TEACHING AMERICAN HISTORY PROJECT

A partnership between Portland State University, Portland Public Schools, the Tigard-Tualatin and Beaverton School Districts, funded by the U.S. Department of Education

2006: A New Industrial America

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Unit Title: Early 20th Century U.S. Labor Struggles

Target Grade Level: 10th Grade U.S. History

Approximate Time Needed: 8-10 90-minute block periods

Unit Driving Question: The struggles among organized labor to achieve better working conditions and benefits for workers at the turn of the twentieth century in the United States. What problems did workers face during this time period? What were the causes and results of the conflicts? How did this affect organized labor in the United States?

Unit Overview: This unit will explore labor-related events/conflicts among various interest groups (i.e. organized labor, management, private citizens) with a special focus on labor strife in the Pacific Northwest.

Prerequisite Knowledge:

1. Industrial Revolution in the United States.
2. Workplace problems facing American industrial workers prior to the twentieth century (e.g., low pay, long working hours, limited benefits, etc.)
3. Rise of Communism in Europe and its eventual spread to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. The Bolshevik Revolution and the concept of communism.
4. Identify and explain the nature and ideology of early trade union organizations (Knights of Labor, American Federation of Labor, and International Workers of the World).
5. General knowledge of trial proceedings – covered in lessons on the U.S. Constitution.

Unit Lesson Plans:

1. *Labor and union formation simulation*: Students will understand the motivating forces behind the formation of unions by industrial workers.
2. *Primary source analysis*: Students will explore a variety of perspectives on the impact(s) of industrialization. Students will develop primary source analysis skills through researching different historical perspectives.
3. *Union simulation game*: Students will understand the roles of union organizer and management and the motives that lead to worker strikes.
4. *Historical dialogues*: Students will practice writing historical dialogues while reviewing some of the important leaders and events from US labor history.
5. *Drama/Mock Trial of the Centralia Massacre as a culminating moment in U.S. Labor History:* Students will write and develop a mock trial based on the events that

unfolded in Centralia, Washington in 1919 to illustrate its importance in U.S. labor history.

National History Standards:

Era 6
Standard 1 - The student understands how the rise of corporations, heavy industry, and mechanized farming transformed the American people.
Standard 3B - The student understands the rise of national labor unions and the role of state and federal governments in labor conflicts.

- Analyze the causes and effects of escalating labor conflict.
- Explain the response of management and government at different levels to labor strife in different regions of the country.

Era 7
Standard 3A - The student understands social tensions and consequences in the postwar era.

- Assess state and federal government reactions to the growth of radical political movements.

Oregon Social Sciences Standards (US History):

- Identify and understand the effects of 19th century reform movements on American life in the early 20th century.
- Understand how new inventions, new methods of production, and new sources of power transformed work, production, and labor in the early 20th century.

PASS Standard: Understand the causes, characteristics, and impact of political, economic, and social developments in U.S. History.

Unit Assessment:

1. Following *Union formation simulation*, students will respond to comprehensive and analytical questions regarding the motivating forces behind the formation of unions by industrial workers.
2. Following *Union simulation game*, students will debate the tactics used by organized labor to achieve their objectives in bettering working conditions and benefits in the early twentieth century.
3. Following the *Primary source analysis*, students will answer analytical and evaluative questions on the primary source readings on the impacts of industrialization in the United States in the late 1800s and early 1900s.
4. Students will prepare, create, and present a dramatic mock trial based on the events surrounding the Centralia Massacre of 1919.
5. See attachment for rubric for Centralia Massacre mock trial.

LESSON ONE: LABOR & UNION FORMATION GAME

Objective: Students will demonstrate historical perspectives of early twentieth century workers in the formation of unions.

Outcome/Goals: Students will understand the motivating forces behind the formation of unions by industrial workers.

Time Needed: One ninety-minute block class period.

Materials: Factory Owner and Male/Female/Child Laborer Instructions and Tally Sheets

Procedures:

1. For a class of 30–35 students, select four students to be "factory owners." For smaller classes select three factory owners. Give these students the Factory Owner information sheet to read silently.

2. Assign the remaining students to be adult men, adult women, or child laborers, and give them the corresponding information sheets to read silently.

3. Arrange desks so there are four desks spread out at the front of the classroom (each desk will represent one "factory"). The remaining desks should be pushed back as far as possible to create an open space in front of the "factories". Just for fun, have the owners name their factory and write the name on a sign or on the board behind their desk.

4. Read the following instructions to the class:

   > "The game is played in a series of ten turns, or weeks. Each week, factory workers will try to find a job at one of the factories at the front of the room. To apply for a job you must go talk to one of the factory owners and negotiate a weekly salary. Once the owner agrees to hire you, write the name of the factory and your salary on your game sheet in the correct week, then have the owner initial the sheet.
   >
   > Your goal is to make as much money as possible by the end of the game. This game is a competition. Factory owners are competing against each other to make the most profits; but also, men are competing against the other men, women against the other women, and children against the other children, so there will be four winners total. Winners in each category at the end of the game will receive a fabulous prize! (ex: a bonus point or a small piece of candy)
   >
   > You may only apply for a job for the current week. I will announce when each week begins. When all the factories have hired the necessary employees, I will announce that that week is over and workers must return to their desks and wait for the next week to begin.

You cannot fill out your sheet for future weeks. You can go to the same factory week after week, but you must re-negotiate your salary and get the owner's signature each time.

Between weeks I will be reading important announcements that will have an impact on the game. Make sure to listen carefully to these announcements, as they might affect your salary or ability to find a job for that week!"

5. Take the factory owners aside and go over the directions with them, including an example of how to add up their profits. If you wish, give them some tips on what to expect and how to negotiate to maximize their profits.

6. Announce that week one has begun. Students should go up to the factories and apply for jobs. Stand behind the factory owners and monitor to make sure they are filling out their forms correctly. When all the factory owners have the required number of employees, announce that week one is over. Factory owners should calculate their profits.

7. Between weeks, you will make announcements that change the rules of the game. After week one, announce that because of their record profits, the factory owners were able to purchase a new machine, the spinning jenny, to speed up production in their factories. As a result, they only need to hire *five* employees this week. (For smaller classes, factory owners might start with five in the first week, then reduce the number to four in the second week).

8. When week two starts, there will probably be a rush to the front tables as students realize it will be harder to find a job this week. Monitor the class to make sure there is no pushing or shoving (**warning:** students can become quite enthusiastic as the game progresses, so be sure to keep safety in mind!)

9. After week two, ask the factory workers how many of them found jobs that week. Then ask how many made less than they made the first week. Then ask the factory owners how much they made that week in profits. Let the students consider the information for themselves and draw their own conclusions.

10. As the weeks go on, make other announcements that change the rules to either further reduce the number of workers or to increase the competitiveness of the factory owners. One possibility is to announce that thousands of new immigrants have recently arrived in your city who are willing to work for lower wages, so as a result the factory owners only need to hire 4 (or 3, etc.) workers this week. You can award bonuses for the highest profits in one week, or increase the weekly budget of the factory owners. Between weeks, continue to poll the workers about how many could and could not find jobs, about their salaries, and about the owners' profits. Workers' salaries should steadily decrease as competition for jobs increases (in most classes, some students eventually agree to work for one dollar a week!).

11. At about week five the factory workers should realize there is a problem. At this point you should ask the owners to step out into the hall and hold a meeting with the factory workers. Ask again about wages, salaries, etc. Then ask if there is anything they can do to improve

the situation. You should not offer any suggestions or help them organize a union or strike. It is important that you let them try to do this on their own. Leave the room to let the workers discuss things for a few minutes.

12. Resume the game and see if the workers are able to organize any sort of strike or cooperative action. Usually they will try, but the strikes will quickly fall apart when one student crosses the picket line and applies for a job. If it looks like the strike might succeed, you can give factory owners advice on how to break the union (hire the ringleader(s) at a good wage, then the rest will cave in, etc.).

13. You can end the game at any time (usually 7-8 "weeks" is plenty). At the end of the game have each student add up their total profits and announce the winners from each category.

Assessment Tools and Strategies:

Closure: At the end of the simulation, students should write brief responses to the following questions, followed by a class discussion:

- Why was it so hard for workers to create an effective labor union?
- What about this simulation was unfair?
- What does this simulation tell you about human nature?
- Why do you think labor disputes often turned violent in the Industrial Revolution?

Extensions and Modifications:

Extension*:* The teacher will invite a local representative from a national union for a question and answer session with students focusing on the current role(s) of organized labor in the United States today.

Attachment 1A: Labor and Union Formation Simulation

Factory Owner

You are the owner of large textile factory in 19th Century London. You are in competition with two other factories, owned by your classmates. Each factory owner wants to make as much money as possible. In order to run your factory, you need to hire **at least six full-time employees each week** (you may hire more than six if you wish). If you do not have six employees, your factory cannot operate and you make no money that week. Your weekly budget is $600. Out of this you must pay your employees. Whatever you have left over at the end of the week is your weekly profit. You are competing against the other factory owners, so your goal is to try to get the greatest possible profit each week.

You will have the choice of hiring men, women, or children to work in your factory. You must hire **at least two adult men**, and **no more than two children** each week. You must negotiate a weekly salary with each person you hire. Finally, you must keep track of your weekly profits. The factory owner with the most **total profits** at the end of the game wins!

	# of Employees	Total Salaries	Profits ($600 – Total Salaries)
Week 1			
Week 2			
Week 3			
Week 4			
Week 5			
Week 6			
Week 7			
Week 8			
Week 9			
Week 10			

Total Profits:

Adult Male Worker

You are an adult male factory worker in 19th Century London. You have little education, but you have some experience working in the textiles industry. You have a wife and four kids, and you need a job to put food on the table for you and your family. Your weekly expenses total $100, so you want to make at least that much each week to break even. Your goal is to try to find a job that pays as much as possible at one of the factories. **You must apply for a job each week and negotiate your salary with the owner**. You can only work one job each week (you will be working 14 hours a day, 6 days a week, so a second job is not possible). If you cannot find a job for three weeks in a row, you will be kicked out of your apartment and forced to beg on the streets to survive!

Keep track of where you worked and your weekly salary on the chart below.

	Employer	Salary	Owner's initials
Week 1			
Week 2			
Week 3			
Week 4			
Week 5			
Week 6			
Week 7			
Week 8			
Week 9			
Week 10			
	Total Earned:		

Adult Female Worker

You are an adult woman living in 19th Century London. You grew up in the country but were forced to move to the city when your husband lost the family farm. Your husband now does not make enough to support you and your many children, so you must work to help feed the family. You would like to make at least $80 a week to cover your expenses. **You must find a job each week at one of the factories and negotiate your weekly salary.** You can only work one job each week (you will be working 14 hours a day, 6 days a week, so a second job is not possible!). If you cannot find a job for three weeks in a row, you will be kicked out of your house, your children will be taken away from you, and you will be forced to beg on the streets to survive!

Keep track of where you worked and your weekly salary on the chart below.

	Employer	Salary	Owner's initials
Week 1			
Week 2			
Week 3			
Week 4			
Week 5			
Week 6			
Week 7			
Week 8			
Week 9			
Week 10			

Total Earned:

Child Laborer

You are a twelve year old child living in 19th Century London. Your family is very poor, and to help support them your parents want you to drop out of school and go to work in the factories. Your parents want you to bring home at least $60 a week for the family, and anything extra is yours to keep. However, if you can't find a job for more than three weeks in a row, your parents will kick you out of the house! You will be forced to live on the streets. **You must apply for a job each week and negotiate your salary with the owner**. You can only work one job each week (you will be working 14 hours a day, 6 days a week, so a second job is not possible!).

Keep track of where you worked and your weekly salary on the chart below.

	Employer	Salary	Owner's initials
Week 1			
Week 2			
Week 3			
Week 4			
Week 5			
Week 6			
Week 7			
Week 8			
Week 9			
Week 10			
		Total Earned:	

LESSON TWO: PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS

Objective: Students will explore a variety of perspectives on the impacts of industrialization through primary sources.

Outcome/Goals: Students will develop primary source analysis skills through researching different historical perspectives.

Time Needed: One ninety-minute block class period.

Materials: Internet Access and attached Reading on Centralia Massacre

Procedures:

1. The teacher will review the learning objectives of the last day of class and explain the purpose of this lesson.

2. Students will use a computer lab at school to explore various primary source documents on the Internet regarding industrialization and its impact on American workers in the early twentieth century.

3. The teacher will instruct students in the computer lab to navigate to the following website: http://www.gilderlehrman.org/teachers/module12/mod_tools.html (The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History)

4. In small groups of three students, students will interpret the following primary source collections:
    - The Gospel of Wealth
    - Responses to Industrialism
    - Industrialization - American Labor

5. Distribute an introductory reading on the events surrounding the Centralia Massacre of 1919 to the students. This reading will be done at home in anticipation of the final lesson plan (see attached reading).

Assessment Tools and Strategies:

Closure*:* Students will respond in written form to the question sets that accompany each primary source collection.

Extensions and Modifications:

Extension: Students can read an excerpt from the book *Nickel and Dimed* by Barbara Ehrenreich on her experiences working at a Wal-Mart store and the struggles faced by a present day American retail worker. Students may write a journal entry on their personal and familial experiences in the labor force today.

LESSON THREE: UNION SIMULATION GAME

Objective: Students will demonstrate historical perspectives of early twentieth century workers and management

Outcome/Goals: Students will understand the motivating forces behind the conflicts between organized labor and management in contract negotiation.

Time Needed: One ninety-minute block class period.

Materials:
Attachment 3A: Family Economics Handout
Attachment 3B: Union Representative/Factory Owner Information Sheets

Procedures:

1. Students read family economics handout (Attachment 3A) to get a sense of living and working conditions at the turn of the 20th century. Students take notes on various topics of the teacher's choosing.

2. Divide class into teams of 3 people. There must be an even number of teams. Half the teams will play the role of union representatives. The other half will play the role of factory owners.

3. Arrange desks into groups so that once the game begins, one union team will facing one owner's team.

4. Hand out the union representative and factory owner information sheets (Attachment 3B). Have students read over their sheets silently. They should not share their information with the opposing teams.

5. Explain the procedure to the class.

   "In this game, teams of union members will be negotiating with teams of factory owners to come up with a labor contract. The object of the game is to negotiate the best possible contract from your team's point of view. Union teams will be competing against owner teams to see who can negotiate the best deal. At the same time, each union team is competing against all the other union teams in the class to see which union team overall has the best contract. Likewise, all the owner teams are competing against each other as well. At the end of the game each group will read their final contract and the teacher will decide the winning union team and winning owner team. You may use whatever negotiating strategy you think is best. During the negotiations you may get up from the table and meet privately with your team to talk things over. You should record all agreements that you make on a piece of paper. This will become your contract. At the end of the negotiating period, the majority of people on both teams must sign the contract for it to be valid. If you cannot reach an agreement by the end of the specified time, you

will be on strike. You will now have five minutes to meet with your team and discuss strategy before the negotiations begin."

6. Have the union teams meet in the hall or another classroom so they can talk privately. Also, you may wish to address the union teams as a group and the owner teams as a group and try to stir up a rivalry (the game works best when the teams are highly competitive).

7. Begin the negotiation period. Twenty to twenty-five minutes is usually enough time. Circulate and monitor the groups to keep them on task.

8. At the end of the negotiation period, have one person from each group read the final contract. You can announce winners immediately or collect the contracts for more careful consideration.

Assessment Tools and Strategies:

Closure: Students will participate in a class discussion of some or all of the following questions:

- What were the main concerns facing factory workers? Owners?
- What factors made it difficult to negotiate a good contract?
- What might workers have done other than strike to put pressure on the owners?
- What might owners have done if the workers did go on strike?
- Why do you think labor disputes often turned violent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

Extensions and Modifications:

Extension*:* Students can research famous strikes from American history; plan group presentations on the strikes; draw comparisons among strikes.

Family Economics

<u>Cost of Living</u>

A comparison of the cost of living today and the cost of living in 1900 is not readily available. On a national level the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics figures show that the cost of living in 1900 was approximately 5% or 1/20 of 1999's cost. It is important to keep in mind however that a number of modern conveniences were impossible or difficult to obtain—examples would be televisions, automobiles, automatic washing machines, as well as services such as advanced medical care or even sanitary food and water. Other conveniences were only known to the middle and upper classes such as piped hot water and bathtubs, central heating, electric light, telephones and large houses.

Below is a selection of 1900 Chicago food prices from *The 18th Annual Report of the U.S. Commissioner of Labor:*

Cost per pound:

Rib Roast $.13, Chuck Steak $.08, Sirloin $.14, Corned Beef $.06, Butter $.22, Cheese $.17, Coffee $.14, Flour $.02, Lard $.10, Mutton $.08, Pork Chops, $.10, Rice $.06, Sugar $.06

Other prices:

Dry Beans—quart $.09, Bread—1 pound loaf $.05, Eggs—dozen $.18, Milk—quart $.06, Molasses—gallon $.60, Irish Potatoes—Bushel $.39

Housing costs were often among the most crippling items in the family budget. It is difficult to find data on costs in 1900, but below are some representative figures.

Robert Hunter in *Tenement Conditions in Chicago* (p.46) cites a tenement in which small dark 2-3 room apartments rent for $4-7 per month. Frances Embree concludes the average rent paid in slum districts was $8-10 per month, bath and heat not included. Heat would be a coal stove. Toilets were either shared inside water closets, or two-hole outhouses underneath the sidewalk or stairs. A bath cost 25 cents, or a laborer could visit the free public bath.

Robert Hunter in *Poverty* gives rates for lodging hotels. The better class favored by single men with steady employment charged 25-50 cents a night, featured good sanitary conditions, a bathroom down the hall, and separate rooms for each lodger. The 20 cent per night and cheaper rooms had simple partitions and poor sanitary conditions. The cheapest hotels provided floor space among hundreds of other men for 2 cents per night. For 5 cents a filthy mattress was also provided. The city also made the floors of the police stations available free to homeless men, and some months had as many as 11,000 applicants.

Homer Hoyt suggests that older houses in the more fashionable neighborhoods rented for $25-60 per month. Apartments were being built for the upper class along the fashionable boulevards which rented for $100-300 per month, or even $1,000 for certain "palaces" along Lakeshore Drive in North Chicago. Apartment or flat living was becoming popular because of increasing difficulties in getting servants to maintain large detached residences.

Such middle class and upper class residences usually came equipped with many modern conveniences, such as bathtubs and flush toilets. A few even had the relatively new electric lights, telephones and steam heat. Due to improved public transportation many of the new middle and upper class residences were being built some distance from the congested areas close to the city center. Outlying and suburban locations such as Hyde Park, Morgan Park, the North Shore and Austin were undergoing rapid growth. Sometimes these were used by the upper class as summer homes. The family would also maintain a flat closer in which would be used by the whole family in the winter, or the husband weekdays during the summer to stay close to work.

Other Costs:

Public Transportation: a 5 cent fare was almost universal, but free transfers were not provided. Many people walked, either because they lived close to work or were unable to afford the fare.

Letters: 2 cents per ounce for first class. Postcards were 1 cent.

Wages

For the working class, employment was often a problem. Most occupations required sixty hour or longer work weeks, paid poorly, and in many cases required difficult and dangerous labor. For example many workers in the stockyards had to work 10 hour days, six days a week standing in cold water.

Employers hired and paid on a weekly or daily basis and often shut down for several months of the year due to weather or lack of business. When the employer shut down, or a worker was sick, the worker did not get paid. Most of the income figures reported below assume year round employment, but various sources reported that the typical laborer spent at least several months of the year unemployed and without income.

In order to get by, it was often necessary for all family members to work, often even young children. It was also very common to take in lodgers or boarders even in a rented two room tenement. In slum districts some people even housed horses in the basements, or slept in stables. Otherwise unemployed family members often resorted to small-scale and poorly paying businesses such as fruit peddling.

Solitary women and aged persons faced special obstacles. Women faced institutionalized wage discrimination which, with the exception of certain occupations such as clerical work and teaching, almost guaranteed they would be unable to live on income from employment. Aged persons were often unable to perform labor and had to depend upon relatives and charity.

Robert Hunter in his controversial book *Poverty* estimated that a typical family of five needed to earn at least $600 a year to meet basic food and shelter needs. As the figures below show, the average family was often on the brink of impoverishment. A number of other authors have written about the economic conditions in Chicago at the time. Some notable examples are Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* and the study *The Italian in Chicago.*

The middle class--examples of which are professionals, the higher paid clerical workers and owners of businesses such as saloons-- fared better. Misfortune might bring them uncomfortably close to the poverty line, but they usually had steady employment and a higher income. However these families formed considerably less than half the population. The upper classes, or capitalists, as they were then called, lived in often opulent splendor.

The *18th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor* (p.300) reports on a large, but possibly not representative, sample of Illinois families. Among the numerous family economic statistics, it showed the percentage of all Illinois families having income from the following sources: Working Husband 98.2%, Wife 7.7%, Children 18.7%, taking in boarders and lodgers 22.5%, other sources 15.6%.

On the average, those Illinois families having income from the above sources earned annually from the: Working husband $620.19, Wife $114.43, Children $334.93, Boarders and lodgers $240.47, other sources $139.76. The overall average annual income for the average family of 4.91 persons was $756.63.

The *19th Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor* gives the average male wages for a variety of mostly skilled occupations. Below is a selection of Chicago hourly wages and hours worked per week for the year 1900:

- Bricklayers: 46.3-50 cents/hr.
- Hod Carriers: 25-48 cents/hr.
- Construction Laborers: 17-60 cents/hr.
- Plasterers: 44-50 cents/hr.
- Boiler Makers: 27-54.1 cents/hr.
- Foundry Laborers: 16-56 cents/hr.
- Machine Woodworkers: 25-54.5 cents/hr.
- Newspaper Compositors: 36-54 cents/hr.

This would give a range of annual income from about $570 for laborers to $1200 for bricklayers.

The *12th Biennial Report of the Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics* (p.210+) reports on a variety of industries and gives some idea of the disparity between men and women's wages. Statewide 1900 data shows males working an average of 290 days per year and earning an average of $553.52 annually. Females averaged 295 days and $313.42 annually.

The Chicago City Budget for 1900 gives an idea of the wages paid in the public sector. Some sample annual wages:

- Janitors (male) $720, (female) $540
- Coal Passers $720-780
- Firefighters $840-1,134
- Patrolmen $1,000, Police Matrons $720
- Laborers $600
- Stenographer (female) $900, male clerks generally earned $900-1200
- Mayor $10,000
- Department Heads generally earned $3,000-6,000.
- A quite numerous class of assistants, chief clerks, lawyers, police and fire supervisors, etc., earned a comfortable middle class income of $1200-3000 per year.

Sources:

Bushnell, Charles J. "Some social aspects of the Chicago Stockyards." *American Journal of Sociology* v.7, Nov. 1901, 289-330.

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U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970.* Washington: GPO, 1975.

Illustrations:

For Rent Sign from: Hunter, Robert. *Tenement Conditions in Chicago,* p.44.

Tenement Family from: Hunter, Robert. *Tenement Conditions in Chicago,* p.63.

Portland Electric Trolleys from: Abbott, Carl. *Portland Gateway to the Northwest*, p. 84.

Factory Owner/Union Representative Information Sheets

Union Representative

You are a factory worker living in Chicago at the turn of the century. You work 12 hours a day, 6 days a week, and make barely enough money to survive. Your working conditions are terrible—you only get 30 minutes for lunch and one 10 minute break in the afternoons. If you take any other breaks, even to use the bathroom, you get penalized one hour of pay. The conditions in the factory are unsanitary. The machines are not clean and the air is barely breathable. Also, the machines are very dangerous. If an employee is not paying attention, he or she could get a hand caught in a machine and get seriously injured. If you do get sick or injured, the company employs a doctor who you can see for free, but if you miss any work because of illness you do not get paid, and if you miss more than three days you will be fired. Your factory employs men, women, and children as young as age ten. The men are paid $20 per week, the women make $15 per week, and children under fourteen get $10 per week.

As a Union representative, you have several demands to make. You probably cannot get everything you are asking for, so you must decide which issues are most important to you and which you are willing to compromise on. You can threaten to go on strike as a bargaining tactic, but you are worried about getting fired. There are many new immigrants arriving every day who would be happy to take your job. Your demands include the following:

- Higher pay
- Shorter hours
- 5 day work week
- More breaks
- Safer working conditions
- Paid sick days
- Job security (a guarantee that you won't lose your job if you are sick)
- Insurance if you get injured and cannot work
- Equal pay for men and women
- No child labor under age 14

Factory Owner

You are one of the owners of a large factory in Chicago at the turn of the 20th century. You have built your business up from nothing to make it one of the leading factories in the city, but competition is fierce. Some guy named J.P. Morgan is trying to take over the industry, so you must keep profits high to protect your business. You take great pride in your factory. It is one of the newest factories in the city and it meets all the existing building codes and health regulations (of course, there aren't very many health regulations at this time...). You pay the same as the other factories in town, $20 a week for men, $15 a week for women, and $10 a week for children under fourteen. You like hiring women because they will work for less, and many children need jobs to help support their families. You care about your workers and even provide them with free medical care. If they miss work due to illness they do not get paid, but why should they get paid if they aren't working? Currently they work 12 hours a day, 6 days a week. You give them a full half hour for lunch and one 10 minute break which they can take any time they want. You could probably cut one or two hours off their work day or give them longer breaks without losing too much money. You might be able to afford a small raise, but not if you pay men and women the same wage. Also, if you stop hiring children, you won't be able to afford to give the other employees much.

You know the employees have many demands (such as higher pay, shorter working hours, a 5-day work week, equal pay, safer working conditions, job security, paid sick days, insurance, etc.). You cannot afford to give them everything they want, but you also cannot afford a strike. If the workers go on strike, you will lose too much money and be forced out of business by your competitors. This would not do you or any of the workers any good! You could always threaten to fire some or all of the workers and replace them with immigrants. You could also remind them that strikes in the past have been broken up using force, and the police usually side with the factory owners. You don't want to see anyone get hurt.

LESSON PLAN FOUR: HISTORICAL DIALOGUES

Objectives: Students will…

- Review significant figures and events from 19th and 20th century labor history.
- Write realistic dialogues based on these historical figures and events.

Outcome/Goals:

- Students will understand that there were many people and competing interests represented in U.S. labor history (from labor to capitalists).
- Students will learn the skills necessary to successfully complete the trial and drama components of the unit plan.

Time Needed: One ninety-minute class period.

Materials:

Attachment 4A: Dialogue Instructions Overhead
Attachment 4B: Character Information Sheets (x9)
Attachment 4C: Dialogue Guide
Attachment 4D: Dialogue Assignment Rubric
Attachment 4E: Centralia Massacre Homework Reading

Procedure:

1. Prepare slips of paper with the following names: Mother Jones, Samuel Gompers, Eugene V. Debs, Big Bill Haywood, Emma Goldman, Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Worker, Henry Frick, Joe Hill, Upton Sinclair. There should be one slip for each student in the class (you will need to double-up characters).

2. Have each student draw a slip of paper from a hat. This is their assigned character for the dialogue.

3. Students should read and highlight the biographical handout that goes with their character.

4. Group students into pairs.

5. Assign pairs to write a dialogue between the two people on their slips of paper. Use the attached overhead for instructions. (Note: You can also give the students the Dialogue Guide Handout as homework prior to this lesson).

6. Work time. Student pairs should spend 30-45 minutes writing their dialogues. Circulate and monitor their progress. Give suggestions on how to make the dialogues sound more realistic (see attached dialogue guide).

7. If students finish early, they should rehearse their scenes.

8. Perform dialogue scenes in front of the class.

Assessment Tools and Strategies:

1. Grade the dialogues as the students perform them according to the attached rubrics.
2. Have a class discussion on the following topics:
   - What makes a dialogue realistic?
   - What makes it interesting?
   - What are some ways to incorporate historical facts into a dialogue without sounding like a textbook?
3. Homework: Students read the handout on the Centralia Massacre and answer the questions following the article.

Extensions and Modifications:

Modification: For students who are not able to perform the dialogue, have them choose two characters, read the information sheets, and write a 3-4 page short story based on the characters and events discussed in the readings.

Dialogue Assignment Instructions

Write a two page dialogue (conversation) between the two characters on your slips of paper. Your dialogue should include some historical information from your handouts. You should also try to convey the personalities of your characters as realistically as possible. Consider the following questions before you begin writing:

- **What is the setting of your scene? A labor rally? A bar? Prison?**
- **How did these people meet? (Don't worry if your two people never actually met—be creative!)**
- **What do these people have in common? What might they talk about?**
- **Would they like each other? Hate each other?**
- ***How* would these people talk? Were they educated? Rich or poor? Were they accustomed to public speaking?**

Practice your dialogues out loud with each other when you are finished!

Due: ________

Points: ______

Mother Jones

Mary Harris Jones (1837 – November 30, 1930), better known as **Mother Jones**, was a prominent American labor and community organizer, and a Wobbly (Industrial Workers of the World). Born **Mary Harris** near Cork City, Ireland, Jones moved with her family to Toronto, Canada when she was still young, shortly after her grandfather was hanged by the British for participation in the Irish Republican Movement. Upon completing school, she worked alternately as a teacher and a seamstress in the United States. She was introduced to unions through her husband, George Jones, a prominent member of the Iron Molders' Union, whom she married in 1861.

Two major turning points in her career were, first, the deaths of her husband and four children during a yellow fever epidemic in Tennessee in 1867 and, second, the loss of all her property in the Great Chicago Fire of 1871. Forced to support herself, she became involved in the labor movement and joined the Knights of Labor, a predecessor to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or "Wobblies"), which she helped found in 1905. She was active as an organizer and educator in strikes throughout the country at the time, and was particularly involved with the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Socialist Party of America. As a union organizer, she gained prominence for organizing the wives and children of striking workers in demonstrations on their behalf. In 1903, she organized children working in mills and mines in the "Children's Crusade"—a march from Kensington, Pennsylvania to Oyster Bay, New York, the home of President Theodore Roosevelt—with banners demanding "We want time to play!" and "We want

to go to school!" Though the President refused to meet with the marchers, the incident brought the issue of child labor to the forefront of the public agenda.

In 1913, during the **Paint Creek-Cabin Creek strike** in West Virginia, Mother Jones was charged and kept under house arrest in the nearby town of Pratt and subsequently convicted with other union organizers of conspiring to commit murder, after organizing another children's march. Her arrest raised an uproar and she was soon released from prison, after which the United States Senate ordered an investigation into the conditions in the local coal mines. A few months later she was in Colorado, helping to organize the coal miners there. Once again she was arrested, served some time in prison, and was deported in the months leading up to the Ludlow Massacre.

By 1924, Mother Jones was in court again, this time facing varying charges of libel, slander, and sedition. In 1925, Charles A. Albert, publisher of the fledgling *Chicago Times*, won a stunning $350,000 judgment against the failing matriarch.

In early 1925, the indomitable Jones fought off a pair of thugs who had broken into a friend's house where she was staying. After a brief struggle one intruder fled while the other was seriously injured. The wounded attacker, 54-year old Keith Gagne, later died from the wounds inflicted on him by the elderly Jones—wounds including blunt head trauma from Jones' trademark black leather boots. Police immediately arrested Jones, but she was soon released when the attackers were identified as associates of a prominent local business person.

Mother Jones remained a union organizer for the UMW affairs into the 1920s, and continued to speak on union affairs almost until her death. She released her own account of her experiences in the labor movement as *The Autobiography of Mother Jones* (1925). She died at the age of 93 in 1930, but had claimed to have been born on May 1, 1830, and had celebrated her 100th birthday accordingly.

At present, many people know of her largely because of the American magazine *Mother Jones*, which advocates many of the social views that Mother Jones herself espoused. Jones is known as the "Grandmother of All Agitators". She is also believed to be the inspiration for the popular folk song She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain.

Source: Wikipedia

Samuel Gompers

Samuel Gompers (January 27, 1850–December 13, 1924) was the long-time leader of the American Federation of Labor who helped define the structure and the economic and political goals of the American labor movement.

Samuel Gompers was born in London into a Jewish family which had recently arrived from Holland. He left school at age ten to apprentice first as a shoemaker then as a cigar maker. The family immigrated to New York City in 1863, settling on the Lower East Side. In 1864 he joined the Cigar Makers' International Union. He married Sophia Julian in 1867 and became a naturalized citizen of the United States in 1872. He was self educated, aided by the non-stop discussions among the workers rolling cigars. "In fact," said Gompers, "these discussions in the shops were more like public debating societies or what we call these days 'labor forums'" (Seventy Years, I, 81). The coworkers made Gompers their reader--he devoured newspapers and German-language socialist pamphlets.

In 1877 the union had collapsed and Gompers and his friend, Adolph Strasser, using local 144 as a base, rebuilt the Cigar Makers' Union, introducing a hierarchical structure, and implementing programs for strike and pension funds paid for by charging high membership dues. He told the workers they needed to organize because wage reductions were almost a daily occurrence. The capitalists were only interested in profits, "and the time has come when we must assert our rights as workingmen. Every one present has the sad experience, that we are powerless in an isolated condition, while the capitalists are united; therefore it is the duty of every Cigar Maker to join the organization. . . . One of the main objects of the organization," he concluded, "is the elevation of the lowest paid worker to the standard of the highest, and in time we may secure for every person in the trade an existence worthy of human beings." [Mandel p. 22]

His philosophy of labor unions centered on economic ends for workers, such as higher wages, benefits, and job security. His goal was to achieve these without political action or affiliation by the union, but rather through the use of strikes, boycotts, etc.

Gompers viewed unions as simply the labor component of a business, neither superior nor inferior to the management structure. This belief led to the development of procedures for collective bargaining and contracts between labor and management which are still in use today.

Gompers had the formula for militant unionism that could survive lost strikes. The workers had to believe the union would increase the bottom line. The success of this approach led to its adoption by many other unions throughout the late 1800s. The rival Knights of Labor had a grander vision but did not focus on the incomes of the members and it collapsed.

Gompers helped found the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions in 1881 as a coalition of like-minded unions. In 1886 it was reorganized into the American Federation of Labor, with Gompers as its president. He would remain president of the organization until his death (with the exception of one year, 1894).

Under Gompers' tutelage the AFL coalition gradually gained strength, undermining that previously held by the Knights of Labor, which as a result had almost vanished by 1900. Gompers' insistence against political affiliation and radicalism in the AFL, combined with its tendency to cater to skilled labor over unskilled, led indirectly to the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World organization in 1905, which tried with limited success to organize some unskilled workers.

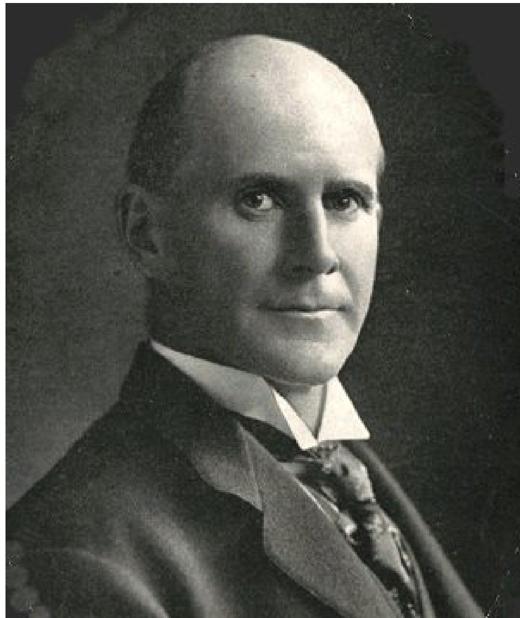
During the First World War Gompers was a strong supporter of the war effort. He was appointed by President Wilson to the powerful Council of National Defense, where he instituted the War Committee on Labor. He was an attendee at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as a labor advisor.

Gompers contributed to the yellow peril of the era claiming, in reference to the Chinese Exclusion Act, "...[t]he superior whites had to exclude the inferior Asiatics, by law, or, if necessary, by force of arms."

Gompers died in San Antonio, Texas, aged 74, and is buried at the Sleepy Hollow Cemetery in Sleepy Hollow, New York.

Source: Wikipedia

Eugene V. Debs



Eugene Victor Debs (November 5, 1855 – October 20, 1926) was an American labor and political leader, one of the founders of the international labor union the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and five-time Socialist Party of America candidate for President of the United States. He was sometimes called **"King Debs"**.

Rise to prominence
Eugene Debs was born in Terre Haute, Indiana (where he lived most of his life), to middle-class immigrant parents, from Colmar, Alsace, France. At the age of fourteen, he left home to work on the railroads, becoming a fireman. He returned home in 1874 to work as a grocery clerk, and the next year was a founding member of a new lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He rose quickly in the Brotherhood, becoming first an assistant editor for their magazine and then the editor and Grand Secretary (in 1880). At the same time, he became a prominent figure in the community and was elected to the Indiana state legislature (as a Democrat).

The railroad brotherhoods were comparatively conservative unions more focused on providing fellowship and services than in collective bargaining. Debs gradually became convinced of the need for a more unified and confrontational approach. After stepping down as Grand Secretary, he organized, in 1893, the first industrial union in the United States, the American Railway Union (ARU). The Union successfully struck the Great Northern Railway in April 1894, with most of its demands met.
Pullman Strike

Debs was jailed later that year for his part in the Pullman Strike, which grew out of a strike by the workers who made Pullman's cars and who appealed to the ARU at its convention in Chicago, Illinois for support. Debs tried to persuade the ARU members who worked on the

railways that the boycott was too risky, given the hostility of both the railways and the federal government, the weakness of the ARU, and the possibility that other unions would break the strike. The membership ignored his warnings and refused to handle Pullman cars or any other railroad cars attached to them.

The federal government did, in fact, intervene, obtaining an injunction against the strike on the theory that the strikers had obstructed the railways by refusing to show up for work, then sending in the United States Army on the grounds that the strike was hindering the delivery of the mail. By the end of the strike, 13 strikers were killed and 57 were wounded. An estimated $80 million worth of property was damaged, and Debs was found guilty of interfering with the mail and sent to prison.

A Supreme Court case decision, *In re Debs*, later upheld the right of the federal government to issue the injunction.

At the time of his arrest for mail obstruction, Debs was not a Socialist. However, while jailed, he read the works of Karl Marx. After his release in 1895 he started his socialist political career. The experience radicalized Debs still further. He was a candidate for President of the United States in 1900 as a member of the Social Democratic Party. He was later the Socialist Party of America candidate for President in 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920, the final time from prison.

Debs was, however, largely dismissive of the electoral process: he distrusted the political bargains that Victor Berger and other "sewer socialists" had made in winning local offices and put much more value on the organization of workers, particularly on industrial lines. Yet Debs was equally uncomfortable with the apolitical syndicalism of some within the Industrial Workers of the World. While he was an early supporter of the IWW, he was later appalled by what he considered the IWW's irresponsible advocacy of direct action, especially sabotage.

Although Debs criticized the apolitical "pure and simple unionism" of the railroad brotherhoods and the craft unions within the American Federation of Labor, he practiced a form of pure and simple socialism that underestimated the lasting power of racism, which he viewed as an aspect of capitalist exploitation. As Debs wrote in 1903, the party had "nothing specific to offer the negro, and we cannot make special appeals to all the races. The Socialist party is the party of the working class, regardless of color—the whole working class of the whole world". Yet Debs was more advanced on this issue than many others in the Socialist Party: he denounced racism throughout his years as a socialist, refusing to address segregated audiences in the South and condemning D.W. Griffith's "Birth of a Nation".

Debs was a charismatic speaker who called on the vocabulary of Christianity and much of the oratorical style of evangelism—even though he was generally disdainful of organized religion. As Heywood Broun noted in his eulogy for Debs, quoting a fellow Socialist: "That old man with the burning eyes actually believes that there can be such a thing as the brotherhood of man. And that's not the funniest part of it. As long as he's around I believe it myself."

Debs himself was not wholly comfortable with his reputation as a speaker. As he told an audience in Utah in 1910:

I am not a Labor Leader; I do not want you to follow me or anyone else; if you are looking for a Moses to lead you out of this capitalist wilderness, you will stay right where you are. I would not lead you into the promised land if I could, because if I lead you in, some one else would lead you out. You must use your heads as well as your hands, and get yourself out of your present condition.

On June 16, 1918 Debs made an anti-war speech in Canton, Ohio, protesting World War I, and was arrested under the Espionage Act of 1917. He was convicted and sentenced to serve twenty years in prison and disenfranchised for life.

Debs made his best-remembered statement at his sentencing hearing:

"Your Honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it, and while there is a criminal element I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

Debs appealed his conviction all the way to the United States Supreme Court. In its ruling on *Debs v. United States*, the Court examined several statements Debs had made regarding WWI. While Debs had carefully guarded his speeches in an attempt to comply with the Espionage Act, the Court found he still had the intention and effect of obstructing the draft and recruitment for the war. Among other things, the Court cited Debs's praise for those imprisoned for obstructing the draft. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes stated in his opinion that little attention was needed since Debs' case was essentially the same as that of Schenck v. United States, where the Court upheld a similar conviction.

He went to prison on April 13, 1919. In protest of his jailing, Charles Ruthenberg led a parade of unionists, Socialists, Anarchists and Communists to march on May 1 (May Day), 1919 in Cleveland, Ohio. The event quickly broke into the violent May Day Riots of 1919. Debs, meanwhile ran for president in the 1920 election while in prison in Atlanta, Georgia. He received 913,664 votes (3.4%), the most ever for a Socialist Party presidential candidate in the U.S. and slightly more than he had won in 1912, when he obtained six percent of the vote. This stint in prison also inspired Debs to write a series of columns deeply critical of the prison system, which appeared in sanitized form in the Bell Syndicate and was collected into his only book, *Walls and Bars*, with several added chapters (published posthumously).

On December 25, 1921, President Warren G. Harding released Debs from prison, commuting his sentence to time served. Debs, however, never recovered his health from that time in prison and died 5 years later at the age of 70 in Elmhurst, Illinois.

In 1924, Eugene Debs was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by the Finnish Socialist Karl Henrik Wiik with the motivation "Debs started to work actively for peace during World War I, mainly because he considered the war to be in the interest of capitalism.

Source: Wikipedia

Big Bill Haywood

William Dudley Haywood (February 4, 1869–May 18, 1928), better known as *Big Bill Haywood*, was a prominent figure in the American labor movement. Haywood was a leader of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), a founding member and leader of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and a member of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America. During the first two decades of the 20th century, he was involved in several important labor battles, including the Lawrence textile strike, the Colorado Labor Wars (which culminated in the Ludlow massacre), and textile strikes in Massachusetts and New Jersey.

Haywood was frequently the target of prosecution. His trial for the murder of Frank Steunenberg in 1907 (of which he was acquitted) drew national attention; in 1918, he was one of 101 IWW members convicted of violating the Espionage Act of 1917. While out of prison during an appeal of his conviction, Haywood fled to Russia, where he would spend the remaining years of his life.

Early life

Haywood was born in 1869 in Salt Lake City, Utah. His father, a Pony Express rider, died of pneumonia when Haywood was three years old. At age nine, he injured his right eye while whittling, permanently blinding it. Haywood never had his damaged eye replaced with a glass eye; when photographed, he would turn his head to show his left profile. Also at age nine, he began working in the mines; he never received much formal education. After brief stints as a cowboy and a homesteader, he returned to mining in 1896. High-profile events such as the Haymarket Riot in 1886 and the Pullman Strike in 1894 fostered Haywood's interest in the labor movement.

Western Federation of Miners involvement

In 1896, Ed Boyce, president of the Western Federation of Miners, spoke at the Idaho silver mine where Haywood was working.] Inspired by his speech, Haywood signed up as a WFM member, thus formally beginning his involvement in America's labor movement.
Haywood immediately became active in the WFM, and by 1900 he had become a member of the national union's General Executive Board. In 1902, he assumed co-leadership of the WFM with Charles Moyer. That year, the WFM became involved in the Colorado Labor Wars, a struggle

that lasted for several years and took the lives of 33 union and non-union workers. The WFM initiated a series of strikes to combat the brutal working conditions and starvation wages. The defeat of these strikes led to Haywood's belief in "One Big Union" organized along industrial lines to bring broader working class support for labour struggles.

Foundation of the Industrial Workers of the World

Late in 1904, Haywood along with over 30 other prominent labor radicals, met in Chicago to lay down plans for a new revolutionary union. A manifesto was written and sent around the country. Unionists who agreed with the manifesto were invited to attend a convention to found the new union which was to become the Industrial Workers of the World.

At 10 A.M. on June 27, 1905, Haywood addressed the crowd assembled at Brand's Hall in Chicago who had gathered to the Industrial Workers of the World founding convention.[3] In the audience were two hundred delegates from organizations all over the country representing socialists, anarchists, miners, industrial unionists and rebel workers. Haywood began the convention with the following speech:

Fellow Workers, this is the Continental Congress of the working-class. We are here to confederate the workers of this country into a working-class movement that shall have for its purpose the emancipation of the working-class from the slave bondage of capitalism. The aims and objects of this organization shall be to put the working-class in possession of the economic power, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution, without regard to capitalist masters.

Other speakers at the convention included Eugene Debs, leader of the Socialist Party of America, and Mother Mary Jones, an organizer for the United Mine Workers of America. After its foundation, the IWW would become aggressively involved in the labor movement.

On December 30, 1905, Frank Steunenberg was killed by an explosion in his Caldwell, Idaho home. A former governor of Idaho, Steunenberg had clashed with the WFM in previous strikes, and after the 64-page confession of suspected bomber Harry Orchard, famed Pinkerton detective James McParland was sent to arrest WFM leaders Haywood, Charles Moyer, and George Pettibone. On February 17, 1906, McParland secretly arrested Haywood, Moyer, and Pettibone in Denver, Colorado. In the morning, they were extradited to Idaho for trial.

Haywood's trial began on May 9, 1907, with famed Chicago defense attorney Clarence Darrow defending him. Despite the testimony of Orchard (who confessed to assassinating Steunenberg under the orders of the WFM), the prosecution was unable to produce sufficient evidence to convict Haywood. Haywood and Pettibone were acquitted, and the charges against Moyer were dropped.

Lawrence textile strike

In 1912, the Lawrence textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts garnered national attention. On January 11, textile mill workers left their jobs in protest of lowered wages. Within a week, twenty thousand workers in Lawrence were on strike. The IWW already had a presence in Lawrence and assumed leadership of the strike.

Authorities responded aggressively to the strike, which escalated to violence. The local IWW leaders (Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti) were jailed on false charges, and martial law was declared. In response, the IWW send Haywood and other organizers to take charge of the strike. A national outrage was sparked when authorities forcibly detained a group of women and children who were being evacuated from the town. A congressional hearing and the attention of President Howard Taft pressured the mill owners into cooperating with the strikers; on March 12, the owners to agree to all the demands of the strikers, officially ending the strike. However, Haywood and the IWW were not yet finished in Lawrence; despite the end of the strike, Ettor and Giovannitti remained in prison. Haywood threatened the authorities with another strike, saying "Open the jail gates or we will close the mill gates." Legal efforts and a one-day strike on September 30 did not prompt the authorities to drop the charges. Eventually, however, the IWW was successful; on November 26, Ettor and Giovannitti were acquitted.

Socialist Party of America involvement

For many years, Haywood was an active member of the Socialist Party of America. He campaigned for Eugene Debs during the 1908 presidential election, traveling by train with Debs around the country. Haywood also represented the Socialist Party as a delegate to the 1910 congress of the Second International, an organization working towards international socialism. In 1912, he was elected to the Socialist Party National Executive Committee.

However, the aggressive tactics of Haywood and the IWW created tension with the moderate members of the Socialist Party. Haywood and the IWW focused on direct action and strikes, which often led to violence, and were less concerned with political tactics. This tension eventually led to Haywood's recall from the National Executive Committee in January of 1913; thousands of IWW members left the Socialist Party with him.

Other labor involvement

In 1913, Haywood was involved in the Paterson silk strike. Haywood and approximately 1,850 strikers were arrested during the course of the strike. Despite the long holdout and fundraising efforts, the strike ended in failure on July 28, 1913.

Espionage trial

Haywood and the IWW frequently clashed with the government during their labor actions. The onset of World War I gave the federal government the opportunity to take action against Haywood and the IWW.[8] Using the newly passed Espionage Act of 1917 as justification, the Department of Justice raided forty-eight IWW meeting halls in September 1917. The Department of Justice then proceeded to arrest 165 IWW members for "conspiring to hinder the draft, encourage desertion, and intimidate others in connection with labor disputes."

In April 1918, Haywood and 100 of the arrested IWW members began their trial, presided over by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis. The trial lasted last five months, the longest criminal trial up to that time; Haywood himself testified for three days. All 101 defendants were found guilty, and Haywood (along with fourteen others) was sentenced to twenty years in prison.

Despite the efforts of his supporters, Haywood was unable to overturn the conviction. In 1921, Haywood skipped his bond while out on appeal and fled to Russia. He became an advisor to the

Bolshevik government, and spent the rest of his life there. Haywood died in Moscow in 1928. Half of his ashes were buried in the Kremlin and an urn containing the other half of his ashes was sent to Chicago and buried near a monument to the Haymarket anarchists.

Labor philosophies

Racial unity

Unlike many labor leaders and organizations of the time, Haywood believed that workers of all ethnicities should work together. According to Haywood, the IWW was "big enough to take in the black man, the white man; big enough to take in all nationalities - an organization that will be strong enough to obliterate state boundaries; to obliterate national boundaries."

In 1912, Haywood spoke at a convention for the Brotherhood of Timber Workers in Louisiana; at the time, interracial meetings were illegal in Louisiana. Haywood encouraged the organizers to invite the African American workers to their convention, saying:

You work in the same mills together. Sometimes a black man and a white man chop down the same tree together. You are meeting in a convention now to discuss the conditions under which you labor. Why not be sensible about this and call the Negroes into the Convention? If it is against the law, this is one time when the law should be broken.

Ignoring the law against interracial meetings, the convention invited the African American workers. The convention would eventually vote to affiliate with the IWW

Source: Wikipedia

Emma Goldman

Immigration to America
At the age of 17 she immigrated with her elder sister, Helene, to Rochester, New York, to live with their sister Lena. Goldman worked for several years in a textile factory, and in 1887 married fellow factory worker Jacob Kershner, gaining US citizenship. The hanging of four anarchists after the Haymarket Riot drew the young Emma Goldman to the anarchist movement, and at twenty she became a revolutionary. Following the uproar over the hanging, Goldman left her marriage and her family and traveled to New Haven, Connecticut, and then to New York City. Goldman and Kershner were divorced.

New York City
In New York City she met and lived with Alexander Berkman, who was an important figure of the anarchist movement in the United States at the time. Her defense of Berkman's attempted assassination of Henry Clay Frick in July 1892 made her highly unpopular with the authorities.

Prison
She was imprisoned in 1893 at Blackwell's Island penitentiary for publicly urging unemployed workers that they should "Ask for work. If they do not give you work, ask for bread. If they do not give you work or bread, take bread." (The statement is a summary of the principle of expropriation advocated by anarchist communists like Peter Kropotkin.) She was convicted of "inciting a riot" by a criminal court of New York, despite the testimonies of twelve witnesses in her defense. The jury based their verdict on the testimony of one individual, a Detective Jacobs.

Voltairine de Cleyre gave the lecture In Defense of Emma Goldman as a response to this imprisonment. While serving her one year sentence, Goldman developed a keen interest in nursing.

Conspiracy to assassinate the President
She was arrested in Chicago, with nine others, on September 10, 1901, on charges of conspiracy to assassinate President McKinley. Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist, had shot the President several days before. The authorities arrested her and nine other anarchists, including Abe and Mary Isaak, for suspicion of conspiracy in a plot with Czolgosz. The assassination of McKinley stained the cause of Anarchism and discredited it in American popular opinion, making its association a slur. Consequently, causes which Anarchists had championed (such as the labor movement) sought afterward to disassociate themselves from self-identifying anarchists. Goldman had met Czolgosz, briefly, several weeks before, where he had asked Goldman's advice on a course of study in anarchist ideas. Goldman was released on September 24 after authorities were unable to connect her and the others directly to Czolgosz's crime. Leon Czolgosz was found guilty of murder and executed.

Birth control
On February 11, 1916, she was arrested and imprisoned again for her distribution of birth control literature. She, like many contemporary feminists, saw abortion as a tragic consequence of social conditions. In 1911, Goldman wrote in Mother Earth:

"The custom of procuring abortions has reached such appalling proportions in America as to be beyond belief...So great is the misery of the working classes that seventeen abortions are committed in every one hundred pregnancies."

World War I
Emma Goldman, 1917Her third imprisonment was in 1917, this time for conspiring to obstruct the draft: Berkman and Goldman were both involved in setting up No Conscription Leagues and organising rallies against World War I. She believed that militarism needed to be defeated to achieve freedom, writing in 'Anarchism and Other Essays'; "The greatest bulwark of capitalism is militarism. The very moment the latter is undermined, capitalism will totter." (illustration, right) She was imprisoned for two years, after which she was deported to Russia. At her deportation hearing, J. Edgar Hoover, directing the hearing, called her "one of the most dangerous anarchists in America."

Deportation
Her 1919 deportation, along with hundreds of other radicals rounded up in the Palmer Raids, meant that Goldman, with Berkman, was able to witness the aftermath of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution first hand. On her arrival in Russia, she was prepared to support the Bolsheviks despite the split between anarchists and statist communists at the First International. But seeing the political repression and forced labour in Russia offended her anarchist sensibilities. In 1921, brutal repression by the Red Army (under the direct leadership of Leon Trotsky) against the striking and libertarian-minded Kronstadt sailors left Goldman and other anarchists keenly disillusioned with the Bolsheviks. The Bolsheviks, however, argued that in times of revolution, violence is required in order to depose the previous power holders. This led Goldman to write

My Disillusionment in Russia and My Further Disillusionment in Russia. She was also devastated by the massive destruction and death resulting from the Russian Civil War, in which counter-revolutionary elements, aided by foreign governments such as the United States and Japan, attempted to throttle the young communist state before it could spread its subversive ideology to other lands. Goldman was friends with American communists John Reed and Louise Bryant, both of whom were also in Russia at this time when it was impossible to leave the country; they may even have shared an apartment (see also the film Reds).

After two years, she and Berkman left Russia. She stayed with old friends in England and France until Peggy Guggenheim raised funds for a cottage for Goldman in the French commune of Saint-Tropez on the Mediterranean Côte d'Azur. They called her house Bon esprit ("good spirit"). There she could write and receive correspondence, but was isolated.

Rejection of Violence
Her experiences in Russia helped change her ideas on the use of violence: after the Red Army was used against strikers, Goldman began rejecting violence except in self-defense.

Spanish Civil War
In 1936, Goldman went to Spain to support the Spanish Revolution and the fight against Francisco Franco's fascism, known as the Spanish Civil War. This fitted with her belief that freedom came from opposing oppression, as she wrote in 'Anarchism and Other Essays'; "Politically the human race would still be in the most absolute slavery were it not for the John Balls, the Wat Tylers, the Tells, the innumerable individual giants who fought inch by inch against the power of kings and tyrants." During this time she wrote the obituary of the prominent Spanish anarchist Buenaventura Durruti in a piece of vibrant prose entitled Durruti is Dead, Yet Living, which echoes Percy Bysshe Shelley's Adonais.

Death and burial
Emma Goldman died of a stroke in Toronto on May 14, 1939. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service allowed her body to be brought back to the United States, and she was buried in German Waldheim Cemetery (now part of Forest Home Cemetery) in Forest Park, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago, close to where the executed Haymarket Riot defendants are interred. Her tombstone reads "Liberty will not descend to a people, a people must raise themselves to Liberty."

An urban legend in Toronto holds that Goldman's ghost haunts the union hall on Spadina Avenue, now a Chinese restaurant, where she often spoke and where her body was displayed after her death.

Source: Wikipedia

Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Worker

The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire in New York City on March 25, 1911, was a major industrial disaster, causing the death of 146 garment workers who either died in the fire or jumped to their deaths. The fire led to legislation requiring improved factory safety standards and helped spur the growth of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which fought for better working conditions for sweatshop workers in that industry.

The fire

The Triangle Shirtwaist Company occupied the top three floors of the ten-story Asch building in New York City at the intersection of Greene Street and Washington Place, just east of Washington Square. The company employed approximately 500 workers, mostly young female immigrants who worked fourteen-hour days, during a 60- to 72-hour workweek sewing clothes for a wage of 6 to 10 dollars per week.

The conditions of the factory were typical of the time. Flammable textiles were stored throughout the factory, smoking was common, illumination was provided by open gas lighting and there were no fire extinguishers. In the afternoon of March 25, 1911, a fire began on the eighth floor. The workers on the tenth floor were alerted and most on those two floors were able to evacuate. However word of the fire did not reach the ninth floor in time.

The ninth floor had only two doors leading out. One stairwell was already filling with smoke and flames by the time the seamstresses realized the building was ablaze. The other door had been locked, ostensibly to prevent workers from stealing materials or taking breaks. The single exterior fire escape soon collapsed under the weight of people trying to escape. The elevator also stopped working, cutting off that means of escape. Realizing there was no other way to avoid the flames, some of the women broke out windows and jumped to the ground nine floors below. Others pried open the elevator doors and tumbled down the elevator shaft. Few survived these

falls. The remainder waited until smoke and fire overcame them. The fire department did arrive quickly but was unable to stop the flames as there were no ladders available that could reach beyond the sixth floor. A single survivor was found close to drowning in water collecting in the elevator shaft. The death toll was 146; 91 died in the fire and 54 died in falls.

The aftermath of the fire

The company's owners, Max Blanck and Isaac Harris, had fled to the building's roof when the fire began and survived. They were later put on criminal trial, at which Max Steuer, counsel for the defendants, managed to destroy the credibility of one of the survivors, Kate Alterman, by asking her to repeat her testimony a number of times — which she did, without altering a single word. Steuer argued to the jury that Alterman and probably other witnesses had memorized their statements and may even have been told what to say by the prosecutors. The jury acquitted the owners. They lost a subsequent civil suit in 1913.

The fire had more long-lasting effects. For some it radicalized them still further; as Rose Schneiderman, a prominent socialist and union activist, said in her speech at the memorial meeting held in the Metropolitan Opera House on April 2, 1911, to an audience largely made up of the well-heeled members of the Women's Trade Union League, a group that had provided moral and financial support for the Uprising of 20,000:

> I would be a traitor to these poor burned bodies if I came here to talk good fellowship. We have tried you good people of the public and we have found you wanting. The old Inquisition had its rack and its thumbscrews and its instruments of torture with iron teeth. We know what these things are today; the iron teeth are our necessities, the thumbscrews are the high-powered and swift machinery close to which we must work, and the rack is here in the firetrap structures that will destroy us the minute they catch on fire.
>
> This is not the first time girls have been burned alive in the city. Every week I must learn of the untimely death of one of my sister workers. Every year thousands of us are maimed. The life of men and women is so cheap and property is so sacred. There are so many of us for one job it matters little if 146 of us are burned to death.
>
> We have tried you citizens; we are trying you now, and you have a couple of dollars for the sorrowing mothers, brothers and sisters by way of a charity gift. But every time the workers come out in the only way they know to protest against conditions which are unbearable the strong hand of the law is allowed to press down heavily upon us.
>
> Public officials have only words of warning to us – warning that we must be intensely peaceable, and they have the workhouse just back of all their warnings. The strong hand of the law beats us back, when we rise, into the conditions that make life unbearable.
>
> I can't talk fellowship to you who are gathered here. Too much blood has been spilled. I know from my experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working-class movement.

Source: Wikipedia

Henry Clay Frick & the Homestead Strike

Nature of the 1892 Homestead Strike
The AA strike at the Homestead steel mill in was different from previous large-scale strikes in American history such as the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 or the Great Southwest Railroad Strike of 1886. Earlier strikes had been largely leaderless and disorganized mass uprisings of workers. The Homestead strike was organized and purposeful, a harbinger of the type of strike which would mark the modern age of labor relations in the United States.

Carnegie and Frick's plans
Andrew Carnegie placed rabid anti-unionist Henry Clay Frick in charge of his company's operations in 1881. Frick resolved to break the union at Homestead. 'The mills have never been able to turn out the product they should, owing to being held back by the Amalgamated men,' he complained in a letter to Carnegie.

Carnegie was publicly in favor of labor unions. He condemned the use of strikebreakers and told associates that no steel mill was worth a single drop of blood. But Carnegie agreed with Frick's desire to break the union and 'reorganize the whole affair, and . . . exact good reasons for employing every man. Far too many men required by Amalgamated rules. Carnegie ordered the Homestead plant to manufacture large amounts of inventory so the plant could weather a strike. He also drafted a notice (which Frick never released) withdrawing recognition of the union.

With the collective bargaining agreement due to expire on June 30, 1892, Frick and the leaders of the local AA union entered into negotiations in February. With the steel industry doing well and prices higher, the AA asked for a wage increase. Frick immediately countered with a 22 percent wage decrease that would affect nearly half the union's membership and remove a number of positions from the bargaining unit. Carnegie encouraged Frick to use the negotiations to break the union: '...the Firm has decided that the minority must give way to the majority.

These works, therefore, will be necessarily non-union after the expiration of the present agreement. Frick then unilaterally announced on April 30, 1892 that he would bargain for 29 more days. If no contract was reached, Carnegie Steel would cease to recognize the union. Carnegie formally approved Frick's tactics on May 4.

Lockout

Frick locked workers out of the plate mill and one of the open hearth furnaces on the evening of June 28. When no collective bargaining agreement was reached on June 29, Frick locked the union out of the rest of the plant. A high fence topped with barbed wire, begun in January, was completed and the plant sealed to the workers. Sniper towers with searchlights were constructed near each mill building, and high-pressure water cannons (some capable of spraying boiling-hot liquid) were placed at each entrance. Various aspects of the plant were protected, reinforced or shielded, turning the steelworks into a fort.

At a mass meeting on June 30, local AA leaders reviewed the final negotiating sessions and announced that the company had broken the contract by locking out workers a day before the contract expired. The Knights of Labor, which had organized the mechanics and transportation workers at Homestead, agreed to walk out alongside the skilled workers of the AA. Workers at Carnegie plants in Pittsburgh, Duquesne, Union Mills and Beaver Falls struck in sympathy the same day.

The striking workers were determined to keep the plant closed. Picket lines were thrown up around the plant and the town, and 24-hour shifts established. Strangers were challenged to give explanations for their presence in town; if one was not forthcoming, they were escorted outside the city limits. Telegraph communications with AA locals in other cities were established to keep tabs on the company's attempts to hire scabs.

Battle on July 6

Frick in April 1892 had contracted with the Pinkerton National Detective Agency to provide security at the plant. His intent was to open the works with nonunion men on July 6. Knox devised a plan to get the Pinkertons onto the mill property. With the mill ringed by striking workers, the agents would access the plant grounds from the river. Three hundred Pinkerton agents assembled on the Davis Island Dam on the Ohio River about five miles below Pittsburgh at 10:30 p.m. on the night of July 5, 1892. They were given Winchester rifles, placed on two specially-equipped barges and towed upriver.

Pinkerton attempt to land

Frick brought in Pinkerton agents to protect the plant. Fighting broke out between Pinkertons and strikers upon their arrival. Conflicting testimony exists as to which side fired the first shot. Frederick Heinde, captain of the Pinkertons, and William Foy, a worker, were both wounded. The Pinkerton agents aboard the barges then fired into the crowd, killing two and wounding 11. The crowd responded in kind, killing two and wounding 12. The firefight continued for about 10 minutes.

The burgess of Homestead, John McLuckie, issued a proclamation at 6:00 a.m. asking for townspeople to help defend the peace; more than 5,000 people congregated on the hills

overlooking the steelworks. A 20-pounder brass cannon was set up on the shore opposite the steel mill, and an attempt was made to sink the barges. Six miles away in Pittsburgh, thousands of steelworkers gathered in the streets, listening to accounts of the attacks at Homestead; hundreds, many of them armed, began to move toward the town to assist the strikers.

Pinkerton surrender

At 4:00 p.m., events at the mill quickly began to wind down. More than 5,000 men—most of them armed mill hands from the nearby South Side, Braddock and Duquesne works—arrived at the Homestead plant. Hugh O'Donnell, a heater in the plant and head of the union's strike committee, then spoke to the crowd. He demanded that each Pinkerton be charged with murder, forced to turn over his arms and then be removed from the town. The mob shouted its approval.

The Pinkertons, too, wished to surrender. O'Donnell guaranteed them safe passage out of town. As the Pinkertons crossed the grounds of the mill, the crowd formed a gauntlet through which the agents passed. Men and women threw sand and stones at the Pinkerton agents, spat on them and beat them.

Arrival of the state militia

The steelworkers resolved to meet the militia with open arms, hoping to establish good relations with the troops. But the militia managed to keep its arrival in the town a secret almost to the last moment. At 9:00 a.m. on July 12, the Pennsylvania state militia arrived at the small Munhall train station near the Homestead mill (rather than the downtown train station as expected). More than 4,000 soldiers surrounded the plant. Within 20 minutes they had displaced the picketers; by 10:00 a.m., company officials were back in their offices. Another 2,000 troops camped on the high ground overlooking the city.

The company quickly brought in strikebreakers and restarted production under the protection of the militia. Despite the presence of AFL pickets in front of several recruitment offices across the nation, Frick easily found scabs to work the mill. The company quickly built bunk houses, dining halls and kitchens on the mill grounds to accommodate the strikebreakers. Scabs arrived on July 13, and the mill furnaces relit on July 15. When a few workers attempted to storm into the plant to stop the relighting of the furnaces, militiamen fought them off and wounded six with bayonets.

The strike's conclusion

Support for the strikers evaporated. The AFL refused to call for a boycott of Carnegie products in September 1892. Wholesale crossing of the picket line occurred, first among Eastern European immigrants and then among all workers. The strike had collapsed so much that the state militia pulled out on October 13, ending the 95-day occupation. The AA was nearly bankrupted by the job action. Nearly 1,600 men were receiving a total of $10,000 a week in relief from union coffers. It was time to end the Homestead strike. With only 192 out of more than 3,800 strikers in attendance, the Homestead chapter of the AA voted, 101 to 91, to return to work on November 20, 1892.

Aftermath

The Homestead strike broke the AA as a force in the American labor movement. Many employers refused to sign contracts with their AA unions while the strike lasted. A deepening in

1889 of the Long Depression led most steel companies to seek wage decreases similar to those imposed at Homestead.

De-unionization efforts throughout the Midwest began against the AA in 1897 when Jones and Laughlin Steel refused to sign a contract. By 1900, not a single steel plant in Pennsylvania remained union. The AA presence in Ohio and Illinois continued for a few more years, but the union continued to collapse. Many lodges disbanded, their members disillusioned. Others were easily broken in short battles. Carnegie Steel's Mingo Junction, Ohio plant was the last major unionized steel mill in the country. But it, too, successfully withdrew recognition without a fight in 1903.

Source: Wikipedia

Joe Hill

Joe Hill, born Joel Emmanuel Hägglund, and also known as Joseph Hillström (October 7, 1879 – November 19, 1915) was a Swedish-American labor activist and member of the Industrial Workers of the World, better known as the Wobblies. He was executed for murder after a controversial trial, and after his death became the subject of a folksong.

Early life and I.W.W. activity
Hill was born in Gävle, a town in the province of Gästrikland, Sweden. He emigrated to the United States in 1902, where he became a migrant laborer, moving from New York City to Cleveland, Ohio, and eventually to the West Coast. He was in San Francisco, California, at the time of the 1906 earthquake. Hill joined the Wobblies around 1910, when he was working on the docks in San Pedro, California. In late 1910 he wrote a letter to the I.W.W. newspaper, Industrial Worker, identifying himself as a member of the Portland, Oregon I.W.W. local.

Hill rose in the I.W.W. organization and travelled widely organizing workers under the I.W.W. banner, writing political songs and satirical poems, and making speeches. He coined the phrase "pie in the sky" which appeared in his song "The Preacher and the Slave" (a parody of the then well known hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye"):

Trial and execution
Joe Hill was an itinerant worker, who moved around the west, hopping freight trains, going from job to job, cause to cause and union local to union local. Early 1914 found Hill working as a tram laborer at the Silver King Mine in Park City, Utah, not far from Salt Lake City. It must be remembered that Colorado and Utah were not union friendly states with the former continuing to have strikes in this time period and union men blacklisted. Bill Haywood very nearly went down on an alleged murder charge in neighbouring Idaho in 1907.

Central to Hill was that on January 10, 1914, John G. Morrison and his son Arling were killed in their Salt Lake City butcher store by two armed intruders masked in red bandanas. Arling had

drawn a shotgun from behind the counter and wounded one of the masked men before being killed. The police first thought it was a crime of revenge, for nothing had been stolen. On the same evening, Joe Hill appeared on the doorsteps of a local doctor with a bullet wound. Hill said that he had been wounded defending a woman. The doctor noticed that Hill was armed with a pistol.

Hill was arrested for Morrison's death. Morrison had once been a police officer, and several men he had arrested were at first considered suspects, but they were not pursued. A red bandana was found in Hill's rooms. The pistol, purported to be in Hill's possession at the doctor's office, was not found. Hill resolutely denied that he was involved in the robbery and killing of Morrison, but he refused to testify at his trial, and was convicted of murder. An appeal to the Utah Supreme Court was unsuccessful, and it is uncertain whether appeals for mercy organized by the I.W.W. did his case any good.

The case generated international attention, and critics charged that the trial and conviction were unfair. Much later the state of Utah declared that under their law today, Joe Hill would not have been executed based on the evidence presented at his trial. Hill was executed by firing squad on November 19, 1915. Just prior to his execution, he had written to Bill Haywood, an I.W.W. leader, saying "Don't waste any time in mourning. Organize."[1]

His will, which was eventually set to music by Ethel Raim, read:

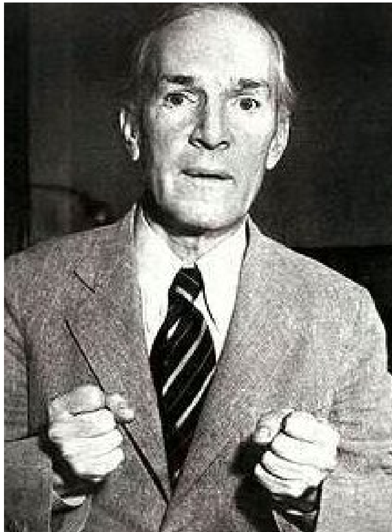
> *My will is easy to decide,*
> *For there is nothing to divide,*
> *My kin don't need to fuss and moan-*
> *"Moss does not cling to a rolling stone."*
> *My body? Ah, If I could choose,*
> *I would to ashes it reduce,*
> *And let the merry breezes blow*
> *My dust to where some flowers grow.*
> *Perhaps some fading flower then*
> *Would come to life and bloom again.*
> *This is my last and final will,*
> *Good luck to all of you, Joe Hill*

Hill's body was sent to Chicago where it was cremated. This was fitting as he had joked that he would not be caught dead in Utah. His ashes were purportedly sent to every I. W. W. local. In 1988 it was discovered that one envelope had been seized by the U. S. Postal Service in 1917 because of its "subversive potential". The envelope, with a photo affixed captioned: "Joe Hill murdered by the capitalist class, Nov. 19, 1915," as well as its contents, was deposited at the National Archives. After some negotiations, the last of Hill's ashes (but not the envelope that contained them) was turned over to the I. W. W. in 1988. The weekly *In These Times* ran notice of the ashes and invited readers to make suggestions as to what should be done with them. Suggestions varied from enshrining them at the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington DC to Abbie Hoffman's suggestion that they be eaten by today's "Joe Hills" like Billy Bragg and Michelle Shocked. Bragg indeed did swallow a small bit of the ashes and still carries Shocked's

share for eventual completion of Hoffman's last prank.[1] The majority were once again cast to the wind in the US, Canada, Sweden, Australia and Nicaragua. The ashes sent to Sweden were only partly cast to the wind. The main part was interred in the wall of a union office in Landskrona, a minor city in the south of the country, with a plaque commemorating him. That room is now the reading room of the local city library.

Source: Wikipedia

Upton Sinclair



Upton Beall Sinclair (September 20, 1878 – November 25, 1968) was a prolific American author who wrote over 90 books in many genres, often advocating socialist views, and achieved considerable popularity in the first half of the twentieth century. He gained particular fame for his novel, The Jungle (1906), which dealt with conditions in the U.S. meat packing industry and caused a public uproar that ultimately led to the passage of the Meat Inspection Act in 1906.

However, the main point of The Jungle was lost on the public, overshadowed by his descriptions of unsanitary conditions in the packing plants. The public health concerns dealt with in The Jungle are actually far less significant than the human tragedy lived by his main character and other workers in the plants. His main goal for the book was to demonstrate the inhuman conditions of the wage earner under capitalism, not to inspire public health reforms in how the packing was done. Indeed, Sinclair lamented the effect of his book and the public uproar that resulted: "I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach." Still, the fame and fortune he gained from publishing The Jungle enabled him to write books on almost every issue of social injustice in the 20th century.

Political and social activism
An early success was the Civil War novel Manassas, written in 1903 and published a year later. Originally projected as the opening book of a trilogy, the success of The Jungle caused him to drop such plans, although he did revise Manassas decades later by "moderating some of the exuberance of the earlier version"; a description -- in Sinclair's case -- very much of a relative kind. The Jungle brought to light many major issues in America such as poverty and other social wrongs. It is rumored that Sinclair was a racist, and there is some foundation for this. Upton Sinclair grew up in the nineteenth century, where epithets were used to refer to people of certain ethnic backgrounds. In his books, he used these to realistically portray the way in which foreigners and minorities were referred to and treated. For example, in his book Oil!, a character in the book uses a disparaging word to refer to non-Jewish people and a different character in the same book uses a disparaging word to refer to Jewish people. No offense is intended or implied.

The books were just written to accurately reflect the way people were during the time. However in other books, Sinclair goes well beyond the simple use of racial epithets in quotes. For example in The Jungle, it is the narrator (perhaps speaking for Sinclair himself) who describes African Americans in a highly negative light. To some, this description is merely capturing the mindset of the Eastern European immigrants who are the book's protagonists (a group which was itself held in low regard in America at the time) ; however, it must be said that similar racial views were commonly held in early 20th century America, including amongst people on the political left such as Jack London, and if Sinclair did indeed hold these views, it may have merely reflected the times that he lived in. (See Nadir of American race relations for more insight into attitudes of the era.) At the time that "The Jungle" was published, the epithets against blacks were unnoticed by both his supporters and detractors.

Sinclair helped found the California chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union in the 1920s.

The Jungle

The Jungle (1906) is the most famous novel written by the American author Upton Sinclair. It describes the life of a family of Lithuanian immigrants working in Chicago's Union Stock Yards at the end of the 19th century. Depicting, in drastic tones, poverty, the complete absence of social security, the scandalous living and working conditions, the lack of hygiene, and generally the utter hopelessness prevalent among the have-nots, which is contrasted with the deeply-rooted corruption on the part of the haves, The Jungle is a major critique of capitalism and an important example of the "muckraking" tradition begun by journalists such as Jacob Riis. The book's underlying message is that socialism is the only effective tool with which to fight unfettered capitalism and the only true remedy available to America's poor masses.

The unedited version of this novel came to light in the mid-1980s and has since been published. The book is one-third longer than the originally published release, and expands out beyond the meat packing industry into such directions as steelworking and organized crime, as well as restoring controversial details that might have harmed its chances of publication.

Public and federal response

Chicago meat inspectors in early 1906Sinclair’s account of workers falling into meat processing tanks and being ground, with animals parts, into “Durham's Pure Leaf Lard” gripped public attention. Foreign sales of American meat fell by one half. In order to calm public opinion and demonstrate the cleanliness of their meat, the major meat packers lobbied the Federal government to pass legislation paying for additional inspection and certification of meat packaged in the United States.[1] Their efforts, coupled with the public outcry, led to the passage of the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, which established the Food and Drug Administration.

Sinclair actually opposed this legislation, seeing it as an unjustified boon to large meatpackers. He famously noted the effect of his book in leading to meat packing regulations—but its failure to lead to popular support for socialism—by stating that "I aimed at the public's heart, and by accident I hit it in the stomach."

Source: Wikipedia

CREATIVE WRITING 101: Dialogue with a Purpose

DIALOGUE: Dialogue is the speech or conversation in a story, and, as with plot and character, it cannot be copied directly from real life. Real life dialogue has a number of functions. To reveal information:

"Hey Mum, I'm just going down to the shops."
"I left the bucket by the door."
"If I'm elected, I'll vote for the amended bill."
To acknowledge comment.
"Yes, I got that."
"No, it hasn't come yet."
And the supremely irritating; "I hear what you're saying."

To gain information:

"Dad, where did you put the towel?"
"What's the capital of Tibet?"
To propose a course of action.
"If we go to the beach, we could take sandwiches."
"Let's eat at the seafood place."

To express emotion:

"I'm really nervous about this."
"I hate that!"

To discuss ideas and opinions:

"Wouldn't it be interesting if we could fly?"
"If Grant gets in, things will be better."
To make contact.
"Hello, I'm Debbie."
"Oh, there you are!"

To fill in time:

"Nice day, isn't it?"
"I was there the other day and I met Sukie."

These are legitimate samples of everyday dialogue, but they don't make riveting reading. The real difference between real dialogue and effective dialogue in fiction and historical non-fiction is that real dialogue is often nothing but chatter or social oil, while effective dialogue always has a purpose. The two main purposes of dialogue are said to be (1) to reveal information and (2) to express character. There’s a third purpose – to break up long stretches of narrative.

DIALOGUE THAT REVEALS INFORMATION. Dialogue that reveals information appears in place of exposition. For example; here is the same information, presented first as narrative exposition, then as dialogue and finally as what is called inner dialogue.

1. Penny Ponds drove to her mother's house, which was down by the river. Her mother had lived in the house for six years, ever since the death of Penny's father. Penny thought it was time Myra Ponds moved closer in to town, but Myra always refused. That made Penny impatient.

2. "I'm going to Mother's house," said Penny Ponds, as she got into her car. "Do you want to come?"
"Sure!" Stephen jumped into the passenger seat. "Er - where is it?"
Penny sighed. "Down by the river, unfortunately. I wish she'd move closer into town."
"Has she been there long?"
"Six years," said Penny. "Ever since my father died."

3. I wish Mother would move closer into town, thought Penny Ponds as she drove down towards the river. This independence thing is all very well, but Dad's been dead six years. It'd save so much time if I didn't have to traipse all the way out here when I need to see her.

The same basic information is given each time, but the tone is different. Penny comes across as the same character each time, but when we have the information in dialogue the passage is both longer and more accessible.

What do we learn from the three passages? In the first passage, we learn that Penny's mother is called Myra, and that she lives down by the river. We learn that she has lived there for six years, and that Penny's father has been dead that long. We learn that Penny wishes Myra would move closer to town and also that Penny is probably not married, since she shares her mother's surname. Finally, we learn that Penny can drive a car.

In the second passage, the information is the same, except that we do not learn that Penny is unmarried nor discover her mother's name. We do learn that she knows and likes someone called Stephen.

In the third passage, we do not learn that Penny is unmarried, or that she knows someone called Stephen. We do not learn her mother's name. However, we do learn that Mother lives far enough away that Penny has to drive there, and also that Mother's choice of dwelling has to do with her notions of independence.

All the passages deliver information clearly and capably, but the effect is not quite the same. Passages 2 and 3 seem more immediate, because we see/hear Penny's opinions rather than being told about them secondhand. We are not told outright that Penny is impatient, because her words and thoughts show this quite adequately.

This information-delivering dialogue is sometimes called "expository dialogue". When used well, it can be very effective.

Dialogue to Show Character

CHARACTERISTIC DIALOGUE. Dialogue is a good way of revealing character. Consider the following examples.

"Get out!" yelled Jane. "Go on, get!"
"I think you should go now," said Alice.
"If you're not out of here in five seconds, I'll bash you with a broomstick!' threatened Ellie.

"Go on if you're going," said Beth.
"Depart. Or else," said Pattie.

These five women are all saying much the same thing, but they express themselves in different ways. Jane sounds angry and out of control, while Alice sounds very much in control. Ellie probably has a sense of humor, while Beth sounds petulant. Pattie's use of the formal ("depart") and the vernacular ("or else") may indicate humor or she may be pretending to have more class than she has.

Manner of delivery, word choice, sentence structure and length of sentence all help to illuminate character and background. Age and historical period can also be displayed in dialogue. People with the habit of command tend to phrase their requests as instructions. Insecure people, or those who feel themselves low in the social pecking order, apologize when there isn't any need. Diplomatic people phrase their instructions as requests. People who read a lot often phrase their instructions in an either/or request, which they hope will guarantee an acceptable answer. For example, see these three women with their daughters.

Here is Karen. "I don't know why you never help in the house, Gina."
Here is Mary. "What are you going to do to help me today, Anna?"
Here is Deb. "Would you like to sweep the floor, Dinah, or would you rather wash the dishes?"

Each woman is expressing a desire that her daughter should help with the housework, but their requests are differently phrased, and will probably have different results. Leaving aside the social and psychological reasoning behind these results, let's focus on what we can learn about the women and their daughters.

It seems that Anna is probably younger than the other girls. Her mother uses the tone of someone talking to a child rather than a teenager. Mary is also pleasant and in control, but she probably doesn't mind whether Anna helps or not. Karen is exasperated. Maybe Gina never does help in the house, or maybe Karen's irritation really comes from another source. If Gina does help, she is likely to be grudging. Deb is organized and accustomed to command. She probably reads parenting magazines. She expects Dinah to help, and Dinah probably will, if she's twelve or so. If Dinah is in her mid teens, she might respond with "Neither".

MOVE-ALONG DIALOGUE TECHNIQUES. Whatever purpose the dialogue is serving in a story, it should move the plot along. Each exchange should have a reason for existing, which is one of the things that makes fictional dialogue stand apart from the real thing. Here is an exchange between two children.

"What do you want to do?"
"Dunno."
"We could go swimming."
"OK."
"Get your towel then."
"Where is it?"
"In the cupboard."

This is realistic, but boring. It could be better expressed in a single exchange plus a bit of "business."

"We can go swimming, if you can find a towel."
"Great!" Linc ran off to fetch one from the cupboard.

If you have a scene where one character needs to tell another what s/he has been doing, you have two options. If your character is not telling the truth, or is telling a highly slanted version of the truth, let the story come out in dialogue. This allows the reader to appreciate the irony of the two versions of events. If your character is giving a factual account, avoid making the reader sit through it twice by using a bridge.

"I was just leaving the house when the phone rang," began Kurt. Succinctly, he told Rosie what had happened...

Or you might put it this way;

"I was just leaving the house when the phone rang," began Kurt.
Rosie listened silently while he explained, interrupting only once.
"Wait on a minute," she said. "You didn't suspect at all? Really?"

Dialogue can be used to open a chapter or a scene, or right at the beginning. A statement or question, an answer or exclamation, all bring an immediacy to the text, especially if qualified with a couple of lines of character drawing.

"You did what?" Perry's voice was dangerously low.
Rampling wished she could take it back, but it was too late now. "I told him to pack his bags," she repeated.

Or;

"I didn't do it," said Rainer for the fifth time. His chin hurt, more from clenching his teeth than the half-hearted blows he had suffered.
Dialogue openings like these draw readers right into the story.

Differentiating Voice

If you have several characters in your dialogue, you will need to consider giving them different modes of speech. People from the same family sometimes have similar speech rhythms, but each should speak in a distinctive voice. There are lots of ways to achieve this, without resorting to annoying mannerisms like phonetic baby talk or lisps.

Some characters use polysyllables whenever possible, while others will always choose simple language. Some will talk in complete sentences, while some might talk in snatches or single words. You might have a character who likes puns, and another who is always very literal. A confident character will tend to make statements, while a less confident one will suggest things, or sound apologetic. You should let your characters announce their own modes of speech.

One thing you should avoid is using speech tags and adverbs to color your dialogue. Most of the time, the correct speech tag is "said", plain and simple. The dialogue itself should let mood and character show. Don't rely on a constant stream of "growled", "yelled", "sighed", and "cried". Especially, don't use "gritted", "hissed" (if the word is devoid of S), "smiled" or "ground out".

FANTASY, REGIONAL AND HISTORICAL DIALOGUE.

Sometimes, you will need to write a character who cannot and should not sound just like the man in the hardware shop. How are you going to handle dialogue when the speaker is a fantasy creature, a dialect speaker or from another time? There are several approaches, all of which have merit.

Fantasy characters might speak with an accent, or betray their origin with a slightly unusual word choice. Instead of saying "I came up the lane and through the rose garden", an elf might say "I came by the green way and through the place of thorns". Fantasy characters might also speak with formal Shakespearean English, or in oblique comments.

TRANSLATION CONVENTION.

Historical characters are sometimes written as if they were speaking colloquial modern English. The justification for this is that they really are speaking the "modern" English of their time. This is the same "translation convention" that some films use to let an English speaking audience understand Russian, German or Italian characters without resorting to subtitles.

GADZOOKERY.

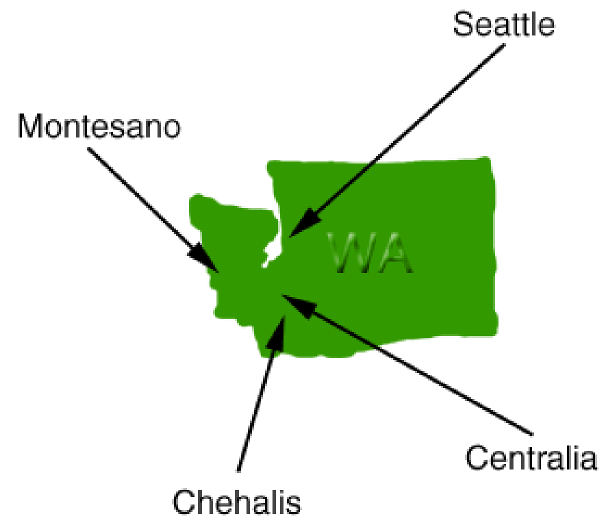
At one time, historical characters spoke a kind of dialect known in the trade as "gadzookery", but this is usually considered old fashioned now. The modern way is for the occasional use of older slang and the cutting back of contractions to reflect a statelier mode of speech. Apart from occasional words (such as "burn" for "creek or stream" or "bach" for "shack or cottage") dialect is usually suggested by rhythm of the words.

Dialogue Assignment Rubric

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Historical Accuracy	All historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Almost all historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Most of the historical information was accurate and in chronological order.	Very little of the historical information was accurate and/or in chronological order.
Role	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were consistently in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were often in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were sometimes in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were rarely in character.
Voice / Realism	The character's voices were distinct. Their lines reflected their background. The conversation was natural and realistic.	The character's voices were somewhat distinct. Their lines showed consideration of their different backgrounds. The conversation was mostly natural and realistic.	The characters sounded very similar. Their lines showed minor consideration of character backgrounds. The conversation was somewhat stilted and unrealistic.	The character's voices were the same. Their lines did not indicate consideration of their background. The conversation was stilted and unrealistic.

Homework Assignment: The Centralia Massacre

http://content.lib.washington.edu/iwwweb/read.html
The following article was taken from the website above.



Essay: The Centralia Massacre

The Setting

Centralia's first exposure to the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) had not gone well. It was 1914 when 47 members of the I.W.W., unemployed and homeless, came to Centralia looking for food and shelter. The small town, about 85 miles south of Seattle, didn't know what to do with them, and quietly hoped the men would move on, but they didn't. Citizens of Centralia were deputized, and instructed to march the Wobblies (as I.W.W. members were commonly called) out of town to the local fairgrounds. The men went peaceably, but eight men returned to town shortly, explained that the men were hungry, and would return to town, whether they were wanted or not. True to their word, they did come back, and helped themselves to food from local stores. This time the deputized men walked the Wobblies all the way to neighboring Chehalis, where the police there met them and escorted them out of Chehalis.

The passage of time did not serve to endear the Wobblies to the people of small, conservative Centralia. The I.W.W. was philosophically against US participation in W.W.I, thinking that the US should concentrate on labor problems here at home. This was generally viewed as unpatriotic, if not outright treason. Centralia didn't want these unpatriotic radicals in their town.

In 1917 the I.W.W. opened a hall in Centralia, despite the sentiment of the town. Halls were imperative to the survival of the I.W.W. Unlike other unions, their membership was largely homeless, so the halls were the primary means of contact between members. However, once the landlord of the Centralia hall discovered that he had rented to the radical I.W.W., they were evicted. Rather than give up, the I.W.W. found a new location for a hall in Centralia. They were convinced that Centralia, in the middle of lumber-working territory, was an important place to be.

A year later, the hall was raided in the middle of a parade to support the Red Cross. Several marchers left the parade, stormed the hall, led the Wobblies into the street, and proceeded to destroy the hall. The Wobblies were taken out of town, and similar to the events preceding the Everett Massacre, forced to run a gauntlet between lines of local businessmen who beat them.

Later in 1918, Tom Lassiter, a blind man who ran a newsstand in Centralia that carried I.W.W. materials as well as other papers viewed as subversive, was forced into a car and driven into the next county. He was told not to return. Not only did he return, he also continued to sell the objectionable papers. Shortly after his return, he was arrested, although never charged with a specific crime.

In addition to being viewed as unpatriotic, the I.W.W. was also vocal in its support of the Russian Bolsheviks, which made civic leaders throughout the country wary of any and all Wobblies. Throughout the country, I.W.W. members were regularly arrested and convicted of federal sedition charges.

The Massacre

This was the background of Centralia's relationship with the Wobblies when they found a new hall (to replace the one previously raided) in 1919. Rumors that the new hall would also be raided soon became so commonplace, it was more a question of when a raid would happen, not if it would happen. Not surprisingly, the Wobblies were concerned. Local lawyer Elmer Smith, sympathetic to the Wobbly cause, suggested going public about their fears of being raided in an attempt to gain public sympathy. The Wobblies took Smith's advice and distributed a leaflet, but this affected little change in the views of the general populace of Centralia.

It soon became commonly expected that the raid would take place during the November 11, 1919, Armistice Day parade, presumably hoping to mimic the success of the raid during the Red Cross parade . This parade was to be a very patriotic event, with all marchers in uniform, and flags encouraged. The rumors of an Armistice Day raid seemed so likely that the owner of the building that now housed the I.W.W. hall even went to the police, asking for help, but was promised nothing.

Local I.W.W. leader Britt Smith returned to lawyer Elmer Smith (no relation) for advice on defending themselves. Elmer Smith advised that it would be legal for the Wobblies to defend themselves, if attacked first. The Wobblies then held a meeting, and decided to secretly arm themselves with guns. They even went so far as to decide in advance to place armed men in two or three different locations from which they could view the hall during the parade. Seven men were to remain in the hall during the parade.

During the parade, not unexpectedly, the Centralia Legionnaires slowed to leave a gap between their group and the Chehalis group ahead of them. The Centralia group stopped in front of the I.W.W. hall, and a subset of the Centralia group left the main group, ran to the I.W.W. hall, and forced the door open. Much to their surprise, they were met by gunfire. There is little doubt, from later testimony, most notably that of Dr. Frank Bickford who admitted leading the raid, that the Legionnaires initiated the conflict. It is less clear who fired first, but it seems likely that the Wobblies fired first. In any event, shots soon came from all vantage points. Warren Grimm and Arthur McElfresh of the Legionnaires were killed in this initial confusion of shots. Of the seven Wobblies inside the hall, only Wesley Everest and Ray Becker fired any shots. It is unclear, of the men posted at other stations, who or how many fired upon the raiding Legionnaires.

As the Legionnaires entered the hall, four Wobblies hid in the back, and three exited out the back. Everest, still armed, was one who fled out the back and killed Ben Casagrande during his escape. Everest ran until he got to the Skookumchuck River. Trapped there, he faced his pursuers. One of the pursuers, Dale Hubbard, had by this time acquired a gun that didn't fire.

Nonetheless, Hubbard leveled it at Everest, and demanded his surrender. Instead of surrendering, Everest shot and killed Hubbard and seriously wounded John Watt. Everest now had to reload his weapon, and was overcome and captured by the Legionnaires while attempting to reload. He did not cooperate with his captors and refused to identify himself. Rumors quickly spread that he was actually I.W.W. leader Britt Smith.

While Everest was being captured, the contents of the hall were taken into the street and burned, with the exception of the membership list which was given to the town prosecutor.

The other men from the hall were more easily apprehended than Everest, as were most of the men from the other locations, although one man, "John Doe Davis" was never found. Mike Sheehan, Ray Becker, Bert Faulkner and John McInerney had hidden in a cold storage locker, and surrendered themselves quite quickly. John Lamb, Dewey Lamb, and O.C. Bland were captured later the same day at the Lamb home.

When the still-anonymous Everest was marched back into town, a group of citizens tried to lynch him on the spot but were stopped in their attempt, and Everest was taken to join the others in jail. Elmer Smith was jailed as well, on the grounds of his sympathy to the I.W.W., and for his disapproval of US involvement in W.W.I.

Centralia was now in a state of shock, and public hysteria began. Four men had been killed, and one more, John Watt, was in serious condition, although he would ultimately survive. That evening, someone pulled a switch at the power distribution site, and all the lights in the city went out. At the same time, a group broke into the jail, demanded keys to the cells, and forcibly removed Wesley Everest. He was driven to a bridge over the Chehalis River, mutilated, hung, shot repeatedly, and left hanging. Although it is without a doubt that Everest was the one who killed two of the Legionnaires, he was still anonymous at the time of the lynching. It is generally suspected that he was lynched because of the rumor that he was leader Britt Smith. In reality, Smith remained safely in jail. Neither city undertaker would take Everest's body, so it was taken back to the jail, where the remaining prisoners were given the task of building a coffin and burying him. City prosecutor Herman Allen said he would prosecute the lynching, if provided the evidence, but no such evidence was ever gathered.

In the growing hysteria, anyone with even vague I.W.W. connections or leanings was jailed. In the search for Wobblies, two groups of vigilantes, each unaware of the other group, converged on an empty cabin. Each group believed that the other group were Wobblies, exchanged gunfire, and John Haney was killed.

On November 13, 1919, 16-year old fugitive Loren Roberts surrendered on the advice of his mother. Bert Bland was captured on the 19th. After Bland's capture, things became somewhat calmer in Centralia, but the hysteria had only begun statewide and nationally. It was not common knowledge that the hall had been raided before the gunfire, and the general public believed that the radical Wobblies had fired into a peaceful, patriotic parade. Wobblies in logging camps throughout Washington State were arrested. The US Attorney advised holding all suspected I.W.W. members throughout the nation on federal charges. Washington soon passed a law making it illegal to belong to the I.W.W. Many feared that the Centralia Massacre, as it had come to be known, was a planned piece of a larger conspiracy.

The Trial and Afterward

No lawyer in Lewis County would defend the I.W.W. members facing trial, so Ralph Pierce came down from Seattle. Pierce was an associate of George Vanderveer, who had so ably defended I.W.W. members after the Everett Massacre. By the time Pierce arrived in Centralia, many of his clients had already given statements. Loren Roberts and Tom Morgan had been especially talkative, Morgan so much so, that the charges against him were eventually dropped.

Since Everest, the known killer of Casagranda and Hubbard had been lynched, and John Doe Davis, the suspected killer of McElfresh had disappeared, that left only the murder of Warren Grimm to be tried. Eugene Barnett was one of the men posted in one of the other buildings looking down on the I.W.W. hall, and it was he that the prosecutors decided to try for Grimm's death. The others would all be charged with conspiracy to commit murder. George Vanderveer took the case over from Pierce at this point.

The trial was held in Montesano, since it was quickly agreed that a fair trial could not be obtained in Centralia. Vanderveer did not believe a fair trial could occur in Montesano either, but his motion to move the trial to Olympia was denied by Judge John M. Wilson. Vanderveer's attempt to have the men tried separately, rather than together, was also denied, as was Vanderveer's appeal of these decisions. Nor did the judge allow Vanderveer to discuss any of the incidents that had happened to the Wobblies in Centralia previous to this massacre day.

The trial, held in 1920, was a huge event for the small town of Montesano. Thirty-four Legionnaires were deputized for the event. Legionnaires were also paid and provided with shelter to attend the trial. The US Congress even passed an act allowing ex-servicemen to wear their uniforms, so these paid attendees appeared to be quite official. The American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.), a far more conservative labor organization than the I.W.W., was shocked at what clearly seemed to be attempts to influence or bully the jury, sent a 6-man 'jury' of their own to attend the trial. In the middle of the trial, a US Army infantry regiment arrived, at the request of Prosecutor Herman Allen, ostensibly as a 'precautionary measure', but more likely as a further means of jury intimidation. On a more optimistic note for I.W.W. supporters, part way through the trial, the judge unexpectedly dropped the charges against one defendant, 21-year old Bert Faulkner, possibly because his mother attended the trial daily. This left 10 men on trial.

Discussion/Homework Questions

1. Why was Centralia significant to the interests of the I.W.W.?
2. Did the state of Washington have the right to remove the I.W.W. from Centralia?
3. Why did the I.W.W. arm themselves and why did they do this in secret?
4. What was the significance of the date of the massacre?
5. Explain how the massacre reflected the growing tension between the American Legion and the I.W.W.?
6. Why did the residents of Centralia fear the I.W.W.? Why did the I.W.W. appeal to some workers?
7. If an incident of this magnitude took place today between organized labor and another group, what kind of public response would result?
8. What are the ethical issues at work in the Centralia incident?

LESSON PLAN FIVE: CENTRALIA MASSACRE

Objectives: Students will…

- Perform historical research about the events surrounding the Centralia Massacre of 1919.
- Assess and analyze historical figures involved in the massacre and their roles in the events that took place in Centralia.
- Present a mock trial that includes the elements of an actual criminal trial proceedings.
- Prepare and create a newspaper project about the events surrounding Centralia.

Outcome/Goals: Students will acquire a deeper knowledge about the conflicts between organized labor and the government as well as the struggle of organized labor to acquire legitimacy in the eyes of the government and citizens.

Time Needed: Four ninety-minute block class periods.

Materials:

- Computer lab and media center access
- Attachment 5A: Role Descriptions (Prosecution, Defense, Judge, Jury, Witnesses, Press Corp)
- Attachment 5B: Rubrics for each Role
- Attachment 5C: History of the I.W.W. (1905-Today)

Procedure:

1. The teacher will review the learning objectives of the previous 4 lessons and explain the purpose of the fifth lesson.

2. The teacher will lead a guided discussion with students regarding the nature and purpose of criminal trials; the teacher will review previous knowledge on the rights of criminal defendants previously covered (in lessons on the U.S. Constitution).

Optional: Clips of major trials from the United States could be shown to students in order to facilitate a better understanding of the criminal trial process or teacher could use excerpts from movies such as To Kill A Mockingbird, A Few Good Men, Runaway Jury, Class Action, Inherit the Wind, Perry Mason or Law & Order episodes.

3. Discuss the introductory reading assignment on the Centralia Massacre with the students.

4. The teacher will explain the various roles and responsibilities of the students in this culminating activity.

5. Dramatization of the events in Centralia will include students forming a jury, newspaper coverage, attorneys and the judge. The teacher may either assign or allow students to choose their roles in this activity. The roles are as follows:
    - Prosecution Team (2-3 students)
    - Defense Team (2-3 students)

- Judge (1-2 students)
- Jury (5-6 students)
- Witnesses (2-3 students)
- Press Corps (7-10 students)

6. Students will form their groups and the teacher will distribute role cards (see attached document) to each group with an accompanying rubric for evaluation.

7. Allow students three work days in the media center to prepare their roles in the activity. Direct students to the Digital Collections at the University of Washington Libraries website--http://content.lib.washington.edu/index.html. Advise students to conduct a search for the Centralia Massacre. The following websites[1] will provide ample information about logging and the plight of timber workers: http://www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/

   Students furthermore should search for books in their school library and/or area university library (for Portland area schools direct students to the Multnomah County Library at http://catalog.multcolib.org/ and search for texts on the Centralia Massacre.

   ENCOURAGE RESEARCH AND USE OF ACTUAL HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS INCLUDING TESTIMONY AND DEPOSITIONS.

8. At the conclusion of student work time, the mock trial will begin and will require one ninety-minute class period. During the trial, the students acting as the press corps will cover the trial for their newspaper activity. The students acting as the jury will then deliberate the case and render its verdict.

9. Explain to the members of the press corps that they are to incorporate the jury's verdict into their newspaper project.

10. Allow members of the press corps to present copies of their finished newspaper project to the class. The teacher will lead a debriefing discussion about the project using the discussion questions at the end of this unit.

Assessment Tools and Strategies:

Closure: Students will compose a 3-5 page paper responding to the concluding question. Students should defend and support their thesis with analysis and evaluation of primary and secondary source materials.

Question: **How did the various conflicts among labor groups, business, and government affect and effect organized labor in the United States post 1919?**

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[1] It is *highly recommended* for teachers to provide instruction to students on how to search for credible information on the internet prior to this portion of the unit.

Extensions and Modifications:

Extension:

1. Students compose a 3-5 page paper focusing on contemporary labor issues and the status of organized labor in the United States today. This evaluative paper should connect the past struggles/conflicts of organized labor with the struggles/conflicts facing organized labor today.
2. The teacher could show the documentary film *Harlan County, U.S.A.*, a documentary that explores a coal miners' strike in rural Kentucky in 1976. Another possible film option could be the film *Matewan*, which explores the violent struggle between organized labor and management in a 1920s West Virginia coal mining town.

CENTRALIA MASSACRE TRIAL: ROLE PLAY INSTRUCTIONS

PROSECUTION TEAM MEMBER

Your job is to prepare a case against the members of the I.W.W. who are on trial for murder. The following instructions will guide your team through the prosecution's process:

1. Initiate your own investigation into the events that unfolded on November 11, 1919. As you gather information, build your case against the accused/defendants. You should explore how the actions of the accused violated the law and that they knew that what they were doing was against the law. Visit the following websites:
   http://content.lib.washington.edu/index.htm
   http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/
   http://www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/
   Multnomah County Library at http://catalog.multcolib.org/

2. Your case against the defendants should include the following: visuals of the crime scene, interviewing and utilization of witnesses, contact of possible family members of the accused to testify, and any historical evidence (including actual testimony and depositions) that could be used.

3. Prepare opening and closing statements for the trial as well as questions for witnesses under examination and cross examination.

4. Students should remember that they are ACTING in the mock trial and you should take your role seriously.

5. Your group may choose one to two people to portray the prosecuting attorneys for the government.

6. Students acting as attorneys should come to class dressed for the part (e.g., formal attire).

Prosecution Lawyer FAQ

What is my job at the trial?

- You will do one direct examination and one cross examination. You might also do the opening or the closing statement. When speaking, you should stand so you are facing both the witness and jury.

Do I have to act like a lawyer at the trial?

- You should try. You should be serious, confident, professional, and mature. Also, you should give the jury the impression that you really care about your case and believe your side should win. Above all, speak loudly and clearly!

Do I have to memorize my questions?

- You should try. You should practice your direct and cross examinations several times with your witness so that your questions are very natural and confident.

Can I take the deposition and notes up with me at the trial?

- Yes, but use them as little as possible. If you are constantly looking down at your notes, the jury will be distracted and focus on you instead of your argument.

How many questions should I ask on direct examination?

- As many as it takes to make your case and emphasize your main points. Remember, the jury has not read these depositions, so you really need to paint a vivid picture for them. You can't ask the same question twice, but you can ask a series of similar questions. For example, if you were questioning a Wobbly about his job you could ask "What type of work did you do at the factory? What was the hardest thing you had to do? Why was this work so hard? How did this make you feel? Did you ever feel unsafe? Did you like your job? Why not?"

Can I ask about things that aren't on the deposition?

- Yes and no. You can ask about things that are related to topics discussed in the deposition, but you should not ask about events that aren't mentioned at all.

Can witnesses make things up?

- Yes and no. They fill in details and add to what is written, but they can't make up new events or discuss topics that aren't mentioned in the deposition. There is one exception to this rule: if you ask a question on cross examination something that isn't in the deposition, they can give whatever answer they want (this is usually bad for you!)

How should I prepare my witness for my direct examination?

- This is the most important part of your job. You need to read over their deposition with them and write the exact questions you will ask at the trial. Your questions should focus on trying to prove your case (that they are either guilty or innocent of murder). You also need to help your witness plan out their exact answers. Finally, you need to practice your direct examination several times to get it perfect.

Should my witness read word for word from their deposition?

- NO! They must put their answers in their own words. They should add details and descriptions to make their answers more convincing and memorable.

How should I prepare my witness for *their* cross examination?

- Try to guess what questions the other lawyer might ask, and then help your witness come up with answers that help your case. Then, practice a cross examination, asking all sorts of questions. Do this several times until they are confident in their answers.

How should I prepare for *my* cross examination?

- Read the deposition of the witness you will be cross examining and brainstorm questions to ask Focus on trying to prove your case (that they are either guilty or not guilty of murder). You can also try to make this witness look dishonest or unsympathetic. Your witness should help you with this. After brainstorming questions, practice the cross exam by having your witness play the role of the other witness.

What if the person I'm cross examining is outsmarting me?

- If you ask a bad question that backfires on you, don't panic. Stay confident and the jury might not realize you messed up. Switch to a different question to change the subject. Don't keep digging yourself into a deeper hole! Also, if you really don't know what to do, you can ask the judge for a minute to confer with your teammates.

When should I object?

- You should pay particular attention when your witness is being cross examined and when the witness you will cross examine is testifying. However, you should pay attention to all the witnesses and object whenever you think it is necessary.

Can I help the other lawyers on my team?

- Yes! If they are messing up on direct or cross, you can ask the judge to confer with them (say "Your honor, may I confer with my co-counsel?). If that doesn't solve the problem, you can ask questions to their witnesses when they are finished.

What should be in the Opening and Closing Statements?

- You should outline your side's main arguments. You should tell the jury what you intend to prove (opening) or what you did prove (closing). You should refer to the law and how it relates to this case. You should try to make your side sound sympathetic and the other side sound bad. You should try to discredit your opponents' main arguments. In your closing, you should refer to specific witnesses and remind the jury of what they said. These statements should be *at least* 2-3 minutes long, and hopefully longer. You may read them at the trial.

What if I don't agree with my side?

- In real life, lawyers can't always choose their clients. If you don't believe your side is in the right, you still have to argue your case to the best of your ability.

How will I be graded?

- You will be graded on your performance on direct, cross, and opening/closing, as well as your preparation, attention during the trial, and objections. You can get extra credit for doing an outstanding job.

CENTRALIA MASSACRE TRIAL: ROLE PLAY INSTRUCTIONS

DEFENSE TEAM MEMBER

Your job is to prepare a legal defense for the members of the I.W.W. who are on trial for murder. The following instructions will guide your team through the defense process:

1. Initiate your own investigation into the events that unfolded on November 11, 1919 in Centralia Washington. As you gather information to mount your defense, you should explore justifications for the actions of the accused in this criminal matter. Visit the following websites to gather information to construct your case:
   http://content.lib.washington.edu/index.htm
   http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/
   http://www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/
   Multnomah County Library at http://catalog.multcolib.org/

2. Your defense should include the following: visuals of the crime scene, interviewing and utilization of witnesses, contact of possible family members of the accused to testify, and any historical evidence that could be used in your defense.

3. Prepare opening and closing statements for the trial as well as questions for witnesses under examination and cross examination (including actual testimony and depositions).

4. Students should remember that they are ACTING in the mock trial and you should take your role seriously.

5. Your group may choose one to two people to portray the defense attorneys for the Centralia defendants during the mock trial.

6. Students acting as attorneys should come to class dressed for the part (e.g., formal attire).

Defense Lawyer FAQ

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Do I have to act like a lawyer at the trial?

- You should try. You should be serious, confident, professional, and mature. Also, you should give the jury the impression that you really care about your case and believe your side should win. Above all, speak loudly and clearly!

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- Yes! If they are messing up on direct or cross, you can ask the judge to confer with them (say "Your honor, may I confer with my co-counsel?). If that doesn't solve the problem, you can ask questions to their witnesses when they are finished.

What should be in the Opening and Closing Statements?

- You should outline your side's main arguments. You should tell the jury what you intend to prove (opening) or what you did prove (closing). You should refer to the law and how it relates to this case. You should try to make your side sound sympathetic and the other side sound bad. You should try to discredit your opponents' main arguments. In your closing, you should refer to specific witnesses and remind the jury of what they said. These statements should be *at least* 2-3 minutes long, and hopefully longer. You may read them at the trial.

What if I don't agree with my side?

- In real life, lawyers can't always choose their clients. If you don't believe your side is in the right, you still have to argue your case to the best of your ability.

How will I be graded?

- You will be graded on your performance on direct, cross, and opening/closing, as well as your preparation, attention during the trial, and objections. You can get extra credit for doing an outstanding job.

TRIAL JUDGE

Role #1: Research the events leading up to the massacre, the massacre itself, and the aftermath of the massacre. You will be acting in cooperation with members of the jury and the press corps. You will create a dramatization from each event to be acted out prior to the criminal trial. Ensure that each person is involved in the dramatization and has some speaking role.

Role #2: Your job as trial judge is to ensure that a fair trial takes place. You will oversee all trial proceedings (e.g., witness testimony, maintain order in the courtroom, oversee lawyers for the prosecution and defense). Listen closely to the facts of the case and witness testimony. You will make rulings on objections by the defense or prosecuting attorneys.

CENTRALIA MASSACRE TRIAL: ROLE PLAY INSTRUCTIONS

JURY MEMBER

Role #1: Research the events leading up to the massacre, the massacre itself, and the aftermath of the massacre. You will be acting in cooperation with the judge, witnesses and the press corps. You will create a dramatization from each event to be acted out prior to the criminal trial. Ensure that each person is involved in the dramatization and has some speaking role.

Role #2: Your task is to hear all of the evidence and testimony offered by the defense and prosecution in the Centralia case. At the conclusion of the deliberations, you will render a decision. You should pick a jury foreperson (jury leader) and this person will submit the jury's written decision to the judge. The written decision should include the reason(s) for the jury's verdict. Your group will have 20-30 minutes to deliberate the case and render a verdict.

WITNESS

As a witness to the events in Centralia, you must research information about your "character". You can find this information at the following websiteS:
http://content.lib.washington.edu/cgi-bin/docviewer.exe?CISOROOT=/iww&CISOPTR=568
Multnomah County Library at http://catalog.multcolib.org/

Take notes on what the witness actually saw and reported to investigators. Pay close attention to the witness' age, occupation, and personal background. Each witness is going to have their own unique point of view and bias. Be aware of that bias and make a serious attempt to embody the witness.

Remember, you are **ACTING** as this person!

Witness FAQ

What is my job at the trial?

- You will sit on the witness stand and answer questions from your lawyer (direct examination) and the other side's lawyer (cross examination).

Who is my character?

- All the witnesses were real people who were involved in the Centralia Massacre. The depositions are primary source documents – actual quotes from these people.

Do I have to act like my character?

- Yes, you should try your best to do this. If your character is a doctor, you should sound mature and educated. If you are a small child, you should act like one. Doing this will make the trial more entertaining, and it will make you a more convincing witness. But don't overact – if you go too far, the jury won't take you seriously!

Do I have to dress up?

- No, but you can if you want to!

Do I have to memorize my answers?

- You should try to as much as possible. If you study your deposition and learn all about your character, when you are on the witness stand the answers will come easily.

Can I take my deposition and notes up with me on the witness stand?

- Yes, but try to look at them as little as possible. If you are constantly looking down at your notes, the jury won't take you seriously.

Should I put my answers in my own words?

- YES! If you just read your deposition word for word, the jury won't understand you!

Can I say things that aren't on the deposition?

- Yes, but you can't *contradict* anything in the deposition.

Can I make things up?

- Yes and no. You can fill in details and add to what is written, but you can't start talking about something that doesn't relate to anything in the deposition. For example, if the deposition says you work as a shopkeeper, you can make up the details of your job description, your daily routine, etc. But, you can't make up events that aren't mentioned in your deposition. For example, you can't describe a overhearing the Legionaires planning to attack the Wobblies if the primary sources don't mention this!

Should I make things up?

- YES! That is the only way to be a good, convincing witness! If you just read your script, you will be incredibly boring, the jury won't listen, and you won't get a good grade! Add details that strengthen your case and make you sound more convincing and memorable! Make your answers on direct examination long and detailed. Be sure to really emphasize the important points.

Do I have to do anything other than learn my part?

- YES! You and your lawyer are partners. You should work together to come up with questions and answers for your direct examination. You should also help them prepare for their cross examination, and they should help you prepare for yours. During the trial, you should offer your lawyers advice when you aren't on the witness stand. If your lawyer is doing the opening or closing, you should help them write and practice their speech.

How should I help my lawyer prepare for their cross examination?

- Read the deposition of the witness they will be cross examining and help your lawyer brainstorm questions to ask. Remember, you should focus on trying to prove your case (that they are either guilty or not guilty of murder); you also want to make this witness look unreliable and unsympathetic. After brainstorming questions, practice the cross exam by playing the role of the other witness and trying your best to outwit your lawyer.

How long should my answers be?

- On direct exam, your answers should be long and detailed. On cross exam, your answers should be short and to the point.

How should I prepare for my cross examination?

- With your lawyer, try to guess what questions the other lawyer might ask you, and try to come up with answers that help your case.

What if I don't know the answer to a question they ask me on cross examination?

- If the question is about something that is NOT in your deposition, you are free to make up any answer you wish (within reason). For example, if they ask you how many people gathered in front of the IWW hall, you could say "10 to 20," but you shouldn't say "5000" because that would be unrealistic.

What if they ask me questions that I think are unfair?

- Say "Can you please repeat the question?" This is a signal to your lawyer to object! The objection might be overruled, but at least it will buy you a few seconds to think of a good answer!

What if I get caught in a "trap" on cross examination?

- You can't lie or refuse to answer a question, even if the answer will hurt your team. You just have to hope your lawyer can fix the damage on redirect or in their closing.

How will I be graded?

- Your grade will be based on several things: your performance on the witness stand, your participation during the work time, whether or not you helped your lawyer, etc. If all you do is read your script word for word, you will not pass.

Can I get extra credit?

- Yes, if you do an outstanding job in all parts of your job.

PRESS CORP MEMBER

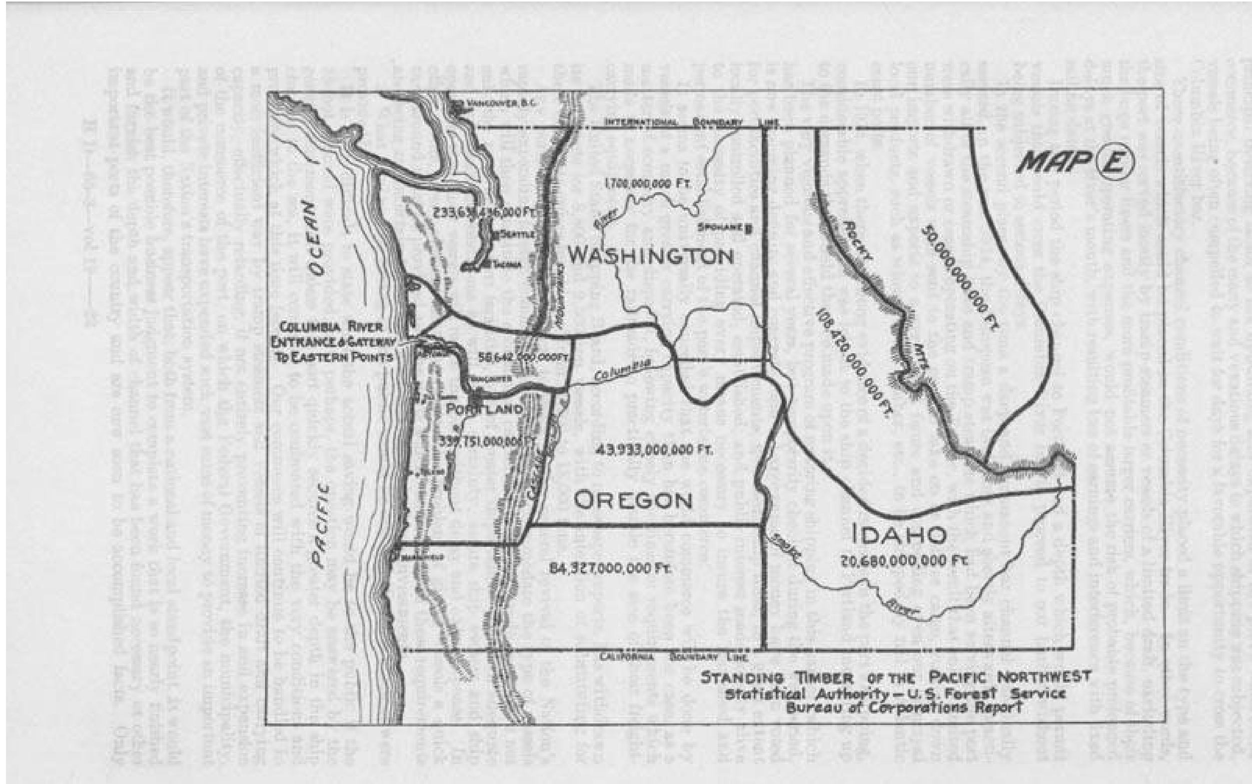
Role #1: Research the events leading up to the massacre, the massacre itself, and the aftermath of the massacre. In partnership with members of the jury and judge team, create a short dramatization from each significant historical event to be acted out prior to the criminal trial. Ensure that each person on your team is involved in the dramatization and has some speaking role.

Role #2: Your job is to create a newspaper that focuses on the events of the trial as they unfold. You will help to create a newspaper that features the Centralia Massacre and the events of the trial as they unfold. Your paper should also have the following sections: International news, national news, local news, sports (international, national, and local), business section, arts and leisure, classifieds/personals, and an editorial section with letters to the editors. You may use the following websites to aid in the writing of your articles:
http://www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/
Multnomah County Library at http://catalog.multcolib.org/

You will present the finished newspaper at the conclusion of the trial. You should make enough copies for the entire class. You should also incorporate an online version of your newspaper as well.

IMAGES FOR TRIAL RESESARCH

Timber in the Pacific Northwest



The Accused

EVALUATION RUBRIC FOR THE PROSECUTION TEAM

Historical Role Play : Centralia Massacre Mock Trial

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Historical Accuracy	All historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Almost all historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Most of the historical information was accurate and in chronological order.	Very little of the historical information was accurate and/or in chronological order.
Role	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were consistently in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were often in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were sometimes in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were rarely in character.
Knowledge Gained	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters and can clearly explain why.	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Can clearly explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Cannot explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.

EVALUATION RUBRIC FOR THE DEFENSE TEAM

Historical Role Play : Centralia Massacre Mock Trial

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Historical Accuracy	All historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Almost all historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Most of the historical information was accurate and in chronological order.	Very little of the historical information was accurate and/or in chronological order.
Role	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were consistently in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were often in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were sometimes in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were rarely in character.
Knowledge Gained	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters and can clearly explain why.	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Can clearly explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Cannot explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.

EVALUATION RUBRIC FOR THE JUDGE

Historical Role Play : Centralia Massacre Mock Trial

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Historical Accuracy	All historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Almost all historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Most of the historical information was accurate and in chronological order.	Very little of the historical information was accurate and/or in chronological order.
Role	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were consistently in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were often in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were sometimes in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were rarely in character.
Knowledge Gained	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters and can clearly explain why.	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Can clearly explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Cannot explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.

EVALUATION RUBRIC FOR THE JURY

Historical Role Play : Centralia Massacre Mock Trial

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Historical Accuracy	All historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Almost all historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Most of the historical information was accurate and in chronological order.	Very little of the historical information was accurate and/or in chronological order.
Role	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were consistently in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were often in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were sometimes in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were rarely in character.
Knowledge Gained	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters and can clearly explain why.	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Can clearly explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Cannot explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.

EVALUATION RUBRIC FOR THE WITNESSES

Historical Role Play : Centralia Massacre Mock Trial

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Historical Accuracy	All historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Almost all historical information appeared to be accurate and in chronological order.	Most of the historical information was accurate and in chronological order.	Very little of the historical information was accurate and/or in chronological order.
Role	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were consistently in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were often in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were sometimes in character.	Point-of-view, arguments, and solutions proposed were rarely in character.
Knowledge Gained	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters and can clearly explain why.	Can clearly explain several ways in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Can clearly explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.	Cannot explain one way in which his character "saw" things differently than other characters.

EVALUATION RUBRIC FOR NEWSPAPER ACTIVITY

Historical Role Play : Centralia Massacre Mock Trial

CATEGORY	4	3	2	1
Layout - Headlines & Captions	All articles have headlines that capture the reader's attention and accurately describe the content. All articles have a byline. All graphics have captions that adequately describe the people and action in the graphic.	All articles have headlines that accurately describe the content. All articles have a byline. All graphics have captions.	Most articles have headlines that accurately describe the content. All articles have a byline. Most graphics have captions.	Articles are missing bylines OR many articles do not have adequate headlines OR many graphics do not have captions.
Use of Primary Sources	Reading of primary source material was thorough.	Reading of primary source material was fairly thorough.	Reading of primary source material was incomplete.	Reading of primary source material was not done.
Articles - Purpose	90-100% of the articles establish a clear purpose in the lead paragraph and demonstrate a clear understanding of the topic.	85-89% of the articles establish a clear purpose in the lead paragraph and demonstrate a clear understanding of the topic.	75-84% of the articles establish a clear purpose in the lead paragraph and demonstrate a clear understanding of the topic.	Less than 75% of the articles establish a clear purpose in the lead paragraph and demonstrate a clear understanding of the topic.
Editorials - Worthwhile	The information was accurate and there was a clear reason for including the editorial in the newspaper.	The information was accurate and there was a fairly good reason for including the editorial in the newspaper.	The information was occasionally inaccurate or misleading, but there was a clear reason for including the editorial in the newspaper.	The information was typically inaccurate, misleading or libelous.
Who, What, When, Where & How	All articles adequately address the 5 W's (who, what, when, where and how).	90-99% of the articles adequately address the 5 W's (who, what, when, where and how).	75-89% of the articles adequately address the 5 W's (who, what, when, where and how).	Less than 75% of the articles adequately address the 5 W's (who, what, when, where, and how).

1905-Today: History of the Industrial Workers of the World in the U.S.

A short history of the U.S. branch of the revolutionary union the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). The IWW changed American trade unionism forever, being the first big union to organize black and white across entire industries, and calling for the abolition of the wage system and industrial democracy. It was largely defeated by a massive campaign of repression launched by bosses and the government.

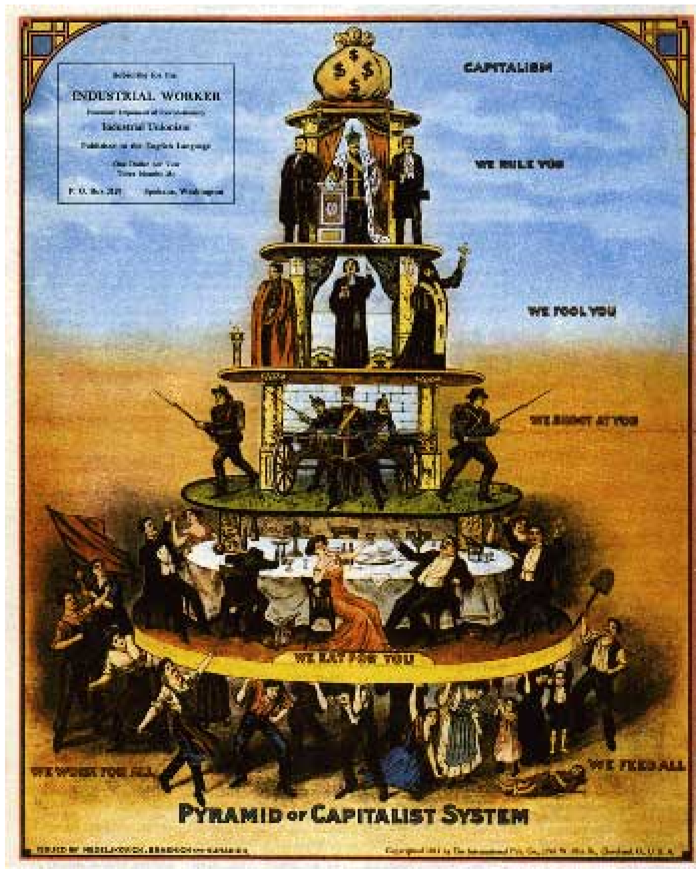
A 'Wobbly' Century
In late 18th century America, European immigrants with anarchist ideas combined with strong anti-statist traditions of US workers to create a burgeoning anarchist current. By the 1880's, anarchist influenced ideas dominated the emerging US revolutionary movement, with anarchist groups developing across North America, producing a diverse range of papers and magazines in a myriad of different languages.

It was no accident that anarchists in Chicago were at the centre of a movement that looked to the unions as a means of bringing about an anarchist society. They had been active in the workplace for many years, and had taken a prominent role in the struggle for the 8-hour day that led to the fateful demonstration on May 1st in 1886, after which eight anarchists - the Haymarket Martyrs - were framed and condemned to death.

Political parties
A group of anarchists met in Chicago January 1905 and wrote a manifesto that would serve as the eventual foundation for the IWW. The original manifesto saw no role for political parties, arguing that workers should organize industrially to "take and hold that which is produced through an economic organization of the working class". On the basis of the January Manifesto, a convention was organized on the 27th June 1905, again in Chicago.

The Western Federation of Miners (WFM), led by "Big" Bill Hayward, who chaired the convention, provided the largest presence. The WFM was a radical western industrial union that had in recent years fought a number of bitter disputes with owners who had engaged private armies against workers. There were also in attendance delegates from socialist organizations, including the two main US socialist parties (and bitter rivals), the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) and the Socialist Party of America (SPA).

The convention produced a preamble that sought to link the immediate struggle to the wider aim of overthrowing capitalism. The main tactic was unambiguous; the newly formed IWW was to set about organizing workers into "One Big Union", whose aim was revolution, after which the union would take over the running of society in the newly established co-operative commonwealth. In the build-up to the revolution, the IWW would wage class war against the capitalist class, developing workers' revolutionary consciousness in the process.

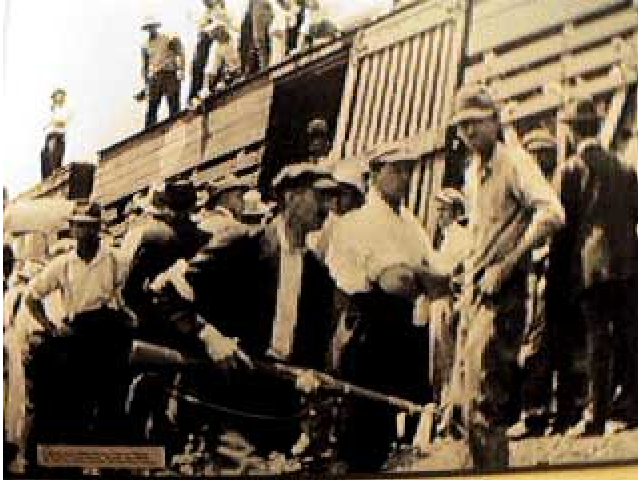


From the outset, the new union condemned racism. The convention declared that any wage earner could be a member regardless of occupation, race, creed or sex. Anti-discrimination and internationalism quickly became part of its culture and two of its major strengths. Racism especially was recognized as a major factor used by capitalism to divide the working class. In contrast, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) was openly racist - for example, it produced stickers drawing consumers' attention to those goods that had been produced by white workers.

Turning point

Another IWW convention was held in 1908, again in Chicago. The strategy that emerged stated that in building "One Big Union", the IWW would seek to "form the new society inside the shell of the old". In time, the point would be reached where the workers' organization would be powerful enough to use the general strike, take over the means of production, and abolish the wage system. In a nutshell, this would lead to the establishment of industrial democracy, in a workers' commonwealth.

The IWW was unapologetically radical. Often politicized by anarchism, they despised both capitalism and the state. They also had a deep mistrust of politicians and leaders in general, extending to the IWW leadership. This presented serious challenges to organizing workers across the country.


IWW members on strike

To organize unskilled workers in the west was no easy task. The western US was far less industrialized than the east. The workers were largely migrants and so had no permanent workplace through which they could be physically organized. As an alternative, western workers made the “mixed local” the basis of their organization. Centered on the union hall, the mixed local was a geographically based organization, which included both the employed and unemployed. This contrasted with the workplace-based locals in much of the eastern IWW.

The union hall began to evolve as the centre of working class organizational life, and developed into the local intellectual and cultural centre. Here was to be found the basis of an alternative working class culture centered on the idea of solidarity and struggle. Combining art and politics, the western IWW groups produced plays, poems, songs and cartoons. In meaningful, emotional and personal expressions, Wobblies (as IWW members became known) sought to analyze the world from a working class perspective and create a rich culture of both unity and diversity.

Free speech

From this culture of solidarity and self-respect emerged the famous free speech campaign which propelled the IWW to prominence before the First World War. It grew out of the struggle against employment agencies which operated in gateway towns for the mining, lumber, and agricultural industries in the west. The IWW called for a boycott of these agencies. “Soapbox orators”, the most common form of IWW agitation, set up outside employment agencies to denounce their corrupt practices. The police responded by prohibiting street speaking.

From 1908 to 1916, the free speech campaign became the focus of a bitter battle between the IWW and the US state, during which some 5,000 IWW members were imprisoned. The prisons rapidly filled, forcing the state to back down. In the process of winning the campaign, the IWW also exposed the brutality of the US prison system.

The emphasis on community, culture and free speech did not stop the IWW from taking on the capitalists in the workplace. After a difficult few years, by 1910 the IWW had recovered some of its early strength, organizing many strikes. Perhaps the most prominent strike was in Goldfield, Nevada, where the IWW attempted to organize all of the 30,000 population. They won an 8-hour day and a minimum wage of $4.50, before being brutally repressed by the state militia. By 1912, the IWW was strong enough to embark on what became two of the most famous strikes at Lawrence and Paterson.

In Lawrence, a Massachusetts textile town, 30,000 immigrant workers toiled in appalling conditions. Organizing was particularly difficult as workers were from over a dozen countries, and spoke many different languages. The Lawrence strike took on an insurrectionary nature from

the outset. The IWW made no attempt to play down its revolutionary ideas; on the contrary, they sought to raise revolutionary consciousness among workers. The state brought in 1,500 militia, backed up by the police.

Shock waves
During the bitter dispute, these forces used guns, clubs and bayonets to try and force workers back to work, resulting in a number of deaths. Hundreds were arrested, some on false murder charges. Despite this, the IWW organized a tremendous victory, with a pay rise for unskilled workers of 25%. As a result, the American Woolen Federation was also forced to increase wages by 8% across 32 cities. The strike sent shock waves across America and acted as a rallying cry for the unorganized.

Paterson was next, in 1913. As already noted, this silk weaving centre near New York had a strong anarchist tradition. The IWW sought standardized, improved wages and conditions for 25,000 workers. However, after months of ruthless militia activity, with several workers killed and hundreds imprisoned, the strike ended in failure. This was a bitter blow despite the consolation that events in both Lawrence and Paterson had ensured that the IWW was now seen as the formidable organization.

The IWW's growth was not just confined to the US. Powerful IWW unions now existed in Australia and Chile, and IWW-influenced unions like the Industrial Workers of Africa and many smaller syndicalist outreach groups sprung up across the globe.

Internal Conflict
Behind the IWW's growth and success, however, was a rising controversy over internal democracy. Western locals were concerned that the IWW was too centralized. At the 1911 convention, western delegates had attempted to pass resolutions to limit the power of the General Executive Board (GEB) and devolve it to the regions. Though defeated, the resolutions reflected a growing rift between the eastern and western wings of the organization.

At the following convention centralization again reared its head. This time eastern sections argued for the free speech campaign to be brought under GEB control. This outraged the western delegation, reinforcing fears of centralization.

The 1913 IWW convention is often portrayed as a conflict between anarchist de-centralizers on the west coast and the more socialist centralizers of the east coast. This is too simplistic. The division between east and west in many ways reflected two different cultures based on different conditions. To the eastern IWW, workplace organization was far more important. The west was far less industrialized, with a large migrant workforce who campaigned on a wide range of issues.

In the event, the 1913 convention ended in defeat for the western delegation. Their motions failed and the increased centralization they had feared came to pass. For example, all IWW publications were brought under the supervision of the GEB. The acrimonious debate left the whole organization deeply divided.

The outbreak of World War I led to increased economic activity and a shortage of labor. The IWW took advantage to win concessions and recruit workers, and entered its heyday period. By 1917, membership was 150,000, with large sections and unions in the metal, mining, railway, forestry, agriculture and marine transport industries. From this point on, its success and revolutionary politics combined to bring it into ever-increasing direct conflict with the state.

Cartoon from the New York Globe during World War I, trying to portray anti-war Wobblies as linked to the German Kaiser

State repression

From the start, the IWW voiced its total opposition to the war. Hayward declared it was better to be a traitor to your country than a traitor to your class. The IWW continued to organize strike action wherever possible. The state response was a wave of repression.

In September 1917, the state authorities raided all the national, regional and local offices of the IWW. They seized everything they could lay their hands on and arrested every IWW member they could find. Thousands of members, along with other anarchists and socialists, were harassed, arrested, imprisoned and deported as the state attempted to destroy the IWW. The intense, sustained tide of repression continued for the remainder of the war and after.

As well as direct state terror, the IWW was also subject to violence from state-backed vigilantes. Being a wobbly during the war was to risk beating, shooting or lynching – Frank Everett was a victim of one such attack. Legendary union songwriter and Wobbly Joe Hill was arrested for murder and executed. In a cynical move, the state also enrolled the support of reformist unions. Federal labor laws introduced state mediation, the right to collective bargaining for AFL affiliates; minimum pay and the basic 8-hour day. The reformist unions were quick to respond to the state attempt to win them over to the war effort.

In 1919, 23 states introduced criminal syndicalist laws. Overnight, the IWW found itself liable to prosecution all over the country simply for existing. The impact of the state terror campaign on the IWW was serious, but amazingly, not terminal. Despite the IWW's involvement in the Seattle General Strike, by May 1919, the membership was already down to 30,000.

Communists

Where state repression had failed to destroy the IWW, internal division was soon to succeed. The dispute was triggered by communist attempts to take over the IWW, which in turn reopened the

wounds of the bitter centralization debate. The western sections opposed the communist-influenced GEB's attempt to affiliate the IWW with Moscow, and demanded the expulsion of all communists from the IWW. The communists responded by increasing their efforts in the east.

By the early 1920s, the IWW began to publish reports of the repression of workers in Russia, which had begun to appear in anarchist papers around the world. Those responsible were then condemned as traitors to the revolution by the growing communist movement within the IWW. The dispute came to a head at the 1924 convention, which soon descended into chaos as fighting broke out between centralizers and de-centralizers.

The de-centralizers put forward the "Emergency Program", advocating that the GEB should be abolished, while the centralizers sought more control at regional and GEB level. The communists made the atmosphere worse and the convention ended in a decisive IWW split, with a 'real IWW' being set up in Utah (while the Chicago based IWW continued). The split, coming so soon after the state repression, and coinciding with the growing popularity of communism, proved too much. While the Chicago-based IWW was able to resist communist infiltration and did go on to organize major strikes in the coalfields, in Colorado (1927) and Kentucky (1930), these were temporary high points in the decline of the IWW.

The IWW grew from humble beginnings and, in a few short years, was able to shake the foundations of the world's most powerful state and capitalism's powerhouse - the United States. In the process, it drew on anarcho-syndicalist ideas from Europe and adapted them to its own unique conditions.

Source: People's History at http://www.libcom.org/history/articles/iww-usa/index.php (edited)

What Happened to Organized Labor?

By Daniel Nelson (edited)

FIFTY YEARS AGO unions seemed invincible, but they've been losing battles and members ever since. The reasons their fortunes fell suggest that they're sure to rise again.

On October 24, 1995, in the thick of a bitter contest for the presidency of the AFL-CIO, John J. Sweeney, leader of the dissident forces, rose to address the union's convention. If the delegates were "tired of being treated like so much road kill on the highway of American life," he said, they must reject the Status quo and vote for him. He promised more activism and more organizing. Apparently most delegates needed little persuasion. They elected him president by a substantial margin. Stephen Yokich, president of the United Auto Workers, told reporters that for "the first time in twenty years, there's excitement." Sweeney's election was a response to one of the most perplexing developments of recent decades, the continuing decline of organized labor in the United States. From a position of unprecedented strength after World War II, unions have slowly but steadily lost ground. From one-third of non-farm workers in the 1950s, their ranks fell to only one-sixth in the 1990s. Their economic and political influence also plummeted.

Why? Most efforts to explain labor's apparent debacle have blamed other contemporary trends: the growing number of women and African-American workers; the rise of the service sector and

the decline in blue-collar jobs; the growth of government workplace regulations; the increase in global business competition. But these reasons raise as many questions as they answer. Some of them are simply wrong. Women and minorities, for example, have proved more union-friendly than white men, and white-collar unions have flourished while blue-collar ones have languished. There are better, fuller explanations.

To begin with, influences that drove the rise and fall of organized labor before World War II have continued to work. The steady growth of labor between the mid-1950s and the mid-1950s created a misleading image of union stability that made labor's declines seem apocalyptic. Over the longer term, dramatic membership fluctuations have been the rule rather than the exception. Union membership doubled between 1915 and 1920, fell by nearly a third between 1920 and 1922, and almost tripled between 1933 and 1937. To pre-World War II observers, these fluctuations were part of the natural ebb and flow of economic life.

Three basic realities influenced this pattern, and they all remain important today. First, the workers most likely to join unions were those with substantial workplace power and autonomy, people who could set their own pace, allocate their time, and decide which tools or machines to use. In the nineteenth century, miners, who worked in isolation and with only minimal supervision, were the backbone of the labor movement. At the turn of the century, skilled construction workers, also largely autonomous, formed powerful organizations. Later, skilled industrial workers, such as molders, printers, potters, and locomotive engineers, created influential unions. Today professional athletes and airline pilots have especially powerful unions.

Second, union success has always depended on employers' acquiescence. Though most employers oppose unions, their resolve is often weakened by a scarcity of employees, the opportunity for immediate profit, government restrictions, or other considerations. Workers are more likely to join unions and stay in them when their employers don't make opposition a top priority.

Finally, the state of the economy has always been important. Inflation has typically stimulated organization as workers struggle to keep pace with rising living costs. Increased government spending and regulation of the economy have done likewise. On the other hand, unemployment, by increasing the competition for jobs, has usually had the opposite effect.

Looking at the post-World War II era with these ongoing factors in mind, the recent troubles of unions become less surprising and their futures less bleak.

In the decade from 1935 to 1945, union membership skyrocketed, quadrupling to more than ten million, or a third of the non-farm labor force. New Deal legislation discouraged employer opposition, and wartime labor shortages gave workers additional leverage. In this climate even unions of auto assembly line workers and other factory operatives who had little or no workplace autonomy expanded, and the breakaway Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), a federation of such industrial unions, emerged and thrived.

Yet even then there were problems. Nearly two-thirds of all employees still weren't union members in 1945. Organized labor had become dependent on the government and the

Democratic party, both of which were on the defensive by the postwar years. Most serious of all, the unions' success generated a powerful backlash, as more and more nonmembers became alarmed at organized labor's strength, especially during the dramatic postwar strike wave, which lasted through 1946 and idled more than a million workers. Public revulsion against "irresponsible" and "greedy" unions, epitomized by the United Mine Workers (UMW) —whose president, John L. Lewis, openly expressed his contempt for President Truman's mediation efforts—contributed to Republican victories in 1946 and ensured that a new, anti-union Congress would revive pre-war efforts to curb the organizations' powers.

The result was the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, which supposedly "balanced" the powers of labor and management by subjecting unions to a variety of new restrictions. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) would continue to regulate industrial relations, but in a less labor-friendly manner; complete deregulation was avoided because it wouldn't have dealt with the problem of disruptive strikes and because employers had discovered that regulation could work in their favor. Through legal maneuvers they had already been able to thwart the pro-union character of the law; with a "neutral" board they would fare even better.

In the late 1940s and the 1950s, the NLRB became demonstrably less helpful to the labor movement. President Truman's appointees, moderately pro-labor, tried to satisfy both sides but only encouraged employers to intensify their attacks. Eisenhower's appointees, who dominated the board by 1954, made no secret of wanting to change its direction. By 1955 the board had, among other things, implemented more stringent restrictions on union boycotts and excluded from their jurisdiction many small businesses, including most retail firms. The Eisenhower board openly sought to limit regulation and accommodate employer interests, and it succeeded in making life tougher for union leaders, the future less certain for prospective union members, and the NLRB a political football.

As the legal and regulatory environment for unions cooled during the 1950s, their popular image also suffered, amid a series of highly publicized scandals involving the Teamsters and other organizations with long records of unsavory activity. The U.S. Senate's McClellan investigation of union corruption, in 1957–58, was particularly harmful. A Gallup poll in February 1957, on the eve of the McClellan hearings, reported that 76 percent of Americans approved of unions. In September, after dramatic revelations about Teamster affairs, only 64 percent approved, and labor's approval rating never again approached that previous level.

There was no evidence that union misbehavior had become more prevalent after World War II, but labor's very success had made corruption a more potent issue. Union treasuries were richer, and the rise of insurance and pension funds created new opportunities for abuse. Smaller corrupt organizations, such as the International Longshoremen's Association, attracted only fleeting interest, but the mighty Teamsters, the largest American union, was another matter. If the biggest could be subverted by criminals, was any union secure?

The government grew more sensitive to union corruption. In 1959 Congress passed the Landrum-Griffin Act, which regulated union management and tightened Taft-Hartley restrictions on union activities. Prospective members began to worry about being robbed and bullied. The

effect was probably strongest in the South and West, where the labor movement had only a modest base, and in the fast-growing service industries, where organization still was a novelty.

Employers had emerged from World War II with renewed self-confidence and quickly launched a campaign to reverse the unions' gains. The labor expert Neil Chamberlain, a professor of economics at Yale University, noted in 1948 that they were prepared to "fight along a wide front." They avoided outright confrontation while striving to restrict unions to their postwar strongholds, a goal that proved surprisingly attainable.

Employers in the South and West mobilized to prevent the spread of collective bargaining there and turned back the CIO's heralded Operation Dixie, an attempt to enlist Southern industrial workers. At the same time, business lobbyists in Southern and Western states successfully agitated for "right-to-work" laws outlawing compulsory union membership; these laws became a powerful way to discourage organizers. Florida and Arkansas adopted right-to-work statutes in 1944, and within a decade nineteen other states, mostly in the South and West, had passed similar bills.

For a few years right-to-work captured the imaginations of Northern employers as well. In Indiana, business organizations boasted that they "used every technique of communication available" when they pushed through a law in 1957. "We don't know what hit us," responded an Indiana union official. Employers, buoyed by the limited success of right-to-work as an anti-union weapon, started taking on the NLRB itself, contesting its procedures and appealing its rulings. They also hired consultants to help them defeat unions in representation elections and threatened layoffs and plant closings to create a climate of intimidation. Though many of their tactics were illegal, the penalties, if any, were so meager that they had little deterrent effect. Union victories in representation elections declined from more than 80 percent in the 1940s to less than 50 percent in the 1970s.

Small and medium-sized firms were the most likely to resort to aggressive union avoidance measures; big businesses favored subtler means. High wages, generous benefits, restraints on supervisors' powers, surveys of worker attitudes, and personal contacts proved highly effective. Frederick Crawford of Thompson Products, a notoriously anti-union firm that pioneered many of these techniques, liked to say that with his workers, "we were all friends."

Meanwhile, technological innovation and increasing foreign competition, particularly after the mid-1960s, were forcing managers to become more cost-conscious. To many, the easiest way to reduce costs was to relocate to places where unions didn't exist. This process occurred over decades, and for a long time it attracted little attention because at first it rarely involved factory closings. Plant managers and union leaders continued to confront each other, resolve grievances, and negotiate contracts as before, but all the while employers were opening new plants in semi-rural areas in the South and West. Union organizers usually found the new employees there thankful for their jobs and hostile to organization, and the companies seldom had any need to oppose union representation directly. So the proportion of a firm's production employees who were union members fell, and those who remained were increasingly isolated in older plants that, because of their high costs, received little attention or investment. By 1970 organized employees in many industries were precariously exposed.

The big industrial unions faced the most serious challenges. By the 1950s the United Steelworkers had become a lethargic giant. The United Auto Workers (UAW) supported a variety of social causes and insistently followed the automakers to the South, yet it too failed to extend its reach. The major exception to this pattern—but not a positive one—was the United Mine Workers; it entered a near-fatal downward spiral in the 1950s. The coal industry declined after World War II as consumption dwindled and competition intensified.

The merger in 1954–55 of the two great aggregations of unions, the old AFL, dominated by the organizations of skilled, relatively autonomous workers, and the newer CIO, representing the ranks of less skilled factory and industrial laborers, did little to resolve these problems. Beset by poor leadership and chaotic organization, the CIO had faced mounting difficulties after World War II. Apart from the Steel and Auto Workers, its affiliated unions were mostly small and poor; many were not even self-supporting. Some AFL officials urged their president, George Meany, to let the CIO collapse. He demurred: "If the CIO disintegrates, it's going to be bad for labor." A formal merger would be less disruptive. Given this background, it is not surprising that the merger failed to stimulate a new era of union activism.

The decade from 1973 to 1982 was devastating for union and nonunion workers alike. The energy crises of 1973–74 and 1979–80 and the severe recessions that followed were only the most obvious signs of trouble. Rising energy costs spurred wide-ranging attacks on inflation, including industry deregulation that undermined the intricate business-labor partnerships that had characterized the transportation, energy, and communications fields since the 1930s. The dislocations of the 1970s also exposed problems that had been germinating during the easy prosperity of the postwar era. The severe recession of the early 1980s eliminated more than two million union jobs, far more than any previous postwar recession. When the economy finally recovered, in the mid-1980s, technological innovation accelerated and employment grew rapidly, but American unions did not revive; indeed, in most industries organization continued to decline.

Most of the unions' losses were the result of economic developments largely unrelated to industrial relations. The dramatic decline of the steel, auto, and auto-parts industries in the 1970s devastated the Steelworkers, Auto Workers, Rubber Workers, and others.

Deregulation had similar effects on unions in transportation and communications. The deregulation of the airline, railroad, and trucking industries between 1977 and 1980 created new cost pressures in an already difficult period. Many well-established companies merged or went out of business; nonunion firms proliferated. In the airline industry employees whose jobs were industry-specific, such as pilots and flight attendants, saw their wages plummet by as much as two-thirds. In trucking, unionized, high-cost companies that provided generic services suffered the greatest losses, and nonunion, low-wage firms like J. B. Hunt captured most of the business. Average drivers' wages fell by more than a quarter in the 1980s, and the Teamsters lost more than 250,000 members.

The breakup of AT&T, in 1983–84, had a similar impact on telephone workers. More than three hundred thousand AT&T employees had lost their jobs by 1994, and AT&T went from 67 percent to 46 percent organized. New competitors, such as MCI and Sprint, were aggressively anti-union.

Labor had lost friends in government too. In 1977 the AFL-CIO promoted a bill to streamline NLRB procedures and encourage organization. It passed the House of Representatives overwhelmingly, but when the Senate considered it, business interests launched an all-out campaign, and the bill failed. Labor was losing its influence on Capitol Hill because there were no longer enough highly unionized states to ensure support for such a bill.

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, over strong union opposition, was a logical sequel to that battle. Reagan was the first President since the 1920s to distance himself publicly from the labor movement. His discharge of the striking air-traffic controllers in 1981 was a shock to all unions, but his most important initiative was a largely successful effort to transform the NLRB into a pro-employer agency.

Employers, including some who had had collective-bargaining contracts for decades, began to weigh the possibilities of simply eliminating unions from their older plants. The result was a series of bitter strikes, the best known of which were at Phelps-Dodge in southern Arizona in 1983-84, Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, in 1985-86, and Caterpillar in several Midwestern communities in 1991-95. Each of these companies faced severe competitive pressures. When their unions rejected demands for concessions and struck, they hired replacement workers and tried to create nonunion environments. Despite enormous costs, they were victorious. Union members lost their jobs, crossed the picket lines, or returned as individuals after the strike ended. Even the most powerful unions were vulnerable.

The combined effects of deregulation, industrial decentralization, government hostility, and employer militancy created a strongly anti-union environment. A defensive union establishment, unwilling to devote resources to organizing, exacerbated these problems. Yet there was an intriguing exception to this pattern. Government employees, who had been an insignificant factor in the labor movement in the 1930s and 1940s, became a large and growing force in the labor movement of the 1980s and 1990s. Their activism, so unlike the behavior of private-sector employees, was the most encouraging indicator for American labor in the 1990s.

Like the miners and railroad workers of an earlier day, service workers tend to have substantial workplace autonomy. The more highly skilled also often have professional associations that perform economic functions, such as the regulation of entry to the profession, that can easily resemble traditional union functions. The National Education Association transformed itself over a decade from a sleepy professional organization into the nation’s largest union.

In many professions dismissal from one’s job is tantamount to dismissal from the profession, but public-sector workers typically have protection against arbitrary discharge, and the courts increasingly have extended similar rights to private-sector workers. The emergence of professional athletes’ unions, the single most successful organizing story of the post-World War II era, is a commentary on the relationship between such threats and worker behavior. Until the middle of the twentieth century, team owners wholly controlled the (usually brief) careers of their players. They could trade them or fire them without explanation or appeal.

By 1976 the four major professional sports had collective-bargaining agreements. The Major League Baseball Players Association, spurred by its more prominent and secure members, was

the catalyst for change. In 1966 it hired an aggressive executive director and became a de facto union. The impact was apparent almost immediately. A formal collective-bargaining contract was signed in 1968, and amid much turmoil, including a strike in 1972 and a lockout in 1976, the players won more generous pensions, higher minimum salaries, free agency, and salary arbitration, which benefited the stars. As soon as a handful of star players had demonstrated their willingness to defy the owners, the other players had readily joined them.

For most service-sector workers the prospect of reprisals remains a serious threat. Many employers strongly oppose collective bargaining, especially at fast-growing companies like Wal-Mart and MCI, which have succeeded by undercutting competitors' prices.

Unions have achieved additional gains among public employees in the 1990s—and have suffered losses in other industries, with aggregate membership continuing to fall. As a result the distinction between private and public employment has become more marked. Does the labor movement have a future in the private sector? There are a number of positive signs that it does. The growing number of jobs with shop-floor autonomy, the example of public employees, and the ongoing strength of the economy all bode well for it. The election of John Sweeney and other activists to top positions in the AFL-CIO is another promising development. Finally, several recent strike victories have encouraged union activists. In 1994 the United Rubber Workers struck Bridgestone/Firestone over the company's refusal to follow the industry bargaining pattern. After a year the URW was in disarray, but then it merged with the larger Steelworkers, made a dramatic comeback, and negotiated a favorable contract in late 1996. The Teamsters' short, highly successful strike against United Parcel Service in the fall of 1997 similarly showed the residual power of organized labor.

It would be foolish to predict the timing or magnitude of the next real union revival, but it would be even more dangerous to suggest that there will be none or that the labor movement will no longer play a significant role in American society. The experiences of the last century suggest, on the contrary, that twenty-first-century union membership will rise and fall with changes in economic and political conditions, that autonomous (probably service) workers will make up its core, that employers will oppose unions but deal with them when it is mutually advantageous to do so, and that the economic environment will largely define the possibilities at any given time. Unions are here to stay—and to struggle.

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