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The LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

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Executive Board and Officers of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union of Seattle, Wash., Local No. 28.—John A. Dyche, Ab. Rosenberg and Meyer Rosenberg in centre of second row.
My Tour in Europe

By JOHN A. DYCHE

THE ITALIAN AND SPANISH TAILORS.

I am told that in the “Freue Arbeiter Stimme” and other revolutionary papers, published in this country, there appeared glowing accounts of the revolutionary and syndicalist unions in Spain and Italy; and that the great progress they have made by means of “direct action” and “sabotage.” If those reports are true, then this wonderful progress must have taken place in industries outside of the tailoring trade.

On Friday afternoon, July 20th, after the question of the Russian immigrants was disposed of, the question of organizing the Italian and Spanish tailors was discussed at some length. Dumas, the delegate of the French tailors, complained of the immigration of Italians to Paris and of Spanish tailors to the South of France. The majority of them, he said, were not at all acquainted with and had heard nothing of the trade union movement. From the discussion it appeared that there was no trace of Unionism among the tailors in Spain and in Italy. Venice and Rome seemed to be the only places having a group of organized tailors. It was finally agreed to devote 1,000 marks for the purpose of sending an organizer to Italy to preach the gospel of Unionism among the tailors of that country, so that when they migrate to France or America, the work of unifying them should not be so difficult. With this the Friday afternoon session closed.

DEBATE ON HOMEWORK.

Before leaving, Poluo, the interpreter, told me that Saturday morning the session would open with a speech by the chairman of the Austrian tailors, Brothc Smilka, a member of the Austrian Parliament, on the question of “homework.” He informed me that he had seen the typewritten text and that as far as he had been able to judge, it was a very interesting address. It so happened, however, that I had to go to the bank that morning to get cash. The banks in Vienna open at 8 a.m., and since the lecture was scheduled for 9, I thought I would be able to get back on time for it. But when I handed my order to the bank clerk, instead of giving me the money, he asked me to be seated and handed me some journals to read. I was in despair. I was about two miles away from the convention hall and it appeared that I would not get there in time to hear the address. After waiting a good while, the clerk handed me a piece of paper to sign, and when I asked for the money he told me to be patient. As I became very restless, the clerk, who noticed my nervousness, said: “I see you are very impatient, but it cannot be helped. The matter must go through a few hands before you can get the cash.” Finally a slip of paper was handed me with No. 16 on it and I was told to go to a certain department for the money and wait my turn. Well, it is needless to say that I arrived at the convention hall in time to hear Brother Smilka sum up his address. From this I gathered that besides the necessity of organizing the homeworkers in a union, he dwelt on the great importance of political action for the passing of laws restricting “homework,” providing for the sanitation of the
where the work is made and establishing a minimum wage for such workers.

Then Brothers Sabbath and Stahmer followed. Both of them disagreed with Smirka, and dwelt on the futility of political or legislative action for the purpose of improving the conditions of the tailors or combating evils of "homework." Stahmer said that outside of the Workmen's Compensation Law and the Insurance Laws which Germany considers as the best in Europe, the factory laws of his country were behind those of every civilized country. Sabbath went even farther. He spoke against political action as a means of improving the conditions of the journeymen tailors. The German politician will promise you everything when he seeks your franchise, but as soon as he gets into power he always finds very good reasons for not keeping his promise. And when he wants to secure re-election he finds equally good reasons why he is sure that next time he will do better. There was only one way, concluded Sabbath, how to abolish the evil of homework, or to better the conditions of the tailors, and that was by Unionism and organization. Politics had proved to be a dead failure in Germany as far as their trade was concerned. Their factories and their homes were overcrowded and the conditions unhealthy and unsanitary. He was convinced from past experience that it will always remain so, until the people will realize that only through organization can they combat this evil. Dumas also speaks on the question of homework, and it was interesting to learn that Faquise and other large firms, the creators of styles, have their models made by homeworkers, mostly Russian Jews, who prefer to work at home rather than in the factory.

I spoke the last on this proposition in German, and my speech, as the French newspapers afterwards reported, made the strongest impression upon the Congress.

Having become accustomed to their method of discussing at random, I also took the opportunity of speaking in the European style, not confining myself to any particular subject. I gave them an outline of our International Union and a short history of its growth. I told them that in spite of the agitation conducted against the sweating system—tenement house and homework carried on in this country for over a century—despite the sermons from the pulpit against it, the work of the settlement workers and the agitation of the reformer, there had been more "homework" in the city of New York in the period immediately preceding July 7th, 1910, the date of our calling the General Strike, than ever before. Not only would every tailor take with him a bundle of work to his home, but in many instances the operator would have two machines, one in the factory and one at home. When he was through in the factory he would return to his home and work in the evenings, and also Saturdays and Sundays. Our General Strike accomplished more than all of the "good people" have done in the whole century in this respect. "Homework," I said, is a danger to our evil and needs radical remedies. I expressed my doubt, however, as far as the German and the Continental Unions were concerned, with their multifarious forms of benefits, their slow methods, and their scientific speculations—whether they could deal effectively with such a great evil. Drastic revolutionary measures were necessary to abolish nothing short of a General Strike can do it.

"If you Germans tell us," I said, "that you have tried the means of a General Strike and failed, there is no reason why it should not be tried again. We also had general strikes that had been failures. As to political action," I said, "you Germans claim that your despotic and undemocratic form of government makes it impossible to carry out legislation for the benefit of the workers. We in America have the most democratic legislation in the world, but legislation affecting our trade has been just as futile as in Germany and Austria. Only by direct action have we been successful and if you will try effectively to do this in Europe, I am inclined to believe that you will get good results."

A resolution was then proposed, urging the necessity of more effective work in organizing the homeworkers. I told the convention that I could not vote for it. Of course, I would not vote against it. In our organization, I said, homework is prohibited altogether, I therefore could not consistently vote for the improvement of the homeworkers' conditions.

After I had finished my speech, Delegate Margraff, from Switzerland, confessed that the American Delegate was a surprise to him and be admitted that American Unionism seemed
something quite different from what he was led to believe. All he knew about the American Unions was that they were closed corporations charging prohibitive initiation fees and led by Samuel Gompers, who was the tool of the capitalists. What he had heard from the American Delegate, a conservative trade union leader, had convinced him that his opinion of the American Trade Unions was wrong.

In reply, I said I must return the compliment. The conference was an eye-opener to me. At that convention, where every member was either a Socialist or a Revolutionist, I had learned that their methods were so conservative that I felt sure no American Union would stand for them a moment. When the convention was over I asked Brother Margraf how it was that he had such fantastic notions of the American Trade Unions. He said: "I occasionally read the New York 'Volkszeitung,' and very often we have translations in our papers of articles from the New York 'Call' on the American Trade Union movement." So that our readers can see what kind of information these newspapers give and how they misrepresent the movement.

THE CONGRESS ADJOURNS.

A few more resolutions were passed before the convention adjourned. One was that the per capita should be increased from one-fifth to two-fifths of a cent per year. I advocated a whole cent per member, for I thought that if the Secretariat is to be useful at all it must have means to exist and do its work. One-fifth of a cent, I thought, was a joke.

There was a scrap as to the languages the Report of the Secretariat was to be printed in. The Germans contended that German and English would be enough, for there were so few French workers represented at the Congress. I argued that since those three languages were known to be international languages, French should be included, for if the question of languages should be decided upon by the number of members represented at this Congress, the Report should also be printed in Yiddish, for there were more Yiddish-speaking workpeople represented at the convention than any other nationality. It was finally agreed to have the transactions of the Secretariat published in three languages.

Another resolution was adopted to the effect that the interchange of cards and honoring of transfers should be extended only to organizations affiliated with the Secretariat.

As to the composition of the Secretariat it was decided that instead of Brother Stuhmer being the only recognized official, two more members should be added, namely Brothers Sabbath and Tulfs. At this the Chairman proposed that the selection of the two other members should be left to the General Executive Board of the German Tailors' Union. I objected to such proceedings, for I did not care to have people act as officers of the Secretariat whom no one at the convention, outside of the few German officials, knew. I argued that while I had no reason to distrust any of the gentlemen they had in mind, still, although I did not come from Missouri, I wanted to see the people who were to be entrusted with authority before I vote for them.

Denmark was selected as the next country for the convention in 1916, and the Congress adjourned.

Sunday was a fearful day in Vienna. It was very disagreeable and I was compelled to spend the day indoors, addressing cards and pictures of the convention to my friends in America. By the way, these people had made no arrangements whatsoever for taking a photograph of the convention, but I told the boys that were I to return to America without a photograph of the convention, no one would believe there had been a convention at all, and they might think the whole thing a story. I had some difficulty in getting them together for a photograph, for they were not accustomed to having their conventions photographed.

DEMOCRACY HERE AND ABROAD.

I quite realize that one cannot measure the achievements of the Trade Union Movement in Continental Europe by American standards. European countries are practically armed camps. Wherever you go you see regiments of soldiers marching, marching to and fro. A great portion of the wealth produced in those countries goes towards keeping up armies, building forts and men-of-war. The workers of those nations are burdened by traditions and ancient customs. It is impossible for them to have the form of democracy to which we are accustomed here in this country. The
German Unions are making slow progress because the Germans are known for their cautious and slow methods of doing business. Red tape, formality and officialism are part of the very life of the German nation. Even when a German becomes a Socialist and a Trade Unionist, he is still a German, and a change of political faith of the German person cannot change his psychology.

It was a great revolution that gave birth to the American nation. It was originally composed of pioneers who had to fight with nature to make it habitable, but they did not have to fight with traditions, castes and classes. The Americans by nature are aggressive and therefore the American people are temperamentally revolutionists. It is natural that the labor movement in this country should be more aggressive and more go-ahead than in Europe. I only find fault with some of our Socialist friends who put up the German Unions as a model of progress in and find fault with our Trade Unions for their conservatism. They do so, simply because they know nothing of the European Trade Union Movement. Before any of these gentlemen begin to compare the progressism of the European Socialist Trade Unions and the conservatism of the "Pure and Simple" American Unionism, we should tell them to please go to Germany and study the methods of the Unions there.

INCIDENTS IN ITALY.

During the convention the French and English delegates invited me to lecture before their members on the work of our International Union. I accepted the invitation. The first lecture was arranged for Monday, July 29th, to be delivered to the Jewish immigrant tailors in Paris. Brother Flynn, of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, told me that he would hire a large hall if I would lecture to the Yiddish-speaking tailors about the work of our International Union and our Protocol.

I had before me a whole week. At first I intended to go to Berlin to look into the conditions of the ladies' garment industry, but since the German delegates to the convention told me that they would not be there for two weeks and that their General Executive Board was having a meeting in Frankfort, I decided to leave Berlin alone and move westward. I was told, however, that the only place in Europe where one could keep warm was Italy; and as I wanted to cure the cold I had contracted in Vienna, I decided to go to Italy on my way to Paris, which meant $12.00 extra.

So on Monday night, the 21st of July, I took the train for Venice and arrived there in the morning. For the first time during my stay in Europe did I encounter sunshine and warmth. I visited many places of interest with the assistance of a guide, including the wonderful art treasures of St. Mark's, the Dodge Palace. I spent the night on the Plaza De San Marco, on which about 100,000 people were congregated, most of whom were foreigners and about one-half of them speaking English. I listened to an orchestra of 150 instruments and later in the evening watched the wonderful effect of the moonlight on the Grand Canal.

At eight o'clock in the morning I took a train for Milan, where I arrived at mid-day and visited the celebrated Milan Cathedral, the Cathedral of 2,800 statues. Those Italians are curious people. I was looking for the office of the North German Lloyd Shipping Agency, to reserve a berth for my homeward journey, situated at the Gallerie di Vicente Emanuel and could not locate it. It is a huge arcade, in the form of a cross, covered with glass and having stores and cafes on both sides. I tried to make myself understood to the first person I encountered, with my stock of half a dozen French words. The gentleman who readily consented to be my guide, also experienced some difficulty in finding the place.

After a good deal of trouble, I finally located the office. We arrived there about ten minutes after one p.m., but were informed that it was dinner hour, during which time the offices in Italy are closed. The Italian who accompanied me bowed and thanked me profusely for having wasted half an hour of his time and giving him a chance to show me the place.

I went to a restaurant for lunch and it was very interesting to watch the landlady in an excited discussion with two gentlemen, one almost a youngster and the other quite an elderly man. Of course, I could not understand Italian, but I knew the subject of the conversation had reference to the decline of the population in France and the poverty in Italy. One would imagine that no one could get excited over a subject of that kind, but the trio kept...
up an animated discussion, and at times I thought they would come to blows. This endless discussion in which I found them engaged when I entered still continued when I left, only the personnel changed.

While slowly walking up the tower of the Milan Cathedral, I noticed someone walking in front of me. When I reached his side I asked him whether he could speak English, for I was getting so lonesome with no one to talk to.

"I do," he answered, and told me where he came from, and his reply was: "The United States."

"So do I," I said.

"What part of the United States may I ask?"

"New York."

"So do I."

"What part of New York?"

"The Bronx."

"So do I."

It turned out that he was a member of the German Typographical Union and that he lived within a few blocks from my home. He was well acquainted with the movement on the East Side and elsewhere.

A similar curious incident occurred to me in Paris on Sunday, July 24th, on the top of Eiffel Tower. I was watching an aeroplane in the clouds and looking around me I noticed a New York friend of mine whom I missed for the last three years and could not locate.

"How do you do, Harry?" I asked. "How are you?" he said. "I suppose your telepathic soul told you that you would meet me on top of this tower."'

The next few days I spent in Lucerne, where my relatives, who live in Paris, were stopping for a vacation. The weather was disagreeable all along. On Saturday, the 27th, it was rather pleasant. We went around and viewed the wonderful hotels and fashionable ladies promenading and admiring the beauty of the Alps. To confess, I felt out of my element and rather uncomfortable there. I then realized what a misfortune it would be if I should suddenly come into possession of lots of money and perhaps having to spend my time promenading fashionable watering places. It was a sort of a relief to get back to Paris and plunge into the "Movement."

(To be continued.)

Collective Agreements in the United Kingdom—their Form, Scope and Working

by Sidney Webb, L. L. B.

(Author of "Industrial Democracy," "History of Trade Unionism," Etc.

and William Mellor, B. A.

A Series of Twelve Articles for the "LADIES' GARMENT WORKER."

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(Expository Article.)

We propose in this series of articles—which we gladly contribute to so enterprising a Trade Union organ as the "Ladies' Garment Worker"—to describe both the form and the substance, and also the actual working, of Collective Agreements between employers and employees in the United Kingdom.

These Collective Agreements now existing in every industry, framed in nearly all cases by the Employers' Association and the Trade Union meeting on terms of equality, have not been achieved without a struggle. But the struggle is now, for the most part, over. The principle of collective bargaining may be said now to have won almost universal acceptance in the United Kingdom. Here and there, it is true, the struggle for "recognition" still lingers on, but in almost all the great in-
industries, the employers and the Trade Union officials meet to discuss differences relating to Hours, Wages, Conditions of Labor, and even other questions involving alteration in the very Management of the enterprise.

What is it that has compelled the Employers to "recognize" the Trade Unions, and consent to what they call "an outside body" coming between them and their "Hands"? This has come about by the collective agreements between organized Labor and organized Capital being on the whole honored by those who are parties to them. Such agreements mean that production goes on more smoothly than before; and employer and employed, for the sake of what is conceived as their common interest, adopt a policy of mutual consideration or compromise which at least makes life more bearable for both.

But, besides this willingness to appreciate a different point of view, which is the apotheosis of Common Sense, there lies at the back of every agreement a sense of fear: the employers "fear" the strike, the employees the "lock-out." Every agreement, every arbitration award, every compact between worker and master is an armed truce in a struggle which, in the nature of things can never end so long as the relationship exists. As soon as Trade Union Organization becomes powerful, employers are prepared to grant "Recognition," without which no Agreement can last for any appreciable length of time.

Looking back at the history of English Trade Unionism we are struck by the fact that in every case the Unions have had to win recognition. The right to independent organization, and to bargain as to the terms upon which Labor would be supplied, has had to be gained by repeated "wars." To take but one example: The Railway Trade Unions of the United Kingdom are at this moment preparing to demand more formal and explicit "recognition," and we may be sure that it will not be conceded without the threat to strike, possibly a strike on a large scale. The railway men are but renewing the struggle that has been gone through by the engineers and the cotton operatives.

Once this recognition is gained both masters and men are loth to surrender it. The more the Employers and Employees organize, the more marked is the readiness to enter into binding agreements. Indeed, it has been seriously suggested that every agreement entered into between a Trade Union, or group of Trade Unions, and an Association of Employers, should be compulsorily applied by law to the whole of the Trade or Industry represented by these organizations, whether all employers and employees be included as members or not. Both sides agree that in such cases coercion of the Minority is justified for the sake of a greater good: the avoidance of constant disputes.

It has been calculated by the Board of Trade Labor Department that in 1913 there were in existence in the United Kingdom no less than 1,696 agreements, directly applying to 2,400,000 wage-earners. Apart from agriculture and domestic service (which together account for one-eighth of the total wage-earning population) probably one-half of all the employed manual workers in the United Kingdom find their wages, hours or other...
conditions of employment virtually settled by these Collective Agreements.

What Subjects, then, are dealt with as the result of Collective Bargaining? By far the most common type is that which determines the Hours and Wages of men engaged in some particular occupation or in some particular industry. Here the Trade Union attempts to take out of the hands of the industrial employer the control of its members' lives as regards the length and remuneration of their labor and to enter into a definite compact by which the employer will be bound. A second type is that which takes into account not only hours and wages, but also the conditions under which the work is performed. Here we find such considerations as ventilation, sanitation, attention to social amenities, and the demand to encroach upon spheres that formerly belonged absolutely to the employer becoming more and more insistent. These two types tend to coalesce, for it becomes increasingly difficult to consider hours and wages without taking into consideration where and under what conditions the wages are to be earned and the hours spent.

But there is a third type of agreement. Here the Trade Union definitely interferes in the "management" of the business, making stipulations as to the number of apprentices to be employed, regulating the employment of non-unionists, and in some cases, by means of Workshop Committees, actually controlling the personnel of the factory and the method of production. This claim to a virtual "partnership" in the enterprise, this demand that the workers, organized in their unions, should have the right to control the "How" of Production, meets with opposition on the part of the employers. To them it represents, not the logical and inevitable outcome of Industrial Organization but an essentially new departure, bound to lead to strife, and calculated to destroy what they call "reasonable" Trade Unionism. Only the future can say what will be the result, but we have to recognize that this new demand is a growing one amongst organized labor in England, and unless this fact is grasped many things must remain inexplicable to us.

The purpose of these articles, however, is not to forecast the future of Labor agreements and the Labor movement, but briefly to describe the actual working of such agreements in some of the principal industries in the United Kingdom. We propose, therefore, to deal first with the general question of Conciliation and Arbitration, and then with existing agreements in (1) the Clothing Trades, (2) the Cotton Industry, (3) Engineering and Shipbuilding, (4) Iron and Steel manufacture, (5) Mining, (6) Building, (7) Transport and finally the working of the Trade Boards Act of 1909 in relation to Sweat-shop Workers.

We shall seek to give an idea of the various methods employed for preserving industrial peace, describing where and why agreements have been broken. In our final article we shall put forward one or two points of vital importance in the relations of Labor and Capital. In this way we shall attempt to make clear the attitude of employers and employees towards each other, and at the same time to convince both parties that Collective Bargaining brings with it substantial advantages to all parties, and to the community as a whole.
Dr. Hourwich, the gentleman who at the last election ran in the twentieth Congressional District on the ticket of the Bull Moose Party, the party of Roosevelt, Perkins, Mussey and other millionaires, against the Socialist candidate, Brother Cassedy, the ex-President of the Typographical Union known as the "Big Six," attacks and finds fault with the International Union. Among the crimes which he alleges the International Union has committed against the interest of their constituents, was the great crime of being untrue to the principle of the "class war." This he stated in the "Forward" of Friday, December 12th, to which he devoted almost two columns.

We confess that we have not followed the literature on the subject of "class war." The problem before the officers of the International Union has been mainly: how to improve the economic conditions of its members; how to enable them to sell their labor to their employers to better advantage. It is for this purpose, and for no other, that they have been elected to that office. This is the only struggle we are engaged in. In advising and guiding our members we are actuated by one motive only: will any particular advice or method bring any economic improvement to our members or not?

* * *

SOCIALISTS AND STRUGGLE. Until about ten years ago, it had been considered by the German Socialists an offense against the principle
of the "class struggle" for any member of that Party to enter into any form of agreement with employers. They looked upon such an act as the negation of the "class struggle." If you agree with your employers, then you do not fight with them. Since then, however, the trade unionists of Germany who are guided and influenced by the Social Democratic Party have not only been allowed to sign individual agreements with their employers, but even collective agreements or Protocols have been entered into. Certainly those Protocols must be Protocols of Peace and not Protocols of war. We confess, however, that when we entered into an agreement or signed a Protocol of Peace with our employers we did not stop to consider whether it would be in consonance with the principles of the Social Democratic Party, either in Germany or in this country. We hold that when we have an agreement with an employer we do not fight with him, but agree with him. If we enter into a Protocol of Peace or make an agreement with a body of employers, we agree with them. The ultra-socialistic United Brewery Workers of America are in agreement with almost every important employer on the North American Continent and while they may believe in the principle of the class struggle, they would like to see it applied to all other industries, to all other capitalists, rather than to the capitalists in the Brewing Industry.

We shall be told that the revolutionary conception of an agreement with the employer is forcing him to agree to the workers' demands, and not giving him anything in return. True, these were the kind of agreements that had been signed in the past. But how long did they last? Were they not often broken before the ink of the employer's signature was dry? Did these force-agreements, in the long run improve the conditions of the work people or raise their status? Were they instrumental in maintaining a strongly organized Union? Let those who clamor for a return to old methods answer these queries. Those force agreements were rather like an "ill wind that blows no one any good." It is enough to point out the chaotic state of our Industry of that time to prove of what little real benefit they were to the workers of our trade. That is practically what one ought to expect from a force-agreement, or a one-sided arrangement that does not have the consent of both parties to it.

When we entered into this Protocol of Peace with the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association, and into agreements with individual employers outside of this Association, our intention was and still is to live with them in peace, and not to carry on war against them. We are at war only with non-union employers. We openly confess we are very anxious to live in peace and to have amicable relations with every employer who will recognize our Union and enter into agreement with us. Whatever the conception of the "class war" of our members may be, in actual practice it is not directed against those employers who are willing to have amicable relations with us.

A ONESIDED STATEMENT. Dr. Hourwich quoted us as saying in our November issue:

"In this world of conflicting interests there can only be two kinds of relations: one is war to the knife, for there can be no moderation in war measures; the other is some measure of co-operation between the two conflicting interests, whereby war is avoided and misunderstanding..."
standings are smoothed over and adjusted in a friendly 'get-together manner.'"

In this, he asserts, we sinned against the principle of the "class struggle," and the "Forward" agrees with him.

Why has not Dr. Haurwich also quoted what we said on another occasion (January, 1911)?

"Those who talk so nicely about peace between capital and labor do not understand, or do not want to understand that in this world of competition and strife, the peace which can be obtained between capital and labor, between the employer and the workman, is only when the latter is reduced to the position of the Chinese coolie.

"The conditions of peace between our employers and the Union to which we look, will only exist when the men armed with the means of a powerful organization will be ready at any moment to take up a fight to a finish for our rights.

"'Trust the Lord and keep your powder dry,' is an old saying. Look to the Grievance Board to adjust the difficulties with your employer, but keep your organization in fighting trim.'"

From this position we have not receded to this day. Our present arrangement—the Protocol—is at best an "armed peace," a suspension of "war to the knife." We claim and believe that we can and do get infinitely more out of it than from the guerilla warfare of former times, which was in accord with the principle of "class struggle."

Dr. Haurwich tore away from their context the lines cited above from our November Issue to suit his own purpose.

"One thing is quite certain. You cannot maintain the two kinds of relations at the same time. Two nations cannot officially suspect, insult or throw mud at each other and at the same time remain friendly and at peace. Two firms cannot continue doing business together while they distrust and accuses each other of bad faith. Neither can a labor union and an organized body of employers negotiate better conditions or carry on any kind of collective bargaining if their representatives lack good faith or mutual regard for each other."

In other words: we believe in honorably carrying out our side of the contract and do not believe in quibbling about the so-called legal right to picketing when stoppages or strikes have been made illegal by mutual agreement.

* * *

THE IMPERFECT. It is true that the Protocol of the tool which we entered into with the Cloak Manufacturers' Protective Association is not perfect and may never be so, because no human instrument ever will be perfect. It is true that we get only "half a loaf," but so far, we cannot foresee the time when our members will get everything they want. We do not as yet know of any member of any labor organization who is getting all he expects or desires from his employer. There probably always will be a great gap between the real and the ideal, not only in the relations of the employer and the employee, but in every other human relation.

At present we are getting only "half a loaf." When the workman will get the "full fruit of his labor" he will get the "whole loaf," but in signing the Protocol we did not expect to usher in the Co-operative Commonwealth, and, therefore, did not expect more than "half a loaf." But we want this half to be as big as the circumstances will possibly allow, and as the market in the ladies' garment trade will yield and it is this we are trying to get for our members. It is true, our problems are full of difficulties, but it is our business to grapple with those difficulties and try to solve them. We know we will not improve our conditions and bring matters nearer a solution by denouncing.
the employers, or denouncing the Protocol, or by denouncing the officers of this organization, or by denouncing everybody right and left.

* * *

The founders of this Re-public fought against the British rule with the object of driving the government of George the Third out of this country. It was a war of extermination. The bourgeoisie of France in the latter part of the eighteenth century carried on war against the aristocracy, chopped off their heads and thus exterminated the aristocracy of France. The proletariat of today is carrying on war against the capitalists with the object of overthrowing them and take the means of production and distribution into their own hands. This is not the immediate object of our International Union. We are not carrying on war against any employers for the purpose of carrying out the idea of the class struggle, or to drive them out of business. It is not our object to take out of the hands of the present employers the production and distribution of the Cloak Industry and give it to our members or to the State.

Whenever we carry on war against any particular employer or number of employers we do not do it for the purpose of exterminating them; nor do we want to make their manufacture unprofitable for them. Just on the contrary, we are trying to convince them, and fortunately we have succeeded in convincing a large number of our employers, that they can just as well carry on their business under union control as without it, and that, in fact, it pays them better to agree with us, to be at peace with our Organization than fight us. In fact, we can only maintain our Organization if we can demonstrate to our employers that the union shop is a better paying proposition than the open shop.

We hardly believe that there is a single manufacturer in our trade who maintains friendly relations with our Organization, who would continue to do so for one moment, if he became convinced that it pays him better to break such relations. And so, in our dealings with our employers, we cannot at all be guided by the idea of "class war." We plead guilty on that proposition.

The curious thing about it all is that the gentlemen who find fault with us for disregarding the principle of class war are the very same people who would like to extend the function of arbitration in every form of dispute between our members and their employers, to enlarge the number of the present arbitrators, and to have an impartial chairman—methods which practically abolish the class war.

* * *

The International officers in opposing Brother Bisco and Professor Hourwich have not done so because they disliked their person or objected to the principles they were contending for, but because they objected to the method which they pursued in trying to achieve what we all desire. Those who have watched the work of Brother Bisco and who at first were his staunchest supporters soon learned to their greatest disappointment that his methods would lead not to construction, but destruction.

The Executive Board of Local No. 1, in a statement in the press, asserted that it was Brother Bisco who discovered all those problems which now confront
as in their dealings with the Cloak Manufacturers' Association. The writer of the "Forward" editorial of December 12th, who knows no more about the subject than the officers of Local No. 1, and who has not been near the workings of the Protocol, agrees with Local No. 1. Those who have been working the instrument from its very inception were much better acquainted with the nature of the problems confronting us than either Mr. Bisno or Professor Hourwich. These gentlemen have made no new discoveries.

MR. BISNO'S DISCOVERIES. Mr. Bisno was, in short, to "force" concessions from the manufacturers. Besides proposing measures of doubtful utility, he started an agitation against the Protocol through the "New Post" and began to threaten and abuse the officers of the Manufacturers' Association, in order to compel them to concede to his demands. His great point was to make the members "active in the shop," that is, cause wholesale stoppages and other shop trouble in contravention of the Protocol Arrangement. In order to do that, the "New Post" had to keep harping on the imperfections of the Protocol and to find fault and "look for trouble" in its administration, thus creating needless discontent. In so doing the "New Post" had to overlook and minimize all the benefits the union gained through the Protocol. All it did was to create discontent, not only with the Protocol, but also with the Union, its officers and its methods.

Thus the net result of Mr. Bisno's campaign was the weakening of the whole organization. This campaign of abuse against the officers of the Manufacturers' Association and of making the employees "active in the shops," resulted in a number of shop strikes which made the Protocol unworkable, and aroused the ire and disgust of the other side with the Protocol. Thus, instead of solving the problem he complicated it; instead of improving the machinery of the Protocol, and making it more workable and more efficient he clogged and brought it almost to a standstill, and the International Officers who are responsible for the Protocol had to tell Mr. Bisno to get out. There was a radical difference of opinion between Mr. Bisno and the International officers as to the ways and methods of making the machinery of the Protocol workable.

We are of the opinion that as long as the Protocol exists force is no remedy; we believe that it is a Protocol of Peace and not of War. It cannot spell both at the same time. There must be either peace or war between the Association and the Union. This instrument can only live and be useful as long as there will be good will and co-operation on both sides. On the other hand, whenever we should come to the conclusion that there can be no co-operation and good will between the parties that moment the Protocol will be ended.

AS TO PROF. As to Prof. Hourwich, he understands no trade problems at all. Not only is Trade Unionism alien to him, but every method and policy pursued by him is foreign to our movement; in other words, he is anti-union from beginning to end. His advocacy of the right of the workmen to picket a shop where there is a stoppage of work, is a good example of his non-union mind and conception of things in general. He looks upon the whole arrangement from the point of
view of a Russian revolutionary. Being unable and unwilling to study the nature of our trade difficulties at close range, he looks upon every controversy between the employers and the employees from a purely abstract, theoretical and legal point of view. Being a theoretical lawyer, he decides everything on the theory of law. In every controversy he cannot see trade difficulties, but with him it is simply a question of abstract rights. It is, therefore, natural for him to raise issues. On every slight controversy he would have the Board of Arbitration sit in session from morning until night to hear his arguments on the abstract rights of the employers and employees, and this despite the fact that the whole process of Courts and Laws does not hold good in the relations between employers and employees.

The ground of discontent with the present arrangement of things and distrust of every one connected with it being prepared for him by the form of "miseducation" carried on by the "New Post" through the influence of Mr. Bisno and Dr. Hoffman, Dr. Hourwich found it an easy matter to get a part of the people into a rage with the Protocol and to become the idol of the hour.

** EVOLUTION OF THE PROTOCOL **

It is a very difficult and, to confess, a very complicated problem which both the Union and the Association have undertaken—the problem of bringing order out of the chaos which existed in the cloak trade and of regulating the relations between employers and employees. At first it appeared that this task was impossible. The Protocol was conceived during a period of strife and struggle, amidst a tremendous upheaval and bitter conflict between the employers and employees. It was the result of a compromise. Both sides did not get what they were out for. For the first twelve months both sides were at sea, and none of us knew where it would lead to, and what it would result in. The Association mistrusted the Union and looked with suspicion upon every move the officers made. They lacked confidence in them and were afraid that the people with whom they were dealing were irresponsible, and that they would eventually ruin their business. The officers of the Union were in the same boat. They were imbued with the same feeling of mistrust against the Manufacturers' Association. Every move made by the Association, every proposition and overture coming from them was met with opposition, the officers of the Union thinking that all was a trap by the manufacturers and a means of destroying the Organization.

* * *

** MACHINERY OF THE PROTOCOL **

This mutual feeling was accentuated by the fact that the machinery of the Protocol, the method of adjusting complaints was crude and unworkable. The original proposition of the Protocol, namely: that an equal number of manufacturers and employees should constitute a Board of Grievances for the purpose of adjusting complaints proved unworkable. It was impossible for the members of such a Board in an industry of such dimensions, to attend to all the complaints and adjust every grievance. Gradually an idea was conceived, that the Board of Grievances should do their work through a staff of clerks, and deputy clerks, that a set of rules was necessary through which this Board of Grievances and their clerks
can work. Even on this proposition, at first, both sides could not agree, owing to those very feelings of mistrust and suspicion. Here the Board of Arbitration came to the rescue. It proposed a set of workable rules to the satisfaction of both parties.

The Board of Arbitration proved a success because, fortunately, they have refrained, as far as possible, from handling over decisions on particular cases. The great service they have rendered was not by their decisions, but by the timely advice they gave and moral suasion they used on both parties. When the conflict between those parties reached the highest point; when mistrust had reached an advanced stage, Messrs. Brandeis, Hillquit and Hamilton Holt came to the rescue by using moral force. Their decisions were in reality lectures delivered to both sides. Thus they put aside all suspicion and made the machinery of the Protocol again workable. Had they been tactless enough to do what some of our "impossibilists" and hotheads want the Board of Arbitration to do, namely: handing down decisions right and left, the present relations between the employers and employees in the cloak trade would have been vastly different to what they now are. Fortunately the Board of Arbitration understood better and acted differently.

**EFFICIENCY OF THE PROTOCOL.**

We have on several occasions put this question to the "kickers" and critics of the Protocol and have not as yet received a reply: The merits of the Protocol cannot be judged by an incident of a manufacturer discharging a man here and there. It must be judged on its general merits and general application and can only be judged by comparing with non-Protocol shops. If all the shops in New York City were under the Protocol agreement, and we had no means of comparing conditions between Protocol and non-Protocol shops, their criticism might perhaps carry conviction. But since we can only judge by comparison, will any one contend that the conditions in the non-Protocol shops, where the Union has everything to say, are better than the Protocol shops?

There is a consensus of opinion among the business agents who are visiting both kinds of shops that the conditions in non-Protocol shops are not as good as in Protocol shops, and that on the whole the earnings in the non-Protocol shops are not as great, and violations of the union rules and standard rates are more frequent in the non-Protocol shops than in the Protocol shops. This, to our mind, is an absolute demonstration that the Protocol is a far superior instrument for maintaining union conditions than individual agreements, and all the "kicks" and arguments against the Protocol fall to the ground.

**OUTSIDE CONTRACTORS.**

The next problem to be tackled was that of the outside contractors, for which the Protocol, written during the storm and stress of the General Strike, does not provide. It was not an easy problem to solve, but gradually by means of experimentations, it was finally solved. There were many other problems, such as the question of the Preferential Shop; the questions of Discharge and Discrimination and the "out of-town shops." Some of them have been solved and others are nearing solution. But, as might be easily understood, before one problem is solved,
News and Events

IN PHILADELPHIA.

The month of December was crowded with exciting events arising from the protracted cloak strike in Philadelphia. A strike breaker was shot from a passing automobile. Thereupon the Manufacturers fastened upon the Union as being responsible. Soon witnesses appeared ready to "serve the masters" and proceeded to identify the arrested men charged with the shooting and tried to involve the strike leaders. In this they were assisted by the policemen who side openly with the employers and carry out their wishes in a most brutal manner.

The efforts of the Cleveland Cloak Manufacturers to fasten upon the Union leaders crimes plotted and paid for by themselves have been revealed in open court. Who knows what mischievous plots are being hatched by some of the stubborn employers in order to break the strike?

"Gunmen" stories are inspired by the manufacturers in an effort to discredit the strikers. They have tried other tactics to discredit the Union. They have tried to make the strikers themselves believe that they are being led blindfolded by leaders who unnecessarily called the strike.

Now that public opinion has been educated and is impartially voicing the claims of the workers, the employers are growing desperate and it would not be surprising to learn that the shooting and violence is directly traceable to their machinations.

ATTEMPTS TO PROHIBIT PICKETING.

This is one of the means resorted to by the employers and their allies, the police, which furnishes them with a pretext for raising a shout against the right to picket. Obviously there is method in their plots. They have thus prevailed upon Mr. Porter, the Director of Public Safety, to issue an order stopping the strikers from picketing the shops, and the police are too eager to carry out the order.

Yet the police have been the cause of all the riots in connection with the strike. There would never have been any riots if the police had kept their hands off. They have thrown themselves ruthlessly at the strikers and clubbed them unmercifully.

Policemen figure in all the disturbances. The police department is absolutely partial. The police department in trying to win the fight for the Manufacturers.

LOUD PROTEST BY THE ORGANIZED WORKERS.

On December 4th the organized workers of Philadelphia and vicinity assembled on the North Plaza of City Hall and uttered a loud protest, urging the Select Council to cooperate with the Common Council in efforts to secure a settlement, in a comprehensive resolution submitted by the Philadelphia Central Labor Union. The resolution reads in part:

"WHEREAS, The Cloak and Skirt Workers of this city are now in the twenty-second week of their strike; for the right of collective bargaining, and for a standard as to wages, hours of work and sanitary conditions; and

"WHEREAS, The South Philadelphia Business Men's Association, an impartial body of public-spirited citizens, Mr. John Price Jackson, Commissioner of Labor for the State of Pennsylvania, and the United Business Men's Association, composing about fifty of this city's Business Men's Association, have used their
LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

best endeavors to bring about arbitration; and

"WHEREAS, The committee representing the United Business Men's Association has held two meetings, to which the Manufacturers and the strikers have been requested to attend, the only representatives present at those two meetings being those in behalf of the Cloak and Skirt Workers, the Manufacturers remaining away and in so doing displaying a very arrogant attitude; and

"WHEREAS, Common Council on Thursday, November 20th, 1913, unanimously adopted a resolution calling for a committee to be appointed for the purpose of bringing about an amicable settlement of the present dispute; and

"WHEREAS, On Thursday afternoon, November 20, 1913, the resolution adopted by Common Council was presented to Select Council, and this self-named Champion of the people's rights and so-called august body refused to even consider this resolution, which means so much to the thousands and thousands of working men and women of Philadelphia; and

"WHEREAS, This controversy has reached such a stage that it has become a menace to the public welfare in general, through the strike breakers being allowed to carry loaded weapons concealed in their clothes, for in so doing they have endangered the lives of all the pedestrians, therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That a committee of twenty-five be appointed to appear before the Select Council of Philadelphia, and lay before them officially the demands of the working men and women of Philadelphia."

UNITED BUSINESS MEN'S ASSOCIATION ISSUES ITS REPORT.

On the same day when the organized workers of Philadelphia assembled on North Plaza, the committee of the United Business Men's Association issued a lengthy report of its exhaustive investigation of the strike. The report states in substance:

"Until the time of the strike there seemed to be no uniform system in the business of cloak and skirt making as to hours of employment, some factories starting work as early as six in the morning and continuing until nine at night; and still others beginning at seven and stopping at six at night. During the busy season all the factories worked overtime, very late into the night, and in some instances continuing all day Sunday. In addition to the extra work in the factory, the employees were given work to do at home.

"In the majority of the factories, from half an hour to an hour for lunch was given at noon, but where overtime was continued until nine or ten in the evening, no time for supper was allowed. In the majority of cases they were paid for this overtime only at the rate of time only. In the busy season, most factories were working night and day regardless of the welfare of the employees. Then in the dull season it was the custom to lay off many week workers and require the piece workers to report daily to the factories and wait idly by on the chance that some work might come in. For many weeks in the year the majority of the week workers would report for work, being paid only for the actual time they worked.

"Annie Schmookler testified that when she worked every night till nine and half a day on Sunday, the extra pay given to her by her employer would average about sixty cents a week for all the overtime. There seemed to be some injustice in many of the factories in the method of calculating the extra time, even on the basis of time only, and also regarding the work of the piece workers, the employers taking advantage of those employees who were unable to calculate the amount themselves. Then also frequent differences arose between employers and employees.

"A number of shops are unsanitary, dirty and unfit to work in."

The testimony on this subject was referred by the committee to the Pennsylvania State Department of Labor and Industry, which promised to make an investigation and institute necessary reforms.

The report also refers to other evils complained of by the employees, such as helpers and finishers not being directly employed by the employer, but by the operators and tailors, and other forms of sub-contracting. This gave rise to disputes between the employees themselves over the amount of pay, and to underpay and unfair treatment. The employers thus escape liability for injuries to employees by having them employed indirectly instead of directly. The employers, moreover, force the tailors and operators to work for lower prices, and keep up the evil system by threatening to give and giving the work out to contractors,
who oppress the workers still more. Thus a regular sweatshop system is maintained in the trade.

The committee examined the demands of all the employees and came to the conclusion that with very rare exceptions the demands were fair and reasonable. The employers were asked to submit their side of the matter, but they were apparently afraid they would have to admit the truth of the employees' evidence. They preferred to shut out of their minds every ray of reason and right.

COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS, The investigation conducted by your Committee shows that public disturbances are of almost daily occurrence as a result of this strike, and whereas, Philadelphia is in danger of losing a most important industry, and great sums of money are weekly lost in wages, necessitating the extension of credit by the small retail merchant, it is therefore evident that immediate steps should be taken to adjust the differences between the striking garment workers and the Manufacturers.

RESOLVED: Your Committee commends the attitude of the strikers in their willingness to submit all differences to any form of mediation or arbitration and to be bound by the same.

Your Committee most seriously deplores the fact that the Manufacturers have refused any and every offer looking to mediation or adjustment and have most flatly refused to submit the differences to arbitration. They have further refused to consider any such suggestions coming from the United Business Men or any other source.

Your Committee most strongly expresses its opinion that if the Manufacturers are to show the high standard of good citizenship which the public of Philadelphia have the right to expect of them, they should immediately set about to reach some method of adjusting the differences and thus relieving the people of Philadelphia of the unfortunate circumstances growing out of this strike.

We therefore recommend that the United Business Men send the Manufacturers a copy of this recommendation and request that they shall immediately take some steps in this direction.

We also recommend that the United Business Men send copies of this recommendation to the U. S. Commissioner of Labor, the Department of Labor and Industry of the State of Pennsylvania and to Mayor Blaenkburg and his Directors, requesting them to use every effort to force an immediate adjustment of this strike.

We further recommend that the United Business Men shall appoint a Committee to call upon prominent merchants of Philadelphia who purchase the garment manufacturers' product, and use their influence to have the Manufacturers entertain some of the many proposed methods of adjusting the differences between themselves and their employees.

(Signed) RAYMOND MACNEILL, Chairman.

FEDERAL AUTHORITIES INTERVENE.

The United States Department of Labor, upon request, consented to use its good offices in trying to end the strike, and Secretary of Labor Wilson sent Ethelbert Stewart, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics, to act as mediator. Mr. Stewart reached Philadelphia on the 9th of December. Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, a member of the Federal Industrial Relations Commission, likewise came to Philadelphia to get information about the strike. Mrs. Harriman did not definitely say whether she intended to interfere or make any investigation. Subsequently Mrs. Harriman explained that her present visit was for the purpose of looking into the existing conditions of the labor market.

Mr. Stewart tried to get both sides together for the purpose of effecting a settlement, by mediation or arbitration, but as he was powerless to compel either of the parties to settle the strike, and as the Manufacturers arrogantly refused to discuss either of these means of settlement, Mr. Stewart's mission was fruitless.

In St. Louis

The cloak manufacturers of St. Louis have dug out a "rusty" old excuse for their refusal to come to arbitration, or settle the strike by other means. They would quickly settle, they say, if labor agitators would withdraw and allow them to confer with the employees direct.

This argument has never ceased to do duty in every strike in both hemispheres. The employers always resent their "hands" being
enlightened. They feel instinctively that if not for the Union leaders, the workers would be powerless to claim their rights, make any demands or go out on strike, but would submit to any terms the employers choose to offer them. Another excuse is that an amicable settlement is being prevented by the demand for union recognition. That this is a mere paltry excuse is evident from another statement by the same employer that it is the end of the season. This means that it does not pay them just now to agree to a settlement. If it did, they would not advance old, worn-out excuses that are being rapidly discarded everywhere.

**BIG FIRM SETTLES.**

Under the date of December 17th, Vice-President Mr. E. Felt writes:

"You will be glad to learn that we have settled with the firm of S. Frelich Suit and Skirt Co., one of the largest firms in the city."

The settlement by which sixty employees returned to work is regarded as the beginning of the end of the strike, because the Frelich Company is one of the largest local concerns interested. The Frelich Company was a member of the Garment Manufacturers' Association, which had taken the lead in opposing the concessions demanded by the strikers.

**Terms of Settlement—**

The terms under which the strikers return to work are:

1. There shall be no time contracts with individual employees, and sub-contracting in the shops is abolished.

2. A board of arbitration is established to settle future disputes between employer and workers.

3. Cloak and suit cutters shall receive a minimum of $24 a week. Skirt cutters shall receive a minimum of $21 a week. All other workers shall receive an increase of 25 per cent. in wages, calculated on the wages paid August 12, when the strike was called.

4. A week's work shall consist of fifty hours, and no overtime will be permitted on Saturdays or Sundays.

5. Overtime will be permitted on other days, not exceeding two hours a day, for which time and a half shall be paid.

6. Prices for piecework shall be agreed upon by the Company and a committee representing the employees.

The employees of the Frelich firm have been out seventeen weeks.

Both sides hailed the settlement as a victory. This is a sure sign that both sides will try their best to live up to it and that it will prove lasting.

**JOSEPHINE CASEY AT KANSAS CITY.**

Early in December Miss Josephine Casey paid a visit to Kansas City, Mo., on behalf of the cloak strikers at St. Louis.

Miss Casey has been working on the picket line ever since the strike began. It was she who first suggested the protest meeting which was held Friday night, November 21st, in St. Louis, and she was one of the principal speakers who addressed 30,000 people that gathered at the City Hall to condemn the brutal actions of the police toward the striking garment workers and waiters. Scathing resolutions were passed against the activity of the police department in hounding the strikers, and the public was urged to assist in securing for the striking workers a square deal.

There have been no deserters from the ranks since the strike began, Miss Casey said, and as an example of the loyalty displayed by the workers she cited an incident where an operator was offered $50 in advance by an emissary of the employers who went to his home to try and induce him to renounce the union.

The operator, who was in poor circumstances, spurned the proffered bribe, and advised the tool of the employers not to approach any others of the strikers with such a traitorous proposition.

She told of the many acts of violence committed by the paid hirelings of the bosses and of the nine men stabbed and young girls slug ged and beaten.

The energetic little organizer will visit the local merchants who handle the products of these St. Louis manufacturers and request them to discontinue patronizing these promoters ofpeonage who refuse to pay a living wage to their employees.

This was Miss Casey's first visit to Kansas City, and she was agreeably surprised to find the local unions owning a magnificent Labor Temple.
CLOAKMAKERS' UNION, BROWNSVILLE OFFICE—

Report for Ten Months, Feb. 15 to Dec. 15, 1913—

On my arrival at this office I found 98 shops in the Brownsville district. During the ten months 26 new shops were opened, making a total of 124 shops.

Up to the present 14 shops have moved to Jersey City, 11 being refees, sub-manufacturers and three sub-manufacturers of a cheap line of plushes.

Six contractors moved to New York. Twenty-two shops gave up business altogether, because they could not pay the full price of the garments according to the settlement.

In the fourteen shops that moved to New Jersey, 160 people were employed.

In the six shops that moved to New York 85 people were employed.

A small percentage of the people who were employed in the shops that gave up business are still idle.

At present there are 82 shops in the district, 21 sub-manufacturers and 61 contractors.

In these 82 shops the employees are as follows: 338 jacket operators, 338 jacket finishers, 88 skirt finishers, 173 skirt operators, 12 basters, 130 jacket pressers, 50 skirt pressers, 14 cutters; total, 1,143.

Number of complaints received and visits made to the shops during the past ten months were as follows:

Visits to shops ........................................ 1,409
Complaints that non-union people were working ........................................ 71
Complaints that unsettled work was being made ........................................ 198
Complaints that people were not receiving the full prices ........................................ 103
Discharged cases ........................................ 63
Complaints that pressers were working by piece ........................................ 17
Total ........................................ 1,561

All the complaints attended to were settled in favor of the union.

Back pay and pay collected for the workers of contractors for the past ten months amounted to $1,530.25. All this money was duly distributed among the workers.

Respectfully submitted,

S. Metz,
District Manager.

H. Brodsky and H. Lubinsky,
Business Agents.

1913–January–1914

By M. H. Danish.

They who’ve marched in the ranks, they who’ve faithfully fought,
Learned the secret of strength. They who have dearly bought
The right to collectively sell, Labor and muscle and brain,
Showed a wondering world they have not fought in vain.

Hundreds of workshops revolted, thousands of girls have gathered;
Girls of all races, ages—women of fifty, fifteen,
Gathered and solved a problem. Braver than men they weathered
The storm of the month of the New Year,—nineteen hundred thirteen.

Many have told of your courage, many have sung of your vim;
Girls, the country has heard you,—you have not struggled unseen.
There’s a mightier message, ominous, joyous and grim,
Left by the month of the New Year,—nineteen hundred thirteen.

They who’ve marched to the battle, they who’ve faithfully strained
Every effort to win it,—learned to hold what they gained.
Learned to stay in the ranks,—women of sixty, sixteen—
In the eventful midwinter—nineteen hundred thirteen.
Conducted by Pauline M. Newman.

IT'S UP TO YOU.

This can serve you as a resolution for the coming New Year. For after all, it is up to you, girls. It does not matter whether you are Children's Dressmakers, Wrapper and Kimono Workers, Waist Makers or White Goods Workers, it is up to you to organize the rest of the girls in your respective trades. You know as well as we do that there are still a good many girls working next to you who, for some reason or other, are not yet in your organization. Have you spoken to them about joining your Union? Have you told them what the Union is here for? Did you tell them what the Union has done for you and what it can do for them? Have you told them how bad conditions were before you were organized? If you have not, do it now. Begin with the new year.

You know that the Union has shortened your hours of labor. It has increased your wages. It has made you realize your power. It has taught you to use it for your own benefit, and for the benefit of your shopmates. It has imbued you with the spirit of solidarity. It has inspired you to think of others, as you would have others think of you. It has helped to do away with selfishness. It has brought you into a new sphere, a sphere of sisterhood and brotherhood. In short, it has opened a new world for you. And this world you can, through the Union, make better and improve from year to year.

It is up to you then, girls. Get busy and agitate among those who are outside your organization. Do it slowly, patiently, and you will succeed.

To organize the unorganized should be your resolution for the New Year.

WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 25.

The latest news relating to Local No. 25 is its weekly Yiddish paper, the "Gleichheit." (Equality.) In this Paper the Local will review its activities, publish its plans, and agitate among the unorganized. Then there has also just appeared the Official Magazine of the Union in English, "The Message," intended chiefly for the American girls and also for those who as yet are not organized. An Italian Paper, too, is being issued for the Italian members of the Union.

There is little doubt as to the necessity for the printed word in such a big Organization as the Waist and Dressmakers' Union. The printed word has done much to enlighten the working people. It is the best means of education. Were it not for the printed word the working class would not have been where it is today. And because of this, we wish to congratulate Local No. 25 on this undertaking, and we hope that it will do much to further the work of organization among its members.

The "Gleichheit" is a live and interesting little Paper, and so is "The Message." Both Papers have good, readable matter which appeals and must convince the girls and inspire them to act union-like in every respect.

I would suggest that those in charge of both, "The Message" and the "Gleichheit," get some articles written by women on subjects interesting to women. Articles written by women, especially by women whom the girls know, would do much to make these papers more attractive to the girls. We therefore trust that the editors will take this into consideration.

And now, while we all realize the necessity
for using the printed word as a medium by which to reach the unorganized; while we all agree as to its importance, while we all see the need of it, yet there are times when one feels like asking this question: "Why should each Organization be forced to have its own little Paper?" Why is it not possible for the International, for example, to publish a Paper or a Magazine, weekly or monthly, as the locals would deem it advisable, and that one Paper be for all the locals?

If it were a question of different principles, or different views, one common organ would not, perhaps, meet with every one's needs. As it is, we have one International Union comprising all the locals. The International publishes its Official Journal every month. This Journal, we believe, could serve the purpose of every local. It could be enlarged. It could be published weekly or semi-monthly, instead of monthly. It could be made that which members would want it to be. It could contain the very matter that each local publishes in its own Papers. Evidently the necessity of cooperation in Union matters and the waste prevented thereby has never been brought home to the local officers. Evidently each local thinks it knows better, and not until they lose money and energy do they learn their lesson.

Personally, I believe that the "Ladies' Garment Worker" could and should be made the organ of the International and of all the locals, jointly conducted and published. Thus the members and local officers could have their say in the "Ladies' Garment Worker," instead of having their say each in a sheet of their own. Some may differ from me on this proposition, but time will show as to who is right.

The American Branch of Local No. 25 is "alive and kicking." "Kicking" because more of their sisters don't come into their Organization quick enough. But nevertheless, the Branch has been growing steadily, and that is a very healthy sign indeed. Of one thing we are certain—those who are now members of the Branch are trying hard to get the rest of the girls into the Union. As long as this is being done, there is no room for despair. Slowly, but surely, the message of Unionism through "THE MESSAGE" will reach the remainder of the unorganized girls.

Through the activity of the Secretary of the American Branch at the Ball of the Women's Trade Union League, held on December 5th, the Branch won the prize offered for the most popular Union, a beautiful, white, ivory gavel. Miss Phoebus tried hard and finally succeeded in winning this magnificent present. At first we thought the Stenographers Union would win it, but then Miss Phoebus got busy and she won out.

On the gavel will be engraved the letters W. T. U. L., the year, and the name of the Branch.

WRAPPER AND KIMONO MAKERS' UNION, LOCAL NO. 41.

The officers of the above Union have been busy of late with a few shop strikes. It does seem as though some employers cannot be happy unless they have a strike in their place. This accusation was once upon a time directed against the workers. But the workers have since learned to use the strike as a last resort, while most of the employers have not. Taking for granted that they are the "stronger," they, of course, act accordingly.

In the firm of L. Hirsh & Sons, for instance, where a strike is now on, the Union has tried to avoid it but without success. You can't avoid a strike when the employer is obstinate. So all the Union can do is to use the best method of teaching the employer a lesson.

And the strike is not out of place either. The conditions there have been bad, and the treatment the girls received was unbearable. Representatives of the Union were not allowed to go into the place. Indeed, the employer used all of his power to keep the place clear of Unionism and Union representatives. Naturally a strike followed. Demands were made—among them ten per cent increase in wages. There is no doubt as to the outcome of this strike. The girls are all out, and are indignant at the unjust methods of their employer. As a matter of fact, Mr. Hirsh is already negotiating with the Union. The Union will, we feel sure, not only gain their demands, but will establish a Union shop as well.

It is to be hoped that the girls will appreciate the efforts of the Union, and will become active members.

L. Fox, a contractor, is another employer who will be better off, and who will become a better man, perhaps, after he has learned some-
thing of the doings of the Union. He, too, wanted a strike, and he had one for a full week. H. Klein, one of the business agents, went up to his place to adjust a grievance, and the employer, instead of acting like a man, started to fight Klein. Whereupon the girls without exception left the place. They returned, however, when they were assured by the Grievance Board that they would take the matter up. Mr. Fox was fined twenty-five dollars. This will convince him that the Union is not here for fun, but to stay and see that things go right with the workers, whether men, like Mr. Fox, like it or not.

Meanwhile the work of the Union proceeds slowly but surely. The Women’s Trade Union League is cooperating with the Union in trying to reach the unorganized shops in Manhattan. A plan of work has been mapped out and shops are being approached and meetings are called daily.

The out-of-town shops are not being neglected either. A committee of the Union went out to investigate the shops which have moved out of town to dodge the Union. New Brunswick, South River and Spring Valley were visited and plans for organization with the cooperation of the Local Union have been arranged.

The Grievance Board has cleared up the remaining cases of the Labor Day trouble, and has decided upon a clear method of dealing with similar cases in the future.

The conditions of the trade generally are not prosperous. The girls are impatiently expecting full resumption of work by the end of the month. And when the reason arrives the Union will be in a better position to organize the rest of the trade.
Dressmakers' Union have not had the opportunity to be on the picket line; they did not get a taste of the policeman's club; they were not insulted and assaulted by thugs—in short, they have won their demands after being out of work for a few days, and naturally they did not learn the lessons the White Goods Workers did. And because of this, we think the girls will have to go through the same process as all other strikers, and will have to 'earn the same lesson—that of understanding the necessity of an organization.

Becky Levy is the girl who remained active since the day of the strike. The Union would be in a much better position to-day if it had a few more such devoted girls, to strengthen the Organization.

The Union, however, continued to agitate among the girls. Committee after committee went to the factory and urged the girls to join the Organization. This made the firm apply to the Association, asking to be readmitted. The Association answered that the firm could become a member again providing, however, they agreed to pay back the ten per cent to the pieceworkers, beginning from the time work was resumed, that is, right after the strike was over. Strange as it may seem, the firm agreed to pay back the money to the Union, and thus once more gave in to the demand of the workers.

The money, amounting to over ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS, is to come into the office of the Union by the first of the year. Each worker of Rosenstock and Cohen, who is entitled to the ten per cent, will come to the office and get it.

In this connection it is worth while for the workers of that shop to stop and think for a few moments. After all, it does not have to take long to understand that were it not for the Organization, this money would have remained with the firm of Rosenstock instead of being repaid to them. It does not require much effort to realize that Mr. Rosenstock was forced to give in because of the strength of the Union. If so, why is it that the girls don't realize the necessity of joining the only Organization that can and does help them in every way possible? Why is it that these girls are still outside of the Union? Is it possible that they cannot think? This incident at Rosenstock's ought to be a lesson to them. And we do hope that they will get into the Organization and try to learn the purpose of its existence.

There are many non-Jewish girls in the factory of Rosenstock & Cohen, and there is no doubt but that the girls could be organized into
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.

5. On accepting a transfer issue to the member a new dues book and don’t paste the dues stamps into his old cancelled book.

TRAVELING CARDS IN BOOK FORM:

Local Secretaries are requested to note that Members' Traveling Cards can no more be obtained in loose leaves. These are now in book form of 100 leaves each, and the price is One Dollar per book.

Named shoes are frequently made in Non-Union factories.

DO NOT BUY ANY SHOE no matter what its name, unless its bears a plain and readable impression of this UNION STAMP.

All shoes without the UNION STAMP are always Non-Union. Do not accept any excuse for absence of the UNION STAMP.

BOOT AND SHOE WORKERS' UNION
246 Summer Street, Boston, Mass.

JOHN F. TOBIN, Pres.
CHAS. L. BAIN, Sec'y-Treas.
1914

על דרך ידיעת האמת והשגרה

ץ"ל

הנה פSWEP

ויוחם פいろ

Among the People of the Land of Israel

1914

Page 1
productName: מקרנים פראדו

כתובת: 113 רחוב פראדו

מעשנת נכסים erh.co

ד忧虑י השיוואים ואיני נשוא

רני דודע'

שוריינר פמנות

437 בורנרד מסצ'רסו, ניו-אירק

טל. 6951-6952 אורכהר
ware ile twn twv ievad Zwv yep 1914, T K U N'
דרי ליידי וארוסה בודד קרעו

(דרי ס威慑וך ה-8: העב, 5.)

 אלא שדיע הנין "וניילער לארנשטיין" (ביוב: נר), מיר ליורי ה-17: העב

(דרי ס威慑וך ה-7: העב, 8.)

 וייל ס］, מיקאלא.

(6) ע' consenting עד 12 אראולוסט מסקניצ'ל תניירoneksiurance רג עב "וירדשום זוכמונן וארקאום".

(דרי ס威慑וך הש"ע, 1623)
ענמיסוולוב פא לתאריךפא פון אלברט
וליבאר

8 ביין 1914 דיר פון אלברט פון אמיל

 Después de que el anterior comité se detuvo en el terreno de la política, la situación parecía haberse estancado. Sin embargo, a pesar de estas dificultades, el comité continuó trabajando en la búsqueda de soluciones. En este sentido, se puede decir que la situación actual no es del todo desalentadora. Los miembros del comité continúan actuando con profesionalidad y dedicación.

En cuanto a la posición del comité, se puede decir que sigue siendo intransigente en lo que respecta a los derechos de los judíos. Sin embargo, también se ha mostrado dispuesto a considerar nuevas propuestas y sugerencias. En este sentido, se puede decir que la situación actual es un buen equilibrio entre la要坚持和開放性。

El comité continúa trabajando en la búsqueda de soluciones para la situación actual. Se espera que en los próximos meses se puedan hacer avances significativos en este sentido.

En conclusión, la situación actual no es del todo desalentadora. A pesar de las dificultades, el comité continúa trabajando con profesionalidad y dedicación en la búsqueda de soluciones. Se espera que en los próximos meses se puedan hacer avances significativos en este sentido.
לע הפסדים הגולים

בגלו וייתכן שבעה

ולע הפסדים הגולים

בגלו וייתכן שבעה

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בגלו וייתכן שבעה

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לע הפסדים הגולים

בгelo ויתכן שבעה
זוהי התמונה של עמוד של ספר. התמונה מכילה טקסט בכתב יד. הטקסט מופיע במוטיבים שונים ולא ניתן לקרוא אותו בצורה מלוינת. }

enumerate: 1. הטקסט מתעסק במדעי פיזיקה ומכונאות.
2. הטקסט נבנה בסגנון כלים ומאמרים מדעיים.
3. הטקסט משמש לようになった מחקרים וبيانות מדעיות.
4. הטקסט משמש לאתרי אינטרנט ו谳יות שונות.
5. הטקסט משמש למסד נתונים שחקנים שונים.

enumerate: 1. ברקע של השקעה במדעי פיזיקה ומכונאות.
2. ברקע של מחקר מדעי על כלים ולמאמרים.
3. ברקע של מחקר מדעי על מחקרים וبيانות מדעיות.
4. ברקע של המחקר המדעי על שלחן מחקרים וبيانות מדעיות.
5. ברקע של המחקר המדעי על ביצוע מחקרים וبيانות מדעיות.
לא ניתן לקרוא את התוכן המוצג在这一页ו.
לא הועתק טקסט מתוך התמונה המועמדת להを迎ית.
יר אריסרט בולענות מגוון וריעה יואשת צורן.

1.

יר אריסרט בולענות או נגועים יותר הם

אוכלי רוח וצורה של חן חיות. הם

ועדו לעודד רוח החינה בו בינינו

והם בעלי מקצוע מיוחד של

אוכלי רוח. הם יכולים להעניק חן

אלים וארוגים ב.Accessibleים.

בנוסף, הם יכולים들도 למלינו רוח

השונה והمحافظת לשנים רבות.

וכל педагог נמרי וEnumerable יועצים

אותם כדי وقالו מקצוע קדימה וברופי.

יר אריסרט בולענות או נגועים יותר הם

ואם ישם לי על כל אחד

והם בעלי מקצוע מיוחד של

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השונה והمحافظת לשנים רבות.

וכל педагог נמרי וEnumerable יועצים

אותם כדי وقالו麦克접ו קדימה וברופי.
וֹסָה הָעָרָם? רֵאֵשׁ לֶהָדְאֵס נָאֵרַאֵס וּרְאֵבֵיתָא שָׁלֹה, אֶזֶּה מִשְׁמוֹ שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אִיהָ דְּמַעְטָה מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ נֶבֶרָאָה וּכְלָלָה, שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אַחַר כְּלָלָה שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אִיהָ דְּמַעְטָה מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ נֶבֶרָאָה וּכְלָלָה, שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אִיהָ דְּמַעְטָה מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ נֶבֶרָאָה וּכְלָלָה, שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אִיהָ דְּמַעְטָה מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ נֶבֶרָאָה וּכְלָלָה, שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אִיהָ דְּמַעְטָה מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ נֶבֶרָאָה וּכְלָלָה, שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אִיהָ דְּמַעְטָה מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ נֶבֶרָאָה וּכְלָלָה, שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אִיהָ דְּמַעְטָה מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ נֶבֶרָאָה וּכְלָלָה, שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה. אִיהָ דְּמַעְטָה מִשְׁמַעְתּוֹ נֶבֶרָאָה וּכְלָלָה, שֶׁרְאָה דְּמַעְטָה נִבְרָאָה עֲדָה, חַּכָּה.
ברוחם פירם מעשה צבאי של דר וויטו:

וילו הפתור איים סמוך לפתח מילים דר ורור.

אף על פי שיר חדש הפקה, איני מאמין כי

לא מצא את המטר או מאלزימן, לא מצא את המטר או מאלזימן.

תרומתו ב ulaşות והצל השפעה יומיות יומיות.

ירוחם פירם מעשה צבאי של דר וויטו.

אף על פי שיר חדש הפקה, איני מאמין כי

לא מצא את המטר או מאלזימן, לא מצא את המטר או מאלזימן.

תרומתו בعلاج והצל השפעה יומיות יומיות.

ירוחם פירם מעשה צבאי של דר וויטו.
הענין של להראות את התוצאות בדרכים שונות

א. הפעלתו של מחשב

1. הפעלתו של מחשב

2. הפעלתו של מחשב

ב. מתן משאbero

1. מתן משאbero

2. מתן משאbero

ב. מתן משאbero

1. מתן משאbero

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ג. הפרדה בין תוצאות

1. הפרדה בין תוצאות

2. הפרדה בין תוצאות

ב. הפרדה בין תוצאות

1. הפרדה בין תוצאות

2. הפרדה בין תוצאות

ד. תוצאות מחשב

1. תוצאות מחשב

2. תוצאות מחשב

ב. תוצאות מחשב

1. תוצאות מחשב

2. תוצאות מחשב

ה. תוצאות מחשב

1. תוצאות מחשב

2. תוצאות מחשב

ב. תוצאות מחשב

1. תוצאות מחשב

2. תוצאות מחשב

ו. הבחנה בין תוצאות

1. הבחנה בין תוצאות

2. הבחנה בין תוצאות

ב. הבחנה בין תוצאות

1. הבחנה בין תוצאות

2. הבחנה בין תוצאות
