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by the

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OFFICE: 32 Union Square, New York City
OFFICIAL NOTICES

REGARDING TRANSFERS

1. Before issuing a transfer note that the member wishing to transfer must be a member not less than 6 months in good standing in your local.

2. When issuing a transfer write across his name on his dues book the word, “Cancelled,” the date and your (Secretary's) signature.

3. Let the member write his name in his dues book and also in the space provided for this purpose in the margin of the traveling card.

4. Before accepting a transfer let the transferred member sign his name and compare his signatures.

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JOHN F. TOBIN, Pres.
CHAS. L. BAIN, Sec'y. Treas.
The Preferential Union Shop Arrangement

How Its Working in the Dress and Waist Industry Diverges from that in the Cloak and Skirt Industry*

By S. POLAKOFF

Although theoretically the working of the Preferential Union Shop Arrangement should be essentially the same wherever it is adopted as a guide in the relations between employers and employees, yet there is a palpable divergence in the Waist and Dress Industry in the matter of "preference" given to employees from that prevailing in the Cloak and Skirt Industry. If the present practices of the employers should long be persisted in, we shall feel called upon to find a means of safeguarding the privileges guaranteed in accordance with both the letter and spirit of the Protocol.

Let us first see how the preferential shop arrangement has been working in the Cloak Industry.

When the great cloak strike was settled in September 1910 and the Protocol was signed, we had at that time about 50,000 members. There were some 400 or 600 non-union people who had been working during the strike. These had either contracts with the firms or verbal agreements for a certain period of time. The conferences representing both parties took this into consideration and agreed that the non-union people could not then be sent down or urged to join the Union. Accordingly they had embodied the following clause in the Protocol:

"It is further understood that all existing agreements and obligations of the employer, including those to present employees, shall be respected; the manufacturers however, declare their belief in the Union, and that all who desire its benefits should share in its burdens."

The manufacturers' declaration of belief in the Union had satisfied the Union representatives that the promised "preference" to its members would be strictly carried out.

The members of the Union were thus aware that several hundred non-union people could not belong to the Union, for the reason that they had contracts with their employers. Moreover, they were not eligible as members of the Union by the laws of our International constitution excluding those holding individual contracts with employers. The percentage of those non-union people being so very small, probably less than 1 per cent., scattered in the various shops, the question of "preference" given to union members had never arisen. Thus in Bulletin No. 98 issued by the United States Bureau of Labor, Chas. H. Winslow, in a special study of the Protocol, is enabled to say that not one case of violation of the "preference" provision by the employers had occurred even within the first year. For as soon as the contracts held by non-union people expired, nearly all of them joined the Union; while those refusing to join had left their positions. True, in a number of cases union members had been discriminated against, but the question of preference given to non-union help rather than to Union employees had never come up in the Cloak Industry.

*This article forms part of Vice-President Polakoff's Report to the Quarterly Meeting of the General Executive Board held in Cincinnati.
But quite a different situation has now arisen in the Waist and Dress Industry, and if no way is found, or ruling obtained, to make it clear that in accordance with the explicit provision of the Protocol “preference” must be given to Union people, not only when “hiring and discharging,” but in every other respect, a state of affairs will develop which will effect the Union to a certain extent.

Before the strike of the Waist and Dress Makers was called on the 15th of January 1913, we had at that time only about 10,000 members in the Union. It was then clearly understood that on the first day of the strike all the manufacturers who were members of the Association (numbering 40 or 50) should close their factories for 72 hours in order to give the Union an opportunity to organize the workers. During that short period of time, we were not in a position to organize all of them for several reasons:

First: It was a physical impossibility during that short period of time to enrol about 30,000 people.

Second: A great number of the workers never belonged to the Union before and were prejudiced against the Union and unionism.

Third: The policy of many manufacturers for years has been to carry on an anti-union agitation among their workpeople, giving free expression to their feeling of antagonism all the time; consequently a large number of the workers of those particular shops refused to join the Union. Thus, when the people did return to work, there remained about 30% to 35% of the employees scattered in the various shops, belonging to members of the Association, who did not belong to the Union.

On the 20th of January 1913, before the Protocol was signed, the Union officials made it clear at that time to the firms of the Association that all the employees then employed would have to join the Union immediately and after that preference should be given to union people, in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol, which we quote herewith:

**Article 14 of the Protocol**

“Each member of the Manufacturers’ Association is to maintain a union shop; a “Union Shop” being understood to refer to a shop where Union standards as to working conditions, hours of labor, and rates of wages, as herein stipulated, prevail, and where when hiring help, union men are preferred; it being recognized that, since there are differences in degrees of skill among those employed in the trade, employers shall have freedom of selection as between one union man and another, and shall not be required to any list nor bound to follow any prescribed order whatever.”

In reply to our representation the officers of the Association stated: “We are signing the Protocol in good faith and if some of the workers will not join the Union right now, we promise faithfully that they will join the Union very soon.”

Explicit and clearly defined as this provision is, employers in the Waist and Dress Industry have forgotten their promises and have found all kinds of excuses for evading it, in many cases, flagrantly violating it by giving preference to the non-union people in their employ. The story of how this came about will throw an interesting sidelight on the psychology of even the best-intentioned employer.

A few weeks after the strike we received a large number of complaints from various shops that many workers absolutely refused to join the Union.

We immediately called a conference of the Grievance Board, in accordance with Article No. 4 of the Protocol, in order to talk matters over with the officials of the Association.

We made it clear to them that unless they intended to co-operate with the Union in accordance with the spirit of the Protocol, we could not expect to work in good faith. To this the Executive Officers of the Association replied that as it was very busy in the trade at that time they could not afford to give upon the non-union people to join the Union, for fear that they might leave their employ. They, however, promised that in the dull season they will absolutely see to it that the spirit of the Protocol shall be carried out, and “preference” given to the Union people.

Now, since the last few weeks, the dull season has been much in evidence in the trade, yet some manufacturers began sending down union people, thus giving preference to non-union people, thus giving preference to non-union people.

In all cases where union people were laid off, we succeeded in having them reinstated according to the provisions of the Protocol.
A committee from a certain shop whom we will call "A" visited my office, and told of the following conditions in the shop. There are a number of people working in the shop, they told, all equally skilled, the majority of whom belong to the Union. During the busy season they urged upon the non-union people to join the Union, otherwise, they told them, they were running the risk of not getting "preference" in the dull season, as far as distribution of work is concerned, but they met with no success. "We thought," said the committee, "that as soon as the dull season will begin the firm will lay off the non-union people and we will get preference." Now, we have found that the non-union people receive just as much work as we do, yet the non-union people do not belong to the Union. 

"This being the case we do not see why we should pay dues to the Union when the others are getting the same benefits." They furthermore pointed out the manufacturers' declaration of belief in the Protocol: "That all who desire the benefits of the Union should share in its burdens," and stated that the manufacturers broke faith acting contrary to the spirit of the Protocol.

On receiving the complaint of Shop A we filed the following complaint to the Association:

"In this case we wish to state that out of seventeen finishers eight do not belong to the Union. We find, however, that because there is not enough work to keep all the finishers employed at full time, the firm is distributing the work among the union and non-union employees. This is a clear violation of both the letter and spirit of our Protocol. To give preference to members of the Union means 'to give them preference.' In other words, it means to give them a certain advantage over those who do not belong to the Union. If during a slack season when there is not enough work for all, the non-union worker and the union worker are treated alike and the work is equally distributed among all of them, irrespective of the question whether they belong to the Union or not, all "preference" is eliminated, and all the workers are placed on the same footing.

"If this practice of which we complain will be continued, there will be no reason why any worker should pay to the Union. It is of the very essence of the "Preferential Union" that preference should be given to the members of the Union in receiving and in retaining employment. The principle "that all who desire the benefits of the Union should share in its burdens," is the very foundation of the Protocol.

"The non-union finishers should be made to realize their obligation to the Union and to the workers who belong to the Union.

"Please take up this matter for immediate adjustment. It is too vital a thing to be neglected or delayed.

Respectfully,
(Signed) S. POLAKOFF,
General Manager."

A conference was called to reach an understanding in the above complaint. The manufacturers stated that they were not in position to go so far as to give full employment to the union people and employ the non-union people only when the Union people are not able to complete the work. This, the representatives of the Association claimed, would amount to "closed shop"—a plausible excuse for turning away every legitimate claim of the Union employees for "Preference" in accordance with the provision of the Protocol.

Eventually at the suggestion of some of the Union representatives, it was agreed not to press this charge against the Association for the present time. Although this matter has been suspended for the present it will nevertheless continue to hang fire. If I understand the spirit of the Protocol aright, preference given to Union employees during the dull season can by no manner of reasoning be construed as amounting to "closed shop."

A "closed shop" means that the manufacturer cannot hire any one who is not a member in good standing of the Union and who is not furnished by the Union from its employment list. Besides, under a "closed shop" arrangement the initiation fee is so high and forbidding to newcomers as to render the Union absolutely "closed" whereas in our case the employer has "freedom of selection" and the Union is always open to any employee at a reasonable initiation fee. So that the excuse of the officers of the Association that this will lead to a "closed shop" is absurd.

From the above facts it is clear that they do not act in good faith or up to their own promises. Even if during the slow season many of the non-union people were elimi-
ated, we should still have an Open Union, the employers' "freedom of selection" would still be guaranteed in strict keeping with the spirit of the Protocol.

I claim that if in the dull season the non-union people are to receive the same benefits as the Union people, they will never feel any obligation to bear the Union burdens or even to belong to the Union. On the contrary, the mind of the Union worker will begin to work against the Union, for the reason that the non-union worker gets the same benefit as the union worker, without the necessity of having to bear its burdens.

I believe that the officers of the Association will recognize the fact sooner or later that the practice of employing union and non-union employees side by side in the same shop, will not tend to promote peace in the Industry, because the Union is able to control the shops and maintain discipline only then when all the workers in the factories are members of the Union. It happened frequently in the Cloak Industry that the non-union people provoked the Union people to strikes and stoppages of work. Even prominent employers in the Cloak Industry recognized the fact that the Union officials can only be held responsible for maintaining Union rules and the provisions of the Protocol, when the workers of the shops are members of the Union and in good standing.

The question of the meaning of "preferential Union shop" in the Waist and Dress Industry will have to be settled once for all; and I hope that the officers of the Association acting in good faith, will recognize the fact that unless all the workers will be members of the Union the union will not be in a position to carry out the provisions of the Protocol.

REPORT ON GENERAL CASES

Settled by Chief Clerks, Deputy Clerks and Grievance Board

To the Officers and members of the General Executive Board and Local No. 25,

Greeting:
The following cases in connection with the Association firms have come under the notice of your Executive Officers for nine weeks from April 5th to June 1st, 1913:

Association shops under my control......311
Shops that registered complaints........214
Shops that registered no complaints..... 97
(The latter shops held regular shop meetings but filed no complaints. From shop reports it is evident that they are thoroughly organized and the firms abide by the provisions of the Protocol.)

Shops holding shop meetings..............214
Shops holding no meetings................367
(Shop meetings were called, but the employees have not responded. They have, however, lodged complaints.)

214 shops who held 160 shop meetings filed 567 complaints which were disposed of in the following manner:

Cases adjusted in favor of the Union .......... (72%) 498
Cases adjusted in favor of the Association .... (2%) 12
Cases not sustained for lack of evidence ....... (8%) 40
Cases compromised, settled by clerks .......... (1%) 6
Cases withdrawn, parties having reached satisfactory adjustment with their firms... (3%) 17
Cases referred to Grievance and Wage Scale Boards...... (9%) 10
Cases referred to Committee of Immediate Action .......... (1%) 5
Cases still pending.......................... (1%) 5

Of the 567 cases filed, 562 cases were tried and 496 cases actually adjusted.

The following is a tabulated schedule of the number of complaints received from 214 shops that have registered complaints in the office:

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<th>Shops that registered complaints</th>
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Grievance Board Cases

20 cases came up before the Grievance Board and they were adjusted in the following manner:

2 cases were won, namely: M. Gross, the shop chairman, a presser, employed with the Princess Shirt Waist Co., was discharged for refusing to work on Saturday afternoon, clerks of the Association and Union decided...
that the firm should reinstate him, with back pay for time lost. The firm appealed to the Grievance Board but the Board sustained the decision of the clerks and awarded the presser $800 back pay, for four weeks at $17.00.

The second case was that of Lena Friedman of Goldschmidt & Co., an examiner who was laid off and a non-union employee given preference. The firm was instructed to reinstate the discharged girl and pay her for two weeks, $22.00.

2 firms were disciplined for violating decisions of the Clerks.

In 2 cases the Grievance Committee reaffirmed the decision of the Chief Clerks given in favor of the Union.

4 cases were dropped.

4 cases were referred to the Committee of Immediate Action.

5 cases were referred back for action to the Chief Clerks.

Complaints Filed by the Association Against Members of the Union

From April 5th to June 1st, the Association filed 51 complaints of which 37 were adjusted, 11 compromised or otherwise disposed of and 3 are still pending.

5 cases referred to the election of new price committees, 7 cases had reference to disagreement on test girls—finally adjusted. 12 cases referred to stoppage of work as a result of numerous grievances complained of by the employees—grievances taken under advisement and employees ordered back to work.

6 cases had reference to the removal of shop chairman. 2 cases had reference to employees failing to abide by settled prices. In 1 case an employee disobeyed a decision by the clerks and in 3 cases employees in a certain non-union shop had been working Saturday afternoon. All these cases were satisfactorily adjusted.

May Day Cases

The Association filed sixty-one complaints against shop chairmen for urging the employees of the respective shops to suspend work on May 1st. Subsequently an agreement was reached and the cases were dropped.

The coming to stoppage of work on May 1st, seventeen complaints of arbitrary discharge were filed by the Union against various members of the Association. All the discharged workers were reinstated. The number of discharged people involved in these cases reached over a hundred persons, and all were reinstated.

Collection of Pay

The following amounts were collected for employees discriminated against and discharged, who were paid for time lost until reinstated:

- Howard Mfg. Co. (Charles Stett) $18.00
- Hopf & Daxon (M. Mungollo) 9.35
- Princess Shirt Waist Co. (M. Gross) 4 weeks 68.00
- Esskay Waist Co. (Rose Rosenfield) 12.00
- Wallach Bros. (B. Kerstein) 11.25
- Gotham Waist Co. (Isaac Levine) 12.65
- Gotham Waist Co. (F. Fannenbaum) 8.20

In a number of cases various amounts were collected for employees who were either underpaid or did not receive double pay for overtime:

Summary

Since the signing of the Protocol, January 27th, to June 1st, 1913 (a period of nineteen weeks) the number of cases dealt with were as follows:

- 2,042 complaints were filed by the members of the Union against the Association and were disposed of in the following manner:
  - 1,271 cases adjusted in favor of the Union.
  - 21 cases adjusted in favor of the Ass'n.
  - 178 cases not sustained.
  - 142 cases withdrawn.
  - 162 cases referred to the Wage Scale and Grievance Boards.
  - 51 cases referred to Committee of Immediate Action.
  - 217 cases are pending for investigation, and are in the hands of the clerks.

A Committee of Immediate Action Appointed by the Wage Scale Board

In the month of March, at a meeting of the Wage Scale Board, we called attention to the fact that there were a number of cases pending for a hearing and decision by the Board which could not possibly wait a week or more until the Board met. We suggested that a special committee should be appointed, having an equal number of representatives on both sides, under the name of "Committee of Immediate Action," whose duty it should be to settle all difficulties relative to Article 7 of the Provisions of the Protocol, mainly in disputes regarding wages. If necessary the
Committee should meet daily to adjust grievances between employer and employee. The suggestion was adopted. The representatives appointed by the Union were Brother Baroff and myself, with Bros. Dyche and Zimmermann as substitutes. Those appointed by the Association were Mr. I. B. Hyman and Mr. W. H. Bartholomew and any substitutes they would select.

I am glad to report that the work of this committee has been attended by very good results. For the last nine or ten weeks, we have been sitting almost daily deciding cases which involve Article 7 of the Protocol. Here are a few typical cases which will enable you to judge of its working:

Tip Top Waist Co.—We filed a complaint against this firm for discriminating against and laying off a number of girls. When the clerks went to investigate the case the firm stated that they did not discharge them for their union activity but because of their decreasing business preparatory to a complete closing up in a few days for an indefinite time.

The deputy clerks on investigating this matter referred it to the Chief Clerks, Mr. Bartholomew and myself. Looking over the report of the deputy clerks we decided that on the firm starting operations anew, these girls should get preference. If the firm will carry this out we shall be satisfied that there had been no discrimination. After the period specified by the firm for closing expired and the firm still continued to operate their factory, the Union claimed that this was a clear case of discrimination and demanded that the girls be reinstated immediately. The firm refused, claiming that they had work only for those who were employed. The case went to the Committee of Immediate Action and the following decision was rendered on April 28th:

"To the Tip Top Waist Company:

The Committee of Immediate Action hereby directs you to comply with the decision of the Chief Clerks (rendered April 14th) not later than Wednesday, April 30th, 1913, and that further, the firm is to divide the work equally at all times between all of the employees in so far as this is practicable.

(Signed) S. POLAKOFF,
Chief Clerk for the Union.

WALTER H. BARTHOLOMEW,
Chief Clerk for the Association.

I. B. HYMAN, Chairman

As a result of the decision the girls were reinstated and the Union filed a claim against the Association for the reimbursement of members for lost time. The case was heard before the Grievance Board on May 7th, and after arguments by the Union were heard the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, In view of the provisions of the Protocol having been broken by the Tip Top Waist Co. and the prejudice suffered by certain employees of the Tip Top Waist Co. as a consequence thereof, that the Association shall reimburse the members for such loss as was suffered by its members as a result of the provisions of the Protocol having been violated. The Grievance Board hereby instructs the Tip Top Waist Manufacturers' Association to discipline its member, the Tip Top Waist Co., for said violation."

As the employees were piece workers we estimated the loss by the amount the girls had earned before they were discharged. This totaled $356.00 and we expect by the time this is printed to receive the amount from the Association.

Another typical case is that of the firm Himmelstein, 48 Walker St., who discharged their shop chairman, claiming that he insulted the firm in an argument concerning the cost of May celebration. After due investigation the Committee of Immediate Action decided that the shop chairman must be reinstated. The chairman was reinstated but the firm, as a sort of revenge, refused to give him work, though prepared to pay for his time lost. In other words: the firm condemned him in the factory looking on while others were working. We filed a complaint to the Association that the firm does not carry out the decision of the committee and the following letter was sent to the firm:

"In the matter of the decision handed down in regard to the shop chairman who was reinstated, you will please give the man work to do, pending your appeal, if, as you stated, you intend to take an appeal to the Grievance Board.

Kindly see that this order is carried out at once.

Very truly yours,

I. B. HYMAN,
Chairman Wage Scale Board.

S. POLAKOFF,
Chief Clerk of the Union.

W. H. BARTHOLOMEW,
Chief Clerk of the Association."
The firm appealed to the Grievance Board against the Committee's decision. After a full hearing the Board unanimously decided to sustain the action of the Committee of Immediate Action.

Since its appointment by the Wage Scale Board, 45 cases were referred to the committee, mostly complaints as to back pay, unjustifiable discharge and requests for reinstatement, underpayment on settled prices and overtime rates, insults, etc. These were disposed of in the following manner:

- 24 cases were decided in favor of the Union.
- 12 cases were settled satisfactorily to both parties.
- 9 cases were settled satisfactorily to both parties.
- 12 cases are still pending.

In my opinion this committee has done very important work for the organization, and I would especially like to compliment Mr. I. B. Hyman, who acts as its Chairman, on his fairness and impartiality. I trust that the Committee will always do its duty.

(In our next issue Vice-President Polakoff intends dealing with the working of Article 10 and Schedule A. of the Protocol.)

The Problems of the Cutters’ Union
Local No. 10

By JOHN F. PIERCE

Probably never before in the history of the labor movement has a local Union made such progressive strides as the Cutters’ Union of New York, Local No. 10, I. L. G. W. U. Other organizations have had mushroom growths, but none, I believe, have been able to maintain their Unions as well as Local No. 10.

There are many reasons for the perfect organization of the Cutters’ Union. The main reason is that they have had the benefit of long years of experience and the good fortune of competent officers to lead them through their many trying years of existence.

When Local No. 6 was formed in September, 1901, with a few members, there was a Union of Cutters, known as the Manhattan Knicker Cutters’ Assistants, Local No. 17, and also the Gotham Association of Cutters, known as Local No. 15, which had jurisdiction over the Waist and Washable Goods Industry. Local No. 6 had jurisdiction over the Cloak and Suit Industry.

After a short period of activity Local No. 17 went out of business, leaving Locals No. 15 and No. 6 to continue the struggle for better conditions for the Cutters. The harmony necessary for concerted action was not in evidence. There were old sores to be healed and petty jealousies to be lived down which only time and a broader spirit could eliminate.

This gradually came about through committees of the two locals, which met and formed an agreement that a member of Local No. 6 working in a Waist shop must first procure a working card and pay to the local having jurisdiction of that trade 50 cents a month while working.

A member of Local No. 15 working in a cloak and suit shop, had to pay 50 cents a month to Local No. 6 likewise. This agreement continued for some time, but was continually being violated by both sides and led to disagreeable differences.

A Joint Conference Board was then formed, consisting of 3 members from each of the Cutters’ Locals, in New York, Local No. 6 and Local No. 15, the Knickerbocker Association of Shirt Cutters, and also the Amalgamated Cloth Cutters and Trimmers. An effort was made to get the neckwear cutters and an independent union of shirt cutters, but after attending a few meetings they withdrew.

Good work was accomplished by the Conference Board by united action in many cases, and principally by promoting harmonious relations among the cutters of New York. Many members who tried to take advantage of one local by jumping to another were told exactly how far they could go.

The members of the Conference Board saw that by working together many things could be accomplished, and recommended that the two locals, namely, No. 6 and No. 15, of the I. L. G. W. U. should amalgamate, turn in their separate charters and receive one charter, covering all the branches of Ladies’ Gar-
ment Cutters of New York and vicinity. On January 10th, 1906, they formed what is now known as Local No. 10. This in my opinion was the greatest move and the only one to insure continued success in our trade; for the new local immediately started going ahead by leaps and bounds, encouraged by hard and zealous workers who only looked for the success of Local No. 10, until today we have the largest Cutters' Union in the United States.

It is true that the Cloak Strike of 1910 added many members to our rolls, and for the first time gave us complete control of the cloak and suit industry, but we were able to maintain the increase in membership because we had first established a permanent Union and a reputation for being able to transact our business on a business basis. The new members who joined knew that they had joined a strong Union. Our members look with pride to the fact that they are members of Local No. 10 and among some of our best, most loyal and sincere members, are those who joined our ranks in 1910 during our great strike.

Admitting that some of the members who joined in 1910 did violate certain sections of our laws, and thus inflicted hardships on some of our older members, nevertheless, in many cases, it was done through ignorance of organization. When these self-same members were properly instructed as to the necessity of their maintaining conditions, they have invariably been too anxious to obey instructions, and we see today that there is hardly a complaint brought to the office charging violation of such laws and injury to our older members. Immediately after our strike of 1910 there were hundreds of such complaints. The members simply needed education. Identically the same condition of affairs existed in the other trades, which are organized in our local. After the 1910 strike, rules were enacted for the Cloak and Suit cutters and all those of the other trades were allowed to run wild; no attention was paid to them.

It is true that in 1911 and 1912, a weak effort was made to unionize certain shops in the Waist and Dress Industry, but with little or no success; for at the end of the campaign we had probably no more than sixty additional houses giving 50 hours a week. After January 1912, over 750 houses became Union shops without a struggle, giving 50 hours a week and other Union conditions. The same can be said of the Wrapper and Kimono houses, who worked 54 and 60 hours a week, whose hours were reduced to 50 a week. The same happened also in the White Goods and Underwear and Infants and Children's Baby trades, and I may state here that the success of those trades have more cutters employed than Local No. 10 had when it was originally formed.

Many of the people who joined from these trades were sent down by their employer, who did not want any trouble with his help, and those members are what may be termed "Manufactured Union members." They do not possess the feeling of loyalty to the Union which is absolutely essential if we desire to hold our high standard as a trade organization, or continue to say "once a member of Local No. 10 always a member." Those members must be made to feel the necessity of a Union and made aware of our desire to assist in building up every branch of the Cutting trade and not any particular one. We must show them that it is our desire to be fair and just with them in all our dealings, and not that we mean to legislate against them because we outnumber them.

Let us strive to satisfy the rank and file of these different trades, without harming or weakening the local in general. You may ask how can we do it? First let us take the local as it is constituted and see what is now being done to benefit trade conditions in the different branches. After the meeting is called to order, we hear the reading of bills and communications, minutes of previous meetings, a lengthy report of the Executive Committee, report of Special Committee, C. F. U., Joint Board Delegates, etc., reading of new applications and obligations of members, but positively nothing is ever brought up in reference to the Waist and Dress, White Goods or other individual branch of the local.

What do you think will be the feeling of the new member whom we have told that the Union is going to aid him in building up his particular branch of the industry? He will say that we are not doing anything to assist him. We tell him to get on the floor and ask for recognition. But he never has the opportunity, as our time is taken up entirely with detail work. Furthermore, a Cloak and Suit man does not know the conditions under which a White Goods Cutter works, nor does a Wrapper and Kimono Cutter want an Underwear Cutter to legislate for him on the opinion of shop conditions in his trade. They all work under different conditions. A Cloak and Suit Cutter does not have assistants to help
him, and a White Goods or Underwear Cutter has ten to every marker.

For example, let us take the amendment suggested by the constitution committee in reference to the local having five sections, namely, the Cloak & Suit, Waist & Dress, White Goods and Underwear, Wrapper and Kimono and Infant's and Children's Dresses. Each and every one of those sections work under a different agreement as follows:

The Cloak and Suit Cutters receive 50 hours a week, ten legal holidays and $26.00 a week.

The Waist and Dress Cutters receive 50 hours a week, five legal holidays and $25.00 a week.

White Goods & Underwear Cutters have only a two-year agreement and do not work under Protocol conditions. They receive 50 hours a week, ten legal holidays, but have no preferential Union shop, which means that the $25.00 a week standard cannot be maintained. They employ numerous assistant cutters.

Wrapper and Kimono Cutters have 50 hours a week, ten legal holidays, $25.00 a week, for full-fledged cutters, but only receive time and a half for overtime, and employ numerous assistants.

Infant's and Children's Dress Cutters have 50 hours a week, five legal holidays and employ numerous assistants.

Surely the conditions in those trades are not, as we, members of a progressive local, desire. You members of the Cloak and Suit trade are not obtaining all you desire, are you? And if you desire better conditions, do you want an assistant cutter in the Wrapper and Kimono trade to tell you what's good for you: or some branch of the local to tell you what you should have? Would it not be better that members working in your own section of the trade, who know what the conditions in that particular craft are, should discuss what they know to be just and right? That is just what the members in the other branches want.

There is no intention to deny to any member any of the privileges which he now enjoys. If he is a cloak man he may take a job in any of the other branches he is able to work in under the present state of affairs. They further ask to be allowed to have a chairman who is identified with their own particular branch, and a representative of the branch on the Executive Board. Is not this very fair? Surely they should be represented on the Executive Board. If a member violates a certain law of a certain trade, he should at least have some one on the Board who at least knows the trade, being a practical man, working in that branch.

Now, is there anything in this suggestion detrimental to the best interests of the local and for that reason you refuse to adopt it? You have simply said to them, "Taxation without Representation." This is not the real sentiment of our local. I believe it is a snap judgment. These members should be given an opportunity to hold a meeting of their own branch of the industry. Of course, during the period of election, many false impressions are created but do not allow this to sway your good judgment. If we do not grant these members this right to discuss their own problems under the guiding hand of some competent official, we will kill whatever sentiment has been created, and our work will all have to be done over again. Today we have a reputation for being fair and just. Every local of the I. L. G. W. U. looks to Local No. 10 for advice and they follow our footsteps. Do not let us ruin our reputation by being unjust to members of our Union. If you think this might work any injury to your branch of the trade, consult some one of the Constitution Committee, but don't be misled by anyone with ulterior motives. Seek the truth and when found follow it consistently to the very end.

During last month we have organized a Union of Women's Neckwear Cutters, Local No. 108. The members of this new Local are very enthusiastic and determined in their efforts to organize their craft. The installation of Local No. 108 took place Thursday, June 26th. We intend also to get into line the neckwear operators, finishers and other workers in this trade.
Editorial

Mediation Versus Arbitration

Both Professor Hourwich and Zivion have devoted four columns in the New York Post of Friday, June 20th, to our Editorial comment in the June issue of our Journal on "Mediation versus Arbitration." Both admit that mediation is a better method of adjusting disputes than arbitration, but they argue that since we can get no agreement in the Board of Grievances on most questions a deadlock results and there remains one of the two alternatives, either a General Strike or Arbitration; and, since they prefer arbitration to a General Strike, hence this demand for an impartial chairman. In other words, there can only be one deduction from their arguments and that is that if they could come to an understanding through mediation they would rather prefer it; but being unable to do so at the Board of Grievances they want to substitute Arbitration.

The question we ought to ask ourselves is: How is it that most unions in other industries can win by Mediation, and, therefore, prefer it to Arbitration; and why is it an admitted failure in the Cloak and Suit Industry? What is the cause of it? Why has not the Board of Grievances become a dead letter in the other Associations the International Union is dealing with? Why were there no deadlocks at the Board of Grievances in the Cloak Industry the first year or the first two years of its existence? Why has it only lately become so?

Our answer is: The present mediation in the Cloak and Suit Industry has not the ability to mediate. Through mediation in the past the Union has gained control of the membership in the house,
of the Association. The Preferential Shop has become a complete Union Shop in every sense of the term. Those who have been on the Board of Grievances in the Cloak and Suit Trade from its inception know that through mediation we have gained many things which no arbitrator would give us. The abolition of section work has been conceded to us through mediation. The calendar will show that in the largest number of disputes the decision was in favor of the Union. This is a matter which cannot be disputed; there is documentary evidence to prove it. It is only since last year, when the Union made a mistake in appointing as a clerk a tactless outsider, who from the very first day created at the Board of Grievances an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and ill will, and made mediation impossible, that the cry for an impartial chairman has been raised. After the departure of that gentleman the Board of Grievances again began to work satisfactorily. As soon, however, as we got in a new imported gentleman, again an atmosphere of distrust, suspicion and ill will has been created, with the result that we have again a deadlock and a breakdown of the machinery for mediation.

We repeat again that the question of mediation and the question of adjusting disputes depends, in a large measure, on the personnel of the mediators. The present mediators are an impossibility. Mediation is after all a fine art; it is not science. It appears that the present intellectuals and scientists who are at the head of the Cloak Makers' Union are not the proper people for that kind of work. All that is needed to establish friendly relations between the Association and the Union and make the Protocol again a working instrument, through which the Union in the past has gained advantages and which no Board of Arbitration would grant us, is to change the personnel of the mediators. The danger lies in the fact that the Cloak Makers' Union, unlike other organizations in this country or abroad, has adopted a dangerous precedent of having the guidance of the Organization put into the hands of Doctors, Professors, Scientists and Intellectuals who have never in their lives seen the inside of a workshop.

The Cloak Makers' Union will have to resort to the practice of all labor organizations in this country and abroad and to have at their head people whose University has been the workshop. There is nothing else for it. The "Herren Gelehrte" intellectuals and academicians inside the labor organizations have everywhere proved themselves to be a dead failure.

As to Good or Bad Faith

The success of any working arrangement between employers and employees depends ultimately upon the good or bad faith of either party. If there is good will and good faith on both sides there will always be an easy way of avoiding conflicts and coming to a satisfactory adjustment. Paragraphs in the agreement may be altered, arrangements may be changed: when, however, there is bad faith or ill will on either side, then no matter what the arrangements might be, how elaborate your Board of Arbitration be constituted, the arrangements will not work. You can change and amend the Protocol as much as you will, but if there is ill will or bad faith on either side it will be a failure. Now the Joint Board has been working under the Protocol very nearly three years and by this time the membership is entitled to have a definite answer, yes or no. Is there good faith displayed by the Cloak Manufacturers' Association in working the Protocol or not? If there is, then all this
talk of strikes and arbitration is useless and affairs should be arranged amicably. If the Association (we mean the Association as such and not the individual members of the Association) is not acting in good faith, then this Protocol is being used as a means of weakening the Organization and cheating the workpeople, and no amount of tinkering with the Protocol will do. By this time the membership is entitled to know what the Protocol arrangement with the Association means. If it is bad faith, the Protocol must be terminated right away and there is no use talking about changing and conferring. Will the representatives of the Joint Board take the trouble to say yes or no, officially? It is a vital question and every member of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Unions is entitled to have a straightforward answer.

**Arbitration and Class Consciousness**

Our esteemed contemporary the *New Post* which seems to be eager to inculcate in the minds of our members the idea of class consciousness and class solidarity, is never weary of calling the attention of its readers to the fact that the conception of justice of the working class and the conception of justice of the capitalist class as to the workman and employer is radically different. In its editorial of June 14th it dwells upon the fact that the relations between the employer and employee cannot always be decided upon the question of pure justice, that what from the point of view of the laborer may appear to be just and fair, may from the point of view of the employer appear quite the opposite and *vice versa*; that in most cases the final adjustment must be the result of the comparative strength of both parties. We are just now not in a position and not interested to argue this point as to how much truth there is in this assertion. Assuming for the sake of argument that this is true, how then is it that lately the editor of the *New Post* has been advocating the idea of the "impartial chairman" on the Board of Grievances? If the contention is correct that there is an irreconcilable difference in the ideas of justice and fairness between the working people and the capitalists, how then can there be such a thing as an "impartial chairman"? If the adjustment of capital and labor should be based on the strength of both parties, why invoke arbitration in labor disputes at all. Why talk about an "impartial chairman" since there is an irreconcilable difference between the conception of justice of the worker and the employer? The chairman, if he is a workman, will be partial with the workers and the employer will object. If, on the other hand, the chairman should not belong to the working class, then, of course, his decision must naturally go against the workpeople. Again we want to ask the editor of the *New Post* how he can reconcile the two. Consistency, thou art a rare jewel!

**The Intellectuals and the Unions**

Lately the trade unionists have commenced to attract the attention of a class of scientists and journalists who hitherto were busy with the problems of the regeneration of the human race, and who looked upon the trade union movement as a thing of the past trying to convince us that the economic struggle is antediluvian and that unionism, however useful it may have been in the past has become in the present day a useless instrument. Since their prophecies have become falsified and their deductions come to naught, they now commence to give their attention to this movement and lavish upon it a great deal of printers' ink but instead of telling us that we are wasting time, they try in other ways to untie-
mine its influence. One of those intellectuals, Mr. Th. Rothstein, a gentleman who never in his life saw the inside of a work shop, began to write a series of articles on the New and Old Unionism in England, dwelling on the futility of the old form of Unionism. He has not yet described what his new unionism is, but among other evils inseparable from "old unionism" he mentions evils connected with conferences between the representatives of employers and employees. Granting that all the evils attributed to the negotiation and conferences between the officials of employers and the Union be true, this gentleman has forgotten to tell us what else he would do and what is there to replace it. He laments the fact that the masses can only strike, but when it comes to negotiations they are out of it and are compelled to invest their officials with full power and authority. But how else could collective bargaining be carried on if not with the representatives of the employers and employees? Would he, for instance, advise us that all the 50,000 cloak and skirt makers in New York City, should negotiate with their employers? What else is there to be done? Even individual shops, if of any size at all, in order to bargain collectively, must appoint a Price Committee to arrange matters. The workmen know that since the whole shop cannot bargain, they must have a Price Committee that must go to the showroom and there negotiate and bargain over prices. If it is impossible to establish collective bargaining in an individual shop except through a Price Committee how else is it possible to effect collective bargaining in a whole trade with tens of thousands of workpeople and hundreds of employers, except through the responsible officials. Yet this is the kind of literature which Mr. Louis D. Brandeis rightly stigmatized as "mis-education" at the last session of the Board of Arbitration, when referring to most of the "stuff" which so often appears in the columns of the New Post.

* * *

The Protocol

We do not know which party or what person is responsible for designating or naming the agreement which we entered into with the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association in 1910 as the "Protocol." This name has really misled both the public and the manufacturers and the workmen into believing that there is something absolutely new and novel in what seems to us to be an arrangement which is as old as the trade union movement is. The Protocol is an agreement between employers and employees, but instead of being an agreement with a particular employer, it is a collective agreement between the union and a body of employers. By naming it "Protocol" people are led to believe that something new and hitherto unknown has been created for the purpose of establishing peaceful relations between employers and employees, while as a matter of fact wherever the trade unionists have reached considerable powers, you will find the manufacturers have followed the footsteps of the union and have entered into a collective agreement or a Protocol with the Union. We have with us no figures to quote, but any one who knows anything at all about the labor movement is aware that there have been scores of such agreements in England as far back as the middle of the last century and there are such agreements now. If we could banish that name "Protocol" and simply call it a collective agreement we believe a good deal of misunderstanding would disappear and we could then discuss this thing on its merits. As it is, whenever one speaks of the Protocol, it is understood as one particular remedy.
applicable everywhere under all conditions. Whether collective agreements are preferable to individual agreements mostly depends how the agreement is written, what are its provisions, how it is worked and above all whether the people who work it on either side are doing it in good faith. The Protocol like every other agreement can only be successful when both parties live up to its provisions and are willing to carry out the letter and spirit of the same. In the agreements our International Union has entered into with various associations of manufacturers some work better than others and some work very bad.

To illustrate how misleading the word Protocol is you may take this example. For instance, when some of our “kickers” against the Protocol are asked whether they prefer individual agreements with the employer they invariably answer in the negative. This at once shows the absurdity of their complaint against the Protocol. On the other hand, when we hear an outsider speaking of the Protocol, we ask them which Protocol do they refer to and of course, therein lies the whole difference. This is the reason why we believe the word Protocol is so misleading.

A Belated Reply from Local No. 17

We are sorry that we cannot print the article of the Press Committee of Local No. 17 in reply to the statement emanating from the General Executive Board which appeared in the March issue of our Journal about this local. It took the Press Committee of the Reeler Makers’ Union over three months to prepare that statement, and in preparing it not only did they forget the actual statements made in the March article but they must have also forgotten the whole history of that Union. They state, for instance, that the International Union foisted upon them the secretaryship of Mr. Kirschenbaum, or that at one time the Joint Board collected Per Capita in 208 members, 200 of whom belonged to Local No. 17, and 8 to the other four locals comprising the Joint Board. This is an example of statements with which this article brims over. To all specific examples of disobedience cited in the statement of the G. E. B. they plead in experience of the rank and file of the local, and therefore they argue that they should not be accused of disloyalty. To this we say that Local No. 17 is no exception. We have a good many mem-
bers and even locals exhibiting boundless devotion and loyalty whenever they expect something from the International Union, or whenever the advice and orders given by the General Office coincide with the views of the leaders; but this loyalty begins to shake when the International Union demands something from the locals or issues an order which the leaders of the locals think is against their interest. But later on, when they begin to see their errors, they plead inexperience. Yet, if this can be any consolation to Local No. 17, we may say they are not an exception to this form of loyalty.

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Congratulations to our Readers on recent Woman's Suffrage Victories

The recent Suffrage victories in Illinois and at Washington have brought joy to all the real women of the world. We congratulate the women of our Industry.

These victories bring to American Women a sobering sense of responsibility and set them to thinking more seriously and more definitely as to how they shall use their growing political power.

The "Antis" shriek that women are unfit to vote—which is the best reason for thrusting the vote upon them. A child learns to creep by creeping, to walk by walking, to talk by talking, and men and women learn to vote by voting. "Liberals" shudder at the wave of puritanism and reaction which woman's vote is apt to swell, citing such facts as Women's influence in certain American States to enforce prohibition. It is true that these untrained extremists, having a healthy hatred of drunkenness, have jumped to the conclusion that nobody should drink at all—even the Roosevthelian "Milk Punch." We must admit that facts show here and there that woman's vote will for a time tend more definitely to impress woman's peculiar limitations and faults upon the body politic. But it is equally true that these limitations and mistakes of women are the result of her present limited experience and responsibility and woman's peculiar virtues will also be impressed upon the body politic. After the chaos which must inevitably follow any revolution, Woman and Society will be the gainers by the political enfranchisement of the other half (if not the better half) of our population.

For a time women may show themselves politically petty, narrow, sentimental, hysterical. These characteristics are the characteristics of the half-educated, and will disappear with broader opportunities and nobler tasks.

Women will now be courted by party politicians, being "the doubtful voters"; and as our women are pre-eminently conscientious, they will strive mightily to make worthy use of the new power. The ballot, by stimulating women's minds, will compel them to reduce, by judgment, the uncontrolled vehemence of their emotions and passions. Logic alone is sterile. Passion alone is dangerous. But passion tempered and guided by reason spells human development.

* * *

"Law and Order" in the name of "law and order" in New Jersey the citizens are deprived of free speech, free press, the freedom of the Streets, and even the freedom of their own leased lots and hired halls.

In the name of "law and order" in West Virginia men were clubbed out of their home districts, forced to fly to the hills, and there shot down with gatling guns. "Military Law" was declared before any of the civil law measures had been resorted to; and when Senator Bo-
rah asked former Gov. Glasscock why it was that persons arrested on civil warrants were not turned over to civil authorities, Glasscock naively answered: "Let me tell you there were people arrested in Charleston and turned over to Military authority. But they were people we were after—Mother Jones and two others."

It was strictly "Within the Law" when the miners were forced to trade at the Companies' Stores. It was "within the law" when men were even forbidden to go to the depot for their mail and were made to "dig ditches" as a penalty for calling for their mail.

Let the "anarchists"—who violate the fundamental natural rights of man, under the cloak of Law and Order, beware. For while there is a spark of manhood left in any community such tyranny will meet with the mighty forces which ever, in all lands, rise up against oppression.

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The "Captain Kidds" of the Kimono Trade
Exploit Spanish and Turkish Immigrants

By GERTRUDE BARNUM

For bold and daring deeds of highway robbery, Captain Kidd, the famous, would not be "in it" with some of our modern "Captains of Industry."

We recently have been hearing hair-raising tales of Allen Street and vicinity, Manhattan, 1913, which throw the yarns of highway robbers of old quite into the shade! The stories are of enterprising New Yorkers engaged in the Kimono trade. These stories all have much in common; taken compositely they read about as follows:

A poor but proud gentleman robber, possessed of the spirit of "American enterprise," but having no other capital whatever, undertakes the philanthropic task of "furnishing work" to a few immigrants newly arrived from Turkey, Spain, Greece, etc., in this land of opportunity. The opportunity our Hero offers them is that of making Kimonos in a "black-hole-of-Calcutta" back tenement room, from cheap cotton cloth purchased (largely on credit) from a "fire sale." This cotton cloth represents the sole investment of the philanthropic employer. He furnishes the material. And all that the immigrants have to furnish is the rest of the capital for the "plant" and all the skill and labor. They provide machines, needles, money to keep the machines in repair, foot power—besides the skill and labor. That's all. And as the workers get twenty or thirty minutes off for lunch and twenty minutes for supper, and only work from seven or eight in the morning until seven or eight at night, of course they cannot expect to receive a very large proportion of the profits of the enterprise. So far, you will see, this is only "legitimate business," perfectly orthodox—the good old fashioned way that many of the uptown philanthropists of the Ladies' Garment Industry made their "humble beginnings," "got their start," "worked (?) their way up" to Fifth Avenue "ethics." But now we are coming to the rather unique bollix of the Allen Street variety of Robber Kings.

It seems that our Robber Hero's brother-in-law deals in second-hand machines. In the shop window where they are advertised "for sale" they look to the unsophisticated Turkish girl as though they would sew cloth. Our Hero and his brother-in-law, it develops, have a "gentleman's agreement" by which it is arranged that the Turkish girl can buy one of these machines on the installment plan, for a sum never more than twice the price of a new and improved machine. But the Turkish girl must agree to pay for all the breakage which "may occur" (and we may add, which do occur daily). It is part of the bargain (though not explained to the Turkish girl) that when the girl leaves the shop or is discharged for any (or no) reason, the machine does not leave with her, neither does the cash she has invested in it. Oh no! The machine is then seen again temptingly displayed "for
of such cheap grade that she can not make 50 cents per day even at this rush speed. Once she complained. For this she was promptly dismissed. After a day spent at home in fruitless weeping, E. C. dried her tears, swallowed her pride and with flushed cheeks begged for re-employment at her old slavery, sadder and wiser,—"disciplined" to understand the nature of the business. Next to E. C. works a little girl who has recently slipped into a job abandoned by her worn-out, older sister. Already the child stoops. Already she wears glasses as a result of staring at the artificial light glaring on her rushing needle. E. C.'s chum of nineteen summers has spent two years in a neighboring Kimono factory and what with the "discipline," the speeding, the undernourishment, the nose-bleed (which is common in these factories), the chum of nineteen summers looks thirty-five winters old. All these girls contemplate each other with grim stoicism. "There's not to reason why—there's but to do and die." This is business enterprise with a vengeance! A vengeance which will surely find expression, some day.

The East Side Public School teachers often wonder at signs of stupidity in a formerly bright child who, during a previous term had been alert and ambitious. These teachers would be interested in the case of C. B. C. B., a little Spanish girl of fourteen, works in a factory where only a short time ago the boss was fined $25.00 for employing Child Labor. Since that chastisement of her employer, this girl has been going to work straight from school at three o'clock and working always till six, sometimes till seven and eight at night, and on Sundays and holidays she has worked all day. She works at the machine or as "folder." For all this labor she was receiving $1.00 per week. Now, as there are only twelve factory inspectors in a district which should have one hundred, this infraction of the law went on until one of the International Organizers reported it to the Chief Factory Inspector. An agent sent by him then found the little girl in the factory after six o'clock, but she was not caught at work. The boss swore that she was his daughter just come in on an errand from home. The inspector left with a warning to the employer. The pleasing result was that the child was dismissed from the factory but was given unlimited buttons and frog to sew on at her home, for the same $1.08 per week wages.
Then there is the case of Djamila, a beautiful girl with jet hair, alabaster skin and glowing, long-lashed, black eyes. Djamila works all day till six in one factory for five dollars per week and then goes to a hidden back attic, a block away and works till 8 at night. In the day factory, to meet a health board requirement for air, her employer installed an electric fan, but as the workers were charged 5 cents a piece per day when the fan was in use, they voted against it.

There is no steam heat in winter in these factories, so Djamila alternates between catching serious colds in the shop and taking to her bed in the tenement for a fortnight's illness. Djmaila is especially concerned, just now, that she can never afford to take a car to Coney Island on the hot Sundays. To her youthful mind it would seem natural that a girl of nineteen should see something besides the sweatshop, the tenement and Allen Street, before she gets to be an old woman. But any business man would explain that the profits of the business do not warrant such a dream of youth.

Our Robber Hero, not content with stealing the laughter from little children, the beauty from youth's cheeks, the life breath of a young mother's lips in his factory, also prowls through the neighboring tenement, stealing the last fading sight from dimmed by a life-time's tears, looking upon a life-time's tragedies in the third floor rear, at the bedside of a dying daughter, an old mother takes up a spent girl's needle and "finishes" bright, colored kimonos for a pittance, in order to be ready for the undertaker's bill.

Is it strange that while Local No. 49 finds it difficult to organize such a corner of its trade, the Union is now concentrating its efforts on this sore-spot, with special aid from the State Factory Department. A few of the better class manufacturers in this crowded Jewish district have joined the Manufacturers' Association and signed agreements with the Union, and already others are being forced to do the same, or to retire from business, Captain Kidd business. Union girls from this district are being transferred to the up-town factories with union wages and conditions, and this is educating the other poor little slaves of Allen Street and sending them to meetings to find out what this Union is. The Union is their only hope and gradually they will realize it. Then at last our Robber Hero will have to seek, in other lands, for industrial loot.

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The Situation in Boston

By General Organizer ISADORE EPSTEIN

It has long been contended that the highest degree of efficiency in the workings of the Protocol can only be attained when both the Association and Unions are possessed of equal ability and desire to control and discipline their respective membership, and where antagonism and distrust are supplanted by good faith and honest belief. No better evidence of that fact can be shown, than right here in Boston. While practically the same agreement has been signed with the Dress & Waist Manufacturers' Association, as with the Cloak & Suit Manufacturers, the same spirit does not prevail, nor does the same understanding exist.

For the manner of negotiations with the Cloak & Suit Manufacturers' Association, I have nothing but the highest praise, both for the way in which grievances are adjusted, and for the broad-minded spirit in which the officers go about the work. There is no petty attempt to beat around the bush, to hide behind technicalities; on the contrary, every care and conscientious effort is made to adjust all matters over which differences have arisen honestly and fairly, and with a promptitude deserving the most sincere commendation.

I regret very much that I cannot report the same for the Dress & Waist trade. The same Protocol, the same high standards, the same regulations therein contained, but different interpretations, willful misunderstandings and apparent lack of good faith. Result: discord between the clerks and lack of harmony in the Grievance Board. This can be attributed to the fact that there is a woeful lack of cooperation between the Association and the Union. shall I say that the Dress and Suit manufacturers are taking advantage of the situation? Surely they are not so foolish but to realize that the tables are sure to be turned.
The Ladies’ Garment Worker

I wouldn’t want to believe that the Dress & Waist Manufacturers of Boston are anxious to bring about a condition whereby the workers will be compelled to rebel, both against the manufacturers and against the Union leaders. Yet how long do they think can we count on patience? Do they not realize that unless they awake to the responsibilities they have assumed they will have much to answer for?

When we have the spectacle of the Grievance Board assuming the function of a court of appeals, with the manufacturers constituting themselves as the judges and the Union as the appellant, then surely we have a new construction placed upon the Protocol.

I have exerted every fair means to bring the Dress & Waist Manufacturers to a proper realization of their responsibilities. You can see from these statements of fact that it is now the dull season. There is no need for me to add to this.

We have held several conferences with a committee of employers of the West & North End shops, where so-called custom work is made. This committee is supposed to represent an association, that has adopted a name, but refuses to divulge who or what their association consists of, or what it stands for; yet it expects that the Union will relinquish the individual agreements with them and enter into a new general agreement with greatly modified conditions. While they concede that they are violating the individual agreements and will continue to do so, they have the audacity to expect the Union to make a new agreement without guarantee by them of its faithful observance.

We are organizing the Italian workers in a separate branch so that they will be able to conduct meetings in their own tongue, under the proper supervision of the officers, and become acquainted with the constructive work of the Union.

Locals 12, 36 and 73 are in a more flourishing condition than ever before; though some of the notorious “kickers” continue to decry the new method of transacting business with the employers. Local No. 40 is badly in need of a competent woman organizer.

The Ladies’ Tailors, Local No. 36, have already realized their error in withdrawing from the Joint Board. There is some talk of an amalgamation with Local No. 36.

Figures as to Women Workers’ Wages

Chicago department store owners admit that a girl, to live healthfully and morally, requires $8.00 a week—this is for necessities only.

Of nearly 36,000 department store employees in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston, the average weekly wage is $6.13.

Seventy-seven per cent. of the girls working behind the counters get less than eight dollars a week. Just think about that.

It takes eight years for the average girl who works in department stores to reach the point where her wages are eight dollars a week.

The average weekly earnings of women and girls who work in the factories is $4.62 for the first year and $5.34 for the second year.

After ten years of factory work the average pay for women is $8.48 a week; forty per cent. of these women get less than $6.00 a week.

As nearly as can be ascertained about one-fifth of the women and girls who work in stores and factories are entirely self-dependent.

Four-fifths of the girls who work live at home and eighty-six per cent. of them contribute all of their earnings to the family support.

The average weekly earnings of the girls who live away from home and support themselves is $6.67. The average expense for barest necessities is $6.22.

Sixty-two per cent. of the working girls, according to the Government’s recent report, say that they spend no money for pleasure.
O sorrowing hearts of slaves
We heard you beat from far
We bring the light that saves
We bring the morning star;
Freedom's good things we bring you
Whence all good things are.
—Swinburne.

THIS IS WORTH WHILE TO REMEMBER

There are many among the American working girls today who think that trade unionism among women workers is something new, something very modern. Some of them seem to think that this movement is only a few years old, and that it has been introduced by foreigners. A few facts regarding this vital subject will, it seems to me, not be out of place.

In the report on "Women and Child Wage-earners, Volume X, History of Women in Trade Unions," issued by the Senate Committee of the 61st Congress, the authors say:

"Organization among women workers, contrary to the general impression, is NOT new. Women from the beginning of the trade union movement in this country, have occupied an important place in the ranks of organized labor. For eighty years and over, women wage-earners in America have formed trade unions and gone on strike for shorter hours, better pay and improved conditions. The American labor movement had its real beginning about the year 1825. In the same year the Tailoresses of New York formed a Union."

Those of us who are more or less acquainted with the history of women in industry know that from the year 1825 to the year 1869 working women—American working women, were actively engaged in forming unions of their respective trades, thereby improving their conditions.

Those were the women who possessed the REAL American spirit. For they resisted reduction in wages. They fought for shorter hours. Even then the American working women understood the importance of organization and the great necessity of combining their forces regardless of nationality, race or creed.

Those women were proud of the fact that they belonged to the producing class; they knew that "honor is with labor." They did not allow any employer to trample upon their rights.

The working women in those days did not fear the employer, as so many of the girls do today. In those days the working girl did not consider her employer above herself.

Let me, if you will, illustrate to you the spirit of those women, by citing a resolution which was adopted at a meeting of American women engaged in the shoe making trade, in the year 1860. The resolution speaks for itself.

"Whereas, we have been sensible of the need of protecting our rights and privileges, as free-born women, and are determined to defend them and our interests as working women to the fullest extent of our ability; be it therefore

Resolved, that we, the working women of Lynn, employed in the Boot and Shoe Industry, do enter a most solemn protest against any reduction in wages, on any pretext whatever; and we will not submit any rules binding us that does not equally effect our employers."
Resolved, that we will not submit to rules that tend to degrade and enslave us.

Resolved, that we will not accept any terms whatever, either with regard to a reduction in wages or notices to quit. While we utterly ignore the spirit of selfishness and illiberality which prompted the late action of our would-be oppressors, we will not hesitate to resist, in a proper manner, the unjust encroachment upon our rights.

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be given to each girl in every shop, and her signature obtained, that she will adhere to the terms of this resolution, and should anyone of the employees of the shop be reduced in her wages, or ill treated we will resist from our work until she has obtained her rights.”

The spirit of this resolution is one of solidarity and of unity. “All for one and one for all,” was the slogan of the working women in those days.

Alas! How many American working women are there today who are imbued with that magnificent spirit? How many American working girls are there today who will gather to protest against low wages and long hours? Very few, indeed, except those who are organized, of course. In our garment industry very few American girls have realized the great need for united action. Many of them are still under the impression that a union is either for men or for foreigners. Yet, that they are, as Americans are at times, more exploited than the foreign girl is simply because the foreign girl, like the American girl of 1890, has learned to resist oppression.

But we do not despair. With the formation of the American Branch of Local No. 25 a beginning has been made to organize the American girls in the garment industry. This branch will, to be sure, do all it can to make their sisters understand that to belong to the Union is American; that to fight for better conditions is in harmony with the American spirit.

Among the Waist Makers, Local No. 25

We have great hopes that you sisters of the American Branch of Local No. 25 will do your duty as Union women in getting the rest of your shop-mates organized, and thereby becoming a part of the greatest movement on God’s earth—the Labor Movement.

Last week, the writer of these lines spent a few days in the office of the Union. It truly does one good to see how the Waist Makers have at last learned to use their combined forces for their own benefit. No longer individual bargaining; no longer individual “kicking”; no longer “I and myself, and the devil take the rest.” This attitude among the Waist Makers is gone. And it is because they have substituted COLLECTIVE for individual bargaining that they are now a power to be reckoned with.

We want to hope that within a very short time the entire trade will be under the control of the Union.

On the evening of Decoration Day, the Union gave an entertainment and dance which was a great success. The spirit that prevailed at that dance was one of harmony and good fellowship.

A number of meetings are being called for the purpose of discussing the advisability of holding separate meetings of the various parts of the trade.

Also big membership meetings are being planned for the purpose of nominating officers and Local Executive Board.

Aside from the American Branch of Local No. 25 there has also been established an Italian Branch which meets separately, but is represented on the Executive Board. One more Italian organizer has been added, a woman, Miss M. Dedony, who will devote her time in getting the Italian girls lined up.

The American Branch, too, is growing in numbers. With Miss Phelps as secretary and Miss Harvey as president, we may expect great things.

To use one of Jack London’s terms, Marie Harvey has “made good.” She has made good not only as a member of the Union, but also as a clerk. It is a pity that women like Miss Harvey were not in our ranks long before. Our movement needs such women and such women need the movement as well. For it is in this movement of ours that women like Miss Harvey can give expression to their abilities and powers. It is in this movement that they really assert themselves.

There is a great deal of work yet to be done within the Waist Makers’ Union. There are the American girls to be organized. There is the membership to be educated to the value of organization. We, therefore, feel that women like Miss Harvey will make a study of the Labor Movement, its import and whole object, and will go forth to spread the knowledge to those who need it most.

We are glad to have you in our ranks Miss
THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

Harvey. And we want you to be with us to do the great work that leads to the final emancipation of the working class.

MARIE HARVEY

I want to urge upon every Waist Maker to read the report of Brother Polakoff. It is important and interesting. And you should know what he has to say about your own Union.

Send all communications pertaining to this department to Pauline M. Newman, 32 Union Square, Room No. 1017, New York City.

The American Branch of the Ladies' Waist and Dress Makers' Union, Local 25, has held its formal "Coming Out Party." The festive occasion was a Shirt Waist Dance at Murray Hill Lyceum, Monday Evening, June 2nd, and from all accounts the affair was in every way worthy of these "true daughters of the American Revolution" as they have recently been called.

The two clouds over the brightness of the occasion were the absence of Josephine Casey, who organized the branch, and Marie Harvey, the chairlady.

The name of Josephine Casey was on everyone's lips, for to her faith and untiring devotion are mainly due the existence of the Branch to which she gave the very last of her strength, before a complete breakdown in health.

There was consolation for Miss Harvey's absence, in the knowledge that she was representing the Branch and the International at the National Convention of the Women's Trade Union League in St. Louis.

The Ball Committee consisted of the officers of the Branch, Misses Harvey and Phelan, and the following other ladies: Misses Hanley, Klinger, Riddell, Daly, Scully and Barnum. They held three meetings and the result was that every detail of the party ran smoothly and successfully.

A short address of welcome was given by Miss Gertrude Barnum, International Organizer; Miss Zona Gale, the famous American authoress, made a happy speech of elaboration and two soprano solos were furnished by Miss Klinger. Among the other guests of the evening were Mr. Albert A. Edwards, author of "Comrade Yetta," a story dealing with a New York girl garment worker; Mr. Hugh Frayne of the American Federation of Labor; Mr. Rodriguez, a delegate from the Prine Union; Mr. Huesch, Hamilton Holt, and other well known New York publishers, literary and professional men and women.

The arrival of a large delegation from the Cutters' Union, Local No. 10, added the finishing touches to the hilarity.

Financially as well as socially the event was a complete success.

Among the Wrapper and Kimono Workers

This local is now busy organizing the Syrian and Spanish people of the trade. There are several thousands of them who are still to be organized and we have no doubt that the local will accomplish a great deal in that direction.

The International Union has engaged a Spanish organizer, who, together with the organization committee of the local and Miss Barnum, are busy making plans to give of these two elements.

The organizers are also busy unionizing the rest of the Association shops.

The meetings of the Union are well attended and it seems that the method of devoting one hour for business and the other hour for short talks on different subjects works well.

Considering that the season is almost over, the activity of the local is splendid.

Keep up the good work, all of you who are members of Local No. 41.

Among the White Goods Workers, Local No. 62

Some firms who have settled with the Union in their recent strike have established factories out of town. Perhaps these gentlemen thought that the Union would not come to follow them there, and they would be left...
alone to deal with their employees. But if
they thought so, they were mistaken, indeed.
For the Union is going to direct its activities
in those towns where these new factories have
been started, and it will see to it that the girls
there are not underpaid. You can’t get away
from the Union, Mr. Employer. And there is
really no use in your trying. The Union is
here to stay and to organize all workers of
the trade, whether in New York or elsewhere.

**ANNIE WEINSTEIN**

As a result of her activity in the recent
strike of the White Goods Workers, Annie
Weinstein was sentenced to, NINETY days
imprisonment, and was sent to the peniten­
tiary at Blackwells Island.

Blackwells Island is not a proper place for
a girl of eighteen to be sent to. The rules
and regulations are simply damnable and mean.
For instance: The prisoners are not allowed
to read anything but English books; they are
given one hour’s work in a whole day; they
are not allowed to write to their friends more
than once a month. In the open they are al­
lowed to be two hours each day. The rest of
the long day is spent in the solitary cell.

Now while we have no objection to the
English language, we think it outrageous to
deprive a prisoner of reading altogether, if
she can’t read English. Suppose Annie has
not as yet the chance to learn the English
language, is she, therefore, to be deprived of
books and reading, which would be such a
great help to pass the time. Reading books
which you love, in a language you understand,
is a great joy at any time, but especially so
when one is imprisoned and there is nothing
else to do, and no one to talk to.

Or, think what a relief it would be for
Annie if she could write to her friends every
day! How much better she would feel could
she give expression to her thoughts and feel­
ings! But the authorities say that she must
not, and we are asked to respect and abide by
these harsh rules and unjust regulations!

Annie was charged with assaulting a scab.
We are not prepared to say whether she did
or not. We do know that Annie was in
the midst of a bitter fight, and that she
fought as best she knew how.

In times of peace we can well afford to
assume an attitude as that of Christ and forgive
—even a scab. But in time of war it is almost
impossible.

The sentence passed on Annie was wrong
and unjust. The whole system under which
a young girl in her teens may be subjected to
such inhuman treatment is wrong and unjust.

Annie is not the first one in the Movement
who suffers for the Cause of Labor and by
no means the last one. For, just as long as
this conflict between the oppressed and the
oppressors will continue, just so long will
there be men and women who will be ready
to sacrifice themselves for the Cause which
aims at the elimination of exploitation and
injustice.

Let the authorities jail individuals like An­
nie. They cannot, no matter how they would
like to, jail their splendid fighting spirits.
All honor to you, sister. We are with you.
Be it on the picket line or in your present
solitude and sorrow.

Be strong and keep a brave heart and may
you never regret the fact of having partici­
pated in the great struggle for Freedom and
Justice.

Plans are being made to hold a propaganda
meeting in Cooper Union for the purpose of
reporting to the girls what Local 62 has ac­
complished for them since their strike.

The picnic of the above Union will be held
on the 19th of July, at Glenlake Schuetzen
Park. Arrangements are being made to have
all kinds of attractions that will give enjoy­
ment to the visitors. A big crowd is expected.
And if Nature will be good to the White Goods Workers' Union their expectations will, no doubt, come true.

* * *

Among the Kalamazoo Corset Workers, Local No. 82

News has reached us that the above local has again taken up the fight against the Kalamazoo Corset Co. May their efforts be crowned with success.

Six members of the above local who have proven to be tireless workers for the Cause all through the fight, are again out on the road to carry on the boycott.

Their fight is a just one. Business firms which intend to grow, and prosper in riches, by paying to their employees starvation wages, have no right to exist. And the sooner they are put out of business the better for all concerned.

Some members of the Union feel confident that it is only a matter of time, before the Kalamazoo Corset Co. will be a thing of the past. Amen.

Keep it up, girls, and remember that your time, nor your efforts are wasted.

* * *

When You Have Time to Read

Here is a book which you ought to read. Nay, you MUST read it. I say you MUST because I feel that by reading this book you will learn many new things. And we must always be ready to learn.

This book is called 'Women in Industry' by E. Abbott. In this book you get a real history of the fight for the Cause. It is interesting and of great importance to you.

Now I had better tell you right now that this book is not a novel. And some of you may find the book at times "dry". But if you want to know something about women in industry you will have to put up with it.

The book is rather expensive. But you don't have to buy it. Go into the library. The Rand School. Get it. Or in any other library for that matter. Read it carefully and we would be glad to hear how you liked it.

DO YOU WEAR A PIN OR A BUTTON BEARING THE EMBLEM OF YOUR INTERNATIONAL UNION?

IF NOT? \ WHY NOT?

Get one from your Local Secretary and show your employer and your shopmates that you are a loyal member of your organization.

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לע"ה"ה הער请注意，这段文本可能是手写的，由于字迹不清或字体较小，可能会导致部分文本无法准确识别。若需要进一步的帮助，建议使用扫描工具或提供更清晰的图像。
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שנואר אטרנוקה באראבך קקנופמקבע

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—from תַּמְדִינַן לֶעָלָתָן יֵינַן בֶּה רַמְכִּיתָן
אין עניין. על אף הנוכחות האפשרית של יותר מחמש מגזינים שפועלים בענף, בנקאים ישנה התחרות בינו לבין עצמם. מקובלpreneקArk סטודנטים שaska עניין מאופיין כ" assay בנקאים ששקה"ה. מעמדו ה挖掘 הוא בכמה בנאים, כך שה banc תוצאותיו של הבנק מחכים לפרסום, ולא ס tenga מסוים של עניין. 

אך בנקאים ישנה התחרות בין עצמן. 

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אין טקסט נатурלי שניתן לקרוא מ страницת הפורמט מוגבל של התמונהMBEDDEDasset.png
אני לא יכול לקרוא את התוכן המוצג בתמונהPRI.
א בריתות מעבר לים

ב. מ. א

בריתות החברות החקלאיות

א. הבריתות החקלאיות הוקמו באירופה החל מאמצע המאה ה-19, כשהם התמקדו בחקלאות הפרטית והחברונית.

ב. בבריתות החקלאיות נשים השתתפו באופן פעיל בפעילות יום יום, הן בתחום חקלאות והן בתחום כלכלי.

ג. הבвшие שנחקקה בין עצמות הארצותillary דシンד ליון

ד. הבנת הבריתות החקלאיות הוקמו בבריתות החקלאיות במה שהושפע מהתרבות וה郪וה של תקופת הביניים, כשהם התמקדו בחקלאות הפרטית והחברונית.

ה. הבנת הבישות שנחקקה בין עצמות הארצותiliary דシンד ליון

ו. הבנת הבישות שנחקקה בין עצמות הארצותiliary דシンד ליון

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כ. הבנת הבישות שנחקקה בין עצמות הארצותiliary דシンד ליון

ג. הבנת הבישות שנחקקה בין עצמות הארצותilia
אין טקסט נ楽しめる
דהו התれます והרות? 

יר קוקס באנטיפטריסטרופ לשון דעה.

סגורים

יר הקוה גלים ומפרים ממעטפת

Here are the first few sentences of the Hebrew text:

וזהו הערות והרות? 

אמרוUTION

וזהו הערות והרות? 

אמרוUTION
8 בירעה פון סמסא

 pł לאראציוון איויזיה תעשישית

יש实训ג חס הידע והידע הידע הידע הידע הידע הידע הידע הידע הידע

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תכלות נסיך המחברות, קינון בר

50

לאה נסיך נשלמך בבר

6

(25) (2)

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17

(32) (2)

��י

19

(34) (3)

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51

(40) (9)

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5

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607

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22

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567

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116

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195

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567

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214

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409

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11

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אף על פי כן י avaliação נשלמה בבר

אף על פי כן י שימור נשלמה בבר

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אף על פי כן י שימור נשלמה בבר
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וְיִכְרָאֵל לֹא הַרְשָׁעָה שֶבֶר וּפָרָנָה.

(יִכְרָאֵל)
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(פּרֶשֶׁת הַרְאָבָנְבִּיכָה)

דִּינְכֹּסְתַּשׁ אֶקְלָאָנְסְתַּשׁ

וְנַעֲשֶׁנָּהוּ אַסָּפָרֵי אַנְהִיָּאִים אַףּ כְּחִמְלָא, וְנַעֲשֶׁנָּהוּ אַסָּפָרֵי אַנְהִיָּאִים אַףּ כְּחִמְלָא.

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דר ליידי נואשנעמ האראכ

אני א 사람이 שואל ומעודע בהדרה, אני בן האמצעי والاмыслיל חלק."כטנה

אני לא ידע כלום לשון או סבריהם, שהם כלים של אדם יש הטבילהנים

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אלה מלך האינטראקטיבי. זה הוא מה שיש להרימינו בהדרה. זה

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אני לא ידע כלום לשון או סבריהם,协商他们</raw_text>
uerdo ליום נאסרום והקרבה

shed 문 출시 되어 고양이와 인간의 상호작용을 향상시켰습니다. 이제 고양이와 인간의 관계는 더 가까워졌습니다.

shed 문 출시 이후 많은 고양이와 인간이 사용하고 있는 것을 확인할 수 있습니다.

shed 문 출시로 인해 고양이와 인간의 관계가 더욱 가까워졌습니다.
ז'א רַוִּדִים נַעֲשַׂנִים וְאָרְאֵנוּ

אָמַּתִּים שָׁמֵשִׁים מִשְׁפַּטָּן עַל עִנְיָנֵּנִים וְעָלַיִם אֶל אָרְאִין

כֹּל צְפֵנָיִם וְצִפְיָהוֹת

אִי-יָפָניקָה אוֹ הַיּוֹם קָדָם מִי הָיָה מֵאֲשֶׁר צָרָיךָ לֹא שָׁם לֹא קָדוּם

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אִי-יָפָנֵי-אֲשֶׁר צָרָיךָ לֹא שָׁם לֹא קָדוּם וְזָרָא

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אִי-יָפָנ
ערימאוריים

אינני יכול לקרוא את הכתובת הלועזית מאלה.
19 13

"ר"ו ל"ד א"עב א"ברע

ז"ג 64

"ז"א מ"ז יולדה

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50. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע

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1. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
2. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע
3. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
4. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע
5. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
6. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע
7. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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9. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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11. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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13. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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15. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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17. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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23. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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25. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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27. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
28. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע
29. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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31. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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33. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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37. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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39. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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41. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
42. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע
43. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
44. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע
45. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
46. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע
47. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
48. ר"ע"ג ב"ז א"ברע
49. מ"א האדוניות ב"ז א"ברע
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