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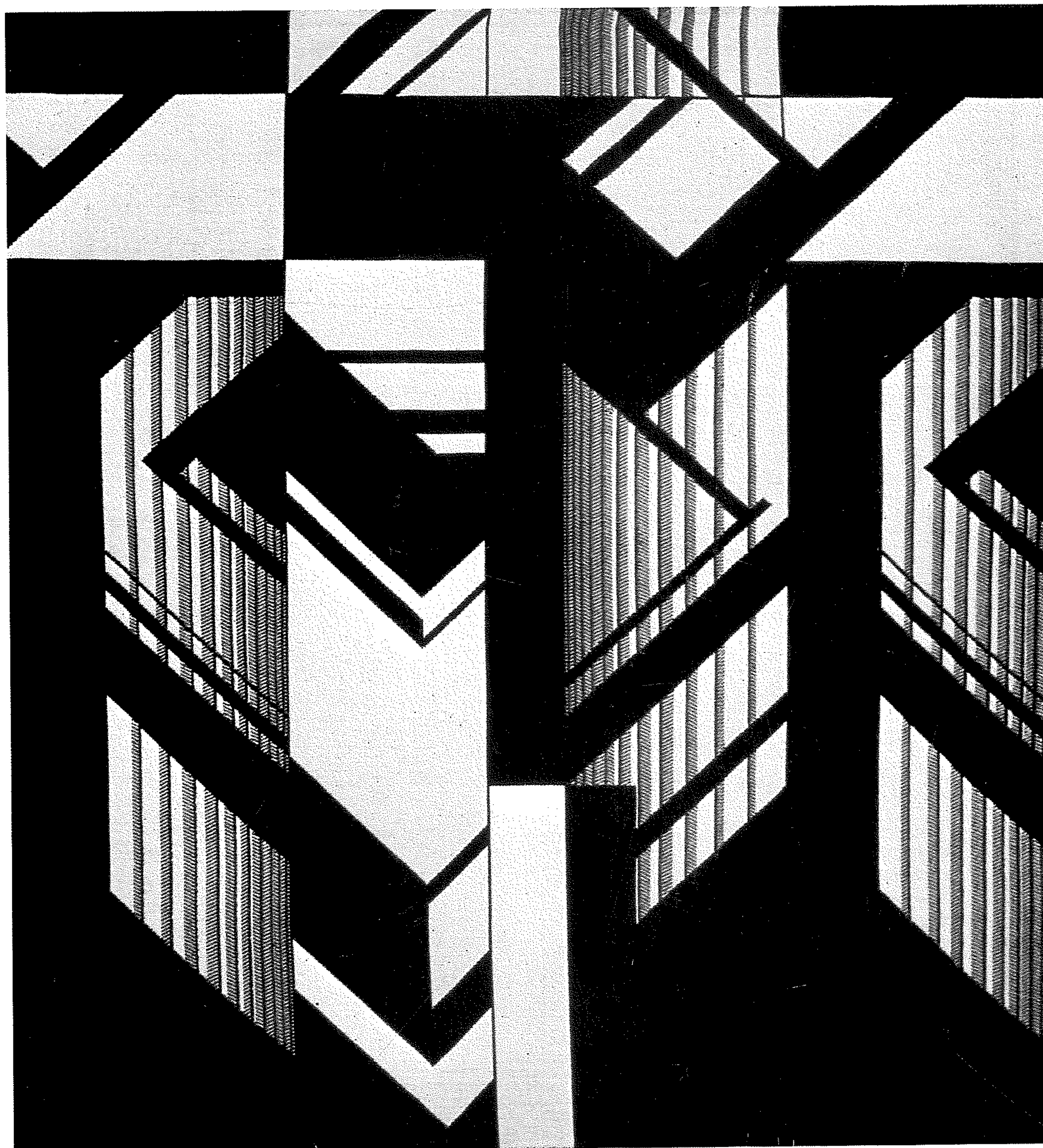

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY JOURNAL OF FEMINIST SCHOLARSHIP, THEORY AND AESTHETICS

3, sections 2,3, & 4. Although not legally divorced until 1944, she considered herself divorced from 1930.

23. Sanger's Diary, Smith, Box 29, file #224.

24. Ibid.

25. Clinic reception notes are found in Smith, Box 29, file #2218 and Congress, reel 19, notes from clinic receptiom, "news from Margaret Sanger," Sept. 6, 1937, and Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau news release, Sept. 23, 1937.

26. Several Japanese spoke at the reception. These three are representative of the diversity of the guests. Kan Majima, physician and birth control advocate, had been associated with Ishimoto in 1934, but had a falling out with her group, causing, in part, the closing of the earlier clinic. Sanger had been worried about this division and his presence and polite praise of Ishimoto at this event was significant. Kaneko Shigeri was a leader in the suffrage movement and a member of the bureaucracy, the Tokyo Health Department. In this capacity she had access to statistical data on infant mortality in the rural areas. Fusae Ichikawa has been, perhaps, the best known Japanese feminist outside Japan. She founded the women's suffrage movement in the 1920's and reconstituted it immediately after the war with a first meeting in Sept.,1945. She and Ishimoto were unfriendly postwar rivals and in 1974 Ichikawa was elected Senator at large while Ishimoto was defeated for the first time since 1950. They drew from the same national constituency.

27. Ishimoto, one other woman, and 470 men were arrested in a Japan-wide round-up of leftists on December 15, 1937. Her stay in prison and the events surrounding this mass arrest are detailed in my unpublished manuscript, "The 'China Incident' and the Dissolution of the Legal Left in Japan."

Rose Pesotta (around 1944)

The Indomitable Militant Spirits: The Rose Pesotta and Emma Goldman Relationship

Elaine Leeder

Rose Pesotta, a Russian-Jewish labor organizer and anarchist, was born in the Ukraine in 1896. After having been involved in radical underground circles in Russia, she then emigrated to the U.S. in 1913, where she became a dressmaker. Through her activities in a local of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, she was elected the third woman vice president of that organization's General Executive Board in 1934. In 1936, she was a CIO organizer for the Akron and Flint rubber workers' strikes. For eleven years Pesotta organized and worked for the cause of garment workers, around the entire United States, Canada and Puerto Rico. Pesotta was a flamboyant and articulate speaker as well as a tireless activist, none of which spared her from harassment, beatings and arrest. Because of the conflicts she often encountered, she would turn to important role models in her life who offered moral support and counsel. One of the most important people to influence Pesotta was Emma Goldman, who helped her reconcile the differences between the labor movement and the anarchist movement of which the two were a part. Their relationship developed and continued during Rose's most active labor period and during the time she received the most criticism from other anarchists for becoming part of the union hierarchy.

Pesotta's organizing had put her in contact with men and women from many ethnic groups including Puerto Ricans, Jewish immigrants, Scandinavians, Poles and Italians. Remarkably, she was able to form fine working relationships with a diversity of people and was able to do so with a flair and style that gained her much notoriety. By introducing a brand of organizing that encouraged community and spirit, Pesotta engendered a feeling of unity among workers. She did not just focus on bread and butter issues, for she knew that "her girls" also needed to feel camaraderie and sisterhood. Some of her colorful organizing tactics included dressing the seamstresses in fancy ball gowns, which they had sewn, as they marched and picketed a manufacturer's convention. In another instance, she organized children of strikers to march and demonstrate in support of their parents while wearing their Halloween costumes.

Throughout her career Pesotta encountered demands from the two movements. The unionists believed that social reform could be accomplished through work place organizing and in negotiation with the employers and the government. The anarchists hoped that a revolution would take place in which the workers would take over their work places and create a decentralized, democratic, working environment. Because she had become a member of the union hierarchy, she was attacked countless times by her anarchist friends for having sold herself out. While still trying to maintain her anarchist ideals, she was also seen as a troublemaker and gadfly by the men of the executive board of the ILGWU. It appears that she was not quite at home in either movement and yet, given her ideology and need for an active participation in direct struggle for workers, felt compelled to participate in both. The tension did not manifest immediately upon her election to the GEB, but gradually emerged as the union became more bureaucratized. It was exacerbated when her views, both as a woman and an anarchist, became more pronounced and outspoken.

Because of this recurring alienation, Rose found it best to ally herself with others who were as public as she and who could offer her support and advice during difficult periods. For this reason, perhaps, Emma Goldman was the single most important individual with whom Rose was to work during her career. "Emma was her teacher," and it was Emma who helped Rose to "believe in anarchism like a rabbi believes in God."[1] Although Rose first met Emma in 1919, at Ellis Island while visiting Theodore Kushnarev, Pesotta's fiance who was about to be deported with Goldman, it was not until 1934 that their friendship blossomed.

After her deportation, Goldman and her comrade, Alexander Berkman, spent two years in Russia working for the revolution by gathering material for a museum about the revolution. In 1921, disenchanted with the Bolsheviks and their authoritarian approach, Berkman and Goldman left Russia and lived in forced exile. Eventually, Goldman settled in St. Tropez, France, and commuted to London, where she married an older Welsh miner who offered her citizenship through this arrangement. The exile was a difficult one for Goldman, whose most productive years had been spent organizing and propagandizing in the United States. She attempted to lecture in England and the Continent, but did not find as receptive an audience as she had in the United States.

By 1934, a committee of civil libertarians was able to arrange a tour for Emma that allowed her to speak in the United States for a period of ninety days. Rose was not present for any of Emma's U.S. lectures because her labor organizing work had taken her to Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Puerto

Rico. Emma had gone no further west than St. Louis. Nonetheless Rose was able to catch up with her famed mentor in Montreal, after the tour was completed, where they met at the home of an anarchist comrade. The meeting must have been a meaningful one for both because, soon thereafter, in March, 1934, they began a correspondence and friendship that would last until Goldman's death in 1940. It was through this relationship that Pesotta was able to discuss and attempt to reconcile the painful tension that was to develop around the conflicting demands of anarchism and the ILGWU.

Rose was most interested in helping Emma regain entry into the United States on a more permanent basis. In their early communication of 1934, Emma asked Rose to use David Dubinsky, the leader of the ILGWU, to help her gain a visa. She urged that Rose speak to Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor who was a personal friend of Rose's, on her behalf. Rose diligently tried to convince labor leaders and government officials to intercede for Emma; however, her efforts were futile and Goldman was never allowed back into the U.S. after her 1934 tour.

Letters between the two reflected a growing mentor/student relationship. Sharing through letters the struggles and joys of her labor organizing activities, Rose described the "herculean task" of establishing a union in Seattle, seeming proud of her successes with "the women who for years slaved in the factories without seeing any lights. Once they hear the message of unionism they want to hear more and more."[2] Emma, ever supportive, was "delighted to know you are having such tremendous success in organizing the girls." In fact, Emma began to identify with Rose:

> *It almost reads like in the early period of my battle in labor and the anarchist movement. In a way it is almost disheartening that things should go on the same after 45 years. But on the other hand it was good to see the greater solidarity and social awareness of the workers. There was nothing of the kind in my younger days.*[3]

In the same letter, Emma referred to Rose as a "rebel and a fighter" and noted how glad she was that the movement had her. These reassurances gave Rose the encouragement to go on with her union work, as well as to remain among the anarchists who had begun to question that work.

As a mentor and teacher, Emma often gave Rose advice relevant to the conflicting demands of the two movements. At one point Rose seriously considered giving up labor organizing, for fear that she would compromise her values too much as a bureaucrat. Emma saw that it would be:

> *folly for you to give up your position. But after all one does not live by bread alone. However I would not for worlds want to influence you in any direction. The material issue does count. Each one has to decide for himself whether he is willing to launch out on the desperate road of material anxiety and insecurity.*[4]

Emma, although always militant, manifested a pragmatic nature in her advice to Rose. Despite Emma's dedication to radical activities, she was cautious in her counsel to Rose regarding financial survival. She had been unable to "earn a sou in Europe or Canada." Given her own grave financial problems, and appalled by the idea that she would be so poor in her old age, she cautioned Rose:

> *knowing what to expect I dare not suggest to you or any comrade to cut himself loose from whatever material certainties he has and consecrate on [sic] our work which means starvation all the time besides danger.*[5]

This differed from other advice that Rose had received and seemed helpful; Rose decided to remain in her position as an organizer and officer of the ILGWU.

There were times in their relationship in which Rose, attempting to identify with her role model, pointed out similarities in their situations. In one interaction Emma quickly put Rose in her place, perhaps reflecting her own ambivalence about the social, legal and organization protection that the union offered:

> *There is a passage in your letter I cannot quite understand. I mean I don't know what might have called it forth. You write: "I have put up with exactly the same hardships that you had to put up with for so many years." Of course that is not quite the case, my dear. After all you are representing a powerful organization. Its backing not only means material security while you serve it, but also social and legal protection. I had nothing and no one when I began or even years after. I was dragged from pillar to post, more in police station houses then in my bed and in the face of the densest ignorance that existed in America forty years ago . . .*
> *You will realize that your work, difficult as it no doubt is, is very much less so than the conditions under which we worked, we of the old generation.*[6]

But even in her ambivalence, Emma was supportive of Rose, noting in the same letter that "I am sure you must

have a difficult time. That's why I appreciate your organizing efforts. Keep it up my dear. It is a thousand times more useful and I am sure more satisfactory than picking bugs off roses."[7]

This letter led to a poignant and revealing interchange concerning the doubts and dismay that they both felt about their political work. Rose apologized just one month later: "Far be it for me to compare my trials and tribulations with those you had to bear for forty years."[8] But, she wondered, why was it that after forty years of propaganda and education, nothing had changed the attitude of the working class. She despondently noted: ". . . Nothing matters to these complacent wage earners. They shower abuse, send to jail, kick and fight with me, just like they did years ago, regardless of the years of change, regardless of the powerful organization that is there to help them."[9] Rose, it appeared, was identifying grave concerns regarding the ideology that was the foundation for her work, and was experiencing doubt regarding her involvement in the labor struggle.

> *Did not our dear comrades Peter Kropotkin and his associates over estimate the goodwill and cooperation of the poor and downtrodden? Wasn't it a little superficial to maintain that all the good qualities rest with wage earners and everything evil part of ruling class? For years I have worked among the working class. I have seen those susceptible to propaganda and those who have eyes and ears shut against us. I have had all opportunities to give these people education and enlightenment and still I find the road very, very hard.*[10]

Emma's response included some analysis, as well as encouragement to go on in the face of adversity. Asserting that until 1929 there really was no proletariat in the United States, Emma added that the worker had no natural consciousness that "he" was a "special class" and was opposed to any idea that might make him "aware that his house was built on sand."[11] She also reminded Rose that American labor had never really wanted any fundamental social changes and had just tried to better work conditions and concentrate on bread and butter issues. It was the role of the anarchists to provide this kind of education, and, unfortunately, according to Emma, the international anarchist movement had devoted itself to immigrant groups and had failed to educate native-born American workers. Nonetheless, Emma believed that there was a "tremendous awakening in the States" and that "the very things I propagated and for which I have been driven from pillar to post have now entered the lives of millions as a matter of course." Emma felt that there was really no need for despair, even though she might feel it sometimes because she could not be in the United States to participate. She considered that the "forge iron has never been hotter and redder than now."

Interestingly this interchange indicated that Rose's direct involvement with workers had already shown her the limits of what unions and organized labor might accomplish. Emma, from her distant position abroad, remained idealistic and hopeful of the worker's ability to introduce social change in this country. From her removed place she was able to encourage Rose to remain active in a movement that had already begun to cause Rose many doubts.

And yet Emma, too, experienced despair and doubt, this time in relation to the deterioration of the anarchist movement. In a letter in March of 1935, she noted:

> *Our movement is in a bad state. The old ones died out or have become hoary with age. The young are in the communist ranks. There is unfortunately no one who could gather them up even if they were interested in our ideas. My only consolation is the certainty that the present trend to dictatorship is not for all times. Out ideas will have their day in the world court, though I may not live to see it. You are so much younger, you probably will.*[12]

Rose obviously valued her relationship with Emma, for discussion and support. She asked that "come what may let's please keep up this correspondence. I need your counsel and advice. It is awfully hard to speak to our old-timers."[13] Besides discussing the labor and political conditions of the times, the two would often lament at the "lack of talent, ability and determination" in the anarchist ranks.[14] They wondered if something was wrong with the movement, if perhaps they were too far advanced or lagging too far behind.[15] They discussed the bigotry and intolerance of their crowd, and both hoped for the time when they could be enthusiastic about their movement again.

Emma saw hope in Rose's youth and in her involvement with the movement, and urged that she remain a participant when Rose left the active anarchist ranks. This came about because of fighting among the Road to Freedom group. Road to Freedom, an anarchist magazine published from 1924 to 1932, was the major vehicle for communication between anarchists at the time. Rose had been general secretary for a number of years but had resigned because of the constant infighting and bickering within the group. After this fiasco, she threw up her hands in despair with the anarchists and put all her energy into labor organizing.[16] It was as if she had decided to devote herself to the labor movement because the anarchist movement had not been effective. Somehow she hoped that the vehicle

for change would be through the union, although she eventually saw the limits in that movement as well.

Emma wanted Rose to return, at least in part, to the active anarchist ranks. In 1935, she was delighted to hear that Rose was considering doing so. She commented:

> *We certainly need a competent person like you. If at least we had able people, we might break through to the individual who still longs for a liberating ideal. But our material is so poor and odds so great. Our movement has no means for keeping those who devote all their time and activity above water.*[17]

Rose actually never did return to the more visible and active anarchist organizing activities although she provided financial support for a number of projects and, in fact, always considered herself an anarchist. Most of her friends were part of the movement, and she identified with the ideology throughout her life, although certainly doubts crept in over the years as her movement declined.

By 1936, Rose and Emma had formed such a close bond that Rose was asked to participate in the publication of Alexander Berkman's posthumous memoirs. Pesotta spoke at a memorial service in New York for Berkman after he committed suicide on June 28, 1936. Berkman had been despondent about his deteriorating health and his homelessness. The anarchist comrades were shocked by his death and organized a memorial for 9 July that was held at Webster Hall on East Eleventh Street. Along with Rose as speaker was Harry Kelly, anarchist and founder of the Modern School. Also on the platform were Carlo Tresca, famed Italian anarchist orator, Harry Weinberger, Berkman and Goldman's U.S. attorney and Abe Bluestein, then a young anarchist activist, writer and propagandist. The meeting was sponsored by the Jewish Anarchist Federation, of which Rose was a part, and was attended by anarchists and friends of Berkman. To Rose, Berkman's death "left a void in my heart." Although she did not know him well, she felt close to him because he had corresponded with her in regard to the fate of her love Kushnarev who had died in the Soviet Union in 1925.[18]

In 1936, soon after Berkman's suicide, Goldman became deeply involved in the Spanish Civil War and the emergence of the Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), an anarchist union that was influential in implementing decentralized and participatory democracy principles in Spain. Spain had long been ready to embrace such ideas because of a history of anarchist propagandizing beginning in the 1860's with Pinelli, a follower of Mikail Bakunin. From 1936 on, Emma visited Spain a number of times, serving as a nurse, canteen worker, child care aide, disseminator of birth control information and a health educator.[19] Eventually she was asked to help with propaganda abroad on behalf of the anarchists.

Emma was thrilled with what she found in Spain. For her it was finally the anarchist vision come alive. The revolutionists had set up agrarian and industrial collectives and ardently tried to introduce concepts of freedom and equality. Emma saw them as a "shining example to the rest of the world," offering an alternative to the Bolshevik model of revolution.[20] Her correspondence with Rose at this time was filled with details concerning the progress of the Spanish comrades and the distorted accounts in the Western press. Emma was excited by the prospect of a lasting anarchist revolution in Spain and recruited her younger comrade to join the fight. She arranged for August Souchy, secretary of the anarcho-syndicalist committee, to obtain a "credential" for Rose, as well as an invitation for her to go to Spain as an organizer.[21]

Acting on Emma's urging, Rose took a brief trip to Europe from December 1937 to February 1938, during which time she met with Emma and her friends Mollie Steimer and Senia Fleshine in Paris. Together they attended a syndicalist conference where she met a few CNT representatives who urged her to visit their country. She applied for a visa and would have been granted one had she not written to Dubinsky, who urged that she return to the U.S. for her union work. Rose made a decision that she regretted for the rest of her life. She followed Dubinsky's edict and chose the labor movement work over the anarchist revolution that was happening in Spain. It was clear that in the late 1930s Rose chose labor over anarchism, while still trying to reconcile the two by returning home to enlist financial aid for the revolutionists in Spain.

Rose's trip abroad brought her into close contact with Goldman, with whom she lived while visiting London. They attended political meetings, entertained comrades for dinner, and engaged in stimulating political discussions. For Rose these were heady times that gave her courage to go on with her work. But she was appalled by the conditions in which she found her famed role--model living. The apartment, in a poor residential section, was cold and unheated. Rose barely slept in these quarters because the cold permeated her body from beneath the mattress and through the many layers of covering she piled on top of her.[22] Emma had tried to add cheer to her apartment with photographs and paintings from friends and admirers around the world. Nonetheless, the squalid conditions so disturbed Rose that upon her return home, she worked doubly hard to obtain a U.S. visa for Emma. When this failed, she urged Emma to move to Canada so that she could at least live in "simple comfort."

During her visit, Rose found Emma busy aiding Spanish refugee children, visiting authorities on behalf of

the Spaniards, and conferring with heads of numerous civic organizations. She was also publishing a newspaper and lecturing, and had organized a traveling photographic exhibit on the effects of the war on the Spanish people. Feeling strongly that the press was misrepresenting the struggle, she found photos of cooperative factories and farms to illustrate the collectivist nature of the Barcelona and Catalonia experiments.

Traveling frequently to Spain, where she was well loved, Emma visited factories, shops and villages to evaluate the progress anarchism was making. When the fascist forces of Italy and Germany mobilized to aid Franco, Emma did her best to enlist public opinion for her comrades. But her work was to no avail; the fascist forces were eventually successful in obliterating the revolution that had taken hold and had flourished.

Because of a combination of forces--the mobilization of the fascists, the growth of Franco's military strength, the diminishing of resources of the revolutionists, the undermining by the Soviets, and the dearth of Western support--the exceptional accomplishments of the revolution were lost. The fascists won in Spain. Emma was destroyed by the death of this important revolution and conveyed her despair to Rose. Although she had not been pleased with all the anarchists' decisions, particularly that of participating in the government and other compromises they made with the Communists, she was overwhelmed by the defeat of her comrades. She had worked her entire life to see a revolution that would work, and to see it fail was to her "like you wanted a child all your life and at last, when you had almost given up hoping, it had been given to you--only to die soon after it was born."[23] By 1939 the great experiment was over.

Realizing the devastation Emma felt after the death of Berkman and the failure of the revolution, Rose renewed her efforts to bring Emma to the United States. To this end, Emma eventually decided to take up residence in Toronto and thereby try to gain entry to the U.S. though the Canadian border. Rose attempted to reach people in Washington on Emma's behalf. However, the political climate of the U.S. had changed after the election of 1938, and even liberals in government came under scrutiny from the House Committee on un-American Activities. It became impossible to mobilize any support for Emma. Emma continued to be hopeful and tried to enlist the continued aid of Harry Kelly, Roger Baldwin, Harry Weinberger, Carlo Tresca and Rose. Nonetheless, all efforts were fruitless.

The continued correspondence reflects Emma's growing despondence. In addition to all her recent losses, she now added the continued inability to enter the United States. In Canada she lived among friends and was forced to live on contributions by supporters, including Rose. Shortly after arriving in

1939, she took up the cause of the threatened deportation of Arthur Bortolotti, a militant antifascist Italian. Rose sent further funds to contribute to the committee established by Emma for his defense. Emma worked incredibly hard for this comrade, making public speeches in his behalf. Her health was failing but she worked almost beyond her capacity, as if to struggle until the end. Emma also immersed herself in cultural activities in Canada and remained active intellectually. Unfortunately, Rose and Emma wrote to one another only intermittently during this period, primarily because of their busy schedules and Emma's failing health.

On Emma's 70th birthday, June 27, 1939, Rose visited her in Canada. During a party, which was attended by many comrades who wanted to pay tribute to their heroine, Rose took a motion picture of Emma. Later it was shown for Emma, who took great pleasure at seeing herself on film. Rose had her final visit with Emma on September 29, 1939, at a banquet that was held in Toronto to honor her fifty years in the labor and libertarian movement.

On February 23, 1940, Rose received a letter from Dorothy Rogers, Emma's friend and secretary. In it were details of Emma's stroke, which occurred on 17 February. Emma had been laughing and talking with three friends, when she drooped a little in her chair. At first they thought she had fainted, but eventually saw it was more serious and a doctor was called.[24] Emma was hospitalized for a number of weeks, but slowly improved. Many friends and colleagues, including Rose, contributed financial aid to cover her medical expenses. However, friends were asked not to visit because of her precarious health. By March, a letter from Dorothy to Rose indicated that Emma's condition had improved to the point where she was able to say a few words, although not complete sentences. Emma appeared depressed, and even though Bartolotti had been saved from deportation, her mood was not significantly altered.

Upon release from the hospital a private nurse was hired for Emma. Rose then became part of a major fund-raising drive that was called to cover further medical expenses and renewed attempts to bring her to the United States for her final months. By 1 April, Emma's condition had improved medically; she appeared stronger and the paralysis was leaving her right side slowly. However, Dorothy noted to Rose that in all honesty the clot on the brain had not dispersed as quickly as it should. Emma also had insomnia and needed constant attention.[25] By 14 May, Dorothy was conveying the news that Emma's condition had further deteriorated to the point of suffering a "slight hemorrhage." She had labored breathing and was not functioning at all well. By now the doctor was saying that she would never leave the bed and that little time remained for her. Emma was not suffering any physical pain and

was being kept comfortable in a semi-comatose condition.[26] Emma's death actually came on the day Dorothy's letter was mailed to Rose.

Rose flew from Los Angeles to be at Emma's funeral held at Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago.[27] This site was chosen because it was here that the Haymarket martyrs, Emma's spiritual and political role models, had been buried. Rose's recollections were vivid, as she later wrote and spoke of the moving experience of burying her friend. Ironically, Emma was allowed into the United States in her death as she had not been allowed in life. Emma's coffin had been covered by the SIA-FAI flag, symbols of the anarchist union in Spain. Floral arrangements were there from all over the country--from labor organizations and from friends. Many people passed the bier to pay homage to their great anarchist leader.

As Emma's coffin was carried from the hall, bystanders lined the street in silence. The sun came out after three days of gloom, and as the entourage approached the cemetery, chimes from the chapel range out a requiem. Lines from the grave digger scene from Hamlet were read, and in Rose's words, "there, heaped with flowers, in sunshine, with birds singing, we laid her to rest beside her Chicago comrades--asleep 50 years--her spiritual fathers to whom she owned her birth into the anarchist movement and not far away from her friend and co-worker, Voltairine DeCleyre."[28] Rose and Stella Ballantine, Emma's niece, chose two bouquets and placed them on Voltairine's grave. Ben Reitman, Emma's greatest love, took red roses and placed them in the arms of the statue commemorating the Haymarket martyrs. Oddly enough, the day of her burial, 18 May, was also the day that Emma had usually commemorated with rejoicing. It had been the day in 1906, that Berkman was released from prison after fourteen years of incarceration for the attempted assassination of Henry Clay Frick.

Rose remembered this scene and spoke of it at a memorial meeting that was held at Town Hall in New York on May 31, 1940. She shared the rostrum with Norman Thomas, Rudolf Rocker, famous anarchist theorist, Dorothy Rogers, Roger Baldwin, Harry Weinberger, Harry Kelly and others.[29] In that moving and prophetic speech Rose noted that:

> *I was privileged to be one of her closest friends the last few years of [her] life. Her friendship will inspire me to endeavor to carry on, as much as I can, our work for labor, for freedom from oppression for all mankind and liberty for the individual: economic, social and cultural.*
> *Her* ***indomitable, militant spirit*** *and legend will grow with years, a mounting inspiration to all who knew her as one of the outstanding women leaders of our generation and a tradition those who follow will be happy and proud to revere.*
> *. . . Emma's passing left a void, not only in my heart but the hearts of many who shared her work and ideal. For she was one of the great women in history, because she was human, she was a living, inspiring, understanding friend, a leader to all of us.*
> *Hail and farewell, dearly beloved, may your great work go on and your dream for a free humanity come to pass.*[30]

To Rose, Emma had clearly embodied the social philosophy and ideology of anarchism, personifying the principles and providing a role model for living one's life according to anarchist ideas. By the time Rose encountered Emma, the elder had become more pragmatic and less pure in her practice. This realism appealed to Rose. In Emma, Rose found the moral support that she was looking for and had never seemed to find before. She remained dedicated to helping her mentor and, through her, found the encouragement she needed to do her own political work. Emma helped Rose reconcile the differences between anarchism and the labor movement. Their relationship developed and continued during Rose's most active labor period and during the time she received the most criticism from other anarchists. It is significant that Rose's final Los Angeles assignment came at approximately the same time as Emma's illness and death. Rose was to last but two more years as an organizer and four years as a vice president. Without her mentor's support, with all the criticism coming from her political comrades, with severe difficulties with members of the Communist Party in her Los Angeles work, and with her increasing problems with Dubinsky and the men on the GEB, as the only woman in that position, it was inevitable that Rose would leave the ILGWU'S hierarchy to return to the sewing machine. The tensions between anarchism and labor organizing had become too great and, without the support and guidance of her mentor, the incentive to go on was lost.