

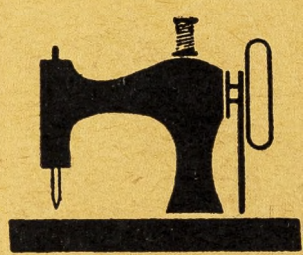
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THE WOMEN'S GARMENT INDUSTRY

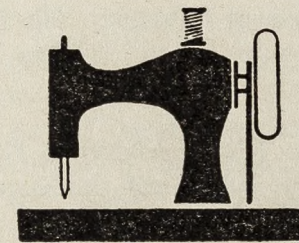
An Economic Analysis



By LAZARE TEPER ✓

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT
WORKERS' UNION
3 West 16th Street
New York City

The Women's Garment Industry



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Clothing trade — U.S.




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Educational Department

International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

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INTRODUCTION

"If you are not in fashion you are nobody."

—Lord Chesterfield

There are few women in the United States, no matter how poor, who are willing to be classified as "nobody." Clothing is an important item in the budget of the average woman. Many deprive themselves even of necessities to the end that they may be clothed in apparel that approximates the latest fashion. To provide millions of American women with clothing that is both fashionable and useful is a complex process and one that requires the co-ordinated efforts of countless craftsmen.

For many years the women's garment industry, known for its luxurious and beautiful creations, was an agency of frightful exploitation. From early morning until late at night, the garment worker, a slave to his machine, breathed the stale, dust-laden air of the sweatshop. The wages that these workers received for endless hours of back-breaking toil were pitifully inadequate. They suffered all the privations of poverty. During slack seasons they faced actual starvation. It was the painful, unrewarded drudgery of such unfortunate men and women that inspired Thomas Hood's "Song of the Shirt":

Work—work—work
Till the brain begins to swim;
Work—work—work
Till the eyes are heavy and dim; . . .
In poverty, hunger and dirt,
Sewing at once with a double thread,
A shroud as well as a shirt.

The factors responsible for such deplorable conditions had their roots in an industrial disorganization which has wrought havoc not only with workers but with employers as well. The women's apparel industry is broken up into relatively small production units whose dwarf size can best be appreciated by comparison with the huge plants which characterize such American industries as auto and steel. Competition in the industry is keen, often reaching the point where it becomes destructive. In their

competition for markets and profits, many manufacturers fail to take cognizance of the broader industrial problems facing them. In their struggle for a place in the sun they succeed too often only in placing their necks in an economic noose.

In sharp contrast to the attitude of these employers, are the policies advocated by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Of all the elements in the industry, the ILGWU alone has consistently advanced a program of industrial stabilization and endeavored to bring order into an industry whose dominant note is disorganization and chaos. With the welfare of the workers in mind, it has adopted a clear-cut policy not only of direct improvements in the conditions of the workers such as shorter hours and increased wages, but of attempting to improve the functioning of the industry as a whole. The Union has long realized that a healthy industry can provide its workers with a far better livelihood than one that is cursed with cut-throat competition and other industrial maladies. What progress the industry has made in the direction of stabilization may, to a large extent, be credited to the leadership of the ILGWU.

In a brief pamphlet it is impossible to discuss each and every industrial problem. One can touch only on the most significant problems, those which are common to all branches of the industry. Nor can one go into a detailed discussion of the Union's policies. Those interested in a thorough analysis of the role played by the Union in the first quarter of a century of existence are referred to Levine's "Women's Garment Workers." A brief exposition of the history of the International is also available in a pamphlet issued by the Educational Department under the title: "Story of the ILGWU." The reports made to the meetings of the General Executive Board of the Union, as published in *Justice*, and the reports to the ILGWU Conventions form other important sources which should not be overlooked. For general union news the reader is referred to *Justice*, while a publication like *Women's Wear* is indispensable for industrial news.

A word must be added regarding the organization of this pamphlet. In the interests of greater clarity it was found advisable to sketch the historical background of certain phases of the industry. However, no attempt has been made to give a complete history of the women's garment industry, or to follow a strict chronological pattern in the treatment of its various problems.

It is suggested that in using this pamphlet for class study, an attempt should be made to apply situations described in the following pages to the particular trade or craft in which the students are engaged. The pamphlet thus provides a broad basis for comparison with the conditions and concrete problems with which students come in contact.

—L. T.

The Women's Garment Industry

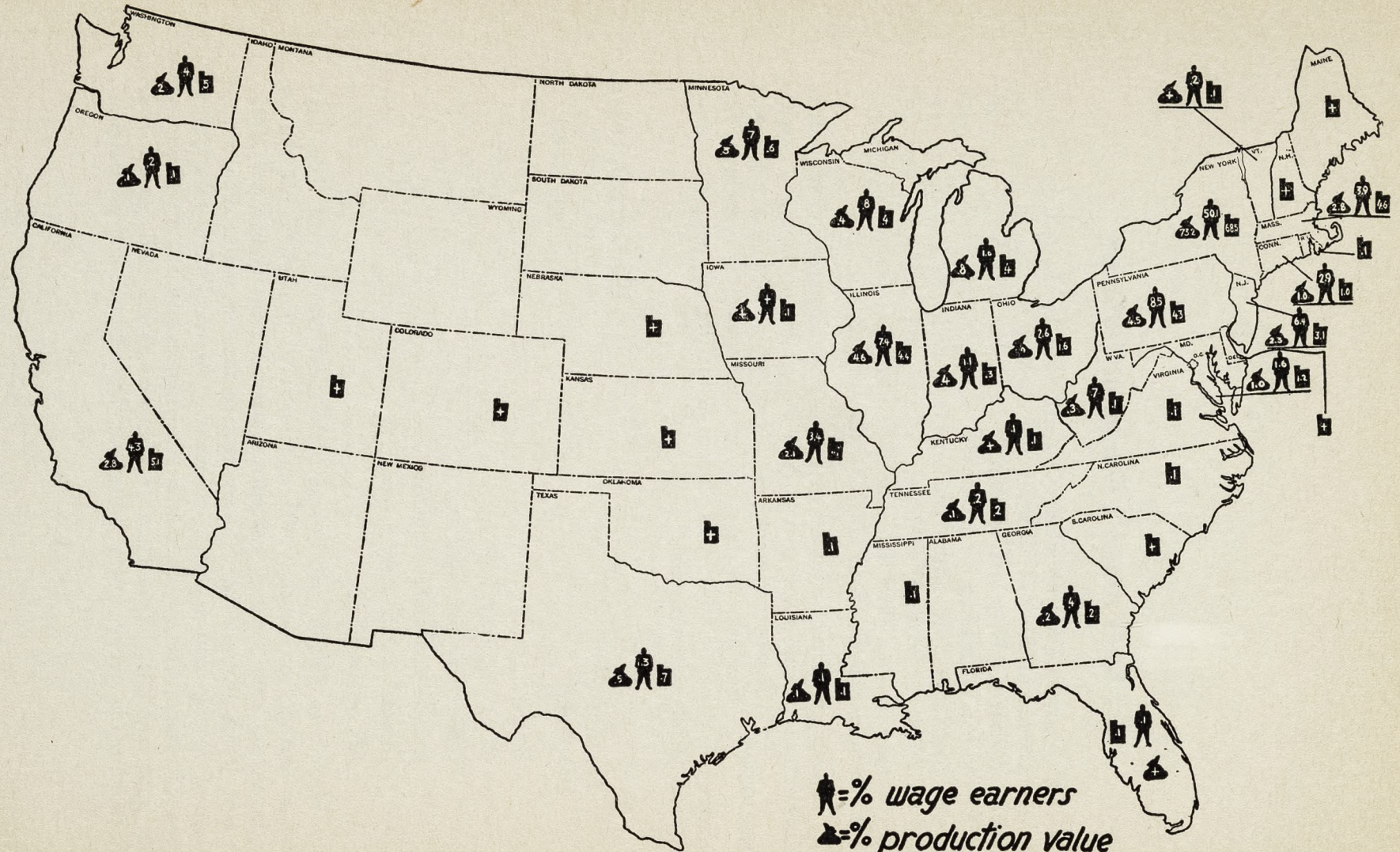
The women's garment industry as described in the following pages includes the manufacture of all articles of clothing for women other than hosiery, millinery, gloves and footwear. It is that branch of the needle trades which is engaged in the production of silk, cotton, woolen or rayon dresses, cloaks and suits, corsets and brassieres, underwear, artificial flowers, embroidery, neckwear, rainwear, infants' and children's wear and even knit dresses. In 1935 the value of garments produced in all branches of the industry was estimated at \$1,200,000,000.

Among the various branches of the women's garment industry, dress manufacturing occupies first rank both in the number of shops and number of workers employed. Next in importance are the coat and suit and the underwear and nightwear branches. The relative importance of the various sections of the women's apparel industry is shown by the following table:

BRANCH OF INDUSTRY	PER CENT OF TOTAL PRODUCTION (Dollar value)
Dress	41
Cloak and suit	19
Underwear and nightwear	12
Corsets and allied industries.....	6
Infants' and children's wear.....	6
All others	16

More than 350,000 workers earn their livelihood in the shops producing apparel for women. Although scattered through 41 of the 48 states, the industry tends to concentrate around the city of New York, an area which accounts for 73.2 per cent of the total value of garments produced in the United States. However, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles and San Francisco are also important in the production of women's apparel. Numerous shops are found too in smaller towns throughout the country. The geographical

WOMEN'S GARMENT INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES



Based on the Census of Manufacturers, 1933

= % wage earners
 = % production value
 = % establishments
 + = less than .1%

distribution of the industry in terms of the dollar value of its output is shown in the following figures:

LOCATION OF THE INDUSTRY	PER CENT OF TOTAL PRODUCTION (Dollar value)
New York	73.2
Illinois	4.6
Pennsylvania	4.5
California	2.8
Massachusetts	2.8
New Jersey	2.3
Missouri	2.1
Ohio	1.9
Connecticut	1.0
Maryland	1.0
Other states (31 in number)	3.8

The average shop engaged in the manufacture of women's apparel is comparatively small. The huge plants found in most important American industries are completely absent in the garment trades. Occasionally one runs across factories which employ several hundred workers.* These shops, few in number, are located chiefly in those branches of the industry which produce merchandise of a cheaper type in large quantities, and here style is of lesser importance and mass production methods are used. The average shop employs approximately 30 workers, slightly more during busy seasons and less during the slack periods. From state to state, the size of garment factories varies considerably. While the average shop in New York employs some 22 workers, in New Jersey the average is 61 and in Connecticut, 84. In Pennsylvania the average garment factory employs 59 workers; in Ohio and Illinois, 50. Shops in rural districts are generally larger than shops producing similar merchandise in metropolitan areas.

The size of garment factories has fluctuated a good deal since the early days of the industry. Until 1899 there was a trend toward smaller units. From an average of 45 in 1879, the number of workers employed in a shop declined to 31 in 1899. This period was marked by a sharp increase in the number of small shops (described in the following pages). For a brief period between 1899 and 1904 the trend was reversed. Following the latter year there was a steady decline, with few interruptions, down to 1927 when garment factories averaged 20 workers. Since 1927

* The largest shops in the industry employ approximately 33 times the number of workers in the average shop. However, there is no evidence of industrial concentration; the six largest concerns employing only 3.7 per cent of all workers, and the three largest establishments only 2.1 per cent. (Twentieth Century Fund, "Big Business: Its Growth and Its Place.")

factories have been growing in size. The increase may be attributed to the advance of mass production methods in the production of cheaper garments.

The economic structure of the women's garment industry is peculiar to itself. Unlike most industries, where the function of manufacturing is intimately connected with that of the distribution of the manufactured product through wholesale or retail channels, here we find an unusual division of functions. **INDUSTRIAL SET-UP** There are two methods of production prevalent in the industry; these are commonly referred to as the "inside" and "outside" systems. From the economic standpoint there is no appreciable difference between the "inside" clothing manufacturer and manufacturers in other industries. He purchases raw materials, plans production, has the garments made up in his own factory, and arranges for sales. Under the "outside" system of production, however, the function of manufacturing is separated from the rest. The garments are produced by contractors, or sub-manufacturers, according to specifications of the jobber and from materials owned by him.*

In other branches of industry and trade, the jobber is a middleman who buys ready-made articles for resale and has no connection with actual production. He purchases from manufacturers in large quantities (job-lots) and then, in turn, sells to retailers in smaller quantities. In the women's clothing industry, the jobber occupies a completely different position. As indicated above, he purchases fabrics and other necessary materials, employs designers who create new styles, and then contracts for the manufacture of the desired garments according to set specifications and at a stipulated price. Often the jobber maintains a cutting department where material is cut up into patterns before it is sent out to the contractors. (Under the present agreements in the New York cloak and suit industry, jobbers are not permitted to have cutting done on their own premises.) The jobber also maintains showrooms where garments are displayed to prospective buyers, and lofts where merchandise is stored.

Frequently a manufacturer will combine both methods of production, turning out part of his production in his own factory while the balance is sent out to contractors. Sometimes this is a regular procedure; often it is an emergency measure resorted to by a manufacturer at the peak of the season when he finds that his productive capacity is not sufficient to meet his orders.

* Years ago it was customary to distinguish between the contractor who made up garments from fabrics which had already been cut according to pattern by the jobber; and the sub-manufacturer who performed all operations, cutting included. While the distinction is still made in the cloak trade, the terms are used interchangeably in other branches of the industry. Since the basic functions of the two are identical, the latter practice is followed in this pamphlet.

The degree to which the jobber-contractor system has developed varies in different branches of the industry. In the manufacture of dresses and cloaks, the largest part of production is turned out in contracting shops. For example, a survey of the cloak industry made in 1935 showed that of the total number of firms, 395 were jobbers, 934 manufacturers, and 1,025 contractors and sub-manufacturers.* In the production of underwear, contracting shops play a minor role, but in cotton dress manufacture they account for 25 per cent of machine capacity, and in the infants' and children's wear, contracting shops are responsible for approximately 50 per cent of production.

Generally the number of contracting firms is proportionately greater in the New York metropolitan area than in other parts of the country. In the cloak trade, for example, contracting shops comprise 43.5 per cent of all firms outside of New York and 48.5 per cent in the New York area.

It is interesting to note that the average contracting shop is smaller than the "inside" factory. Thus in the dress industry, the average inside shop employed 33 workers while the contracting shops averaged 31 workers. A similar condition exists in the cloak industry where inside shops average 33 workers as compared with 25 workers for the outside shop.

The workers of the industry represent a cross section of the American population. While originally Jewish immigrants provided the main source of labor supply, the situation has changed with the years. **WORKERS** Italians have entered the industry in large numbers and they in turn have been followed by every other group in the American melting-pot. Today there is hardly a nationality that is not included among the garment workers. In smaller communities the workers are mostly of American stock. In larger cities the composition of the labor force is more varied. Thus, in the New York dress industry, men and women of Italian descent form the largest single national group, 51 per cent of all workers in the industry. Jewish workers comprise 32 per cent of the total; Negroes, 5 per cent; Spanish, 2½ per cent; and native Americans, 1½ per cent. The remaining 8 per cent form a veritable League of Nations. Hardly a nationality can be named that does not have its representative among the New York dressmakers.

In contrast let us note the composition of the labor forces in a city on the West Coast. In San Francisco the largest single group among the dressmakers is composed of Spanish Mexicans who make up 27.2 per cent of the total. The second largest group, native Americans, form 24.8 per

* No data was available which would permit classification of the remaining 69 shops in the industry.

cent of the total. The Italians follow with 20.2 per cent; 17.4 per cent of the workers are Russians. In San Francisco the Jewish workers comprise but 10.2 per cent of the total number of dressmakers in that city.

Most of the workers in the industry are women. For every man employed there are at least three women or girls. In smaller towns the proportion of women workers is even greater. At times they are even found performing such operations as cutting and pressing which in the larger centers are done almost exclusively by men. Women pressers are more numerous in those branches of the industry where light fabrics are handled. They completely dominate such "minority" crafts as finishing and pinking, and in dress, blouse, underwear and infants' wear their ranks furnish the majority of the operators. In the cloak industry, however, male operators are predominant, there being, according to the latest available figures, but one woman operator to three men. But even in the cloak industry the importance of the male worker is gradually declining. Thus, while 77.9 per cent of New York workers in this industry in 1919 were male, in 1934 men formed but 66 per cent of the total.

The industry has not always been as we find it today. It was not so very long ago that practically all the clothing required by women was made at home. Prior to the invention of the sewing machine by Elias Howe in 1846, all garments, men's and women's, were made by hand. It was one of the wifely tasks, in addition to taking care of the home and children, to turn out the family's wearing apparel. Only the wealthy could afford the expense of having some one make their garments. But before the housewife could sew her garments, she had to produce the fabric. Most of the clothing worn by the women of the working class was made of coarse homespun, sometimes called "linsey-woolsey."

The well-to-do did not make their own garments. In the Southern and Middle Atlantic States where slavery existed, the task of making clothes was given over to slaves. In the North and in the rural districts, traveling tailors and seamstresses were called in several times a year. These better garments were made of imported fabrics—silks and brocades. Some garments were imported from Europe. All the styles of the time originated either in England or Paris. New styles were sent to America in the form of fully dressed dolls, nicknamed "babies." Their arrival was usually advertised by the few "custom" shops which made their appearance toward the end of the 18th century, making garments to order from goods furnished by the customer. Gradually the "commercialized system" spread. A woman could now go to a store, select her fabric in one department and have her garment made to order in another.

The extravagance of the "newly rich" Americans created a great deal of comment. The fashionable would promenade down New York's Broadway displaying their luxuriously elaborate clothes. **EXTRAVAGANT FASHIONS** Their extravagance furnished a vivid contrast between the two extremes in American life—the very rich and the very poor. While "little barefoot girls . . . swept the crossings" and "ragged boys sold matches and cried the penny papers," the "brightly dressed women and young beaux presented a sight that no other American city could show." In no other city of the world, a visitor to the metropolis wrote, "were to be seen so many expensively dressed women gorgeous in bright colored silks, satins and ermine-lined cloaks, costly furs, ostrich feathers, and pink and blue rohan bonnets." This display of extravagance in clothes evoked a storm of protest. Editorial writers fulminated against the lavish styles, often carrying their attacks to ridiculous extremes. Amusingly enough, the depression of 1837 and the decline in marriages that was noted at approximately the same period were attributed, by some hysterical people, to women's extravagance in styles.

The growth of industry that followed on the heels of the American Revolution brought with it increased prosperity and an increased demand for fashionable clothing. And so in the 1830's we note the establishment of the first concerns in America which produced garments in advance of orders.

In New Bedford, Mass., clothing was produced to equip sailors employed on whaling ships. These garments were hand-sewn. They were poorly made and were known as "slop" clothes. Shortly afterward the gentlemen planters of the South created another market for the ready-to-wear industry. They found it more economical to keep their slaves cultivating cotton and they began to purchase their clothing from outside sources. Added impetus was given to the ready-to-wear industry by improved transportation facilities. Peddlers began taking ready-made garments into the country districts. The discovery of gold in California caused an exodus to the West Coast and created a new market there for the clothing peddlers. The Civil War resulted in a tremendous demand for army clothing and placed the ready-to-wear industry on a firm basis. The ready-made clothes were not of good grade and became known in the slang of the time as "hand-me-downs."

The rise of the manufacture of women's apparel followed closely the increased production of men's wear. By 1840 articles for outerwear, such as cloaks and mantles, were added to the list of manufactured products.

Prior to 1850 most of these garments were sewn by women working in their homes with fabrics supplied and cut by dealers. At first work was given out to women in the immediate neighborhood. However, with the

increased demand for clothing, garments were sent out over a larger area. Most of the work was performed during the winter months, as the summer months were devoted to farm work.

In 1846 Elias Howe invented the sewing machine.* It was a cumbersome contraption, not as yet adapted to the purposes of mass production.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION The worker could use only one hand in feeding the machine, the right hand having to turn a crank wheel which provided motive power. Singer's invention of the foot-treadle five years later enabled the worker to use both hands in handling the cloth. Further improvements in the machine followed. The foot power machine in an improved model permitted the operator to make 900 stitches per minute. Since the rate of hand sewing was from 30 to 40 stitches per minute, the increased speed in production introduced by foot-power machines was about 23-fold. The introduction of power machines with additional mechanical improvements has now further increased the speed of the sewer to as many as 4,000 stitches per minute.

With the introduction of machinery, the industry developed at a rapid pace and by 1860 was important enough to merit separate mention by the Census. In that year the women's clothing industry consisted of 188 establishments employing 5,379 workers. The largest number were in New York and Pennsylvania. Cloaks, mantles and hoop-skirts were the main articles of manufacture. From contemporary accounts it would appear that the hoop-skirt works were more like iron and steel plants than a modern skirt factory. In at least one of these plants as many as 1,600 girls were employed converting "steel rods into finished skirts."

Most of the workers in the pioneering days of the industry were women. All of the processes in connection with the production of garments—cutting, operating, finishing and pressing—were performed by them. The girls employed in those days were mostly of French origin. The position of Paris as the center of fashion must have contributed to this demand on the part of the employers who thought that French workers possessed a greater degree of skill.

The largest part of production was carried on in cities, in large shops employing from 70 to 100 workers, although smaller shops soon began to develop. Occasionally the work was sent out into the country districts. Working conditions in the large shops were none too good. Toilet facilities and drinking water were conspicuously absent. Ventilation was poor. Shops were overcrowded and the fire hazard was great. The earnings of the workers were negligible. The majority of the women earned from

*An earlier invention of the sewing machine was made in France in 1830 by Bartholomew Thimonnier, who applied it to the manufacture of army clothing. In the riots of 1841 his workshop was ruined and Thimonnier went to England where he patented his invention. He was, however, unsuccessful in promoting it.

\$1.50 to \$3.00 a week. The short seasons made it difficult for the girls to acquire experience and greater skill. Earnings were uniformly low. Undernourishment was prevalent among the garment workers and tuberculosis took a terrific toll.

The invention of the cutting knife in the 1880's caused the gradual displacement of women cutters by men. The cutting of several thicknesses of material with a knife required greater strength than the cutting of a single ply with shears. Male cutters were drawn largely from the American, Irish and German populations. The number of women cutters has declined to the point where they are now practically non-existent. A handful of them are to be found in the dress trade and a few more in the knitwear, otherwise cutting has become exclusively a male occupation.

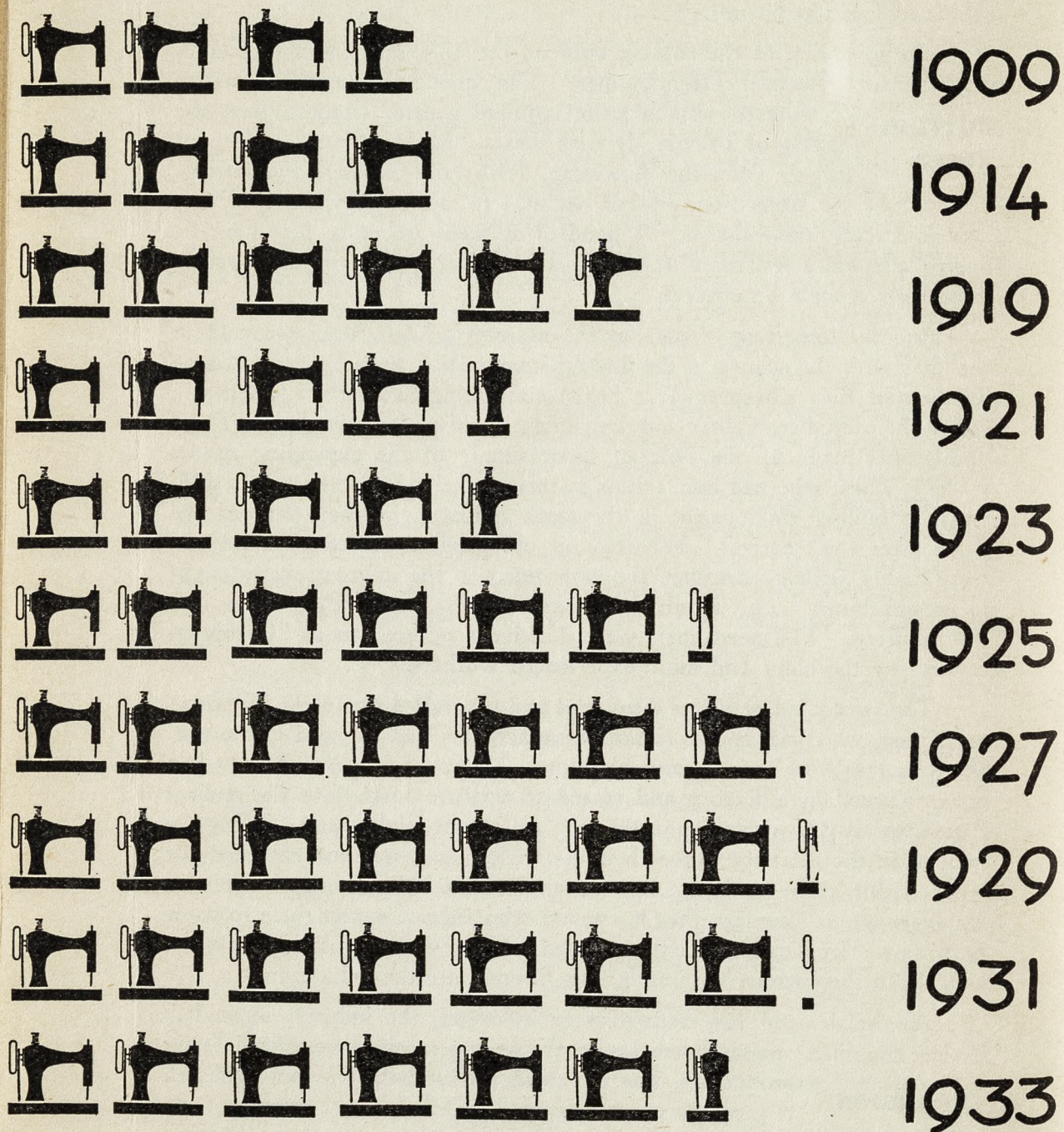
Another important change in the industry's labor force occurred in the '80's with the change in the flow of immigration from Europe. Large numbers of East European Jews began emigrating to America, hoping to escape the prejudice, bigotry and discrimination of their native lands. These immigrants made up the bulk of labor supply of the expanding needle trades. Those who had been tailors in their homeland experienced no difficulty in finding employment in the cloak industry. Others learned the trade after their arrival. Whereas the older tailors sewed by hand and were highly skilled craftsmen, the newcomers to the industry were taught to use machines. This required less skill and facilitated their entry into the industry. The newcomers were derisively referred to as "Columbus tailors" by the older and more experienced workers.

The young industry was developed and controlled by Jews of German extraction, who prior to the rise of manufacturing had engaged in the purchase and sale of second-hand clothing. Many of the immigrants had never worked in a factory and feared to venture forth into the strange American world, whose language they could not understand. They remained in the districts where their co-religionists dwelt and searched for work within these confines. It was easier to work in a shop of a Jewish employer whose language they knew and who did not expect them to work Saturdays. Immigrant societies assisted in the work of placing new arrivals. In this manner the immigrants filtered into the industry.

As the demand for ready-to-wear increased, the industry expanded. Though mechanical improvements in the sewing machine permitted faster production, this increased productivity was not sufficient to meet the greater demand. Only general growth of the industry in terms of added machines and a larger labor supply could meet the situation. The industry was indeed growing by leaps and bounds. The

EXPANSION

Growth of Contracting Shops — Women's Clothing Industry



EACH FIGURE REPRESENTS 5% OF THE TOTAL SHOPS.

value of its product, \$7,181,000 in 1859, was \$32,005,000 in 1879 and more than double that figure in 1889. By 1899 the value of the product had increased to \$159,340,000.

Growth created new problems. To avoid the difficulties involved in training a new labor force, a number of larger shops and wholesale merchants inaugurated the practice of sending out their work to contracting shops, which became an important factor in training immigrant labor. The practice of sending out work resulted in the appearance of numerous small contracting shops (the workers called them "Coney Island Shops"). Since little capital was required to enter the industry—it was often said that \$50 was sufficient to set up a shop—many immigrants seeking "independence" were thus induced to establish themselves in business. This led to an increased differentiation between the two methods of production that were developing, known today as the "inside" and "outside" systems.

The individuals who promoted the "outside" system found in it several advantages. Through the use of contractors, they found that productive capacity could be expanded or contracted without difficulty. It was a simple matter for them to take on contractors during the busy period and dismiss them when production fell off, thus reducing their overhead expenses. But more important, the outside system of production freed jobbers from the responsibility of factory management and permitted them to figure production costs with complete disregard of labor costs. For by pitting one contractor against another, the jobber found that prices paid for contract work could be forced downward. Contractors were too numerous and too weak financially to resist the pressure of the jobber. The knowledge that there was always a competitor eager to snap up every order was a constant threat to the contractor, who realized that unless he complied with the jobber's demand there would be no work. Jobbers exploited this situation for all it was worth.

The jobbers always contrived to deal with more contractors than their business actually required. This practice served to intensify competition among contractors and made them more amenable to the jobbers' demands. A special commission set up by the Governor of New York in 1925 to survey the cloak industry discovered that 18.5 per cent of the contractors employed by the jobbers investigated were responsible for the production of 86.3 per cent of the output. The remaining 81.5 per cent of contractors, who were retained purely for bargaining purposes, received only 13.7 per cent of the output. Similar conditions have been found in the dress industry by the New York Dress Joint Board. A study made in 1935 revealed that 37 per cent of the contractors were responsible for 78 per cent of total production, while the remaining 63 per cent received only 22

per cent. These figures clearly illustrate how the jobbers have concentrated their production among a small number of contractors, giving others small amounts of work simply to "keep them around." The threat of their presence was sufficient to make the favored contractors "behave." Similar conditions prevail in the other branches of the women's garment industry where contracting has developed.

The operation of this "auction block" system in the industry can best be explained by example. When a jobber was visited by a contractor in search for work, a dialogue like the following usually ensued:

Contractor: Do you have any work? I will give you a bargain.

Jobber: My work is done by N. and M. They are making this style up for me now. (*Shows the garment*) I am paying \$1.37 for the work. If I got a better price, I might consider a change.

Contractor: (*Examining the garment*) I think I could make it for \$1.30.

Jobber: (*After brief reflection*) Get in touch with me tomorrow, I'll see what I can do.

(*After the contractor leaves, the jobber telephones his regular contractor.*)

Jobber: Listen, you are charging me \$1.37 for my garments, but here is a man who is offering to do it for \$1.30. (*His voice goes up*) What? You don't believe me? Go and ask him. His name is P. Of course, I am not trying to take work away from you. But listen, I am not in business for my health and I got to meet competition. So if you make them for \$1.30 you can finish the lot.

The regular contractor had little choice but to acquiesce.

Confronted now with the problem of how the garments could be produced at the lower prices and still permit them to operate at a profit, the contractors would attempt to shift the burden to the workers. Once again bargaining would begin, this time between a contractor and his workers. Most of the work was done on a piece-work basis and the contractor would attempt to reduce piece rates to the point where it would be possible for him to operate profitably. "When work is scarce, as it usually is, except for a few weeks in the season," stated a report of the Governor's Advisory Commission investigating the New York cloak industry, "the workers are told that in order to meet the exigencies of price competition and to bring some work into the shop they must enter into secret arrangements contrary to the minimum labor standards which have been agreed upon."

Often the prospect of earning a few dollars proved too great a temptation for workers who always lived on the brink of poverty. They accepted work at lower prices without realizing that such acts could only lead to even lower standards for the entire industry. For as soon as one contractor had succeeded in lowering his costs, the others were forced to meet his prices, and so the same process of wage-cutting was repeated in

every shop. Conditions in the contracting shops helped at the same time to undermine the standards in the "inside" factories. Thus this vicious competition—contractor against contractor and worker against worker—demoralized the entire industry and dragged the living standards of its workers to new depths, toward the abyss of poverty.

The development of contracting in the outside shops was paralleled by the development of the sweatshop. As has been pointed out, the contractor, in his attempts to compete successfully for the jobber's work, directed his efforts toward decreased labor costs. Wages were lowered; hours were increased. Frequently workers actually slept in the shops so that they might gain another hour or two for work. Until the Union put an end to the practice in the early 1900's, workers were required to purchase or rent the machines on which they worked. They paid for thread and needles and even for the "privilege" of working in the shop.

Such conditions were not confined to the last years of the nineteenth century. In 1933, before the passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act, when the strength of the Union had been undermined by the depression, similar conditions prevailed. Girls toiled 60 and 70 hours a week for wages that were often as low as two or three dollars. In an article published at the time in the *Survey Graphic*, Frances Perkins, United States Secretary of Labor, reproduced a pay-check which had come into her hands. This check represented payment in full received by an experienced garment worker for two weeks, including overtime. It amounted to one dollar. Conditions in these sweatshops were thus described in 1932 by one Pennsylvania paper:

"The sweatshop owner . . . works out of and for New York. From these New York manufacturers he receives shirts, underwear, or dresses all cut, ready for sewing. He brings them to some low-rent loft or abandoned factory in which he has installed a few sewing machines and there hires women and girls at pitifully low wages to do the sewing.

"He has no capital invested in raw materials; little in anything. His entire equipment could be moved overnight when he decides to skip town without paying his wages or other bills.

"Some of these employers literally pay no wages at all. Under the pretense of hiring learners they get the girls to work for nothing for two or three weeks till they learn the business. At the end of this period the girls are discharged and replaced with another group of deluded learners. The employer thus gets his labor for nothing.

"Others, not quite so brazen, pay unmistakably low rates. The girls are lucky if they get \$3 at the end of a hard week and are rolling in wealth if their pay check amounts to \$6."

Not until the unionization drive swept the country following the inauguration of the NRA were these shocking conditions eliminated. With the revival of union strength, workers secured substantial wage increases, shorter hours and many improvements in working conditions.

Homework was another evil that grew out of this sweatshop industry. Many workers found their meager earnings insufficient to supply their families with even the necessities of life. They added to their income by taking work home at the end of the day. There the entire family, young and old, joined in the work. They toiled from morning until night. Complete exhaustion was their only time clock.

HOMework Not content with giving out work to those who called for it in person, manufacturers in the various branches of the industry scoured the country districts in search of families who were willing to do homework. "It [homework] is in every State of the Union," states a bulletin on homework published by the United States Government, "for it seeks out the farm homes scattered over the country side and the city homes in congested districts, where poverty or lack of contact with other workers prevents the development of any bargaining power on the part of the home worker."

In resorting to the use of the home as a workshop, manufacturers hope to achieve further reduction in labor costs and to pass a number of legitimate industrial expenses on to the worker. Not only are the workers paid less than market rates for their work, but in addition they are compelled to bear the cost of rent for their working place, as well as light, power and heat which in a shop are paid for by the owners. They must supply their own machines, needles and thread. There is no security for the homemaker. His livelihood is at the mercy of the manufacturer's whims.

The majority of homeworkers earn less than 10 cents an hour. The United States Labor Department reported that more than half of the workers who produced infants' and children's wear in their homes had to be content with less than 5 cents per hour. Some hourly earnings were as low as one cent. The combined earnings of the homemaker's family in half the cases studied amounted to the magnificent sum of \$3 or less per week.

Another government publication provides us with a description of a tenement home in which artificial flowers were made:

"Even with artificial light the rooms are too dim for clear seeing. The flowers and parts are scattered over the dirty, unmade beds and the floor. Children, pale and sickly, sit on the floor working on the flowers. The mother's clothes are grimy and ragged. The children have neither shoes nor dresses; they wear old spring coats over their dirty underwear. One little 8 year old girl, bending wires with her teeth, held up a lacerated thumb caused by working with the sharp wires used on the leaves."

It is not difficult to understand why both the Union and the general public are interested in eliminating this pernicious homework evil. The unsanitary conditions under which articles are manufactured may easily result in the spread of disease. Taking cognizance of this situation, states have enacted remedial legislation. But while these laws have helped, they are not nearly drastic enough. Indeed, the only solution is the complete abolition of homework.

Apart from its regular campaigns for shorter hours and increased wages, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has resorted to various methods in combatting homework and sweatshop evils. As far back as 1910, it cooperated with the cloak manufacturers' association in establishing a Joint Board of Sanitary Control for that industry. This Board carried on for some 15 years during which it did yeoman's service in eliminating unsanitary conditions, improper lighting and fire hazards. In 1924 both the cloak and dress industries adopted a "Prosanis" label to enable the consumer to identify garments produced under sanitary conditions. Unfortunately this label was discontinued after two years, partly because of inadequate consumer support. During the time that the National Industrial Recovery Act was in effect, NRA labels were used by the women's apparel industry; since the abolition of the NRA, the cloak trade has adopted the Consumers' Protection Label to identify garments produced under decent standards. At present the ILGWU is carrying on a systematic campaign for a wide adoption of the union label in the women's apparel industry. In addition, the Union, whenever possible, writes into its agreements with employers a clause prohibiting homework. Finally, it cooperates with the state authorities in their efforts to eliminate sweatshop and homework production through legislation.

In addition to sweatshops and homework the development of the outside system of production brought about general demoralization throughout the trade. The uncertainty of business in the field of style merchandise was increased by the suicidal competition that was the product of the jobber-contractor system. The contractors, desperately attempting to hold on to their business by cutting prices, were operating on ever smaller margins. Business mortality increased with such practices. Each year a large number of firms were forced to close their doors. Scores of firms found it necessary to reorganize or consolidate with other equally shaky establishments. The Governor's Commission, previously referred to, reported that in the cloak industry, 38 per cent of the contractors and 34.1 per cent of the inside manufacturers closed their doors during the course of the year 1924. Similarly, the studies undertaken by the New York Dress Joint Board revealed that business mortality among the jobbers and inside manufacturers reached 20

per cent while mortality of contractors averaged 33 1/3 per cent. Of the 1,687 dress firms reported doing business in Manhattan in the spring of 1925, fully 1,411, or 83.6 of the original number, had discontinued business by the spring of 1933.*

The tremendous social waste that resulted from high business mortality, is paid for by the consumer through higher prices and by the worker through reduced earnings. No agreement which guaranteed workers their right to the job could enforce this right when the concern went out of business. Only sweeping industrial reforms which would bring with them a measure of stabilization could remedy the situation.

Since the industry's disorganization was due largely to the uncontrolled jobber-contracting system, the ILGWU attacked the problem from this angle. The system of outside production provided a medium through which the jobber could dodge all responsibility by shifting it to his contractors who, though nothing more than glorified foremen, dealt directly with the workers and assumed the responsibilities of management; responsibilities which they could not discharge, since it was the jobber who controlled the supply of work and dictated the prices. Consequently, the ILGWU formulated a program based on recognition of the jobber's position as the real, though indirect employer of labor; and the necessity for his accepting responsibility for the workings of the contractor system.

Attempts at industrial regulation by the Union in the women's apparel industry began in the year 1910 when the first step in this direction was made in a collective agreement between the Union and the cloak manufacturers of the City of New York. The **INDUSTRIAL REGULATION** "Protocol of Peace," as this agreement is known, prohibited employers from sending out homework and outlawed sub-contracting in the shops.** The Joint Board of Sanitary Control, previously referred to, which consisted of the representatives of the Union, manufacturers and the public, was set up to establish healthy and safe conditions in the garment shops. A Board of Arbitration and a Committee on Grievances were created so that misunderstandings could be adjusted without strikes or lockouts. The right of workers to have piece-work rates settled by bargaining between their committee and the employer was recognized

* Another factor responsible for the high rate of business mortality in the industry is the desire to eliminate overhead expenses during periods of "slack." Some firms resort to the practice of opening their shops at the beginning of the season and of closing down at the end of it. Also, chiseling firms, fly-by-night establishments, sometimes close down after a season without paying wages to their workers for the preceding week or two.

** Sub-contracting in the shops was practiced widely prior to 1910. It was a system under which workers would contract for work with an employer and then hire other workers to do part of the work for them, paying them less than was received from the employer and retaining the balance as a commission.

and the agreement provided that union members were to be given the preference in employment.

Contractors were not mentioned in this first Protocol. However, as the outside system of production continued to expand, the Board of Arbitration decided that contractors were to be registered with the Union so as to facilitate the supervision of working conditions.

At the outset the Protocol covered only the cloak trade but three years later, in 1913, similar agreements were concluded in other trades in the New York market—dress and waist, kimono, house dress, underwear, children's dresses—and the cloak and dress industries in Boston. To protect the workers from the ruthless wage cutting of unscrupulous employers, the 1913 agreements, as a rule, recognized minimum wage rates for piece workers below which their earnings could not fall.

Having concluded the agreements, the Union found itself confronted with the all-important problem of enforcement, and it was here that it encountered its chief difficulties. Jobbers and manufacturers sought to evade registering their contractors. Again, the Union could not always establish the fact that work was being sent out to non-registered contractors, since the records and books of the employers were not accessible to union representatives. In 1913 the New York Joint Board* of the Cloak Makers' Unions, in an attempt to eliminate the abuses which had developed under the Protocol, proposed a series of reforms. One of the proposed measures provided for the registration of all contractors with the Union at the beginning of each season with the additional proviso that no work was to be given to contractors who failed to maintain the conditions specified in the collective agreements. Another provision was designed to eliminate the competition between workers in the inside shops and those in the outside shops through the medium of joint price committees which would settle prices for the workers in all contracting shops working for the same firm. To reduce the confusion and disorganization in jobber-contractor relations, the Joint Board proposed that no jobber or manufacturer be permitted to take on additional contractors so long as his regular contractors were not fully supplied with work. Finally, to speed up the operation of the arbitration machinery it was suggested that decisions of the Board of Arbitration be rendered within 48 hours and that disciplinary measures be worked out to insure observance of the agreement by the industry.

No industrial reform of any magnitude can be introduced over night. Often years of education and struggle are necessary before an industry can be persuaded to depart from the old and accept the new. In 1913 the

* When there are two or more locals in any locality, a Joint Board is set up by them for purposes of industrial action. See pamphlet "Structure and Functioning of the ILGWU" (Educational Department, 1935).

proposals of the Joint Board were not accepted by the manufacturers, but as time went on many of the principles set forth by the Union were gradually adopted by the industry. The worker's right to the job was recognized. Equal division of work among the contractors working for the same jobber was written into the agreements governing various branches of the industry. The arbitration machinery was improved and impartial chairmen, whose function it is to supervise the operation of the collective agreements, were employed on a full-time basis. Provisions were made for the registration of contractors; jobbers were made responsible for conditions in their contracting shops.

In the New York market the Union has now secured agreements covering the cloak and dress trades, which definitely limit the number of contractors that a jobber is permitted to employ. Previously the jobbers had encouraged the growth of contracting shops—a practice which led to unhealthy over-expansion and cut-throat competition and which tended to accentuate the seasonality of the industry. There was no sound economic reason for permitting the continuance of this condition. The economic and social cost of maintaining large amounts of idle capital investment, the result of over-expansion, is borne ultimately by the consumer. A survey made by the New York Dress Joint Board disclosed the fact that at the peak of the 1934 spring season, there were 17,801 idle sewing machines in the contracting shops of Manhattan. This figure represented 27 per cent of the total number of machines.

Under the existing union agreements in the New York cloak and suit and dress industries, the jobber may employ only as many contractors as his business actually requires. Thus an effective check is placed upon those jobbers who formerly connived to increase the number of contractors so that they might profit at the expense of the industry, the worker and the consuming public.

By the terms of the agreement, restrictions are also imposed on the indiscriminate dismissal of contractors. Work must be equitably divided among the various contractors working for a specific jobber and his inside shop, if he has one.

From the viewpoint of the worker, this reform is eminently satisfactory inasmuch as it definitely prevents the jobber from using the contractor as an instrument for the lowering of working standards. For the contractor, too, the reform is something of a blessing. To him it means greater security of employment, an equal share of the jobber's work and the end of unjustifiable dismissals.

The two agreements mentioned provide, in addition, for the settlement of prices directly with the jobber. Here again the jobber is forced to shoulder the obligations which are rightly his. Under the new system of price settlement, he is forced to pay uniform prices for labor regardless of where the garment is manufactured. Prices are settled with the jobber by a committee representing the workers of all the contracting shops employed by the jobber. The contractors receive a specified percentage of the labor cost to cover their overhead and profits. In this manner price-cutting competition among the contractors is reduced to a minimum and with it, the competition among workers employed in contracting shops working for the same jobber.

While it is still too early to evaluate the effect of these reforms in the dress industry where they have been only recently inaugurated, the cloak trade clearly demonstrates that these changes have introduced a greater degree of stability than had previously existed. During the 1934 season, following the introduction of limitation, business mortality declined sharply. The number of firms going out of business fell to 14.7 per cent of total firms. When compared with the figure of 36 per cent for the year 1924, it becomes apparent that real progress has been made.

Limitation of contractors and direct settlement of prices, important as they are, do not provide the solution to all the problems which confront the workers of the women's apparel industry. Of these problems, that of seasonality is by far the most important.

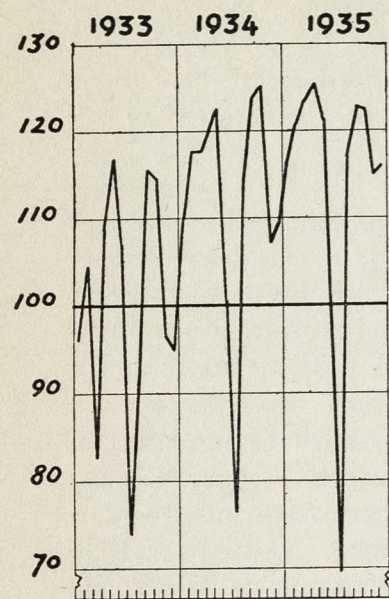
There is no branch of the women's apparel industry which, in the course of each year, does not suffer from wide variations in the amount of available employment and long periods of acute unemployment. While recent investigations show that there is hardly an industry that is not subject to some seasonal variations in production and employment, there are not many in which these fluctuations are as pronounced as they are in the manufacture of women's garments.* The extent of these fluctuations is best illustrated by a study made by the Coat and Suit Code Authority in 1935. While at the peak of the season more than 60,000 workers were employed by the cloak industry, less than 20,000 of these workers were retained during the slowest week of the year. Because of the prevalence of part-time work, we find even greater fluctuations in the pay received by workers. It may be pointed out, however, that the extent of seasonal fluctuations in the various branches of the industry differs widely, as evidenced in the tables in Appendix B and the charts on P. 22.

Numerous factors are responsible for these fluctuations in the amount of available work which we know as seasonality of production. In part

* Simon Kuznetz, *Seasonal Variations in Industry and Trade*, p. 209ff.

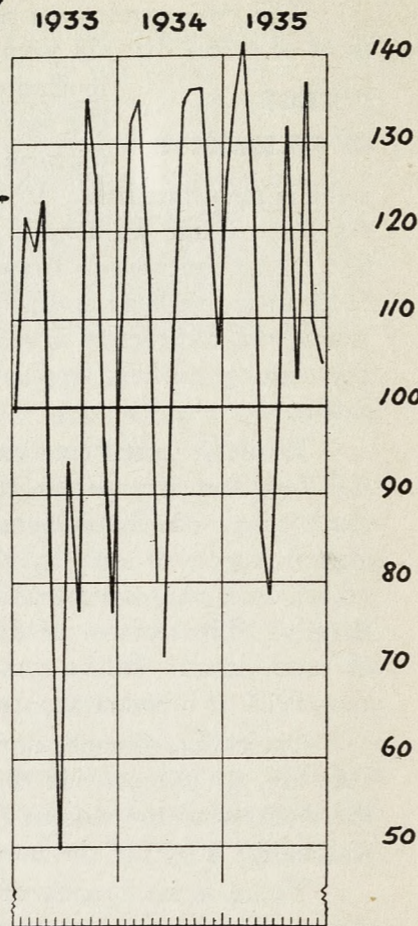
FLUCTUATIONS IN EMPLOYMENT

1933-1935
(1933=100)

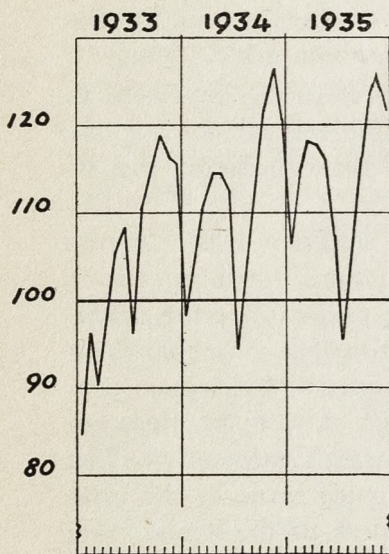


COAT & SUIT

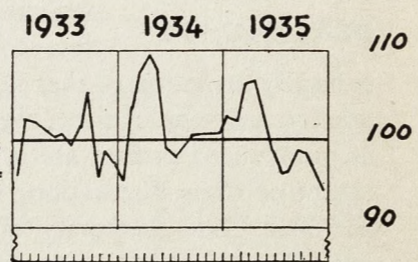
DRESS MFG.



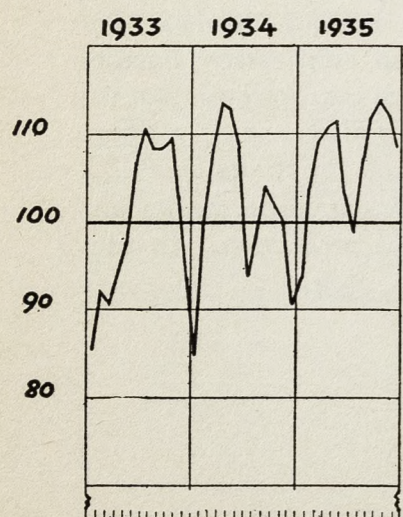
UNDERWEAR & NEGLIGEE



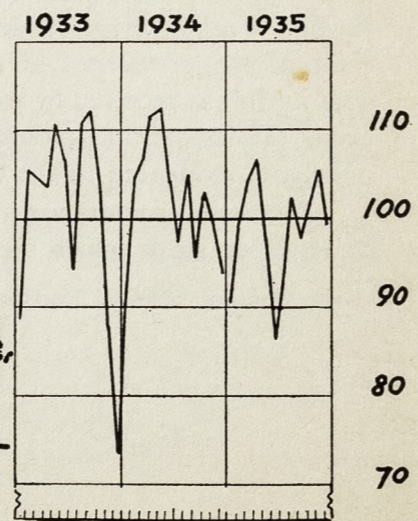
CORSET AND BRASSIERE



COTTON GARMENT



INFANTS' & CHILDREN'S WEAR



they are determined by the periodic climatic changes which occur during the year. With the approach of spring and warm weather, people discard their winter clothing and begin wearing lighter apparel; with the coming of autumn, summer clothing is discarded for warmer apparel. The social life of a community is another factor affecting seasonality, at least for certain types of apparel. A great deal of social activity takes place between November and January—Thanksgiving Day, football games, Christmas and New Year celebrations. The same is true of the period from April to June during which we have the Easter holidays, school commencements, tours, vacations, etc. These special occasions serve to increase the demand for new clothing.

Although the use to which garments are put is an important factor in determining their selection by the consumer, there is another element which influences consumer choice: style is probably responsible for more sales than any other factor except, possibly, stark necessity. At the beginning of the modern era it was considered sinful for poor people to change the appearance of their clothing, this being the prerogative of the wealthy. However, the gradual decline in the cost of wearing apparel made it possible for the great masses of the population as well as the rich to obtain novelty in dress. Today a great many women find their chief pleasure in life in wearing up-to-the-minute clothing. Indeed, keeping up with style changes has come to be regarded as a social necessity. The cinema, magazine illustrations and advertising promotion have all done their bit in making the consumer style-conscious.

At times variations in style may leave an entire section of the industry almost completely without work. Thus for example when plain dresses were the mode, the neckwear industry suffered. Similarly, the popularity of one-piece dresses during the post-war period cut down the production of skirts and blouses. These reversals in consumer preference come most unexpectedly with disastrous consequences to the workers in the branch of the industry affected.

Increased competition in the garment trades is, in large measure, responsible for the great multiplicity of styles. In their efforts to attract trade, manufacturers have poured a constant stream of new styles into the market. In addition they have always followed the practice of adopting or copying the "hot" numbers of their competitors. Styles are usually copied from expensive models by the lower-price houses. In this they have been encouraged by store buyers seeking new styles at bargain prices. Because of the rapidity with which styles acquire and lose popularity, manufacturers are reluctant to produce garments in advance of orders. As a consequence, production has become a hand-to-mouth affair with all the evils that this entails.

The evil of style copying has further aggravated this situation. No sooner does a new garment appear in the retailer's window than it is copied for production in a cheaper line. At times garments are copied even before they reach the retailer. In numerous instances **STYLE PIRACY** contractors peddle styles from one jobber to another. Style piracy has increased style turnover and led to considerable disorganization in production. For as soon as a model is copied in a cheaper line, it becomes worthless to the original producer, as the department store buyers refuse to purchase creations if copies are available in cheaper lines. In order to secure the full benefit of his style creations, the better-price manufacturer attempts to get his dresses on the market in the shortest possible time. He tries to sell and produce the maximum number of garments before his styles are copied. The effect of this on seasonal fluctuations is patent. In an attempt to safeguard their interests, the better-price manufacturers have worked out a system of style protection. The Fashion Originators' Guild has been organized for the express purpose of protecting the "style-originating" manufacturers from the style pirates. Under an elaborate system worked out by the Guild, its members refuse to deal with stores which purchase pirated styles. While at times the actions of the Guild have been open to criticism, its activities have reduced style piracy and benefited the industry.

A novel attempt to control style piracy is contained in the agreement recently presented to Twin Cities silk dress manufacturers by the ILGWU. This agreement, which at the time of writing has already been accepted by one concern, stipulates that in all cases of alleged piracy a joint investigation shall be carried out by the Union and the manufacturer whose style is copied. In the event that the charges are sustained, the Impartial Chairman is authorized to assess such penalties as may be deemed fit and necessary.

The problem of style change and its relation to seasonality has been complicated by the retailers whose role in the women's apparel industry is too important to neglect even in a brief survey of this **RETAILERS** kind. While most retail units are small, they wield considerable influence in the industry through a system of group buying. It is difficult for each individual retailer to come into the market for his purchases. If he buys in small lots, the cost of travelling is prohibitive. Consequently, he delegates the task of making purchases to a buying office in New York or other centers which obtains the desired merchandise for him. Formerly, salesmen travelled throughout the country making sales from samples which they carried with them. Although this practice continues, its importance has declined with the increase in style turnover. The selling point has been transferred to the manufacturer's or jobber's showrooms.

There are various kinds of resident buying offices. Some of them are owned by a number of stores. Others operate on a commission basis. A third type is that which is maintained by a single chain of stores.* While buying offices perform numerous useful services for their members, such as informing them of style trends and handling re-orders, their business methods are very often harmful to the industry as a whole. Under the "group buying" plan, sample showings are held, not on the buyer's premises, but in the buying offices where manufacturers show their samples in the presence of their competitors. Following the showing a caucus is held at which the buyers select the styles which they consider "best sellers." The buying offices frequently demand and obtain special advantages from those manufacturers whose garments they select. Among these are exclusive rights to new styles, limiting sales of particular garments to a single outlet in a number of cities, and special rebates. These rebates, known as "volume" discounts, are price reductions which the manufacturer grants to a buying office that has ordered a given number of garments during the course of the year or any other specified period.** Since these savings are rarely passed on to the consumer, they represent just that much additional profit to the retailers and their agents. It is important to note that the prices paid by consumers are on the average 66.6 per cent above the wholesale price paid by the retailer. In many instances the mark-up reaches 100 per cent and more. Often high prices are attributed to "exorbitant union wage rates." The truth of the matter is that labor costs amount only to some 15 per cent of the retail price.

Another demand frequently made upon manufacturers by buying offices is that of quick deliveries. If the buying offices are to retain their customers, they must make certain that merchandise reaches retail stores while the particular styles purchased are still popular. Again, they withhold orders until they are convinced that the styles in question are in demand. The result is a frantic insistence upon immediate deliveries when orders are finally placed. As a direct outcome of this procedure, seasons have been measurably shortened.

Not satisfied with immediate deliveries, retailers have made a practice of returning unsold garments even when these have been delivered to them on order. When the retailer purchases dresses in anticipation of, let us say, some special week-end sale and then fails to dispose of the garments because of unfavorable weather or some other reason, he has no compunctions about returning this merchandise to the manufacturer

* Buying offices are at times classified as "paid" or "commission." The "paid" offices receive their fees from the retail stores they serve. The "commission" offices receive their fee from the manufacturers whose product they sell.

** An interesting discussion of some of these problems is found in a publication of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce: "Mark-Downs in Women's Coat & Suit Industry: Their Cause and Control" (Washington, 1934)

on Monday morning. From the viewpoint of the manufacturer, returns constitute an unmixed evil, and a factor which cannot be calculated beforehand. Fearful of losing accounts, the manufacturer does not dare to arouse the retailer's ire by refusing to accept returns. It has long been patent that only intelligent action on the part of the industry as a whole can bring relief to the jobber and manufacturer.

During the N.R.A., the Codes of Fair Competition which regulated trade practices prohibited unjustified returns. Following the invalidation of the National Industrial Recovery Act by the Supreme Court, this ban was retained only by the cloak industry through the establishment of the National Coat and Suit Industrial Recovery Board which continues to supervise trade practices along the lines laid down by the NRA. However, in other branches of the women's apparel industry the problem of returns, as well as of other trade practices, remains a constant source of trouble.*

In addition to seasonal unemployment, the garment worker, like workers in other industries, has been forced to contend with what is known as technological unemployment, the displacement of manual labor by machinery. Recent years have witnessed the introduction of machines for snap fastening, blind-stitching (for basting and felling) and button sewing. The blind-stitching machine does the work of four hand finishers and a snap fastening machine, the work of two. The sewing machine has been improved to a point where it is possible to attain a speed of 4,000 stitches per minute. In several lines of work, pressing machines have taken the place of the hand iron. Although mechanization in the garment industry has not made spectacular progress, the introduction of new and improved machinery has been responsible for some degree of unemployment. While it is neither possible nor desirable to prevent the introduction of labor saving devices, it is necessary to mitigate the hardships which workers are forced to endure as a result.

How to cope with seasonal production and protect themselves from the ravages of long periods of unemployment are the real problems of the garment workers. As a partial solution, the Union has advocated a system of unemployment insurance which would enable workers to maintain decent living standards during slack periods.

In the early twenties, the ILGWU attempted to introduce a plan whereby 40 weeks of employment would be guaranteed to workers each year. The plan was adopted in the Cleveland market which employed some 2,500 to 3,000 garment workers. The employers deposited 10 per cent of their weekly payrolls in a special fund. If during the year they

* An attempt is now being made in the dress industry to organize a bureau to deal with the returns evil.

had provided their workers with 40 weeks of employment their money was returned. However, if less than 40 weeks of employment was provided, workers were to be compensated at the rate of 50 per cent of their minimum scale for the entire period of unemployment in excess of 12 weeks. This plan continued in operation with one slight modification until 1932 when, taking advantage of the Union's weakened position, the manufacturers refused to renew their agreement. During the period of its enforcement this feature of the agreement provided the industry with an incentive for reducing seasonal unemployment to a minimum. As a result of its adoption, a government publication states, "there was an increase of work in the shops and an indirect gain through increased labor stability and increased production resulting from continuity of labor." Its effectiveness in reducing seasonal unemployment destroys the contention that nothing can be done in this direction. Thus, the Cleveland plan served a double purpose; it brought about a greater stability of employment and provided for those who were unable to obtain sufficient work.

In 1932 the Cloakmakers of New York succeeded in establishing a pressers' unemployment fund maintained by employer contributions. The amount contributed was based on the number of pressing machines owned by the manufacturer.

Realizing the shortcomings of such plans, the ILGWU has pressed for state and federal legislation. The passage of the Federal Social Security Act and a number of state unemployment insurance acts has been welcomed by the Union as a step in the right direction.

The key to genuine security for the garment worker is increased employment at higher wages. Within the limits imposed upon it by economic factors beyond its control, the ILGWU, during the 36 years of its existence, has wrought material improvements in work-conditions. From the endless hours of the sweatshop days, the union has by successive reductions, brought the work-week down from 50 hours to 48, then to 40, and now, in the cloak and suit and dress trades, to the 35-hour week. Equally important are the wage increases which have come as a result of the Union's activities. A comparison of wages paid before and after organization will show substantial increases in every section of the garment trades. To establish uniform standards in each market, the ILGWU has wherever possible, followed a policy of negotiating collective agreements with the various trade groups in each branch of the industry. By doing so it has eliminated the necessity for signing agreements with each individual concern, a practice which is apt to make for disparity of conditions among shops. Interested in the uninterrupted operation of the industry, the Union, in its agreements with

employers, has provided for the establishment of arbitration machinery for the adjustment of any disputes which may arise.*

While the gains it has made thus far are noteworthy, the ILGWU does not regard the present situation as final. It continues to press forward for new improvements in working standards.

Loath to accede to the employment standards demanded by the Union, some employers seek to avoid their obligations to labor by devious means. The Union must maintain a vigilant watch to prevent "chiseling" and underpayments. Frequently, employers threaten to move out of town—i.e., away from organized centers where garments are produced under union conditions. For the most part these threats are empty bluster calculated to wring concessions from the Union as the price for remaining in the organized territory. When an employer does move to some out-of-the-way hamlet where he can secure workers for as little as \$4 or \$5 a week, union organizers lose no time in tracking him down. The ILGWU makes every effort to prevent the movement of shops and spares no expense in corralling those who do resort to this method of evading their obligations. If the Union were to permit these outlaw employers to operate sub-standard shops, working conditions throughout the trade would soon be undermined. The manufacturer or jobber who operated a union shop would find himself unable to compete with the chiseler who paid his workers a pauper's wage. A general deterioration of conditions would inevitably result. The union has found it necessary to police the industry to prevent the development of such a situation.**

The first nation-wide attempt to regulate conditions in the women's apparel industry came with the enactment of the NRA. When President
NRA
AND AFTER Roosevelt assumed office in 1933, our economic structure was in a state of collapse; business leaders were completely demoralized and working standards had declined to new lows. To stem the tide of disaster which threatened to overwhelm the nation, Congress, acting upon the advice of the President, passed the National Industrial Recovery Act which provided for the improvement of

*In a recent issue of the Labor Information Bulletin, Mary Anderson, Director of the U. S. Women's Bureau, makes an interesting comment on union agreements. She writes: "The value of a union agreement is demonstrated in a study . . . of work conditions in the manufacture of silk dresses." She goes on to say that as a result of the agreements concluded in 1933, "reductions in the working time, ranging from 5 hours per week in some plants to 29 in others" were achieved, and that "nearly half of the workers covered by the survey had their work-week reduced by 13 hours or more." Summarizing the gains in wages, Miss Anderson notes "a pronounced increase in the hourly and weekly earnings" for the workers "in all localities on all types of dresses." The study referred to by Miss Anderson was published by the Women's Bureau as its Bulletin No. 141, "Piecework in the Silk-Dress Industry: Earnings, Hours and Production."

** A case in point was illustrated when the Blue Dale Dress Company moved its plant in violation of the union agreement. The New York Supreme Court upheld the Union in its demand that the shop return to New York City. Justice McCook, who rendered the decision, stated that "the logic of the situation calls for application of strong measures" when "unscrupulous employers" are "tempted to play one community off against another."

labor conditions and the general rehabilitation of industry. The Act provided for codes of fair competition which were to govern the operation of all American industries. By its terms, employers through their respective trade organizations were to come together and draw up the terms under which their industry was to operate. Once having accepted the code, business had to "comply with the maximum hours of labor, minimum rates of pay and other conditions of employment" stipulated in its provisions. When codes were accepted by an industry and approved by the President, their provisions became legally enforceable.

Employers in the women's clothing industry were organized under several codes.* Each code contained provisions for fair trade practices and labor standards. Labels were used to identify garments produced under these standards. (See Page 17.)

The ILGWU, taking full advantage of the National Recovery Act, carried through successful organization campaigns in the different sections of the industry and succeeded in writing its own standards of wages and hours into a number of codes. It also managed to secure representation on the Code Authorities. Furthermore, the Union took an active part in enforcing codes and fighting chiseling employers, thus contributing in no small degree to the stabilization of trade.

The abolition of the NRA resulted in an interesting experiment in self-government of industry. In the cloak trade the Union cooperated with employers in establishing the National Coat and Suit Industrial Recovery Board, the first voluntary "code authority." This board has been effective in maintaining fair trade and labor practices and has been a stabilizing force in the industry. All garments manufactured by employers affiliated with the Board bear a Consumers' Protection Label.

In 1933 and 1934 many people claimed that the ILGWU could retain its position only with the aid of the N.R.A., and that the nullification of the National Industrial Recovery Act would bring with it the collapse of the Union. Needless to say these people were mistaken. Since the Schechter decision was handed down by the Supreme Court in June, 1935, the Union has increased its membership, won new victories and strengthened its control over the industry. Never in its long history has the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union been as powerful as it is today. Its 240,000 members constitute a bulwark against the open shop and inhuman exploitation. United by common interests and devotion to a common cause, they march on to greater security and a more abundant life.

* Coat and Suit; Dress; Cotton Garment; Undergarment and Negligee; Blouse and Skirt; Pleating, Stitching and Bonnaz and Hand Embroidery; Robe and Allied Products; Schiffli, Hand Machine Embroidery, and Embroidery Thread and Scallop Cutting; Women's Neckwear and Scarf; Rainwear (Division of the Rubber Manufacturing Industry); Infants' and Children's Wear; Corset and Brassiere; Covered Button; Handkerchief; Knitted Outerwear.

APPENDIX A

Principal Crafts in the Production of Women's Wear

The following is a brief description of the various crafts in the women's apparel industry:

DESIGNERS create the styles. They usually specialize in one branch of the industry, i.e., designing coats or designing dresses. In their work they are assisted by:

SAMPLEMAKERS who make up the model or trial garments; and by the MODELS who display the new creations to buyers.

As soon as the sample is adopted it goes to a

PATTERNMAKER who studies the garment and prepares a set of paper patterns for all the parts. From these originals

GRADERS produce patterns in a variety of sizes by proportionately increasing and reducing the dimensions of the original. The patterns then are dispatched to the cutting department where

MARKERS lay out the pattern on cloth and mark it out with chalk.

CUTTERS then cut the pattern out either with shears, hand-knife or a machine. The number of layers of cloth cut at one time depends on the weight and quality of fabrics used. As many as 300 "lays" may be cut at one time in the production of cheap cotton garments. Once cutting is completed,

ASSORTERS assemble the cut cloth into bundles, either by individual garments or in lots. The bundles are then given to the

OPERATORS who sew the garments together. They use the sewing machine with its many adaptations for special work. Operators as a rule make the entire garments except on the cheapest grades where "section work" may be found. Occasionally, two operators may work as partners, each doing a different part of the garment.

DRAPERS may be called upon in some shops to prepare the garment for the final operations. Garments are hung on a dummy and drapers make all the necessary adjustments by fastening the various parts of the garment with pins. However, not every shop employs drapers. The garments then go to the

FINISHERS who do most of the sewing that has to be done by hand.

They sew on hooks and eyes, buttons and belts, baste and do other hand sewing. Some of their work is also done with the assistance of special machines. Once their work is completed, the garments go to

CLEANERS whose task it is to remove loose threads and at times to sponge and remove spots from the finished garment.

PRESSERS get the garment next. Ironing is done either by hand or with pressing machines. In the heavier lines of work, pressing has to be done as the work progresses, as the seams and the various parts of the garments have to be ironed.

APPENDIX B

To illustrate the general state of labor conditions in those branches of the women's garment industry for which statistics are available, a series of tables is reproduced in the following pages which shows fluctuations in employment, payrolls, man-hours worked, average hours of work, as well as hourly and weekly earnings for the three year period, 1933 to 1935.*

The reader will note that the fluctuations in employment, payrolls and man-hours of work are expressed by means of index numbers. An index number is a statistical device which permits us to measure the relative changes in conditions by comparing them with the situation as it existed at a certain time, called the base. In the following tables, the average conditions during 1933 were selected as the base.

The use of these tables is best explained by an example. If we find that employment in the coat and suit industry, during October, 1935, is shown approximately as 139, this means that for every 100 persons employed during the base period (1933 average), approximately 139 persons had jobs during the month of October. Comparing the average employment in the coat and suit industry for 1934 and 1935 with the base period, we find that for every 100 persons employed during 1933, there were 115 workers employed in 1934 and 118 workers in 1935.

* Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics in cooperation with the Division of Review, N.R.A. (published as Board of Review, Work Material No. 12: "Employment, Payrolls, Hours and Wages in 115 Selected Code Industries, 1933-1935"). It would seem that different samples were used in the preparation of the data.

COAT AND SUIT INDUSTRY

Factory Employment, Payrolls, Hours, and Wages, 1933-1935

MONTH	INDEXES 1933 = 100			Average Hours Worked Per Week	WAGES	
	Employment	Payrolls	Man-Hours		Average Hourly (Cents)	Average Weekly (Dollars)
1933—Jan.	99.9	82.5	117.6	39.9	68.1	27.72
Feb.	121.2	127.0	157.4	44.0	64.5	35.17
Mar.	117.9	103.6	120.7	34.7	90.4	28.84
Apr.	123.4	138.4	142.0	39.0	83.9	36.24
May	82.3	58.7	68.7	28.3	83.4	22.70
June	49.9	35.5	39.3	26.7	75.3	22.16
July	93.4	89.4	114.4	41.5	65.9	29.25
Aug.	76.9	71.7	71.7	31.6	76.4	27.24
Sept.	135.0	197.0	144.5	36.3	93.0	40.95
Oct.	126.6	142.0	106.1	28.4	93.8	30.48
Nov.	96.6	87.6	65.8	23.1	100.1	24.93
Dec.	76.9	66.8	51.7	22.8	102.5	23.87
Average	100.0	100.0	100.0	33.0	83.1	29.13
1934—Jan.	108.4	114.4	87.3	27.3	111.9	28.59
Feb.	132.2	169.5	126.0	32.3	103.5	33.86
Mar.	135.2	182.7	127.2	31.9	107.1	35.90
Apr.	114.6	118.6	82.8	24.5	107.1	27.69
May	80.0	62.7	51.5	21.8	101.5	21.10
June	71.4	58.5	47.0	22.3	94.6	21.61
July	108.5	123.6	90.9	28.4	104.4	29.53
Aug.	134.9	161.7	112.2	28.2	105.0	31.19
Sept.	136.0	132.6	90.3	22.5	108.8	25.56
Oct.	136.1	159.9	108.8	27.1	110.0	30.86
Nov.	119.9	123.1	83.9	23.7	112.5	27.58
Dec.	107.7	94.1	64.5	20.3	112.1	23.34
Average	115.4	125.1	89.4	25.9	106.5	28.07
1935—Jan.	126.3	133.6	102.1	27.4	107.3	29.92
Feb.	135.5	170.4	125.9	31.5	113.7	35.97
Mar.	141.4	182.7	138.9	33.3	107.8	37.09
Apr.	124.7	124.2	85.0	23.1	113.7	27.55
May	86.2	64.6	50.1	19.7	108.1	21.54
June	78.3	60.3	48.3	20.9	105.1	21.94
July	100.6	95.9	84.3	28.4	99.7	27.65
Aug.	132.0	155.8	122.3	31.4	107.4	34.77
Sept.	103.0	166.9	127.6	31.8	114.3	36.71
Oct.	136.9	159.1	124.8	30.9	111.0	34.38
Nov.	110.3	82.5	67.1	20.6	106.4	22.26
Dec.	104.8	89.9	74.9	24.2	108.8	26.21
Average	117.8	123.8	95.9	26.9	108.6	29.67

CORSET AND BRASSIERE INDUSTRY
Factory Employment, Payrolls, Hours, and Wages, 1933-1935

MONTH	INDEXES 1933 = 100		Average Hours Worked Per Week	WAGES	
	Employment	Payrolls		Average Hourly (Cents)	Average Weekly (Dollars)
1933—Jan.	95.9	89.7			13.50
Feb.	102.0	105.6			14.99
Mar.	101.9	89.3			12.43
Apr.	101.0	95.0			13.52
May	100.3	100.2			14.18
June	100.6	101.9			14.37
July	99.4	96.6			13.78
Aug.	101.3	110.6			15.46
Sept.	105.8	116.1			15.46
Oct.	95.7	106.3			15.43
Nov.	98.5	93.0			12.36
Dec.	97.6	95.6			13.84
Average	100.0	100.0			14.11
1934—Jan.	96.1	103.4			15.13
Feb.	103.3	121.2	34.7	47.1	16.29
Mar.	107.4	128.7	35.7	46.4	16.71
Apr.	109.2	132.6	36.1	46.5	16.74
May	107.1	119.7	35.4	45.4	15.49
June	98.8	108.0	33.1	47.4	14.84
July	98.0	97.9	31.3	47.0	13.94
Aug.	99.1	106.8	30.9	46.1	14.79
Sept.	100.1	114.4	32.6	47.6	15.79
Oct.	100.7	112.3	31.0	47.4	15.43
Nov.	100.8	114.0	31.6	46.7	14.99
Dec.	100.8	120.2	33.3	45.8	15.44
Average	101.8	114.9	33.2*	46.7*	15.47
1935—Jan.	102.5	121.4	33.0	46.1	15.66
Feb.	102.0	127.9	35.9	45.0	16.18
Mar.	105.8	129.1	34.5	45.2	15.83
Apr.	105.9	129.0	35.2	45.3	16.19
May	102.9	117.3	33.1	45.8	15.11
June	98.8	106.2	31.8	45.2	14.13
July	96.5	103.3	30.8	44.8	13.95
Aug.	96.4	102.5	28.8	45.4	13.77
Sept.	98.9	119.3	34.1	45.0	15.62
Oct.	98.2	114.9	31.4	45.8	15.19
Nov.	96.1	111.2	31.4	46.0	15.01
Dec.	94.1	109.5	31.7	46.8	15.09
Average	99.8	116.0	32.6	45.5	15.14

*Average for 11 months.

DRESS MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY
Factory Employment, Payrolls, Hours, and Wages, 1933-1935

MONTH	INDEXES 1933 = 100		Average Hours Worked Per Week	WAGES		
	Employment	Payrolls		Average Hourly (Cents)	Average Weekly (Dollars)	
1933—Jan.	96.0	90.2	101.2	37.1	44.1	19.33
Feb.	103.5	93.9	118.4	40.3	41.0	18.67
Mar.	82.7	65.0	61.5	26.2	54.9	15.94
Apr.	108.7	104.5	129.7	42.0	48.4	19.51
May	116.6	112.4	134.5	40.6	48.6	19.54
June	106.8	98.4	112.8	37.2	48.2	18.20
July	73.0	63.1	70.5	34.0	51.5	16.88
Aug.	91.1	83.1	92.4	35.7	55.2	17.40
Sept.	115.5	152.4	121.3	37.0	61.4	25.18
Oct.	114.5	132.9	104.4	32.1	64.9	22.42
Nov.	96.6	94.6	68.9	25.1	65.6	18.77
Dec.	95.0	109.5	84.4	31.3	75.4	22.28
Average	100.0	100.0	100.0	34.9	54.9	19.51
1934—Jan.	110.0	121.8	95.6	30.6	71.7	21.40
Feb.	117.8	142.6	98.7	29.5	67.6	21.63
Mar.	117.9	143.3	102.8	30.7	69.7	22.33
Apr.	120.5	154.2	108.2	31.6	72.9	23.49
May	122.4	155.4	102.9	29.6	75.7	23.33
June	100.2	107.4	69.1	24.3	72.4	19.84
July	76.2	76.1	49.3	22.8	75.8	18.49
Aug.	114.5	132.5	90.7	27.9	73.2	21.37
Sept.	123.6	142.7	95.5	27.2	70.7	20.76
Oct.	125.2	154.5	96.7	27.2	75.5	22.17
Nov.	107.1	106.8	67.8	22.3	73.0	17.99
Dec.	109.7	123.0	75.7	24.3	75.7	20.14
Average	112.1	130.0	87.8	27.3	72.8	21.08
1935—Jan.	116.1	134.1	87.7	26.6	75.8	20.94
Feb.	121.8	142.4	95.8	27.7	69.4	20.50
Mar.	123.6	148.6	101.1	28.8	69.1	20.70
Apr.	125.0	162.1	109.3	30.8	66.0	21.63
May	121.1	152.0	102.5	29.8	70.2	21.69
June	101.4	105.8	74.8	26.0	68.9	18.46
July	69.5	63.8	46.4	23.5	69.7	17.44
Aug.	117.0	137.5	97.7	29.4	72.0	22.64
Sept.	122.6	150.7	103.7	29.8	73.6	23.89
Oct.	122.0	133.5	93.2	26.9	72.1	20.95
Nov.	105.6	98.4	69.0	23.0	67.9	17.92
Dec.	106.7	116.2	86.1	28.4	71.2	21.70
Average	112.7	128.8	89.0	27.6	70.5	20.71

COTTON GARMENT INDUSTRY*
Factory Employment, Payrolls, Hours, and Wages, 1933-1935

MONTH	Employment	INDEXES 1933 = 100		Average Hours Worked Per Week	WAGES	
		Payrolls	Man-Hours		Average Hourly (Cents)	Average Weekly (Dollars)
1933—Jan.	85.2	71.3	87.5	38.1	23.1	9.19
Feb.	91.9	79.8	92.9	37.5	23.4	9.54
Mar.	90.4	75.6	92.3	37.9	25.2	9.20
Apr.	94.6	82.7	102.0	40.0	24.5	9.40
May	98.6	89.8	108.2	40.7	24.8	9.78
June	106.4	101.6	121.6	42.4	24.9	10.29
July	110.5	104.3	121.5	40.8	25.3	10.11
Aug.	108.4	124.2	107.5	36.8	34.2	12.27
Sept.	108.5	125.8	99.1	33.9	36.9	12.36
Oct.	109.1	130.4	102.1	34.7	37.1	12.81
Nov.	102.9	115.7	89.1	32.1	38.0	11.95
Dec.	93.5	98.9	76.4	30.3	38.2	11.28
Average	100.0	100.0	100.0	37.1	29.6	10.68
1934—Jan.	84.9	90.7	70.3	30.7	38.2	11.34
Feb.	99.7	115.8	90.0	33.5	37.5	12.49
Mar.	108.2	132.4	101.5	34.8	37.8	13.18
Apr.	113.5	140.6	108.3	35.4	36.9	13.27
May	112.5	139.8	103.8	34.3	38.1	13.30
June	108.6	131.9	95.4	32.6	38.7	12.79
July	93.9	107.4	76.4	30.2	39.9	11.90
Aug.	98.7	121.9	85.6	32.2	39.6	12.74
Sept.	104.0	129.6	90.0	32.1	39.9	12.97
Oct.	101.6	129.5	89.8	32.8	39.7	13.20
Nov.	100.4	127.4	88.2	32.6	39.7	13.05
Dec.	91.4	106.2	71.7	29.1	41.4	12.02
Average	101.4	122.8	89.3	32.5	39.0	12.69
1935—Jan.	94.6	108.0	72.7	28.5	40.9	11.66
Feb.	103.8	132.0	86.1	30.8	42.3	12.99
Mar.	109.0	141.0	90.8	30.9	42.6	13.20
Apr.	110.8	141.8	94.7	31.7	42.2	13.00
May	111.4	143.4	95.8	31.9	42.3	13.60
June	103.1	127.9	85.6	30.8	42.2	12.95
July	99.0	117.5	82.5	30.9	40.6	12.34
Aug.	107.2	135.2	96.8	33.5	39.6	13.07
Sept.	111.6	144.4	104.4	34.7	39.2	13.55
Oct.	113.9	146.5	108.4	35.3	38.5	13.39
Nov.	111.8	141.9	103.0	34.2	38.8	13.18
Dec.	108.4	134.7	97.9	33.5	39.0	13.03
Average	107.0	134.5	93.2	32.2	40.7	13.00

*This table also includes men's and women's cotton garments.

INFANTS' AND CHILDREN'S WEAR INDUSTRY
Factory Employment, Payrolls, Hours, and Wages, 1933-1935

MONTH	Employment	INDEXES 1933 = 100		Average Hours Worked Per Week	WAGES	
		Payrolls	Man-Hours		Average Hourly (Cents)	Average Weekly (Dollars)
1933—Jan.	88.5	83.6				12.02
Feb.	105.3	100.2				12.08
Mar.	104.4	88.3		31.2	38.7	10.63
Apr.	103.6	95.3		40.0	25.2	11.55
May	110.4	108.3		39.8	28.2	12.55
June	106.4	104.4		38.4	24.7	12.33
July	94.1	89.8		36.7	25.3	12.03
Aug.	110.9	119.7		37.8	28.2	13.54
Sept.	112.0	130.6		37.4	36.4	14.64
Oct.	103.2	115.6		35.3	37.6	14.06
Nov.	87.8	89.1		31.4	44.4	12.68
Dec.	73.6	75.1		34.3	39.4	12.83
Average	100.0	100.0		36.2*	32.8*	12.56
1934—Jan.	90.4	102.5		31.7	41.2	14.22
Feb.	104.3	120.2		35.6	37.4	13.61
Mar.	106.8	126.6		34.7	37.7	14.01
Apr.	111.1	134.8		35.3	38.9	14.42
May	112.2	140.4		37.0	39.1	14.85
June	104.0	124.4		34.3	40.1	14.26
July	97.3	102.0		29.9	41.0	12.45
Aug.	104.2	123.8		33.6	41.0	14.13
Sept.	95.8	109.5		28.7	45.5	13.39
Oct.	102.6	123.4		30.8	46.1	14.13
Nov.	99.5	119.1		31.4	41.3	13.66
Dec.	93.9	118.1		33.5	41.9	14.33
Average	101.8	120.4		33.0	40.9	13.96
1935—Jan.	90.5	106.3		31.3	39.6	13.31
Feb.	98.9	129.9		34.6	46.5	16.25
Mar.	104.0	140.6		36.0	41.1	15.35
Apr.	106.3	147.2		37.3	40.2	15.58
May	98.3	130.5		35.5	39.5	14.77
June	86.4	109.5		34.3	39.8	14.27
July	92.5	116.6		35.4	37.9	14.07
Aug.	102.0	132.7		36.7	38.7	14.57
Sept.	97.8	128.1		36.0	39.3	14.66
Oct.	101.4	134.8		36.5	39.3	14.89
Nov.	105.3	142.2		37.8	38.7	15.08
Dec.	99.0	132.7		37.4	39.2	14.76
Average	98.5	129.3		35.7	40.0	14.80

*Average for 10 months.

UNDERGARMENT AND NEGLIGEE INDUSTRY
Factory Employment, Payrolls, Hours, and Wages, 1933-1935

MONTH	INDEXES 1933 = 100		Man-Hours	WAGES		
	Employment	Payrolls		Average Hours Worked Per Week	Average Hourly (Cents)	Average Weekly (Dollars)
1933—Jan.	84.9	71.3			12.70	
Feb.	96.1	90.8			14.30	
Mar.	91.2	88.2			14.82	
Apr.	98.8	101.2			15.69	
May	105.3	111.9			16.13	
June	108.3	109.8			15.31	
July	96.5	93.8			14.62	
Aug.	110.2	114.3			14.35	
Sept.	68.3	52.5			10.58	
Oct.	118.5	144.0			16.63	
Nov.	116.1	130.5			15.29	
Dec.	105.8	91.7			11.74	
Average	100.0	100.0			14.35	
1934—Jan.	98.3	97.5			13.61	
Feb.	105.4	109.1		35.1	42.8	
Mar.	110.6	122.6		37.1	41.5	
Apr.	114.2	126.9		37.5	41.2	
May	114.6	126.0		36.5	41.0	
June	112.6	115.8		34.7	42.1	
July	94.5	87.3		27.5	41.2	
Aug.	103.7	111.9		32.4	42.6	
Sept.	113.4	92.4		19.3	43.7	
Oct.	121.4	141.6		35.1	41.2	
Nov.	126.2	146.2		35.4	42.9	
Dec.	120.5	147.5		35.9	45.2	
Average	111.3	118.7		33.3*	42.3*	
1935—Jan.	106.4	121.6		33.2	45.6	
Feb.	114.6	122.5		29.7	45.5	
Mar.	118.0	136.0		32.4	46.3	
Apr.	117.9	129.2		29.9	45.1	
May	116.0	126.7		31.6	45.0	
June	107.2	111.9		33.4	42.5	
July	95.6	100.3		34.1	43.3	
Aug.	105.3	110.9		30.1	42.8	
Sept.	116.0	132.5		34.7	42.8	
Oct.	123.1	144.9		36.2	43.0	
Nov.	125.4	149.5		35.6	43.2	
Dec.	121.6	127.4		31.3	43.9	
Average	113.9	126.1		32.7	44.1	

*Average for 11 months.

APPENDIX C

Growth of Women's Clothing Industry in the United States*
1859-1933

Year	No. of Estab.	Aver. No. Wage Earners	Wages Paid	Cost of Material, Fuel & Purchased Electric Energy	Value of Product	Paid for Contract Work
1859	188	5,739	\$ 1,193,000	\$ 3,323,000	\$ 7,181,000	—
1869	1,847	11,696	2,514,000	6,838,000	12,901,000	—
1879	562	25,192	6,661,000	19,559,000	32,005,000	—
1889	1,224	39,149	15,428,000	34,277,000	68,164,000	—
1899	2,701	83,739	32,586,000	84,705,000	159,340,000	\$ 5,155,000
1904	3,351	115,705	51,180,000	130,720,000	247,662,000	6,961,000
1909	4,558	153,743	78,568,000	208,788,000	384,752,000	10,186,000
1914	5,564	168,907	92,574,000	252,345,000	473,888,000	15,844,000
1919	7,711	165,649	195,296,000	680,407,000	1,208,543,000	52,426,000
1921	7,061	144,865	185,082,000	567,810,000	1,022,742,000	61,527,000
1923	7,046	133,195	176,446,000	809,561,000	1,406,684,000	143,750,000
1925	6,127	126,466	175,045,000	724,299,000	1,293,706,000	128,524,000
1927	7,588	154,459	211,350,000	809,520,000	1,494,401,000	147,902,000
1929	8,082	187,500	243,851,000	934,414,000	1,709,581,000	153,095,000
1931	7,046	173,890	189,187,000	704,259,000	1,292,253,000	128,930,000
1933	5,350	159,832	127,418,000	456,424,000	846,300,000	88,817,000

* Unfortunately Census figures for the women's clothing industry do not present a complete picture. As a result of the tremendous business mortality and constant flux in this industry, the Census Bureau is prevented from reaching every business establishment in compiling its statistics. Consequently, the figures in the above table are somewhat lower than the actual situation warrants. It is actually estimated, on the basis of the various surveys, that the volume of business approximated \$1,200,000,000 in 1935 and that there was but a slight increase in the volume of business between 1933 and 1935. The Census data is, however, very useful in studying the relative changes of conditions in the industry.

READING SUGGESTIONS

The following publications will prove of value to teachers and students of economics of the women's garment industry:

- LEVINE, LOUIS, *Women's Garment Workers* (N. Y., B. W. Huebsch, 1924; can be purchased through the ILGWU Educational Dept. for 75c)
- MAGEE, MABEL A., *Trends in Location of the Women's Clothing Industry* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, \$2)
- NYSTROM, PAUL, *Economics of Fashion* (N. Y., Ronald Press Co., 1928, \$5)
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- U. S. WOMEN'S BUREAU, Bulletin No. 141: *Piece-work in the Silk Dress Industry; Earnings, Hours and Production* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1936)
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- HOFFMAN, B., *Fifty Years of the Cloakmakers' Union, 1886-1936* (in Yiddish) (N. Y., Local 117, 1936)
- JUSTICE (bi-weekly periodical)
- WOMEN'S WEAR (issued five days a week)

In the mimeographed documents issued in connection with the Training-for-Trade-Union-Service course there are various important papers available to students and classes. Among them are:

- Structure and Problems of the Eastern Cotton Dress Division
- Organizing in Out of Town Shops
- Contractor Limitation and Jobber Responsibility in the Cloak Industry (I. Nagler)
- The Voluntary Label and the Union Label

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REFERENCE BOOKS

- The Women's Garment Workers, *Louis Levine*, 1924
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