

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT
WORKERS UNION

VOL. I

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No. 4.

A GOOD BEGINNING

DON'T FORGET THE GREAT PICKET DEMONSTRATION
NEXT MONDAY!

Twelve thousand of the ladies' waist makers who were on strike, about one-third of the entire number, have returned to work. The Wholesale Dressmakers' Association and the Dress Contracting Manufacturers Association have drawn up an agreement with the union, granting all the union's demands. Each of these associations has also agreed to deposit a sum of twenty thousand dollars (\$20,000) as cash security that they will live up to the terms of the agreement. Twelve thousand workers have already won for themselves a forty-four hour week, an increase of ten percent in their wages on condition that the other five percent for the piece workers and the fifteen percent for the week workers shall be deposited with the union for a short time, until the arbitrator, who is to be, either Louis Marshall, Frank P. Walsh or Judge Julian W. Mack shall give out his decision in this matter. There are to be no discharges without a trial within forty-eight hours. Next week the strikers begin to draw strike benefit. Those who have already returned to work have pledged themselves to contribute to the support of the strikers, ten percent of their wages for the whole duration of the strike. The Joint Board has agreed to contribute the sum of fifty thousand dollars to the Ladies Waist and Dressmakers' Union. It has already sent in its check for twenty-five thousand dollars.

Just two weeks ago the ladies' waist and dressmakers' union declared a general strike of all ladies waist and dress makers because the ladies' waist manufacturers' association had taken it into their head that now was the time to break the union. Two weeks after the calling of the strike which the manufacturers had hoped to win with the aid of one single weapon—by starving the workers into submission—the strike is about to be won by the workers. No—it has already been won because there is not a single chance in a hundred that the workers may lose.

Last Tuesday when the Wholesale Dress Manufacturers Association on the one hand and the Dress Contracting Manufacturers on the other hand, organizations, that employ about eight thousand workers, agreed to accept all the union terms, and also agreed not to buy or manufacture any goods for or to sell their goods to any person with which the union had not come to terms, and when these associations put down the sum of forty thousand dollars in cash with the union as security; last Tuesday, just two weeks after the calling of the strike when the dress contracting manufacturers and the wholesale dress manufacturers, about 350 in number, signed the union agreement, according to which the work week will never exceed forty-four hours, wages raised ten percent at present and the

remaining five and ten percent to be deposited with the union until the issuing of the decision of the arbitrator; last Tuesday when these two bosses' associations agreed that a worker must not be discharged at the sweet will of the boss but that he owes the worker an explanation for his act—on that Tuesday was signed the death warrant of the entire plan of the manufacturers who by their blind obstinacy forced the worker to declare a strike.

The manufacturers have suddenly had torn from their hands all the weapons with which they had gotten ready to fight; their cry that without the right to discharge a worker at will, they could not carry on their business, now sounds laughable in face of what has taken place—when 350 bosses declared that this condition of the union was a very plausible one and that they were ready to abide by it. Neither can the bosses of the Ladies' Waist Manufacturers' Association now argue that to grant the demands of the workers: a forty-four hour work week and an increase in wages—would mean bankruptcy for them. Since more than 350 manufacturers have agreed to all these demands and not only do they stand in no fear of bankruptcy but they still expect to make a large profit. These hundreds of manufacturers are not novices in the trade. Neither are they speculators. They have

money—they have deposited with the union forty thousand dollars in cash. They surely must know what they are about. And when these bosses can afford to do this, then surely the bosses of the association can also afford to do it.

And the very worst news for the association bosses must have been the decision of the general strike committee to begin paying out strike benefit to all strikers who will need it. This must have dealt the bosses the heaviest blow. Just think—on the one hand the 12,000 workers will, each week of the strike, pay into the union ten percent of their earnings and on the other hand the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union has agreed to donate fifty thousand dollars half of which sum they have already sent in to union headquarters. There is no doubt that equally generous will be the response of all Jewish and non-Jewish workers—and in this way there vanishes like a soap bubble the dream of the bosses that they could starve the workers into submission.

And this is the state of af-

fairs in the strike of the ladies' waist makers just two weeks after it was called. The situation is a very encouraging one for the workers and an equally discouraging one for the bosses. The workers may now be sure that their fight has been won; and if the bosses are still capable of using their brains, then they must know that they have lost the game and that there is not the slightest hope that they may win anything by continuing the fight. After giving a little thought to the matter they will have to come to the conclusion that the only way of saving themselves from the unfortunate situation into which they were led by their love of gain and by their shortsightedness is to surrender.

Yes, the manufacturers must have been given much food for thought by the events of last Tuesday. And the sooner they will decide to give up the game, the better will it be for them—despite the arguments of their clever lawyer who is the only one who has any real interest in prolonging the strike which has proven to be such an unfortunate affair for the bosses.

ABOUT THE BIG FUND OF THE CLOAKMAKERS

The decision of the Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union to establish a great fund to which every cloakmaker shall contribute the sum of five dollars, must of necessity appeal to every intelligent cloakmaker who understands the situation and who knows that the fund, and a very large fund, is absolutely necessary in order to be able once for all to do away with the unfortunate piece work system and to substitute for it the week work system. This would be the only radical means of assuring the cloakmakers of their existence as workers and men, and would also put the entire cloak industry on a firm basis.

We have not the time now to consider this great undertaking from all angles. We shall yet return to this. But we must draw the attention of the cloakmakers to one point.

The planned revolution in our trade can be a very peaceful one if the bosses will only rightly understand that this revolution is not against their interests. But will the bosses grasp this? It may happen that the unfortunate idea will enter the heads of the bosses

that it is worth their while to run the risk of a fight. This, above all, if they will believe that the union treasury is not strong enough to carry through such a fight. But the bosses will think quite differently when they will know that the union has a special fund for this fight, say, of a half million dollars. One may be sure that they will think twice before they will enter into a fight.

And in this way the strike fund may become a peace fund. It may bring about that the revolution which must come in the cloak trade will turn out to be a very peaceful revolution.

And the sooner, the more energetically, and the more efficiently this fund will be created, the greater will be the chances for a peaceful solution of the now ripened change in the cloak industry.

This the cloakmakers must bear in mind when beginning to create this big fund. It is true that for some it will be rather difficult to contribute the sum of five dollars, but that is not to be considered. Difficult or not, the fund must be created. The very existence of the cloakmakers is at stake. Then let this be done with the greatest amount of energy and with a willing spirit.

By Hillel Rogof

Flora I. Foreman

Mrs. Foreman was choic teacher in Oregon. Her health was not of the best and in the winter of 1917-18 she went to Texas Panhandle to get the benefit of the warm, dry climate. She was a pacifist and did not attract much notice. Her private conversations were reported to the U. S. Attorney and she was indicted under the Espionage Act. The indictment charged that she had said (1) That she was opposed to this war but that a revolution "was the only thing in this country"; (2) That she was opposed to the aid to the Red Cross because she wasn't afraid not to see many more others; (3) That the Government of the U. S. was not Democratic and the people had no more freedom than the people of Germany; (4) That she was opposed to the draft law and that she was ready to be drafted men were their superiors. (Continued on page 5.)

STRIKE MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND AND ITS CAUSE

By A. Zeldin.

We are told by all newspaper dispatches that the strike situation in England is a serious one. The strike fever has infected almost the entire country and the government, we are informed, is very much worried by it. Belfast, the great industrial center of Ireland, is completely under control of a strike committed which issues its own paper and has its own police. The city officials, willingly or not, have had to appear before the strike committee and the chief of police of Belfast takes orders from the members of this committee. It has been reported that when strikers go to some hotel to cut off its electric light supply, they are accompanied by a few members of the police force. This fact, in itself, best illustrates the state of affairs over there.

Next to Belfast comes Glasgow, the capital of Scotland, as a storm center of the strike movement. The strike there has crippled one of the greatest industries of the city, or rather, of all of England—the ship-building industry. In that city clashes have already taken place between the strikers and the government. The government sent ten thousand soldiers to Glasgow to maintain order there. A number of strike leaders were arrested, after a battle with the police in which a few on either side were wounded. The police used as weapons, batons, or heavy sticks, and the strikers made use of bottles, bricks and the like.

In other parts of England there are strikes of the coal-miners, the engineers, the electricians and others. Half a million railroad workers brought in an ultimatum and if their demands will not be granted before the ninth of February, they will call a general strike. The bakers, too, are preparing to strike, etc., etc.

These are the facts reported in the daily press. These facts speak for themselves and from them one can readily see that the talk about the seriousness of the situation is not exaggerated.

But all papers are strangely silent about one thing—the chief demands of the strikers. Reading the reports in the daily press, one might come to the conclusion that the strike outbreak is the result of the usual dispute between employers and employees about wages, hours and labor conditions. This may be true of a few individual cases but it is surely not true of the movement as a whole. It has become known that in many instances the workers are not striking for any of the above-mentioned demands. It is also reported that the strikers have come into open conflict with the recognized labor leaders. But what the strikers want is not told us.

We find the key to this remarkable state of affairs in the report that the "shop-stewards" or the "young hotheds" are responsible for the strike movement. This explains the whole situation; this makes clear the dispute between the old union leaders and the new strike leaders, and this also explains why the English government has decided not to take a hand in the dispute, and has taken up itself simply the keeping of order.

The present strike movement

in England, under the leadership of the "shop-stewards" is not merely a movement for better wages and hours, but has as its aim the revolutionizing of the entire system of production. This is a movement to finally get for the worker the control of industry. At present, it seems, the fight is for the recognition of the "shop-stewards" or the industrial soviets.

The shop-steward system grew up and developed in England during the period of the war. The was which shook to the very foundation all established institutions, also created an upheaval in the old English trade unions. Because of the needs of the war the English labor unions were forced to give up a great many of their privileges and to take into their ranks elements which formerly stood outside the gates of organized labor. In order to increase production, the workers of England permitted the introduction of new labor saving machines and this made it possible for a large number of unskilled workers to enter industries which formerly employed skilled workers only. The coming of large numbers of unskilled workers into the so-called "skilled" industries weakened the control of the skilled worker over the industry and in this way also weakened the power of the unions. The new elements that entered the industries will remain there. Being formerly excluded from the better-paying industries and now standing in danger of losing their newly-acquired positions, they are, of course, more revolutionary and more determined in the fight. It is, therefore, natural for them to have aligned themselves with the more radical elements in the British trade union movement, and from this alignment there has grown up the "shop-steward" movement.

The "shop-stewards" are rightly called the industrial soviets and they very much resemble the Russian soviets.

The organization of the "shop-stewards" is as follows: every department of a factory elects its own "shop-stewards" or shop chairman. A factory has, of course, many departments, and the chosen representatives of the various departments constitute a "factory committee" which represents the workers of the entire factory. The committee takes up with the administration all disputes that arise between the workers and employers.

Again, all factories in the same industry, elect representatives to a committee which represents the workers of the whole industry; and in this way there is created an industrial soviet which represents the industry as a whole. This is very different from the old trade union which represented only individual trades in the industry. The shop-steward movement has, in this way, realized the ideal of the industrials, or syndicalists, to create one great union.

Up to now the "shop-steward" movement was in harmony with the old trade union system. The members of the trade unions paid dues to their organizations and there was established a sort of double system of representation. Now it has come to a conflict be-

tween the "shop-steward" and the old unions. The industrial soviets have rejected the agreement made between the trade union leaders and the employers and have put forth other demands. In the engineering trade the shop-stewards ask for the direct representation of the workers, and a forty-four hour week instead of one of forty-seven hours which is granted them by the agreement drawn up by the old union leaders.

The industrial soviet of the railroad workers asks for a thirty-six hour week for the day workers and a thirty-four hour week for the night workers, in place of the forty-eight hour week which was decided upon by the union leaders in their agreement with the employers.

What is most characteristic of the present strike movement is the fact that the chief fight is being carried on for the principle of recognition. The bosses refuse to recognize the "shop-stewards" as the authorized representatives of the workers and do not wish to negotiate with them. The government has also adopted this attitude.

It is a symptom of the times that in order to combat the new

danger the employers and the government have placed themselves on the side of the old union leaders.

It does not appear that the "shop-stewards" have as yet worked out a list of general demands, but each industrial soviet puts forth its own demands.

The soviet of the railroad workers, in addition to the above-mentioned demand for shorter hours has put forth a still greater and more important demand—equal representation in the railroad administration, or an equal say with the owners in the administration of the railroads.

The Scotch soviets, at a conference in Glasgow, demanded of the government that it should pass a law legally establishing the eight hour work day. It is not known what are the demands of the Glasgow soviets.

From all this it becomes apparent that the shop-steward strike movement in England is striving, consciously or unconsciously, to get for the worker the control of industry, or at least to bring about a state of affairs where the worker shall have an equal say with the owners of the industry.

HAPPY COUNTRY THIS AMERICA OF OURS!

By Alfred La Porta

There is no room for "Bolsh" on this side of the Atlantic. And no, Leon-Nicholai combination can get hold of our public mind.

We may notice a contradiction here and there, between what we read or write in order to mould public opinion and what we practice in actual life; but after all we must remind ourselves that humanist errare.

It is true that apples are rotting on the ground while we are forced to pay 5 cents for a single fruit, but we should consider that the fruit merchant, the fruit broker and the middleman are also human beings. They work nearly 5 hours a day to get rid of their merchandise and feed the public, and logically they are entitled to compensation in a measure adequate to the great service they render. If they work longer hours then they risk to exhaust their energy and in the long run we will be deprived of their intelligent co-operation.

The Milk Distributors

Why, who can accuse them of cruel activity if they throw hundreds of thousands of gallons of milk in the rivers in order to keep the equilibrium between production and consumption? It is by maintaining the balance in the law of demand and supply that the exceptional prosperity has been secured to our country. The packers have accumulated so much meat (lamb, pork, beef and fowls) that they risk to be compelled to commit the crime of reducing the prices to almost half of what they are now. And this after they have been so earnest in their efforts to double the production and help to win the war. Republics are ungrateful and spiteful is the compensation coming to the patriotism of the packers.

Still they don't forget that the welfare of their country comes first. And to avoid any further

waste, they plan for the future to restrict production to such a point that the public will learn to appreciate the value of meat and pay the right price for the right stuff. In so doing, the packers, are also taking good care of public health. Meat in many cases is dangerous; especially in the great number of rheumatic affections and kidney troubles. If prices are too low, people will be reckless and use too much meat to the detriment of their own life.

So Is With Eggs, Butter, Vegetables, Etc.

We Americans went too far in disregarding the most elementary rules of dietary hygiene. We ate so much that we were nearly going to burst. We swallowed so much of butter that our calories are becoming a serious menace to the Coal Trust.

An overfed nation becomes lazy, loses all ambition and falls prey to gastritis, enterocolic, enterite and all other intestinal disturbances, with a heavy death rate.

We working people are prejudiced against all those who live in an upper level. We are looking with suspicion to whatever comes to us from those who don't belong to our ranks. It appears to me that pessimism is part of our nature.

It is for our own benefit that we should modify our frame of mind and appreciate the philanthropic disposition of those who, by the will of our Lord, were put in the upper strata of the human race.

Only when we learn to look at the bright side of things we will live happy and be satisfied.

We must discard the black eye-glass that we usually employ in examining the runs of this life and try to conduct our observation through the lenses of beauty, friendship and cooperation.

JUSTICE

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FROM THE EDITOR'S NOTE BOOK

IS THERE REALLY NO END TO THE STUPIDITY OF THE LADIES' WAIST MANUFACTURERS?

The more one studies the struggle being made by the ladies' waist makers, the more one marvels at them. He cannot fail to notice the determination, the firmness and the directness with which the workers are approaching their goal. From the very start they made up their minds that they would not permit the bosses to confuse the minds of the public. And they succeeded splendidly in this. The bosses came out with a denunciation of the "Bolsheviks," hoping in this way to startle the public, but the workers immediately made clear to the public that in spite of their alleged "Bolshevism" they were willing to arbitrate all the "Bolshevist" demands which they had put forth.

Then the bosses raised the cry that the president of the International B. Schlesinger had slandered them by saying that they wished to deprive the worker of the rights which they had enjoyed in the shops during the last six years. But in a short while they had to swallow their own words and admit, unwillingly, that Schlesinger had spoken nothing but the truth.

Then they came to the public with a new grievance, saying that they were being accused of wishing to break the union. This, they vehemently asserted, was not the case. But a day after these ardent denials, they branded the whole union as a lawless gang, saying that the Mayor would be guilty of gross neglect if he should order the New York police to let the strikers picket quietly and lawfully, without smashing their rebellious heads.

One could see clearly from their letter to the Mayor what true friends of the union they were, and that they had never dreamt of breaking it.

A few days later, Schlesinger dealt them a telling blow by letting the public know of the insanitary conditions of the shops. This story hurt them. They had cracked themselves up to be real philanthropists, and now to have such a bomb hurled into their camp! They tried to deny the truth of his statement. But the truth was too apparent and they only injured themselves the more by their denials.

And now they declare through the press that they are going to open their shops to a new kind of worker—not to the terrible "Reds" who have caused them so much trouble. This threat makes one laugh. From their

statement one would think that ever since January 21, when the strike began, until the present day, they have kept their shops closed, and that now they are going to open them. The fact that they have been open all the time, but no one came near them. And on top of this comes their announcement that they will employ a new kind of workers obedient and quiet, a worker who will ask only half the present wages so he may be in the good graces of the boss. Can there be a greater piece of stupidity? Where can such workers be found nowadays? Whom do the bosses think to fool by such stupid tricks? And even if one should grant that in Greater New York, where flourish such antediluvian bosses, there may also be found a few hundred such foolish girls, can these do all the work? Will these few hundred take the places of the thirty thousand skilled workers? Who can take such statements seriously? And even if the bosses should find such workers how long will it be before the new and "good" girls become "bad" and go out on strike on their own hook?

And if the bosses should obtain, or rather inveigle, a few foolish girls into their services one may expect them to come out with a great hue and cry that the strike has been broken. Compare with the conduct of the bosses that of the workers. In the first days of the strike many ladies' waist manufacturers came to settle. Shortly after, about 4,000 strikers returned to work. Did the strikers make a great fuss over this? And at this writing, the union is about to sign an agreement with the contractors and jobbers, granting all the union demands. This will bring the number of those who have returned to work up to twelve thousand, which means that more than a third of the strike has been won by the workers. This is surely good cause for raising a triumphal shout. Yet you will notice that in the press this news will be stated very modestly as though it were an ordinary matter.

And this is the great difference between the striking workers and the bosses of the ladies' waist manufacturers' association.

The workers, being sure of victory, do everything slowly and carefully and make no noise and throw no dust into the eyes of the public. They know that the truth is their best weapon. But the bosses who know that their cause is lost, are guilty of one stupidity after another; make a great outcry over nothing in the belief that this will

help them. They fail to realize that in this way they are helping the worker win his just and great fight.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LABOR SITUATION IN ENGLAND

One does not have to be a student of history to be able to explain the causes of the labor unrest now prevalent in England. These causes are self-evident so that everyone who is not willing to deceive himself, can easily understand them.

First of all these disturbances prove that the beautiful promises which the labor masses have been fed during the last four years, have now lost all their power over these workers. And this is so despite the fact that during the time of the war these empty promises exerted so strong an influence upon the British organized workers that they willingly gave up all the rights which they had won as trade unionists. What the English worker now wants is to see these phrases converted into deeds. The disturbances all over England prove simply that the workers are trying to collect the great debt due them, and which, they have begun to fear, will never be paid them.

They were assured that all limitations and curtailments of their rights and privileges would be effective only for the duration of the war, until the enemy would be defeated, and that as soon as the war would end, they would not only recover all their lost privileges but in addition they, who had actually born the burden of the terrible slaughter, would finally get a taste of real living. But as yet, of all these promises, not one has been fulfilled. The system of work installed during the war, has not yet been changed, and as it seems, the capitalist intends to leave it unchanged because it brings him much better results than the old system. And, as yet, there can be seen no improvement in the life of the worker. On the contrary their work has become heavier with difficulties, and it seems that conditions will grow more and more unendurable. What, therefore, is so surprising in the outbreak of the present disturbances in England? On the contrary it would have been very surprising if these had not occurred.

Let us recall to the reader that the war broke-out just when great labor strikes were going on in England. As early as four and a half years ago the English worker had begun to feel that he was not getting his proper share of the goods enjoyed by society, and at that time he put forth very definite demands. The war however, had interrupted those great strikes. Patriotism, the fear of a foreign enemy, forced the workers of England to postpone the settling of accounts with the enemy inside the border. For this reason the present disturbances may be regarded as a continuation, as another chapter in the conflict which was halted by the war.

Of course, many people hoped that the war would put an end to class conflict in all countries. There was some reason for this belief. During the time of the war there had been concluded the famous civil peace. And this lasted for four years. The

classes came nearer to each other, both at the front where the blood of all classes flowed alike, and also in the factory where all had but one aim in view—to defeat the enemy. Thus, in the minds of many there was born the thought that the war would put an end also to the great class conflict—that the former deep chasm that separated capitalism and labor would be bridged. But this was a vain hope. The truth is that even during the time of the war, the chasm was not bridged, but was covered over with very thin planks. Capital, under the mask of the most ardent patriotism, did not, for a moment, lose sight of its own interests.

Its profits from the war were greater than its sacrifices for the war. It was the worker, himself, who brought the real sacrifices, but in the confusion and tumult of the war, this was not clearly seen, and the worker forced himself to overlook this and not to see what was going on. But what wonder is it that as soon as the workers came to themselves, the class struggle should flare up in all its old power?

They had so often been told that this war was different from all former wars; that it was not a war for the glory of the love of capital and for its interests, but a peoples' war, in which the peoples themselves were mostly interested. They believed this, and without a murmur went into the firing line; went to certain death. With remarkable fortitude and courage those who had to remain behind the lines bore the burdens and accomplished the work which had to be done if success was to be achieved at the front. Finally the war came to an end. And what did the workers gain? The capitalist and manufacturer did not change his attitude in the least through the four years of war; his sole thought as ever was profits. The worker found that the manufacturer after the war, was ten times as powerful as before. He found that his intention to hold the workers to that which the bloody war had brought him. How natural then that the English working man should put this question to himself: Where do I come in? What have I gained? What has been my gain through the victory of our country? True, our country has been victorious but where is my victory? What does all this mean to me?

Some may think that the English worker should have been patient; should have waited a little longer. Why, they think, should he have been so hasty to strike? He should have waited patiently; something would have been done for him. But the English worker is not so constituted. He seems to think differently. It was his view that this was the time to strike, that to be timid and to wait until the promises made him were fulfilled, would be running too great a risk. He thought that this was the best time to act; that delay would be harmful. And who, knowing how many times his promises made to the workers have been broken, and knowing that the worker has never won anything for himself unless he has fought for it with might and main, can reproach the English worker for his impatience?

THE FEAR OF MASS IMMIGRATION IN AMERICA

By LILIPUT.

Again the enemies of immigration have lifted their heads and raised an outcry about the great "immigration peril" which is about to engulf our country. And once again the bitter anti-immigrationist, of the American congress, the father of the anti-immigration law, Congressman Burnett, has begun his attacks on immigration.

He has introduced a bill in congress which, if passed, will forbid all immigration to America for a period of four years. And when Burnett takes up a bill he manages to have it passed because most of the congressmen are with him. He expresses the sentiments of the majority of the members of congress.

True, it may be that this bill, banning immigration, will not be passed by this congress, but "to postpone does not mean to do away with altogether"; and if this bill is not passed by the present congress then it will surely succeed in the next congress.

Why is it that the opponents of immigration have taken the matter up right now?

There are several reasons for this. First it is expected, that immediately after the signing of the peace, a great immigration into America will begin. The terrorized inhabitants of unfortunate Europe will rush to America, hoping to find here a haven of rest. Then again, due to the necessary reconstruction, there will be a great wave of unemployment in this country. Then millions of soldiers will return from the camps in France and England to find their jobs taken by others and these, not finding any work to do in their own trades, will have to find employment in cheaper trades in order to earn a living.

And These Disturbances Have Still Another Meaning

In the second place, the present industrial unrest in England signifies that the former labor leaders in England have plainly outlived their usefulness; that they no longer understand the needs and demands of the modern worker; that in the lapse of years they have built up a bureaucracy which is now a stumbling stone in the path of the progressive labor movement. For these reasons all the strikes in England have been called against the will, over the very heads, of the old, petted labor leaders. These leaders are not dishonest men. But, by their whole psychological make-up, they are not at this time fitted for the needs of the workers brought about by present conditions. What was bound to happen has happened.

Neither is this an entirely new phenomenon in England. The reader may recall that even before the war a few great strikes had been called against the will of the old leaders, who did not have the power to avert them. The present conflicts are thus a continuation of those which took place in England before the war.

The old labor leaders, who are all trade unionists, think that all the worker needs fight for is

Then it is also asserted that after every war there must come a critical period and it takes a long time before life once again assumes its normal trend.

And for this period of time the opponents of immigration wish to close the gates of America to foreigners. And in this they have the support of a large section of the people.

Our American Federation of Labor which has always opposed immigration, has also entered the fight this time in favor of the Burnett bill, and has begun to agitate strongly in labor circles to create sentiment for the bill and against immigration.

The American Federation of Labor adopts the point of view that immigrants tend to lower wages and do not permit the workers to rise, to attain a higher standard of living, and for these reasons, the immigrants should be kept out.

Gompers, before leaving for the international labor conference at Berne, spoke against immigration, and left orders that the Burnett bill should be supported. And Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor, has already begun his activities; has thrown himself into the fight with all the strength and force which he possesses.

Recently he appeared before the House Immigration Committee and demanded that the law, closing the gates of America to immigrants, should immediately be passed, because "when the men in the armies will be demobilized we shall have a bread-line in every industrial center, and this will come about the first of May. It is, however, to be hoped that this will not last long, because at that time the building trades

a raise in wages, a shortening of the work-week, and that once these demands have been gained, the worker must be content, pay his dues in the union and do whatever he is called on to do. These leaders overlooked the fact that new times had come, bringing new demands, and that the trade unionists now wants more than before. The trade unionist is no longer content with being a machine in the shop; he wants to feel himself a human being there; to have a say in affairs. Besides, he is convinced that he has the best rights in the world. These demands because he feels himself to be not only a worker but also a human being who has at last acquired a deeper feeling of self-respect. All these things were unnoticed by the leaders. They still adhered to the principles of old trade unionism and therefore the movement had to leave them behind.

What a splendid lesson this should be for the labor leaders of other countries! How much this should teach the stereotyped leaders in America who still look, with the eyes of fifty years ago, upon the labor movement and do not want to notice the tremendous changes which these great and wonderful times have made in the hearts and minds of the rank and file.

will begin work again and a few hundred thousand men will find employment there, but unemployment will last for a long time."

After delivering this threat, Morrison proceeded to state facts to prove that already there is a great deal of unemployment in many cities because of changed industrial conditions.

He stated that in New York there are about 120,000 people out of work; in Chicago, 75,000; in Cleveland, 40,000; in New Orleans, 20,000; in Boston, 20,000, etc.

The only solution proposed by Morrison to this condition of unemployment which will be greatly aggravated when the soldiers will begin coming back is the closing of America's gates to immigrants, for the next four years. And he claims that the labor leaders all over the country agree with him in this, entertain the same sentiment with Gompers and himself.

Whether or not all this is true, one thing is evident and that is that the anti-immigration movement is now very powerful and the friends of immigration will have a hard fight to counteract it.

But are conditions really such? And is an anti-immigration law the only remedy for unemployment?

We think not. We think that the anti-immigrationists with Gompers and Morrison at their head, exaggerate the unemployment situation greatly. It is true that there is unemployment in America, but there are always people out of work. We have had unemployed even at times most favorable to the worker, when about three million of our boys were in the trenches and in the camps and when the ammunition and the other factories were working on very large orders and could not find enough hands to make uniforms and furnish equipments for the soldiers and sailors.

For four years we have received no immigrants; our gates have been practically closed; and yet the workers have not made such great fortunes. Even at the most favorable times, the times of the greatest war-profiteering, the workers did not enjoy such great prosperity, neither have they much to expect now whether our gates will be shut or open.

We believe that there are better and more effective methods of improving the condition of the workers than the passing of anti-immigration laws. Let them pass laws protecting the workers. Let laws be passed forbidding child labor altogether; laws which will control the work of women to such a degree that the health of the women shall be guarded. Let a law be passed determining a minimum wage, forbidding anyone to work for less than the amount specified by it, and let the workers win for themselves high maximum wages. At the same time let there be introduced by law a shorter work day, beginning with the forty-

four hour week and then shortening it still more, and then we shall not have to stand in fear of immigrants and we shall not have to tremble lest they tend to decrease wages and bring about unemployment.

Let But our leaders and providers, both in the capitalist and in the old trade union camps, do not want to know anything of all this. True, the labor leaders have recently begun to speak in revolutionary language. They have learnt the revolutionary phraseology. But they do not go beyond talk. The old-fashioned trade union leaders are afraid to enter the fight and for this reason the minds of the workers are now being confused with arguments about the various anti-immigration bills and with threats of an oncoming mass immigration which will engulf America and put the American and Americanized workers out into the street.

To tell the truth, we do not believe in all this talk about a general immigration to America. True, Europe is terrorized, is disrupted and confused. But let us not deceive ourselves. As soon as peace will be signed a great movement of reconstruction will begin in Europe. There will be a great need of workers, skilled and unskilled, and salesmen.

The intelligent and the half-intelligent will find work there. There will be work for years and years to come. New states and nations have been founded or are being founded. Industry and commerce will flourish there. Nations with the greatest possibilities will be set up. People overseas will begin to earn good wages in cities and provinces which will have to be rebuilt.

And because of all this we very much doubt whether there will begin an immigration to America on such a large scale. If people will come they will come in much smaller numbers than in former years, and there is no good, valid excuse for the year which they seek to cast upon us and for all this hysteria.

Again, we think that the wheel of fortune will turn about. Immediately after the signing of the peace there will begin a great emigration from America, an emigration back home. Many people who escaped to America from the nationally and politically oppressed countries, and who have not been able to acclimate themselves here, to fit themselves to their surroundings, will return to their now-liberated homelands, where they will have greater possibilities to develop and live their own lives, where they are better fitted to live, knowing the language, the customs, the psychology and the culture of the land.

And this can be testified to by the many business houses and bankers to whom hundreds of thousands of "foreigners" have come with applications for boat tickets, intending at the first opportunity to pack their belongings and return home.

A great many people will return to Poland, to Russia, and to the new Central European countries, Czech-Slovakia (Jugo-Slavia), etc. Many Jews will emigrate to Palestine. There will be places to go to and people will go. And, of course, people will come here. Of this there is no doubt. But the number will surely be smaller, much

OUR CAUSE SPREADS OVER LAND AND SEA

By William Morris Feigenbaum

The world is in the rapids. There never was a time like the present so pregnant with change. Whither are we going? What sort of a world are we going to be when the present uneasiness and disturbances are over?

No one knows—no one can say with absolute certainty.

A striking feature of that movement of today is the fact that the people are themselves taking part in shaping their own destinies. Never before, at the end of a great conflict has there been so much activity on the part of the people themselves, following up and solidifying the results of a war for the people rather than for the statesmen. While the diplomats are at Versailles, the people are remaking the world. There are too few forward looking statesmen, few enough of the type of President Wilson, who realizes that what the diplomats do is of little importance if the people themselves do not choose to consider it of importance.

What is it that is sweeping over the world? The reactionaries; compelled to fight it, and finding no other name for it, call it Bolshevism, and most of them have not the slightest idea what even the word means.

Today, the focus of the attention of all the people of the world is in England. Today, England is in the throes of general strikes, which are spreading hourly.

What is happening? Men and women, wild with alarm, shout that the Bolsheviks are there, that there are millions of Russians roubles, for the purpose of slaughtering the English people.

Explanations of that kind might suit ignoramus— they do not suit intelligent people.

There are millions of men in the English army who are soon to be discharged. They are going to look for jobs. There are other millions of English people who will no longer be engaged doing munitions work. They must find work.

Their first demands are a reduction of the hours of labor throughout the nation—some of the workers demanding 48 hours per week; some 44 and some 40 hours, then some of the workers began to demand better wages.

The strike has spread. It has tied up the shipyards on the Clyde (Glasgow, Scotland) and at Belfast, Ireland; at Liverpool and in other cities. In city after city, the streets are empty, the cars having ceased to run, and the lights have been extinguished. In every nook and corner of the United Kingdom, there are strikes.

Belfast, long known as the "City of Strikes," is dead, and what will be the situation a week hence, none can say.

The railway men of the entire Kingdom are threatening a general strike on February 9th unless some governmental action is taken. Shipbuilders, miners, machinists—all are going out tens of thousands an hour from one end of the nation to the other.

The details from Ireland are interesting. An Irish Trade Union congress has been called

to meet on February 8th. It will be composed, it is believed, by the extreme Sinn Feiners. It will demand a universal 48 hour week, and increases of 150 percent in wages; the minimum demanded will be \$12 per week instead of the present \$6.

A cable to the New York World, speaking of the Irish parliament formed by the meeting of the Sinn Feiners elected to the British Parliament and who refuse to take their seats, says:

"In several of the localities in which there were strikes, the workers were granted all that they demanded, and went back to work, completely victorious. But in section after section, more and more thousands are more than making up those numbers."

Now some pertinent facts appear that may indicate the reason for the outbreaks at this time.

England has just had an election. Lloyd George won a striking victory. The electorate was greater than ever before, millions of men who had never before been allowed to vote, had the ballot, and many millions of women, for the first time in history, cast the vote.

Whatever campaign the Premier made was directed against the Labor party. The last few days of the fight, he spoke in the thickly populated working class sections denouncing the Labor men as pacifists, dreamers, unpatriotic, and traitors, while capitalist press was marshalled against the Labor party.

The revolution in Portugal was a "flavor."

The revolutionary movement that broke out in that country seems to have been a royalist and clerical reaction. The soft and easy going Manoel will have to return to England with his Hohenzollern wife, and live there again, as he has been living there for the past eight years.

A notable thing about the Portuguese republic is the case that every "fake" and "phony" revolutionary outbreak can get into the papers. In the eight years and more of the Republic, the government has been overthrown at least twice a year—and each time, there was nothing in the despatches to indicate that it had ever happened before.

No matter what one thinks of the Majority Socialists of Germany and their attitude throughout the war, this much must be said, that they have destroyed monarchy for all time, and without the help of outside meddlers, it will never return.

Another straw that shows the revolutionary tendency in Europe is the car strike that tied up Brussels for several days. Even in Belgium, the revolutionary urge is felt. The workers of that country fought their good fight, or they endured the German slavery for four years—but they are not satisfied that all is over. They are fighting now for universal suffrage for men and women, and from the little item about the strike, it seems as if they also demand other things, as well.

A stray item has come to this desk regarding riots in Portorico. The annual sugar cutting season having arrived, as usual, the number of workers needing jobs was greater than the number of jobs. The result was a clash, with two killed and seven wounded.

A local paper, the Times of San Juan, the capital of the island, says, imitating the capitalist press of the whole world, that "the cause of the riot is attributed to the spread of certain political propaganda"—namely, Bolshevism. But the cause of the riots were, as we read only a paragraph above, the shortage of jobs, and the overplus of men to fill them.

The revolutionary movement continues in South America. In Ecuador, there have been outbreaks with machine guns mounted on the roofs of houses in Guayaquil, the chief city of the Republic.

The Argentine strikes continued for weeks after the capitalist press had "settled" them, the port having been tied up in Buenos Aires for all these weeks. There is to be a general strike throughout the Republic on March 9th. In Chile, there are outbreaks, in Chile, Argentine, Uruguay and Bolivia.

The International Socialist congress is probably meeting now. Samuel Gompers was bitterly opposed to the congress, while President Wilson spent hours, according to press despatches, trying to convince Gompers that he ought to meet the Socialists of the world at Berne.

At first, according to cables, the Belgians would not meet the Germans. But even Emile Vandervelde, who is a delegate to the Peace Congress at Paris, seems to have been won over, and if the congress can get together, delegates will meet from the whole world, allied, German and neutral, to rebuild the Internationale.

Striking justification for the demand of the garment workers for better wages comes from the officials of the State of New York. In a bulletin just made public by the State Industrial Commission, it is shown that of all the workers of the state, the garment workers are the worst paid, in spite of the great prosperity of the industry as a whole.

The bulletin begins with a shout of praise for the prosperity of the state, asserting that "in December, 1913, the manufacturers of New York state expended for wages a sum larger than any which has so far been recorded. This amount was six percent larger than a similar one in November, and twenty-eight percent larger than the total expenditures for wages in December, 1917."

From November, 1918 to December, 1918, wages rose 16 percent in furs, leather and rubber goods, fifteen percent in paper, twelve percent in textiles—all the way down to one percent in clothing manufacturers!

The prices of the necessities of life rose two percent from November to December, and 19 percent from December, 1917 to December, 1918.

The average wages of the workers in various industries in New York range from \$27.39 in the metal trades (the machinists and sheet metal workers work-

ing on ships), down to \$17.31 per week for textile workers, and \$16.46 for clothing workers.

These are the figures of the Industrial Commission of the State of New York. We did not have to be told however, that clothing workers were a little worse off than workers in other lines, we knew it.

At the bottom of the heap in the material things in life, but second to none in intelligence, in courage and in labor solidarity, it is any wonder that the employers of garment workers fight so bitterly when they see their employees aroused?

And is it any wonder that the workers, now that they are out, will not rest until they have been completely victorious?

SOLVING THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY IN EDUCATION

By Elizabeth Harrison

"We must not sacrifice, even in an emergency, the increased national efficiency which can be obtained only through organized training," is the warning issued by the Educational Committee of the American Federation of Labor, the great body through whose organized activities American labor became a recognized and tremendously important factor in winning the war.

Cannot this mighty organization see it that education shall begin with the beginning of a child's conscious activity; and that habits of order, cleanliness, and obedience, as well as the awakening and directing of the power to do shall be started before the child is three years of age?

Can they not see the necessity that the kindergarten shall be added to all our public schools? For it is now a well established fact that it organizes a child's life and starts him along the right, road of happy cooperation with other children, into a love of worth-while activities, into a realization that his hands can construct instead of destroy, with a love of happy, wholesome activities; and that at the same time, it takes care of the physical condition, giving him right wholesome out-of-doors activities and interests guarded and directed, but not checked. It looks after the care of his sight and his hearing. By intelligent oversight, it checks the spread of contagious diseases common to children; and in many cases, educates the young mother into cooperation in various ways.

Ought not these opportunities which the educational scientists of today proclaim, to be carefully considered by the great Federation of Labor, whose chief wealth, as well as whose chief joy, is its children?

MEN WORTH WHILE

"I give preference to unionists . . . because I am convinced that the man who gives a considerable portion of his time each week and a considerable portion of his earnings each week to try and improve the condition in which he lives is justly entitled to more consideration than the man who remains outside and will not give a portion of his time or a fraction of his money to better the conditions of himself and those who are dependent upon his earnings."—Judge Cusse of the Australian Arbitration Court

FRANZ MEHRING

By Esther Luria.

Another loss — another Socialist leader has passed away and again it is a German. But this time the death is not such a tragedy, although the loss is a great one. Franz Mehring died at the age of 72. He belonged to the same generation with William Liebknecht, Bebel, Singer and others. But he joined the ranks of the Socialists later than these men.

Mehring was a man of letters. His great talent lay in his writing. He concentrated all his activities in his pen. Mehring was of a temperamental, deep nature and a passionate fighter. He carried on his fight with his pen. He was an academician, a theoretician, a scientific man. He worked for the cause also with his pen. He was a great historian. He conducted his historical researches with great love and ardor; he would make the past live again; he would inject soul and spirit into the dead letters of his writings. Mehring created the history of the German social democratic party — it was a masterpiece. From fragments and manuscripts, from documents and protocols, he created an immortal work. Because of his writing he was a well-known figure. He was loved and hated because of his pen. With his pen he made his enemies tremble.

Mehring was born in the German province of Pomerania. This beautiful province has been the home of many great German poets and nationalists. The writing of poetry was always Mehring's favorite work. He was the theoretician who placed literature on a Marxian basis. He explained all literary tendencies in relation to the economic-political condition of the country. He began his activities in this field with an article on Lessing. Lessing, the great German dramatist, is the most beloved figure in Germany. Even Heine, who spared no one, did not attack him. Mehring also loved and respected Lessing. But this did not prevent him from proving that the German critics had not rightly understood him, the great dramatist. Literature, in particular, and art as a whole, always interested Mehring. Being greatly interested in art, he was drawn to study the question: What has the proletariat created in this field? In the "Neue Zeit" he wrote many essays on this subject.

Mehring was the son of a bourgeois family. He received a bourgeois upbringing, and an academic education. The smaller, than is expected by the opponents of immigration.

All these facts go to show us that all this anti-immigration propaganda is uncalled for — just a casting of dust in the eyes of people. There is no danger of a mass immigration, and since it is very likely that should America close her doors, many immigrants who would be useful and necessary will be excluded, all serious-minded people and true friends of labor must oppose this anti-immigration bill with all the means in their power.

temperamental, warm-blooded Mehring was not content with everyday life. He was an idealist. But it took a long time before he became a member of the social-democratic party. When he was past twenty he became a member of the citizens' democratic party, a party whose leader, Jacoby, was a radical. Its members were in sympathy with the socialist idea and stood in personal and spiritual contact with the leaders of the social-democratic party. The members of the citizens' democracy were idealists' highly spiritual men. Bebel and Liebknecht were in sympathy with this circle, and would meet with the influential members of the party. According to the German custom, they would meet in a restaurant over a glass of beer. Here they would hold ardent debates, and more than once it happened that on leaving the restaurant the men would begin debating all over again. These debates often lasted till early morning. In the meantime they would keep on drinking their beer. Bebel was not much of a drinker, Liebknecht was more advanced in the art and Mehring was a great lover of a good glass of beer.

The citizens' democracy issued a pamphlet, the "Zukunft." Weiss was its organ. About Weiss Mehring said in the columns of the "Neue Zeit" that he was one of the best stylists of the 19th century. Weiss was Mehring's ideal journalist; he learned from him. But soon the teacher confessed that his pupil had surpassed him. Weiss was charmed with Mehring's articles, disregarding the fact that he did not agree with the principles it upheld. The "Zukunft" and the weekly, the "Weg," did not exist for a long time. These papers, besides being party papers, were written in the finest style and preached the noblest ideals. The "Zukunft" protested against the Bebel-Liebknecht arrest. This protest bore many imputed signatures. Mehring was one of the signers. Then the government shut down the "Zukunft" and the "Weg." Mehring had been a contributor to these publications. Since he made his living by writing, he had to begin working for a less radical organ. He became the Berlin correspondent for the "Frankfurter Zeitung." But Mehring did not change his point of view when he changed his paper, and this was very significant. The "Zukunft" and the "Weg" had a small circle of readers. . . . the most progressive and most intellectual. But Mehring's articles were read for his style, for his temperament and spirit. Because of this his articles were a good means of propaganda. These articles were also read by the socialist leaders, because they gave a splendid picture of the cultural and social-political life in Berlin. Some time later Mehring left this paper and became a member of the social-democratic party.

Mehring was a man of moods — a hot-headed individual. He would quickly be carried away

with enthusiasm over something and would just as quickly lose his enthusiasm. This happened in matters pertaining to the social-democratic party. For a long time he opposed it. Then he became a contributor to the "Volkszeitung," worked there for a long time and then left it because of something that happened. A well-known Berlin actress came out in her defense. Lindau, the famous dramatist, was all-powerful at that time. He was opposed to this actress and because of him Mehring had to leave the "Volkszeitung."

Mehring was a passionate nature, but was always honest. He left the social-democratic party, wrote against it, but always was sincere in what he wrote. When he was writing his history of the social-democratic party the government wanted to subsidize him, so that he might put certain matters in a light suitable to it. But Mehring was not the man to be subsidized.

Mehring was first of all a writer. He would state his progressive ideas in the papers and circles which he worked. The socialist party did not yet have its periodicals, because this was forbidden by the government. But in the '90's restrictions were removed and they were permitted to issue their papers. Mehring

at that time realized that only in the socialist press would he be able to say what he truly, only there would he be able to tell the whole truth, and he again became a member of the party. The party realized that it could not find many such journalists and so invited Mehring to become the editor of the "Tägliche Volkszeitung," which is one of the best socialist dailies. Mehring, for time, also edited the "Neue Zeit," and many years contributed to this paper and worked along with it. At one of the Party Days Bebel said about Mehring's articles: "Many of Mehring's articles are among the pearls of German journalism."

Mehring remained all his life an enthusiast, a temperamental man. He could not get along very well with the editorial staff of the "Neue Zeit." But this did not lower him in the estimation of the members of the staff. Just two years ago the paper celebrated his seventieth birthday.

Mehring was not only of an ardent nature, but he was also a prolific writer. He wrote a great deal and his work was of excellent quality.

The most gifted, the most talented pass away. They leave us in greater numbers than others like them arrive. Let us hope that new forces will be created and in large numbers.

THE LADIES' WAIST M'RS AND THE BONNAZ HAND EMBROIDERERS

For the very first time in the history of negotiations between hand and manufacturers in the Ladies Waist and Dress Industry Local 66 is mentioned in the new contract that is now being signed up by both parties.

Some manufacturers are therefore asking in amazement: "Who is Local 66?" This question also came up at one of the conferences between the Union and the Jobbers and Contractors Association. As the new agreement entered with Locals 10, 25, 58 and 66 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, they are anxious to know the status of the latter.

Every boss is for the very first time asked according to paragraph 2 of the new agreement to employ none but members in good standing of the Union, in the cutting, operating, pressing, finishing, draping, cleaning, examining and in the making of button-holes; but also the embroidery required by the said employer. In the manufacture of waists and dresses it is to be done by members in good standing with Local 66.

Not very many people are aware of the fact that close to three thousand workers are employed in the making of embroidery exclusively in the waists and dresses in the City of New York. Fewer people know that there is such a union as Local 66 in being, that had great success in organizing completely the Bonnaez Embroiderers and gained for the workers a 44 hour week, and a minimum scale of wages, from \$40 to \$45 per week.

Local 66 consisting mainly of Bonnaez Embroiderers, in the past had gained of late the jurisdiction over the Singer and Hand Embroidery and is at the present time representing the entire industry. It should however be stated right now, that

the principal problem of the Embroidery Workers Union lies in the solution of the outside contracting. True, hundreds of embroidery workers are employed in the inside waist and dress factories, but most of the work is given out to outside contractors. Our embroidery bosses are therefore not only contracting the embroidery for the inside manufacturers, but are working also for the waist and dress contractors.

How shall our interests be protected in the future and what provisions are being made in the new agreement? Paragraph 16 reads as follows: "Contracting or sub-contracting of any character shall not be permitted in the shop of the employer. Before employing any outside contractor the employer shall furnish to the Union the name of such contractor or sub-manufacturer, so that the Union may have an opportunity to investigate the standards of safety and sanitation, and the rates of wages, and working conditions prevailing in the shops of the contractor or sub-manufacturer."

The employer is not to employ any contractors or sub-manufacturer, unless such contractor or sub-manufacturer operates under a contract with the Union.

And maintains the conditions and standards established by the Union under this contract in the shop of the employer herein."

Local 66 embodied in a resolution which was presented to the last convention in Boston, and unanimously decided upon by same. It is needless to say that we feel happy in seeing our dreams come true. We have thrown in our lot in the present struggle of the ladies waist makers, and are willing to make all sacrifices in battle for the common cause. We had stopped many embroidery establishments, which had been doing

work for waist and dress houses on strike.

Our entire membership voted unanimously for a general sympathetic strike with the ladies waist makers if the present emergency should so require. Naturally, we are looking to Local 25 that they, on their own part should do whatever in their power to assist us in our fight that the embroidery for the waists and dresses should be done in Union shops, and under Union conditions. Of course, some of us feel a little uneasy and contend that paragraph 16 is not definite enough, regarding the embroidery contractors, and are even nervous about the incident, that Local 66 was overlooked and not invited to participate at the conference table with the Jobbers and Contractors Association.

We have nevertheless full confidence in the International and I'm almost certain that our interests will be defended by its representatives.

O. WALINSKY, Manager.

Political Prisoners in America.
(Continued from page 2.)
officers and that they should be killed. She denied having made any of these statements.

Mrs. Foreman was held in jail at Amarillo, Texas for ten months before the trial. She was unable to raise the bail of \$10,000 which was required. Her case came before the court for trial in October, 1918 and she was convicted and sentenced to serve five years in prison.

Word For Word

Conventions, Mass Meetings, Etc.

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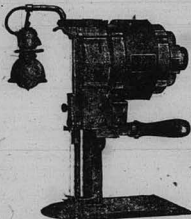
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