard wage, and then to see that everybody gets it, so that there shall be no one left out in the cold. I hope to see the day yet when such a good wage shall be written into every contract which the Government lets in the garment industry.

I did not mean to say that the figure written in shall be a minimum wage, because as necessary as it is to have a minimum wage defined, we do not

want to get the minimum and then have them turn it into a maximum. What I mean is that we should find out what is a good going wage, under all the circumstances, figure it out upon the increased cost of living and the necessity for your work, and then determine upon a fair wage, and, as I said, make sure that everybody shall pay it. That would eliminate unrest all along the line. I believe still that one of the great problems which confronts organized labor is to secure the adoption by the Government of a minimum wage.

The new program of the British Labor Party contains a statement that no human being should be allowed in a civilized community to receive a wage which is less than ample for health and a reasonable degree of comfort. I hope to see some such policy carried out, so that exploitation as it exists and to the degree that it does exist, shall be brought to an end. And then, when we get the question of hours standardized, of wages standardized, subject to revision, as it must be from time to time, throughout the country, I hope that we shall secure the universal adoption of the eight-hour day. That day is no longer a dream of the future. It is not the thing that men fought for as they did ten years ago, but it has come—it is here—and every one of you has the same right today as every other one. There are difficulties in the matter of law which those of us who have had to do with the raincoat industry will appreciate. Is there any reason why a man working on army slickers should work a longer day than one who works on civilian garments? Certainly not.

Military Shirts Made in Unfumigated Tenements.

And on that question of standard wages and of hours, let me present to you the conditions in an industry (shirts) where the workers do not have those wages and hours. I have been over this morning a report made by an organization in Philadelphia as to conditions which prevail in the neighborhood of the Schuylkill Arsenal, which gives out work in bun-

dles home to 5,000 women in the neighboring cities.

Just to describe those conditions, here are two or three details that came to me the other day. Here is a home in Philadelphia where a man died of tuberculosis, while his wife was working on the shirts. The woman who represented the organization making the investigation, was told that the Board of Health had been asked to fumigate the house several weeks before, and had apparently forgotten to do it. Shirts went on being made, day by day in those unfumigated premises.

The next case is of manufacturing in the colored tenements. Now under the practices of the arsenal, carried out in good faith—I am not criticising the officers of that institution; they followed the lines laid down for them by an old law dating from 1860—but under those rules it is required that the inspection of premises take place periodically. The colored woman in this case certified that she wished to do the work and applied for inspection. She got her inspection. Why? Not because anybody came to her tenement, but because the Board of Health of the City of Philadelphia was pleased to report that some years before they had inspected another tenement in that block and found it all right. (Laughter.) And in that house there were both measles and whooping-cough, and those shirts were going out to the boys on the other side.

Is not there every kind of danger that we had during the Spanish war—an outbreak of diseases, traceable directly to these conditions? But it is not only health. It is because you cannot standardize those conditions, because those people who do that work are competing against you who are the heads of families; they are competing against the factories, which have invested large sums of money in order to carry on this industry—and as I told you in the case of the standard wage and of the eight-hour day, I hope to see a regulation of this practice, so that it shall be brought to something in the way of better standards than those that prevail at this time.

The Question of Efficiency.

And now I want to speak about something which comes as near criticizing the labor movement as anybody who feels as warmly in sympathy with it as I do. That is, to speak of the question of efficiency. Problems are brought up to me every little while which concern the relation of organized labor to the introduction of systems of manufacture, which are undoubtedly, if you disregard human rights, in the direction of efficiency. But it is possible, I believe, to modify some of those methods which are applied in the model factories in one or two places in the West—model factories, except for the one very essential detail, that they don't deal with organized labor. I should like to see the time come when those factories will be organized and when the efficiency methods that are applied will be analyzed by the employer and by the representatives of the workers and the good will be separated from the bad and you will keep the good, because if you don't keep your efficiency so far as it does not conflict with human rights, you cannot keep your competitive place in the world.

And to me, in all my contact thus far with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union it has been a source of great pleasure to find the full recognition of this principle of efficiency, and the necessity of co-ordinating it with the rights of the workers.

Need of Becoming Americans and Citizens.

And then there is something which has come to me through many years which I hope, I know, this organization will keep in the forefront of its activities; that is to say, the work that you can do in helping to make this great American nation a nation in which all the people within its doors shall be full-fledged Americans and citizens. There is no other country in the world like ours so far as the mixture of all peoples is concerned. They have come here from every part of the earth. Do you realize that there are more Italians in the city of New York today than there are in any other city in the

world—more than there are in Rome, which is the biggest city in Italy? Do you realize that there are more people of Russian birth in New York than there are in any other one place?—that there are more Bohemians—I believe it is in Chicago—than there are in the capital of Bohemia? The center of gravity of many of these countries on the globe has shifted to the United States. But insofar as those people have come to us by the millions and have retained their old citizenship, they fail to become part of what should become the greatest nation on the face of the globe, and all that you can do to bring those people into full citizenship, beginning with an intention to learn to master the English language, those things will all contribute to the force and the power of the great Government to which we all owe allegiance.

It has been coming home to us for many years that one of the great forces that could make for this Americanization would be organizations like your own.

Avowed Labor Policy of the Government.

We come to what lies pretty nearly at the core of the whole thing; that is to say, the right, the necessity of organization. I have always believed that the natural way in which the solution of our industrial evils should be brought about was through the growth of great and powerful organizations of the workers. This right to organize has not been fully recognized; but now that the war has come and the place of the workers is fully recognized, you have got a charter in that direction such as you have never enjoyed before. You have it in the avowed policy of the Government and I would like to read to you two or three paragraphs from that, so that you may see what the position of this Government is toward the workers: The first four clauses are these:

"1. There should be no strikes or lockouts during the war."

It does not say there shall not be; it says there should not be. That is

to say, if they can be avoided by processes of adjustment, that is the way to settle the business and it is my function and my privilege in a few of these trades to try to do just that, and I am proud of the job.

"2. The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever."

If a lockout occurs because of membership or activity in a Union, there is this clause to quote at once, which affirms the right of the workers to go back to their places while we secure the adjustment of whatever views or dispute there may be.

"3. Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade-unions, nor for legitimate trade-union activities.

"4. In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue, and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment shall be maintained."

And so it goes on. You have there, it seems to me, an opportunity which, if wisely used, will hold for you those privileges, and it is in your hands to see that those privileges are held after the war is over and we return to a peace basis.

Industrial as Well as Political Democracy.

There is a straight parallel between the struggle that is going on in the war of Europe and the struggle that has been going on for so many years in this country, and that parallel has never been put more clearly than in the great speech of the President of the United States in the proclamation of the war, and with your permission I would like to read it:

"The right is more precious than peace. We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy—for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments."

That means not only the right of those who submit to authority politically to have a voice in their own governments, but it means that every man and woman who works in a great industrial establishment has that same right. And the parallel continues:

"And that the administration of industry shall no longer be carried on upon the basis of autocracy, even if it is benevolent, but that the principle of a limited monarchy at least and of representative institutions, shall prevail in our mills and our factories, as it shall prevail also in the great cities and the Government."

I thank you for your attention. (Prolonged applause.)

SONG OF LABOR.

(By H. P. Powell.)

Brothers, sisters, take your places
In the ranks of labor broad!
There we long to see your faces,
Feel your strength for fair reward
Due to work done for another—
Due to US, my sister, brother!
Brothers, sisters, take your places
In the ranks of labor broad!

Open wide our labor's portals.
Every man and woman born
Numbered with their tolling mortals,
Brain benumbed or hands of horn.
Welcome there finds warm and hearty,
Holds a place in labor's party;
Brothers, sisters, take your places
In the ranks of labor broad!

Do you grudge the member's fee?
Can you not the price procure?
Pay installments easily,
And of this you can be sure:
Union multiplies your earnings!
Union brings to pass your yearnings!
Brothers, sisters, take your places
In the ranks of labor broad!

Make the whole world a united
Aristocracy of toil!
Then will all men's wrongs be righted;
Then will cease earth's mad turmoil.
Golden rules from labor steeples
Then will sway all lands and peoples.
Brothers, sisters, take your places
In the ranks of labor broad!

—National Labor Journal.

Labor and the War Here and Abroad

Address of James Duncan, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, at the Boston Convention of Our International Union

Mr. President, delegates to the Convention, fellow workers: It is a pleasure indeed to have the opportunity to meet you this morning. I have some knowledge of the history and development of your organization and it is an honor to your organization, as well as to the development of the great labor movement to see so many delegates present, many of them of foreign birth, born under conditions and language different from the majority of this country, and representing such a large and growing organization.

You meet under times of perhaps the greatest stress our country has ever known, with the possible exception of its revolution and the unpleasantness of the sixties, which more directly affected our country than the world as a whole. At the present time the civilized countries of the world have their eyes turned towards America, and principally towards the United States of America to help in working out the great European problem. I dare say that 10 or 15 years ago, or perhaps less than that, if any of you, like the rest of us here, had been told by someone that Germany with its ally Austria would perform the frightful things which have been done by those countries in the last few years, you would have readily acclaimed the man or woman who said so as not being level-headed. I had the honor in 1911 to attend the International meeting in Budapest, Hungary, as the representative of the labor movement of America. Because of the distance and that we had not been long represented, I was the only delegate. The other countries were represented by two delegates. As late, therefore as 1911, the subject matter of war, internal or between countries, was a live subject, and upon my motion what was then known as the Budapest Secreteriat, voted practically unanimously—I have no remembrance at the present time of there

being a dissenting vote, to the effect that the workers of the world in whatever country they might be living and working, should refuse to take up arms and shoot the working man of other countries, because of squabbles between monarchs or capitalists of any kind.

I personally knew the delegates from Germany in that convention, and got well acquainted with the delegates from Austria and from Hungary. I am not saying a word about the Austrian and Hungarian delegates at the present time because I doubt, if whatever may have been pressed upon them to do, that they have been back of the monarchy, or that they are in favor of the European war. As regards the German delegates, however, Carl Legien, a member of the Reichstag from Kiel, and Tasenbacken, a man who can speak the language of the majority of the people of this country as well as any of us can, and several other languages—I am told that both men have been from head to foot supporting the Kaiser's activities. I knew that as a trade unionist, Legien as head of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Germany, could not do a great deal in that capacity because in Germany the Federation of Trade Unions is not allowed under any circumstances to discuss or participate in political affairs. The Kaiser's edict declares this illegal, and they must disband. They have their expression, however, in their political party, and that political party can express itself in the same way in Germany as the other political parties do,—and it was a great surprise to me, having mingled with those men in Germany and Austria and in Hungary, to find that the political end of the labor movement in Germany has practically been unanimous in favor of the Kaiser's action. It is proof that whatever may have been ruminating in the minds of the German delegates and the

Secreteriat in 1911 in Budapest, they did not represent the views of the masses they then represented when it came to a question of international war.

In one way or another, our country has been dragged into it, and I am only referring to this in passing, because I am not here this morning to discuss war. Our labor movement stands for peace and for justice between man and man wherever they were born. (Great applause). In one way or another, our country is at war, much against the general will of the people of this country, it has been dragged into war. But when it came to a question of permanency or ascendancy as between autocracy and democracy, it was no wonder that this oldest existing great republic of the world should take a hand in it, to see that the democracies of the future shall be safe. The great labor movement of our country has declared itself upon this subject, and the great President of our country acknowledges the loyalty of the labor movement of our country to the great cause of democracy, which he in part is leading, and at the present time comes pretty nearly to be the real leader. There is no question in the minds of those holding governmental positions as to the loyalty of organized labor of North America to the purpose for which the Government entered the war. We have had our differences with presidents and with governments, over something vouchsafed to us by our democratic system, whereby we should have the right of public and free expression; we may have differences at the present time and there will be differences in the future. We will attend to those as best we may as they come and at the most opportune time.

But just now the individual who considers his position above that of the welfare of this government and of this great conflict is not a safe and sane citizen. The organization which would hold aloof from support of our government in the time of stress, is not a safe and sane institution. And the capitalist or corporation which considers his thousands or his millions or its interests of more importance than of the interests of our great government, is a man or an institution that is not safe and sane under

our democracy. The capitalist and the corporation having money, and profiteering at a great rate at the present time, who fails to respond to the public call to support democracy as opposed to aristocracy is a traitor to his country and to the great cause of democracy, as much as language can be made to express that thought.

My friends, a few years ago, a third of this hall would not have been crowded with your delegates at a convention, and now to see you in a large hall with chairs and tables all occupied is the best possible evidence of the great development which is taking place in your industry. You have had your troubles. You are mostly located in the large cities, and it has been difficult work for you to accomplish what you have done, and therefore the more credit to you for having accomplished it. My own trade today which your interesting and intellectual President has just referred to, began organizing a little over 100 years ago. We had organized granite cutters in the United States when Waterloo was fought and we have been simmering along since then, taking advantage of this, advantage of that, until for some years past we practically have had 97 per cent of the men of our trade in North America in our organization. (Applause). We have been an international since 1877. Perhaps we might have done better than we have done, but there have been trade obstacles which it would tire you this morning to detail. We have, however, been in the front of the fight, whenever it was possible to advance.

When the Trade and Labor Union of America was organized in 1866, the men of my trade had their representatives there. I was then too young to know anything about it. That movement developed and the men back of it had great aspirations, but like many other movements of the kind, it fell down in a few years because instead of waiting to organize the workers of the country into unions so that they could act unanimously, in two or three years, after they organized, they declared for a political party, and that political party pretty soon was of the opinion that this, that and the other way was the course to go. No two of the subdivisions could agree with

each other, and in 1872 the whole movement went down.

In 1880 the first organization which developed into the American Federation of Labor met in Pittsburgh. The organization of which I am proud to be a member had its representative there. We were one of the few international unions there represented.

However, in the early stages of the American Federation of Labor it was organized more by the militant men in the then central bodies than by the officers of the struggling national unions.

By and by the American Federation of Labor was born in Columbus, Ohio, in 1866 and I had the honor of representing my international union in that convention. For a number of years Vice President Gompers of the Cigar Makers and President of the American Federation of Labor and myself have been the only two delegates attending the conventions of the A. F. of L. who were present at its birth in its present form in Columbus, Ohio, in 1866. It has grown from an organization of a few thousands until when the convention meets in a few days in St. Paul, Minnesota, the report of the General Executive Council to the convention will show that there are now two million seven hundred thousand paid up members in the American Federation of Labor. (Vigorous applause). Sometimes it has been condemned for not growing fast enough; at other times the conservatives said it was going too fast. It has had its ups and downs, its troubles, and all that sort of thing, but still it is making progress. If the report of the Executive Council was to be delayed a few more months, the membership would be greatly increased, for a few days ago in Cleveland, Ohio, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the leading organization among the Brotherhoods of railroad men, voted by unanimous vote to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor. (Applause). They had held aloof for a long time the same as the brick and stone workers did, feeling that they could do better by going it alone. But recent developments and as far as public opinion and legislation is concerned, gave them a second thought and

now they are finding their feet alright, and inside of a short time we expect all the five Brotherhoods to be affiliated in the great family under the banner of the American Federation of Labor and pushing forward the cause for which we are organized.

I came here this morning in the name of the American Federation of Labor to congratulate you and simply to say a word about how proud we are in the American Federation of Labor of your great development. (Applause). We have watched closely what is going on, and we know by our own experience that if at times you have a rebuff, here and there, it is not a lost fight, for you pick up again. You hold on to that which is constructive and your growing membership backs you up in that purpose, and you find new ways and in time you accomplish that which a few months or a few years ago appeared difficult indeed. Such has been the experiences of us all.

Your President referred to my visit last summer to Russia, and expressed the thought that he would have liked if I had been Chairman of the Commission instead of Senator Root of New York. I desire to say that it is doubtful if labor would have been represented in such a commission at all if it had not been for the great development of organized labor in our country in these years. (Applause). It was therefore an honor indeed to be selected as a representative of labor upon the mission in any form.

President Wilson in naming the mission, selected each for the individual part he was to perform. And inasmuch as the business had to be conducted in accordance with the wishes and under the direction of the Provisional Government of new Russia, a man skilled in diplomacy, a man trained in government and a man of experience and learning had to be selected to fill that place. Senator Root, whatever may be said of him in connection with his daily avocation of a lawyer, has had great public experience. Apart from the position he has filled in New York State he had been in the United States Senate and had been a member of two cabinets and was of a different political faith than

the President, and while I know nothing about the reasons which impelled the President to appoint him, I am apprehensive that those things had something to do with it. And when we were in Russia it was his duty to meet those officials in the real official form to speak for the President and the immediate Government of our country.

We all went together, of course, to the different meetings, but by virtue of his position he was the speaker. There were men there equally important who to us when the mission was appointed, appeared as being perhaps not quite necessary, such for instance as Mr. Burton, the banker of New York. You will understand that with few exceptions the Provisional Government in Russia was composed of men who, until a few weeks before we went there had had no conception of ever being put into positions of that kind, with the responsibility that the position required. Four of the members of the Provisional Government, while we were in Petrograd, had as one might say, come from Siberian dungeons into the Cabinet. Three of them had put in nine or ten or fourteen years in Siberian prisons for making such talks as I am making this morning, and for being filled with the inspiration which is in each of your minds here in passing resolutions. Among them was the Finance Minister. The value of the ruble was going down and he told Mr. Burton that he could not understand how it was that the different countries in the world were causing the value of the ruble to drop, when the fact of the matter was that some time ago he had ordered a thousand million additional rubles to be printed. (Laughter). And as soon as those were distributed, he would have a machine running off another thousand million (laughter) and he would keep it up, and therefore, there being that much more available money in Russia, why should the value of the ruble drop? The bankers were able to assist in that direction.

As for myself, I desire to say to you that the working people in Siberia as well as in Russia received me with open arms. They would come rushing to the train yelling at the pitch of their voices:

"Duncan! Americansky! Duncan! Americansky!" They wanted to hear from the representative of the working class of America, and I responded during the day or night.

It would be foolish on my part to tell any of you—many no doubt of you were there—the history of your own country. My friends, the value of organization came out in that great conflict perhaps more keenly than in any other single event that I can remember in connection with the organization of labor. Those representatives of the workmen in the big industrial centers had with them the telegraphers. The telegraphers were advised that when the time came to declare the revolution, not to accept a message to go across the lines from the loyalists to the imperialists, until it first had the O. K. of the Provisional Government. So, when the revolution was ordered, the messages going across the wires had the right of line representing the Revolutionists. That, to a great extent, had to do with how they moved so promptly and with such little bloodshed in that great country where communication is not like what it is in our country.

I have great hopes of great democracy in Russia. They call themselves the Social Democrats. I am sorry indeed that the Bolsheviki did not stay with them, because in the end it will be found that the Social Democrats in Russia will work out the welfare of that great country. The latter as a great constructive force cannot be fooled like the Bolsheviki. I am not here to criticise any faction in any country. But the Bolsheviki are too idealistic for these times. They expected that the proletariat in Germany was composed of the same mental makeup as the Bolsheviki and as soon as they sent them a message of love and friendship, they would lay down their arms and refuse to fight for the Kaiser, or would only use their arms to chase their Kaiser off the throne, as the people in Russia had chased off the Czar in Russia. They did not know the temperament of the Hun. Hence the collapse. But give them a chance, and they will yet establish one of the greatest democracies this world has ever known.

Further Notes on the Local Literature at the Boston Convention

The Reports of Locals 1 and 17—A Practical Settlement of an
Absorbing Jurisdictional Question

From a Correspondent

If the reports printed in the *Ladies Garment Worker* for July are business-like and instructive, the two reports of Locals 1 and 17, published in Yiddish only, make good, interesting reading. They are, in a large sense, historical narratives, while the controversial tone in which they were written only tends to show that some of our locals are brimming over with life and spirit upon every unusual occasion.

THE REPORT OF LOCAL NO. 1

In the first few months the late dispute with Local No. 1 stirred all the labor organizations in the garment industries, and much attention was devoted to it in the columns of the Yiddish press. Yet nowhere has the story been related with such illuminating detail as in the Local No. 1 report to the Boston convention. This is, indeed, not only a report of seven and a half months' activity but a history of the local for the last couple of years.

The impression we gain from the report is that it is not correct to refer to the reorganized local as "the new Local No. 1;" for it is not a new local but the old local, which was purged of all its destructive and unhealthy elements. And just as a garden, cleared of all thorns and thistles and carefully attended by the hand of an expert gardener, is brought to new, vigorous life, so Local No. 1 has been revived. There are no symptoms of its former unhealthy state.

For, the trouble started long, long ago. The report says that "its roots reach back to the baneful Hourwich affair." But it would be more correct to say that the trouble began at the time when Local No. 1 secured a state charter of incorporation. Even if this act had originated in pure, innocent motives, it led to the vain belief that the local could act like a sort of Ishmael,

continually in a fighting mood and at loggerheads with our central bodies.

In 1914-1915 the new administration of the International succeeded in harmonizing the opposing elements within the organization. But in Local No. 1 there remained an insignificant element, which, like Lot's wife, was always looking back. It is important to refer for a moment to that memorable chapter in the history of our union in order to learn from the past how to act in the future.

The Cleveland convention saw that to create harmony and quicken the energies of our organization it was imperative that every influence which had brought the union to that terrible crisis should be eliminated. The two antagonistic influences—the influence of the Hourwich partisans and that of his opponents, had to be wiped off clear, otherwise the wound in the organization could not be healed. But although the majority of the active members of Local No. 1 were imbued with that conviction, a small, mischievous minority still toyed with the undesirable influence and sought by every means to impose it on the Cloak-makers' Union. Thus historical necessity decreed even then that the remnant of the cancer, which the Cleveland convention had not managed to cut out, should sooner or later be torn out by the roots, so that the organization should begin to enjoy the blessing of true inward peace.

The trouble with the manufacturers in 1915 and the long-drawn out struggle in 1916 put in the shade that pernicious influence. From time to time, however, it put out its mischievous head. While the Joint Board and the International Union labored hard to bring about unity and solidarity the aforesaid minority plotted and openly

agitated against unity and faith, inflaming the minds of the operators. The curious decision of the Local 1 executive during the strike in 1916, when a settlement was in sight, that Dr. Hourwich should represent the local in the joint conference committee of workers and employers, revealed the real aim of the mischievous minority. And the trouble that arose when the tentative agreement was published was clearly a result of its plotting.

Gradually the operators' local had lost its genuine democracy and voice of the people. Its executive board was divided, each party having a certain number of adherents. The majority of the operators held aloof. Their understanding was so clouded that they could not see that the noisy party, which had got into the saddle by accident, was leading them into a pitfall.

Such was the situation immediately after the strike of 1916. The false messiahs of Local No. 1 held to the old out-of-date anarchistic principle, "No authority; no majority rule and no laws." On this principle they based all their actions until they disappeared from the scene together with the year 1917.

At the Philadelphia convention in October, 1916, a few of the Local 1 delegation were the only discordant element. Their character is clearly revealed by this passage in the Local 1 report:

It so happened that the convention had to sit in judgment on three delegates, and all the three from Local No. 1. One, a certain Pavlotzky, for agitating against the payment of dues, which he practised himself; another, for a tactless action in the time of the general strike, and another, a brother of the secretary himself, for assaulting a shop chairman because the latter had charged him in the union with working Saturdays and Sundays and terrorizing the shop. The first two were expelled from the convention.

Other occurrences—the illegal election of its executive board in 1917; the first clash with the International

Union, which occasioned the calling of a special convention; their severance from the Joint Board, defiance of the International and eventual reorganization of the local—all these are familiar to our readers and need not be repeated.

It is worth noting, however, under what circumstances the local was reorganized and how honesty and truth finally prevailed. Until the last minute, September 15, 1917, strenuous efforts were made to effect a re-conciliation. The only condition was that the unruly element must act lawfully and submit to rule and essential discipline. But this would have upset their habitual role of defying rules and decisions. They cherished pet dreams of secession, and threatened to form an opposition union. In recalling the episode, one cannot help feeling glad that the dispute was not settled peacefully, for with people of such natures peace cannot be long maintained.

Local No. 1 was regenerated only with 100 loyal members, and upon them the task devolved to win over at least 7,900 operators. It was a hard, uphill task; and its accomplishment is best proven by the financial statement for seven and a half months, from September 15, 1917, to April 30, 1918. We copy here from the report the receipts of the local for that time, the value of their funds and the total membership twenty days before the Boston convention:

RECEIPTS.

279,936 due stamps @ 16 cents.....	\$44,789.76
3,818 due stamps @ 25 cents....	954.50
Strike assessments for 1916.....	5,001.50
International assessments for 1916	559.85
1,227 constitution books @ 25 cents	307.75
1,308 constitution books @ 10 cents	130.80
Initiation fees	4,009.66
Receipts on account of dues and initiation fees	7,029.23
Fines	13.00
Refund, membership committee....	1.00
Commission for renting the office	28.00
Total	\$62,824.05

FUNDS AND EFFECTS

Cash	\$15,055.62
Bonds	5,000.00
Deposits	143.34
Furniture and fixtures	1,181.42
8,703 dues stamps of Joint Board	348.12
26,246 dues stamps	1,049.84
315 constitution books	31.50
Total.....	\$22,809.84

LIABILITIES

Members' temporary receipts	1,799.60
Balance to Joint Board	3,760.25
	\$5,559.85
Net value of funds, etc.	\$17,249.99
Number of members, 8,410.	

We take our hats off to the 100 loyal members, who, in seven and a half months and under very difficult circumstances, brought the regenerated local to such a splendid position.

THE REPORT OF LOCAL NO. 17

I have decided to couple here both these reports because in their historical contents they are two different aspects of the same affair—the reorganization of Local No. 1. They who are not familiar with our union might have thought that Local No. 17, Children's Cloaks and Reefermakers' Union, was the cause of the dispute between the union and the expelled leaders of Local No. 1. Such was, at any rate, the claim of the latter. For all their ill deeds they had one excuse: "Local 17 is to blame." Their break with the Joint Board on the question of elections and business agents; their refusal to comply with the decision of the General Executive Board; their secession from the Joint Board, separate collection of dues, separate dealing with employers and similar acts not in harmony with union principles—all these they defended by urging the existence of a "Local 17 issue." They plainly imagined that the International Union was afraid of them, and that to appease them they must be handed the head of Local No. 17 on a platter and be allowed to play first fiddle in the Joint

Board. It is hardly credible that this idea originated in their own weak and distorted imagination. There is no doubt that these were the suggestions of an outside prompter.

Local No. 17 was quick to perceive the danger threatening their existence, and their report tells with a wealth of detail of the steps taken by their officers to fortify their position within and without. "Immediately after the thirteenth convention," runs the report, "Local No. 17 betook themselves to constructive work." This consisted in raising the local dues from 16 to 25 cents. Local No. 17 was thus practically the first local of cloakmakers to act boldly in a matter advocated by the Ladies' Garment Worker since 1914.

But innocent and union-like as this step had been, it caused friction in the Local-17 shops and gradually led to the open clash between the International and the expelled leaders of Local No. 1. A number of Local 1 operators were employed in the shops in which Local No. 17 has always managed to exercise proper union control. To the reefermakers it seemed as if they were being discriminated against by having to pay 25 cents dues, while the Local 1 operators working side by side with them paid only 16 cents. To them this was neither equality nor justice, and there arose the demand that Local No. 1 members working in the Local-17 shops should transfer their membership to Local No. 17. Here we have a fruitful source of a bitter struggle within.

If the expelled leaders of Local No. 1 had not been so stupidly pugnacious, it would have been possible to arrange matters, as man to man, in accordance with the decision of the Philadelphia convention, which had decided that the two locals should reach agreement by means of conferences. But they were then already in the thick of the fight with the Joint Board and the International Union in connection with their illegal election. So the demand of the shop chairmen of Local No. 17 for transfers accentuated the dispute and played into their hands a ready-made issue—"Local No. 17."

Until now the Local-17 question was never so menacing for the local as at the end of last summer and winter. In 1911 the convention decided that Local No. 17 must transfer the pressers to Local No. 35 and change its charter in the sense of having jurisdiction over the workers on infants' and children's cloaks only. The Toronto convention in 1912 decided that Local No. 17 should transfer to their respective locals all its members who were not reef-operators. But with their new issue in 1917 the expelled Local-1 leaders simply made an attempt on the life of Local No. 17. And though they did not themselves comply with the constitution of the International, they interpreted a clause in the constitution in their own favor. Not only Bisno, the dreamer, but also Hourwich, their lawyer, forgot that just as a man is not deprived of life without due process of law, neither is an organization. If it should have appeared that Local No. 17 must surrender its charter, it could not be done in twenty-four hours, as the expelled leaders had demanded in a tone of a highwayman, "your money or your life."

The International Union held that the entire question must be investigated; only then would it be clear whether or not Local No. 17 had right and reason for existence. But even the officers of the reorganized Local No. 1 could not see this point of view so soon, and adopted the cry of the expelled leaders for one operators' local in New York City.

The tone of report of Local No. 17 is largely defensive—explaining that in all their actions the local officers could not do otherwise. The report says:

In general we feel proud of the report (of the investigation committee) . . . If, after all, our local received such glorious commendation by the International, then we feel proud and rewarded for the thirteen years' effort.

Yet the local was not satisfied with the decision of the G. E. B. It says:

As we see now, the International has conceded only half our request. They have found us innocent, but had to punish us because (in the words of the General Exe-

cutive Board) "their (Local No. 1) treacherous agitation poisoned the minds of many operators to a certain extent."

But Local No. 17 accepted the decision, though not satisfied with the interpretation of President Schlesinger that the local must move their complaint department from their local office to the office of the Joint Board. The local executive board desired an extension of time until the convention. The membership of Local No. 17 denounced the interpretation, but President Schlesinger was firm, and the International summoned the local officers to show cause why the local's charter should not be revoked, after certain advertisements had appeared in the Yiddish press, which the General Executive Board regarded as "inflammatory." The report explains that the local leaders "did not intend to inflame the minds," and thus concludes this part of the report:

The General Executive Board must now surely be satisfied together with us that, after all, Local No. 17 is the old, disciplined local. Local No. 17 has not allowed it to go so far as being expelled. . . As a result of the referendum vote, our manager, Brother Metz, and our business agents, on Monday, March 2, moved into their new office, at 40 East 23d Street, thus placing our complaint department under the full control of the Joint Board.

The decisions of the Boston convention in the jurisdiction question were: 1) that Local No. 17 must transfer its finishers to Local No. 9, and 2) giving the Joint Board full control over all the shops in the trade and full power of appointing officers. This was carried unanimously.

A decision to dissolve a local would be resented by many, aside from the fact that it is easier to pull down than to build. With its practical decision, involving the co-operation in the Joint Board of Locals Nos. 1 and 17, the convention recognized that this method is wiser and more reasonable than the method of disbanding smaller locals to swell the size of the larger locals. By properly carrying out this decision friction and jurisdiction disputes should become a matter of the past.

Three Year's Effort of Local 15

A Review of Its Anniversary Edition

By the Editor

A recent local event in our organization has passed almost unnoticed. The Waist, Silk-Suit and Children's Dressmakers' Union celebrated in May its third anniversary of active life and substantial achievement. In the life of an individual three years do not count for much; but for a union which was in the "slough of despond," in continual struggle with adversity only three years ago, and now ranks among the strongest and best organized unions of women workers in the country, three years of achievement is sufficient cause for joyful celebration.

In 1915 Local No. 15 was in a trance, in a sort of living death. The local has a long history behind it, and has even waged two or three determined strikes. In the strike of 1909-10 the Philadelphia waistmakers, like their sisters in New York, revealed good fighting qualities and considerable self-sacrifice regardless of police brutality and numerous arrests. But unfortunately the issue of that strike was not favorable to the workers, and it took them five years to get over their disappointment and despair.

A Literary Souvenir

At the recent convention in Boston Local No. 15 presented every delegate with an anniversary number, specially published for the occasion, well illustrated and printed on good paper, containing 227 Yiddish and 24 English pages, besides advertisements. Among the Yiddish contributors conveying their congratulations are President Schlesinger and Secretary Baroff of the International; M. Winchevsky, Secretary of Local No. 25; Vice-President M. Amdur, Manager of the Philadelphia Cloakmakers' Union; Vice-President S. Seidman, E. Lieberman, Alderman B. Vladeck and others. The English contributors are Charles Seftel, Vice-President Fannia M. Cohn, A. Rosebury and Ab. Hirsch. A. Silver, Manager of Local No. 15, writes the historical review

in an interesting manner covering sixty-two of the Yiddish pages.

Thus the edition has many attractive features and is an apt expression of the pride and joy felt by the waist and dressmakers of Philadelphia in contemplating their union and its achievements. We want to note here particularly the historical review by Brother Silver. It is interesting to look back to the past years and trace the efforts of the active spirits to organize the workers of this trade.

Started by five Pioneers

The publication bears the title "Third Anniversary Historical Edition." Yet the writer of the historical review goes back to the year 1898, when our International Union was not yet in existence. "The history of the Philadelphia Waist and Dressmakers' Union," Brother Silver informs us, "practically began in 1898." If so, this is, properly speaking, the twentieth anniversary. For, however poor and small the beginning of a union, its loss of power and suspended animation at certain intervals are, in reality, a part of its history.

The pioneers of this union in 1898 were five workers, who felt their oppressive conditions in a sweatshop on Filbert Street and decided among themselves to plant the first seed of the future union tree. One of them, Jack Blumenthal, is still working in the waist trade. With their own scanty means they paid for the first circular which they distributed among the workers at wrappers, waists and kimonos, who were similarly oppressed without realizing it. The circular called these semi-slaves to a meeting, but they did not come, and the meeting consisted only of the five pioneers. One of them lost heart there and then and deserted the group, but the faithful four, who were made of sterner stuff, determined to continue the work.

Their second circular already found some response. A number of workers attended the meeting and twenty-five workers joined the new wrapper and

Kimono Makers' Union. In 1900 the union affiliated with our then newly organized International, as Local No. 23.

Then the story of ups and downs was similar to that of all unions of immigrant workers of that time—a story of persecution, oppression and depression—until the great wave of immigration brought the Russian revolutionists into the shops. These workers frequently used such words as "capital and labor, exploitation, autocracy, revolution, evolution, national autonomy, and international."

One thing, however, is hard to understand. This new influx of waist-makers seemingly came from an intelligent section of the Russian population, and, furthermore, according to Brother Silver, they were too numerous in the shops for the employers to attempt playing fast and loose with them. How is it, then that no strong organization was formed until 1915, when the wave of immigration practically came to a standstill?

Talk of Fighting, not of Organizing

Brother Silver explains this in one line, he says: "They were talking of fighting, but not of organizing." The labor movement in Russia was conducted with exclusively red-hot revolutionary methods—biting criticism and calling to arms. Here in America constructive effort is required, and the revolutionists did not seem to have the constructive mind. Not until later years, when a section of the Russian-Jewish intelligent workers was to some extent Americanized, and combined the American trade union ideas with the energetic keenness of the Jewish and Italian nature—only then was created the type of union possessing constructive abilities, which began to build a permanent union structure.

It took more than ten years until the mixed immigrant elements began to see the meaning of a union contract, the collective agreement, business relations with the employers and, above all, the necessity of keeping calm and cool in time of strenuous agitation.

Better Success in 1905

In 1905 a ray of hope and promise appeared on the horizon. Fearing the

arrival of a tyrannical foreman in one of the shops the workers of the shop got together to take counsel. And as the workers in the other shops similarly felt the pinch of various grievances, and having got wind of the meeting, they sent committees to represent them. A general discussion ensued and the interchange of opinion resulted in the birth of a union of waist and dressmakers in Philadelphia, which was subsequently chartered as Local No. 15.

This union had better success at first. It grew in numbers and engaged an organizer. The workers began to feel that not by mere running down and antagonizing the employers could they achieve definite improvements, but, as Brother Silver says: "They began to demand of the organization that material improvements should be brought about in the trade." A demand on the employers was drawn up that certain charges for needles, cotton, power, etc., should be abolished. This movement was begun in one shop, and when the employer offered resistance, the movement developed into an agitation for a general strike. The public inclined towards sympathy with the workers because those charges, which meant that the workers had to pay the employer for the privilege of working for him, constituted a glaring evil and injustice. Thus the majority of the workers conceded the point without a strike. Subsequently the wealthier employers softened and settled their shop strikes with the union. They entered into a collective agreement with the union, recognized the right of the workers to be organized and to have a shop representative.

In those times this was a great moral victory. Unfortunately it was not followed up by constructive thought of making the gain permanent and lasting. The workers believed so much in the weapon of the strike, as to forget that not every strike can be won and that a lost strike is too costly an operation. Their frequent strikes weakened the union, which, as a result, was again struggling for existence until the first great shirtwaist strike in New York in 1909-10.

Drawn into the Fray Almost Unwillingly

In that strike many New York waist manufacturers resorted to the usual method of having their work made outside of the city, so as to starve the fighting ranks into submission, and the Philadelphia waist shops were very busy. The Philadelphia waistmakers were, indeed, preparing for a struggle; they only waited for the victory of their sisters in New York affording them a favorable opportunity to strike the blow. But the fact that they were making the work for the New York employers, hampered the strike and minimized the chances of its victory. This forced the strike committee to insist upon the International Union calling out on strike the Philadelphia waistmakers.

According to Brother Silver the International then called the strike in Philadelphia against the will of the active members. This and the haste and lack of system in conducting the strike was one of the reasons why the settlement subsequently proved a failure. These facts do not quite tally with the statement of Ab. Rosenberg, then President of the International Union: Rosenberg writes:

The General Executive Board was absolutely in ignorance of affairs in Philadelphia. About ten days before the strike broke out we read in a Yiddish paper that the Philadelphia ladies' waistmakers had decided to go out on general strike. On the same day we sent a special delivery letter to the secretary calling attention to a rule in our constitution that before calling a strike they must officially notify our general office, perhaps the trouble could be settled without a strike.*

Local No. 15 is now in a condition of prosperity and can recall the sufferings of that time with a feeling of joy. As already pointed out, that strike caused much bitterness. It is not for us here to apportion blame. It may be said in general that the times were not favorable for full-fledged victories insuring the stability of the union. All strikes of that period left the unions concerned in a state of insecurity. Was not the shirt-waist strike of 1909-10 in New

York a partial failure? Was it not necessary to have a new strike in 1912?

Three Years of Record Achievement

In the second part of the review Brother and now Vice-President Silver describes his own efforts to put new life into the devitalized body of Local No. 15. How he succeeded; how he united Local No. 55, silk suit and waistmakers, with Local No. 15; how the settlement of 1916 with the waist and dress manufacturers was, with the assistance of President Schlesinger, brought about for the most part peacefully; how the union was subsequently solidified and permeated with a new enthusiasm—all this has been more than once told in these columns. Only a few months ago Vice-President Fannia M. Cohn told our readers about the library and reading room established by the local, their co-operative store within the union, their unity house in the country and other activities that place Local No. 15 on a high degree of development and accomplishment for its members.

OUR PART.

We of the legion of labor,
Long as the world shall stand,
Toil and toil, my neighbor,
Ever with busy hand.

Be it in field or factory,
Mine or forest or stream;
Melting some ore refractory,
Taming the lightning's gleam.

Now o'er the land is ringing
Liberty's call anew,
Challenging greed and bringing
Tasks gigantic to do.

Over the seas our brothers,
Fighting in grim and mire,
Call from the smoke that smothers,
Call from the battle fire.

Pleading that we shall hasten
Each in his ablest way;
Cleaving the chains which fasten
Liberty prone, today.

Ours is the battle valiant,
Ours, as theirs, who die,
Else shall the feudal tyrant
Flaunt his flag in our sky.

Comrades, the call is ringing;
Answer it, strong of heart,
Tho' mid the bullets singing,
Bravely perform our part.

* "The Recent Strike of the Philadelphia Waistmakers," Ladies' Garment Workers, Jewish Edition, June, 1910.

The American Labor Movement in the Present Crisis

By A. R.

PRESIDENT ORDERS THE TAKING OVER OF TELEGRAPH AND TELEPHONE LINES.

Secretary of Labor Wilson and President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor intervened with the officers of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union and prevailed upon them to revoke the strike order, which had set Monday, July 8th, as the date for the general strike. It was no doubt the assurance that the government would take over all telegraph, telephone and radio lines that the threatened strike was averted. Thereupon Congress set to work upon a measure to that effect, and on July 16, President Wilson signed the resolution, empowering him to take over and operate this entire public utility until the end of the war.

General Postmaster Burleson has made all arrangements for having the wire system under the control of the post-office department.

The passing of the resolution was marked by a bitter struggle in Congress against it. A strong minority feared that the taking over by the government of one industry after another is the beginning of the end of private property in industries of public utility. To them it is Socialism, while in truth it is far from real Socialism.

At all events, when the government will control the telegraph and telephone lines the unions will, at least, receive official recognition, and this is a great gain for the workers.

THE GOVERNMENT AND LABOR

How many people realize the significance of the Board which is devoting its attention to all labor affairs, chiefly to averting strikes and increasing wages? We are referring to the National War Labor Board of which such two diverse men as ex-President Taft and Frank P. Walsh are the chairmen. Here are a few facts in regard to the work of this Board.

In Pittsfield, Mass., the General Electric Company had a dispute with its workers. The company is doing considerable

contract work for the U. S. Government, but they would not recognize the union. Furthermore, they thought they could follow the opinion of the Supreme Court in its decision against the miners, entering into individual contracts with their workers and pledging them to keep out of the union.

The company submitted the dispute to the National War Labor Board, and the Board decided that any individual contract which prohibits a worker from joining a union is contrary to the spirit of the proclamation issued by President Wilson on April 6. The President said: "The right to organize and to bargain collectively shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever." Thus the company can enter into no such contracts with the workers, because the government recognizes the system of collective bargaining.

* * *

Here is a second important case:

Forty thousand employees in the news print industry under the jurisdiction of two separate international unions—the International Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the International Union of Paper makers—presented demands for higher wages and other improvements. The matter was referred to arbitration by T. M. Guerin of the carpenters and C. A. Crocker, a paper mill owner, who awarded an increase of ten cents an hour to all the workers. But as the employers seemed to be dissatisfied, the question was referred to the National War Labor Board. The Board approved the award. Moreover, they recognized the right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively, and the right of women workers to equal pay for equal work. Eight hours was set as the days' work, and time and a half for overtime.

The Board also decided upon minimum rates being established, based on the prevailing cost of living. The minimum will be subject to change every January 1 and July 1. Should government statistics

show that the cost of living has been raised 10 per cent. the minimum scale shall be raised in proportion.

* * *

A third important case is the decision of the War Labor Board in reference to child labor. In this respect the government policy departs absolutely from the antiquarian ideas of the United States Supreme Court. The following decision of the Board, inserted into every government contract, speaks for itself:

"All work required in carrying out this contract shall be performed in full compliance with the laws of the state, territory or District of Columbia where such labor is performed. A contractor shall not directly or indirectly employ in the performance of his contract any minor under the age of 14 years, or permit any minor between the age of 14 and 16 years to work more than eight hours in any one day, more than six days in any one week, or before 6 a. m. or after 7 p. m. Nor shall the contractor directly or indirectly employ any person undergoing sentence of imprisonment at hard labor."

PROFITEERING SPELLS HIGH COST OF LIVING

According to statistics of the United States Bureau of Labor the cost of food in the five years from April, 1913, to April, 1918, has increased 63 per cent. Flour alone 100 per cent. corn meal 142 per cent. lard 109 per cent. But only in exceptional cases have wages increased 50 per cent.

The profits of the trusts, however, increased enormously. For example: Five meat packers have profited in the last three years to the extent of \$140,000,000. One of them, Armour & Co., raised its capital stock from \$20,000,000 to \$100,000,000. Their profits were 400 per cent. The profits of the United States Steel Corporation in 1913 were about \$77,000,000 while in 1917 they were \$113,000,000. The millers, for the four years ending in 1916, profited at the rate of 12 per cent., while for the year ending June, 1917, their rate of profits was 38 per cent. This explains why the price of flour and bread is so high.

Clearly, the high cost of living is due to profiteering on a large scale. In the countries where government exercises a stricter control over food prices, as for

instance in England, the cost of living is not so outrageously high. Otherwise how should we explain the fact that the British Labor Party in its reconstruction program has set 30 shillings (\$7.50) as the minimum for the least skilled workers, men or women?

FABULOUS SALARIES

In our circles, when anyone receives a salary of \$100 a week it is considered very high indeed. The highest salary in the government of the country is that of the President of the United States—\$75,000 a year. But in the large trust businesses, \$75,000 seems a poor salary.

The Federal Trade Commission, which is investigating profiteering in various industries, has found that presidents and other officials of a certain company receive much higher salaries than that of the President of the United States, and for no other reason than because there is a large demand for certain metals.

The officials of the American Metal Company of New York, a concern dealing mostly in zinc, receive large salaries, not because they do the actual mining, or refining or the smelting of the ore. This is done by labor at wages that yield a bare living. They do none of these things, yet they get away with fabulous salaries.

The Commission has found that the salary and extras of one official, the president of its board of directors, in 1917, was over \$364,000. One of the vice-presidents received \$221,596. Another official, the chairman of the Board, got \$179,663. One vice-president got \$147,930. One branch manager got \$148,530, and another branch manager \$136,553. Nine other officials received a salary of about \$66,000 each and minor officials \$9,000 each.

It is suggested that they included these large salaries in the expense, so as to escape paying the excess profits tax; such is their great patriotism. But whatever the case, it shows who it is that lives on the fat of the land in the present unjust social order.

A 50 PER CENT. WAGE INCREASE

The highest wage increase to come to our notice, since the agitation for increasing wages set in, was awarded last month to the weavers of Lawrence, Mass., when

1,800 weavers went out on strike. Secretary of War Baker appointed one of the state officers to arbitrate the dispute between the American Woolen Company and its employees. The arbitration awarded the workers an increase of 50 per cent. and at the request of the union workers premiums or bonuses were abolished.

JUDGE JULIAN W. MACK A FEDERAL ARBITRATOR

The rules of the National War Labor Board provide for umpires to settle matters of dispute, upon which the Board cannot agree. Last month President Wilson named ten umpires, one of whom is Judge Julian W. Mack of Chicago, the Chairman of the Board of Arbitration in the waist and dress industry of New York.

WILL MOONEY BE EXECUTED AFTER ALL?

The rigor of some judges and their icy hearts can be best seen from the action of Judge Griffin. The judge himself had raised the question of the injustice of the death sentence on Tom Mooney, because fraud in the testimony of one of the witnesses had been established. But a judge is a judge. As the records of the trial do not contain details of the fraud he could not bring himself to try to save a man's life, but with the rigor of a judge and unlike a man of feeling he set August 23 as the day of Mooney's legal murder, and even handed him over to the sheriff for that purpose. Subsequently Governor Stephens granted a reprieve until December 13.

Definite reports indicate that two or more candidates are to run for the office of state government of California. One of them is District Attorney Fickert of San Francisco, Mooney's sworn enemy and prosecutor. A second candidate is the present Governor Stephens, who had the power to grant Mooney a pardon, but ignored all appeals by President Wilson and others. What action will the organized workers of the state take in the matter?

A ray of hope is seen in the protest demonstrations arranged for July 28, and in the large delegation waiting upon President Wilson on July 29. Representing our union in this delegation was International Vice-President Fannia M. Cohn. How terrible it will be if all these efforts will be of no avail.

SOCIALIST PARTY READY FOR FALL CAMPAIGN

The Evening Call reports that the Socialist Party is ready for the political campaign, at least in New York City. The candidates include persons of various stations in life, from professors, teachers and artists to members and officers of trade unions.

In New York the Party has named candidates for twelve congressional districts, and among them, more or less familiar to our readers, are—Meyer London in the 12th, Algernon Lee in the 13th, Scott Nearing in the 14th, Pauline Newman in the 18, Therese Malkiel in the 19th and Morris Hillquit in the 20th.

The Party has named three candidates for supreme court judges, one of these is Jacob Hillquit and eight candidates for the State Senate. Max Margolies of our Local No. 10 and Bertha H. Mailey are among them for the 12th and 16th S. D. respectively.

Twenty-three candidates have been named for the Assembly. Among these we recognize William Karlin in the 4th Assembly district; Elmer Rosenberg, first vice-president of our International Union in the 6th; Louis Waldman in the 8th, Max Danish in the 10th, Alexander Trachtenberg in the 12th.

In Brooklyn, County Kings, Assemblyman Ab. Shiplacoff has been named for Congress in the 10th district and Chas. Solomon for Assembly to replace him.

Assemblyman Joseph Whitehorn has been chosen for Congress in the third district and Harry Rogoff for Assembly to replace him.

It has just been announced that the Republican and Democratic parties have combined in the 12th, 13th, 14th and 20th Congressional districts to defeat the Socialist candidates. But this will only stimulate their supporters to greater effort for their election.

The vote this year is expected to be heavy. According to a report of the State Superintendent of Elections 679,618 women enrolled in the existing political parties. The estimate is that 376,093 enrolled as Republicans, 247,676 as Democrats, 36,899 as Prohibitionists and 19,950 as Socialists.

FUR WORKERS SECURE A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE.

By negotiation in conference, the fur workers of New York, affiliated with the Joint Board Furriers' Union and the International Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, last month secured a substantial increase in wages by negotiation and amicable settlement.

The existing agreement in this industry provides for a two-wage system in the year—a lower scale from January to July and a higher scale from July to January. So that in July they are entitled to an increase regardless of present high-cost conditions. In view, however, of these conditions the workers requested an increase sufficient to meet both cases. The union asked for a raise of 45 to 50 per cent, and the employers offered 25 per cent.

At first, rumors of a conflict had spread in the trade. It was believed that the manufacturers were planning a lockout, because the workers had asked too much. And although their Conference Committee of employers and employees met and adopted a set of rules guiding the parties concerned in settling their differences quietly and prevent stoppages of work, some manufacturers seemed to willy-dilly in the matter requiring their work-people to continue at work pending a settlement arrived at subsequently. The workers distrusted this easy-going attitude of the manufacturers and suspended work in about 100 shops until a definite decision was arrived at.

Thanks to Dr. J. L. Magnes, the impartial chairman of the Conference Committee, a serious clash was averted and peace in the industry assured. The influence of Dr. Magnes goes far with both parties, and "taking the bull by the horns" he awarded the following clear-cut increase:

Those who received less than \$35 a week should get an increase of 40 per cent; those receiving between \$36 and \$45 should get an increase of 35 per cent; and those receiving above \$45 should get a 30 per cent raise. This, in the majority of cases, amounts to about \$10 to \$15 a week more. The union also gained the point of equal distribution of work in the slack months to prevent unemployment.

WOMEN RECOGNIZED.

Washington, July 20.—Secretary of Labor Wilson has announced the establishment of a woman's division in the department of labor as a recognition of the great importance of the work of women in industry and the necessity for a national policy in determining the conditions of their employment.

Miss Mary Van Kleeck has been appointed chief of the new division.

NEW YORK STATE CREATES WOMAN'S LABOR BUREAU.

Miss Nellie Swartz Appointed as Chief.

Washington, July 22.—Close upon the action of the United States Secretary of Labor in establishing a federal woman's labor bureau, to be administered under the direction of women, comes a dispatch from New York today announcing the creation of a corresponding division in the New York State Industrial Commission, with Miss Nellie Swartz, of New York City, as its chief. As the establishment of the federal woman's bureau followed a nine years' campaign for that end by the National Women's Trade Union League, so the New York bureau has come about from similar efforts of the Women's Trade Union League of New York, the Consumers' League, and, it is promptly pointed out, from the granting of votes to New York women.

"This action of the New York Industrial Commission," says Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the National Women's Trade Union League, "makes that great commonwealth of big industries and vast numbers of women workers the leader of the states in recognition of the need of women's point of view on labor issues. It is a most significant step forward for the million working women in New York State; but", she continues, "this action is equally significant from a national point of view. With the establishing of the Women-in-Industry Service in the Department of Labor at Washington, and New York State's leadership in establishing this woman's bureau, it becomes inevitable that every state will fall in line and give equal protection to its women workers."

"The Industrial Commission was far-sighted not only in seeing the need of such a bureau, but also in recognizing that the achievement of this bureau was dependent upon the choice of a woman as chief, a woman of expert knowledge and wide experience, and this end was attained by the appointment of Nellie Swartz."

Miss Mary Van Kleeck, chief of the new federal woman's bureau, greets the new woman's branch of the New York labor administration as "a tremendous help from the viewpoint of the federal Women-in-Industry Service, and the forerunner of a very great development in New York State in dealing with the working woman's problems. The federal service expects to work through the state labor departments, and New York has virtually given us a new arm for our service."

New York women leaders, including Miss Rose Schneidermann, president of the

New York Women's Trade Union League and of the Cloth Cap and Hat Makers' Union; Miss Mary Dreier, chairman of the Committee on Women in Industry for the State Council of National Defense; Miss Amey Aldrich, president of the Consumers' League of New York, and others, are unanimous in their enthusiasm over the establishment of the new bureau and the appointment of Miss Swartz as its chief. "The working women of New York have a great deal to look forward to," says Miss Schneidermann, and her words are echoed by the others.

Miss Swartz, the chief of the new bureau, is a native of Ashland, Ohio, a graduate of Wells College, of Aurora, New York, and for five years has been secretary of the Consumers' League of New York. She is recognized as one of the most highly trained women in the industrial service field.

Passing Events in Outside Locals

Notes on Secretary Baroff's Tour in Some Centers of Our Industry

By the Editor

Our Locals in Cincinnati

Our locals in Cincinnati, Nos. 30, 63, 85 and 98 have a long history behind them. They have already had many ups and downs, and their fighting qualities are well known to their local employers. On tracing back certain events in their history we find that they have continued to win improvements in wages and conditions; and where not all the workers could manage to do it, certain sections succeeded well in the effort.

In their last general strike, about a year and a half ago, our Cincinnati workers practically cleared the field. With exception of two stubborn firms, all the cloak and skirt-shops of Cincinnati are under union control. In the two shops remaining out of union influence the employees are old "hands," who have worked there for years, and the years seem to have hardened their prejudices against the organization. It is hard to convince

them that the union is a beacon of light to all workers. These people keep their minds' eyes closed, like a certain prisoner who, having been incarcerated in a dark cell for forty years and then released, his eyes were so alienated from the light of day that he petitioned for permission to remain in his dark cell. In labor organization it does not always depend so much on the employers as on the workers, where the workers firmly uphold the union, the employers must yield to their wishes.

But the organized shops are in ship-shape, and the union is firmly established. Quite recently the workers obtained an increase of wages quietly and without noise. This is the best sign of a well-organized body. Secretary Baroff, on his visit to the city, had a meeting with the local Joint Board and the active members of the unions and found the situation in the best order.

But there is a note in Secretary Baroff's impressions of one regrettable phase in connection with our members in Cincinnati. As this is more or less true of almost all our country locals comment thereon appears below.

Our New Local in Louisville, Ky.

In Louisville our International Union has a comparatively new local, which Brother Baroff visited while on his tour.

Usually new locals have an uphill course. For an organization is like a human life: it must grow and overcome difficulties, develop energy, sound sense and fighting qualities until it emerges to the top and becomes self-sustaining. That is something which as yet is not quite clear in our union. When a new local is established in our industry our older locals expect it to be immediately on its feet equally with them, and evince the same tact and ability just as many grown-up persons, notably parents, think that their child ought to regard things with their understanding. They forget that their understanding has grown ripe as a result of many years' experience, which the child has yet to go through.

New locals, on the other hand, are anxious to emulate older and more experienced locals, just as a child tries to imitate and act like a grown-up person. Of course, when a new local attains to the position of at least ninety per cent organization and has experienced and reliable leaders, it does no harm to plunge into important activities and serious undertakings. Many new locals have taken too much on their young shoulders and have come to grief. Other new locals go to the opposite extreme. Like weak infants they hesitate to take a forward step and remain inactive and undeveloped until they die a premature death from sheer inanity.

But our new local in Louisville pursues a different course. The members seek to increase their number, and the local has already enrolled about seventy per cent of the workers in the city. The local is not inactive. This

is shown by the fact that not long ago its local officers have drawn up demands for wage improvements, which they hope the employers will concede amicably.

Our Locals in Montreal.

In Montreal a quiet campaign is going on for better conditions and a strong union, and the workers there, are bound to arrive at the point slowly but surely. The general cloakmakers' strike of a year and a half ago left many difficulties to iron out, and long preparatory work is needed before plans can be laid for a big campaign. It is best to steer a safe course.

For some time prior to the Boston convention Vice President Lefkovits was in charge of the locals in Montreal, and at the first meeting of the General Executive Board he was instructed to return and continue his work there.

Brother Baroff informs us that the Joint Board and active members of the locals are very diligent in their efforts. Brother Schubert is the local organizer, and that the work of Vice President Lefkovits and Bro. Schubert are fruitful can be seen by the fact that, while Secretary Baroff was there on his visit, more than fifty per cent. of those who had dropped out of the ranks returned to the union fold.

Owing to a variety of reasons there can be no question at present of a general movement in Montreal. But the officers are concentrating their activities on the effort of obtaining increased wages and improving the position and strength of the locals, to enable them, if need be, to undertake a general movement in the near future with fair success.

Our Locals in Toledo.

Our two locals in Toledo, cloakmakers and cutters, are in excellent shape. The general movement for an increase in wages on account of the high cost of living has also involved in its course our Toledo cloakmakers. Evidence of their being alive to their interests in the shops is shown in the recent increase of 30 to 40 per cent. in their wages.

Incidentally it might be said of the Toledo cloakmakers that whenever their sense of duty and solidarity calls them to special activity they get right "on the job" with the best results. In the last five or six years there has not been a single big movement or undertaking by our International Union, whether a general strike or some other great cause, to which the cloakmakers of Toledo have not contributed, in proportion to the number of their members, more than other unions. This in itself is a sign of a high level of organization.

There is in Toledo an element, which as yet has seen no development in other locals of our International Union. We refer to the activity of the women—the members' wives. We have not heard from this group of organized women in Toledo for some time. But hope, nevertheless, that they are still, as ever, active and helpful to the men in the union.

The time will come when the wives and daughters of trade unionists will be equally busy, together with the men in the labor movement. Then the movement will develop a force and momentum that no foe will be able to withstand. The subject is very interesting and suggestive. Perhaps we shall in this connection hear from our brothers and sisters of Toledo. Some years ago they gave a good example of what the wives of union men, as an organized auxiliary body, can do when harmony and a desire for noble effort prevails in the ranks.

News from Baltimore and Cumberland.

In the general movement for an increase in pay by reason of the mounting cost of necessities our Baltimore cloakmakers did not lag behind other unions, and they, too, won an advance of 30 to 40 per cent.

The gain did not come easy to them, and therefore they deserve all the more credit. Our Local, No. 4, is an old-experienced warrior, and the local employers are well familiar with this side of its character. Naturally this does not mean that the employers con-

cede every... without a whisper; it would be too much to expect it.

The Baltimore cloakmakers play their card very well. When planning to start a movement they, first of all, get together and prepare for a struggle, and upon the employers intending to offer resistance they have to expect a serious encounter.

Their recent gain was attended by circumstances of this kind. The cloakmakers, through their union, warned their manufacturers that upon failing to concede the desired increase amicably they, the employers, will precipitate a general strike, and the warning had the desired effect. It should be mentioned, by the way, that Vice President Jacob Halperin was in Baltimore by direction of the general office and assisted in the settlement.

* * *

But to understand the real character of the Baltimore cloakmakers as union men and women and their conception of solidarity we should here tell the story of their part in a singular strike in Cumberland, Md. Cumberland is a locality of railroad workers and miners, and unknown as a place where cloaks are manufactured. Only by sheer accident has it been brought to the notice of cloakmakers. Another strange thing is that the cloakmakers are exclusively American girls.

In this strike Baltimore and Cumberland are very closely related, for the reason that the firm which introduced the trade into Cumberland is the Bargain House of Baltimore. The firm went to Cumberland not because there is no room in Baltimore for extension, but as a means of evading the control of our union, No. 4—something they could not accomplish in Baltimore.

In Baltimore the firm engaged some eighty American girls who turned out their cloaks at miserable wages. Ten dollars a week was the highest wage of only a couple of girls; the rest were paid \$6 or \$7 a week, and the working hours were longer than in the Baltimore cloak shops. Here the firm hoped to establish a regular open shop and defy the union.

The union, however, soon discovered the scheme, and Miss Anna

Neary, the Baltimore organizer of our International Union went to Cumberland and succeeded in organizing a number of the workers of that solitary shop into a local union. Unable to prevent the girls from joining the union the manager closed the shop for two weeks.

Then the shop was reopened with non-union help; the union workers being discriminated against and excluded. The union regarded this act as being virtually a lockout and called the shop out on strike.

And our Baltimore Local No. 4 immediately came to the assistance of the small local in Cumberland and called a strike in the shop of the firm in Baltimore in sympathy with their sisters in Cumberland.

The question had been brought up in a resolution at the Boston convention, and subsequently the general office sent Vice President Fannia M. Cohn to the scene of the strike. Miss Cohn succeeded in interesting all the unions of the vicinity. The Trades Council took up the question; the local leaders of the railroad workers and miners are keenly interested in bringing the strike to a victory for the American girls who work for considerably less wages than their brothers and sisters in Baltimore. Of course, the firm is backed by the reactionary elements of the town, the mayor and certain business people, but the combined organized workers charge the firm with discriminating against American girls, and the firm is subjected to a cross-fire from two different points.

Suggested Activity for the Country Locals

As already observed, there is a regrettable phase in the life of nearly all our country locals, especially in Cincinnati. Brother Baruff finds that as their union activity is confined to the time prior to the commencement of the seasons the members have weeks and months of inactivity left on their hands. During such periods their interest in union affairs flags and they indulge in time-killing amusements

that are of no benefit to them physically, mentally or morally.

It is not the purpose of this note to run down innocent and beneficial amusement and games for recreation. To play is human and healthy; but when play is indulged in to excess for days and even nights in succession, then instead of serving the purpose of a healthy pastime, it becomes a mental disease, a craze. A union of progressive workers should certainly find a better and more refined pastime for its members.

Our members in the country are not too well informed and educated. In Cincinnati, for instance, we have very nearly a thousand members. What might not an organized group of a thousand people accomplish? Why not utilize their time for mind development? Why not establish a reading room with papers and magazines and a library of interesting and instructive books? Why not organize a center for proper entertainment?

Furthermore, now that the question of co-operative enterprise is growing so popular among organized workers in many parts of the country, why should not our country locals start developing such undertakings, which might benefit the members and their families in house economy and train them not only in the ideas and practice of managing their union business, but really enable them to arrange all their affairs of life on the collective, co-operative principle? Our Pressers' Union, Local No. 35, of New York, is pursuing this kind of activity with success. The Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 15, of Philadelphia, is doing similar things with equal success. What one local can do other locals can do equally as well. Our people have the energy and the good sense and the spirit of enterprise. The trouble is only that they lapse into habits in which their energy and time run to waste.

But perhaps this is really a task devolving upon our Educational Committee, for it is necessary to guide our locals, which have time and opportunity, on to the right path.

A Champion Swimmer's Reward

A Vacation Story, From the Yiddish by A. Rosebury

It happened in Rockaway Beach last year, on the Fourth of July. Loungers and board walkers on the beach were watching with keen interest the swimmers, some distance away, struggling with huge mountainous billows, for the sea was heavy and tempestuous. Bathers were mercilessly hurled to and fro and seemed to exert all their wits to maintain their hold on the lines put there for bathers' protection.

Women screamed, men smiled, children felt frightened, while young men and maidens flirted in a hide-and-seek manner that was very attractive to the passerby.

Among the many bathers there was a Mr. Lissack, a garment manufacturer, who ran a shop with forty machines, owned a number of houses in East New York and carried a physical structure weighing some 320 pounds.

He was a great swimmer in his own estimation. This could be seen from the capers he cut in the water, pretending, very frequently, that he was drowning, but after a while coming to the surface again.

But suddenly and unexpectedly for himself and the crowd watching his antics he appeared to be actually drowning. He was seen swinging on the crest of a tremendous wave, which raised him high in the air, then immersed him, and then handed him over to a merciless neighbor. After a while he was seen rather far beyond the limit and in the throes of a great struggle with his fate.

In front of the nearest hotel stood the hotel keeper, where Mr. Lissack was staying, while Morris "Slim," so-called because he was slim and gaunt, an employee of Mr. Lissack and a champion swimmer, surveyed the situation with a degree of unconcern.

Morris was naturally well known on the beach, and at this crisis in Mr. Lissack's life, due entirely to the play of the waves, both friends and enemies turned their beseeching glances at Morris "Slim." They all seemed to utter a

silent prayer to him: "Oh, Morris, have pity, save your boss from a watery grave." And the hotel keeper, growing articulate, urged:

"If you save him, Moe, you will get away with a handsome reward."

"I'll do nothing of the kind," Morris nonchalantly replied. "He is an awful hog."

"When the Angel of Death is so near, one ought to forget bygones," a commanding voice was heard, "go and save your boss!"

"If you save him you will be a made man, I promise you," insisted the hotel-keeper.

These entreaties had their effect. Morris threw off his shabby coat, thoughtlessly handed his gold watch into the safekeeping of some unknown person beside him and nimbly plunged into the billowy sea, and while his fancy was weaving dreams of a handsome reward and better times, he plowed his way to his drowning boss—who had already imbibed a considerable quantity of brine—and caught hold of him by his hair.

"I'll give you all—I possess, — every cent I have," Lissack eked out breathlessly, and on beginning to feel relieved he added with a genuine touch of assurance:

"All, all for you—dear brother. Life is more than money."

Morris felt greatly tickled, and, reflecting upon his employer being thus reduced to poverty, generously suggested:

"Why all? a half is enough for me."

"No, all, all!" Mr. Lissack gasped. "What is the good—of money to me, if—death is so—near. I can't—take it with me to the grave. Now,—don't dive,—Moe, ach so,—keep me up, I need the air—Yes, fifty-fifty—we'll share even—the shop and the machines for you—the house property for me—satisfied, eh? Are we nearing the beach, Can you feel the sand under foot?—Yes—we'll share up."

Morris nodded assent.

"You are a great fellow, Moe, a diamond. As soon as you are safe out of the water, I make you out a check for a thousand dollars. A thousand dollars, good friend, is quite a treasure, you know, a reg'lar fortune. What can't you do with a thousand dollars? Everything—open a shop with a lot o' machines and become a boss, eh? Now, don't you think a thousand dollars enough? Just let me try to swim a little myself. I feel ever so much better. No, I don't think I ought to chance it. Yes, a thousand dollars, it's agreed, isn't it?"

Morris frowned and made no reply.

Mr. Lissack nestled closely to Morris and with a cunning smile said:

"I imagine you have never in your life seen a hundred dollars, and all at once you become a rich man, getting five hundred dollars right into your hand. Just think, five hundred dollars for a poor fellow like you, what it all means—a possession for sure. Now, what do you say to that?"

"But why bargain, Mr. Lissack?"

"Bargain!—no, I don't bargain. It's you who bargains, not me. Five hundred dollars is not enough for you? Do you pick up easy money, five hundred dollars, every day? When you put to this five hundred another five hundred you have a thousand, and to this thousand another thousand you have two thousand, and so you work yourself up, you know."

Morris groaned, unable to conceal his utter disgust, while his employer launched into another subject:

"Isn't the sea better than a doctor, Slim? Bathing does me more good than all the doctor's prescriptions. It gives you health, don't you believe it?"

Morris did not reply.

"Getting grouchy, eh?" Lissack said, hurt. "Because you can swim better than I, therefore you think you may insult me? Have I hurt you, trod on your corns, pushed you out of a job? I only say that bathing in the sea is good for the health, that's all, and if you don't like it you can get out; I'll swim to the beach without you."

They reached the line. Lissack got upon his feet and breathed freely. Morris sheepishly kept silence.

The crowd on the beach, watching the daring performance of Morris "Slim," vigorously applauded him.

Finally Lissack said:

"If you wish I can try to get you a reward from the Carnegie Fund for life saving. I can get it for you, although you are mean."

"You can choke with your fund," Morris said, swelling with indignation. "First you offered me every cent you had, and now you want to send me to Mr. Carnegie for a medal."

"If you don't want it you needn't have it," Lissack said with a shrug of his shoulders, as if feeling free from all obligation. "I only wished to do you a service, you know."

Morris came out on the beach, put on his shabby coat and started looking for the man to whom he absently handed his gold watch, but none could remember who it was.

Morris was filled with consternation.

In the evening a party was given in the hotel to celebrate the saving of Mr. Lissack, who contributed ten dollars towards it, while the balance of the cost was collected among the guests. The affair lasted until midnight and all the participants had a fine time.

On the next day Morris was discharged, not without reason. Lissack explained that when Morris swam near to him when he was drowning, he seized him by his hair. He called this a mean, impudent act, for which he deserved to lose his job.

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(Continued)

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40. New Haven Corset Workers.....	173 Edgewood Ave., New Haven, Conn.
41. New York Wrapper and Kimono Makers.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
42. Cleveland Cloak and Suit Cutters' Union.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
43. Worcester White Goods and Waist Workers.....	49 Harrison St., Worcester, Mass.
44. Chicago, Ill., Cloakmakers.....	1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
46. Petticoat Workers' Union.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
47. Denver, Colo., Ladies' Tailors.....	244 Champe St., Denver, Colo.
48. Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Union.....	231 E. 14th St., New York City
49. Boston Waistmakers.....	724 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
50. New York Children's Dressmakers.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
51. Montreal, Canada, Custom Ladies' Tailors.....	387 City Hall Ave., Montreal, Can.
52. Los Angeles Ladies' Garment Workers.....	218 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.
53. Philadelphia, Pa., Cloak Cutters.....	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
54. Chicago Raincoat Makers.....	1145 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
56. Boston Cloakmakers.....	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
57. Cleveland Waist and Dressmakers.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
58. New York Waist Buttonhole Makers.....	80 E. 10th St., New York City
59. New Rochelle Ladies' Tailors.....	106 Union Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.
60. Phila. Embroidery Workers.....	2126 N. 7th St., Phila., Pa.
61. Montreal, Canada, Cloak and Skirt Pressers.....	37 Prince Arthur E., Montreal, Can.
62. New York White Goods Workers.....	35 Second St., New York City
63. Cincinnati Cloakmakers.....	311 Odd Fellows Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio
64. New York Buttonhole Makers.....	112 W. 21st St., New York City
65. St. Louis Skirt, Waist & Dressmakers' Union.....	Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.
66. New York Bonnaz Embroiderers.....	103 E. 11th St., New York City
67. Toledo Cloakmakers.....	813 George St., Toledo, Ohio
68. Hartford Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.....	16 Loomis St., Hartford, Conn.
69. Philadelphia Cloak Finishers.....	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
70. Toronto Skirt and Dressmakers.....	208 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
71. Chicago Ladies' Tailors.....	951 N. Hoyne Ave., Chicago, Ill.
72. Baltimore Dress and White Goods Workers.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
73. Boston Amalgamated Cutters.....	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
74. Vineland Cloakmakers' Union.....	H. Miller, 601 Landis Avenue
75. Worcester, Mass., Cloakmakers.....	26 Columbia St., Worcester, Mass.
76. Philadelphia Ladies' Tailors.....	505 Reed St., Philadelphia, Pa.
77. Waterbury Ladies' Garment Workers.....	270 N. Main St., Waterbury, Conn.
78. St. Louis Cloak Operators.....	Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
80. Ladies' Tailors, Alteration and Special Order Workers.....	725 Lexington av., N. Y. C.
81. Chicago Cloak and Suit Cutters.....	909 N. Homan Ave., Chicago, Ill.
82. N. Y. Cloak Examiners, Squares & Bushelers' Union.....	78 E. 10th St., N. Y. C.
83. Toronto, Canada, Cutters.....	110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
84. Toledo Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....	425 Parker Ave., Toledo, Ohio
85. Cincinnati Skirtmakers.....	411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
86. St. John Ladies' Gar. Workers' Union.....	92 St. James St., St. John, N. B., Can.
90. Custom Dressmakers' Union.....	Forward Bldg., 175 E. B'way, N. Y. City
92. Toronto, Canada, Cloak Pressers.....	110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
98. Cincinnati Skirt Pressers' Union.....	311 Odd Fellows Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio
100. Chicago Waist, Dress and White Goods Workers.....	1815 W. Division St., Chi., Ill.
101. Baltimore Ladies' Tailors.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
102. Montreal, Canada, Raincoat Makers.....	1138 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada
105. St. Louis Ladies' Tailors.....	Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
110. Baltimore Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
111. Cleveland Raincoat Makers.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
112. Montreal, Canada, Ladies' Waist Makers.....	1271 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada

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