THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE RUSSIAN-JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, 1880-1914

By Harry Essrig

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the degree of Rabbi

Hebrew Union College
March, 1940

PREFACE

Jewish community life in this country is surrounded by an halo of ignorance of its past. For, with the possible exception of a few textbooks dealing in generalities, the field of American-Jewish history has lain fallow and barren. Particularly is this lack of adequate treatment of significant events and movements evident when we approach the Russian-Jewish section of our population. This group has not even had the benefit of the existing historical societies and has been treated more or less in the manner of a step-child by our savants.

It is with this thought in mind that the writer endeavored to unearth some of the facts relevant to the contributions of the Russian-Jewish immigrants to the American labor movement from 1880 to 1914. This is without doubt a vast topic, having many ramifications and requiring an acquaintance with various related fields. It is a pregnant topic, full of meaning for the Jewish and non-Jewish populations of this country. It is a fascinating topic, as are all themes that tell of man's triumph over unfavorable circumstances. And lastly, it is one that can illumine many aspects of Jewish communal life in this country.

The difficulties to be encountered in handling such a subject are of course legion. The writer was fully aware of them and consequently made no attempt to overcome them. The limitations imposed by the very nature of a Rabbinical thesis were kept in mind, with the result that the writer cannot lay claim to more than a mere superficial treatment of this topic. He is only "scratching the surface" and merely preparing a prelude to a more thoroughgoing study that may some day be completed. This thesis consequently

falls short in the following respects:

1. The sources used were largely secondary. Since our library does not house any of the labor periodicals that alone can serve as a true guide to the early development of trade unionism in the New York Ghetto, this aspect of the necessary research was left undone. Such a procedure would also have entailed work far beyond that which is usually required for a Rabbinical thesis. The result of course is that the writer cannot make any pretensions to originality. This work is for the most part a mosaic of available bits of information and no more.

2. It should also be remembered that labor history is always written with a bias. It is therefore practically impossible to view the events of the past in an objective light. This is true all the more when one has to consult books written by the various protagonists of social change who look at history through the colored glasses of their own ideological apparatus. To steer a clear road in the midst of conflicting views and clashing interpretations was not only a trying feat but a challenging task to one who himself is in the process of acquiring a prejudice on the problems raised.

3. The writer could not include a discussion of the German labor movement and its influence on the Jewish unions nor could he devote any space to the inter-relationship that existed between the local radical movement and the one that flourished in London. He was also unable to dwell at length on the personalities involved, on the individuals who helpled shape the Jewish labor movement. Finally, the discussion of the Jewish unions was limited to the New York area for the most part, although other cities likewise played a prominent role in this field of activity. The limitations

of time, space and available sources were responsible for the above deficiencies.

In the writer's opinion, this is the first study in English that discusses the Jewish labor movement from the various aspects of its development. It is the only one that places so much emphasis on the Russian background of the sweat shop toilers and the influence exerted by the different types of radical intellectuals amongst the immigrants. This therefore is a pioneering attempt to view Jewish trade unionism as a whole, as a movement on which many forces converged and which, in turn, found expression in many forms of activity. Its shortcomings will consequently be considered as the price one had to pay for the experience gained in bringing to light one of the sorely neglected aspects of American-Jewish historical research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: ORIGINS
THE STORY OF THE BUND IN RUSSIA

Introduction

"The movement of the Jewish workers in America is a result not only of capitalist development in America but also of the abnormal economic and politico-social conditions under which the Jews lived in the European lands"[1], writes the first biographer of the American-Jewish labor movement. We therefore cannot lose sight of the country which served as the source of the raw material out of which this movement was fashioned and as the training-ground for a number of its outstanding pioneers. The Russian-Jewish proletariat was the first to raise the banner of class differences and economic cleavage within the Jewish community. The Bund, as its representative in due time, exercised a profound influence upon the masses of our people in America as well. Its ideology was imported to these shores with the increasing waves of immigration until after a while the most active workers in the Arbeiter Ring and trade union circles were those who had been schooled in the battles which the Bund waged for political and economic emancipation against the Czarist regime.[2]

Close contacts were always maintained by the Jewish working classes of both lands. Though no detailed study has as yet been made of this inter-relationship, sufficient evidence is at hand to corroborate this statement. In the 1890s, American radical literature, smuggled across the border, was utilized by the propagandists to spread Social-Democratic teachings amongst the Jewish workers of Russia.[3] Delegates of the various Russian revolutionary parties toured the United States in the early years of the 20th century, while actual branches of the Bund were established

in New York City.[4] During the year 1903 we also find the organization, "Delegates of the Bund" active in raising funds for the mother organization.[5] Two American representatives likewise attended the seventh Congress of the Bund in 1906.[6] Yet these were but mere incidents in the great process of interaction which was set in motion when the stream of immigration transported about two million Jews to these shores during 1880-1914.

That the developments in their native land occupied the interest and attention of the newly-arrived Jewish workers in America, particularly in the early stages of their adjustment, can be proven by the reactions that swept the New York City Ghetto during the period of the first Russian Revolution.[7] As they coped with the evils of the sweat-shop system, they naturally turned for inspiration to the rising strength and revolutionary fervor of the Bund. It is therefore essential for the purposes of this study to become acquainted with the fortunes of the Russian-Jewish labor movement.

SECTION ONE: THE GHETTO BEGETS A NEW OFFSPRING, 1870-97.

A new factor came into play in Jewish life during the last quarter of the 19th century. New concepts filtered into the consciousness of a people for long accustomed, in view of continuous oppression, to regard itself as an homogenuous entity. Economic forces not only gave rise to a new type of stratification within a community confined to one-tenth of the Russian Empire but paradoxically enough also created the means whereby the barriers between Jew and non-Jew were torn down. For the first time in Jewish history, a labor movement developed among our people, which, [8] though fifty years younger than its Russian prototype, yet managed to contribute an equal share to the struggle for the emancipation of the toilers. Two causes were directly responsible for this unique development: the growth of capitalism in Russia and the peculiar position which the Jewish workers occupied within the new industrial order.

The Machine Penetrates the Pale

The rise of the Jewish proletariat in the second half of the last century can be predicated only upon the emergence of Russia as a capitalist state after 1860, when the Industrial Revolution and the freedom of the serfs burst asunder the fetters of the feudalist system. The Jews were now for the most part required to seek a new economic base. They were no longer indispensable to the landlords whose estates to some extent were broken up. A large-scale immigration consequently followed from the villages to the large cities, where the handiwork establishments became the [9] concentration point of the Jewish laborers. Kiev and Moscow each

boasted of a population of fifty thousand Jews.[10] This was a new development in communal life, for the Jewish lower economic strata of the forties consisted largely of unqualified and unskilled workers, who formed one fourth of the Jewish population. The latter, however, did not occupy any strategic position in the economic structure and hence did not form a cohesive or influential group.[11] Side by side with this embryonic growth of a Jewish working class, there now also developed a bourgeois class, consisting of merchant, industrial and banking elements, who received special grants of privilege from the Czarist government.[12]

Yet the development of capitalism did not free the Jews from the economic ghetto to which they had been restricted in the past. Fully nine-tenths of the country was still closed. They were also driven out of the villages and limited to petty-bourgeois occupations.[13] Even when the emergence of the machine age provided new opportunities of employment for the emancipated serfs, the Jewish proletariat did not benefit much from the industrialization of the country. Few Jews were employed in the large-scale mechanized factories. Their economic conditions were also much worse off than those of the Russian workers.[14] "Pauperism--poverty, need and hunger in the fullest sense of the word; the sweat system, sunken breasts, parched eyes, weak, pale faces and sick, diseased lungs--this is the picture of the Jewish street, these are the conditions under which the Jewish proletariat fought for social reforms, for the future ideal."[15]

The Economic Pale of Settlement

The slogan chanted by the Polish workers: "Let the Jewish employee go to the handicraft shop; the factory belongs to the Poles" indeed became a reality in various parts of the country.[16] This explains the secondary role which the Jewish proletariat played in the industrial system. As Jacob Leshchinski revealed in his very thorough analysis,[17] the Jewish workers were limited to the sweat-shops of the Pale. They could not penetrate into the more-developed industries. They were restricted to the small factories, to those which used mechanized power in a limited degree. Thus, though the Jews formed forty percent of the city population in the Pale, only 14 percent were employed in the large factories.

Even Jewish-owned establishments preferred non-Jews. The more that Jewish capital was invested in industrial rather than in manufacturing branches of production, the less did it engage Jewish help.[18] This helped to determine the petty-bourgeois nature of the Jewish proletariat. "The Jewish factory is in a social-technical sense, lower; in an hygienic, more harmful; and in an economic way, weaker than the non-Jewish one...It uses more of handwork and contains a smaller amount of workers." The result is self-evident: pauperization and the sweat shop. It is also interesting to note the large number of women and children that were employed. These composed about 17 percent of the total Jewish working population. (In the days before the 1905 Revolution, this gave rise to the creation of a "Children's Bund", which consisted of local autonomous groups formed by apprentices and students between the ages of 10-16.)[19]

Enter the Class Struggle

It was out of the raw material of the struggling, toiling masses that the revolutionaries carved the Jewish labor movement. The Socialist tendencies among the intelligentzia were the leaven that caused the ferment within the ranks of the Jewish proletariat. In fact, it was the initiative and perspective of the radical elements that directed the otherwise blind upsurge along organizational and political channels.[20] The two movements of Socialism and trade-unionism were thus intertwined in the Russian scene.

An open class-struggle had never before been found within the Jewish community, since no sharp differentiation of economic groups existed. Yet on various occasions the masses did rise in arms against the Kahal's authority, though these primitive rebellions often took the form of religious controversies. Several times they even expressed themselves in violent eruptions, as when loan sharks were beaten and the homes of the wealthy were ransacked.[21] Thus plenty of social dynamite was stored up within the lower sections of the Kehillah, under the pressure of the heavy tax burdens and other restrictions.[22] With the impetus given by the industrialization of the country, economic conflicts began to disrupt the otherwise-seeming harmony of the Jewish community, and independent working class organizations came forth to challenge the ruling oligarchy. There followed the strike movements of the seventies, eighties and nineties, the creation of the Cassas and the various types of Hevros or guilds, the development of a feeling of solidarity and unity among the Jewish workers--all of which, abetted as it was by the streams of revolutionary and Marxist theory in the country at large, gave birth at last to a new proletarian spokesman: the Bund.[23]

Early attempts at economic self-defense date back to 1841, when the Minsk tailors sought to organize their own Hevro. This was a new departure, for until then, both master and employee remained in the same guild.[24] It was, however, foiled by the Kahal. The very first trade union on record was not established until 1864 by a group of women tailors at Mohilev.[25] At this time we find Jewish workers mostly engaged in tobacco, textiles, matches and leather manufacture. It was the wage-earners in these industries who participated in the strike movements of the seventies, the first of which occurred in a Vilno tobacco factory in November, 1871.[26] The strikes of this decade were, however, not due to the influence of the Socialists but more probably to that of foreign and German workers, particularly in the textile regions of Lodz and Bialystok, where the Jewish weaving industry was concentrated. These were no longer accidental episodes but already marked the beginning of organized workers' struggles.[27]

In the eighties the active influence of the Socialist propagandists became perceptible among the Jewish proletariat. The radical intelligentzia now took over the initiative in the labor movement. The strike in Bialystok in 1882 revealed a most unusual sentiment of solidarity among all the workers of the city. In 1886-7 a series of small economic battles appeared in Minsk. In 1885, the women leather-workers of Vilno again became the pioneers of social struggle through their heroic efforts to organize an "artel". Thus, despite the depression in the country, the governmental reaction and the release of anti-Semitic pogroms in the Pale of Settlement, there was evident a greater effort for organized economic warfare among the Jewish workers than had been apparent in the pre-

vious decade. The Socialist forces also now began to appreciate the strength of the Jewish masses and to recognize their function as a strong revolutionary force.[28]

The activities of the nineties until the formation of the Bund has been characterized as "Socialist trade unionism"[29], for at that time the Jewish labor movement received a definite class character and prepared itself for a dynamic revolutionary role in the Jewish community. This was an optimistic and productive decade. Twice as many factory workers were now to be found within the Pale; a considerable drop in emigration was also noticeable.[30] The industrial revival throughout the country lead to a demand for labor, which in turn increased the confidence of the employees. We therefore find strike movements in Vilno, Minsk, Warsaw and Homel during 1892-3.[31] This struggle for economic betterment was based on a law from the times of Catherine II, which stipulated a twelve-hour day. It attracted diverse elements, since simple and elementary demands were put forth. At first it was carried on with the knowledge of the government and the police, but after 1895 restrictions were imposed, for the regime grew alarmed at its dangerous possibilities.[32]

The cassas, which were secret trade organizations for mutual aid and assistance during unemployment, sickness and later on in strikes, became an important factor since their establishment in 1888.[33] These helped to build a broad mass basis for Socialist propaganda, as well as served as the recruiting ground for the radical circles.[34] By the end of 1895, we find 27 organized trades with 850 workers in Vilno. In Minsk, 15 cassas with a total membership of 800 were active. During the same year, the first trade union to be established on a regional scale, that of the brushmakers, came

into existence. The leaders of the revolutionary groups at last took account of these economic battles and affirmed the possibility of organizing the Jewish handicraft workers and of utilizing them for service in behalf of the Russian Revolution.[35]

The Revolutionist Finds an Entree

This was an important discovery, for the Jewish radical intelligentzia was at first alienated from its own people and concentrated its activities among the general revolutionary groups. The circles that were established in Vilno, Minsk, Odessa and Grodna in the seventies for educational purposes and mutual aid were largely under the influence of Narodism, which preached the awakening of the peasants.[36] Because of this and also because no strong Jewish proletariat had sufficiently developed, the propagandists were interested only in uplifting the Russian masses. Yet already even at this time lone voices were heard bespeaking the necessity of leading the Jewish elements into the Socialist movement. In January, 1876, a proclamation was issued under the title of "The Statutes of the Socialist-Revolutionary Society" to this effect.[37] The activities of Aaron Lieberman, the founding of the Ha'Emes, the establishment of the Hebrew Socialist Union in London in 1876 and the appearance of the "Asefas Chachomim" give evidence of the effort on the part of some early Maskilim to spread Socialism in Hebrew.[38]

It wasn't until the eighties, however, that the sprouting of the first Jewish Marxist circles took place in Vilno, Minsk and Warsaw. These groups had a conspirational character and were far removed from the daily needs of the masses. They were primarily concerned with developing individual workers for activity in the

Russian revolutionary movement. This tended to bring into being somewhat of a labor aristocracy, holding itself aloof from the Jewish proletariat. Some of these even began to look down upon the ignorant toilers and sought to escape to a new life in America.[40] Although the circles spread to many other cities, the most active ones were to be found in Vilno and Minsk. The former city, which was already established as an intellectual center, can be considered to be the cradle of the Jewish labor movement.[41] In Minsk a new crop of revolutionaries developed which remained in the labor movement during its most decisive years and formed a very active contingent. Once again the need of reaching the Jewish masses was dramatically pressed. In 1880, for instance, a Geneva group of Jewish Socialists, exiled for political crimes, issued a call and attempted to collect money for the purpose of disseminating Socialist propaganda in Yiddish.[42]

It was, however, the desire for economic betterment in the form of the strikes of the nineties that helped to unite the Jewish masses and opened up new perspectives of endeavor. Within the space of a few years from 1888-93, the broad masses became involved in the revolutionary maelstrom, Yiddish replaced Russian as the language of communication, the number of educational centers increased, and the groundwork was prepared for the denouement: the establishment of the Bund.[43] This may be considered to be the central period of the Jewish labor movement, in which its mass basis was established and Marxist ideology was fused with Social-Democratic practice.[44] Finally by 1897 it had gathered sufficient organizational experience and training in conspirational methods to become a Jewish-Socialist movement, with a political-national character.

This was not completed without a sharp internal quarrel, for the broadening of the movement and the awakening of the Jewish proletariat as expressed in the economic struggles necessitated the transition from propganda within narrow intellectual centers to agitation on a large mass scale.[45] There were those who held to a sectarian view that the masses should be enlightened through the slow process of developing chosen individuals. The agitation which would have to be conducted on a superficial level, they contended, would keep the workers at a low intellectual status.[46] For the Socialist circles had until then been the "exclusive sanctuaries for the radical intelligentzia".[47] As such, they had served a valuable purpose but in turn had created a gap between the vanguard and the toiling masses. The immediate economic demands were, however, of primary importance now and there was need of agitation on the basis of the daily needs of the workers. Close ties had to be established between the circles and the masses. It was the final recognition of these facts that placed the proletariat in the Pale on the right track of development and brought about the appearance of the Bund.[48]

SECTION TWO: THE BUND COMES OF AGE, 1897-1904

The idea of an independent Jewish labor movement slowly began to take root. The first May Day was celebrated in Vilno in 1892, where the famous "four speeches" were delivered by Jewish workingmen who expressed opposition to the status quo.[49] By 1896 similar demonstrations took place everywhere. All this was climaxed by an address of Martov, who later became the theoretician of the Mensheviks, on the need for an independent Jewish working class party to fight for economic, civil and political emancipation.[50] The 1895 May Day celebration in Vilno was also marked by the carrying of red flags with Yiddish inscriptions. This is significant in view of the fact that the use of Yiddish for propaganda in order to reach the masses, 97 percent of whom claimed it as their mother tongue in 1897,[51] was now fully recognized. Yet no local Yiddish-Socialist literature was available and it had to be imported from New York and London.[52] To supply this need, "Zargon Committees" were also formed, which were active until 1898.[53] In 1896, the "Arbeiter Stume" was printed illegally, without even the permission of the labor leaders, by a worker who devised his own press. It later, however, became the central organ of the Bund.[54]

The economic battles of the nineties, the growth of some organizational machinery, the development of a literature, the existence of circles as the intellectual centers of a mass movement and the cassas as the nuclei among the scattered small trades--all these factors pointed the way towards the possibilities of centralization.[55] The need for unity was especially felt by the various circles. From 1895 on, the Jewish Social-Democratic groups of Vilno, Minsk, Bialystok, and Warsaw kept in close touch with each

other. As a result, a conference was held in 1897, attended by eleven to fifteen delegates (reports vary), which laid the cornerstone for the foundation of the "General Jewish Workers' Bund".[56] This step was enthusiastically greeted. In fact it came at a very opportune moment, for the Russian Social-Democratic Party was then in the process of formation, and the Jewish labor leaders wanted to come there as representatives of an organized body.[57] Thus at the first meeting of the R.S.D.P. in 1898, fully a third of the delegates, three in number, spoke in the name of the Bund.

The Economic Struggle Gains Impetus

The Bund, based on the illegal economic cassas and lead by a social-democratic bloc at the top, developed into a strongly-organized, well-knit association. Its exemplary compactness was due essentially to its basis in the cassas, which not only served as organs for economic betterment but also as centers for developing class-consciousness.[58] These were deeply rooted in the masses, conducted illegal libraries, held lectures, celebrated workers' holidays, etc. Through them, the workers were also coached to engage in the political struggles,[59] for under conditions of the Russian regime, participation in strikes had a political character. We have the following data on strikes during 1897-1900. A total of 312 were declared, in which 27 thousand workers participated. These were mostly fought for hours and wages and lasted an average of 18 to 21 days.[60] At the head of the movement, on the other hand, stood the social-democratic committees, who organized lectures in the circles, issued leaflets and proclamations, arranged mass meetings and demonstrations, and published central organs.

From 1901 on, the ranks were very much broadened out in the small towns and new regions were opened up. We also find a strengthening of the political struggle and a quick growth in literary activity. Perhaps the sharp pace of capitalist development in the country was in some way responsible for this.[61] Yet though the Jewish workers were more advanced than their Russian counterparts, they had to wait for the awakening of the peasantry and the industrial proletariat before embarking upon a large-scale political battle.

At this time the Jewish labor movement also spread through Lithuania and Poland. It grew in stature and endeavored to lead all the oppressed sections of Jewry and to revolutionize all the oppositional elements within the Jewish community.[62] In short, to fight against absolutism in its own interests. Thus, the Kishinev pogroms evoked in 1903 about 172 strikes and 30 demonstrations,[63] in addition to tears and wailing on the part of the Jewish middle-class elements. The membership of the Bund consisted of about thirty thousand strong, who formed a solid phalanx against the infiltration of Zionist ideas into their ranks. In the report to the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, the report submitted by the Bund referred, for instance, to the deleterious influence of Zionist nationalism on the Jewish working class.[64]

Until the events of 1905, the Bund formed the strongest Social-Democratic party in the country. It was already established when the Russian proletariat was still seeking organizational forms.[65] It thus became the model for the other groups. It had a strong party apparatus and discipline, while retaining a certain aloofness from the R.S.D.P., adopting what has been termed by one of its critics, [66] " a separatist-nationalist outlook". Being largely petty-bourgeois in composition, based as it was on handwork labor

primarily, it vacillated between the various streams of Marxist thought, occupying a central position between Menshevism and Bolshevism. It was very active in the pre-revolutionary period and was soon caught up in the rising tide of insurrection. It also organized self-defense corps during the pogroms which the government sponsored to "drown the revolution in Jewish blood". It was even active in propagandizing the army, particularly among Jews who were suffering from discriminations.[67]

"Legalism" and "Terrorism" Threaten the Bund

During the first stage of the Bund's growth, two tendencies made a momentary appearance, which, after they had been overcome, left the movement more strengthened and solidified. The first was the effort to win the Jewish laboring classes to an acceptance of the policy of Economism in the perverted form which Zubatov, the Moscow head of the secret political police, presented. The second was the abortive attempt at adopting an imitation of terrorist policy.

At the end of the nineties, the police authorities sought to influence the Jewish labor movement to renounce political activity. This took the form of repressive acts as well as a more subtle technique of planting within the proletariat the germ of "legalization". In 1898, 70 Bundist leaders were arrested. During their stay in prison, Zubatov, who had declared at one time: "Be kind to the Jews; they will then do everything for you",[68] impressed some of them with the possibilities of the evolutionary development of trade unionism, under the aegis of the government. The full significance of this can be appreciated if we bear in mind that union activity was regarded as illegal all this time. The capitulation of certain ele-

ments to Zubatovism opened a new chapter in Jewish labor history. In 1901, the Jewish Independent Workers' Party was organized in Minsk. It attacked the Bund for using the economic organizations solely as a means of revolutionzing the masses and maintained that workers could belong to any political group they desired.[69] It lead strikes, which at times were successful, because of previous favorable contacts with the employers. According to documents now available, a number of its members also kept in close touch with the police, submitting reports which subsequently revealed their subservient loyalty to the Czarist autocracy. Under the guise of making the labor movement legal and non-political, they actually sought to sell out the interests of the workers.[70] Yet the Bund could not be crushed. It survived this ordeal as well, for it was too deeply rooted in the Jewish proletariat.[71]

As a result of an internal crisis which was precipitated by the feeling of helplessness that swept through many sections of the movement, terrorist sentiments came to expression in 1902. The police had been more brutal than usual; street demonstrations were beaten back; the underground atmosphere in which the Bund operated likewise contributed towards the weakening of faith in the mass form of struggle against oppression.[72] Thus, when on May 1, 1902, in Vilno, a number of workers were arrested for participation in a demonstration and whipped, Hersch Leckert retaliated by shooting at the governor-general.[73] He was hung. This caused a deep commotion within the ranks of the Jewish workers, who hailed his deed as an act of great revolutionary significance. Even before the event, a proclamation by the Bund practically bestowed its blessing upon the desire for revenge. Consequently, the fifth Conference of the Bund in 1902 passed a resolution to the effect that "organized

revenge" might be used in answer to the police brutalities, though this did not imply approval of terrorist acts. "The honor of a revolutionary party demands vengeance for the degradation of its members"[74], it declared.

All of this formed part of the crisis through which the Bund was passing in 1901-3. It was isolated from the industrial proletariat of the country and brooded over its defenselessness against repression. It was going through a transitional stage in the course of its maturing into a full-fledged political-revolutionary force. Its previous agitation had touched directly on the workers' needs and produced concrete economic gains. The masses, however, could not keep pace with its progress in the political arena[75]. At the same time it was seeking to adapt itself to the Russian revolutionary movement, carrying on a polemic with Lenin's newspaper, the "iskra". It is important to understand the basic issues of this controversy[76], for not only did its echoes resound in New York City, it also influenced to a certain extent the attitudes of the Jewish labor movement as it came into being in other parts of the world.

The National Question

When the Bund joined the R.S.D.P. in 1898, it was allowed to function as an autonomous group, having an independent status on questions relating to the Jewish workers. Until 1903, when the party was not active as a unit, the Bund followed its own course of development and slowly evolved a position on the national question. At first its leaders naively believed that their movement was merely a momentary phenomenon, that the fall of Czarism was imminent and that Jewish rightlessness would soon be removed. But with time, these hopes failed to materialize. At the third Bund

Conference in 1899, the question was therefore raised of replacing the demand for citizenship equality with that of national equality. This, however, was rejected on the grounds that such a request would distract "the attention of the proletariat from its class interests in favor of national interests".[77]

Yet the following year saw a reversal in attitude. A resolution was accepted in favor of national-cultural autonomy. Special extra-territorial national institutions were suggested to provide for the cultural needs of the various peoples within the Russian Empire. The R.S.D.P. was also to be built along federated lines, according to the nationalities, who would have their representatives in the central party organs.[78] For, the Bund contended, the defense of special Jewish interests could only be guaranteed by a specifically Jewish organization, since the general and larger tasks monopolized the interest of the party. This desire to be "the sole representative of the Jewish workers" was condemned as the "national demarcation of workers" and bitterly attacked by Lenin. Absolute unity was needed in the struggle against Czarism, he maintained. As a result of this difference of opinion, the Bund left the R.S.D.P. in 1903. This outcome evoked a storm of discussion in Jewish labor circles everywhere, for it came as a sudden shock to all Socialist-minded people.[79]

SECTION THREE: IN THE MAELSTROM OF THE 1905 REVOLUTION

The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the mobilization of the workers in defense of the oppressive Czarist regime, the economic crisis and the unemployment that resulted--all of thse provided the background against which the Russian working class began to wage an intensive political campaign.[80] The Jewish wage-earners were also drawn into the struggle against the autocratic government and contributed their share to the revolutionary years.[81] "In the Western governments and in the Kingdom of Poland, the Jews played a conspicuous role in the revolutionary movement, counting as they did a large number of organized workers".[82] This is the concession wrung from the liberal-bourgeois historian Dubnow who, however, makes little mention of the economic, political and agitational struggle waged by the Jewish labor movement in its own right.

The Masses Take to the Barricades

The bloody January 9 events, hailed by the Bund as the beginning of the Russian Revolution,[83] found an echo among the Jewish masses. "Let all streets become a battlefield" was the slogan hurled forth in a proclamation of 113,000 copies issued by the central committee. Protest meetings were held along with strikes. Though police terror and brutality were used to crush this upsurge, demands for the establishment of a democratic republic, a constitutional assembly, the end of war and militarism, the 8 hour day, etc. were made.[84] Indeed the Jewish proletarians paid a heavy price for their revolutionary ardor, much more than did those bourgeois representatives who placed before the government petitions asking for a gradual amelioration of their lot.[85] Though the police threatened with pogroms if demonstrations were held, the latter did take place

in about 70 places.[86] The height of the Jewish revolutionary wave was reached with the events in Lodz, Warsaw and Odessa, where barricades were erected and police terror was resisted.

During the terrible massacre at Bialystok and the various attempts to break up the meeting places of the workers, the Jewish wage-earners showed unsual heroism as well as the willingness to die in the struggle against Czarist tyranny.[87] The police repression may have weakened but could not destroy the Jewish labor movement. These events revealed the solidarity and the potential revolutionary power of the Jewish masses.[88] They also helped to disseminate social-democratic ideas amongst the toilers. As the deliberations of the sixth Conference of the Bund indicated, the organization was ready and willing to broaden its influence amongst all sections of the Jewish proletariat.[89]

The Labor Movement Advances

The protest strikes of January, which were of a political character, lead directly into the strike movements of February, which were waged mainly for economic demands.[90] The Jewish workers were primarily involved, for agitation among the Russian population in the Pale was very weak. Here, too, the labor movement was one-sided, consisting largely of Jewish elements; hence little contact was maintained with those non-Jewish groups that were employed in the large factories. The latter were thus often an easy prey for pogrom incitation. This was not true of Poland, where the general working class was well organized.[91]

The revolutionary upsurge created many opportunities for a mass trade-union movement. New strata of workers were brought in, such as employees in merchandizing establishments and household

servants.[92] Unions were organized everywhere, particularly after the manifesto of October 30th was issued.[93] Legal Jewish-Socialist organs made their appearance. The unions established during the period of 1905-7 were Socialist in spirit, just like those that were founded by Socialist leadership in New York City.[94] The Bund now represented a mass strength of forty thousand members and lead the entire Jewish proletariat.

Pogroms were soon, of course, the order of the day as the regime sought to quench the revolutionary fires in Jewish blood. The Black Hundreds were set free to pillage and destroy. But the Jewish workers in turn organized self-defense corps.[95] Students and non-Jews often rallied to their help. Protests and demonstrations were held. The October 1905 pogroms did not affect the northwestern regions, where the Bund was strongly intrenched. True, in summer 1906, Homel and Bialystok were also caught in the wave of pogroms, but these were already in the form of punitive expeditions organized by the government against the Jewish masses.[96] That in essence these massacres were counter-revolutionary and not merely anti-Jewish manifestations utilized by the press and the government to make the Jews as a scapegoat for the insurgence of the working class is seen from the fact that Jewish Black Hundreds were also organized in certain parts of Poland.[97] These were made up of associations of Jewish owners who wanted to provoke the workers in order to break up their trade unions.[98]

Bund and Burgeois at the Ballots

That the Russian Jews did not always behave as one entity is indicated by the conflicting attitudes adopted by the bourgeois and proletarian elements toward the political concessions which the Czarist regime was compelled to make. All the liberal groups in

the country were demanding the establishment of a parliamentary form of government. The existing Jewish institutions naturally enough joined in this campaign. "The need for a non-partisan political organization to direct the struggle for Jewish emancipation which was to be waged by all classes of Jewry--outside the small fraction which had already been united in the labor organization of the Bund--was universally felt"[99], writes Dubnow. The four liberal groups that were formed supported the few reforms introduced by the government and took part in the Czarist commissions. The Bund, however, parted company with them. "The only organization standing outside these federated groups and their common platform of national Jewish politics is the Jewish Social-Democratic Party, known as the Bund, which is tied down by its class program and is barred by it from co-operating with the bourgeoisie, or a non-class organization, even within the domain of national Jewish interests"[100], comments Dubnow. Indeed, fighting everywhere against the candidates of the Jewish bourgeois parties, the Bund conducted important work in the development of the class-consciousness of the Jewish proletariat"[101]. It boycotted the first Duma and conducted an independent campaign in the second and third Dumas, which were likewise supported by the various workers' organizations.

The attitude of the Bund to the first Duma was one of violent opposition since its purpose was merely to act as consultant to the Czarist regime. It therefore organized strikes and demonstrations against participation in the elections, using even synagogues to influence the Jewish voters[102]. The Zionist-Socialist groups also supported this campaign[103]. For despite the glowing promises of the government, the repression continued.

Dubnow, one of the leaders of the Jewish Peoples' Party, reproached the Jewish revolutionaries with "national betrayal". He attacked their view that the pogroms were counter-revolutionary, maintaining that the Jews were victims of massacres merely because of their Jewishness.[104] The Bund, on the other hand, insisted time and again, that the pogroms were directed in the main against the enemies of the Czarist regime.[105] The Jewish bourgeoisie, depressed and down-hearted, soon lost interest in the struggle with Czarism. An active fight was even waged on the part of the religious elements against the further activities of the Jewish radicals.[106] But the working-class elements were not despondent. They endeavored to broaden their activity and to organize new groups. They published organs and tried to rally the Russian workers to joint resistance to the pogrom spirit.[107]

SECTION FOUR: REACTION AND RECOVERY, 1907-14.

"1907 was the crisis year in the history of the emancipation movement in Russia in general and of the Jewish one in particular".[108] As a result of the political, economic and social reaction that flourished, increased emigration now took place.[109] A new element at once appeared in the ranks of the refugees. After the pogroms, it was largely the bourgeois sections of the destroyed and pillaged cities that flocked to the borders. The wave of repression that soon swept the country, on the other hand, drove away Jewish workers from their homes and catapulted almost the whole vanguard of the progressive forces to American shores.[110]

The Revolution in Retreat

A severe economic crisis soon exacted a very high toll. The development of handwork production was stunted. Jewish laborers were removed from their positions because of their revolutionary leanings and replaced with the more backward peasantry. Conflicts even cropped up between the Jewish and Polish workers.[111] Little progress seemed to be in store, for though the rising capitalist class had welcomed the support of the working masses in the common struggle against the feudal landlords and Czarism, it was not inclined to grant those demands of the proletariat which affected its own particular interests.[112] As a result of these conditions, all the Jewish Socialist parties lived through a very critical stage and endeavored to strike some bargain with the existing order.[113] "Only the Bund, as a more significant organization, remained during the reaction and showed some weak signs of life".[114] Yet it too suffered many defections in the ranks, as a number of intellectuals, active workers, and "fellow travelers" deserted when they sensed the ap-

proaching counter-attack of the regime.[115]

The economic offensive now fell into the hands of the employing class, which sought to take back all the concessions it had been compelled to grant previously. Lockouts now became a common occurence. About 120 manufacturers' associations were built to present a united front against the workers' unwillingness to retreat.[116] For the latter did not at once give way. From February to October of 1907, for instance, the Bund engaged in 114 clashes with capital, most of them being of a defensive nature.[117] In Lodz, to cite another illustration, 30,000 wage-earners were thrown out of work and yet attempted to resist the employers' attack, receiving in the meantime help from other workers' organizations. However, the Jewish laboring masses were upon the whole rather helpless in this one-sided battle. Unemployment was on the increase, vicious competition for jobs and higher wages flourished in their own ranks while demoralization spread in all trades, and particularly amongst the brush and leather workers.[118]

The repression had enforced a position of illegality on the Bund and the other trade unions. In fact, labor organization was on the decline. The employers grew ever bolder as they recognized the ineffectiveness of the proletariat's organs of defense. The Bund in 1908 had dwindled in strength to such an extent that it could claim only about 50 active organizers and about 500 members in its political party organization.[119] Yet though the masses were disillusioned and though many could not readjust themselves to the new conditions demanded by the "underground" existence of the economic and political bodies, their past organizational experience and the growth of new forms of struggle stood the Jewish workers in good stead during these critical days. A periphery of legal

institutions was soon developed around the core of illegal activity.[120]

The workers sought and found new forms. Thus, in 1908-10, when the Yiddish cultural renaissance blossomed forth among the democratic intelligentzia, it won many followers as well in Bundist circles.[121] Musical, literary and dramatic societies, of a working class composition, also came into being. Here, in addition to purely aesthetic themes, political social problems were raised and discussed. Evening classes were organized, which exerted a strong revolutionizing effect on the Jewish toilers.[122] But although some imagined that the Socialist movement would be able thereby to maintain itself, they were doomed to disappointment. The surveillance of the government and the poverty of intellectual talents mitigated the full effectiveness of this cultural revival.[123]

The Bundists now also concerned themselves to a larger degree with specifically Jewish questions, such as the competence of the Kehillah structure and cultural autonomy. Until now, they had a negative attitude toward the central religious body of Russian Jewry, but, under the impact of new events, strove to convert the Kehillah into a democratic body, freed of its strictly religious aspects and satisfying the needs of the Jewish masses.[124] They attended the 1909 Kovno meeting of all the Kehillahs and instituted a fight against the Jewish plutocracy, demanding progressive taxation, equal, direct and secret voting and many other improvements.[125] Yet although the seventh Congress of 1910 adopted a resolution to this effect, no permanent results followed. The Kehillahs remained in the hands of the middle-class elements.[126]

The Return to Life

Soon, however, the turning point in the fortunes of the Jewish labor movement came. The ground had well been prepared by the small groups that kept the hope of emancipation aflame during the days of the Stolypin reaction. For though the intellectuals and bourgeois youth had left the working class to shift for itself,[127] no fresh start had to be made when the revival took place. The transition from crisis to re-birth was marked at the eighth Conference, held by the Bund in 1910.[128] Only six months ago, even the legal organizations had been smashed and a number of leaders jailed. Yet 21 delegates appeared to build a new structure on the old foundations. For the first time in the history of the Bund, the proceedings were held in Yiddish, since mostly workers were present.[129] Another reason for this innovation was the desire to start preparing for the future national-cultural autonomy which they hoped to achieve in the struggle against the Czarist regime.[130]

These signs of growth were the direct outcome of the economic recovery which appeared in the Pale of Settlement in 1911 and lasted to the outbreak of the War. The unions revived and participated in strikes wherever possible. In other places, illegal societies were formed. In fact, strikes occurred in Warsaw and Lodz in protest against the dismissal of Jewish workers in trades that were being mechanized.[131] The economic clashes whetted the appetite for political questions, as the Russian revolutionary movement again came to life at this time. In the midst of this country-wide awakening, the Bund once again came to the fore as the champion of rights for the Jewish working class and as the organizer of its battle for emancipation.[132] During the famous Bailis trial, while

the petty-bourgeois prayed and fasted, it organized strikes in 17 cities, in which about 50,000 workers participated.[133] This marked the first open and dramatic manifestation of resurgence on the part of the Jewish proletariat during the dark days of reaction. Soon, however, the World War brought new responsibilities which the Bund was called upon to meet; but here our story must end.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND
THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN LABOR AND RADICAL MOVEMENT

Introduction

"As a product of American conditions, the history of the local Jewish labor movement is naturally only one chapter of the total account of the general class-struggle in America."[1] It is therefore practically impossible to trace the development of trade-unionism among the newly-arrived Jewish settlers since 1880 without portraying the larger background of capitalist development as well as labor and radical activity in this country.[2] The Jewish labor movement did not exist in a vacuum; it was very often a battleground for various revolutionary ideologies and was therefore affected by the numerous splits and factions that rocked the radical movement. Trade-union activity and Socialist thought, furthermore, were like two straining currents always merging and separating their ways among the local Jewish proletariat. Some indication of this is given in the discussion of the influence of radical parties on the Jewish labor movement which we shall discuss in a later chapter.[3] Having thus established the pertinancy of this topic to our general thesis, we may now proceed to a description of the American labor and radical movement from 1880 to 1914.

SECTION ONE: THE RUDE AWAKENING OF LABOR, 1880-86.

There was a great drive for organizing labor in the eighties as a result of the growing prosperity and the "danger from a flood of unskilled and skilled immigrants"[4]. The new industrial revival lead to an increase in trade-union membership which manifested itself in the establishment of city central bodies and the birth of many national trade organizations[5]. It not only created the necessary economic conditions for the emergence of the American Federation of Labor but made possible the upsurge of the unskilled sections of the proletariat within the Knights of Labor. Thus sudden spurt in labor's rise was featured by a sweeping and militant strike movement, in which anarchist forces participated with great vigor, and which marked the appearance of the Socialist Labor Party as an important factor within the working class.

The Skilled Workers Federate

Strasser and Gompers, impressed with the Brittish pattern of trade-unionism, endeavored to shape American labor into the same mold but were not entirely successful[6]. Yet the insistence of the future theoretician and first president of the American Federation of Labor upon a craft basis and a sound financial policy, including benevolent and protective features[7], in the long run carried the day. In 1881, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of America and Canada was brought into existence by 104 delegates. Its purpose was to be " a labor clearing house and legislative agency along the lines of the British Trade Union Congress"[8]. The next few conventions, however, were not well received; the representatives of the Knights of Labor withdrew and the attendance dropped considerably. The platform, based upon a

radical declaration of principles, embodied political demands, which were rejected by a number of national trade unions, thus alienating further support. The result was that these deliberations represented only one-fourth of the organized workers in the country.[9]

In 1886, however, a number of independent national unions called a convention. The founders of the Federation took advantage of this opportunity and merged with the new embryonic organization to form the American Federation of Labor. The growth of new body was instantaneous. At the 1887 gathering, about 618,000 members were represented.[10] Its policies as established were: 1. the avoidance of radical economic theories; 2. efforts to win sympathy from the general public and the employers; 3. the trade agreement method of adjusting disputes.[11] In time it became something like a labor aristocracy, interested in preserving the privileges of the skilled workers and unconcerned with the plight of the rest of the proletariat.

The Knights of Labor Advance

At the same time activity was evidenced from another direction. Unskilled labor was also on the move. Having no channels of expression, it drifted into the anomalous Knights of Labor, formed since 1869 as a secret organization. This first "revolutionary labor organization of national proportions and influence" advocated the public ownership of the utilities and took in skilled and unskilled, male and female, and black and white workers. It likewise attracted radicals and advocates of all sorts of panaceas.[12] As a result of the attacks made upon it by the press, clergy and corporate capital, it came out into the open in 1878. Its membership then grew by leaps and bounds.[13] Beginning with 50,194 followers in 1883, it shot up to a total of 702,924 in 1886. It became the largest and the

strongest union of unskilled and semi-skilled laborers in the United States. Its main field of activity, however, was confined to the co-operative movement and to parliamentary action, for the leadership was opposed to strikes and boycotts and strove to develop it as an idealistic, all-inclusive labor organization which would "educate the workers in human and class solidarity". Actually "humanitarian and religious impulses were at the root of its creation"[14].

But its members wanted immediate advantages and the rank and file therefore participated in many militant strikes. A great deal of solidarity was often displayed, even though the behavior of Powderly[15], who lead the movement, was far from being encouraging. The vague nature of this organization is clearly reflected in the varying estimate given of the K. of L. by the different historians. Though it expressed a radical tone in its declaration of independence, the latter soon became a dead letter[16]. The leaders did not want it to be a pure labor organization but rather one seeking to raise the level of all producers by a general attack on the monopolist, financier and legislator[17]. Its great contribution lay in its service as an educational instrument and as the voice of those sections within the labor movement who time and again fought to break through the barriers which the craft unions erected against them.

The Socialist Labor Party Emerges

Whereas trade-union organization was a direct result of the capitalist development in this country, the rise of radical parties, dedicated to changes in the social order, can be attributed in part to the influx of immigrants during the second half of the 19th century. Since it is beyond the scope of this thesis to treat of the early radical organizations, our study will begin

with the appearance of the Socialist Labor Party in 1877. The active agitational role which the Socialists played in the railroad strikes of that year, the spirited political battles in which labor engaged in several important industrial cities during 1877-80 and the strong influence which the German immigrants, with their advanced theoretical knowledge and organzing ability, exerted, helped to establish the new political party in the country.[18] Its members endeavored to teach the workers and to develop their class-consciousness. The S.L.P. ran its own candidates in 1877-79, and backed the Henry George campaign in New York City, when the trade unions, beaten in a legal battles in the courts, were eager to turn to politics for redress of their grievances.[19] Yet not more than 10% of its membership was native, while all of its leaders were of foreign birth.

It continued to make progress in the last fifteen years of the century, particularly among the foreign-born workers, and especially the German ones. "Let us not conceal the truth; the S.L.P. is only a German colony, an adjunct of the German-speaking Social-Democracy" declared one of its leaders.[20] It was also limited to the New York City area. Nevertheless, it did not represent a united body of opinion. Serious differences arose already at the 1887 convention on the question of independent political action and the attitude toward trade unions, which were bound to lead to splits and factions,[21] a concomitant phenomenon of the radical movement everywhere in the world. It was for the most part a sectarian organization, not always successful in its endeavors to Americanize itself and to affect the destiny of the American labor movement. With what success it accomplished its objectives, we shall se later on.

The Demise of Anarchist Influence

The debacle of the Anarchist movement as a result of the Haymarket affair in 1886 contributed quite a bit to the renewal of Socialist strength.[22] Until that time, however, the former occupied a prominent position and played a significant role in labor activities of the mid-eighties. For the years 1885-6 marked a sharp increase in the strike and boycott movement.[23] Particularly notworthy were the great railroad struggles against Jay Gould in 1885, in which the K. of L. participated, providing money and leadership. Suddenly in 1884, the Federation of Labor adopted a resolution to the effect that "from May 1, 1886, eight hours shall constitute a legal workday and that all labor organizations shall prepare for it".[24] It called upon the workers to lay down their tools to enforce the demand which at once became a fighting slogan for labor. Even though the K. of L. leadership looked askance at the militant strikes that resulted, the rank and file, numbering about 340,000 did participate.[25]

This was a grand opportunity for the followers of syndicalism. This was to be the crowning glory of their endeavors, for,although their movement was relatively young, they already represented a powerful influence in radical circles. They believed in mass proletarian action and the taking up of arms in a general revolt. As a result of their militancy and daring they had attracted many followers, particularly handicraft workers who were uprooted on account of the new industrial development.[26] Since Chicago served as the center of their activity, the city became the focal point of the 8 hour day agitation. Excitement ran high there and the agitation seemed to be riding on the waves of success. But the explosion of the bomb on Haymarket Square lead to the arrest and conviction of the

men that "were not only the backbone of the local Anarchist movement but also were among the most prominent and influential leaders of the 8 hour day agitation"[27]. Their trial was "the grossest travesty in justice every perpetrated in an American court", though some of the defendants were later acquitted by the liberal Governor Altgelt. The fatal incident, however, proved to be the final and closing chapter in the history of the Anarchist movement in this country. The latter soon lost its trade union basis and became confined to small and narrow groups in the East.

SECTION TWO: THE A.F. of L. TRIUMPHANT, 1886-1900

With the decline in strength of the Knights of Labor, after 1886, the A.F. of L.'s growth became very much accelerated. A determining factor was of course the economic development of the United States in the decade of the nineties. For by that time the transformation of the country from its agrarian character to an indistrial economy had been completed. Trusts were developed and monopolies established with the result that America now occupied
28
first place in capitalist economy. The craftsmen naturally took advantage of the situation to become strongly intrenched and to defend their group interests. Attempts of the S.L.P. during the period to penetrate first into the K. of L. and then into the A.F. of L. were spurned. This lead De Leon to launch his Socialist Labor and Trade Alliance, the first adventure in dual unionism. A large number of strikes and bloody labor battles also featured this decade, while one of them in particular witnessed the emergence of Eugene Debbs in the politico-economic life of the country.

The Knights Break Their Lances

The conflict between the K. of L. and the A.F. of L., which began in 1882, when the former's delegates absented themselves from the convention of the early Federation, took on more serious proportions after 1886, finally leading to the disappearance of the Knights from labor's ranks. A great enmity developed between the two organizations, as a result of the danger of absorption by the Order which the crafts seemed to sense. The rupture, however, did not take place at once. Attempts at unity and reconciliation were often undertaken, only to be rejected by the K. of L. The latter organization, furthermore, refused to limit itself to activity

among the unskilled. With the election of Gompers to the presidency of the Federation, the feud broke out in greater intensity than ever before.

This clash was inevitable in view of the decided differences that existed between the two movements. At the heart of the conflict was the division between skilled and unskilled labor, craft and so-called industrial unionism as well as the rival ambitions of the leaders of both groups.[29] The heads of the K. of L. contributed to their own downfall, for their position on the 8 hour day strikes could not help but alienate support as well as create internal dissension. The decline of their organization, though foreshadowed by the numerous defeats suffered in the '86 strikes and the resultant dissatisfaction,[30] was, however, in the main due to the very nature of the movement. The K. of L. did not rest its hopes on the workers organizing politically and economically. It was too strictly centralized. The autocratic demeanor of the officers and the complicated ritual that survived made matters worse. In general its very composition vitiated its influence, for it contained a minority of petty-bourgeois individuals and well-to-do farmers who often as not undermined its strength. It likewise lacked a clear economic and political program, made no effort to arrive at an understanding with the other trade unions for joint action, while receiving the most strenuous opposition from the capitalist elements of the country.[31] Thus not being victorious in its labor disputes or successful in the co-operatives and politics, it fell apart because of its own inertia.[32] With its fall, the movement of unskilled workers almost disintegrated, and the field of action was left for the skilled craftsmen.

The A.F. of L. Moves Forward

But the trade unions organized in the A.F. of L. continued to grow. It was a gradual and perhaps painful process which lasted well into the twentieth century. By 1889 the membership reached a total of 200,000; in 1898, it had increased to 300,000; and by 1900, it had jumped to 775,000. Together with the railroad brotherhoods, it represented about one million workers, a very small percentage at that of the total labor population in the country. During this period, its "non-partisan" policy in political-parliamentary action, which has remained to this day, came into being.

For Gompers the trade union became the end-all and be-all of the workers' efforts to improve their status. He advocated the addition of beneficiary features to the unions and at all times displayed his intense dislike of Socialism and state interference.[33] His philosophy left a deep impression on the movement which he had helped to establish and whose destinies he guided for a long time.

The Socialist Labor Party Flounders

This period also witnessed the growth in the membership of the S.L.P. By 1899, it had 350 branches. At first it joined other "workingmen's" parties but soon it set out along the road of independent political activity. From 1893-8, the vote it mustered increased from 25,000 to 82,000. But its successes in the political arena were not deemed sufficient; it therefore endeavored to penetrate into the labor organizations. There, however, it met with several rebuffs and was ingloriously routed.

The influence of the S.L.P. on the trade union movement was very weak on account of its small numerical strength and the confused attitude--a state of mind which often even created internal

dissension--it held toward the latter. Yet it was active in the city central bodies, controlling the United German Trades and the United Hebrew Trades of New York City. At first it remained on good terms with the K. of L. and the A.F. of L. but the rupture soon began to develop. Thus, in 1890, the New York Central Labor Federation was denied a charter by the A.F. of L. because it contained the New York section of the S.L.P. and hence was not a "pure and simple" trade union. In 1895, De Leon, who was the outstanding and most dominating figure of the Socialists, was refused a seat at the K. of L. convention. As a result, De Leon, who had been using abusive language quite extensively in attacking the "labor faker" leaders, established the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in open opposition to the national labor movement, thus renouncing the hope of ever winning over the "corrupt" bodies to Socialism.[35]

De Leon had resorted to this tactic because of his failure to capture the K. of L., which he was scheming to do through his control of the New York District Assembly 49. Two hundred charters were soon issued in the first three months. The stronghold was naturally New York and the membership recruited for the most part from the German and Jewish trade unions. This risky adventure in dual unionism, however, declined within three years, for in addition to the dictatorial policy of its leader, "its inconsistent and rather vague aims and its highly centralized and antiquated system of organization rendered it inefficient for practical labor struggles".[36] By 1898, only 114 out of 228 constituent organizations survived. In accordance with his dogmatic approach, De Leon continuously narrowed its influence, until it "became a little sect on the economic field as impotent as the political sect which ran it, the S.L.P."[37]

Internal conflicts also tore away at the heart of the S.L.P. One split took place in 1887 on the relative importance of trade union versus political activity. The New York group won out as against the Chicago contingent, which inclined more towards Anarchist sentiments. The movement soon recuperated and began to increase its forces.[38] In 1889, fourteen Jewish sections were formed. However, a second fight between De Leon and his opponents broke out in 1899. This found the Jewish Socialists also arrayed against him. Although he won the legal battle, De Leon could not retain the majority of the membership and his organization consequently deteriorated. One of the results of this long drawn-out struggle was the founding of the "Vorwarts", the Jewish labor daily, which we shall discuss in a later chapter.[39]

The Era of Militant Strikes

All the above labor and radical activity took place against a background of ferment within the trade union movement. As the fruits of victory gained in the 1886 struggles were soon lost, the A.F. of L. convention announced the renewal of intense agitation for the 8 hour day on May 1, 1890. The K. of L. again refused its co-operation. Yet the idea of a general strike was soon given up by the initiators themselves and the movement was dissipated, when it was to decided to win this demand solely through the individual efforts of the various national unions. The campaign of the carpenters was successful in 137 cities; the miners, on the other hand, declined to proceed, claiming weakness in organization.[40]

The development of big industrial corporations and the growth in productive power created the economic basis for the various strikes of this decade, which were conducted on a large scale and "infrequently shook the entire industrial foundation of the country".[41]

They were brief but intense in character and were defeated for the most part. Of these the Homestead and Pullman strikes of 1892 and '94 respectively seemed to set the tone for the measures employed to bring such conflicts to an end. For at this time the courts and the militia began to exert an influence on the settlement of economic disputes. The injunction, called a "new form of judicial tyranny"[42], was brought over from England and served to break strikes, for the leaders could be jailed without trial by jury. State and federal militia were also utilized to put down labor strife. These were new weapons in the hands of the employers to bring the workers to terms.

The crisis of 1893-7, which threw million out of work, did not, however, break up the trade unions, as had happened in the past. The organized labor movement survived the ordeal and became a stable factor in the struggle of the proletariat for economic amelioration. Defensive strikes were conducted against wage cuts in 1894, in which about 750,000 workers were involved[43]. Perhaps the most dramatic event of this period was the beginning of industrial unionism as embodied in the establishment of the American Railway Union by Debbs in 1893, with a total of 150,000 members and 465 locals[44]. The strike lead by the new organization which "reached the hand down to the least skilled in the railroad service"[45] was finally broken and its future effectiveness destroyed. But it marked the coming on the American radical scene of a new figure who was destined to place the Socialist forces on a firm basis and lead its political battles, the afore-mentioned Debbs.

SECTION THREE: NEW CHALLENGES TO ORGANIZED LABOR, 1900-14.

The enormous industrial expansion of the country as signified by the growth of large-scale production as well as its centralization not only created an increase in the number of workers but also brought into play large unorganized armies of labor. The gigantic trusts themselves called forth formidable trade unions.[46] During this period, over 13 million immigrants arrived at these shores and penetrated into the basic industries.[47] Included among them were the tens of thousands of Jews from Eastern Europe who helped lay the foundation for strong Jewish labor unions.[48] In addition, the crises of 1907 and 1913 provided plenty of ammunition for the exponents of radical thought. At this time the Socialist Labor Party began to fill an important place in the political life of the nation and ran candidates for public office with a certain measure of success. Similarly, the Industrial Workers of the World, hailed by one historian as "the industrial Ku Klux Klan, these American Bolsheviki",[49] and by another, as the "united front of the militant, revolutionary labor forces...the expression of the unorganized, unskilled workers",[50] delivered its challenge to the status quo and struck a new note in economic strife. The Amalgamated and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union also appeared on the scene in these decades, lead by a vanguard of Jewish employees of the sweatshops, and brought order into their chaotic industries.

The Labor Organizations Expand

During the first fourteen years of the twentieth century, the A.F. of L. membership more than doubled in number, increasing from a total of 675,000 to that of two million. This development was, however, confined to the skilled sections of the working class,

who monopolized the trade unions. No attention was paid by the Federation to the unskilled. The former even expressed opposition to any but the craft form of organization at its 1903 convention. It continued to affirm its old political stand and accepted co-operation with the National Civic Federation, which was established in 1906 to bring about collaboration between labor and capital.

The coal miners conducted strikes in 1900 and 1908. The Jewish and Italian workers of the clothing industry developed progressive, semi-industrialized, socialistic and militant labor organizations.[51] The I.L.G.W. Union, which came into existence in 1900 and oriented itself toward socialistic aims, remained a weak body till the 1907 and 1909 heroic strikes encouraged the workers to join its ranks. Several years later the Amalgamated was born out of a struggle within the United Garment Workers of America. Perhaps because the needle trades workers were almost exclusively foreign-born, their unions were "more radical or progressive than any other set of trade unions in the country. They were led by Socialists or their sympathizers".[52]

The Socialists Enter the Political Arena

During this period, the Socialists at last became a political force in the country. This was not accomplished, however, before their organizations had undergone a deep transformation. For the S.L.P. had been founded when Socialism was an academic idea rather than a popular movement. Its followers were few in number, largely of a European background, moving within limited circles and keeping very little in contact with the native population. Their procedure and administration were "those of a society of students and scholars rather than of a political party of the masses."[53] It was soon apparent

that the highly centralized form of the party, its dogmatism and severe discipline could not attract the large masses of workers. A new orientation was indeed in place.

A shift in this direction was evidenced when Debbs organized the Social Democracy in 1897. This was a "motley assortment of humanitarians and idealists", which hoped to establish co-operative farms in one state and thence to spread the idea throughout the country.[54] But these colonization schemes opened the door to all kinds of social reformers and even to Anarchists.[55] The Socialist minority therefore left the 1898 convention and founded the Social Democratic Party, which believed that the "trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class".[56] At the same time the S.L.P. split its forces. Its Rochester faction at once began negotiations with Debbs' organization and finally in July, 1901 brought into being the Socialist Party of the United States. The latter's first convention was "the largest and most representative national gathering of Socialists ever held in this country".[57] Only 20 percent of the delegates were foreign-born.

Whereas the S.L.P. declined in strength and influence, the new party grew and made contacts with the unions, especially with those in the needle trades, always putting up a strong fight for its principles.[58] Its followers even became active in the A.F. of L. to such an extent that their resolution in 1902 for the "overthrow of the wage system" was defeated only by a close vote. Activity on the political front yielded good results, for in the 1904 presidential elections, Debbs amassed a total of 400,000 votes. By 1912 the Socialist vote jumped to about 900,000 when about 56 mayors were elected to office on the party platform.[59] The size of the membership also grew from 50,000 in 1909 to about 118,000 in 1914.

Thus the "tide of Socialism was rising in the United States" up to the World War days because it was making headway in the old trade unions and among the native American wage earners.[60]

The "Wobblies" Attack the Social Order

But the most outstanding event of this period was the appearance of the American variety of syndicalism in the form of the Industrial Workers of the World. This organization came into being in 1905 as a result of the merger of the Western Labor Union, founded in 1898 by the Western Federation of Miners, the Socialist Labor Party and a number of small radical groups, all hostile to the A.F. of L., because it was exclusive in character and accepted the capitalist order.[61] It thus served as a bridge between the organized workers in the West and the class-conscious ones in the East.[62] Debbs, De Leon and Bill Haywood were its godfathers. It was opposed to craft unionism and the clique of "labor politicians" at the head of the A.F. of L. and believed squarely in class struggle and industrial unionism.[63] It made its primary appeal to the unskilled and the foreign-born, the unorganized and the poorly paid workers, stressing direct economic action and opposing political activity. It adopted an uncompromising position against the State and sought to supplant it by a labor union administration.[64]

But the I.W.W. too could not escape the curse of factionalism. The second convention which represented 60,000 workers developed a split, which lead to the withdrawal of the Western Federation of Miners. Yet the fight between the political and industrial factions of the movement continued, with the result that in 1908 two rival organizations were set up, the Chicago one alone remaining after a while to carry on the banner of industrial unionism.[65] It was at this juncture that Debbs left this labor body.

Though the I.W.W. did not organize large masses of workers, it conducted spasmodic revolts.[66] It led some splendid battles for the betterment of the economic lot of the toilers and showed great courage and fearlessness, although lacking in stability. "It was a rebel band of foot-loose fighters". It was not interested in building lasting organizations but held to its ideal of creating "one big union" for all of American labor.[67] Its most dramatic victory took place in the textile strike at Lawrence in 1912, which was conducted by unskilled workers of various nationalities, mostly women. Similar conflicts spread throughout New England, while the prestige of the I.W.W. grew in alarming proportions, the membership at Lawrence alone reaching a total of 14,000.[68] Yet its very composition and the fact that Anarchist influence began to dominate the movement finally lead to its ultimate collapse.[69] There existed too much looseness and decentralization in its organization. It refused to sign agreements or to save strike funds, and as a result resorted to direct action and sabotage. This naturally aroused the violent opposition of the employing class as well as alienated labor sympathy. The persecution which resulted from its activities during the war years brought the end to this band of "violent militants who call themselves the Industrial Workers of the World".[70]

CHAPTER THREE: MOTIVE POWER
THE RUSSIAN-JEWISH IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Introduction

"The mass immigration of Jews which began in 1881 and continued until the World War is responsible for the formation of a distinct working class" within the American-Jewish community.[1] Until that time, the Jewish immigrants, most of whom came from the middle-class elements of Western Europe, shunned the shops. They turned to trade and commercial activities and in due time formed a specific social-economic, as well as religious group within our growing community.[2]

It was out of Eastern Europe that the Jewish proletariat, "moving in a body, expecting to make America its home", constituting for the most part a city population, the largest proportion of which consisted of skilled workmen,[3] brought the reality of trade-unionism to our people on these shores. The influences of the old and new home soon converged to form one of the most interesting segments of the American labor movement. It became distinguished in many respects, in that its leadership was affected to a large degree by the Marxian stream of thought and the revolutionary traditions of a foreign land, that it tended to reveal the same characteristics that singled it out in Russia, and that its personnel was always changing.

In fact it was the steady mass migration that made the Jewish labor movement possible. For "probably among no other nationality does the economic condition change more rapidly than among the Russian Jews in the United States".[4] Few considered it as their permanent lot in life to remain in the condition of laborers for wages. They sought to improve their status individually and to prepare their children for stores and offices rather than for shops and factories.

However, the enormous flow of new immigrants constantly recruited and increased the army of Jewish workers. "Thus the Jewish working class has been permanent since 1880 but with a changing personnel"[5].

SECTION ONE: THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE RUSSIAN JEWS

To clearly understand why the immigrants concentrated in those industries which later formed the backbone of the Jewish labor movement in this country it is essential to study their economic background in Russia. Dr. Isaac Rubinow's analysis of the 1897 census is the best English work we have at hand.[6] A summary of his more pertinent findings will therefore give us a view into the general conditions that obtained among the immigrants in their native environment, especially if it is supplemented by the introductory chapters in Joseph's excellent treatise.[7]

1. The Jews, constituting only 4% of the entire Russian population and totaling about 5 1/4 million in round numbers, were restricted to the 25 provinces of Poland, Lithuania, White and southwestern Russia. About 94% of them lived in this area, generally designated as the Pale of Settlement, where they formed about 12% of the general population.[8] This territorial concentration was further accentuated by the congestion in the cities and towns which resulted from the 1882 "May Laws", whose intent was to prohibit settlement in rural districts. This definitely established the urban character of the Jewish population. Altogether 78% of the Jews resided in the cities, composing about 38% of the total urban population.[9] True, the Jews were a commercial and industrial race prior to their arrival in Poland, and as such were pre-disposed to residence in the large centers; yet nowhere did they form as large a part of the urban population as in western Russia. Here, the Jews were essentially "town dwellers in the midst of preponderatingly rural populations". This was not entirely due to the Czar's restrictive measures. One of the chief reasons for this was their

occupational status. "The Jews as an industrial and commercial people constitute one of the main elements out of which town populations are recruited."[10]

2. The occupational distribution of the Russian Jews shows them to have formed a considerable proportion of the commercial classes and a large percentage of those engaged in industrial pursuits.[11] About 32% was engaged in commercial activities; 39% in manufacturing and mechanical work; 3% in agricultural; 5% in professional; 19% in personal service; and 4% in transportation.[12] This was their proportion in the entire Russian Empire. In the Pale, however, the Jews constituted 4/5 of all persons engaged in commerce and more than 1/3 of the industrial class. In Lithuania and White Russia, for instance, there were even more Jews engaged in industrial occupations, because of the greater congestion and lower economic conditions. It was here also that the labor movement as well as the emigration to the United States were the strongest.[13] When compared with the non-Jewish population, the significance of the above-mentioned distribution becomes very striking. "Of the non-Jews in Russia, agricultural pursuits engaged 61%; manufacturing and mechanical pursuits, 15%, and commerce, only 3%."[14]

3. About 190,000 Jews derived their subsistence from the land. Though Czarist policy in the first half of the 19th century was inclined to attract Jews to agriculture and to encourage experiments in colonization, the attitude of the government was drastically revised in the early 60s. Yet even in 1898, there were in existence about 296 colonies (excluding Poland), with 13,059 households,[15] thus proving the fitness of the Jew for this type of labor and blasting the charge of inaptness to rigid physical work.

4. The great majority of Jews, engaged in manufacturing and

and mechanical pursuits, were artisans, who numbered more than half a million and supported nearly one-third of the Jewish population.[16] They formed about 44% of the entire Jewish working population.[17] This was undoubtedly a higher proportion of artisans than any other country at the time showed and was no doubt due to the fact that the factory system in Russia was still in its infancy. These handicraftsmen supplied the immediate wants of the neighborhood, producing goods mainly for local consumption. "The most important industry was the manufacture of clothing and wearing apparel, which employed more than 1/3 of the Jewish working population and supported more than 1/7 of the total Jewish population. It was in effect a Jewish industry."[18] Practically all the tailors and shoemakers in the Pale were Jewish. Our people were also predominant in the preparation of food products, the building trades, the metal, wood and tobacco industries. There were about 259,396 masters, 140,528 journeymen and 101,062 apprentices.[19] The domestic system was quite developed, since inspection and labor legislation applied only to the factories. The artisan's home thus became his shop. This may explain in part the fact that 76,548 women and young girls were employed as well as a large percentage of children under fourteen. The artisans founded Hevras, which approximated the medieval guilds in form. This was good training for the future, for "it was in this habit of organization that the labor union propaganda found such fertile soil among the mass of Jewish workingmen in New York City".[20]

5. As a result of capitalist development in the country, there appeared a rapid growth of industry in the Pale. More than 1/3 of the factories in 1898 were in Jewish hands, while Jewish workers were estimated at 1/5 of all the factory employees in the Pale.[21]

Though the decline of the economic status of the artisans in the 80s drove many of them into the factories, the total number of such workers was no more than about 100-150,000.[22] "While the Jews constitute almost one-half of the city population and the commercial and industrial half, only about 20% of the factory workers are Jewish".[23] Leshchinsky in discussing such a discrepancy has placed some of the blame upon the shoulders of the Jewish manufacturers who discriminated against their own brethern.[23]

6. The Jews constituted nearly 3/4 of the commercial class of the Pale.[24] They played a prominent role in the grain as well as in the general retail trade. The great majority, however, of the merchants consisted of petty traders or store-keepers. "Not only is the entire commercial class, which, with the children and dependents, numbers almost 2 million, far from being economically homogeneous, but with in this class an antagonism between the employer and employee has developed which, though perhaps not so acute, is more extensive than the corresponding conflict between the manufacturer and his wage workers." There were probably as many such employees as factory workers, though it is difficult to estimate how many of the 452,193 Jews reported as employed in commerce were not independent tradesmen.

7. The participation of the Jews in the liberal professions was very large. "Relatively seven times as many Jews as Russians are found in the liberal professions."[26] Altogether there were about 58,000 in law, teaching, medicine, the ministry, government service and service in public institutions.[27]

An interesting parallel between the occupational distribution in Eastern Europe and that of the Russian-Jewish immigrants is shown by the following table:[28]

I. Jewish artisan population in Russia and Galicia (1898-1900) and Jewish labor immigrants to the U.S.,1900-1925.

Branches of handwork	Artisans in Russia, Galicia	Jewish Immigration to U.S. Total	% of Russ, Gal. workers
Male, female tailors	162, 860	306,672	188.3
Shoemakers	73,480	34,977	47.6
Construction work	48,380	49,113	101.5
Locksmiths and tinsmiths	36,120	33,828	93.7
Bakers	26,940	16,521	61.3
Butchers	26,033	18,247	70.1
Furriers	17,955	13,648	76.0
Jewelers, watchmakers	9,100	9,582	105.3
Hairdressers	6,855	7,742	113.0

The above helps to explain the strong tendency on the part of Jews coming from technically-primitive lands to fill the ranks of the semi-handicraft industrial branches, such as tailoring, carpentry, etc., where the role of mechanical power is not important and where the work is done mostly for the consumer and not for a national market.

SECTION TWO: THE NATURE OF THIS IMMIGRATION

Russia's industrial development and the economic anti-semitism that arose from the competition between the middle-classes of the Jewish and non-Jewish populations would alone have necessitated some gradual readjustment of Jewish economy. Yet there came into being a stronger force that unsettled the economic and social position, in fact the very security of the Jews: Czarist oppression. "This governmental pressure which began to be applied at the beginning of the eighties became equivalent in the course of time to an expulsive force. The only outlet to the intolerable conditions that had been created by the forces of governmental repression and oppression was emigration".[29]

Especially was this intensified during the years after the 1905 Revolution, when the government recuperated from the first blows of the radical movement and instituted its own devastating offensive. As a result of the arrests, pogroms and endeavors to drown the mass uprising in Jewish blood, all those who in any way were associated with the struggle against Czarism fled for fear of retaliatory measures.[30] The existence of the Jewish workers, in a spiritual and material sense, became unbearable and thousands upon thousands left in droves and fled that country which they had soaked with their sweat and blood.

The following table gives us an idea of the extent of the emigration waves:[31]

II. Jewish Immigration to the U.S., 1881 to 1910

Year	Russia	Total	Year	Russia	Total
1881	3125	5692	1896	20168	32848
1882	10489	13202	1897	13063	20372
1883	6144	8731	1898	14949	23654
1884	7867	11445	1899	24275	37415
1885	10648	16862	1900	37011	60764
1886	14092	21173			
1887	23103	33044	1901	37660	58098
1888	20216	28881	1902	37846	57688
1889	18338	25352	1903	47689	76203
1890	20981	28639	1904	77544	106236
			1905	92388	129910
1891	43457	51398	1906	125234	153748
1892	64253	76373	1907	114937	149182
1893	25161	35322	1908	71978	103387
1894	20747	29179	1909	39150	57551
1895	16727	26191	1910	59824	84260

An examination of the above figures reveals that Russia contributed about 72% of the total Jewish Immigration to the United States, maintaining the same proportion for nearly all the decades. This mass movement was one of steady growth and geometrical progression, reflecting in every instance the position of the Jews in Russia. The sudden and frequent rises in numbers can be traced to restrictive laws, pogroms, wholesale expulsions from the cities or revolutionary terrorism. Thus, for instance, the years of the revolutionary period brought in about half a million Jews to this country.[32]

Now what types of immigrants entered the United States? A study of their occupational distribution will shed much light upon the development of the American-Jewish labor movement during this period. Thus during the first quarter of the present century, 992,330 Jewish wage-earners arrived, whereas the number of economically active non-Jews amounted to about 11 1/2 million, which means that the former formed about 8% of this entire immigration.[33]

The following tables will illustrate their occupational distribution:[34]

III. The Growth of Jewish Emigration from Russia[35]

Years	General total	Skilled workers	Tradesmen	Intellectuals (per 100 Emigrants)
1899	24,275	69%	25%	1.1
1900	37,011	68	27	1.8
1901	37,660	70	27	1.1
1902	37,846	56	27	.9
1903	47,689	60	25	1.1
1904	77,544	67	21	1.2
1905	92,388	72	19	1.4
1906	125,234	67	19	1.4
1907	114,932	69	19	1.3

IV. Jewish Participation in Immigration of Workers to the United States, 1900-1925[36]

Years	Participation of Jewish Immigrants among Total Workers	Clothing Workers	Metal Workers
1900-1901	34.6	50.7	28.2
1905-1906	34.0	56.2	21.8
1913-1914	33.1	56.2	16.7
1915-1916	16.6	38.5	7.5
1919-1920	4.0	9.7	1.6
1923-1924	9.0	28.2	2.9
1925	3.6	16.8	1.1
1900-1925	25.8	48.3	12.8

What stands out most significantly is the prepondernace of skilled labor. From Rubinow's study we also learn that 63% of the Jewish immigrants during the period of 1901 to 1906 who were fit to pursue a gainful occupation belong to the class of industrial workers.[37] This disproves the statement often made that the Russian Jew has for the first time learned manual labor in the U.S. "A study of the data presented in the Twelfth Census of the U.S. relative to the occupation of the Russian Jews in New York City shows that skilled and unskilled labor predominate in the various means employed by these Jews in order to earn a livelihood".[38]

According to the following table, over 60% of the economically active Jewish workers were craftsmen, whereas this category totaled only 15% among the non-Jewish immigration. But, on the other hand, the number of farmers and unskilled workers was smaller than the percentage in the general mass immigration.[39]

V. The Social-Economic Structure of the Economically-Active Elements among the U.S. Immigrants, 1900-1925.

Economic Activities	Jewish Immig.		Non-Jewish Immig.	
	Total	%	Total	%
Industry & Handwork	596,043	60.1	1,719,361	14.9
Commerce	100,147	10.1	475,822	4.1
Farming	24,792	2.4	3,059,798	26.6
Liberal Professions	19,620	2.0	261,033	2.3
Unskilled Workers	102,739	10.4	3,760,213	32.7
Domestic servants	123,220	12.4	1,779,218	15.4
Miscellaneous	25,769	2.6	456,111	4.0
Total	992,330	100.0	11,511,556	100.0

Further light is shed on the some question by Samuel Joseph's analysis of the occupational distribution of the new arrivals:[40]

VI. Occupational Distribution of Jewish Immigrants, 1899-1910

Group	Number	Per cent
No occupation	484,175	45.1
Skilled laborers	395,823	36.8
Professional	7,455	.7
Miscellaneous	186,989	17.4
Total	1,074,442	100.0

True the high proportion of those reporting "no occupation" loses much of its significance, if we bear in mind that the Jewish immigration consisted largely of permanent settlers. "Its family movement is incomparable in degree and contains a larger relative proportion as well as absolute number of women and children than any other immigrant people."[41] The percentage of skilled labor, the highest of all immigrant people, takes on further significance when we notice that out of 590,257 reporting an occupation, 67% belong

to the former category. "Thus by far the most important occupational group was that of the skilled laborers".[42] These were represented in thirty-five trades, the largest group being that of the tailors (37%). Garment workers therefore composed practically one-half of the entire body of skilled laborers.

Some of the above facts receive further elucidation in the following table:[43]

VII. Professional Structure of Immigrant Jewish Workers as well as Non-Jewish Ones, 1900-1925.

Branches of Industry	Jewish Workers		Non-Jewish Workers	
	Total	%	Total	%
Garment	362,642	60.8	388,722	22.6
Woodwork and Construction	84,683	14.2	430,526	25.1
Metal	46,336	7.8	317,171	18.4
Food	42,501	7.1	134,661	7.8
Jewelery, watchmaking	9,582	1.6	10,121	0.6
Printing	9,282	1.6	17,631	1.0
Leather	8,017	1.4	11,344	0.7
Miscellaneous	33,000	5.5	409,185	23.8
Total	596,043	100.0	1,719,361	100.0

We thus see that the largest section of Jewish workers were in the needle-trades. Out of the 339,925 immigrant tailors registered in American ports from 1900-1925, about 65.1% were Jewish. It is of course true that the vast majority had not been employed as such at home but since they were coming to relatives who were engaged in the clothing industry and hoped to work alongside of them, they already regarded themselves as belonging to this category. Yet the significance of the above table lies mostly in the fact that it helps to explain the limited function of the Jewish workers in the American labor movement, for fully 95% of them were concentrated in what may be considered the "light" industries.[44] A more detailed analysis of the occupational distribution and the growth of the various branches of industries into which the immigrants penetrated from 1900-1925 is found on the following page.[45]

IMMIGRATION TO THE U.S. OF JEWISH WORKERS, ARTISANS, ETC.

Occupations

Years:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1900	7,031	1,300	1,618	1,617	1,527	2,559	804	662	1,917
1901	5,981	1,811	1,284	1,152	1,570	1,874	799	379	1,999
1902	6,110	1,704	1,285	1,183	1,462	2,018	808	375	2,246
1903	9,223	3,315	1,614	1,680	2,177	2,600	1,131	380	2,363
1904	16,426	3,814	2,763	2,574	3,885	4,632	1,970	361	3,464
1905	22,334	3,657	3,824	3,496	5,320	6,289	2,849	620	4,596
1906	18,418	5,845	2,353	2,339	3,780	5,462	2,297	1,880	3,495
1907	21,779	6,877	2,606	2,765	3,954	5,394	2,287	2,373	3,534
1908	14,882	3,578	1,931	1,858	2,615	3,161	1,257	1,948	2,416
1909	6,862	2,259	1,125	945	1,251	1,578	582	1,250	1,574
1910	12,852	4,375	1,955	1,693	2,069	2,644	1,145	1,927	2,580
1911	12,681	8,043	1,829	2,003	2,333	2,841	1,220	1,369	2,635
1912	12,154	6,462	1,881	1,895	1,933	2,142	976	1,214	2,297
1913	15,408	7,282	2,569	2,407	2,712	3,133	1,423	2,285	3,842
1914	19,793	12,403	2,814	2,797	3,324	3,737	1,827	3,349	4,843

1. Men tailors
2. Women tailors
3. Shoemakers
4. Bakers and Butchers
5. Lock and Blacksmiths
6. Carpenters and Builders
7. Painters and Glazers
8. Farmers and Farm hands
9. Dealers

SECTION THREE: ADJUSTMENT TO AMERICAN ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

It was not merely a fortuitous circumstance that the new immigrants concentrated in the large cities and formed ghettoes in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and Cleveland, or that by 1890, about 135,000 out of the 200,000 Jews in New York City were crowded into the East Side. It was natural to expect the distribution of the immigrant population to follow the same lines of industrial concentration within the country, and at that time, the industries were largely to be found in the East. About 70% of the Jewish immigrants likewise remained in New York City because that was the best place to wage the struggle for economic survival.[46]

But the metropolis had another attraction: it was the center of the needle industries, which soon became the main employers of Jewish labor. The infiltration of Jewish immigration into the clothing industries, however, followed an old pattern, for it seems that they were the first resource of each of the alien races that arrived in this country, the more recent arrivals driving out the older employees, and all using the sweating system as a stepping stone to more lucrative fields of endeavor.[47] The manufacturing of clothing was predominantly an immigrant industry as far as the labor material and the capital invested were concerned. It was started by immigrant tailors from England and Germany, was in turn developed by middle-class Jews from Austria, Poland and Russia and was later carried on by other immigrant groups. "It is extremely probable", writes Rubinow in 1906, "that at present the majority of Russian-Jewish workers toil for Russian-Jewish employers".[48] And certainly by 1890 the Jews had gained the entire control of the clothing industry.[49] Their role, moreover, was far more constructive

than that of the other national groups, for they created new methods of division of labor and specialization of trades in the manufacturing of clothing in order to hasten and make cheaper the process of production.[50]

We find that the development of the needle industries coincided with the great Jewish immigration of this early period. This is illustrated by the following table:[51]

VIII. Progress of the Clothing Industry in the U.S.

Men's Clothing	1888	1890
No. of Establishments	6,466	18,658
No. of Workers	111,389	243, 857
Wages Paid	$45,940,352	$111,389,672
Worth of Products	$209,548,460	$378,022,811
Women's Clothing		
No. of Establishments	562	1,224
No. of Workers	25,192	42,008
Wages Paid	$6,661,065	$18,812,787
Worth of Products	$22,924,894	$75,042,010

The next table also shows how prevalent the needle industries were among the Russian Jews in New York in the early part of the twentieth century:[52]

IX. Occupational Distribution in New York

	Men	Women	Total
Dressmakers	314	1,948	2,262
Hat & Cap makers	278	298	576
Milliners	68	668	736
Seamstresses	1,286	4,021	5,307
Sewing machine operatives	---	273	273
Shirt, collar & cuff makers	1,043	509	1,552
Tailors	20,323	3,304	23,627
Total in needle trades	23,312	11,021	34,333
Total in manufacturing & mechanical pursuits	44,160	14,362	58,522
Per cent in needle trades	52,8	76.8	58.6

The following facts will help complete our picture of the adjustment of the Jewish immigrants to the industrial conditions of America: In the 1880 census, out of 133,756 tailors, the foreign-born constituted 61% of the total; in 1890, they formed 71% of the 185,400 then in the country. The increase can be ascribed largely to the heavy tide of Jewish immigration. In the 1910 report, Jews formed in Baltimore 30%, in New York 25%, and in Chicago 13% of the persons to be found in the clothing industry. Furthermore, Jews lead all the other nationalities in the number of immigrant tailors from 1900-1930, forming in the decade 1901-1910, as much as 69% of the total.[53]

We can readily understand why the American working class was afraid lest the immigrants reduce wages and upset the structure of trade unionism. In fact, even the general Executive Board of the United Garment Workers, consisting with one exception of Russian Jews, adopted in 1905 a resolution to the effect that the increasing immigration lowers the living standards and represents a menace to the existing unions and consequently it favored the illiteracy test and the head tax.[54] However, it was not long before people recognized the Russian-Jewish workers as a fighter within the ranks of the American labor movement and an effective force for the betterment of the working conditions.[55]

In the early days of the 1880s there did occur one or two instances in which the Jewish immigrants threatened to come in serious conflict with the cause of the American laboring class, as in the New York longshoremen's strike of 1882. Since then, however, "Jewish workers have been amongst the most faithful members of the various trade unions of the country" and among the foremost in the struggles in behalf of the working class' interests, writes Abe

Cahan in 1906.[56] For the Russian immigrants had acquired familiarity with the principles of organization in their home country. The 1905 strikes, for instance, outmatched the labor union record of any other country at the time, involving as they did about 3 and a half millions workers. The Bund, as we have already seen, also served as a good training ground.

It is no doubt true, as some observers have pointed out, that the Jewish workers were not always familiar with the demands of proletarian discipline nor filled with class-consciousness.[57] No sharp lines of demarcation existed between the workers and the contractors, who themselves had formerly been employees and who often served as tools in the hands of the manufacturers. Yet the report of the Immigration Commission of 1907-10 indicated that "practically 36% of the total number of clothing workers in New York were organized." Of these, 60% were Russian and Polish Jews.[58] In the country at large, on the other hand, only about 25% of the male wage earners were affiliated with trade unions. The report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1902 also showed a total of 20,000 workers in the specifically Jewish unions of the Borough of Manhattan. If we consider that the total membership of the unions in the same borough was about 150,000, the prominent role of the Jewish workers in the metropolitan labor movement will be easily appreciated.[59] This question will, however, be discussed at greater length in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR: IDEOLOGY
ANARCHIST AND SOCIALIST INFLUENCES

Introduction

The general trade unions in this country arose, as in the West European lands, prior to the appearance of Marxist parties. The Jewish labor movement, in contradistinction, came into being, fathered by the various radical and intellectual elements that had entered the country along with the great streams of East European immigration. In this respect, it approximated developments in Russia. The Jewish Socialists, and to a lesser degree, the Anarchists, felt it was their historic[1] task to organize the masses, though their propaganda met with a great deal of resistance at first. Yet they strove with unbounded idealism to overcome the indifference and the competitive individualism of the newcomers, many of whom were still full of nostalgia for the old home or dreamed of possible emergence from their present economic status. In their work they were of course aided by the unbearable shop and tenement conditions and by the natural growth of class-consciousness among the exploited of the sweat shops.

The increased influx of immigration after the 1905 Russian Revolution removed a great deal of the difficulties that stood in the way of Socialist agitation, for the second generation of arrivals had already experienced in some measure the benefits of organization and Marxian thought in the old ghettos. The Bund had been their training center and the struggle against the Czar had served as their school master. It was during this era that the Jewish labor movement came of age and prepared itself for the brave economic battles that swept through the needle trades.

True enough, radical influence had some negative qualities too and was not always of beneficent value to the Jewish wage-earners. There were always those with ready-made blue-prints for the building of a better society who were impatient of any deviation from their views[2], and who used the labor movement as the battle-field for their Utopias. Yet, despite their faults, it was these dreamers and so-called visionaries who must be fully credited with molding and welding together what was then the largest Jewish working class in the world into an educated and self-conscious social and economic force.

In addition to the influence exerted by the Russian revolutionists abroad and in this country, that of the German radicals contributed quite a bit to the ideological growth and cultural enlightenment of the East Side residents[3]. Most, Donas and Shewitch were idolized by the Jewish intellectuals[4]. The United German Trades served not only as the model for a similar organization amongst the Jewish laborers but also quickened the latter's progress in assimilating Marxist theory.

In this fact perhaps lies the uniqueness of the Jewish labor movement. Its militancy, advanced political consciousness and high educational level are no doubt due to the influence exerted by the various radical groups who regarded the working class as the creator of a new social and economic order. Socialist and Anarchist alike, in this period, found a ready and fertile soil wherein to sow the seeds of new dreams and hopes.

SECTION ONE: THE RADICALS SPLIT INTO TWO CAMPS, 1880-90.

The outbreak of pogroms in 1881-2, which served as the harbinger of the new policy of oppression in Russia, once again aroused the wanderlust of the Jewish masses. "Our poor classes have only hope left for them, that of leaving the country. 'Emigration, America', are the slogans of our brethern."[5] Thus was the cry raised in the provinces of Russia. And as the flood-gates were lifted, a veritable tide swept across the ocean and deposited its cargo at our shores.

It was at this time that the "Am Olam" movement, the first society of its kind to plan the regulation of Jewish immigration and to direct certain of its streams to productive work on farms in Palestine or America, came into being.[6] Its founders endeavored to bring order out of chaos and to help reconstruct the Jewish future. Particularly noteworthy was the work of Michael Bakal and Moses Herder who formulated in Odessa, on Shabuoth of 1881, the idea of establishing agricultural colonies in the United States. "Our thought was to live in the open instead of being 'shut-ins' who lived an artificial life...to become tillers of the soil and thus shake off the accusation that we were mere petty mercenaries, living upon the toil of others", writes one of the moving spirits of this movement.[7]

Though it was purely nationalistic in sentiment, a number of revolutionary-minded youths won an influence amongst the various emigrating groups that were formed under the auspices of the "Am Olam" organization. The former even proposed to establish Communistic farm colonies in this country. They also agitated amongst the other immigrants, conducted discussions and constructed plans

for their future co-operative existence. Thus, the Odessa contingent, consisting entirely of Socialist-sympathetic elements, prepared the constitution of its projected colony while still in Brod, which was at that time the center of emigration. Some even began living in a co-operative manner while waiting for passage in order thereby to provide an example for the others.[8] The number of these radicals, it is true, was small and perhaps of insignificant weight in the midst of the huge migration; yet they lent color and the aura of idealism to the motley mass struggling for a new economic foothold in a foreign land.[9]

Colonies were soon founded in Louisiana, South Dakota, Kansas, Oregon and other states. "They all went through the same experiences---a premature birth, a brief struggle, and a more or less violent death". The only survivors of that period of "storm and stress" were those established in the southern part of New Jersey.[10] Of the three Communistic colonies that sprouted in capitalistic America, the best known was "New Odessa" in Oregon, which existed from 1883 to 1887. Perhaps its outstanding resident was William Frey, a non-Jewish Russian immigrant, who preached the "religion of humanity", i.e. the emancipation of mankind through individual moral self-improvement and the growth of human brotherhood.[11] But the opposition of the more-radical minded members of the commune who did not share his disavowal of the revolutionary struggle, compelled him and his followers to depart. Soon, however, financial difficulties, the desire for city life, the back-breaking labor and other problems brought an end to this interesting experiment.[12]

Yet all the labor of these dreamers was not entirely lost. Together with those intellectuals who at once settled in New York,

they composed, upon their return to the metropolis, the "nucleus of the group which turned its attention to industrial and social problems"[13]. Thus was their idealism utilized to spread light among the Jewish masses in the country.[14] Leadership and guidance were indeed the greatest need of the East Side wage earners. For they had braved the stormy oceans seeking protection against poverty and persecution. But their sweet dreams soon faded. Life was very brutal in the new home. The ghetto soon became for the whole country the "symbol of suffering and human degradation".[15]

The Radical Intellectuals as Pathfinders

Under such circumstances, the intellectuals, who had been students or members of the liberal professions at home, at once developed into a vital, fermenting force amongst the newcomers. Naturally enough they had to contend with the psychological unfitness of the Jewish masses as well as with the conservative tendencies of their religious and cultural environment. For both the skilled artisans and the various classes of merchants and middle-men had been subject to the influences of small-town life in Russia and the isolationism which a compact communal life fostered.[16] Though the hope for immediate emancipation was shattered by the reality of American conditions, many proletarians still cultivated a strong desire for independent business careers and accepted the shop as a purgatory to be endured for the time being only. Furthermore, they did not form receptive material for Socialist propaganda, especially during the end of the 19th century, for the hegemony of the old spiritual tradition was still strongly established in the Jewish neighborhood. Radical agitators were often attacked as "missionaries" as a result of the vituperation which the conserva-

tive newspapers, such as the "Yiddishe Gazetten" leveled against them.[17] Invectives were often hurled against them because they held meetings and smoked on Friday night, as well as allowed men and women to be seated together.[18]

Similarly, at first the "early traces of class feeling in America on the part of the Jewish employees as against the employers were of social rather than of economic origin".[19] The clothing manufacturers were German Jews who treated the Russian immigrants with an admixture of disdain and benevolence. Their control of the charities which dispensed aid and jobs only served to emphasize the yawning abyss of social and economic distinction.

Yet it was not long before the indstrial experiences of the new arrivals lead them to accept more radical philosophies. It is of course questionable whether economic forces alone prejudiced the Jewish wage earners in favor of an acceptance of radical trade unionism.[20] It was not the process of Americanization per se or the recognition that the hope of escape from the slum and the tenement shop to Russia or to the status of a businessman was futile that created a sympathetic response toward the agitation of the various shades of Socialist thought. As we have indicated before, the land of their origin played an important role in shaping their attitudes and aspirations. The revolutionary upheaval in 1905 was "followed with bated breath and with wrought-up nerves" by the Jewish immigrants in America.[21] At that time a chain of sympathy between the Bund and the workers here was forged and strengthened. Events in Russia served as a constant reservoir of hope and optimism, from which the toilers of the sweat shops drew upon many occasions.

The triumph of the reactionary forces likewise drove to these

shores many who had been steeled in the struggle against Czarism and who soon transfered their ardor to the new field of activity, though at first they remained aloof from the local labor movement. We must also bear in mind that the petty-bourgeois nature of the ghetto Jewry in itself inclined the East Side inhabitants to espouse the cause of the social revolution in its various manifestations, despite the fact that their religious culture would not indicate that "any large proportion of them would embrace radical principles"[22].

But it was primarily the intellectuals, the active and enthusiastic propagnadists, who came here largely for political and idealistic considerations, while the "mass of the Jewish immigrants was animated in the main by economic motives"[23], who shaped the destiny of the Jewish labor movement. They reached out toward the masses and took a keen interest in their immediate needs. Though they were often mere dreamers, lacking in an understanding of practical matters, they managed to create working class organizations which became the bearers of the Socialist ideal.[24]

The inevitable took place. The Socialists and the Anarchists arranged lectures, published newspapers, lead strikes, carried on campaigns against the sweat shops and interpreted the meaning of the new environment. "They tried in every way to win the confidence of the workers, to stimulate their sense of independence, to arouse in them a demand for better working and living conditions."[25] As a result of this deep concern and active interest, they won the leadership of the Jewish workers and became the connecting link between them and the radical political organizations. At first these intellectuals themselves possessed no clear formulation of

social philosophy,but, under the influence of the German sections of the Socialist Labor Party and the Anarchist groups of New York City, they slowly began grouping themselves into well-defined schools of thought. It was not long before friction developed as well between them, often with disastrous results.

A glimpse into the conditions of the immigrants as portrayed by Weinstein[26] and Kopeloff[27] offers the best explanation for the readiness with which the former greeted the preachers of social change. Upon arrival in this country, the refugees were set adrift in the empty spaces of the "free hotel", Castle Garden, which served in the same capacity as does Ellis Island today. Here they waited for those opportunities of employment which were provided by the wealthy manufacturers, the philanthropists of the "Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society". They were as helpless as sucklings at the mother's breasts, writes Alexander Harkavy,[28] who was one of them. The executive committee of the HIAS could only supply them with meals and meagre ones at that. The fortunate ones, however, were drafted into the sweat shops to become as they styled themselves, "Columbus' proletarians".[29] Upon occasions they were also utilized as strike-breakers by employers who called upon the charitable institutions to fill their depleted labor supply.[30]

There is, however, on record the first sympathy strike which the immigrants conducted in June, 1882, as a protest against their being lured into employment opportunities as scabs. After several hundred had been inveigled into working on the docks with the promise of good pay, a worker inadvertently walked out into the neighboring street one day. When the bodily assault by the strikers revealed the nature of affairs to the immigrants, they convoked a

meeting, and there decided not to work but to join in the demonstration of the longshoremen as a token of proletarian solidarity.[31]

But such dramatic gestures did not repeat themselves for some time. The sweat shops soon exacted a heavy toll by ruining the health and dampening the spirit. Work was not a premium, if one were willing to toil long hours and receive low wages. Poverty and heartless exploitation thus became the daily lot of those who had expected to discover riches and happiness in this land. Their homes were like prisons, without sunshine, light or air, the majority of them already condemned in 1886 as a menace to public health.[32] Still the masses bore their burden meekly and humbly, in the meantime storing up discontent for future eurptions.

The First Symptoms of Organization Appear

A Jewish labor movement hardly existed at the time. The intellectuals, not being well-grounded in theory, were themselves in a state of confusion as they came under the impact of the contradictory views of Frey's Positivism, Felix Adler's Ethical Culture, John Most's Anarchism and Alexander Jonas' Social-Democracy. This mental dilemma was to be expected, for the majority of them had come in contact in Russia mostly with Narodism, a vague and diffused movement in itself.[33]

But they did not sit with folded hands. On July 7th, 1882, the first Jewish-Socialist mass-meeting was held in this country.[34] It was sponsored by the "Jewish Propaganda Society", which came into being as a direct outgrowth of the sympathy strike referred to above. As its manifest purpose was to spread Socialist propaganda amongst the masses, it naturally invited several German Social-Democrats to address the gathering.[35] But the sensation of the eve-

ning was provided by a 22-year-old immigrant, named Abraham Cahan, who concluded his brief remarks with an urgent plea for using the Yiddish language to reach the masses.[36] A week later he accomplished this feat in a lecture on Socialism, the first one to be delivered in this tongue in the United States.

Many obstacles in time arose to impede the progress of the group. The ignorance of the immigrants, the vitriolic attacks of the conservative press and the effect of Frey's philosophy in dampening revolutionary ardor caused its early demise.[37] New ones, however soon began to sprout. The "Russian Workers Society", established in June, 1884, and dedicated to self-enlightenment and the founding of cooperative shops, recruited its following from among the more aristocratic elements of the colony, the intellectuals and the better-paid workers.[38] All the discourses were naturally held in the Russian language. Cahan and L. Miller then organized the "Labor Lyceum", as they did not approve of the diluted program which was advanced by the R.W.S. They preferred to enlighten the public on the problems of the workers rather than to foster the interest in mere self-education.[39] In 1885, the "Russian-Jewish Workers' Society" made its appearance, appealing primarily to those eager to approach the Jewish masses more closely through the use of their native tongue. The brothers Gretch, who were identified with the Socialist Labor Party, were its guiding lights.

All of these were more or less ephermeral organizations. They were limited in scope and confined to a narrow circle of adherents. It was the "Jewish Workers' Society", formed on April 19,1885, that at last understood the true need of the times and clearly appreciated the significance of its function.[40] In addition to carrying on the customary agitational work, its founders considered the issuance

of an organ and assistance to the trade unions. The radicals finally were feeling the need of a mass basis, as their predecessors were also realizing in Russia. Perhaps the rising tide of labor initiative which swept the country in connection with the strikes for the 8 hour day was the direct cause of this new orientation. In this respect it is interesting to note that J.W.S. issued a brochure in 1885 on the importance of this demand.[41]

The "Jewish Workers' Society" filled a most vital position in activizing the Jewish masses between 1884-87.[42] It arranged lectures, took part in the country-wide agitation for the 8 hour day, brought the immigrants into contact with the general labor movement and essayed the thankless task of trade union organization.[43] In 1886 the campaign against the sweat shops was initiated with the creation of the "Anti-Sweating League".[44] The efforts to elect Henry George as mayor of New York City likewise evoked the full-hearted support of the J.W.S., though the single-tax philosophy was far from being acceptable to its radical-minded members. But the united upsurge of the progressive forces in the metropolis, which came in answer to the Chicago Haymarket tragedy and its aftermath, could not help but sweep along in its wake the Jewish workers as well. Within a short time, however, the J.W.S., the main center of radical propaganda for almost four years, was dissolved, partly due to the crisis in the incipient Jewish labor movement, caused by the industrial standstill, and partly to the Socialist-Anarchist cleavage that was splitting apart the radical intelligentzia into two opposing factions.[45]

The desire to establish a working class organ was also not fulfilled. Instead, private newspapers, sympathetic in tone and contents to the Socialist ideal, made their appearance. The first

Jewish weekly of this kind in the United States, the "Naye Zeit", lasted for four issues during the summer of 1886.[46] The "New York Yiddishe Volks Zeitung", on the other hand, published weekly by two worker-intellectuals, survived for almost three and a half years. It endeavored to maintain an impartial attitude to the two radical groups that were developing but soon gravitated in the general direction of the Socialist wing.[47] In its columns it presented theoretical discussions of Socialism as well as a systematic popularization of the various natural sciences.[48] It reached a circulation of about 5,000.

Socialists and Anarchists at War

The struggle for supremacy which the Socialist and Anarchists were conducting within the confines of one general movement had to break its bounds. Differences over goals and techniques created a gap that could not be bridged. This feeling consequently culminated, in 1887, in the formation of two distinct and antagonistic ideological groups. This was an inevitable development, as we shall see. The Anarchists had already organized at the end of 1886 the "Pioneers of Freedom", which won quite a following during the trial of the Chicago martyrs.[49] Indeed the ground had been well prepared for the appearance of this organization. For stimulated and inspired by the dynamic leadership of Most, the Jewish Anarchists had increased their activities in the East Side to such an extent that they recruited a host of sympathizers and supporters.[50] They also exerted a stronger influence on the workers than did the Socialists, because of the petty-bourgeois psychology of the Jewish proletariat. Unlike its non-Jewish counterpart, the latter is more attracted to revolutionary phrases and desires to extricate itself from its economic

status with one blow, as it were. Such an attitude makes it more receptive to propaganda which does not stress the persistent, daily economic class-struggle but which exalts the heroic deed as the only possible form of emancipation.[51]

The prestige of the Anarchists among the broad sections of the Jewish masses continued to grow. Social gatherings, debates and discussions brought their message to many eager listeners. A difference of opinion has, however, arisen as to the explanation of the great success which accompanied the efforts of the Anarchists. Burgin[52] claims that it was due to the wealth of speaking and writing talent that clustered around them.[53] Kopeloff, on the other hand, accuses Burgin of indulging in sophistry and credits his comrades with possessing more intense enthusiasm for their ideals and a readiness to devote all their energies to the dissemination of their views.

The Socialists also banded themselves together and formed the 8th branch of the Socialist Labor Party. In their propaganda they stressed political activity, the value of strikes in improving the lot of the wage earner and the function of reforms within the present capitalistic order. They could approach the question of organizing the trade unions with a clearer conscience, for they believed that only as the workers' increasing needs were met through daily struggle would the latter learn to desire the new Socialist society.[54] It is true that the Anarchists also "worked like bees", aiming to improve the material conditions of the masses,[55] but they found it much harder to reconcile their views with practical activity in the labor movement. As a result, the Socialists after a while constituted a more influential group within the trade unions.[56]

The two bodies of radical opinion also expressed conflicting views on the question of religion. Whereas the Socialists considered matters of faith a personal affair, the Anarchists conducted "spiteful propaganda" against religious observances, according to Burgin.[57] Kopeloff,[58] however, contends that such an approach was necessary in order to free the working class from dependence upon a supernatural power. Atheistic circles were formed because some felt that the backwardness of the Jewish workers stemmed from their religious environment.[59] The process of enlightening the Jewish masses was therefore considered to be part and parcel of the class-struggle. It was with this thought in mind that the Anarchists began to issue in 1889 special Rosh-Hashona leaflets, entitled "Tefilah Zacah", which contained parodies on the prayers of the High-Holydays.[60] These attacks on religion, which continued till 1893, preached that salvation would not come through the power of God but by means of the social revolution. Thus, in one of his verses, David Edelstadt, Anarchist poet and editor, declared:[60]

> "Each age has its new Torah--
> Ours is freedom and rights;
> And we consider it the greatest sin
> To be a meek, submissive slave.
> We also have our new prophets--
> Boerne, LaSalle and Karl Marx."

Yom Kippur balls were also held to draw the Jewish workers away from the synagogue. These, however, encountered the stubborn opposition of the Orthodox elements, who called to their assistance the Jewish municipal officials. Neither did the latter hesitate, according to Kopeloff,[61] to depend upon the police power in order to prevent the festivities from taking place.

Soon the Anarchists felt the need of a tribune, which would be a sounding-board for their views. Thus they became the first

to issue a strictly revolutionary organ when their weekly "Warheit" made its appearance in the early part of 1889.[62] It, however, lasted only five months and reached a sparse circulation of 2500. The editors wanted to give it the character of a non-partisan radical organ but failed to carry out their intentions. Financial difficulties and lack of support amongst the intellectuals soon sealed the doom of this journalistic endeavor. Incidentally, some of Edelstadt's poems which appeared in its columns were put to song and used by the revolutionary organizations of Russia for propaganda purposes.[63]

In the meantime, the Socialists had participated in the 1888 election campaign but with disappointing results. The candidates of the Socialist Labor Party received the smallest number of votes in the Jewish districts. This might be explained by the fact that many sympathizers in the East Side had not as yet become naturalized citizens.[64] Another factor was no doubt the refusal of the Tammany Hall politician, the most redoubtable foe of social progress, to give way so easily. No trick was left undone, no corruptive practice was overlooked by the reactionary forces in the endeavor to steal the elections. Though sooner or later these could not prevail against the rising tide of Socialist sympathy, they did serve at first to slow down its progress.[65]

The Press Becomes the Bone of Contention

The crisis in relationship between the Socialist and Anarchist elements came to a sudden and dramatic expression in 1889. If any prospects of healing the breach between the two factions had existed prior to this year, they readily vanished afterwards. The two groups henceforth withdrew to their own spheres of interest and hardly every crossed each other's path, except so far as they still competed for influence within the Jewish labor movement.

It was the question of issuing an organ of radical opinion that precipitated the split, although the debates between the Socialists and the Anarchists in the trade unions as well as at the sessions of the United Hebrew Trades had already intensified feeling.[66] As the need for a class-conscious press was recognized by every one, there was elicited a very favorable response to the convention which the "Pioneers of Freedom" called on December 25, 1889, in New York City to consider the very pertinent issue. This was the first large-scale gathering of radical Jews in the United States.[67] Though it ended disastrously, it revealed the growth of progressive sentiment amongst the Jewish immigrants in the province as well as in the metropolis. Forty-odd delegates, representing about 32 organizations, Socialist, Anarchist and trade union, came together to determine the character of the newspaper that was to be published.[68]

The sessions, at all times marked by heated controversies, lasted for six days and nights. The Anarchists pleaded in behalf of an impartial paper, in which both currents of revolutionary thought would be reflected, while the Socialists pointed out the impracticality of such a venture.[69] According to Kopeloff, the former maintained that one group alone could not bear the burden of issuing a periodical and that it would also benefit the workers to familiarize themselves with the various tendencies alive within the radical movement. Yet there are grounds for suspecting their true motives. It seems that the slogan which they raised was more of a stratagem, for the Anarchists saw their hold upon the trade union movement slipping and were most anxious to recoup some of their lost prestige.[70]

But their maneuver was not successful, for on the seventh day

the gathering broke up, when the Socialists defeated their proposal by 21 to 20 votes. "Instead of two parties that had come together with the purpose of uniting in a common undertaking, there now existed two antagonistic camps"[71]. The Socialists, boasting the support of the Jewish unions, appeared from the very beginning to be opposed to the project but merely desired to utilize the occasion as the rallying-point for their followers, claims Kopeloff[72]. Be that as it may, the new year began with two conventions and two sharply-defined factions. It also gave birth to two working class periodicals. Now the conflict broke out in all its intensity, for in addition to ideological differences, personal animosities had also developed during the hectic sessions.

The Socialists decided to publish the "Arbeiter Zeitung" as a weekly and for that purpose brought over Philip Kranz, famous editor of the London radical Yiddish periodical, to serve as its editor. The paper was greeted with a great deal of enthusiasm upon its appearance on March 6, 1890 and was soon recognized by the United Hebrew Trades as its own spokesman[73]. About a thousand dollars was also received from the German unions to help launch it upon its career. As yet, however, it did not speak officially for the Socialist Labor Party, although it did express its ideology. Its purpose was proclaimed to be: the establishment of a society on the basis of freedom, equality and brotherhood, which was to be realized through the use of revolutionary forces and reforms[74].

The Anarchists in turn published the "impartial" "Freie Arbeiter Stume", beginning with July, 1890. It was soon, however, outdistanced by the glowing success of its competitor. Financial difficulties beset its progress from the very start. It could not attract

the broad masses, for it failed to provide a clear and concrete answer to their daily needs. It indulged in revolutionary rhetoric and disparaged the daily struggle for economic gains. "Better to strike for a free world than for a piece of a slave's bread", declared one of its editors.[76] It is therefore easy to understand why it was soon relegated to a secondary position in the labor press.

The circulation of the "Arbeiter Zeitung", on the other hand, increased from three to six thousand. The reason for its enthsiastic reception is self-evident; it brought enlightenment to the East-Side toilers and offered a helping hand in their economic conflicts. However, its critics point out that its vulgar sensations and popularixations in particular appealed to the backward masses. It followed an opportunistic line in expressing an attitude toward religious questions, whereas the Anarchists were more outspoken in sharply attacking what they considered to be a subversive influence in the class-struggle.[77] Similarly, the Socialist organ did not irritate the toiling masses by calling attention to their defects and shortcomings. The worker was exalted as a sort of superman, to whom all the revolutionary parties ought to cater.[78]

Thus the polemics between the two weeklies continued. Both factions sought to win the approval of the public, as the competition between the periodicals became the center of interest. Very often the Socialist and Anarchist ideal was lost sight of in the scramble for readers.[79] But by the end of the decade, the star of the Anarchist movement was beginning to dim, as the Jewish workers became engrossed in the daily struggle for existence and the dreams of a quick transition to the Socialist order faded in the reality of the tenement house and the sweat shop.

SECTION TWO: INTERNECINE STRIFE WITHIN SOCIALIST RANKS, 1890-1900

During the last decade of the 19th century, the Anarchists lost considerable ground and presently remained without a mass basis. For as the Jewish workers' colony became acclimated to the American surroundings, they turned to more adaptable forms of struggle against their intolerable conditions of life. Though both factions competed on more or less equal terms in the early part of the nineties, it was not long before the Socialist elements pushed to the foreground and monopolized the sympathy and adherence of many more East Side residents than their opponents did.[80]

Were it not for the fact that they could not maintain inner harmony nor solve their petty disagreements in amicable fashion, the Socialists would have captured the entire Jewish labor movement and built a solid, compact body of class-conscious citizens. Peace, however, prevailed within their ranks only from 1890 to 1893.[81] From that time on till the end of the century, the Jewish workers were treated to many a spectacle of factional strife and personal animosity. Indeed so much partisan feeling was engendered that to this day it is impossible to determine the basic causes of the 1895 and 1899 splits that arose within the Jewish section of the Socialist Labor Party. All the available accounts merely reflect the prejudices of the various protagonists.

As a reaction to the quarrels of the leaders and as an answer to the needs of the workers for brotherly warmth and co-operation, the Arbeiter Ring soon came into existence in the early years of this decade.[82] Two cloakmakers conceived the idea of a fraternal organization and therefore established, with the help of a dozen others, the "neutral" Workingmen's Circle Society of New York in March, 1892.[83]

Its aims were: 1. mutual aid in case of sickness or death; 2. the furtherance of the education of the members; 3. the establishment of co-operative enterprises. All of these arose out of the economic, social and cultural status of the Jewish workers at the time. The third objective was, however, soon abandoned, on account of the failure with the barber-shop co-operative.[84] Lectures and discussions were held bi-weekly, chiefly on natural sciences, for though the society was open to progressive workers and intellectuals only, its members sought to avoid those controversial issues which were instigating serious dissensions within the Jewish labor movement.[85] It is interesting to note, by the way, that the constitution of this society was copied from that of the German "Workingmen' Sick and Death Fund Organization", established in 1884.[86]

The progress of the Socialist movement remained unimpeded for a good number of years. Its vote in the Jewish neighborhood grew, its organs commanded the respect and loyalty of several thousand readers, its activity within the United Hebrew Trades and affiliated unions established its prestige, and its contact with the international revolutionary movement broadened its outlook.[86a] At the July, 1891 convention plans were formulated for the issuance of a monthly scientific journal, the "Zukunft", while at the end of 1893 interest was centered on the publication of a daily newspaper. Lectures tours were likewise sponsored throughout the country to propogate the socialist message.[87] An attempt was even made to form a national association of Jewish workers in 1891 under the name of Hebrew Labor Federation. This, however, proved abortive, because the province was as yet not prepared for such a task.[88]

Perhaps the most dramatic gesture was the appointment of Abe Cahan as delegate to the Breslau International Socialist Congress

in 1891, where a very interesting controversy developed over the attitude of the radical forces toward the Jewish question.[89] It seems that Cahan, whose leaflet on the Jewish labor movement in America for the first time brought the latter to the attention of the leading Socialists, introduced a resolution, in which he asked that anti-Semitism be condemned. But a number of the delegates, whose acquaintance with our people was limited to the top Jewish bourgeoisie of the West European lands, were very outspoken against it, with the result that the compromise resolution as accepted called to task both philo- and anti-Semitism.[90] Racial incitation was also severely criticized and the Jewish workers were urged to join the Socialist ranks.[91]

The crisis of 1893 which wreaked havoc among the Jewish trade unions, creating unemployment and poverty, again revealed the impracticality of Anarchist agitation. While the United Hebrew Trades organized relief committees and the Socialists sought to relieve the misery which spread through the working class quarters, the Anarchists used the occasion to call for revolutionary uprisings.[92] This no doubt contributed to undermine their influence among the Jewish masses.

The Revolt against the "Clique"

In the meantime, however, the internal dissension of the Socialist group was gathering momentum. As most of the drama was enacted against a background of developments within the general labor movement of the country, it is first necessary to call attention to the rise of De Leon as a power within the Socialist Labor Party and to the new trade union policy which he advocated. When Socialist infiltration into the American Federation of Labor was rejected by the 1889 convention, efforts were made by De Leon to intrench his party within the rapidly-declining Knights of Labor.

But when this attempt was similarly rebuffed, he ushered in a new era of dual unionism. It was then that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance came into being in 1895.

All this time De Leon found in the Jewish unions a loyal champion of his tactics. They joined the Knights of Labor under his direction and later rallied to the banner of the S.T. & L.A., when the convention of December, 1895, threw down the gauntlet to the conservative trade unions. Thus the 25 labor organizations associated with the United Hebrew Trades at first formed the very backbone of the new Socialist labor federation. But within a few years, many withdrew, when certain elements within the S.L.P. came out strongly against oppositional unions.[93] Whether or not this development was a decisive factor in quickening the dis-satisfaction within the Jewish Socialist branches is hard to determine, for again we are confused by the conflicting accounts. Yet there is no doubt but that it contributed to the controversy.

Events leading up to the 1897 split might be constructed as follows: When the "Arbeiter Zeitung" began to appear in 1889, its control was vested in a publishing association, whose membership was naturally limited to Socialists. It was within this group that the civil war broke out. For the supervising board was evidently assuming too much power. This aroused the resentment of others who were eager to assert their own influence over the Jewish radical movement. Yet there were many other complicating factors as well. In the first place, there existed sharp personal antagonisms which only later developed into differences over principles.[94] Secondly, a number of members who had left the shops and entered professional careers formed a kind of intellectual aristocracy that held itself

aloof from the ordinary shop toilers. As a result, an intellectual barrier was created between the two groups.[95] Finally, those who lived in the province were dissatisfied with the greater attention that was being lavished on the activities of the New York bodies.[96] Though the supervising board was also accused of following De Leon's directives,[97] the evidence is not conclusive. It may have been that this issue was dragged in at a later stage in the development of hostilities when the question of De Leon's uncompromising tactics was already agitating the movement at large.[98]

The December 30, 1893 convention brought all these cross-currents of discontent to a head. Louis Miller, leader of the opposition, accused the supervising board of being a clique, solely interested in maintaining its position of dominance and conspiring to steal away the newspaper from the organizations that had established it.[99] Of course Miller had some personal grievances too but he received his main support from the intellectual elements, the popular writers and orators who were spreading the Socialist message. The latter believed that the members of the supervising board were usurping power, while they were engaged in their propagandistic labor.[100]

Yet the convention, it would seem, ended with a victory for the supervising board, for the only action taken was to urge all Socialists to enroll within the "Arbeiter Zeitung Publishing Association".[101] Another interpretation, however, reads to the effect that the heated discussions ended with a "compromise resolution".[102] A momentary cessation of hostilities was established when the first Jewish Socialist daily in the world, the "Abend Blatt", appeared on October 14, 1894, under the editorship of Philip Kranz. But Miller and Cahan were determined to pursue their aims. Though Cahan claims

that his interest in combatting De Leonism lead him to engage in this conflict,[103] another writer, who served as a member of the supervising board, maintains that friction on account of De Leon's tactics did not fully mature till 1895. That Cahan was disappointed at not being appointed editor of the "Abend Blatt" and therefore persisted in his oppostional attitude to the leadership of the publishing association,[104] is the latter's contention.

Another log was added to the fire of factional strife with the appearance of the "Emes" by the Boston Socialist forces in 1895. A most prominent gentleman from London, one of the first Jewish Socialists in the world and a pioneer of the English-Jewish labor movement, whose writings gave form and expression to the suffering and of the Jewish toilers, Morris Winchevski,[105] was appointed to the editorship, soon upon his arrival in the country. He had joined the opposition most likely because of his antagonism toward Philip Kranz. Though at first the "Emes" was meant to be restricted to educational and literary features, the new organ was soon enmeshed in the controversy of the day. Its 15th issue contained an article by Winchevski which rocked the entire movement.[106] This was the first of a series pointing out the same defects which the opposition had been exposing. For Winchevski had become "the storm-bird of the revolution"against the publishing association and demanded that control of the press be wrested from its hands. The "Abend Blatt" naturally did not let this action to pass by unnoticed. As a result, friction was further intensified.

The Socialist-Anarchist factions sought to embroil the Arbeiter Ring Society in their partisan quarrel, with the result that by 1894, the previous comitment to neutrality was gradually converted to an open sympathy for the Socialist organizations and press. Notices of its activities

ceased to appear in the Anarchist paper; yet the Socialist organs still regarded it as a "step-child" in the movement,[107] paying but scant attention to its development, although it contributed to striking workers and to the periodicals.[108] The Arbeiter Ring, however, did not participate in the inner squabbles of the Socialists.

The 1895 convention sought to air the entire controversy and to establish a modicum of peaceful relationships. But other irritations arose to plague the delegates. Representatives of the Jewish unions were not permitted at the sessions, because of their favorable attitude toward De Leon.[109] The opposition endeavored again to bring the leaders of the publishing association to task, or rather, in the words of another commentator, to institute reforms in the Socialist press.[110a] But little headway was made and both sides therefore consented to present their views before an arbitration committee, to be composed of members of the S.L.P. national executive committee.

Eighteen sessions were held by this so-called court during the month of January. The decision in the main consisted of the following provisions: 1. the books of the Association should be supervised; 2. the "Arbeiter Zeitung" should become the official organ of the S.L.P. and the appointment of its editor be confirmed by the party executive and the publishing association; 3. the same editors were to remain at their posts on the daily, weekly and monthly organs;[111] 4. the Association should take in new members. The opposition, however, was not satisfied with the ruling of the committee. Cahan resigned his position as editor of the "Arbeiter Zeitung", though he had promised to abide by the results of the conferences.[112] He declared that the publishing association was not

made up of elected representatives of Socialist organizations and as such did not give full expression to the views of the movment.[113] Things were at a standstill again. The Association made an effort to correct its faults, while peace overtures were again extended by both sides. However, the establishment of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, with its consequent fostering of oppositional unions, still kept the atmosphere charged and full of tension. Nonethless the immediate problem of the 1896 elections brought a temporary lull in hostilities.

Factionalism Takes its Toll

The strained relations at last reached their bursting point at the January 7, 1897 convention, at which both factions matched their strength for the contemplated seizure of power. The opposition tried to have about thirty new members admitted into the Association, in order thus to facilitate their winning control of the gathering. Both groups maneuvered for a favorable position and hence disagreed as to the count of ballots for the chairmanship. Other differences also developed with the result that the discontented elements left the meeting and issued a very vituperative declaration, the "Manifesto of 52" against the Association.[114] Milch points out in his discussion of these events that the majority, 71 persons, remained at the meeting, that the manifesto contained very vicious language and that it was not even signed by many of the 52 individuals who withdrew from the convention.[115]

This abrupt break-up of the Jewish Socialist movement upset many of the rank-and-file who were at a loss to know with whom to side. Yet though the accusations of the opposition against the so-called clique were not entirely warranted, the Jewish workers were full of faith in their intellectual leaders and so believed

that the "Abend Blatt" had been captured by a small circle for narrow and personal interests.[116] A Socialist Press Society, organized by the opposition to issue a new organ, won immediate support. At its first conference about 25 organizations were represented. Work was at once begun on the new project. Attempts at establishing peace on the part of the S.L.P. executive committee failed. With the appearance of the "Vorwarts" on April 22, 1897, under the editorship of Cahan, the split became final and irretrieveable.

Sharp polemics were of course conducted by both Socialist organs. A cnetral association of Jewish workers in opposition to the United Hebrew Trades that had joined the S.T. & L.A. was established by the oppositional elements as well.[117] The demoralization of the movement grew apace. De Leon tried to have the "Vorwarts" group expelled from the S.L.P. but was defeated in a referendum of the New York membership. He then carried through a re-organization of the districts which enabled him to dispose of about 300 members.[118] This prepared the ground for the amalgamation of the expelled faction with a new party, the Social Democracy of America, which Debbs had organized but a month before in Chicago. The union was consummated at the end of July, 1897.

The intense civil-war which had raged over four years took its toll. The constant bickering weakened the trade unions and the various Socialist bodies.[119] A great deal of energy was expended in needless mud-slinging and attacks on personalities. Instead of offering guidance and leadership to the toiling masses, the factions quarreled over control of the party organs and individual glory. But the chaos that reigned during the decade did not come to an end in 1897. Soon, the general Socialist movement was torn with strife,

as the question of the S.T. & L.A. became the bone of contention between the followers of De Leon and his opponents. The Jewish comrades were likewise drawn into the melee, with further disastrous results to their influence among the Jewish workers.

As a result of the division that developed within the S.L.P. between the De Leon adherents and those who did not see eye to eye with him on the trade union issue, a second split cut through the depleted ranks of the Jewish sections. De Leon's followers managed to obtain control of the "Abend Blatt". This therefore led to the establishment of the "Volks Zeitung" in September 22, 1899 by the "kangaroos". This sobriquet was given by De Leon to those who fought his policies. The new organ which was recognized by the United Hebrew Trades (this central body had already severed its relations with the S.T. & L.A.) declared open war against the spirit of De Leonism, which, it claimed, was disrupting the unity of the movement.[120]

The "Abend Blatt" continued to lose influence until by April 12, 1902, it terminated its existence. The reason for this is due in part, according to one writer, to the fact that its editor fought against the wave of Jewish chauvinism which swelled up within the New York ghetto as a result of the Dreyfus affair and the Spanish-American War.[121] The "Vorwarts", on the other hand, it is maintained, played upon the sympathies of the masses, while its editor cultivated a species of yellow journalism. The libel case brought by the publishers of the "Yiddishe Tageblatt" against the "Abend Blatt" also contributed to its early demise. Likewise, since most of its talent joined the forces of the new opposition, the inexperienced writers were at a loss to maintain the periodical through these critical times.[122]

The final outcome of this second inner party conflict was the union of the new Socialist Labor Party opposition with the Social Democratic Party in 1901.[123] Thus at long last, the vast majority of Jewish Socialists were once again together under a common banner, with the exception of a small minority that still maintained its allegiance to De Leon. The Socialist Party that emerged out of this union in July, 1901, henceforth claimed the full loyalty of the Jewish radicals, although attempts were still being made to revive the dying Anarchist movement.[124] New tasks now faced the Jewish Socialist forces as the twentieth century opened. Before, however, we turn to a consideration of the next decade's activities, it would be in place to discuss the role which the Yiddish literary figures of this era played in arousing the Jewish workers to the struggle against their miserable lot.

For, it must be borne in mind, that the entire Yiddish culture in America is a product of the Jewish labor movement. The Jewish radicals, in addition to their activity on the economic front, developed, through their educational efforts, the taste of the masses for artistic literature, a modern theatre and a mature labor press.[125]

The Writers Develop Social Consciousness

Not only did the Jewish-Socialist press serve as an educative element of great value in the Ghetto by extending the intellectual horizon of its inhabitants[126] but the works of the poets and short-story writers also helped in a large measure to arouse the Jewish masses to struggle.[127] Thus was created, perhaps for the first time in America, a social-conscious literature, that took the miserable shop conditions as its constant theme and reflected the bitter tor-

ment of those that literally "sweated" out their lives. The Yiddish writers described the conditions under which their people lived, their manners, problems and ideas in a direct, simple, unpretentious manner. "They merely tell without comment the facts they know. For the most part, these facts are gloomy and sordid, often lightened, however, by the sense of the ridiculous, which seldom entirely deserts the Jew; and as likely as not rendered attractice by feeling and by beauty of characterization".[128]

When we consider that the vast majority of the immigrants at one time or another had experienced the sweat shop,[129] it will not be hard to understand why the latter impinged itself so much upon the Yiddish literature of the time. The shop was their world and their life was circumscribed and rather unhappy. This made the Russian Jews of the East Side into "realists in literary faith"[130] and helps to explain the gloomy strain which predominated in the creations of their literary artists. The appearance of the poets and story writers of the 80s and 90s thus marked a further step in the growth of Jewish culture, at the same time that the proletarianization of the Jewish masses ushered in a new period of American-Jewish history.[131] The two marched side by side, indicating the close relationship of art to social conditions.

The first working-class poet and perhaps the outstanding literary figure of the Jewish radical movement was Winchevski, whose sympathies ran the gamut of many causes from the Haskalah to the Communist movements. He was one of the founders of Jewish Socialism in England and later played a significant role in American radical circles. Ten volumes of his collected writings attest to his versatility as author of poems, stories, dramas, feullitones, fables, articles,

epigrams, etc.[132] Though his critics valued his prose more, it was the poetry that won him popular acclaim. He sang of the struggle of the masses in a simple, direct manner, brimming with love for his people.[133] He was a man of high culture, conversant with world literature and master of his dialect. All his poems treated social questions and the misery of the lower strata of society. Yet though he had a pronounced Socialist bias, his pictures are drawn true to life. Though he often describes Jewish life, this is but an accident of his themes, for only his language is Jewish. "Everything else is of a universal nature and the freeing of society from the yoke of oppression is the burden of his songs."[134]

The most original poet of the time was Morris Rosenfeld, a simple and sensitive talent, who himself suffered the privations of hunger and back-breaking toil. As he once declared: "I worked in the sweat shop in the daytime and at night I worked at my poems. I could not help writing them. My heart was full of bitterness. If my poems are sad and plaintive, it is because I expressed my own feelings and because my surroundings were sad".[135] His was a dynamic and volcanic temperament, uncontrolled and unfettered by the demands of form, deeply rooted in reality and possessing little imaginative or reflective power.[136] He uttered cries of anguish and despair as he reproduced the things that he saw in his surroundings. A great sadness permeated all his verse. He might have been entirely neglected, had not Leo Wiener, a professor of Slavic Literature at Harvard, introduced him to the world through a prose translation of his "melodious threnodies" in 1898.[137] Though he condemned the present order of things, he did not grind any particular axe. He only railed against the iniquity of the sweat shop and the destiny that

compelled him, the master of the pen, to become the slave of the needle.[138] Thus Rosenfeld in "weary accents sings to the maimed spirit of the Jewish slums. It is a fresh, naïve note, the pathetic cry of the bright spirit crushed in the poisonous air of the Ghetto."[139]

The Anarchists also produced two worthy representatives of their cause: Edelstadt and Bovshover. The former, though active in the Yiddish Literature for only four years yet managed to carve a niche for himself. His poetry is very didactic, often full of praise for Anarchists and other heroes of freedom "who have fallen in the unequal combat with the present conditions of society". Only one poem was directed especially to Jewish readers,(though he appeared regularly in Jewish organs) in which he said that they "have escaped from the cruel Muscovites only to be jailed in the dusky sweat shops where they slowly bleed at the sewing machines".[140] His verses, full of "flaming protest against capitalism and seething pathos" were sung by Jewish workers in Russia in factories, secret meetings and at demonstrations.[141] Edelstadt, an atheist and internationalist, regarded literature as a weapon in the struggle for emancipation and therefore always used the same themes, though he was quite successful in varying the form of the material. He died in his late twenties in Denver, a sick and weary man, but his song in which "roars a sea of human tears, mixed with the poet's blood" served as a model which was imitated by many new and younger singers.[142]

Bovshover belonged to the second period of Jewish revolutionary poetry, for he became active in the 90s. He was very much influenced by the above-mentioned writers but later on was attracted to Emerson, Whitman and Markham. At first he appeared in all radical periodicals, but after 1892 confined himself to the Anarchist publication. His literary career can be divided into two periods. In the first,

"each letter is a tear" and he wrote after the fashion of the pioneer radical poets. In the second, however, he was not as fanatical and revolution-enthusiast as before. He began living in a world of dreams and manifested little interest in the concrete problems of life, becoming even indifferent to the fate of the Jewish labor movement. He did not possess a fighting heart as did his predecessors, did not participate in polemics nor in the factional quarrels of his time but longed after his ideal of a quiet life, devoid of cares.[143] He ended his days, however, in an insane asylum.

A very unique talent was later discovered in the person of Liesin, who also served in later years as the very capable editor of the "Zūkunft". At the end of the last century, though he was a mere youth, he was already considered "an imaginative critic, a violent Socialist and an excitable lover of nature". He possessed a broad and in some respects a very thorough education. His was "the poetry of Socialism and nature, and one form...(was) as turbulent as the other".[144] At a time when the radical poetry was full of propaganda and abstract concepts, he introduced the lyrical element as well as concrete expression. His social tendencies were thus colored with subjective individualism which added verve and spirit to his writings.[145]

The short-story writers also helped to enlighten the Jewish working masses. Thus, S. Libin, himself a worker, depicted with great feeling and unfailing pathos and humor the sordid conditions of Ghetto life. He pictured his environment almost naively, without comment and without subtlety, in a way to draw tears.[146] His simple sketches, contained in a small collection,[147] were considered to be among the best Ghetto stories written in New York.[148] The shadow of the sweat shop hovers over his stories and it seems as though Libin's

pen were dipped in the ink of human sorrows.[149] Though he does not possess very keen observation, vivid imagination or particularly noteworthy style, he has one striking characteristic: a feeling of sympathy and understanding for the weary and drudging figures whose struggles he portrays.

Leon Kobrin, though he also won fame as a playwright, has been termed, the "satirist of tenement society". For "many of his sketches are satirical, some are rather burlesque descriptions of Ghetto types, and some suggest the sad 'problem' element which runs through Russian literature".[150] His sketches of European life were, however, considered to be superior to those of the American environment. As he himself explained:" When I described the life of the Jews here, I saw wandering souls, whose form had not yet been shaped, and a life of chaos and confusion...and it is not a simple matter to create images out of such chaos."[151]

Jacob Gordin was also active in both spheres of literary endeavor. He was a well-educated man who knew several languages and literatures quite thoroughly. "His greater resources of culture and his sharper natural wit have made of him by far the most practiced writer of the lot".[152] In his sketches, however,[153] he used literary techniques to heighten the effect and remained less true to facts than his other colleagues. There was too much of the theatrical and sensational spirit in them, while a number abounded with contempt for the America, which he often satirized.

SECTION THREE: FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST CAUSE, 1900-14

The development of Socialist sentiment in this country, as measured by the increase in the total ballot cast for its candidates from 130,336 in 1900 to 641,789 in 1910,[154] indicated that the radical movement was no longer confined to the foreign-born. A combination of factors, among which might be included the concentration and trustification of capital, the emergence of the petty-bourgeois class, represented by the radical intelligentzia, as an oppositional force against the existing order, the appearance of "reform" parties, the Russian immigration and the agitation stimulated by the Moyer-Haywwod affair, contributed toward the further enlightenment of the vast masses of workers and the cultivation of their sympathies for the partisans of social change. The Jewish section alone, it seems, did not fully participate in the upsurge of the Socialist cause, for not all the scars of the previous factional battles had as yet been healed. The early 1900s remained years of chaos and distraction in the ranks of the radical-minded Jewish workers.[155]

Perhaps one of the causes of this standstill and even waning influence on the part of the Jewish Socialists was their attitude toward the trade unions. As Feigenbaum pointed out in the "Zukunft" at this time,[156] many of them stayed outside the labor organizations, failing to understand the Marxian principle that since the unions improved the workers' lot and trained them in the revolutionary struggle, they could well serve as a strong basis for Socialism. The majority of party members, furthermore, were recruited from outside the ranks of the working class and hence did not fully appreciate the necessity of first winning their spurs, so to speak, in

the daily economic struggles. Reviewing the approach of the Social-Democrats to the trade union question for the past twelve years, Feigenbaum indicated that a full cycle of changing opinions had been reached and it was therefore essential to start with fundamentals all over again in 1903.

Another contributing factor was the influence of Russian events upon the East Side residents which lead to a loss of interest in purely local questions. The public was still engrossed in debates concerning the relative merits of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks or the relationship of the Bund to the R.S.D.P. or else was pulled along by the nationalist wave which the Kishinev pogrom released.[157] The fact that many of the immigrants had not managed to become naturalized might also account for the small Socialist vote gained in the Jewish quarter. Thus, in 1904, though a spirited campaign was conducted by the "First Agitation District" in behalf of the popular Barondes as candidate for Congress, the voting strength mustered in the district, considered to be the fortress of radicalism in the Ghetto,[158] was far from satisfactory.

In the meantime, however, the Jewish labor press was flourishing. Particularly did the "Vorwarts" grow in strength and establish wide contacts with the working people, until it became "the most widespread, richest and influential"[159] Jewish paper in the world. It was not a party organ but claimed to represent the entire Socialist movement. In its early days, financial and editorial difficulties almost brought a quick end to its existence. But with Cahan's return to the staff, as a result of which it was converted into a more popular paper,[160] and the growing Jewish immigration, its future became secure. The disappearance of the "Abend Blatt" fron the newspaper market

also removed a formidable opponent from the scene.[161] Other smaller periodicals were issued from time to time but none could survive the struggle for readers and financial support.

A dis-satisfaction with the prevailing status of the labor press, nevertheless, was expressed in some circles.[162] The Socialist papers were criticized for catering too much to the newcomers and for paying too much attention to the growing subscription lists. The group publishing the "Vorwarts" was blamed for the demoralization of the movement and chastized for committing the same faults by virtue of which it had broken away from the "Arbeiter Zeitung". Yet it was not necessary to start new organs, as was contemplated by some individuals, but to convert the existing ones into serious and honest spokesmen of the Socialist cause, the critics maintained.

All this time the Arbeiter Ring continued to strike deep roots among the Jewish toilers. Thus, the Workingmen's Circle Society of New York with its two branches in Harlem and Brooklyn, totaling about 300 members, organized itself as an order on Sept. 4, 1900.[163] Soon, by the time of its first convention in March, 1901, there existed nine branches, located in three states, with 644 members. Its spirit was "one of solidarity of the workers and faithfulness to the interests of their class in its struggle against oppression".[164] No issue was raised any more over the religious and philosophical inclinations of the members, if we may judge by the membership call issued by the provisional general secretary, himself a well-known atheist. Such tolerance was a concession to the need of building a mass basis for the organization. Perhaps for the same reason and because the rank and file played such a dominant role in the establishment of this order, factional disagreements were put aside

and the doors were opened to all progressive-minded candidates.

Though at first it was the weakest of the various sectors of the Jewish labor movement, subjected to the indifference and opposition of many elements, the Arbeiter Ring managed in the course of time to surpass many of the other working class organizations. It contributed toward the support of strikers, the political campaigns and various revolutionary funds. It also provided a forum from which the workers and their children might be reached, although the radical intellectuals for the most part looked down upon its activities as not contributing sufficiently to the need of social change.[165]

Anarchism as a movement had already deteriorated in the 90s. Yet it still exerted an influence as an educational force. A number of intellectuals and sympathetic workers remained loyal to their views and continued to be active in the unions and in the Arbeiter Ring. The "Freie Arbeiter Stume" was revived as a weekly for some time but had to cope with serious financial obstacles. The police persecutions after McKinley's assasination and the passage of a law directed against the Anarchists by the New York Legislature soon brought their activities to a close in the Jewish neighborhood. Future attempts to broaden the scope of influence of the small sect were no more successful than previous one had been and the movement died a more or less lingering death.[166]

Suddenly, like a bolt of lightning, the Russian Revolution in 1905 cut across the cloudy skies of the Jewish labor movement. The events over seas served as a refreshing source of hope and confidence in the ultimate might and ideals of the working class. Even before this, however, close contacts had been maintained by the immigrants with the Bund. A branch of the latter organization was, for instance,

established in New York City in 1900.[167] Such "landsleit" leagues for the support of the Bund, whose purpose was to initiate the newcomers into the local radical movement, continued to sprout everywhere.[168] In 1904, about 40 of them formed a "Central Association" to popularize the Bund ideology and to raise money for the movement in Russia.[169] The other Russian parties also had their representatives and adherents in the country who conducted quite a hectic competition amongst themselves. Labor leaders had also been sent since 1903 to maintain the ties that had been formed between the two lands and these toured many cities, addressing mass-meetings and winning "souls" for their respective organizations.[170] Finally, thousands of participants in the struggle against the Czarist regime were themselves driven to these shores and sooner or later were recruited into the American army of Socialism.

But the defeat of the revolutionary upsurge in Russia caused the Jewish workers to once more divert their attention to conditions in this country. Thus, in 1907, the "Jewish Agitation Bureau" was established.[171] This was part of the desire to establish a special Jewish Socialist organization, operating on a national basis, which was felt by the immigrant Bundists and by those residing in the provinces. It, however, met with the opposition of those elements who wished the Jewish workers not to isolate themselves from the larger movement of which they were part. Yet the Bureau was founded and soon was recognized, in 1908, by the Socialist Party Executive Committee as one of the language groups which were then being formed. Speakers were sent out through the country; yet the results of all this activity did not quite meet with expectations.[172]

Nationalist Sentiments Come to Expression

From the few articles available to the writer, it seems that the Jewish party members were groping with a serious problem, one which the Jewish radical movement both in Russia and in this country was hard-pressed to solve. Every one recognized the need of national organizations spreading Socialism in accordance with the language and psychological needs of the various groups but few could determine what form these should take. In commenting on the above-mentioned Bureau, a "Zukunft" contributor wrote that its organizers did not have a clear goal nor well-formulated principles before them, and that it therefore failed to develop into a mass organization. To a certain extent the idea of establishing a Jewish Socialist center in America was indeed revolutionary if we take into account the cosmopolitan tendencies that flourished in the East Side Ghetto. Yet merely to spread propaganda in a language suited to the national psychology of the Jewish people was not enough. A national Jewish Socialist authoritative body, organically united with the Jewish laboring masses, and concerned with their social, economic and political questions, alone could meet the needs of the hour.[173]

On the eve of the third convention of the Bureau, Winchevski therefore recommended that it become a federation of Jewish Socialist propaganda societies, though not acting as a seperate political party. Within this organization, the new immigrants would receive training as future members of the Socialist Party, for only the Americanized elements should belong to the latter. Otherwise, he maintained, the liquidation of the present structure would be the best way out, for the process of Americanization was making headway among the Jewish workers, with the result that the leaders of

the Jewish movement were becoming estranged from the Yiddish language and hence were little understood by the masses. According to his proposal, the language section would serve merely as the transitional point between the immigrant status and acclimatization to the American environment.[174]

The convention, however, rejected his proposal. This step lead, according to Winchevski, to the loss of interest and enthusiasm on the part of the immigrants in the Socialist cause, for the party was giving but scant attention at the time to the national question. He therefore made another suggestion that a Jewish-American Socialist Bund be created, which would provide a means for schooling the East Side residents in the teachings of Socialism, as was done by the German model.[175]

Yet it wasn't until 1912 that the Bureau responded in part to the suggestions which the above-mentioned writers forwarded. At that time, though the Jewish working masses were showing unusual resourcefulness on the economic front, their Socialist sympathies were being expressed only at the polls and not through any direct affiliation with the party. The reasons for this, according to one commentator were the following: 1. too many were suffering from the effects of Anarchism and were content with being mere radicals; 2. many were not capable of systematic and steady work in one field of endeavor; 3. there were many active Socialists in the unions who forgot their party origin.[176]

The Jewish Socialist Federation therefore came into existence because the Socialist Party, recognizing the immigrant character of the working class, was now re-organizing on the basis of the national autonomy idea. The national federations which it established

continued to remain under the authority of the party in general matters but retained their independent status as respects their propaganda and organizational form. They were represented through their secretaries in the national headquarters and had the right to appear at sessions of the Executive Committee.[177] At the time of its establishment, the J.S.F. contained about 25 branches, with 700-1000 members.[178] Yet, though it grew in size to about 2000 members in 1913, its progress was somewhat disappointing. True it gathered together the existing forces, despite the poverty of talent in the organizational, literary and oratorical fields; yet the results were not commensurate with the rapid strides which the labor and radical movements were making in the country at large.

On the eve of its second convention in New Haven, the issue remained as of old: how to convert the widespread Socialist sentiment among the Jewish masses into a political factor. For thirty years the Jewish Socialist movement had been in existence in New York City, yet it was not till the Federation came into being that the needs of the Jewish masses as such came up for attention.[180] This lack of concern was revealed, according to Winchevski, in the failure of the convention to take action on the Bailis trial currently taking place in Russia.[181] Perhaps this fact was responsible for the weak party structure in the East Side. The following reasons might also have contributed: 1. The Arbeiter Ring was also active in disseminating Socialist propaganda and hence many saw no need for affiliating with the party; 2. the trade unions were activated by a radical spirit and lead by Socialists; 3. the more forward-looking workers did not believe in a specifically Jewish branch of the movement.[182]

At last in 1914 was the crowning success of the past efforts reached, when Myer London was elected to the U.S. Congress. During the past four years the Jewish labor movement had come of age, while the labor press, Arbeiter Ring and the Jewish Socialist Federation were attaining their peak of effectiveness. The campaigns on the East Side were being transformed into very dramatic political struggles between Tammany Hall and the Socialists, as the Republicans withdrew to the background. When London ran for the third time as candidate, there was a great outpouring of support on the part of the trade unions, which organized special committees, collected money in the shops and matched forces with the crooked Tammany politicians. Thus for the first time it happened that New York City sent a Socialist to the House of Representatives. This indeed was a grand climax ~~for~~ to a glorious epoch in American-Jewish history and in the fortunes of the Jewish labor and radical movement of this country.

CHAPTER FIVE: TRADE UNION ACTIVITY
RISE OF THE JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

Introduction

The industrial base of the Jewish labor movement in this country has been the clothing industry. It was not a mere fortuitous circumstance, however, that the growth of the needle trades coincided with the vast influx of the Russian-Jewish immigrants in the last two decades of the 19th century.[1] Though the manufacturing of garments received much impetus from the Civil War and the invention of the sewing machine, it was the abundant supply of human material, willing to toil under the most unfavorable circumstances, that was largely responsible for the rapid rise of this industry.

The new arrivals concentrated in the clothing trade for a number of reasons. In the first place, seventy percent of them remained as permanent settlers in New York City and therefore had to seek immediate means of livelihood. As the metropolis was the center of this industry, it naturally attracted the new wave of immigration as it had the previous ones.[2] Thus, a study by the Baron de Hirsch Fund of the New York Ghetto in the 80s reveals that out of 21,979 persons employed, 78% were industrial workers, of whom 80% were engaged in the various branches of the clothing industry.[3] Secondly, the nature of the work was such that very little skill was required. This fact was perhaps one of the most vital factors in converting a people of traders, artisans and "luftmenschen" into one of industrial workers. Likewise, the past occupational predilections of the Russian Jews no doubt contributed to their vocational tendencies in their new environment.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that by 1880 most of the German Jews who had played a dominant role in the second-hand clothing trade in the previous two decades had entered the manufacturing

branch and by 1890 had gained entire control of the industry.[4] Many of these served on the immigrant-aid committees and naturally sought to divert the stream of the new labor supply to their shops. The immigrants, on the other hand, handicapped by ignorance of the native tonue, indisposed to work in factories, were more than eager to enter establishments under Jewish management.

Evils of the Clothing Industry

Consequently, the labor organizations which came into being when these newcomers rebelled under the oppressive weight of the sweat shop conditions displayed traits which arose out of the nature of the clothing industry itself.[5] It is therefore necessary to dwell for a few moments on the characteristics of this trade in order to gain an insight into the obstacles that confronted the pioneers of Jewish trade unionism. These were as follows:

1. The seasonal character of the trade perhaps formed one of its most serious problems. "Outside of the two rush seasons of three or four months each, there is practically no work".[6] During the intervening slack periods, the majority of the workers were therefore placed on a part-time basis while the rest were discharged from their jobs. The high turnover that thus resulted created a "fluid labor force"[7] which was hard to organize. Since many of the manufacturers did not maintain their own establishments, as we shall later see, they threw "all the losses of the dull period upon the employees..By means of this stystem, a mass of unskilled labor (was) effectively organized for work when wanted and cast adrift w readily when the need (was) over".[8]

2. The existence of small shops and the excessive competition between them undermined the earning power of the workers.[9] For in

this industry, large establishments had no great advantage over the smaller ones. The latter could maintain their position in the field since they were less subject to legislative supervision and could utilize the over-supply of cheap and needy labor as well as take advantage of the ignorance of the foreign worker, who was at the mercy of the contractor, often of his own nationality.[10]

3. The lack of competitive ability on the part of the wage earners and the existence of unskilled and organized workers always ready to drift into the industry hindered the growth of the labor movement. The sweat shop system and the fluctuations of the seasons prevented the development of a feeling of solidarity among the Jewish toilers.[11] Gains of strikes were soon lost in the slack period and the large numbers of small firms necessitated a thousand small victories. The large proportion of women workers in the industry (in 1880, there were 22,253 women out of 25,192 employees in the ladies' garment industry)[12] also impeded unionization, for the latter are much harder to organize.

4. The clothing industry suffered from changes in the prosperity of the consumer and was thus affected by the various crises that swept the country.[13] Likewise, the fashion trends played an important role, particularly in the millinery trade.[14]

These particular manifestations of the clothing markets, and the sweat shop evil in particular, demanded unions of a new type, strong and self-reliant ones that could exercise some control over the industry. There was a great need for labor to "organize so thoroughly as to provide the necessary cohesive force" in an industrial sector that was so chaotic and disorganized.[15] And in particular was the demand urgent to uproot the sweating system that was

most prevalent in the clothing trade.[16]

What was this system? It is best defined in the words of Henry White, a former secretary of the United Garment Workers of America: "The term 'seating system' has a general meaning, but is specifically used to describe a condition of labor in which a maximum of work in a given time is performed for a minimum wage, and in which the ordinary rules of health and comfort are disregarded".[17]

This almost permanent institution in the clothing trades, which "originated in the competitive struggle for existence of the immigrants and the poverty-stricken masses" and the insatiable greed for profit of the manufacturers came into being before the entry of the Russian Jew in the garment industry.[18] It was an industrial problem and could not be explained only in terms of the inferior living standards of the aliens or the racial characteristics of the workers or the distaste of Jewish workers for the factory system with its discipline and regualr hours.[19] Though the development of the sweat shop was fostered in some measure by the mental and industrial habits of the Jewish immigrants, it was nevertheless due in the main to the technical and business conditions of the trade.[20]

Indeed every race has contributed its quota of sweated labor. For this system was established at the very beginning of the ready-made garment trade in the 1820s, though the immigration tide of the 80s did help to expand it to huge proportions. Nor was it restricted to the making of clothes. Sweating is possible "in any industry in which are present three essential conditions: (a) a crowded population in large cities, (b) contract work, and (c) inexpensive machinery...Newly arrived immigrants crowded in large cities are the most helpless victims of the system, and, by their willingness to submit to almost any terms of employment in order to live, are

the source of a fierce competition which intensifies the very evils under which they suffer."[22] The racial element is therefore not as decisive a factor as some writers mistakenly maintain it is.

Very few of the large firms who controlled the industry had the manufacturing process done on their premises. There were middlemen in abundance who "contracted" to make up the cut garments in their shops. The latter were usually quartered in their own living apartments or in condemned rear tenements. In this manner was the wholesale merchant absolved of all responsibility for the industrial conditions of the workers, for the small shops were not subject to the state factory laws.[23] The contractor, harried by competition, drove the wages of the workers down to the lowest level possible, increased the hours of toil and paid scant attention to the unsanitary conditions. Sewing machines were cheap, the process of production simple and the capital required for the establishment of such a shop was meagre indeed. Hence the contractor became the one to whom the manufacturer shifted the burden of training and supervising the immigrant workers and adjusting them to the seasonal fluctuations.[24] In this capacity he might have been of beneficent value to the individual manufacturers, yet he was more "like a pirate (who made) raids upon the trade, leaving a trail of demoralization in his wake".[25]

Though sweating was not coincident with any particular industry, it throve to a large extent in those which are "characterized by the large proportion of female labor, the small ratio of capital to the value of the product and the concentration in the cities". The following table derived from the Twelfth Census illustrates this point:[26]

	Men's furnishing goods	Shirts	Cigars& Cigarettes
Average No. of Workers	30,216	38,492	103,462
Proportion of Women	83.67	80.73	36.50
Proportion of Children	2.06	2.11	3.41
Ratio of Capital to Product	45.93	41.43	43.25
Prop. of Workers in Big Cities	83.70	67.10	67.10

The sweater very often came from the ranks of the very people he was exploiting. In fact a very close intimacy was often established between the "boss" and his workers. For the sweat shop at first was a "patriarchal-'landsman' institution". Not until the growth of unions did clases develop between the two groups.[27] This has been well depicted in Asch's "Uncle Moses". But between the wealthy German manufacturer and the Russian-Polish workers there existed a wide economic and social chasm. "The manufacturer looked down upon the worker with contempt; the worker looked up to the manufacturer with an animosity born of deeply felt wrongs". Thus, "the class struggle in Israel was fought in the clothing industry of the new world".[28]

SECTION ONE: PIONEER ATTEMPTS AT UNIONIZATION, 1880-90

Though the vast majority of immigrants, as noted, found employment in the clothing industry, others tried to eke out a precarious existence as bakers, cigar makers, house painters and factory workers. For the most part without technical training of any kind, they were left to the mercy of the employers. "Mercilessly exploited by them and despised by their American fellow workers as wage cutters", they completely lacked self-assertiveness and the power of resistance.[29] Their living standards were abysmally low, while conditions in the shops were intolerable. Their response to the agitational activities of the radical intelligentzia was also half-hearted. For they could not quickly cast off the tradition of competitive individualism nor shake off the influence of the conservative religious culture which had followed them to the new land.[30]

In fact it "took twenty years of patient and persistent work to educate the Jewish workers to a realization of the value of trade unionism in peace as well as in war, and it was not until about 1910 that the Jewish labor movement was organized on a solid and stable basis".[31] The spontaneous strikes of these early years were easily quelled, for the immigrants did not "understand the technique of organization and organized struggle". They seemed to be "dull, apathetic and unintelligible". It was only after they had become acclimatized to their environment that unionism received their consistent support.[32] But until then they had to grope their way blindfolded, as it were.

The labor movement of this country did not reach out a helping hand toward the newcomers. "We were cheap labor from Eastern Europe come here to reduce the American standard of living...The spokesmen,

the interpreters of our grievances, were therefore drafted from our own ranks"[33], writes one of these pioneers. The new unions that arose in the clothing industry were thus dedicated to the Socialist philosophy, for their purpose was not only to improve the immediate material conditions of the workers but also to prepare the ground for the new social order[34]. For the radicals were the only ones who responded to the needs of the toiling Jewish masses. "Those people spoke of us, wrote for us and worked with us." Thus each one of our gatherings, whatever the immediate object, was an occasion for spirited propaganda for social justice in the broadest sense. In that atmosphere our industrial organization was born. We argued out great social theories of the future before we discussed the 'small' shop grievances of the day." This is the eloquent testimony of the present secretary of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America[35]. As a natural consequence of the initiative and interest shown by the radicals, "there was at all times a strong bond of sympathy between the Jewish labor movement and the Socialist movement; most of the organizers, leaders and speakers of the Jewish trade unions came from the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, and in return the organized Jewish working men for a number of years heartily cooperated with the party in all it undertook and promptly responded to all of its appeals"[36].

In one other respect did these immigrants differ from the general run of American trade unionists. They preferred the industrial structure of labor organization, although craft division did assert themselves from time to time. By and large, however, they may be regarded as amongst the pioneers, along with the miners and the brewery workers, of the new industrial unionism.

The first decade of the Jewish labor movement was not distin-

guished by any unusual developments, except for the organization of a central body of Jewish unions, known as the United Hebrew Trades, in 1888. Till that time, sporadic attempts were made to organize the various trades into which the immigrants had penetrated but with little lasting success. Thus, by 1882 there were about 2,000 Jewish cigarette makers employed in New York City, who served as the first "guinea pigs". These were the envy of all the other workers, for, after passing through a short period of apprenticeship, the former were able to earn about $10-12 a week. But when the foremen began lowering their wages, they arranged a mass meeting some time in 1883 and formed a union. However, it was short-lived, for the leaders were soon discharged and the strike called in protest against this action was lost. The introduction of machinery and the dismissal of the vast majority of employees was its final death blow.[38] During the same year the Dress and Cloak Maker's Union of New York called the first "immigrant" strike for a ten hour day and a piece rate to allow a $15 weekly wage. The strike was won but the union soon disintegrated. This indeed was the pattern of Jewish unionism for almost twenty five years. The unbearable conditions would lead to an heroic crusade by an "improvised organization" which fell apart after the struggle was either won or lost.[39]

During the following year, the better-paid Hungarian-Jewish workmen organized the Progressive Tailors Union, the first of its kind in the city.[40] It affiliated with the Knights of Labor and conducted a number of strikes, attracting several thousand craftsmen to its banners. In 1884, a special local of about 4,000 workers in the East Side district was also formed.[41] Abe Cahan gives us a very vivid description in his memoirs of the first organizational

meeting on the night after Yom Kippur.[42] In that same year, the first general strike of tailors in the men's clothing trade resulted in a victory, which helped to increase the union's membership to about 5,000.[43]

The first union to be organized entirely by the Russian-Jewish immigrants was that of the shirt makers in 1884. Only slight improvements were, however, gained. The organization soon fell apart, when the intellectuals, who had been its founders, withdrew from the trade. During its existence, the contractors claimed a mutual interest with the workers and wished to be included in the union. But this did not meet with the approval of the membership.[44]

The great upheaval which swept the country in 1885-6 likewise found an echo in the East Side tenement shops. On August 15, 1885, the entire cloak trade of New York embarked on a two-week general strike, lead by the Dress and Cloak Makers' Union. This group was organized in 1882 as a local assembly of the Knights of Labor and was destined in the course of time to become the backbone of the Jewish labor movement.[45] The "revolt for bread and butter", as it was called, was settled by what seems to be the first "record of an agreement and of an arbitration committee in the industry".[46] The strike marked the fusion of Socialist intellectual forces with the raw working mass. For the radicals were able to formulate the confused demands of the embittered tailors and gave decided direction to their spontaneous outburst.[47] In that same year, the United Tailors Union came into being and set out to organize all the workers in the garment industry. It founded five branches, won several victories against the contractors and reduced the working day to twelve hours. By 1886, however, the Socialist members had managed to rep-

lace the conservative leadership because it appeared to neglect the "higher interests of the working class, the struggle against the wage system"[48] and to form the National Progressive Tailors Union, which affiliated with the A.F. of L.[49] In the spring of 1886, the general strike of the cloak makers, which demanded the abolition of the sweat shop, met with failure, for the union lacked funds and the contractors sided with the manufacturers.[50]

The newest recruit was added to the growing list of labor organizations when the Jewish Choristers Union was founded by an active Socialist. It remained under the supervision of the Jewish Workers Society. The chorus of the Jewish theatre consisted at the time of men and women who worked in the day time and sang at night. The union came into being in 1886 when one of its members was struck on the cheek by the manager and instinctively sought some form of protection against future mis-treatment. It so improved the position of the singers that the latter gave up their other employment and devoted their full time to singing in the theatre and the synagogue.[51]

During 1886-7, shop strikes became the feature of the process of "fixing prices" at the beginning of the season or when new styles were introduced in the ladies' garment industry. Such "seasonal unionism" was not a very healthy phenomenon, for almost every year the cloak makers were organized and every year the union went to pieces.[52] The union of tailors also dwindled in strength, for though thousands of them were employed in New York, not stable organization could be established. Its failure was probably due to the lack of practical experience on the part of the leaders as well as the absence of interest by the membership on account of the shifting

personnel.[53] This was a common curse that plagued all the Jewish labor bodies at this time: the unions disappeared as soon as the strikes were over. Yet again in 1888 Israel Barski sought to reorganize the defunct union as well as to form a society of all the 20,000 tailors in America. He agitated for his pet projects at the Hester Street "Pig Market", where the contractors looked for workers, and many other places. His plans, however, failed to materialize.[54]

During 1888, a new trade was invaded by the apostles of unionism when nine workers established the Hebrew-American Typographical Union of New York. Its predecessor had been organized in the form of a society; but, with the growth of the Yiddish press and the increase of activity in the trade, the time most propitious for the emergence of a full-fledged union. Its demands for a ten hour day and a $9 weekly wage were readily met by the employers.[55]

Building from the Roof Down

Yet by the end of the year, the situation amongst Jewish workers was not very favorable for trade unionism. A number of the unions had been dissolved during the course of the summer, for they lacked the necessary funds to maintain themselves during the strikes nor could they institute a system of mutual help.[56] And indeed it "would have taken decades to build a Jewish labor movement from the bottom up, educating the individual workers, forming them into organized trade groups and finally uniting them into one cooperating body".[57] Evidently it was necessary to erect the structure of Jewish unionism from the roof down. Thus, the 8th branch of the Socialist Labor Party originated the idea of establishing a central labor body that would carry out this most vital task. The call

issued by these founders announced it was time "that the Jewish proletarian should know the protection of a central labor union to which he can apply for help in his many wage struggles, as well as for advice as to how to attach himself to the ranks of organized labor".[58]

When Weinstein and Hillquit scoured the East Side in search of unions, they could locate only those of the choristers and typesetters. It was therefore a small band of men, consisting of the delegates of the latter, with representatives of the 8th and 17th branches of the S.L.P. and of the German trade unions, that established on October 9, 1888, the United Hebrew Trades, the organization which in time became the "spiritual and intellectual fountain head of the Jewish unions."[59] The United German Trades had served as the original inspiration for the new organization, as Magidow, who is credited with being the originator of the idea, himself admits.[60] At that time the German workers practically controlled several important industries in New York City and had also managed to build up a very progressive labor movement, which was inclined toward the Socialist ideal.[61] They exerted a very profound influence upon the Russian-Jewish immigrants and were of considerable value in the formative stages of their introduction to unionism.

The platform of the U.H.T. maintained that the unions had banded together for the purpose of "mutually protecting each other against the oppression of capital; and in order to teach the workers that they can only be freed from the yoke of capitalism through organization in the trade unions, on the one hand, and through political struggles, on the other".[62] The demands made were as follows: (1.) the existing work laws were to be carried out; (2) an 8 hour

working day; (3) no children under 14 were to be employed; (4) the sweating system and contract work were to be abolished; (5) weekly wage payments were to be made in money and not in merchandizing or food; (6) equal pay for equal work of men and women; (7) health supervision in the mines, shops, etc.;(8) abolition of the punishment for boycotting a firm and the removal of all privileges; (9) first lien on wages in case of bankruptcy.[63] This statement of principles was later on used as a text for writing preambles by many Jewish trade unions. Couched in Marxian terminology, it formulated the approach to contemporary economic and political problems which characterized the Jewish labor movement that emerged in due time.[64]

Though only about 40 individuals formed the basis of support of the U.H.T. at the end of 1888, the spurt of activity displayed by its founders increased the number of affiliated unions to that of eleven, with 1200 members, six months later. Many strikes were conducted during the year, particularly inthe needle trades, as an angry outburst against the sweating system swept through the ranks of labor. In fact during one period extending for several weeks, about 15,000 Jewish workers laid down their tools. The U.H.T. naturally played "first fiddle" in these struggles.[65] By 1890, 32 labor organizations had responded to the call of the new central body.[66] Practically all the industries in which Jewish toilers were engaged in substantial numbers soon felt the organizing arm of the U.H.T.

The ideological clash between the Socialists and Anarchists was soon carried over into the economic front, as both groups fought for supremacy in the unions. The reactions of an ordinary worker to this atmosphere of narrow fanaticism and slanderous criticism cultivated by both sides was reflected in a letter sent in to the

"Freie Arbeiter Stume".) The writer complained that the debaters often indulged in personalities and hardly ever stuck close to the issues involved.[67] Some of the more fanatic Anarchists even carried on an agitation against the Socialist-minded U.H.T. and made an abortive attempt to organize an oppositional central body. They soon, however, realized that their hostile attitude would damage their prestige in the eyes of the Jewish proletariat and so made common cause with the U.H.T.[68]

The organizational campaign which was now initiated among the Jewish workers lasted for about three years. The U.H.T. played an important role in these activities. Thus was shirt makers union ~~was~~ at once re-organized and it soon became the pride of the Jewish masses, as it contained quite a number of outstanding figures of the radical intelligentzia.[69] Barski's hopes were partly realized when the United Brotherhood of Tailors was ~~soon~~ formed.[70] A dress and cloak makers unions likewise came into being in 1889.[71] Similarly the actors were not forgotten, for their union immediately entered the U.H.T.[72] and received the latter's support in the conduct of a strike in 1889 as well as in the establishment of a co-operative theatre. Their status, however, always came up for debate at meetings, as they did not receive wages but only a certain percentage of the profits.[73] The bakers likewise felt the helping hand of the U.H.T. which set up local 31 of the Bakers' Association. The serious illness of a worker which resulted from the miserable conditions of the shops lead to an investigation and the passage of a ten hour day law for all bakeries in the state.[74]

Even the Cloth Hat and Cap Operators Union, No. 1, now regarded a committee of the U.H.T. in a different light. This particular

trade even by this time contained a small German-Jewish element in addition to the immigrants that entered the operating branch. Some of the latter group had come through Paris and London where they had made contacts with the labor movements and were thus of a very radical mold. When the union was established in 1887, its leaders were the German-Jews who looked down upon the Russian ones and kept themselves at a distance from the East Side labor bodies. The union/ at first grew in influence but its seven strikes of 1889 weakened it considerably. It was at this juncture that the aid of the U.H.T. was readily accepted.[75]

SECTION TWO: GROWING PAINS, 1890-1900

In the decade of the nineties, the Jewish labor movement broke its isolation from the American working class and freed itself in some measure from pre-occupation with fundamental socio-economic questions which Socialist and Anarchist influence had largely engendered. It adapted itself to local conditions and came down to grapple with the immediate problems of wages and hours. After the first hesitant steps had been taken in the 80s, under the guidance of the radical intellectuals, the Jewish toilers began the more difficult task of marching forward as a compact movement. Through heroic struggles and experimentation, the masses learned the value of permanent and stable unions that would not disband with the victory or failure of a strike. In this sense, the 90s may be considered as the period of "growing pains", in which the unions centered their attention on the daily struggle for improving conditions in the shops and did not allow themselves to become only battlefields for the ideological conflicts of the various radical factions.[76]

This decade also marked the appearance of the United Garment Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the two national bodies in the needle trades which bridged the gap separating the Jewish workers from their fellow Americans. It also witnessed a continuous barrage of miniature uprisings against the oppression of the sweat shop. "There was hardly a Jewish union that did not conduct a general strike during this period".[77] The reasons for the above developments are to be found in the nature of the industrial conditions themselves which spontaneously brought about these new adjustments on the part of the Jewish toiling masses. Yet the fact that the immigrants that arrived here in the

90s had been schooled more than their predecessors in the labor movements of Russia and England and more truly represented proletarian stock might also be adduced to account for the changes.[78]

Among the outstanding struggles of 1890 were those of the cloak makers, cap makers, knee pantsmakers, typesetters and tailors of the men's garment industry. Three thousand cloak makers, "the worst paid in the garment trades of New York City" revolted against the intolerable shop conditions and organized during the course of a nine-week strike the Operators and Cloak Makers' Union, No.1.[79] They had turned to the U.H.T. for assistance; as a result, a member of the committee which was appointed by the latter, Joseph Barondes, became a very influential figure among the cloak makers.[80] The manufacturers, however, "sensed the new and permanent workers' power", especially as they observed the organized cutters (who formed the more aristocratic branch of the trade) forming an alliance with the less-skilled workers and agreeing to co-operate with each other.[81] As a result, the first lockout in the trade's history was declared by the employers' association. The union responded with a strike which became one of the most dramatic in the history of the trade.[82] The first agreement offered was rejected almost unanimously by the cloak makers. In the meantime, the strikers had won public sympathy and were meeting the many hardships with heroic determination.[83] Even the press was at first favorable to the workers for they regarded the conflict as being merely between two immigrant groups.[84] The manufacturers were finally compelled to accept a less favorable settlement, since they were afraid to lose a good season and since both the cutters and contractors had sided with the operators.

Nine hundred knee pants makers also walked out, demanding that their employers supply the sewing machines, which hitherto

they themselves had been compelled to drag along as they shifted from the various contractors' shops. This resulted in a victory and the signing of an agreement. When, however, an attempt was made by the workers to raise their $6-7 weekly wages and to draw in the other non-union shops, the "bosses" displayed greater resistance. The latter did not hesitate to utilize the police, whose tactics of intimidation were much in evidence. The U.H.T. helped to defend three workers who were arrested and to revive the union which fell apart after the strike was defeated.[85]

The cap makers, on the other hand, utilized the favorable conditions of the market, which at the time went on a spree because of the popularity of a new style, to sign agreements with many shops. The workers received high wages and the union fared well.[86] But 8,000 tailors of the ladies' cloak and suit industry were confronted with their first serious clash which took the form of a lockout. It was a new experience for the workers and one that had many repercussions. It left an indelible impression upon quite a number of them. It "lasted three long months, in some factories four months and more. There were the terrific heat and humidity of the New York summer, the policemen's clubs, arrests, convictions, and, above all, starvation".[87] But its victory, though unexpected, "electrified the workers in the other clothing trades and gave the movement for organization tremendous impetus", according to Joseph Schlossberg.[88]

A most curious event took place that year when the publishers of the "Arbiter Zeitung" faced a strike on the part of their typesetters, who desired an improvement of the wages' and hours' scale. As little money was available, the Socialist publishers had expected the workers not to insist upon the usual standards that prevailed in the trade. The union, however, held out for three days until it

victorious.[89] It also achieved during the course of the year a nine-hour day as well as conducted a strike at the "Freie Arbeiter Stume", when a worker was discharged for demanding his wages. A boycott was declared which was supported rather full-heartedly by the U.H.T., especially since it was directed against an Anarchist organ.[90]

Friction Within the United Garment Workers

Even though the cloak makers' union had lost about half of its membership during 1891, there were already about 15,000 organized Jewish workers in New York City at this time.[91] The most outstanding event of the year was the establishment of the United Garment Workers' Union, the first national body of the ready-made clothing industry which the Russian-Jewish toilers created in this country. The early locals in this trade had first been composed only of cutters, who formed a more highly skilled craft. Organization, however, soon spread among the operators, basters and pressers as well. Yet the decreasing differences in skill required of the various types of workers made an industrial form of unionization the most natural one for the trade to adopt.[92] Accordingly, 47 delegates, the majority of whom represented unions affiliated with the U.H.T., gathered from New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia to establish the United Garment Workers on April 12th.[93] A group of American-born conservative officers were elected because, though opposed to the Socialist philosophy of the bulk of the membership, they were regarded as being far more capable of functioning at the head of a labor organization than the immigrant intellectuals.[94] Affiliation with the A.F. of L. was also readily accepted. It is interesting to note, on the other hand, that Socialist resolutions were passed at the convention.

The membership soon learned to regret its selection of the

leadership, for the latter soon endeavored to annul all the Socialist tendencies of the organization as well as to hamper effective unionization of the tailors.[95] The workers found that they were heartlessly deceived. In fact, their "loyalty and enthusiasm were hereafter exploited time and again for the purpose of building up a corrupt labor union bureaucracy"[96], whose program consisted of: a restricted labor supply, emphasis upon the needs of the skilled crafts, trade co-operation with the employers and, most important of all, the union label.[97]

Sweat shop conditions now began to develop with greater intensity in the cap making trade. A general strike which was declared on March 18, 1891, lasted sixteen weeks and gave rise to all forms of strike-breaking. When no agreement could be reached over the disposal of the "scabs", the struggle was continued; yet it failed in the long run because 16 strikers were bribed to return to the shops. Though defeat and an expenditure of $50,000 weakned the union, the lesson of solidarity was impressed upon the minds of the toilers.[98] Yet, on the other hand, conditions of the trade were aggravated. The operators began doing work in their homes, had to supply their own thread, cotton and silk, and were hard pressed by the employers to "keep in line".

An offensive was likewise launched against the cloak makers at this time, which reduced their strong union to a shadow of its former self. After the lockout, their organization had spread out into 24 branches, claiming about seven thousand members. Barondes, crowned the "Czar of the cloak makers" became the "idol of a multitude of hard-working men". Then, in January, 1891, after most of the contractors had come to terms with their employees during a

minor skirmish, a strike broke out when two of them refused to sign an agreement. Shops were opened in the suburbs to evade the effects of the conflict. One day a special picketing committee visited one of these shops. During the altercations that ensued, a stove was overturned and a child slightly scorched. Ten members of the Executive Committee were arrested, and one was sentenced to several years in jail.[99] Though Barondes was soon released, he was again seized for an alleged case of distortion, because a manufacturer had made out a check in his name in order to pay a fine for violating an agreement.[100] This was of course a mere pretext for breaking the union. The entire labor movement of the city was aroused against this action.

In the midst of this famous "Jamaica affair", Barondes suddenly jumped his bail. Although he later returned and endeavored to justify his action in the eyes of the laboring masses, he was never entirely forgiven. The comment of the "Arbeiter Zeitung" editor on his letter of explanation was very unfavorable.[101] He was criticized as a weakling and a coward.[102] This judgment was indeed a harsh one. But we must bear in mind that the Socialist-Anarchist factions were waging an internal battle within the union, and Barondes had grown very friendly to the Anarchist element.[103] Yet though the S.L.P. attacked his leadership, he managed to maintain a large mass following.[104] He was finally pardoned by the governor as a result of a petition which 60,000 people signed in his behalf.[105] But the struggle of 18 months had in the meantime a disastrous effect upon the union.

The year 1892 marked the further development of the U.H.T..[106] At that time it embarked upon a struggle with the officers of the United Garment Workers for their conservative tendencies. On the 5th of February, a resolution was passed, condemning one of the latter's affiliates, the Brotherhood of Tailors, for leaving the

radical-minded Central Labor Federation of New York City.[107] The U.G.W. in turn would not recognize a number of unions as long as they belonged to the United Hebrew Trades and criticized the latter organization as an enemy of the country's labor movement, maintaining that its activities tended to separate the Jewish and American toilers.[108]

There was of course a more fundamental cleavage: the antagonism between the conservative leaders of the U.G.W. and the radical Jewish tailors. The latter took their unionization very seriously. They had proceeded to form District Union No.1, which claimed a membership of 6,000 and set themselves to the task of building up a strong and stable organization. But the national officers were not very much concerned with these aspirations of the tailors. They were more intent upon co-operating with the employers and spreading the use of the union label particularly among the manufacturers of overalls.[109] The organization of the tailors "was intentionally discouraged, hampered and obstructed for fear of t heir aggressive spirit."[110] Though at its inception, the U.G.W. attracted scattered tailor locals throughout the country and boasted a membership of 16,000, very little progress was made in the period of the nineties to augment its strength.[111] The officers simply refused to co-coperate in the struggles of the shop tailors and sabotaged their work. As a result, many workers interes ted themselves in other aspects of the labor movement: the Socialist political organizations, educational clubs and mutual aid societies.[112]

To offset the demoralizing tactics of the U.G.W., the United Hebrew Trades formed a new union of coat makers, the International Tailors Union, No. 1. The former was also responsible for the convocation of a conference which established the United Garment

Trades of New York and vicinity. The crisis of 1893, however, brought a quick end to this experiment.[113]

No doubt stimulated by the example of the tailors in the men's clothing industry, both the cloak makers and cap makers endeavored during the next few years to amalgamate themselves into national organizations. Thus, 20 delegates representing about 1500 toilers met on March 15, 1892 and formed the International Cloak Makers of America. This step was inspired by the progress of the A.F. of L. and by the activities of the various Jewish unions which only two years ago, in October 1890, had discussed the possibility of creating a national federation of Jewish speaking labor organizations in the United States and Canada.[114] According to Rosenberg's memoirs, however, the cloak makers' union was an oppositional organization, brought into being by the opponents of Barondes, whose only accomplishment was to wreck both organizations.[115] Its second convention was never held.[116]

The initiative among the cap makers was now taken over by the radical-minded Russian Jews, who stood in intimate relations with the U.H.T. and were not concerned with practical matters alone. Their efforts to establish a national union failed. Instead, in February 1893, the Operators Union, No. 2, came into being. It supported the S.L.P. in the elections and joined in other Socialist activities.[117]

Soon, however, the crisis of 1893 delivered a very severe blow to the Jewish labor movement. Organizational work was consequently out of question, since the problem of relief and unemployment were uppermost in all minds. It was at this time that the Arbeiter Ring drew the attention of the public as a result of the services that it rendered to its members. Many candidates applied

for admission during the days of slack and unemployment.[118] The U.H.T. also played an important role in these critical times, rendering help to about 25,000 families and concentrating upon educational work.[119] During the same year, the Central Labor Federation of New York City formed an "Anti-Sweating Union" along with the full co-operation of the U.H.T. affiliates to combat the evils of the sweat shop.[120]

The Crisis of Factionalism

Crucial years now loomed ahead as the full effects of the splits within the Jewish radical movement and the new tactics of De Leon were to be felt by all the Jewish unions. Passions flared up into deep-seated antagonisms which almost wrecked the entire structure of Jewish trade unionism. The cloak makers in particular were caught in the midst of the vortex of personal rivalries and Socialist-Anarchist wrangles, which gave rise to disruptive factional fights and oppositional unions. The return of Barondes to the leadership was followed by the resignation of the cloak makers' union from the U.H.T. in 1892 because of differences of opinion over the support of the S.L.P. candidates in the elections. In return, some S.L.P. members sought to eliminate Barondes from a new, reconstructed union which they organized.[121] An intense feeling of hostility developed between the two factions. Meetings were broken up and opponents suffered mistreatment.[122] The U.G.W. as well was drawn into the controversy when the U.H.T. established a union in the men's clothing industry.[123] Barondes' progagonists complicated matters even more when they formed a central body to compete with the U.H.T. The "Arbeiter Zgitung" and the "Freie Arbeiter Stume" also took sides in the controversy and suffered mutual boycotts.[124] For a year

the two groups reviled each other. However, by August 23,1895, they saw the wisdom of amalgamating but on condition that Barondes should not be retained as a member.[125]

Personal jealousies also lead in that year to the creation of a new union among the typesetters, which affiliated with the International Typographical Union, thus marking the first time that a Jewish local affiliated directly with an American national labor body. Peace,however, was, soon estabslsihed and the two groups merged to form local 83 of the International. The 8 hour day was then won and a formal contract was signed with the employers.[126] The cap makers union, consisting of 600 members, continued to push its plans for a national organization in 1894, with an announcement to all the other unions in the trade that existed outside of New York to the effect that they might inquire at its headquarters for assistance at all times.[127]

But disaster still stalked the cloakmakers. Their union had joined with the United Garment Workers and was therefore called out when the United Brotherhood of Tailors declared a strike in the summer of 1894.[128] Though the latter won their demands, which consisted primarily in the abolition of the "task" system, three firms refused agreements with the cloak makers. Agitation for a general strike therefore spread in the entire trade as the workers feared an attack by the manufacturers.[129] Barondes had in the meantime been brought back to the fold by his faithful followers and he therefore took advantage of the discontent to begin the struggle for the substitution of weekly wages for piece work.[130] A general strike was declared against the advice of Gompers. About 20,000 workers responded to the call. Yet proper arrangements had not been made and the active

leaders spent their time waiting at headquarters to receive the manufacturers for settlement proceedings.[131] The cohesive and stubborn resistance of the employers, the friction among the union leaders and the chaotic conditions under which the campaign was conducted finally led to the disintegration of the strike. This denouement also ended the official career of Barondes within the union, while the latter was in due time suspended by the U.G.W.[132]

The emergence of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance under the aegis of De Leon in 1895, after his failure to penetrate into the Knights of Labor, found the Jewish unions receptive to the new radical federation. "De Leon, you are our Messiah. Lead us!" declared a Jewish Socialist at a mass meeting.[133] This sentiment was echoed by the U.H.T. affiliated who played a prominent role at the convention which organized the S.T. & L.A.,[134] in the same way that they had flocked to the banner of the K. of L. when De Leonwas planning to wrest control of that organization.[135] During 1896, though within the S.L.P. a drift was developing over the so-called dualism which De Leon's tactics had engendered, the U.H.T. was bent on organizing oppositional unions.[136] Friction also cropped up within the Jewish labor movement in 1897 when two Socialist factions stemmed out of the fight centering about the "Arbeiter Zeitung" Publishing Association.[137] A Federated Jewish Trades was created in competition with the U.H.T., to their mutual disadvantage.[138] Because of this we find that the process of unionization amongst the Jewish workers was very much slowed up during the second half of this decade.

This 1897 fratricidal quarrel which was followed by the second split within the Jewish Socialist ranks two years later harmed the cloak makers and cap makers in particular. When the Operators and Cloak makers Union, NO. 1, had disbanded in 1896, thereby denoting the end of the first movement for the establishment of unions in

the trade, several S.L.P. members, aided by the U.H.T., organized the Progressive Cloak Makers Union.[139] The United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers at once came into being.[140] A conflict between the two groups ensued, in which the second one, siding with the "Vorwarts" faction, came out the winner.[141] The cap makers also suffered demoralization in their ranks. The organization of the Federated Hebrew Trades under the sponsorship of the "Vorwarts" elements lead to internal squabbles, for the leadership of the cap makers local was loyal to the S.L.P., while the rank and file contained elements sympathetic to the F.H.T. Dissension often broke out at the meetings. The union finally changed its affiliation, but at the cost of its existence, for the leaders soon withdrew from activity and others were not capable of filling their positions.[142]

A decline was also evident within the ranks of the cloak makers by 1899, though it had been preceded by a short revival after 1897, which brought the total number of organized workers in the trade to the grand number of ten thousand. The shop meeting and the shop delegates were two innovations introduced during this brief period known as the "golden days" of the cloak makers' union. Agreements were signed with 85 of the largest manufacturers and several of the smaller ones, covering about 3/4 of the entire trade.[143] Yet by 1899, the political tangle that was precipitated by the U.H.T-F.H.T. bickering, the difficulty of maintaining internal discipline, the strained relations between the officers and the membership lead to the weakening of the United Brotherhood.[144] Since 1895, when it left the U.G.W., it had maintained an independent position. But when the manufacturers began using injunctions to break strikes for the first time in the trade, the cloak makers felt the need of be-

longing with other organized workers. It was under these circumstances that the idea of forming a national body began to take shape in their minds.[145] On June, 3, 1900, as we shall discover in the next section, it became a reality.

The tailors of the men's clothing industry were in no better position either at this time. In 1896, the Brotherhood and the children jacket makers organized a general strike, in which ten thousand participated.[146] But the officers of the U.G. W. had not changed their attitude. During the 1898 convention, a report read to the effect that the Jewish tailors "have shown a signal incapacity for permanent organization and inability to hold on to the fruits of victory".[147] This statement was uttered, we should note, in the face of their reluctance to support the organizational drives of the tailors' locals. The label business still remained their paramount interest; they therefore refused to sanction strikes in order to avoid the payment of benefits.

As the century neared its close, however, tendencies making for unity within the Jewish labor movement already became noticeable. The union of the U.H.T. and the F.H.T. augured well for the future. Negotiations lasted for about a year after the U.H.T. had withdrawn from the "Alliance", until in 1899 peace was finally restored between the warring factions.[148] This event brought to an end the various ideological clashes that had been disrupting the progress of trade unionism among the Jewish workers during the past two decades.

SECTION THREE: CONSOLIDATION OF FORCES, 1900-9

Though favorable conditions for the further development of the Jewish labor movement existed at the opening of the new century, it did not march foward until the middle of the 1900s. The mass of workers had been too strongly affected by the splits of the previous decades; a certain despondency was still felt in their midst.[149] The open-shop offensive that was released at the time counteracted any gains that might have resulted from the emergence of the two Internationals in the clothing industry. A revitalizing factor was necessary. Perhaps it was supplied by the arrival of tens of thousands of new immigrants which swarmed to our shores when the 1905 Russian Revolution was liquidated. Many of them were Socialist-minded, having received their baptismal training in the struggle which the Bund waged along with other progressive forces against the despotism of the Czar.[150] Though we may not claim full credit, they certainly were a contributing factor to the resurgence of the Jewish toilers in the second half of the decade.

Two National Bodies Emerge

At this time about 200,000 Jewish workers were to be found in New York City alone; yet only a small minority remained within the ranks of the organized.[151] This element, however, appreciated the significance of national organizations which could defend the interests of all the toilers in the industry. In fact the growth of the industry itself and the development of its various branches gave rise to this demand for unification.[152] Now that the political divisive causes were absent, no obstacle remained in the path of bringing together all the independent cloak maker unions throughout the country. The convention that was held on June 3, 1900, even went one

step further by establishing the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which aimed to include all the employees of the trade.[153]

Only eleven delegates representing seven unions in four cities and speaking for about 2,000 members took the first step toward stabilization of the industry by laying the basis for the huge edifice that was destined to become a stronghold of defense for the Jewish toilers. Though the new organization formulated a Socialist constitution, it did not hesitate to accept a charter from the A.F. of L.[154] Its influence was still only psychological, for new locals enrolled under its banner hesitatingly and continued to enjoy a great deal of autonomy.[153] It was of a semi-industrial form, in that it included all trades and branches on a federative method, coordinated through a pyramid of locals, Joint Boards and the International office, in contradistinction to the separatist, narrow craft structure that was the dominant type in the United States.[156]

The activities of the cap makers also revived at the turn of the century, as old wounds were healed and the process of reconstructing the union was initiated. So much progress was made by April, 1901 that a call was issued for the establishment of a national body. This was consummated on December 27, when the adherents of the former factions united to found the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.[157] The resolutions that were passed emphasized the class-conscious character of the convention, for compromises with the capitalist class were rejected and the conferences that were then taking place between the A.F. of L. and the National Civic Federation were condemned. Yet it was the desire of the gathering to maintain a neutral position in the labor movement and remain independent of both the A.F. of L. and the S.T. & L.A.[158]

The lot of the tailors in the men's clothing industry still had not improved. The independent unions that had been conducting warfare against the Brotherhood, the New York affiliate of the U.G.W., were compelled out of sheer necessity to join the mother organization.[159] Sweat shop conditions became so intolerable that in July, 1901, about 25,000 tailors walked out, demanding a 59 hour week and the responsibility of the manufacturer for theagreements made by the contractor. The following quotation from a resolution passed at a meeting gives eloquent testimony of their plight:[160]

"Whereas it is impossible to maintain body and soul..whereas the employees work in dirty and infested shops, in which the windows, floors and toilets have never been washed; in shops that are converted at night into lodging homes...whereas the employees work about 14-16 hours a day, thus ruining their physical and mental condition; and 25% die from tuberculosis...etc." In view of all this, the tailors refuse to work for the contractors, maintaining it is time that the manufacturers assumed jurisdiction over the trade. Their demands were but partially satisfied.

This was only one aspect of a greater struggle waged by all the unions against the evils of the sweat shop in the needle trades. For although legislative measures had been taken during the previous decade to correct many of its glaring faults (such as the law of 1892 which stipulated that only people living in the tenement shop could be employed therein or the one of 1899 which made it mandatory to have a license before operating a shop in a tenement house),[161] the system still prevailed. On the other hand, strikes and protest meetings remained expedient measures to draw the attention of the general public to the wretched plight of the toilers.[162]

The years 1900-1 signalized an upward swing in the fortunes of the general American labor movement, for by 1903 about 440 thousand new members were admitted into the A.F. of L. By 1904 about

two million organized workers were to be found in the country. Almost half a million votes were likewise cast for Socialist candidates in the elections.[164] Industrial prosperity and the spirit of organization lead to the same results in the women's clothing industry, as the International increased in size to 66 locals, spread through 27 cities, and 9 thousand members by 1904. During this time a strike wave flooded the Jewish workers' sections of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Baltimore and other places.[165] The I.L.G.W.U. endeavored to restrain the workers of the trade from indulging in too frequent conflicts with the employers. In this respect it met with successs, for a strong organized force was being built up which could fight their battles in a more systematic manner.[166] Other sections of the Jewish working mass, however, lacking strong and stable unions, could not hope to improve their conditions without such sporadic outbursts.[167]

The cloak makers of the mid-West, breathing a very aggressive spirit, were making much more rapid headway that those of New York. Though the metropolis contained half of the International's membership, its locals simply could not get on their feet.[168] This problem was discussed at the third, fourth and fifth conventions and serious efforts made during the course of these years to agitate amongst the New York cloak makers and to educate them in the fundamentals of trade unionism.[169] This had its effect, as we shall soon see, in the 1907 struggles of the reefer makers. Indeed slow plodding and patience were required to cement the growing strength of the toilers.

The growth of the cap makers' organization was furthered during this period, when the question of centralization versus autonomy was peacefully settled with the establishment of the authority of the executive board over the locals. The latter included about twenty

from outside of New York and counted a membership of three thousand. In 1902 the leadership of the union reversed a previous decision and joined the A.F. of L. in order thereby to help make the label of the cap makers more popular among the working class.[170]

The symptoms of labor upsurge during the first years of the century, however, evoked a counter-movement on the part of the employing class. The signal had been given by President Roosevelt who proclaimed the theory of the "open shop". At once the offensive was relentlessly launched in 1903-4 as the National Credit Association of Clothiers also organized a "labor bureau" to bring in the open shop.[171] This came as a severe blow to the Jewish trade unions.[172] The tailors' union in the men's garment industry therefore called a strike against this "covert attempt to restore the sweat shop" in June of 1904, in which about 25 thousand participated.[173] Secretary White of the U.G.W. sought a conference to forestall this move though he had at first been one of its prime instigators, but the rank and file had become too belligerent and distrustful of the manufacturers to be kept in tow.[174] He also endeavored to obtain the 48 hour week for the cutters, who formed the backbone of the struggle, through a deal with the "bosses" and thus split the forces, but the workers rejected his moves. White accordingly resigned from his position.[175] The strike lasting six weeks was only partially successful, yet it revealed the grim determination of the tailors to stand their ground.

The manufacturers of the cap industry likewise posted "open shop" notices and formed an association to smash the union.[176] The workers responded with a general strike in the mid-winter of 1904, in which they displayed systematic organization and much heroism during

a period of thirteen weeks. They received the financial support of the provincial locals as well as of the New York labor movement. A compromise was at last reached, in which the union was recognized and all the strikers were taken back but no change was made in the scale of hours and wages.[177] This settlement, however, later evoked criticism against the leaders, though it signified a reversal on the part of the manufacturers' policies and though all the concessions granted by the union (e.g. scabs were allowed to remain in the shops and workers were to be re-hired as places were open to them)[178] were presumably on paper only.

An "avalanche of trouble" also descended upon the cloak makers, with the purppse of disrupting their locals thoughout the country. It wreaked havoc in the mid-West and in New York. This lead to a desperate struggle in 1905, during which the International stood as a "helpless onlooker", being then in a weakened position. The number of locals declined to about 34 in all and the masses were moved by a deep feeling of pessimism to such an extent that the convention even passed a resolution to unite with the U.G.W.[179]

In the midst of this unfavorable situation, the U.H.T. published on March 12, 1904 the first number of its weekly organ, the "Arbeiter Velt". Only twenty issues had appeared when financial costs mounted and the U.H.T. decided to utilize the "Vorwarts" instead for its purposes. In the following year, this central body also came to the aid of the "Vorwarts" when the typographical union clashed with the Socialist paper over the refusal of a manager to employ a worker sent by the union.[180] The issue was, however, soon settled.

Turning-Point in the Movement's Fortunes

Thus, as we have seen, the early years of this decade were rather stagnant ones as a whole. The turning-point was reached after the middle of the decade. The Russian events, the Haywood-Moyer trials and the emergence of revolutionary trade-unionism as epitomized by the Industrial Workers of the World served to arouse the Jewish toilers from their lethargy. The strikes of 1905-6 attested to the growth of a new mood and spirit in the East Side section. Thus the U.H.T. called a conference on Sept.8, 1906, which was attended by 690 representatives of 330 organizations, to consider means of strengthening the labor movement. Though no concrete results followed, it did call attention to the new needs that were arising.[181]

But, it seems, the spectre of divisisveness still haunted the Jewish labor movement. The coming of the I.W.W. on the scene heralded more difficult moments for it soon exerted a strong influence upon the Jewish workers.[182] Oppositional unions came into being while strife and friction again shattered the relative harmony that had been finally created. The I.W.W. attracted the adherents of Socialism to whom the slogan of industrial unionism had a magnetic appeal as well as the revolutionary elements that had arrived from Russia and looked askance at the existing movement.[183] Dissident elements also found the time propitious for leaving their organizations. Yet, though various I.W.W. unions were formed, totaling a membership of several thousand, they did not strike deep roots amongst the Jewish working class and soon disbanded.[184]

The I.L.G.W.U. was in a state of weakness due to the impatient and frequent strikes of its new recruits. The International was regarded as a mere figurehead and adherence to it seemed to be of

a very loose nature. Yet it endeavored to overcome this attitude and attach the locals to the national body by strong ties through the extension of a system of benefits. But it could not prevent the formation of I.W.W. unions which carried on a vigorous propaganda against the A.F. of L. and lead several strikes of t heir own.[185]

A more complicated development took place among the cap makers when an oppositional I.W.W. organization was established. According to the official biographer of this national body, the latter contained many scabs who had remained in the shops since the 1905 agreement.[186] Though there was much sympathy within the union for the I.W.W. (the fourth convention had supported both Socialist parties), the report of a delegate who was sent to the founding convention was unfavorable.[187] This strained the relations among all the parties concerned, and the resulting friction lead to demoralization as well as to the ultimate disappearance of the dual union.[188]

The bakers who had not been organized on the East Side since 1900 received new impetus for unionization when the idealists of the 1906 immigration took out a charter from the I.W.W. By 1907, about twenty small bakeries were oganized. However, when internal quarrels arose within the mother organization, the East Side local joined the A.F. of L. International Bakers' Union in 1909.[189]

Trade union activity continued to spurt forward in 1906-7. The cloak makers' general strike in Boston during 1907, though defeated through the use of injunctions, was significant because it anticipated certain features of the famous 1910 revolt and brought into contact with the industry some of the public figures who were later to play a prominent role in shaping its destinies.[190] Twelve hundred reefer makers, whose shops were the worst in the trade, also walked out in March, demanding that the employers supply them

with machines.[191] Their local had been filled with the new influx of young revolutionaries, fresh from the Russian experiences, and was prepared to endure all the tribulations that soon befel it. Many workers were arrested and beaten up in what became "one of the bloodiest strikes"[192] in the history of the movement. The outcome was a very successful one, with the granting of a 55 hour week and a closed shop. A contributing factor to the favorable conclusion was the fact that the workers demanded the return of savings which they had deposited with their "landsleit" employers, thus threatening them with bankruptcy.[193] This victory naturally infused the rest of the needle trades workers with courage and enthusiasm.[194]

The typesetters also obtained the six hour day, becoming the first union to do so in the world, according to their official biographer.[195] They had not allowed the introduction of machinery in the industry to create an unemployment problem for they devised a system of sharing the work. In 1907, a $25 weekly salary was also established. The furriers, on the other hand, who had undergone various vicissitudes since the foundation of their first union in 1892, failed in their efforts to improve conditions. The International Fur Workers' Union of New York which had been formed in 1904 and enlarged in 1906 soon reached an early end as a result of this defeat.

The workers of the men's clothing industry were becoming restless at this time. The U.G.W. national office seemed to be inactive and impervious to their needs.[196] But the rank and file were stirring; their spirit had undergone a revolutionary transformation, for the echoes "of the 1905 Revolution in Russia had their effect upon the victims of the American sweat shop" as well.[197] Soon indeed the isolated

struggle of a few dissatisfied workers was to mature into a mass movement of tens of thousands which would lead them through an unbroken series of great strikes into a union of their own choosing.

The Brotherhood of Tailors called a general strike in New York, though this naturally lead to its suspension by the officers of the U.G.W.[198] Despite the fact that the union controlled only about 8 shops, about 20,000 workers were supposed to have responded to its call.[199] The Brotherhood however, later returned to the fold and the national leadership mistakenly believed that the breach had been finally healed. The discontent, repressed upon every occasion, was, however, bound to flare into open rebellion as soon as the opportunity presented itself.

The cap makers' union was by now recognized by the manufacturers as an important factor in the trade. The membership reached its previous total as the result of an intensive organizational campaign. A ten percent raise in wages and a reduction of the hours to but 53 per week were also granted.

That the Jewish workers had established an enviable record in militancy from 1887 to 1905 is illustrated by the following table, which compares the strike movements in the clothing and other industries:[200]

Industries:	Women Strikers	Men Strikers
Women's clothing	62.11%	86.94%
Men's clothing	43.06%	81.84%
All American industries	28.15%	44.91%

It is also significant to note that the number of "wild" or unorganized strikes during the period of 1887 to 1905 is three times as much in all the American industries as in the needle trades.

No sooner did the Jewish labor movement get on its feet again than the crisis of 1907 dealt a devastating blow to the organizational

efforts. Thus, the U.H.T. lost during the course of the year about half of its 70 affiliates, while the remaining ones were reduced in strength.[201] The Jewish trades bore the brunt of the suffering, for about 55% of their personnel were unemployed in contrast with the 35% figure for the New York City working population.[202] More immediate demands now had to be met: the protection of the existing bodies against the employers' offensive and the rendering of assistance to the needy unemployed. Conferences were convoked to cope with the many new problems and concerted efforts made to save the gains of the past years.

The panic of 1907 and the depression of 1908 hit the clothing industry with the impact of a cyclone. The cloak makers' locals began to crumble as the International "reached its lowest ebb of vitality".[203] At this time also, local 10 which was composed of native-born or Americanized cutters of Irish and German descent came into conflict with the cloak makers and withdrew from the 1908 convention of the International.[204] The membership of the cap makers organization likewise fell to about half of its size, while, on the other hand, the contracting shops grew in number.[205] These indeed were dark and depressing days.

New Spirit of Militancy

But no sooner did business revive than a new dawn broke for the Jewish labor movement. The most fruitful period since its inception was now ushered in by the events of 1909. This was the 1910-14 epoch, in which huge mass struggles of thousands of workers solidified their organizations and welded them into mighty forces of resistance against the employers. A veritable flood of enthusiasm and insurgence swept through the crowded East Side tenement houses,

signifying that the young trade union movement was at last coming of age.

As soon as the depression lifted, the I.L.G.W.U. girded its strength and took advantage of the business recovery and the liquidation of the I.W.W. unions. The new immigrants, who had previously held themselves aloof from the local movement, now turned their attention to the American environment when the Russian revolutionary forces began to taste the bitter fruits of reaction. They entered the unions and brought to the International " a new spirit which before long broke forth in the mass movements of 1909-10".[206]

The militant spirit which came to the surface as a result of the heroic struggles waged since 1909 brought thousands of workers into trade unionism for the first time. During that year, however, the ranks of the organized were very much depleted. Out of about 40,000 cloak and dress makers, only four hundred belonged to a union. About twenty thousand ladies' waist makers could supply but 200 union members. Though the U.H.T. claimed about 41 affiliates, the total membership of the latter was not above 5,000.[207] If this is borne in mind, the results of the activity of the next few years will appear in much more heroic proportions.

The first to bestir themselves again were the bakers, who during July staged the most effective strike in their history for a 10 hour day, recognition, the union label and a $12-16 weekly wage.[208] One thousand workers, receiving the support of the New York Jewish movement, compelled 150 owners to make a settlement. The greatest gain, however, was the organization of all Jewish bakers into six locals, one of which had 1600 members.[209] The next month witnessed the attempt of about 20,000 tailors to win a 9 hour day, higher wages and the abolition of the piece-work system.[210] They were not helped by the U.G.W.

membership but, nevertheless, their struggle was crowned with victory.

Then came the historic date, November 22, 1909, the turning-point in the needle trades' unionism, when the "largest strike of women ever known in the United States till then" unfolded.[211] A small local of waist and dress makers in New York issued a call for a walkout, expecting only about 3,000 to respond. Yet ten times that number threw themselves into the struggle and about 12,000 soon joined what later became "the largest single local of women in the country".[212] Jewish, Italian and American girls from the East Side thus carried through one of the most significant events since the labor movement began among women.[213] Now "the labor struggles of the sweat shop workers ceased to be a mere succession of curious and dramatic incidents enacted by alien groups away from the main American industrial arena, and, without losing their foreign flavor, became an unquestioned and highly significant sector of the American labor front".[214]

This "uprising of 20,000" workers, three-fourths of whom were women between the ages of 18-25, was the first general protest in a new and growing industry.[215] Their union was very weak, numbering not more than about two hundred, while the I.L.G.W.U., with which it was affiliated, could not be of much assistance either.[216] But the long working hours, the seasonal character of the trade, the wide fluctuations of the trade, the petty hardships and persecution of the workers could no longer be tolerated. General conditions, it is true, were not worse than those in similar women's trades, but reasons of this sort could not avert the explosion.[217]

The strike at first gathered but little momentum. In fact it might easily have been localized, for when the workers encountered

difficulties at the third shop that was called out, no assistance was rendered by the International. However, the officers of local 25 and the U.H.T. were anxious to create a strong union out of the restlessness and ferment that then prevailed in the trade.[218] A general strike was the only method whereby this could be done, for the masses of workers were not unionized. A ruse was therefore resorted to, in which the 200 members who attended a meeting to discuss this question were "passed off" to the press by the local's executive committee as shop delegates.[219] The trick worked and the newspapers carried the announcement of an impending conflict in the industry. A mass meeting was at once summoned by the leadership. Though the addresses were rather moderate in tone, the audience was suddenly electrified into action when a young girl asked for a strike vote in a very dramatic speech. The audience jumped to its feet and took the famous Jewish oath: "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise"; and the battle was on its way.[220]

The strike became the sensation of the day, as the public eagerly rallied to the defense of the girls. The New York branch of the Women's Trade Union League did yeoman service.[221] The strikers showed unusual courage and self-sacrifice. In fact some of the most loyal were the better-paid workers who were championing the cause of the weaker ones.[222] Pickets were often assaulted. "The conduct of the police officers and the magistrates in their seeming conspiracy of curtailing liberty of American citizens" was noted by many observers.[223] It brought the aid of many who were normally indifferent to organized labor.[224] Yet by February 1910, when the dispute was called off, about 300 shops had accepted the union's terms in some measure. These consisted of the 52 hour week, the closed

shop, the abolition of the sub-contracting system and the employment of all hands on a part-time basis during the slack seasons. Soon about 70-80% of the workers were enrolled in the local.[225]

Though the strike was not a complete success, it brought to the attention of the nation the role of women in its industrial life, marked the first stage of a revolution in the history of the International and inspired the other workers in the garment industry to march forward to new victories.[226] It, furthermore, revealed the ability of the Jewish movement to organize women in large numbers, for the foundation of unionism in the dress and waist trade was laid through the strike. The opening wedge had now been made and the movement was at once eager to grasp the many opportunities that were beginning to present themselves.

SECTION FIVE: THE MOVEMENT ON THE OFFENSIVE, 1910-14

The five year period preceding the outbreak of the first World War was ~~chock~~-full of activity on the part of the Jewish workers, who seemed determined at last to establish their organizations on an impregnable basis. It was a turning point for American labor as well, for the upward movement of 1898-1904 was resumed after a brief interval of stagnation. The most notable advances were, however made in clothing and mining, with 68 and 60 percent growth in union membership by 1913 in these two industries. But it was alone in clothing that the advance was not only in membership but also "in a spectacualr conquest of a new province for industrial government based on union recognition".[227] The New York and Chicago strikes of 1910, which ushered in the new era, served as models for the conduct of future battles, thus laying the foundation for the rapid progress of unionization among the downtrodden Ghetto proletariat.[228] The dream of the early radical pioneers finally saw the light of day, though many of its dreamers had in the meantime broken their bodies and spirit in the sunless, dreary tenement shops.

Revolt of the Cloak Makers

Since the 1894 general strike, the cloak makers had endeavored to fully organize the trade but had always gone down in defeat.[229] But in 1910 their expectations were fulfilled, as a result of a carefully planned and executed conflict, in which about 60,000 workers confronted the forces of capital, demanding and winning their rights.[230] In fact they were driven to this step by the very deplorable conditions that prevailed in an industry that grew to very huge proportions. About 60,000 employees were engaged in the manufacturing of women's garments in the 1500 shops of New York City,

while the value of the products amounted to about 180 million dollars, according to the figures of the employers.[231] By this time, the contractor had been relegated to a minor role on account of the influx of the small manufacturers, who themselves were recent immigrants. This meant the victory for cheap labor and inferior methods of industrial organization, as the older and wealtheir large-scale manufacturers were crowded out.[232]

The past quarter had been a period of strife and exploitation. As we have seen, the unions were weak and the individual shop strikes made them less popular with the workers and acceptable to the employers.[233] Conditions in the shops had also become quite intolerable. The operators had to purchase their own machines, the workers had to bear many onerous charges and inside sub-contracting became the prevailing method in the major part of the jobs.[234] There was thus "created a chain of bigger and smaller bosses and middle-men interested in keeping wages down".[235] This state of "deplorable industrial chaos" could be remedied only in a very decisive manner. The idea of a general strike was thus born.

A united attack upon the whole body of manufacturers was deemed necessary by the leaders of the International, though they were not entirely certain of the full-hearted support of the rank and file. The strike was therefore called without the previous presentation of grievances, as is customary.[236] Yet this step was not taken before the "most elaborate preparations in the history of strikes in the industry were made".[237] On December, 1909, 90% of the membership voted during a referendum in favor of a $2 individual tax for the creation of a strike fund. Agitation by word of mouth and through the publication of periodicals brought in 10,000 members into the Joint

Board locals by June of the following year. A vote in favor of the strike was also carried at the tenth convention of the International,[238] the largest ever to be held. During the busy season, small strikes were conducted which netted the workers some wage increases, by way of a prelude.[239] Finally, when in July about 19,000 voted secretly in favor of of it , a general strike was declared which completely paralyzed the trade and brought about the "gigantic uprising of a whole people against their oppressors".[240] The demands consisted of a 48 hour week, minimum wages, the abolition of sub-contracting, the union shop, shop delegates, price committees and the equal distribution of work in the slack seasons.[241]

The statement issued by London, the union's attorney, declared:[242]

"We do not apoligize for calling this general strike. If we owe any one an apology, it is the thousands of exploited workers for having waited so long..we accuse the bosses that they ruined the great cloak industry...that they corrupted the morale of thousands that are connected with it...They seek to get workers to spy on and betray each other...We can no longer depend upon their friendliness...To our regret, we trusted them too long."

It is of course impossible to dwell at length upon the progress of this most unusual conflict. A brief summary will have to suffice. Soon after the cloak makers walked out of the shops, a series of negotiations was begun. These ended in a deadlock over the "closed shop" issue which the manufacturers had asked to be waived in advance. The intervention of Filene and the introduction by Brandeis of a "preferential shop" compromise saved the situation for a while, however, and the conferences were continued. These also broke down on several occasions. In the meantime, the cloak district looked like a "besieged camp".[243] The leaders were suspected by the rank and file of disloyalty, as false rumors spread about their position on the issues at stake.[274] The rejection of the first settlement, arrived at through the initiative of Louis Marshall, by

the strikers and the issuance of an injunction, considered to be the "strongest decision ever handed down against labor" complicated matters. The contest became more intense, though individual agreements had already been signed, covering about 30,000 workers.

Finally on September 2, the "Protocol of Peace" came into being, abolishing the sub-contracting system and other similar evils, establishing the preferential shop, setting up a Board of Arbitration, a Board of Grievances and a Board of Sanitary Control.[245] Wages were almost doubled and the hours reduced from 60 to 54 per week.[246] Thus the struggle came to an end after nine weeks, in a compromised manner. Yet for the first time in the history of the industry a collective agreement had been arranged between the workers and the employers' association, which controlled the major part of the trade. Seasonal unionism was now at an end and the International came into "new and larger life".[247] But, it should be noted, the basis for future friction was not entirely removed. Though the settlement brought about vast improvements, it also created many new and serious problems.

In fact the Protocol soon became a "cause celebre". Though this will be dealt with later on, it is necessary to point out here that criticism of the conduct of this strike was already voiced soon after its conclusion. Thus a writer commented that though the amelioration of the workers' conditions had resulted and a wage system was introduced for the first time in the trade along with many other improvements, there was "hardly a clause in the agreement that has not meant some sacrifice by the strikers of their original demands."[248] This was perhaps to be expected in view of the fact that leading public-spirited citizens had intervened with the sole purpose of

bringing the friction to a quick and summary disposal. It is likewise interesting to quote the comment of the lawyer of the manufacturers' association to the effect that "employer and worker in this industry were bound together by ties of race association and tradition not easily broken"[249]. In fact about a quarter of a million Jewish people were involved in this conflict and its outcome therefore indicated the fate of a strike in a purely Jewish environment.[250] It seems, furthermore, according to another source,[251] that the rank and file did not voice very friendly sentiments toward the solution offered for they "denounced and rejected every settlement proposal short of the closed shop. They demonstrated against their own Joint Board...However, after considerable maneuvering, the union's negotiators, finding themselves unable to get the membership to ratify their terms of settlement, hurriedly called a meeting of some 200 shop chairmen and obtained authorization...to conclude... the Protocol"[251]. The radical elements were indeed suspicious of the possibility of establishing labor peace and in particular were afraid of the tolerant attitude displayed toward the employers.[252] Yet, it should be remembered, that the Protocol represented an effort to "establish 'government' and 'due process of law' in an industry with an anarchical tradition"[253]. Many of the new members of the cloak makers' union were lacking in experience and were consequently impatient with the necessarily slow procedure of adjustment under the Protocol.

Shortly after the end of hostilities, an article in the "Zukunft" criticized the I.L.G.W.U. leadership for undertaking the strike without adequate preparation, the author maintaining at the same time that the "Vorwarts" Publishing Association and the U.H.T. were opposed to it on these grounds.[254] The former was also castigated for

demanding the "closed shop" though the workers were not even mature enough to recognize the importance of unionization and for putting in motion forces which it could not control as the conflict developed. Upon close examination of the events, this appears to be mere carping criticism. Rosenberg, one of the first pioneers and prominent leaders of the cloak makers' organization, exposed the hollowness of these charges. He indicated that preparations had in truth been made but had been impeded by the very same elements who, though eager to criticize now, had been lacking in faith in the ability of the Jewish workers to press forward to victory. His defense of the strike's developments was an able refutation of the group which was represented by Ab Cahan, who laconically queried ten minutes after the strike was declared: "Nu, when will your strikers appear?", but waxed enthusiastically when the masses of toilers proved his fears to be entirely unfounded.[255]

The Chicago Market Becomes Active

The clothing market of Chicago also came into prominence during 1910 when about 35,000 tailors of the men's garment industry remained on strike for five months, despite the opposition of the U.G.W. national officers.[256] Aside from its intrinsic value, the conflict made two distinct contributions: In the first place, it brought to the fore personalities that were destined to play a role in the eventual establishment of the Amalgamated. Secondly, its defeat as a result of the scabbing permitted to the New York tailors aroused a great deal of indignation amongst the rank and file and further stimulated the growing movement to counteract the "destructive influence of the old officialdom".

The state of the industry was determined by the following factors:

1. Its seasonal nature and the existence of a large "labor reservoir" prevented the establishment of a permanent union. 2. The ease with which small manufacturers could enter the trade created unstable conditions. 3. The employee personnel consisted largely of immigrant stock, representing various nationalities and races, a goodly portion of which were women. 4. The employers sensed no responsibility for the welfare of their workers; the latter, on the other hand, were subject to insecurity of employment, low pay, difficult work, petty grievances and fines. 5. A good deal of competition existed among the owners.[257] There was indeed a crying need for the stabilization of the industry and the amelioration of the workers' lot.

The U.G.W. officialdom was, however, considered more of an obstruction than a help. Its conduct since the establishment of a national body had, as we have seen, alienated the support of the rank and file. In the meantime, moreover, new elements, such as the Russian Revolutionary idealists, nurtured in the traditions of Socialism and aroused by the misery of the sweat shop, had infiltrated into the trade. These had endeavored to set up I.W.W. locals as well as took an aggressive position against both the employers and the "corrupt leaders".[258] It was they who played dominant roles in this spontaneous rebellion, which laid the foundation for a strong organization in Chicago.

The heartening feature of the walkout, which began on September 22, was the recognition on the part of the cutters, who formed the most experienced and highly skilled craft, that only a united movement of all workers could best protect their own interests.[260] This awareness of the need for the industrial structure of trade unionism in the industry was a determining factor in the course of events, for the sabotage on the part of the U.G.W. (whose District Council

did not even respond to the call until 18,000 employees had left work and whose officers literally drove many workers to scab) was an almost insurmountable obstacle.[261] Public sympathy, however, was aroused and aid was rendered by the Chicago A.F. of L., the Women's Trade Union League and the U.H.T. Stores were opened to distribute rations during the cold winter months. It is interesting to note that out of the $100,000 contributed for relief, fully 75% came from working people.[262]

President Rickert of the U.G.W. suddenly intervened and concluded a settlement on his own initiative. "Evidently Rickert felt that the immigrant strikers had not yet ripened to the point where they could deal with the employers as a group",[263] writes Prof. Perlman. This is no doubt an under-statement. The active spirits of the union at once convoked a mass-meeting, at which Hillman made his first public appearance and, by virtue of the profound impression he created, practically seized the reins of leadership. The agreement was rejected, for it provided for the arbitration of all demands except the recognition of the union and the closed shop which were not even to be discussed.[264] A citizens' committee then investigated the dispute and recommended some form of employee organization within the shops.[265] A second attempt on the part of Rickert to conclude hostilities also failed, when the tailors refused to allow the manufacturers to discriminate in rehiring against those "guilty of violence". Yet the final outcome was only partially in favor of the workers, for a large part of the "cold and hungry army" capitulated without conditions and returned to the shops, while only the Hart, Schaffner & Marx firm accepted an agreement. It contained no provision for union recognition, but provided for improved conditions, wages and hours, and the establishment of arbitration machinery,

curtailing at the same time the right of conducting stoppages by the workers.[266] "Thereafter the cleavage between the tailors and the union leadership widened daily. The outlook, philosophy and tactics of the two became irreconcilable".[267]

Protocolism Gains Ground

"A new priod of constructive experimentation in collective bargaining, resulting in the establishment of stable unionism" and lasting for a period of six years, was now ushered in for the men's garment workers, according to the official biographer of the I.L.G.W.U.[268] This of course is a broad statement, since all cause for friction was not removed and many critical moments arose that threatened to spell the doom of the Protocol. Agencies of conciliation and arbitration were created, as well as a Joint Board of Sanitary Control, which was an entirely new step in industrial history. Though Brandeis, "the father of protocolism" believed in the possibility of economic peace, the manufacturers and the union accepted its provisions for different and individual reasons. Grievances and shop strikes still complicated the smooth functioning of relations between the two parties concerned. Many manufacturers resorted to all sorts of tricks and the leaders of the union were hard-pressed to pacify the workers. More clashes than had been expected soon occured and the machinery had to be constantly repaired.[269] Yet upon the whole the Protocol did make a profound change in the trade: standards of safety and sanitation were improved, inside sub-contracting disappeared and over 90% of the workers in the trade joined the union.[270]

Sharp differences of opinion were of course bound to develop as regards the evaluation of the Protocol. On the one hand, a writer "to the left" maintains that it was "based on the class-collaboration-

ist theory that there is a sufficient community of interest between employers and employees to make permanent peace achievable and that all matters in dispute could be peacefully adjusted through resort to impartial arbitrators".[271] On the other hand, the lawyer of the manufacturers' association considers it to be "the first attempt to introduce a Constitution--a rule of law and order--into the industry".[272] The official biographer offers a third view that both the employers and the trade union leaders deemed it as a great principle, "as a beacon light for other industries".

The extreme radical historian points to the forfeiture of the right to strike as being very beneficial to the employers, who even managed to evade the hours and wages terms by rushing work to out of town contractors, whereas the workers were bound by the decisions of the arbitration boards. Likewise, the union officials who had a large dues-paying membership soon became weary of what they called "continuous and futile strikes".[273] There is no denying, on the one hand, that the union grew in strength, for by 1912 the New York Joint Board claimed 50,000 members, while 40 charters had been issued from June 1910-April 1911 to new locals.[274] Yet, on the other hand, we may ask if the manufacturers were not really looking out after their own interests, when, as their legal representative writes, they agreed to strengthen the union and bring order out of the chaos in the industry.[275] Without sharing in the suspicions aroused, we can undestand why the more revolutionary-minded workers became alarmed when, as Louis Levine says, the Protocol was hailed as epoch-making by the "bosses" and as a "permanent insitution in adjusting labor conditions in the clothing trade" by the workers.[276]

The spirit of organization soon spread to other branches of the ladies' garment industry, particularly to those trades which largely employed women. The agitation gained momentum in 1911 as a result of the famous Triangle fire, inwhich 144 lives were lost. At the same time the movement for liberalizing thefactory laws of the state was accelerated.[277] This and the activity in other sections of the clothing industry stamped 1912 as a very active year for Jewish trade unionism.[278]

"The frailest and most helpless workers in the industry" were relieved from "industrial slavery", when the women workers of the waist and dress, white-goods and children's dress shops, adding up to the staggering total of 60,000, signed protocols in the beginning of 1913.[279] This brought the national membership of the I.L.G.W.U. up to 90,000, of whom about 80% were under protocol arrangements.[280] The International sanctioned the general strike in the waist and dress trade at the 1912 convention. But since the employers were fsvorably inclined towards the protocol, negotiations were carried on secretly for fourweeks simultaneously with agitation for the walkout. For the "union officials were already committed to a no-strike policy and this walkout was one of a long series of pre-arranged stoppages managed by the union officials and the employers".[281] The entire matter was handled in a perfunctory manner, for inside of a few days after thousands of workers left the shop, the Protocol became a fait accompli.[282] The course of the other struggles did not run as smoothly but the same results were attained: a fifty hour week, increases in wages, sanitary conditions and regular inspections, the preferential shop and the introduction of arbitration machinery.[283]

Two and a half years of agitation amongst the furriers at last

resulted in the declaration of a general strike in June, in which 9,000 workers participated.[284] Two manufacturers' associations, composed of 744 owners, 90% of whom were Jewish, at once united in order to destroy the union.[285] Had they succeeded, this would have been a serious blow, for the furriers had made numerous attempts in the past to organize the industry which was centered in New York City. Their union had revived, after many previous failures, as a result of the influx of the 1905 immigrants.[286] Fortunately, however, their demands were met after thirteen weeks of conflict and they obtained a 30% raise in wages, the 49 hour week, pay for ten legal holidays, union recognition, the abolition of home work, etc.[287] Great impetus was also given to the establishment of an International in the following year.

A great historic event took place at the end of the year when the tailors rose en masses in New York City on December 30, 1912 and for the first time called a halt to work in all the metropolitan shops. Upon the appointment of an organizer by the Brotherhood of Tailors, an intensive organizational drive had been stimulated, with the result that the union contained 5,000 members. Conditions in the trade were very unsatisfactory: the division of labor was well developed and lead to faster work, routine tasks and a cleavage between piece and week workers. Though the laws forbade the practice, 75% of the finishing process was still done in the tenement houses with the full help of the entire family.[288]

The strike, which was joined by about 110,000 workers, half of whom were Jewish and one-third Italians, was mainly directed against the large manufacturers who controlled the trade.[289] Demands consisted of the 48 hour week, a 20% wage increase and the aboli-

tion of sub-contracting and tenement work. The entire movement responded full-heartedly to the needs of the strikers, who were subject to attacks by the underworld elements hired by the Jewish "bosses". But though the struggle was staged during the cold winter months, marvelous resistance and tenacity was shown by the toilers of all nationalities. After ten weeks, during which time many of the smaller employers capitulated, Pres. Rickert negotiated a settlement on his own account. This evoked a storm of opposition on the part of the rank and file who rejected his kind offer of mediation.[290] The settlement was denounced as a "treacherous one... a shame an an insult to the whole organized labor movement of America".[291] The windows and doors of the "Vorwarts" were smashed because at first it had endorsed the settlement.

The struggle continued despite the prohibition of picketing by the mayor, who, in a letter to the Police Commissioner, wrote: "This (the end of the strike) has been attested by Mr. Rickert and the representative of the employers' side, who have appeared before me. The settlement conceded practically all the demands of the employees...They (meaning those still on strike) are lawless characters to whom no leniency whatsoever is due." A conference of representatives of more than 3,000 workers of many trades met to discuss the situation and assailed Rickert's conduct. Soon the conflict was crowned with the acceptance of more favorable terms by the manufacturers in the beginning of 1913. The action on the part of the U.G.W. leadership intensified the ill-will that had previously existed against it.[293] In fact its influence was as a result completely destroyed. All the locals henceforth refused to deal with the national officers, for their autocratic rule had crushed every effort which the tailors had made for the assertion of their rights.[294]

Thus 1913 became a turning-point in the history of the tailors' struggles, as the same story of betrayal was repeated in Boston, Baltimore, Cincinnati and St. Louis. The national office acted as a separator and not as a unifier. It utilized the union label in the overall and shirt industry to sustain the misruling bureaucracy.[295] Indeed the continuous warfare of 20 years was fast reaching a climax as the radical and progressive elements among the tailors confronted the opportunistic national officers. The day of reckoning was drawing near.[296] In the meantime, improvements in the arbitration machinery were continuously being introduced in the Chicago market, with satisfactory results for both sides. By 1913 the preferential shop was fully accepted.[297]

Marked progress was also made by the U.H.T. in 1912, as it concluded a year full of activity with 91 affiliates, representing over 200,000 workers.[297a] The cap makers also managed to remove the last and worst aspects of sweat shop parasitism, when the demands for free machines and half-day work on Sabbath were finally granted. About 3,000 members were now to be found in the union. It consequently turned its attention toward organizing the millinery trade with the end in view of raising the living standards of the entire industry.[298] A unique event likewise transpired during the year when the writers of the Jewish press organized secretly and secured a charter from the Typographical International. When the publishers refused their demands, they declared a strike and issued an organ of their own. But one of their leaders tactlessly announced his plans to organize all the country's newspapermen. The association of publishers therefore put pressure upon the International not to sanction the strike, with the result that it was liquidated.[299]

The movement gained further momentum in 1913, as the tailors continued and won the largest strike in the history of Jewish labor and as the method of the Protocol became very much in vogue.[300] During the month of January alone, about 175,000 had left the shops of the several branches of the clothing industry in protest against intolerable conditions. Indeed the Jewish labor movement had marched forward by leaps and bounds in a very short time, lead by its largest and strongest trade union, that of the cloak makers, which numbered 50,000 strong. The latter had proven the possibility of establishing stable labor organizations, had introduced safety and health provisions--something which had not even been done by the oldest American unions--and developed class-consciousness among the Jewish masses.[301]

Another noteworthy accomplishment was the establishment of the International Fur Workers' Union during the year and its affiliation with the A.F. of L.[302] About 50% of the 25,000 workers in the trade were thus organized into a national body that soon became known for its radical inclinations. In 1914 it renewed its contract with the manufacturers' association for two years with the following provisions: the abolishment of inside contracting and home work, the establishment of arbitration machinery, the employment of union men only, the introduction of a scale of wages, etc.[303]

Attention was likewise paid to the organization of the millinery trade, the last branch of the headgear industry to go over to factory production. Two elements were employed in the trade: women who came from New England farms, with strong individualistic leanings, and men from the cap shops, with a Russian background. A great deal of friction naturally developed between them and this was utilized by the employers. But since the cap makers had obtained from the

A.F. of L. as far back as 1903 official jurisdiction over the trade, a good number of the millinery operators also joined the former's local. It was not till the 1910 strike that a union of millinery workers was formed on an independent basis.[304]

The entire clothing industry seethed with great activity during 1913-14 as a result of inner struggles that took place within the two national bodies: the I.L.G.W.U. and the U.G.W. In the case of the former, the controversy raged with great intensity but was finally resolved; but within the latter, the forces split further apart and inevitably lead to the birth of the Amalgamated. The issues that caused friction within the International, furthermore, were very complicated and by no means form a very clear-cut pattern. It is therefore very difficult to distribute the guild judiciously and an attempt will merely be made to weave in the arguments of the various partisans.

The Protocol on the Defensive

In the first half of 1913, the International was riding on the crest of a wave of prosperity and expansion and conducting its activities for the first time on a national scale. In a sense it reflected the acceptance of or at least tolerance for trade unionism and collective bargaining by American public opinion as a result of the "great upheaval" of labor's strength and the rise of the Radical I.W.W. movement in the country.[305] The slight wage and hour improvements gained by the strikes in the cloak and suit trade in a number of cities and the concessions granted by the employers during the upswing of industrial conditions thus served to allay the fear and suspicions of many workers who, according to our radical commentator, "had more or less been tricked into the adven-

ture with protocolism.[306] 40

The coming of a depression in the winter of 1913-14, however, lead to very serious results in New York City. The general restlessness drove many workers into a crusade against the Protocol, as the membership divided into two groups which kept the International and the Joint Board at a breaking point for nearly a year.[308] The Joint Board and the International differed on the nature of the policy that was to be pursued. The workers in the shops turned to the aggressive and militant Joint Board for sympathy, since it spoke in rather harsh tones to the owners and accused them in its organ of using dishonest means in order to evade their responsibilities.[309] 41 The growth of unemployment also caused the owners to "bear down on protocol conditions and to send work to out-of-town or to non-union shops. The mechanism of the Protocol failed to rectify the workers' grievances, while the International forbade strikes as a medium of correction."[310]

The two problems that agitated the cloak makers the most were: (1) the method of meeting complaints, 90% of which were presented by the workers; and (2) the method of fixing piece-rates. The growing discontent of the toilers was now reflected in an increasing number of "illegal stoppages" against the employers' offensive. Many other grievances, such as the fear of discrimination by the shop chairmen, the dilatory habits of the deputy clerks, the utilization of sub-manufacturers to avoid price-fixing, etc., accumulated. Despite this situation, the official biographer of the I.L.G.W.U. maintains that the mechanism of the Protocol was functioning satisfactorily.[311] Hourwich, who played a dramatic role in the affairs of the International for a brief period, claims, on the other hand,

that there wasn't one point in the Protocol which not broken by a manufacturer each week and calls attention, on the basis of an analysis of 3,230 complaints during one year, to the one-sided nature of the struggle which the workers were waging.[312]

When Bisno was appointed as Chief Clerk of the Joint Board and thus became spokesman for the workers, he sought to broaden the powers of the Protocol as well as to introduce a number of reforms. His position was a very difficult one, for he was confronted with an "extremely articulate membership brought up on the doctrine of class struggle and therefore eager to assert the union's power over the employer, and the need of maintaining friendly relations with the manufacturers".[313] Yet being"a man devoted to the interests of the workers and long noted for his honesty and straightforwardness, he immediately met face to face the issues affecting the workers, the chief of which was the contracting evil".[313a] His ideas upon the subject of union supervision and control soon, however, evoked the opposition of the International's officers, particularly its secretary-treasurer, John Dyche, who was contemptuous of radicals, believed that a strong union could be maintained only through the aid of a strong manufacturers' association, and demanded that the chief clerk confine his activities to those of a skillful negotiator.[314] Bisno was accused by Dyche as possessing "ignorance and dogmatism plus demagogy" and was criticized for his bellicose attitude toward the employers. He was finally removed to another position, after his life was made miserable "by every manner of petty persecution".[315]

The appointment of Isaac Hourwich, lawyer, economist and writer, to this office in Januray, 1913, intensified the controversy all the more. He soon saw that the Protocol was defective in its

statement of rights and principles and began, like Bisno, to formulate a program of legal reform. Soon it seemed that the movement for amending the agreement was drifting under his guidance in the direction of its complete abolition.[316] Hourwich was "of an aggressive temperament and greatly imbued with 'workers' class-consciousness'. To him the Protocol was a mere temporary truce rather than a promise of durable peace", according to Professor Perlman.[317] He was considered impractical and revolutionary by the International, while Dyche, on the other hand, years afterward maintained that he had a negative attitude toward unions and characterized him as a 100% individualist and Russian nihilist.[318] Hourwich himself later on declared that the Protocol did not bring about good will and unity, as the unions leaders were constantly reiterationg. In fact, it had a demoralizing effect upon the toilers in the shops, for, since the union would scab in the event of a strike, it weakened the spirit of protest. The officers became indifferent to the troubles of the workers and played up to the association, whose members could declare lockouts by merely announcing a "reorganization of the system of production".[319]

Yet Hourwich continued to win favor among the masses, who thought that the main function of their labor organization was to fight their employers.[320] He persisted in his agitation against the Protocol through articles in the publication of the New York cloak makers and denounced the heads of the International as "the tools of the manufacturers". As was revealed in his subsequent article in the "Zukunft",[321] Hourwich objected to the Protocol's establishment of a corporation lawyer as the ruler of the union and to Brandeis' interpretation of its provisions. The class struggle, he declared, continued, despite the Protocol, and could not be obviated through

diplomacy or philanthropy. Brandeis' concept of capital-labor harmony thus did not appeal to him, for he believed that to prevent the workers from striking was to introduce slavery in the shops.

In November, 1913, he was denied reappointment to the Joint Board. As a result of this step, Local 1, composed of the more aristocratic operators and finishers, among whom were many radical-minded younger men, withdrew.[322] Many of this local's members had previously taken the lead in the anti-Protocol crusade, as they were usually the shop chairmen and thus had to listen to the workers' complaints. They were solidly behind Hourwich, who also believed in the strict enforcement of the agreement. They were more revolutionary-minded than the older elements who had built up the organization and hence were more hesitant to endanger its existence.[323] But the referendum showed overwhelming support of Hourwich on the part of the masses and he was consequently reappointed. The manufacturers' association, however, refused to accept this verdict, and the machinery of the Protocol was temporarily suspended.[324]

A great deal of pressure was now exerted by the General Executive to persuade Hourwich that his continuance in office would mean the end of the International. Though the masses were in uproar against his contemplated resignation, a meeting of forty union leaders, under the leadership of Gompers, and the refusal of the International to remain as the guarantor of the Protocol combined to influence Hourwich's withdrawal from office.[325] The cloak makers were indignant at this forced decision and invaded the office of the Joint Board and the International, smashing some of the furniture. It was some time before the agitation and tumult died down.

Thus a very hectic chapter came to an end. The struggle is still open to various interpretations. Levine says that its fun-

damental causes lay in the economic conditions that developed as a result of the Protocol and that it marked the first concrete lesson in meeting the problems of collective bargaining. Though Bisno and Hourwich destroyed the halo that originally surrounded the Protocol, their work did give a new insight into the practical elements of unionism.[326] A more severe judgment is the following: "The entire 'Hourwich affair' symbolized the class struggle in the needle trades, with the International officers lining up solidly with capital and the rank andf ile militantly demanding a fighting policy from those organs which they had erected for the protection of their class interests. It made clear that the bosses, rather than the bosses rather than the workers, were dictating to the International".[327] The hero of the drama wrote that the fight centered on the organizational form of the union and the limitations of the Protocol. The old leaders of the union claimed that only the Protocol could maintain the organization, for, since no strikes were permitted, they could spend their entire time in organizational efforts. This implied, said Hourwich, that only a small minority, the "machine" consisting of officers, was interested in the union. An organization of this sort would not conduct a struggle against the association for fear of endangering the Protocol. They leaders therefore prevented any criticism whatsoever, kept down the shop strikes and blocked all roads to influencing the masses that were open to the "discontented elements". Meetings by the opposition were called illegal and the official press was censored. It was his opposition to such a state of affairs that brought him into conflict with the employers and the International officers, Hourwich maintained.[328] However, only a more thorough analysis of the facts can establish the validity of all these differing opinions.

The Tailors Break Their Bonds

The 18th convention of the United Garment Workers, held in October, 1914, provided the arena for the last battle to be waged between the leadership and the vast majority of its constituency, as the effort to disfranchise the garment workers of the large centers ended disastrously for the national officers. The restlessness of the rank and file had already found expression in the Yiddish press during the course of the year, while both sides continued to hurl charges at each other till the eve of the convention. The radical tailors complained that the officers were using the label for personal profit, and the officers in turn maintained that the developing upsurge was being promoted by outside influences, was founded on race prejudice and aimed at the control of the organization by the Jewish workers.[331] And indeed a New York Joint Board had been formed in 1913, with the aid of the Jewish Socialists who once again rallied to the aid of the trade unions and took part in their struggles.[332] The widespread strike of that year likewise helped to organize every branch of the trade with such favorable results that the new labor organizations were maintained for the first time in history of the industry in the face of a depression.[333]

Soon enough, as a reaction to these powerful stimuli, the "new spirit of active and intelligently directed democracy clashed with the immobile and deadening autocracy of the general officers".[334] Efforts of the New York locals in behalf of a referndum for changing the site of the convention from Nashville to Rochester, a more centrally located city, were rejected. The former were likewise saddled with "enormous bills for alleged deficiencies". Indeed it seemed that the national officers were intent upon maintaining

their positions at all costs, for they seated the delegates of the overall and shirt trades but denied admission to those of the clothing industry on the grounds of their being in arrears in dues.[335]

Thus out of 303 delegates, fully 105 of them, who represented over 40,000 toilers or about 2/3 of the entire organization, were barred from the floor of the gathering and consigned to the gallery.[336] Although it appears from the figures that the radicals did not have the majority of the delegates, it must be borne in mind that the larger locals did not receive their proportional number of representatives. The insurgents therefore did speak for the majority of the membership.[337] As it became evident that the general officers wanted to capture the convention by fair or foul means (for instance, through a campgain of personal attack and calumny, in which they endeavored to poison the overall workers against "Anarchists" and Jews, though some of them were also Jewish), the ineligible clothing workers left the convention in a body and organized their own conference. Hillman was selected as president and Joseph Schlossberg as the general secretary.[338] The break was now permanent and final.

In their reports to the workers of New York and Chicago, the sponsors of the "rump" convention pointed out that the general officers claimed the U.G.W. as their private property, and incited national animosities, that the convention site was surrounded by police and that spies shadowed some of them. Despite all this, "no stone was left unturned, no effort was spared and we stopped at nothing in our attempts to establish peace", they declared.[339] But the bid for the amicable settlement of the controversy was spurned by the national officers.

The two groups then sought to have their representatives accepted by the A.F. of L. convention of November, 1914. Yet, despite

the fact that Hillman's organization presented a rather forceful case in a leaflet distributed at said gathering, Rickert's faction was recognized, according to the established procedure of the A.F. of L. not to acknowledge groups that break away from their parent body. A special convention was therefore called at the end of December in New York by Hillman's followers to "take up constructive work of the most fundamental and radical kind".[340] For the two groups now conducted a jurisdictional dispute, in which the "old guard" had possession of the funds and the headquarters while the insurgents were winning the confidence of the membership in the garment industry. Out of this conference in New York, which was attended by 134 delegates from 68 local unions and 5 district councils, was born the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, which expressed most eloquently the new spirit of industrial unionism and presented the most perfect embodiment of the Jewish workers' conception of the function of their labor organizations.

The principles and objectives of the A.C.W. of A. may be summarized as follows:

1. The "ultimate aim of the labor movement is to bring the working class into its own and to transform it from a working class within a capitalist society into a free and democratic industrial republic". The union should therefore be able to "elevate the workingmen mentally, materially, morally and in every other sense, while gathering strength for the ultimate emancipation of the working class from the wage system". For the "time has come for the organization of a union of clothing industry workers that will become an integral part of the revolutionary army that will emancipate the working class".[341]

2. The labor movement itself should be democratic. The election

of officers should therefore take place by a referendum vote in order to insure the application of the democratic rule in the labor organization. This was in contrast to the provisions of the old constitution which concentrated all the power in the hands of the officers who proceeded to make the union "an emporium for the sale of supplies".

3. Although the label had been used in the past as a "talisman" to enslave the workers to the bosses in the factory and the union and had required a great expenditure of funds for advertising purposes, it was to be continued. But the workers were to remember that "the power that affords protection to the workingmen is not the generosity of the consumers but the powerful organization of the producers".[342]

4. The movement was to support its "own political party which stands loyal to the working class and whose aim is the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery".

Thus, the last of the large national bodies of Jewish toilers came into existence, breathing an air of defiance against the existing social order and permeated with the spirit of industrial unionism, which to them meant the general enlightenment of the working men, particularly in the teachings of universal class solidarity, and the eventual abolition of the wage system. This was indeed the crowning effort of the Jewish labor movement. Large labor organizations had been built up patiently and tirelessly within 35 years, until around 1920, out of 518,000 wage earners in all the branches of the clothing industry, about 305,800 were organized in unions, forming a 60% total of unionized workers.[343] According to the American Labor Year Book of 1917-18, only the breweries had a higher percentage, around 89%.. This was a remarkable achievement and one to which the Russian-Jewish immigrants could ppint with pride and satisfaction.

CHAPTER SIX: CONTRIBUTION
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN-JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT

Though it is difficult to discuss fully the services rendered by the Russian-Jewish immigrants to the American labor movement from 1880 to 1914, since much of their labor did not yield fruit till after the last date of this period, it is possible to call attention to some of the distinguishing characteristics of the various trade unions which they brought into being. The struggle for the economic and political emancipation of the sweat shop toilers which was fostered by the East Side residents became an integral part of American trade unionism in its very early stages, for many of the immigrants either joined the existing labor bodies or formed new ones, soon after their arrival on these shores. Since they entered the unorganized branches of the clothing industry, they had to establish "their own labor movement with its unions, press, benefit societies, cooperatives and propaganda clubs"[1].

In this respect, their previous experience and training in the Russian Pale of Settlement stood them in good stead. For they "came largely from commercial centers where they had contact with radical political movements. Many of them had practical experience as leaders in these democratically governmed propaganda societies, And large numbers of their intellectuals possessed a theoretical and practical knowledge of the world labor movements"[2]. In fact, some very striking parallels can be drawn between the Jewish working classes of Russia and the United States as regards their economic orientation and mental outlook. As has been indicated in previous chapters, the same occupational concentration and industrial x isolation of the Jewish wage earners was to be found in both countries. Both the Bund and the local movement operated in a Jewish-dominated sector of the national economy and seemed to

agree, at least in spirit, on matters relevant to the Jewish community. Both were also subject to the influence of the revolutionary political parties and maintained constant contact with the radical activities of the non-Jewish elements in the country. Finally, both represented an advanced and alert segment of the general working population, the one participating in the battles to depose the Czar and the other straining with all its might to bring about improvements in the sweat shop autocracy.

By 1914, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, International Fur Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America stood on very solid ground, for the vast majority of the workers in the various branches of the needle trades were to be found on union rolls. This marked a distinct contribution to the American labor movement, for the Jewish working class contained about 15% of the nation's toilers[3] and its record of unionization was next to the highest in the country. This accomplishment becomes all the more significant when we take into account the gruelling, up-hill battle which the early pioneers had to wage against the inertia of the working masses and the opposition of the employers. Not one of the large national bodies existed before 1890 and only the United Garment Workers, from which the Amalgamated later separated, was in continuous existence since 1900.[4] The Socialist-Anarchist warfare, the emergence of internal factional strife, the growth of dual unionism in its various manifestations as well as the chaotic nature of the industry itself at times proved to be almost insurmountable obstacles. Hope alternated with despair. But the Yiddish press and the intellectuals strove to educate the immigrants and to build a firm basis of morale. They had to contend

with many evils, the most pernicious being that of the contracting system. For since the manufacturer could dictate wages through low rates to the contractor and thus remove himself from the hiring of labor, "the unions long lacked a fulcrum for a permanent raising of the conditions in the trade."[5] p. 4

Thus, the early period up to 1900 served as a school in which the workers learned the significance of unionization through their sporadic efforts to improve conditions in the shops. The various trades grew continuously during the time but the toilers were in no position to resist exploitation and mal-treatment. It was only, as their national organizations became factors of influence in the various branches of the clothing industry, that their struggles no longer remained mere reflexive acts against intolerable conditions but took the form of carefully planned and executed battles. They then began considering ways of exerting direct control and supervision over the trades, bringing about much-needed reforms, paying attention to educational needs and joining with the political endeavors of the working class. Such was the course of development taken by and large by the various Internationals, although the cap makers' union has been used by way of illustration.[6]

The unions of the clothing workers indeed made a very dramatic and rapid rise to success. However, it is mostly in their philosophy, methods, aims, and educational program that their great significance lies. Their distinguishing characteristics may be listed as follows:

1. The garment industry's labor organizations which arose primarily from the mass movements of the unskilled and semi-skilled wage earners were constructed along highly-centralized industrial

lines. As has already been pointed out, they eschewed the craft structure of trade unionism to pioneer, along with the brewers and miners, in applying a "spirit of broad-minded all-inclusiveness to all workers in the industry".[7] Professor Perlman considers them to be an example of "socialist industrialism". That is the type of unionism which aims to present a front "coextensive with the employers' association and to attain equal footing with the bosses" by including the skilled and the unskilled within one fold, which favors political action through an independent working class party, and is amenable to the influence of the Socialists.

2. Such unions naturally developed a philosophy different from what prevailed amongst the existing labor organizations. They were of a type "which binds its members in a fraternity of ideals and is based on a sense of solidarity in a tireless struggle toward a new system of society".[8] They thought of the immediate improvement of the working conditions only as a means toward a larger end--the ultimate economic emancipation of the class. Such an approach was due largely to the following reasons:

In the first place, the bulk of the early American unions had a narrow attitude toward their function in society because they developed at a time when many economic opportunities abounded in the land. The skilled craftsmen organized themselves merely to improve their bargaining power.[9] When, however, the needle trades' unions came into existence, few economic opportunities were available while, on the other hand, there existed a great deal of competition for jobs which required little skill. With the further introduction of machinery in the shops, the element of specialization was removed for the most part, at the same time that the influx of immigration created a vast supply of labor. The unions

could not therefore hope to bring about lasting improvements unless the entire trade was organized and significant social changes were made.

In the second place, the nature of the clothing industry itself with its slack seasons and contracting evil caused the movement to "build its organizational strength upon a class consciousness looking towards complete economic emancipation".[10] Conditions were so unstable that the only hope for improvement seemed to lie in the abolishment of capitalism. It was only a common protest and hope for a better world that could tie all the workers of the trade together. Thus it came about that the "necessities of the realistic economic and industrial conditions led (the needle trades workers) to develop a new type of union that regards immediate improvements as the means to the creation of a new order."[11]

This is a rather idealistic description of the mental make-up of the Russian-Jewish immigrants, as presented by Budish in his book, "The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry". A greater acquaintance with the general labor movement is required before one can pass judgement on the validity of his statements. Yet though he calls attention to the activity of a "considerable nucleus of cultivated Socialist intellectuals", he is prone to under-estimate their influence and to base his conclusions on an attitude that resembles economic fatalism. Budish seems to imply that the Socialist ideal was used in order to create the various unions among the Jewish toilers. This is quite accurate, if we take into account the immigrant nature of the workers, their petty-bourgeois inclinations and their contacts with the events of the Russian revolutionary movement. It may therefore be true that the radical principles "served

more as a bond to hold the membership together than as a severe guide in its relationship to the employers", as Perlman maintains. Yet the activities of the various radical elements, who alone tended the growing labor movement, were consciously directed toward influencing the East Side toilers "to organize for the ultimate emancipation of the working class" and seriously hoped to achieve their aims. Were it not for their presence in the New York ghetto, other roads might indeed have been selected by the Jewish wage earners. They therefore deserve far more credit than is usually acknowledged to them.

Of course the Jewish labor movement was not unique in certain of its features, for our country in its early days "witnessed the simultaneous development of an English-speaking labor movement featuring pure and simple unionism, and a German-speaking labor movement sponsoring industrial and radical unionism, and independent, working class and Socialist political action". As had already been indicated, the Jewish unions were indebted to the German labor organizations for help and stimulus afforded them in their early days. This adds what might therefore be considered a fourth factor in the influences that helped to shape the Jewish unions.

But whatever the cause may have been, this fact is certain: a militant spirit was expressed in the preambles of the various Internationals, proving that their "whole tendency is in the direction of training the worker for assuming control of production and of accepting the social and economic responsibility which such control involves"[13]. A few examples will bear this out. The cap makers, for instance, wished to "co-operate with the national and universal labor movement for the final emancipation of the wage earner and for the establishment of the Cooperative Commonwealth". The I.L.G.W.U.

declares its aim to be to "organize industrially into a class-conscious trade union...to bring about a system of society wherein the workers shall receive the full value of their product". The U.G.W. recognized the Socialist newspapers as its official organs and declared for agitation among the membership in favor of participating in the political activities of the Socialists.[14]

3. "In addition to supporting the progressive policies of unionism, Socialism and cooperation, (the Jewish unions) have been the pioneers in launching and initiating many vital activities".[15] They thus introduced the method that is known as "constitutionalism" in industry. "By means of it, the needle trades have been erecting upon the ordinary trade agreement a system of government that had already replaced over wide areas of shop management the former arbitrary power of the owner".[16] The Protocol resembled the usual trade contract but with these exceptions: (1) there was no definite period for its operation, since it was terminable at will by either side, (2) and provision was made for the continuation of bodies of conciliation and arbitration as well as of supervision of sanitary conditions. The Jewish unions were thus "the first to improve on the old collective bargaining practices by introducing machinery that functions continuously, giving the workers an equal voice with the employer in the administration of the working conditions".[17]

In this was perhaps revealed the dual character of the Jewish trade unionism for though it was not content with the wage system, it did not hesitate to make "supreme use of the highest practical acquisition of the A.F. of L.--namely, the trade agreement..., re-interpreting and applying the latter in a spirit of a broader labor solidarity than the 'old unionism' of the Federation".[18] How this adjustment was brought about is difficult to determine by one who

who has no intimate acquaintance with the intricate logic of labor problems. For it is indeed difficult to explain Vladeck's statement, for instance, that the Jewish workers were ahead of the rest of the labor movement in their political views and aspirations but that economically they have been very "practical in their devotion to the best interests of the industry and have striven for the immediate improvement of work-wage conditions".[19] Unless of course, as the critics "on the left" maintain, the leadership at the helm of the unions was more practical-minded than the insurgent rank and file.

4. The abolition of sweat shop conditions was in part due to the efforts of the workers themselves. Though they were often accused of being responsible for their existence, the fact remains that the industry itself was the source of this evil.[20] Since the middle of the 80s, continuous agitation was conducted to introduce anti-sweating laws in the various states. Yet though success often attended these efforts for legislative reform and laws were placed on the books, it was in reality the appearance of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control as provided by the Protocol of 1910 that marked the greatest advance in this field of activity. It was this attempt at self-regulation on the part of the unions, the employers and the interested public servants that produced the best results, without inciting any ill will or resorting to police power. The Board at once began to expand and grow until by 1913 it became an important factor in promoting the sanitary reformation of the New York cloak and dress trade.[21]

Some attention was also paid by the I.L.G.W.U. to the health of the workers after 1913. Until then, little had been done in this respect, because of the growth of fraternal orders, such as the

Arbeiter Ring, and because many thought this was "outside the province of and inconsistent with the militant function of a labor union". In 1913, however, a medical division of the Joint Board was created which subsequently lead to the establishment of the Union Health Centre, the only institution of its kind in the American labor movement at the time.[22]

5. The unions have also shown how immigrants can be successfully organized on the basis of broad minded unionism.[23] For the needle trades labor organizations are "really a composite of a number of southern and easter European races",[24] although the Jews have predominated in leadership and membership. Whereas the conservative officers of the U.G.W. laid their organizational failures to the "racial clannishness and radicalism of the Jews and Italians",[25] these foreign-born workers have shown how the friction between races and nationalities, often encouraged by the employers, can be overcome through the spirit of class solidarity and the common struggle for a better life. Hourwich in his able discussion of the question of labor organization among immigrants, to which reference has already been made in Chapter Three, disproves the "reluctance of East European immigrants to enter labor disputes involving a loss of time" or their "ready acceptance of low wages and existing working conditions".[26] His figures that have already been quoted elsewhere indicate that the clothing industry workers were organized well above the average for the country and possessed the capacity for concerted strike action, that they did not underbid the older immigrant races and that conditions in the industry were improved substantially with their entrance into the shops.

6. They have also shown outstanding success in the organization of women, " a success unusual in American trade union exper-

ience".[27] In this respect, they were without doubt pioneers in the American labor movement. For, as Judge Panken writes, up to 1900, when the first organization of waist makers was formed with the help of the U.H.T., there was "not a single labor organization in the U.S. composed of women workers--not one".[28] Yet by 1923, the statement could be made that the needle trades "cover the industry employing women which has accomplished most during the past twenty years".[29] Thus out of the 100,000 members in the 90 locals of the I.L.G.W.U., about 50% were women. It is in this branch of the clothing industry that they have "made immense advances in wages, hours and sanitary conditions, all of which advantages they have gained hand in hand with the men". The women of locals 22 and 25 of the Waist and Dress Makers' Union displayed great courage and pioneering zeal in the famous strike of 1909, which set new forces in motion among the sweat shop toilers. This becomes all the more significant when we take into account the fact that in 1910 there were about 242,086 women working in the garment trades of the entire country.[30] (This of course includes the markets outside of New York City as well.) Thus not only have the women formed the backbone of the labor forces but have also given impetus to and provided inspiration for the unions and proven themselves to be faithful and staunch allies in the endless struggle for a better life.

7. The needle trades unions were ~~likewise~~ the "very first to appreciate the significance of workers' education".[31] From the earliest days of unionism in the clothing industry, a close bond existed between the purely economic and distinctly educational efforts of the labor organizations. Perhaps since the workers were scattered in trades of an inferior industrial structure and could draw organizational strength only from the ties of conscious working

class solidarity and the promise of full emancipation, the leaders found it necessary to combine educational work with organizational efforts.[32] Furthermore, as has already been shown, the radical intellectuals made continuous efforts to reach the working masses. Thus, some of the early cloak makers' unions grew out of educational clubs or were connected with societies for educational purposes.[33] In the 80s, likewise, the ephemeral trade unions were rather more like debating clubs than real trade organizations. At the meetings, general principles and aspirations were often discussed along with daily questions of hours and wages.[34] Perhaps it was the failure to obtain improvements in the shop conditions that intensified the hope for the general reconstruction of society and perhaps it was entirely due to the fact that the early organizational efforts were largely directed by a small number of revolutionaries.[35] In either case, the immigrants were schooled in matters not usually considered to be within the province of unions and were thus better prepared to cope with social-economic problems.

Between 1890 and 1900, educational clubs continued to be formed by the cloak makers. These attempts were, however, sporadic and "undifferentiated in purpose". No line was drawn between education, propaganda, politics and revolutionary agitation.[36] The debates between the Socialists and the Anarchists at the union meetings and sessions of the U.H.T. no longer took place during this decade as the latter lost out in influence and prestige. Instead, various societies for self-education were formed. Thus a Workers' School came into being in 1899 and a Jewish Workers' League was established in 1901 to study industrial problems, economics, etc.[37]

Even during the first decade of the 20th century, during the period of rapid trade union progress, interest in social and economic

problems was maintained and the unions continued to organize lectures, musicales, etc., while the educational activities of the Arbeiter Ring also grew in number. Though the I.L.G.W.U. was too weak to meet the growing educational demands of the membership, resolutions were passed urging the locals to arrange lectures and to issue leaflets from time to time.[38] Such great strides had been taken in this direction by the end of the decade that the desire for purely agitational work had diminished. The labor movement had by now come into its own. The growth of the New York locals of the I.L.G.W.U. in 1912-13 and the consequent demand for more active workers, as well as the urgency of educating the wage earners in the principles of the Protocol created new problems. The International therefore passed a resolution in 1914, expressing the need to "dwell particularly upon the more solid and preparatory work of education and not to devote much time to the mere superficial forms of agitation and propaganda which have been the main features of our educational work in the past".[39] This laid the foundation for the future educational work undertaken by the I.L.G.W.U., as a result of which it became the first organization in the clothing industry to embark upon such an activity. "As far as is known, this union was the pioneer in education in the labor movement of America".[40]

The role of the Yiddish labor press in helping to organize the Jewish working masses must also not be forgotten, as was already indicated in the fourth chapter.[41] Great service was likewise rendered by the U.H.T., which in a way might be considered as the godfather of all the Jewish unions in the country.[42] No finer tribute can be paid this central body than that contained in the congratulatory letter sent by Walter Citrine on the occasion of its 50th

anniversary:"During my visits to the United States I had ample evidence, confirmed by my reading of American Trade Union history, of the significant work which the U.H.T. has coomplished among the immigrant workers. It has exercised an important function in strengthening Trade Union loyalty among them and uniting them with the general organization of the American Workers in the American Federation of Labor. Itd task has not been easy. Its success in helping the immigrant workers to assimilate the principles and tradtions they have carried from the Old World to the New, to adjust themselves to the conditions of American life, and to develop organic relations with the Trade Unions of America is the best possible testimony to the wisdom and farsightedness of those who founded the U.H.T. fifty years ago, and to those who have guided its activities ever since."[43]

In closing, it should be noted that the garment trade workers may have also "helped to socialize America. For it was their spectacular struggle for a living wage and for constitutionalism in industry that from time to time stirred up deep sentiments of sympathy in the community at large and aroused a 'social consciousness' where there were social indifference and misunderstanding before."[44] All in all, the Russian-Jewish immigrants my take their well-deserved place in the vanguard of the American labor movement for their pioneering achievements and the lasting national unions they managed to establish on firm foundations. This is the monument which the exploited industrial "slaves" reared during their long sojourn in the modern Egypt of the sweat shop. The citizens of the present and the future have good cause to listen to the story of their accomplishments and permanent contribution to the fabric of American life.

NOTES

N.B. Books written in Yiddish or in Hebrew are designated with a Y. and an H. respectively.

CHAPTER ONE

1. Burgin: History of the Jewish Labor Movement in America, Russia and England, p.3. (Y)
2. Fifteenth Anniversary Journal of Bund, p.7.
3. Buchbinder: The History of the Jewish Labor Movement in Russia, p.75. (Y)
4. Burgin, op. cit., p.669.
5. Fifteenth Annniversary Journal of Bund, p. 3.
6. Burgin, op. cit., p.541.
7. Ibid, p.666.
8. Borochov in Jewish Labor Year Book and Almanac, p.174.
9. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.7.
10. Burgin, op. cit., p.14.
11. Jewish Scientific Institute (Yivo) Historical Writings, Vol.III: The Jewish Socialist Movement up to the Establishment of the Bund, p. 2. (Y)
12. Rafes: Chapters in the History of the Bund, p.9. (Y)
13. Dimenstein: The Revolutionary Movement among the Jewish Masses in the 1905 Revolution, p.9. (Y)
14. Buchbinder, op. cit., pp.14-16.
15. Ibid, p. 17.
16. Litwin: What has Happened, p.141. (Y)
17. Leshchinski: The Jewish Worker in Russia. (Y)
18. Ibid, p.30.
19. Litwin, op. cit., pp. 212-225.
20. Lieberman: The History of the Revolutionary Movements among the Jews in Russia, p.62.
21. Yivo, Vol. III, op. cit., p.3.
22. Burgin, op. cit., p.10.
23. Rafes, op. cit., p.16.
24. Yivo, Vol. III, op. cit., p.3.
25. Borochov, op. cit., p.173.
26. Yivo, Vol. III, op. cit., p.4.
27. Ibid, p.14.
28. Ibid, p.29.
29. Rafes, op. cit., p.19.
30. Yivo, Vol. III, op. cit., p.37.
31. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.61.
32. Lieberman, op. cit., p.206.
33. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.64.
34. Yivo, Vol. III, op. cit., p.38.
35. Ibid, p. 45.
36. Rafes, op. cit., p.12.
37. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.20.
38. Ha'Emeth, edited by Aaron Liberman, pp.111-25. (H)
39. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.60.
40. Burgin, op. cit., p.188.
41. Yivo, Vol. III, op. cit., p.23.

42. Ibid, p.18.
43. Burgin, op. cit., p.197.
44. Yivo, Vol. III, op. cit., Introduction.
45. Rafes, op. cit., p.15.
46. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.66.
47. Lieberman, op. cit., p.169.
48. Yivo, Vol. III, op. cit., p.44.
49. Ibid, p.611.
50. Ibid, p.46.
51. Rafes, op. cit., p.9.
52. Burgin, op. cit., p.194.
53. Rauter Pinkos Collection, p.5. (Y)
54. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.75.
55. Lieberman, op. cit., p.254ff.
56. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.78.
57. Lieberman, op. cit., p.257.
58. Rafes, op. cit., p.38.
59. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.163.
60. Rafes, op. cit., p.40.
61. Burgin, op. cit., p.485.
62. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.185.
63. Kirshnitz: The Jewish Workers, Vol. II, Part I, p.92. (Y)
64. Burgin, op. cit., p.506.
65. Litwin, op. cit., p.116.
66. Dimenstein, op. cit., p.31ff.
67. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.199.
68. Ibid, p.203.
69. Rafes, op. cit., p.57.
70. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.229ff.
71. Burgin, op. cit., p.220.
72. Rafes, op. cit., p.62.
73. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.228.
74. Burgin, op. cit., p.496.
75. Rafes, op. cit., p.47ff.
76. Burgin, op. cit., p.537.
77. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.197.
78. Rafes, op. cit., p.75.
79. Burgin, op. cit., p.504.
80. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.76.
81. Burgin, op. cit., p.508.
82. Dubnow: History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, p.107.
83. Rafes, op. cit., p.100.
84. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.135.
85. Dubnow, op. cit., p.108.
86. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.340.
87. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.230.
88. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.335.
89. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.157.
90. Dimenstein, op. cit., p.52.
91. Rafes, op. cit., p.102.
92. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.131.
93. Burgin, op. cit.,p.534.
94. Ibid, p.534.
95. Kirshnitz, op. cit.,p.194.
96. Rafes, op. cit., p.134ff.

97. Kirshnitz, Vol. II, Part Two, p.112.
98. Burgin, op. cit., 535.
99. Dubnow, op. cit., p.111.
100. Ibid, p.148.
101. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.385.
102. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.254.
103. Dimenstein, op. cit., p.73.
104. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.54.
105. Ibid, p.198.
106. Dimenstein, op. cit., p.82.
107. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.54, 158.
108. Burgin, op. cit., p.543.
109. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.408.
110. Rafes, op. cit., p.162.
111. Kirshnitz, Vol. III, p.116.
112. Burgin, op. cit., p.544.
113. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.12.
114. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.408.
115. Litwin, op. cit., p.248.
116. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.409.
117. Burgin, op. cit., p.552.
118. Litwin, op. cit., p.267.
119. Rafes, op. cit., p. 163.
120. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p. 12.
121. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.414.
122. Rafes, op. cit., p.165.
123. Litwin, op. cit., p.269.
124. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.414.
125. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.127.
126. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.415.
127. Burgin, op. cit., p.566.
128. Rafes, op. cit., p.172.
129. Burgin, op. cit., p.568.
130. Rafes, op. cit., p.178.
131. Kirshnitz, op. cit., p.147.
132. Litwin, op. cit., p.273.
133. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.423.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Burgin, op. cit., p.3
2. Milch: The Emergence of the "Vorwarts", p.11. (Y)
3. United Hebrew Trades of New York: 50th Anniversary Jubilee Book,p.88.(Y)
4. Beard; The American Labor Movement, p.86.
5. Bimba; History of the American Working Class, p.166.
6. Epstein: History of the Working Class in America, Vol. I, p.215.(Y)
7. Beard, op. cit., p.89.
8. Fine:Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, p.131.
9. Bimba, op. cit., p.69.
10. Hillquit: History of Socialism in the United States, p.295.
11. Beard, op. cit., p.89.
12. Ibid, p.116.

13. Hillquit, op. cit., p.290.
14. Fine, op. cit., p.121.
15. Epstein, op. cit., p.91.
16. Hillquit, op. cit., p.292.
17. Fine, op. cit., p.134.
18. Ibid, pp.103-5.
19. Beard, op. cit., p.104.
20. Fine, op. cit., p.115.
21. Bimba, op. cit., p.74.
22. Hillquit, op. cit., p.53.
23. Bimba, op. cit., p.76.
24. Hillquit, op. cit., p.295.
25. Epstein, op. cit., p.209.
26. Ibid, p.201.
27. Hillquit, op. cit., p.246.
28. Epstein, op. cit., p.250.
29. Bimba, op. cit., p.93.
30. Hillquit, op. cit., p.291.
31. Bimba, op. cit., p.190.
32. Fine, op. cit., p.124.
33. Ibid, p. 130.
34. Bimba, op. cit., p.199.
35. Hillquit, op. cit., p.301.
36. Ibid, p.303.
37. Fine, op. cit., p.163.
38. Hillquit, op. cit., 258.
39. Epstein, op. cit., p.306.
40. Bimba, op. cit., p.213.
41. Hillquit, op. cit., p.315.
42. Epstein, op. cit., p.239.
43. Bimba, op. cit., p.216.
44. Epstein, op. cit., p.261.
45. Fine, op. cit., p.187.
46. Hillquit, op. cit., p.307.
47. Bimba, op. cit., p.224.
48. Epstein, op. cit., p.400.
49. Orth: Armies of Labor, p.219.
50. Epstein, op. cit., p.360.
51. Ibid, p.341.
52. Bimba, op. cit., p.246.
53. Hillquit, op. cit., p.322.
54. Fine, op. cit., p.192.
55. Hillquit, op. cit., p.330.
56. Fine, op. cit., p.193.
57. Hillquit, op. cit., p.338.
58. Bimba, op. cit., p. 235.
59. Fine, op. cit., p.215.
60. Ibid, p.261.
61. Beard, op. cit., p.145.
62. Epstein, op. cit., p.364.
63. Fine, op. cit., p.275.
64. Spargo: Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism and Socialism, p.30.
65. Bimba, op. cit., pp.230-2.
66. Fine, op. cit., p.283.
67. Spargo, op. cit., p.34.

68. Bimba, op. cit., p.243.
69. Epstein, op. cit., p.386.
70. Orth, op. cit., p.188.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Zaretz: Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, p.52.
2. Fornberg in Yivo Bletter, Vol. IV, p. 293. (Y)
3. Commons:Races and Immigrants in America, p.122.
4. Bisno in The Russian Jew in the United States, edited by Charles Bernheimer, p.129-34.
5. Zaretz, op. cit., p.53.
6. Rubinow: Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia.
7. Joseph: Jewish Immigration to the United States,1881-1910.
8. Rubinow, op. cit., p.490.
9. Ibid, p.493.
10. Joseph, op. cit., p.54.
11. Ibid, p.43.
12. Rubinow, op. cit., p.500.
13. Ibid, p.502.
14. Joseph, op. cit., p.42.
15. Rubinow, op. cit., p.508.
16. Joseph, op. cit., p.44.
17. Rubinow, op. cit., p.520.
18. Joseph, op. cit., p.44.
19. Rubinow, op. cit., p.522.
20. Ibid, p.532.
21. Joseph, op. cit., p.45.
22. Rubinow, op. cit., p.542.
23. Leshchinsky, op. cit., p. 103ff.
24. Rubinow, op. cit., p.453.
25. Ibid, p.561.
26. Joseph, op. cit., p.48.
27. Rubinow, op. cit., p.566.
28. Frank in Annual of Yivo Amopteil, Vol. II, p.107. (Y)
29. Joseph, op. cit., p.83.
30. Buchbinder, op. cit., p.407.
31. Joseph, op. cit., p.93.
32. Ibid, pp.98-104.
33. Frank, op. cit., 102.
34. Kirshnitz: The Jewish Worker, Vol. II, Part 2, p.361.
35. Since the term "Hebrew" was not introduced till 1899 in the classification of immigrants by the U.S. government, some of the available statistics deal only with the first quarter of the 20th century. Though the range of years thus covered extends beyond the scope of this papper, the information is used because it sheds light on our discussion.
36. Frank, op. cit., p.108
37. Rubinow, op. cit., p.504.
38. Ibid, p.305.
39. Frank, op. cit., p.104.
40. Joseph, op. cit., p.186.

41. Ibid, p.132.
42. Ibid, p.141.
43. Frank, op. cit., p.105.
44. Ibid.
45. Frank in Jewish Labor Yearbook and Almanac, p.91. (Y)
46. Fornberg, op. cit., pp.304-6.
47. Zaretz, op. cit., p.47.
48. Rubinow in The Russian Jew in the U.S. (Charles Bernheimer, Editor), p.102.
49. Zaretz, op. cit., p.47.
50. Frank, op. cit., p.110. (in annual of yivo Amopteil, vol. II)
51. Fornberg, op. cit., p.341.
52. Rubinow in The Russian Jew in the U.S., p.112.
53. Zaretz, op. cit., p.51.
54. Commons, op. cit., p.115.
55. Rubinow, op. cit., p.115.
56. Cahan in The Russian Jew in the U.S., p.34.
57. Frank in Annual of Yivo Amopteil, Vol. II, p.111.
58. Hourwich: Immigration and Labor, p.326.
59. Rubinow, op. cit., p.115.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Chanin in United Hebrew Trades Jubilee Book, p.101.
2. Mendin in op. cit., p.90.
3. Frank in Annual of Yivo Amopteil, Vol. II, p.111.
4. Chinai in United Hebrew Trades Jubilee Book, p.151.
5. Dubnow, op. cit., Vol. II, p.298.
6. Sachs: History of the Arbeiter Ring, Vol. I, p.24. (Y)
7. Yoval, p. 12. (Y)
8. Burgin, op. cit., pp.70-3.
9. Cahan: Pages from My Life, Vol. II, p.37. (Y)
10. Robinson in American Jewish Yearbook, 1912-13, p.62.
11. Burgin, op. cit., p.81.
12. Cahan, op. cit., pp.296-306.
13. Levine: The Women's Garment Workers, p.28.
14. Burgin, op. cit., p.84.
15. Rogoff: The Life Story of Myer London, p.7. (Y)
16. Levine, op. cit., p.24.
17. Weinstein: Forty Years in the Jewish Labor Movement, p.109. (Y)
18. Burgin, op. cit., p.94.
19. Budish: The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry, p.58.
20. Ibid, p.65.
21. Rogoff, op. cit., p.32.
22. Budish, op. cit., p.58.
23. Levine, op. cit., p.27.
24. Rogoff, op. cit., p.11.
25. Levine, op. cit., p.30.
26. Weinstein: The Jewish Unions in America, pp.44-8. (Y)
27. Kopeloff: Once Upon a Time in America, pp.49-64. (Y)
28. Sachs, op. cit., p.36.
29. Weinstein, op. cit., p.48.
30. Burgin, op. cit., p.86.

31. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.30.
32. Weinstein, Jewish Unions, etc., pp. 49-67.
33. Burgin, op. cit., p.90.
34. Cahan, op. cit., p.101.
35. Weinstein, Jewish Unions etc., p.92.
36. Cahan, op. cit., p.106.
37. Burgin, op. cit., p.96.
38. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.53.
39. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.169.
40. Burgin, op. cit., p.98.
41. Sachs, op. cit., p.46.
42. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.52.
43. Burgin, op. cit., p.103.
44. Levine, op. cit., p.30.
45. Weinstein, Jewish Unions etc., p.109.
46. Starkman in Jubilee Volume in Commemoration of the 250th Anniversary of the Yiddish Press (Jacob Shatzky, editor), p.56. (Y)
47. Budish, op. cit., p.240.
48. Burgin, op. cit., p.101.
49. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.75.
50. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.190.
51. Edelstadt: Selected Works, Vol. I,p.13. (Y)
52. Burgin, op. cit., p.129.
53. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.230.
54. Burgin, op. cit., p.137.
55. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.233.
56. Edelstadt, op. cit., p.57.
57. Burgin, op. cit., p.135.
58. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.233.
59. Edelstadt, op. cit., p.34.
60. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.234.
60a. Edelstadt, op. cit., p.62.
61. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.236.
62. Starkman, op. cit., p.197.
63. Edelstadt, op. cit., p.45.
64. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.110.
65. Rogoff, op. cit., pp.22-6.
66. Weinstein, Forty Years etc.,p. 115.
67. Cahan, op. cit., Vol. III, p.11.
68. Burgin, op. cit., p.166.
69. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.248.
70. Edelstadt, op. cit., p.56.
71. Cahan, op. cit., p.12.
72. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.250.
73. Cahan, op. cit., p.40.
74. Shulman in Studies in History of Yiddish Press in America (Jacob Shatzky, editor), p.30. (Y)
75. Edelstadt, op. cit., p.78.
76. Ibid, p.82.
77. Ibid, p.65.
78. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.255.
79. Ibid, p.273.
80. Burgin, op. cit., p.311.
81. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.186.
82. Sachs, op. cit., p.72.

83. Hurwitz: The Workmens' Circle, p.13ff.
84. Sachs, op. cit., pp.106-11.
85. Hurwitz, op. cit., p.15.
86. Sachs, op. cit., p.92. 86a. Burgin, op. cit., pp.314-8.
87. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.187.
88. Burgin, op. cit., p.358.
89. Cahan, op. cit., p.159.
90. Yivo Historical Writings, Vol. III, op. cit., pp. 787-9.
91. Cahan, op. cit., p.35.
92. Ibid, p.348.
93. Weinstein, Jewish Unions etc., p.169.
94. Cahan, op. cit., p.378.
95. Winchevski: Collected Works, Vol. I, p.187. (Y)
96. Burgin, op. cit., p.372.
97. Yivo Bletter, Vol. IV, p.360.
98. Milch; op. cit., p.43.
99. Burgin, op. cit., p.377.
100. Cahan, op. cit., p.400.
101. Milch, op. cit., p.39.
102. Yivo Bletter, Vol. IV., p.362.
103. Cahan, op. cit., p.400.
104. Milch, op. cit., p.43.
105. Winchevski, op. cit., p.198.
106. Ibid, p.199.
107. Sachs, op. cit., p.114.
108. Hurwitz, op. cit., p.15.
109. Winchevski, op. cit., p.203.
110. Burgin, op. cit., p.383.
111. Yivo Bletter, Vol. IV, p.363.
112. Milch, op. cit., p.65.
113. Burgin, op. cit., p.392.
114. Yivo Bletter, Vol. IV, p.370.
115. Milch, op. cit., pp. 76-84.
116. Winchevski, op. cit., p.212.
117. Ibid, p.220.
118. Cahan, op. cit., p.484.
119. Burgin, op. cit., 431.
120. Ibid, p.455.
121. Winchevski, op. cit., p.243.
122. Milch, op. cit., p.120.
123. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.209.
124. Kopeloff, op. cit., p.387.
125. Weinstein, Jewish Unions etc., p.191.
126. Hapgood: The Spirit of the Ghetto, p.178.
127. Weinstein: Forty Years etc., p.149.
128. Hapgood, op. cit., p.200.
129. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.199.
130. Hapgood, op. cit., p.199.
131. Minkoff: Yiddish Classical Poets, p.69. (Y)
132. Winchevski, op. cit., p.11.
133. Ibid, p.365.
134. Wiener: The History of the Yiddish Literature in the 19th Century, p.123.
135. Hapgood, op. cit., p.105.
136. Minkoff, op. cit., pp. 71-73.

137. Rosenfeld: Songs from the Ghetto.
138. Rosenfeld: Collection of Poems. (Y)
139. Hapgood, op. cit., p.106.
140. Wiener, op. cit., p.123.
141. Edelstadt, op. cit., p.13.
142. Ibid, p.119.
143. Marmar in Annual of Yivo Amopteil, Vol. II, pp.32-92.
144. Hapgood, op. cit., p.106.
145. Minkoff, op. cit., p. 158.
146. Hapgood, op. cit., p.202.
147. Libin: Sketches.
148. Wiener, op. cit., p.226.
149. Ba'al Machsovos, Views and Impressions, p.157. (H)
150. Hapgood, op. cit., p.22.
151. Ba'al Machsovos, op. cit., p.161.
152. Hapgood, op. cit., p.212.
153. Gordin: Tales. (Y)
154. Burgin, op. cit., p.602.
155. Ibid, p.614.
156. Zukunft, January, 1903, pp.15-19.
157. Burgin, op. cit., pp.615-7.
158. Weinstein, Forty Years etc., p.220.
159. Milch, op. cit., p.95.
160. Burgin, op. cit., p.630.
161. Milch, op. cit., p.96.
162. Milch in Zukunft, January, 1906, p.19.
163. Hurwitz, op. cit., p.16.
164. Sachs, op. cit., p.34.
165. Rogoff, op. cit., pp.71-4.
166. Burgin, op. cit., pp.645-54.
167. Ibid, p.699.
168. Federal Writers Project: The Jewish Landsmanschafter of New York, p.82
169. Sachs, op. cit., p.244.
170. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.103.
171. Ibid, p.104.
172. Burgin, op. cit., pp.678-83.
173. Zivion in Zukunft, May, 1909, pp.274-9.
174. Winchevski in Zukunft, September, 1909, pp.501-4.
175. Winchevski in Zukunft, November, 1911, p.600.
176. Salutzky in Zukunft, October, 1911, p.554.
177. The Jewish Year Book, 1914, issued by Jewish Socialist Federation of America, p.51.
178. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.717.
179. Fornberg in Zukunft, September, 1913, p.891.
180. Fornberg in Zukunft, October, 1913, p.973.
181. Winchevski in Zukunft, November, 1913, p.1056.
182. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.104.
183. Rogoff, op. cit., pp.75-81.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Budish, op. cit., p.48.
2. Zaretz, op. cit., p.47.
3. Yivo Bletter, Vol. IV., p.309.
4. Adams and Sumner: Labor Problems, p.120.
5. Budish, op. cit., p.14.
6. Budish: History of Cloth, Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers, p.116. (Y)
7. Budish, The New Unionism etc., p.29.
8. Adams & Sumner, op. cit., p.117.
9. Budish, op. cit., p.35.
10. Adams & Sumner, op. cit., p.116.
11. Budish, op. cit., p.41.
12. Levine, op. cit., p.10.
13. Budish, op. cit., p.30.
14. Budish, History of Cloth etc., p.23.
15. Budish, The New Unionism, p.44.
16. Henry: Women and the Labor Movement, p.113.
17. Quoted in Adams and Sumner, p.114.
18. Zaretz, op. cit., p.32.
19. Levine, op. cit., p.22.
20. Ibid, p.15.
21. Zaretz, op. cit., p.37.
22. Adams and Sumner, op. cit., p113.
23. Zaretz, op. cit., p.33.
24. Levine, op. cit., p.16.
25. Zaretz, op. cit., p.35.
26. Adams and Sumner, op. cit., p.126.
27. Federal Writers Project, op. cit., p.80.
28. Schlossberg: The Rise of the Clothing Workers, p.7.
29. Hillquit; Loose Leaves From a Busy Life, p.16.
30. Budish, The New Unionism, etc., p.60.
31. Hillquit, op. cit., p.29.
32. Budish, The New Unionism etc., p.62.
33. Schlossberg, op. cit., pp.8-10.
34. Zaretz, op. cit., p.68.
35. Schlossberg, op. cit., p.10.
36. Hillquit: History of Socialism in the U.S., p.287.
37. Zaretz: op. cit., p.69.
38. Weinstein: Jewish Unions etc., p.85.
39. Perlman & Taft: History of Labor in the U.S., p.290.
40. Weinstein: Forty Years etc., p.100.
41. Sachs, op. cit., p.47.
42. Cahan, op. cit., Vol. II, p.226.
43. Weinstein; Forty Years etc., p.240.
44. Ibid,66.
45. Sachs, op. cit., p.16.
46. Levine, op. cit., p.37.
47. Sachs, op. cit., p.17.
48. Perlman, op. cit., p.291.
49. Zaretz, op. cit., p.69.
50. Levine, op. cit., p.40.
51. Weinstein: Jewish Unions etc., p.125.
52. Levine, op. cit., p.42.

53. Zaretz, op. cit., p.71.
54. Weinstein: Forty Years, p.100.
55. Hebrew-American Typographical Union: Fifty Years of the Union, p. 16. (Y)
56. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.29.
57. Hillquit: Loose Leaves from a Busy Life, p.18.
58. Zaretz, op. cit., p.73.
59. Perlman, op. cit., p.292.
60. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.22.
61. Hillquit, op. cit., p.19.
62. Zaretz, op. cit., p. 74.
63. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.40.
64. Zaretz, op. cit., p.73.
65. Sachs, op. cit., p.51.
66. Weinstein: Jewish Unions etc., p.148.
67. Sachs, op. cit., p.68.
68. Burgin, op. cit., p.155.
69. Weinstein: Forty Years etc., p.68.
70. Ibid, p.100.
71. Levine, op. cit., p.44.
72. There is no unanimity on this point. Some sources, such as Sachs, op. cit., p.50, maintain that this union was organized before the U.H.T. came into existence.
73. Weinstein, op. cit., p.86.
74. Ibid, p.89.
75. Budish: History of Cloth etc., pp.35-8.
76. Burgin, op. cit., pp.292-7.
77. Ibid, p.302.
78. Ibid, p.298.
79. Levine, op. cit., p.48.
80. Cahan, op. cit., III, p.55.
81. Hardy: The Clothing Workers, p.23.
82. Perlman, op. cit., p.291.
83. Levine, op. cit., p.52.
84. Cahan, op. cit., p.69.
85. Weinstein: Forty Years etc., pp.134-7.
86. Budish: History of Hat etc., p.39.
87. Schlossberg, op. cit., p.12.
88. Ibid, p.13.
89. Hebrew-American Typographical Union, op.cit., p.25.
90. Ibid, p.36.
91. Burgin, op. cit., p.740.
92. Budish: The New Unionism, p.73.
93. Weinstein: Jewish Unions etc., p.243.
94. Zaretz, op. cit., p.77.
95. Budish, op. cit., p.74.
96. Schlossberg, op. cit., p14.
97. Kopold & Selekman: Epic of Needle Trades in Menorah Journal, November, 1928, p.415.
98. Budish, History of Cloth etc., p.43.
99. Levine, op. cit., p.60.
100. Cahan, op. cit., p.97.
101. Zukunft, September, 1908,p.43.
102. Rosenberg: The Cloak Makers and their Unions, p.53. (Y)
103. Ibid, p.26.

104. Ibid, p.49.
105. Levine, op. cit., p.61.
106. Budish: History of Cloth etc., p.75.
107. Burgin, op. cit., p.741.
108. Zaretz, op. cit., p.80.
109. Budish, op. The New Unionism etc., p.74.
110. Schlossberg, op. cit., p.15.
111. Zaretz, op. cit., p.79.
112. Schlossberg, op. cit., p.16.
113. Burgin, op. cit., p.813.
114. Levine, op. cit., p.64.
115. Rosenberg, op. cit., 60.
116. Levine, op. cit., p.66.
117. Budish: History of Cloth etc., pp.53-4.
118. Sachs, op. cit., p.100.
119. Burgin, op. cit., p.743.
120. Budish, op. cit., p.56.
121. Levine, op. cit., p.72.
122. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.56.
123. Levine, op. cit., p.72.
124. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.61.
125. Levine, op. cit., p.74.
126. Hebrew-American Typographical Union, op. cit., pp.40-4.
127. Budish, op. cit., p.57.
128. Burgin, op. cit., p.769.
129. Levine, op. cit., p.77.
130. Burgin, op. cit., p.773.
131. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.73.
132. Ibid, p.88.
133. Burgin, op. cit., p.388.
134. Weinstein: Forty Years etc., p.175.
135. Beard, op. cit., p.124.
136. Burgin, op. cit., p.398.
137. Fine, op. cit., p.171.
138. Burgin, op. cit., p.430.
139. Levine, op. cit., p.84.
140. Burgin, op. cit., p.773.
141. Levine, op. cit., p.86.
142. Budish, op. cit., p.60.
143. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.98.
144. Levine, op. cit., p.89.
145. Burgin, op. cit., p.774.
146. Weinstein: Jewish Unions etc., p.45.
147. Zaretz, op. cit., p.81.
148. Burgin, op. cit., p.466.
149. Ibid, p.571.
150. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.57.
151. Burgin, op. cit., p.575.
152. Levine, op. cit., p.102.
153. Burgin, op. cit., p.775.
154. Levine, op. cit., p.102.
155. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.113.
156. Frank in Annual of Yivo Amopteil, Vol. II, p.112.
157. Budish: History of Cloth etc., p.65.

158. Ibid, p.71.
159. Burgin, op. cit., p.574.
160. Weinstein, op. cit., p.249.
161. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.38.
162. Burgin, op. cit., p.585.
163. Levine, op. cit., p.105.
164. Budish, op. cit., p.73.
165. Burgin, op. cit., p.580.
166. Levine, op. cit., p.108.
167. Burgin, op. cit., p.580.
168. Levine, op. cit., p.110.
169. Burgin, op. cit., p.778.
170. Budish, op. cit., pp. 75-7.
171. Perlman, op. cit., p.292.
172. Burgin, op. cit., p.587.
173. Weinstein, op. cit., p.252.
174. Baker in McClure's Magazine, December, 1904, p.132.
175. Burgin, op. cit., p.815.
176. Budish, op. cit., p.80.
177. Burgin, op. cit., p.587.
178. Budish, op. cit., p.86.
179. Levine, op. cit., p.114ff.
180. Hebrew-American Typographical Union, op. cit., p.76.
181. Burgin, op. cit., p.748.
182. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.86.
183. Levine, op. cit., p.123.
184. Burgin, op. cit., p.600.
185. Levine, op. cit., p.124.
186. Budish, op. cit., p.90.
187. Burgin, op. cit., p.600.
188. Budish, op. cit., p.93.
189. Weinstein, op. cit., p.429ff.
190. Levine, op. cit., p.127.
191. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.152.
192. Levine, op. cit., p.129.
193. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.156.
194. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.81.
195. Hebrew-American Typographical Union, op. cit., p.90.
196. Budish, op. cit., p.85.
197. Zaretz, op. cit., p.161.
198. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.136.
199. Burgin, op. cit., p.592.
200. Frank, op. cit., p.113.
201. Burgin, op. cit., p.691.
202. Fornberg in Zukunft, March, 1909, p.144.
203. Levine, op. cit., p.134.
204. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.172.
205. Budish: History of Cloth etc., p.103.
206. Levine, op. cit., p.143.
207. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.113.
208. Weinstein, op. cit., p.432.
209. Burgin, op. cit., p.699.
210. Zaretz, op. cit., p.85.
211. Levine, op. cit., p.144.
212. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.84.

213. Leupp in Survey, December 2, 1909, p.383.
214. Perlman, op. cit., p.293.
215. Levine, op. cit., p.144.
216. Burgin, op. cit., p.700.
217. Hutchinson in Survey, January 22, 1910.
218. Levine, op. cit., p.149.
219. Burgin, op. cit., p.702.
220. Levine, op. cit., p.155.
221. Leupp, op. cit., p.384.
222. Hutchinson, op. cit., p.548.
223. Leupp, op. cit., p.386.
224. Perlman, op. cit., p.295.
225. Hutchinson, op. cit., p.548.
226. Levine, op. cit., p.166.
227. Perlman, op. cit., p.289.
228. Budish, op. cit., p.124.
229. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.178.
230. Levine, op. cit., p.168.
231. McPherson in Journal of Political Economy, December, 1910, p.153.
232. Levine, op. cit., p.170.
233. McPherson, op. cit., p.154.
234. Burgin, op. cit., p.783.
235. Levine, op. cit., p.172.
236. McPherson, op. cit., p.155.
237. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.184.
238. Levine, op. cit., pp.180-5.
239. Burgin, op. cit., p.785.
240. Levine, op. cit., p.185.
241. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.196.
242. Rogoff, op. cit., pp.44-5.
243. Levine, op. cit., p.191.
244. McPherson, op. cit., p.179.
245. Burgin, op. cit., p.708.
246. Weinstein, op. cit., p.190.
247. Levine, op. cit., p.195.
248. Sumner in Survey, September 17, 1910, p.849.
249. Cohen: Law and Order in Industry, p.15.
250. Zalutzky in Zukunft, October, 1910, p.616.
251. Hardy, op. cit., p.29.
252. Rogoff, op. cit., p.53.
253. Perlman, op. cit., p.301.
254. Zalutzky, op. cit., p.613ff.
255. Rosenberg, op. cit., p.208f.
256. Zaretz, op. cit., p.85.
257. Soule: Sidney Hillman, p.14.
258. Zaretz, op. cit., p.85.
259. Schlossberg, op. cit., p.22.
260. Soule, op. cit., p.19.
261. Schlossberg, op. cit., p.23.
262. Budish, op. cit., p.121.
263. Perlman, op. cit., p.305.
264. Soule, op. cit., p.26.
265. Budish, op. cit., p.119.
266. Soule, op. cit., p.32.
267. Hardy, op. cit., p.82.

268. Levine, op. cit., p.196.
269. Rogoff, op. cit., p.54.
270. Levine, op. cit., p.204.
271. Hardy, op. cit., p.30.
272. Cohen, op. cit., p.34.
273. Hardy, op. cit., p.30.
274. Levine, op. cit., p.208.
275. Cohen, op. cit., p.40.
276. Levine, op. cit., p.207.
277. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.107.
278. Pain in Zukunft, January, 1913, p.56.
279. Levine, op. cit., p.228.
280. Hardy, op. cit., p.32.
281. Ibid, p.31.
282. Ibid.
283. Levine, op. cit., pp.227-30.
284. Weinstein, op. cit., p.446.
285. Burgin, op. cit., p.851.
286. Ibid, p.712.
287. Weinstein, op. cit., p.447.
288. Liesen in Zukunft, February, 1913, p.88.
289. Zaretz, op. cit., p.87.
290. Burgin, op. cit., p.818.
291. Perlman, op. cit., p.311.
292. Schlossberg, op. cit., p.25.
293. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.85.
294. Zaretz, op. cit., p.90.
295. Schlossberg, op. cit., p.27.
296. Zaretz, op. cit., p.92.
297. Burgin, op. cit., p.752.
298. Budish: History of Cloth etc., p.106.
299. Hebrew-American Typographical Union, op. cit., pp.115-18.
300. Beobachter in Zukunft, January, 1914, p.12.
301. Liesen, op. cit., p.86.
302. Burgin, op. cit., p.852.
303. Weinstein, op. cit., p.452.
304. Budish, op. cit., pp.110-14.
305. Levine, op. cit., p.235.
306. Hardy, op. cit., p.32.
307. ~~Rogoff, op. cit., p.57.~~ No reference.
308. Levine, op. cit., p.236.
309. Rogoff, op. cit., p.57.
310. Hardy, op. cit., p.33.
311. Levine, op. cit., p.240.
312. Hourwich in Zukunft, April, 1914, p.351.
313. Hardy, op. cit., p.33.
314. Levine, op. cit., p.248.
315. Hardy, op. cit., p.34.
316. Levine, op. cit., p.255.
317. Perlman, op. cit., p.302.
318. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.117.
319. Hourwich, op. cit., pp.354-7.
320. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.122.
321. Hourwich in Zukunft, March, 1914, p.226.
322. Levine, op. cit., p.265.

323. Winchevski in Zukunft, January, 1914, p.23.
324. Levine, op. cit., p.267.
325. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., pp.128-30.
326. Levine, op. cit., p.273.
327. Hardy, op. cit., p.36.
328. Hourwich, op. cit., pp.222-25.
329. No reference.
330. Zaretz, op. cit., p.194.
331. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.86.
332. Zaretz, op. cit., p.93.
333. Documentary History of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 1914-16, p.4.
334. Ibid, p.7.
335. Zaretz, op. cit., p.95.
336. Ibid, p.97.
337. Budish, op. cit., p.88.
338. Documentary History, op. cit., p.15.
339. Ibid, p.25.
340. Ibid, p.43.
341. Ibid, pp.53-73.
342. Ibid, p.68.
343. Budish, op. cit., p.98.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Saposs in Amalgamated Illustrated Almanac, p.151.
2. Ibid.
3. Budish, op. cit., p.99.
4. Ibid, p.69.
5. Perlman, op. cit., p.290.
6. Budish, History of Cloth etc., p.13.
7. Perlman: History of Trade Unionism in the U.S., p.220.
8. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.157.
9. Budish: History of Cloth etc., p.200.
10. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.165.
11. Budish: History of Cloth etc., p.103.
12. Saposs, op. cit., p.150.
13. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.11.
14. Ibid, pp.167-71.
15. Saposs, op. cit., p.152.
16. Kopold & Selekman, op. cit., p.529.
17. Saposs, op. cit., p.152.
18. Perlman, op. cit., p.220.
19. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.63.
20. Kopold & Selekman, op. cit., p.527.
21. Levin, op. cit., p.466.
22. Ibid, p.475.
23. Perlman, op. cit., p.221.
24. Saposs, op. cit., p.152.
25. Kopold & Selekman, op. cit., p.528.
26. Hourwich: Immigration & Labor, p.374.
27. Kopold & Selekman, op. cit., p.529.
28. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.50.
29. Henry, op. cit., p.78.

30. Abbott: Women in Industry, p.211.
31. Saposs, op. cit., p.152.
32. Budish, op. cit.,p. 207.
33. Levine, op. cit., p.482.
34. Budish: History of Cloth etc., p.215.
35. Budish: The New Unionism etc., p.209.
36. Levine, op. cit., p.483.
37. Budish, op. cit., p.209.
38. Levine, op. cit., p.484.
39. Budish, op. cit., p.212.
40. Ibid, p.215.
41. Budish: History of Cloth etc., p.216.
42. United Hebrew Trades, op. cit., p.66.
43. Ibid, p.66.
44. Levine, op. cit., Preface, ix.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

N.B. Books written in Yiddish or in Hebrew are designated with a Y. and an H. respectively.

Abbott, Edith: Women in Industry. New York & London, 1918. Appleton & Co.

Adams, Sewall & Sumner, Helen: Labor Problems. New York, 1905. MacMillan Co.

Amalgamted Illustrated Almanac: 1924. New York, 1924. Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Annual of Yivo Amopteil, Vol. II. (Edited by L. Lehrer & Y. Mark). New York, 1939. Yiddish Scientific Institute. (Y)

Ba'al Machshovoth: Views and Impressions. Warsaw, 1919. (H)

Beard, Mary: The American Labor Movement. New York, 1931. MacMillan Co.

Bernheimer, Charles (Editor): The Russian Jew in the United States. Philadelphia, 1905. John Co. Winston Co.

Bimba, Anthony: History of the American Working Class. New York, 1927. International Publishers.

Buchbinder, N.A.: The History of the Jewish Labor Movement in Russia. Wilna, 1931. Tomer. (Y)

Budish, J.M.: History of Cloth, Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers. New York, 1925. (Y)

Budish, J.M. & Soule, George: The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry. New York, 1920. Harcourt, Brace & Howe.

Bund Club of New York: 15th Anniversary Journal. New York, 1938. (Y)

Burgin, Hertz: History of the Jewish Labor Movement in America, Russia and England. New York, 1915. United Hebrew Trades. (Y)

Cahan, Abraham: Pages from my Life. New York, 1926. Forward Association. 5 volumes. (Y)

Cohen, Julius H.: Law & Order in Industry. New York, 1916. MacMillan Co.

Commons, John R.: Races & Immigrants in America. New York, 1915. MacMillan Co.

Documentary History of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 1914-16.

Dimenstein, Simeon: The Revolutionary Movement among the Jewish Masses in the 1905 Revolution. Moscow, 1929. Center. (Y)

Dubnow, Simon: History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. Philadelphia, 1920. Jewish Publication Society. 3 volumes.

Edelstadt, David: Selected Works. Vol. I. Moscow, 1935. Emes. (Y)

Epstein, Melech: History of the Working Class in America. New York, 1935. International Publishers. Vol. I. (Y)

Federal Writers Project: The Jewish Landsmanshaften of New York. New York, 1938. Peretz Yiddish Writers' Union. (Y)

Fine, Nathan: Labor & Farmer Parties in the U.S. New York, 1928. Rand School of Social Science.

Gordin, Jacob: Tales. New York, 1908. Evalenko. (Y)

Hapgood, Hutchins: The Spirit of the Ghetto. New York & London, 1902. Funk & Wangnalls Co.

Hardy, Jack: The Clothing Workers. New York, 1935. International Publishers.

Hebrew-American Typographical Union: Fifty Years of the Union. New York, 1938. Local 83. (Y)

Henry, Alice: Women & the Labor Movement. New York, 1923. Doran Co.

Hillquit, Morris: History of Socialism in the U.S. New York & London, 1906. Funk & Wagnalls Co.

Hillquit, Morris: Loose Leaves from a Busy Life. New York, 1934. MacMillan Co.

Hourwich, Isaac: Immigration & Labor. New York & London, 1912. Putnam's Sons.

Hurwitz, Maximilian: The Workmen's Circle. New York, 1936. Workmen's Circle.

Jewish Labor Year Book & Almanac (Edited by B.Locker), New York, 1928. Poale Zion. (Y)

Jewish Year Book. New York, 1914. Jewish Socialist Federation of America. (Y)

Joseph, Samuel: Jewish Immigration to the U.S., 1881 to 1910. New York, 1914. Columbia University Press.

Jubilee Volume in Commermoration of the 250th Anniversary of the Yiddish Press. (Edited by Jacob Shatzky) New York, 1937. Yiddish Scientific Institute. (Y)

Kirshnitz, A.: The Jewish Worker (A Source Book). Moscow, 1925. Central Publishers. (Y)

Kopald, S. & Selekman: Epic of the Needle Trades in Menorah Journal, Oct.-Dec.,1928 and April, 1930.

Kopeloff, I. Once Upon a Time in America. Warsaw, 1928. (Y)

Leshchinsky, Jacob: The Jewish Worker in Russia. Wilna, 1906. Zukunft.(Y)

Liberman, Aaron: Ha'Emeth. Tel Aviv, 1938. (H)

Lieberman, George: History of the Revolutionary Movement among the Jews in Russia. Cincinnati, 1936. Hebrew Union College.

Libin, S.: Sketches. New York, 1907. Evalenko. (Y)

Litwin, A.: What Once Happened. Wilna, 1926. Klatzkin. (Y)

Milch, Jacob: The Emergence of the "Vorwarts". New York, 1936. (Y)

Minkoff, Nahum: Yiddish Classical Poets. New York, 1937. Bodn Press.(Y)

Levine, Louis: The Women's Garment Workers. New York, 1924. Huebsch.

Orth, Samuel: Armies of Labor. (Vol. 19, Chronicles of America Series) New Haven, 1919. Yale University Press.

Perlman, Selig & Taft, Philip: History of Labor in the U.S.,1896-1932. New York, 1935. MacMillan Co.

Perlman, Selig: History of Trade Unionism in the U.S. New York, 1922. MacMillan Co.

Rafes, M.: Chapters of the Bund's History. Kiev, 1929. Kultur League.(Y)

Rauter Pinkos: Collection. Warsaw, 1921. Kultur League. 2 volumes. (Y)

Robinson, Leonard: Agricultural Activities of the Jews in America. in American Jewish Yearbook,1912-13. Philadelphia, 1912. Jewish Publication Society.

Rogoff, Hillel: The Life Story of Meyer London. New York, 1930. London Memorial Fund. (Y)

Rosenberg, Abraham: The Cloak Makers & Their Unions. New York, 1920.(Y)

Rosenfeld, Morris: Songs from the Ghetto. Boston, 1900. Small, Maynard & Co.

Rosenfeld, Morris: Collection of Poems. New York, 1904. International Library Publishing Co. (Y)

Rubinow, Isaac M.: Economic Conditions of the Jews in Russia in Bulletin of Bureau of Labor, No.72, Sept.1907. Washington, 1907. Government Printing Office.

Sachs, Abraham: History of the Arbeiter Ring. Vol. I. New York, 1925. Arbeiter Ring. (Y)

Schlossberg, Joseph: The Rise of the Clothing Workers. New York, 1921. Amalgamated Educational Department. (pamphlet)

Soule, George: Sidney Hillman. New York, 1939. MacMillan Co.

Spargo, John: Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism & Socialism. New York, 1913. Huebsch.

Studies in the History of the Yiddish Press in America. (Edited by Jacob Shatzky) New York, 1934. Yiddish Cultural Society. (Y)

United Hebrew Trades of New York: 50th Anniversary Jubilee Book. New York, 1938. U.H.T. (Y)

Weinstein, Bernard: The Jewish Unions in America. New York, 1929. United Hebrew Trades. (Y)

Weinstein, Bernard: Forty Years in the Jewish Labor Movement. New York, 1924. Jewish Socialist Verband. (Y)

Wiener, Leo: The History of Yiddish Literature in the 19th Century. New York, 1899. Scribner's Sons.

Winchevski, Morris: Collected Works. Vol. I. New York, 1928. Freiheit. (Y)

Yoval: 50th Anniversary Celebration of Jewish Farming Colonies of Alliance, Norma & Brotmanville, N.J. Philadelphia, 1932.

Yivo Bletter issued by Jewish Scientific Institute. Vol. IV. (Y)

Yivo Historical Writings: Jewish Socialist Movement up to the Establishment of Bund. Vol. III. Wilna-Paris, 1939. (Y)

Zaretz, Charles: The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. New York, 1934. Ancon Publishing Co.

PERIODICALS

Journal of Political Economy:
McPherson, John: New York Cloak Makers' Strike. December, 1910.

McClure's Magazine:

Baker, Ray S.: The Rise of the Tailors. December, 1904.

Survey:
Hutchinson, Woods: Hygienic Aspects of Shirtwaist Strike. Jan.22,1910.
Leupp, Constance. The Shirtwaist Strike. Dec. 18, 1909.
Sumner, Mary: Protocol of 1910. Sept. 17, 1910.

Zukunft:

Beobachter: Jewish Unions in 1913. Jan.,1914.
Fornberg: Crisis Year, Jewish Immigration & Trades. Mar.,1909.
Fornberg: The Old & New Way of Jewish Socialism in America. Oct.,1913.
Fornberg: The Jewish Socialist Federation. Sept.,1913.
Feigenbaum: Our Attitude to Trade Unions. Jan.,1903.
Hourwich: Free Love Between Capital & Labor. Mar.-April, 1914.
Kondres: History of Jewish Labor Movement. Sept.,1908.
Liesen: The Big Unions and Strikes in Jewish Section. Feb.,1913.
Milch: Jewish Socialist Movement & the Press. Jan.,1906.
Pain: Jewish Unions in 1912. Jan.,1913.
Rosenberg: Methods & Tactics of the Jewish Labor Movement. Nov.,1909.
Salutzky: Teachings of the Cloak Makers' Strike. Oct.,1910.
Salutzky: Jewish Labor Movement & the Socialist Organization. Oct.,1911.
Winchevski: A Jewish-American Socialist Bund. Nov.,1911.
Winchevski: The Jewish Socialist Federation. Nov., 1913.
Winchevski: The Internal Quarrel of the Cloak Makers. Jan.,1914.
Winchevski: The Jewish Agitations Bureau. Sept.,1909.
Winchevski: The Jewish Agitations Bureau. May,1909.