



re: 2020

Elizabeth Warren <info@elizabethwarren.com>

Reply-To: info@elizabethwarren.com

To: Peter Doyle

Sat, Feb 9, 2019 at 1:13 PM



Elizabeth just announced that she's running for President! Become an Official Day One Donor and own a piece of this fight.

DONATE NOW

Peter,

I just got off the stage in Lawrence, Massachusetts, where I made a big announcement:

I'm running for President.

Let me tell you why. It starts with a story about Lawrence.

A little over 100 years ago, the textile mills in Lawrence employed tens of thousands of people, including immigrants from more than 50 countries.

Business was booming. The guys at the top were doing great. But workers made so little money that families were forced to crowd together in dangerous tenements and live on beans and scraps of bread. Inside the mills, working conditions were horrible. Children were forced to operate dangerous equipment. Workers lost hands, arms, and legs in the gears of machines.

One out of every three adult mill workers died by the time they were 25.

But one day, textile workers in Lawrence – led by women – went on strike to demand fair

wages, overtime pay, and the right to join a union.

It was a hard fight. They didn't have much. Not even a common language. But they stuck

together.

And they won. Those workers did more than improve their own lives. They changed America. Within weeks, more than a quarter of a million textile workers throughout New

England got raises. Within months, Massachusetts became the first state in the nation to

pass a minimum wage law.

And today, there are no children working in factories. We have a national minimum wage.

And worker safety laws. Workers get paid overtime, and we have a forty-hour work week.

The story of Lawrence is a story about how real change happens in America. It's a

story about power - our power - when we fight together.

Today, millions and millions of American families are also struggling to survive in a

system that has been rigged by the wealthy and the well-connected.

And just like the women of Lawrence, we are ready to say enough is enough.

We are ready to take on a fight that will shape our lives, our children's lives, and our

grandchildren's lives: The fight to build an America that works for everyone.

I am in that fight all the way. And that's why, today, I declared that I am a candidate for President of the United States of America. I can only build this campaign if

you're with me - chip in and be a part of our movement from Day One.

If you've saved your payment information with ActBlue Express, your donation

will be automatically processed:

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DONATE NOW: \$10

DONATE NOW: \$25

DONATE NOW: \$50

DONATE OTHER AMOUNT

The truth is, I've been in this fight for a long time. I grew up in Oklahoma, on the ragged edge of the middle class.

When my daddy had a heart attack, my family nearly tumbled over the financial cliff. But we didn't. My mother, who was 50 years old and had never worked outside the home, walked to Sears and got a minimum-wage job answering phones.

That job saved our house, and saved our family.

I ended up at a commuter college that cost \$50 a semester. And that is how the daughter of a janitor managed to become a public school teacher, a law professor, a United States Senator, and now a candidate for President.

I've spent most of my life studying what happens to families like mine. Families caught in the squeeze. Families that go broke.

And what I found was that year after year, the path to economic security had gotten tougher and rockier for working families, and even tougher and even rockier for people of color.

I also found that this wasn't an accident. It wasn't inevitable. No. Over the years, America's middle class had been deliberately hollowed out. And families of color had been systematically discriminated against and denied their chance to build some security.

The richest and most powerful people in America were rich, really rich – but they wanted to be even richer – regardless of who got hurt.

So, every year, bit by bit, they lobbied Washington and paid off politicians to tilt the system just a little more in their direction. And year by year, bit by bit, more of the wealth and opportunity went to the people at the very top.

That's how, today, in the richest country in the history of the world, tens of millions of people are struggling just to get by.

This disaster has touched every community in America. And for communities of color that

have stared down structural racism for generations, the disaster has hit even harder.

We can't be blind to the fact that the rules in our country have been rigged against people for a long time – women, LGBTQ Americans, African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, immigrants, people with disabilities – and we need to call it out.

When government works only for the wealthy and well-connected, that is corruption – plain and simple. It's time to fight back and change the rules.

First: We need to end corruption in Washington. That's why I've proposed the strongest and most comprehensive anti-corruption law since Watergate.

Second: We need to put more economic power in the hands of the American people. Make it quick and easy to join a union. Make American companies accountable for their actions and raise wages by putting workers in those corporate boardrooms where the real decisions are made. Break up monopolies when they choke off competition. Take on Wall Street so that the big banks can never again threaten the security of our economy.

And when giant corporations – and their leaders – cheat their customers, stomp out their competitors, or rob their workers, let's prosecute them.

Let's make real investments in child care, college, Medicare for All, creating economic opportunity for families, housing, opioid treatment, and addressing rural neglect and the legacy of racial discrimination.

Stop refusing to invest in our children. Stop stalling on spending money – real money – on infrastructure and clean energy and a Green New Deal. Start asking the people who have gained the most from our country to pay their fair share.

That includes real tax reform in this country – reforms that close loopholes and giveaways to the people at the top, and an Ultra-Millionaire Tax to make sure rich people start doing their part for the country that helped make them rich.

Third: We need to strengthen our democracy. That starts with a constitutional amendment to protect the right of every American citizen to vote and to have that vote counted.

Let's overturn every single voter suppression rule that racist politicians use to steal votes from people of color. Outlaw partisan gerrymandering – by Democrats and Republicans. And overturn Citizens United. Our democracy is not for sale.

Real democracy also requires equal justice under law. It's not equal justice when a kid with an ounce of pot can get thrown in jail while a bank executive who launders money for a drug cartel can get a bonus. It's not equal justice when, for the exact same crimes, African Americans are more likely than whites to be arrested, charged, convicted, and sentenced. We need criminal justice reform and we need it now.

To get all this done, we've got to fight side by side. We must not allow those with power to weaponize hatred and bigotry to divide us.

More than 50 years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. went to Montgomery and warned us about the danger of division. He talked about how bigotry and race-baiting are used to keep black Americans divided from white Americans so that rich Americans can keep picking all their pockets.

That playbook has been around forever. Whether it's white people against black people, straight people against gay people, middle-class families against new immigrant families – the story is the same. The rich and powerful use fear to divide us.

We're done with that. Bigotry has no place in the Oval Office.

We come from different backgrounds, but our movement won't be divided by our differences. It will be united by the values we share.

We all want a country where everyone – not just the wealthy – can take care of their families. Where everyone – not just the ones who hire armies of lobbyists and lawyers – can participate in democracy. Where every child can dream big and reach for opportunity. And we're all in the fight to build an America that works for everyone.

This won't be easy. A lot of people will tell us it isn't even worth trying. But we will not give up.

I've never let anyone tell me that anything is "too hard."

People said it would be "too hard" to build an agency that would stop big banks from cheating Americans on mortgages and credit cards. But we got organized, we fought back, we persisted, and now that consumer agency has forced these banks to refund nearly \$12 billion directly to people they cheated.

When Republicans tried to sabotage the agency, I came back to Massachusetts and then ran against one of them. No woman had ever won a Senate seat in Massachusetts, and people said it would be "too hard" for me to get elected. But we got organized, we fought

back, we persisted, and now I am the senior Senator from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

So, no, I am not afraid of a fight. Not even a hard fight.

Sure, there will be plenty of doubters and cowards and armchair critics this time around. But we learned a long time ago that you don't get what you don't fight for. We are in this fight for our lives, for our children, for our planet, for our futures – and we will not turn back.

So here is the promise I make to you today: I will fight my heart out so that every kid in America can have the same opportunity I had – a fighting chance to build something real.

This is our moment in history to dream big, fight hard, and win.

And here's a big piece of how we'll get it done: We'll end the unwritten rule of politics that says anyone who wants to run for office has to start by sucking up to rich donors on Wall Street and powerful insiders in Washington.

I'm not taking a dime of PAC money in this campaign or a single check from a federal lobbyist. I'm not taking applications from billionaires who want to run a Super PAC on my behalf. And I challenge every other candidate who asks for your vote in this primary to say exactly the same thing.

We're going to keep building this campaign at the grassroots. Right now, I'm on my way to an organizing event in New Hampshire, and in the next week, I'll hit the road to Iowa, South Carolina, Georgia, Nevada, and California.

Person to person, face to face – that's how we'll win. And that's how we'll put power back in the hands of the people. It's a long way to Election Day. But our fight starts here. It starts with you, and its success is up to you. Donate \$20 or more right now to make it happen.

Thanks for being a part of this,

Elizabeth

It's official: Elizabeth is running for President! Can she count on your support? Donate right now to help fight back against the powerful special interests. Become an Official Day One Donor and

own a piece of this campaign.

DONATE NOW



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Peter Doyle	mileston 1	Even 1 Honiz
	Section 2011	THE RESERVE TO A PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER.

re: 2020

Peter Doyle

Sat, Feb 9, 2019 at 4:36 PM

To: Elizabeth Warren <into@elizabethwarren.com>

"One out of every three adult mill workers died by the time they were 25."

Can you send a reference for that? To my mind, this is as implausible as the tall tales of Donald Trump.

Best, Peter Doyle [Quoted text hidden]



Peter Doyle

re: 2020

Team Warren <info@elizabethwarren.com>

Team warren \illio@enzabetiiwaiten.c

Sat, Feb 9, 2019 at 4:36 PM

<u>WARREN</u>

Dear Peter,

Thank you for writing to us and for making your voice heard! Speaking out is a powerful tool that makes our democracy stronger. One of our team members should be in touch over the next few days with a response, though due to the high volume of messages we receive, we may not be able to respond to every email individually. We appreciate your patience.

If you want to Learn More about the campaign, check out elizabethwarren.com to read about Elizabeth and how she is fighting to keep America's promise alive for all of us.

If you are interested in **Volunteering** with the campaign, sign up here and our grassroots team will get in touch with you about ways to take action near you.

If you are interested in **Jobs** with the campaign, you can apply here.

Thank you very much!

-Team Warren





1912 Lawrence textile strike

This is an old revision of this page, as edited by 2600:1002:b02e:c17:24ae:4a64:3ee9:2e5f (talk) at 18:34, 9 February 2019. The present address (URL) is a permanent link to this revision, which may differ significantly from the current revision.

The Lawrence textile strike was a strike of immigrant workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912 led by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Prompted by a two-hour pay cut corresponding to a new law shortening the workweek for women, the strike spread rapidly through the town, growing to more than twenty thousand workers and involving nearly every mill in Lawrence. Starting January 1, 1912, the Massachusetts government started to enforce a law that allowed women to work a maximum of 54 hours, rather than 56 hours. Ten days later, they found out that pay had been reduced along with the cut in hours.

The strike united workers from more than 40 different nationalities. [4] Carried on throughout a brutally cold winter, the strike lasted more than two months, from January to March, defying the assumptions of conservative trade unions within the American Federation of Labor (AFL) that immigrant, largely female and ethnically divided workers could not be organized. In late January, when a striker, Anna LoPizzo, was killed by police during a protest, IWW organizers Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti were framed and arrested on charges of being accessories to the murder. [4]

IWW leaders <u>Bill Haywood</u> and <u>Elizabeth Gurley Flynn</u> came to Lawrence to run the strike. Together they masterminded its signature move, sending hundreds of the strikers' hungry children to sympathetic families in New York, New Jersey, and Vermont. The move drew widespread sympathy, especially after police stopped a further exodus, leading to violence at the Lawrence train station. ^[4] Congressional hearings followed, resulting in exposure of shocking conditions in the Lawrence mills and calls for investigation of the "wool trust." Mill owners soon decided to settle the strike, giving workers in Lawrence and throughout New England raises of up to 20 percent. Within a year, however, the IWW had largely collapsed in Lawrence. ^[4]

The Lawrence strike is often referred to as the "Bread and Roses" strike. It has also been called the "strike for three loaves". [5] The phrase "bread and roses" actually preceded the strike, appearing in a poem by James Oppenheim published in *The Atlantic Monthly*

1912 Lawrence textile strike



Massachusetts militiamen with fixed bayonets surround a group of peaceful strikers

Date	January 11 - March 14, 1912 ^[1]
Location	Lawrence, Massachusetts
Goals	54-hour week, 15% increase in wages, double pay for overtime
	work, and no bias towards striking

Methods Strikes, Protest, Demonstrations

Parties to the civil conflict

workers

Textile workers;		
Industrial Workers of		
the World (IWW)		

American Woolen Co.; Mass. State Police; Mass. National Guard

Lead figures

Joseph Ettor;	
Arturo Giovannitti;	
Elizabeth Gurley Flynr	
Bill Haywood	

William M. Wood; Gov. Eugene Foss

Arrests, etc

Deaths: 3 Injuries: many Arrests: 296 Deaths: Injuries: Arrests: 3 in December 1911. A 1916 labor anthology, *The Cry for Justice: An Anthology of the Literature of Social Protest* by <u>Upton Sinclair</u>, attributed the phrase to the Lawrence strike, and the association stuck. "Bread and roses" has also been attributed to socialist union organizer Rose <u>Schneiderman</u>. [4][6]

A popular rally cry that was used at the protests and strikes: [7]

As we come marching, marching, we battle too for men,
For they are women's children, and we mother them again.
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes;
Hearts starve as well as bodies; give us bread, but give us roses!

-James Oppenheim

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Background

Founded in 1845, <u>Lawrence</u> was a flourishing but deeply-troubled textile city. By 1900, mechanization and the deskilling of labor in the textile industry enabled factory owners to eliminate skilled workers and to employ large numbers of unskilled immigrant workers, mostly women. Work in a textile mill took place at a grueling pace, and the labor was repetitive and dangerous. In addition, a number of children under 14 worked in the mills.^[8] Half of the workers in the four Lawrence mills of the <u>American Woolen Company</u>, the leading employer in the industry and the town, were females between 14 and 18.



Postcard of American Woolen Co., Washington Mills, Lawrence, Mass.

By 1912, the Lawrence mills at maximum capacity employed about 32,000 men, women, and children. Conditions had worsened even more in the decade before the strike. The introduction of the two-loom system in the woolen mills led to a dramatic increase in the pace of work. The greater production enabled the factory owners to lay off large numbers of workers. Those who kept their jobs earned, on average, \$8.76 for 56 hours of work and \$9.00 for 60 hours of work.

The workers in Lawrence lived in crowded and dangerous apartment buildings, often with many families sharing each apartment. Many families survived on bread, molasses, and beans; as one worker testified before the March 1912 congressional investigation of the Lawrence strike, "When we eat meat it seems like a holiday, especially for the children."



Map of areas occupied by different nationalities in Lawrence in 1910.

Half of children died before they were six, and 36% of the adults who worked in the mill died before they were 25. The average life expectancy was 39. [13][14][15][8]

The mills and the community were divided along ethnic lines: most of the skilled jobs were held by native-born workers of English, Irish, and German descent, whereas French-Canadian, Italian, Slavic, Hungarian, Portuguese, and Syrian immigrants made up most of the unskilled workforce. Several thousand skilled workers belonged, in theory at least, to the American Federation of Labor-affiliated United Textile Workers, but only a few hundred paid dues. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had also been organizing for five years

among workers in Lawrence but also had only a few hundred actual members.^[4]

Strike

On January 1, 1912, a new labor law took effect in Massachusetts reducing the working week of 56 hours to 54 hours for women and children. Workers opposed the reduction if it reduced their weekly home pay. The first two weeks of 1912, the unions tried to learn how the owners of the mills would deal with the new law. [16] On January 11, a group of Polish women textile workers in Lawrence discovered that their employer at the Everett Mill had reduced about \$0.32 from their total wages and walked out.

On January 12, workers in the Washington Mill of the American Woolen Company also found that their wages had been cut. Prepared for the events by weeks of discussion, they walked out, calling "short pay, all out." [17]



Workers picket the textile mill at the start of the strike.

Joseph Ettor of the IWW had been organizing in Lawrence for some time before the strike; he and Arturo Giovannitti of the Italian Socialist Federation of the Socialist Party of America quickly assumed leadership of the strike by forming a strike committee of 56 people, four representatives of fourteen nationalities, which took responsibility for all major decisions. The committee, which arranged for its strike meetings to be translated into 25 different languages, put forward a set of demands: a 15% increase in wages for a 54-hour work week, double time for overtime work, and no discrimination against workers for their strike activity. [19]



The Massachusetts National Guard mounted on horses during the strike.

The city responded to the strike by ringing the city's alarm bell for the first time in its history; the mayor ordered a company of the local militia to patrol the streets. When mill owners turned fire hoses on the picketers gathered in front of the mills, [20] they responded by throwing ice at the plants, breaking a number of windows. The court sentenced 24 workers to a year in jail for throwing ice; as the judge stated, "The only way we can teach them is to deal out the severest sentences." [21] Governor Eugene Foss then ordered out the state militia and state police. Mass arrests followed. [22][23]

At the same time, the United Textile Workers (UTW) attempted to break the strike by claiming to speak for the workers of Lawrence. The striking operatives ignored the UTW, as the IWW had successfully united the operatives behind

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The Belles of New England

The Women of the Textile Mills and the Families Whose Wealth They Wove

WILLIAM MORAN

THOMAS DUNNE BOOKS
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Design by Kathryn Parise

Endpapers: The Amoskeag Mills collected portraits of the men and women who traveled to Manchester to work for the company. (Courtesy of the Manchester Historic Association)

Frontispiece: The Offering was one of the first workers' publications in the country. (Courtesy of the American Textile History Museum, Lowell, Massachusetts) Excerpt from "A Lone Striker" from *The Poetry of Robert Frost* edited by Edward Connery Lathem, © 1964 by Lesley Frost Ballantine, copyright 1936 by Robert Frost, © 1969 by Henry Holt and Co. Reprinted by permission of Henry Holt and Company, LLC.

Excerpt from the poem "Parlez-vous?" by Paul Marion is reprinted by permission of the author and Loom Press. Copyright © 1985 by Paul Marion.

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suspended her salary until she returned to her mill job. After her testimony, Mrs. Taft and the president invited her and other Lawrence child workers to lunch at the White House. The Tafts contributed one thousand dollars to the Lawrence strike relief fund.

Many other children worked in the Lawrence mills. In 1911, the year before Camella Teoli's testimony, four hundred children had quit grammar school, and 70 percent of them entered the mills. Only the robust lasted. Elizabeth Shapleigh, a physician in the city, made a mortality study among mill workers and found that one-third of them, victims of the lint-filled air of the mills, died before reaching the age of twenty-five. "Every fourth person in line is dying from tuberculosis," she said. "And further, every second person, that is, one alternating with a healthy person, will die of some form of respiratory trouble."

During the House hearings on the Lawrence strike, the detached demeanor of some witnesses puzzled committee members. Congressman Augustus O. Stanley questioned the Reverend Clark Carter, who operated an interdenominational city mission that the Lawrence mills helped support.

MR. STANLEY: Well, do you think that it is a wholesome or healthy surrounding for a girl of 14 years of age to go to a mill before daylight and to leave it after dark, as they must do in the winter time for six days a week? Do you think that is wholesome or a healthful surrounding for a young girl just developing into womanhood?

MR. CARTER: There are moral considerations to be taken note of.

MR. STANLEY: I am not talking about the moral considerations; I am talking about her as a mere animal. Just from the standpoint of her physical condition, do you think that it is conducive to her physical health to be cooped up that way for that many days a week?

MR. CARTER: I know that it does not seem to hurt a great many people. It may be in some instances too severe on the individual.

MR. STANLEY: Don't you think it is too severe on the individual when she is 14 years of age?

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NOTES TO PAGES 177-188

- 177. "industry, the basis of life": The World's Greatest Speeches, 196.
- 178. There were two hundred saloons: Dengler, Khalife, and Skulski, Images of America, 126; Cameron, Radicals of the Worst Sort, 66.
- 178. There was a lot of misery: Cole, Immigrant City, 107.
- 178. At the time of the strike: Schinto, Huddle Fever, 128.
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- 185. The Italian workers did so: Cole, Immigrant City, 188.
- 185. "Of all the mingled peoples": Baker, "The Revolutionary Strike."
- 185. "pregnant with danger": Walter E. Weyl, "The Strike at Lawrence."
- 186. "No class of people": Harry Emerson Fosdick, "After the Strike in Lawrence."
- 186. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn remembered: Flynn, Rebel Girl, 86.
- 186. "Division is the surest means": William Cahn, A Pictorial History of American Labor, 214.
- 187. "I was spellbound": "Shifting Gears" oral history.
- 187. "are of a higher type": New York Times, February 1, 1912.
- 187. "Anything short of murder": Fosdick, "After the Strike."
- 187. "Throw them down the stairs": Cole, Immigrant City, 187.
- 188. "among the most violent": ibid., 188.

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The Lawrence Textile Strike of 1912

And the Role

Of The Industrial Workers of the World

by

Edward F. Pierce, Jr.

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Southern Connecticut State College in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History

November 15, 1977

Thesis directed by Jack Foster, Ph.D

Thesis Abstract 1977 2628

The American Woolen Company, which employed approximately 15,000 operatives in its four mills in Lawrence, was one of the largest mill corporations in the nation. Its capitalization was estimated at various times to be between \$69,000,000 and \$75,000,000. The corporation had thirty-four plants comprising 150 mills throughout New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. when producing at full capacity, it employed more than 35,000 workers. 22 Its output for 1911 exceeded \$45,000,000. The Wood Mill, named after the president of the company William M. Wood, was the largest worsted mill in the world. It was 1,900 feet long, 300 feet wide and contained 1,300,000 square feet of work space. The output for this one mill was reputed to be \$9,000,000 in 1911. 23 The mills had over \$2,500 invested for each operative employed. The American woolen Company controlled more than 31 percent of the woolen goods manufactured in the country, and Lawrence was ranked second in the nation in the output of woolens and worsteds. 24 The corporation always paid a 7 percent dividend on its original capitalization which was largely water. Many people believed that the entire plant could be replaced at a cost of \$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000. 25

The American Woolen Company was able to achieve such a large amount of capitalization by buying their own property and reselling it to themselves, and in this way they were able to sell a mill for five to seven times more than the mill was worth. The United States Congress stated that they had followed this

^{22 &}quot;Wood Indicted in Dynamite Plot," The New York Times (Aug. 31, 1912), p. 3.

²³ Justus Jbert, "The Industrial Democracy Arrives," in Rebel Voices, ed. by Joyce Kornbluh (Ann Arbor, University Press, 1972), pp. 158,165.

²⁴ Lorin F. Delana, "The Lawrence Strike A Study," The Atlantic Monthly, CIX (May, 1912), p. 694

²⁵ Ebert, Rebel Voices, p. 165.

Many workers were supporting their families in Europe or were saving to bring them to America. Others hoped to return home some day and saved for the realization of that dream. "Of course the poorest workers save money. They save it if they have to sleep ten in a room and half starve in the attempt." 47

Accordingly, the mortality rate in Lawrence was 17.7 deaths per 1000, which when compared with thirty-four other cities was higher in only six. Four of the six cities were also textile centers. (CHART G) Infant mortality in the year 1909 was 172 deaths per 1000, which again only the six other cities exceeded in this comparison. 48 Pneumonia, tuberculosis, and respiratory infections killed 70 percent of the textile operatives and only 4 percent of the farmers in the Lawrence area. Mill operatives had the shortest average life span, 39.6 years, of any other occupation in the city. Doctor Shapleigh, a Lawrence resident who studied this subject said,

36 out of every 100 of all the men and women who work in the mills die before, or by the time, they are 25 years of age. That means that out of the long line which enters the mill you may strike out every third person as dying before reaching maturity. Every fourth person in line is aying from tuberculosis. And further, every second person, that is one alternating with a healthy person, will die of some form of respiratory trouble.

49

⁴⁷ Harry Emerson Fosdick, "After The Strike In Lawrence," The Outlook, CI (15 June, 1912), p. 344.

⁴⁸ Cole, op. cit., p. 212; Senate Doc., op. cit., p. 27.

⁴⁹ Ebert, op. cit., p. 169.

Rebel Voices

An I.W.W. Anthology

Edited, with introductions, by

Joyce L. Kornbluh

Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

HD 8055 9.I5K6

> Gen Jan 21, 1965.

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Following the Salem trial, literary critic Kenneth McGowan wrote in Forum Magazine:

Whatever its future, the I.W.W. has accomplished one tremendously big thing, a thing that sweeps away all twaddle over red flags and violence and sabotage, and that is the individual awakening of "illiterates" and "scum" to an original, personal conception of society and the realization of the dignity and rights of their part in it. They have learned more than class consciousness; they have learned consciousness of self. . . . 23

This was a fitting interpretation of the spirit of the striking mill girls who carried picket signs which read:

WE WANT BREAD AND ROSES TOO.

1

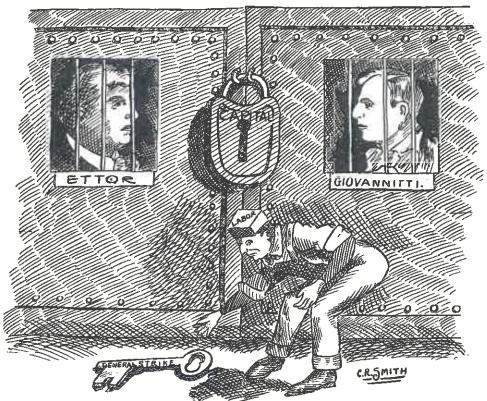
Justus Ebert (1869–1946), the son of a former mayor of Mannheim, Germany, was in charge of

publicity for the I.W.W. Lawrence Defense Committee. Ebert had worked as a newsboy, glass-blower, and lapidary assistant before starting a writing and editing career at age seventeen, when a series of his articles appeared in the New York Courier. He was a Socialist Labor Party member until 1908, and assistant editor of the Daily People, its newspaper. He resigned from the S.L.P. at that time to join the I.W.W.

The Trial of a New Society (Cleveland, 1913), from which this selection is taken, was Ebert's first book. His other writings included the pamphlets, American Industrial Evolution from Frontier to Factory, Trade Unions in the United States, 1842–1905, and the popular I.W.W. pamphlet, The I.W.W. in Theory and Practice. He was one of the editors of the I.W.W. magazine, the Industrial Pioneer, and the I.W.W. paper, Solidarity.

For the last twenty years of his life, Ebert edited the journal of the Lithographers' Union. He was active in the Socialist Party, the League for Mutual Aid, and the Workers' Defense League.

Industrial Worker, August 15, 1912.



THE GENERAL STRIKE IS THE KEY THAT FITS THE LOCK TO FREEDOM

N.H., Lowell, Salem, Fall River and New Bedford, Mass. A terrible conflagration is always possible; the construction being regarded as "extrahazardous."¹¹

In addition, the rear houses are entered by alley-ways and long narrow passages leading from them which make deadly flues and fire traps. These alleyways and passages are also dirty and dark, mouldy and foul-smelling. They are the playgrounds of the children who inhabit them. Juvenile offenders are numerous in Lawrence. 12 The cause is evident.

"Our valuation did not increase with our population," said Commissioner of Public Safety, C. F. Lynch, addressing the Berger Congressional investigation of the Lawrence strike; "and consequently we were faced with a serious financial problem." As a reflex of Lawrence's poverty and squalor this needs no comment.

Malnutrition and premature death are common in Lawrence. The textile industry is a "family industry." Its subdivision makes possible the employment of all of the members of the family. It also makes possible, consequently, the destruction of the textile family.

Of the 22,000 textile workers investigated by Commissioner Neil, 12,150 or 54 per cent are males, and 9,772 or 44.6 per cent are females; 11.5 per cent of all of them, being under 18 years of age. The mill workers claim that over 50 per cent of Lawrence's operatives are women and children. As there are over 13,000 to be accounted for by the commissioner, and as his figures verge very closely on the claim made, the latter may be taken for granted without discussion.

It is plain that, under the above circumstances, family life outside of the mills must suffer. Women who arise at 5:30 A.M. in order to be enabled to do housework and labor in a dusty, noisy mill until 5:30 P.M., at starvation wages, are bound to bear and rear offspring who are underfed and badly cared for. Everyone of the 119 children sent to New York in February, 1912 was found on physical examination to be suffering from malnutrition, in some form. As Wm. D. Haywood most eloquently puts it, "Those children had been starving from birth. They had been starved in their moth-

ers' wombs. And their mothers had been starving before the children were conceived." ¹³

Malnutrition brings about a disease called Rachitis, or rickets. The writer has seen so many children with crooked and distorted limbs and bones in Lawrence as to be impressed with the fact. Likewise, has he observed the anemic and wizened expression, not only of infants, but also of adults. Underfeeding is common in Lawrence.

The infant death rate in Lawrence is very high. For every 1,000 births there are 172 deaths under one year of age. This is greater than 28 other cities with which Lawrence has been compared. The same is practically true of Lawrence's general death rate, which is 17.7 per 1,000 population, a rate which surpasses that of 26 other cities, 14 and is above the average for the United States.

In the matter of longevity, according to Lawrence's mortuary records, its lawyers and clergymen lead, with an average length of life of 65.4 years. Manufacturers come next with 58.5 years; farmers follow with 57 years. Mill operatives have the shortest life span. From the mortality records of 1,010 operatives, the average length of life was found to be 39.6 years. The average longevity for spinners is three and two-fifths years less, or 36 years. On an average, the spinner's life is 29 years less than that of the lawyer's or clergyman's and 22.5 years shorter than that of the manufacturer. 15

Says Dr. Shapleigh, a Lawrence practitioner, who made a special study of the subject: "36 out of every 100 of all the men and women who work in the mill die before, or by the time, they are 25 years of age. That means that out of the long line which enters the mill you may strike out every third person as dying before reaching maturity. Every fourth person in the line is dying from tuberculosis. And further, every second person, that is one alternating with a healthy person, will die of some form of respiratory trouble." The same authority states that "a considerable number of the boys and girls die within the first two or three years after beginning work." 16 So poorly are they nourished and developed, that they have not the stamina to withstand the strain.

⁽¹¹⁾ Ibid. p. 24.

⁽¹²⁾ A perusal of police court proceedings in Lawrence press will convince the reader of this fact.

⁽¹³⁾ Cooper Union Speech on Ettor-Giovannitti case. pp. 4-5.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Neil Report. p. 27.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Dr. Elizabeth Shapleigh, Occupational Diseases in the Textile Industry. New York Call, Dec. 29, 1912.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Ibid.

Ebert1913

The Trial of a New Society

Being a Review of The Celebrated Ettor-Giovannitti-Caruso Case, Beginning with the Lawrence Textile Strike that caused it and including the general strike that grew out of it.

by
JUSTUS EBERT

Illustrated with
Portraits, Posters and Cartoons

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(14) Neil Report. p. 27.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Dr. Elizabeth Shapleigh, Occupational Diseases in the Textile Industry. New York Call, Dec. 29, 1912.

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Here then is the lot of the textile workers of Lawrence—steadily declining and low wages, intensified and unsteady employment, bad housing, underfeeding, no real family life, and premature death. The benefits of industrial evolution and national legislation go not to them, but to the Woods, Turners, et al., who live in wasteful extravagance upon their merciless exploitation, regardless of common decency and in defiance of the social spirit of the times.

This was the condition of affairs in Lawrence, Mass., on Jan. 12, 1912, when something extraordinary happened in the big mills there. About 9 A. M. on that date, the employes in one of the departments of the Everett Mill, swept through its long floors, wildly excited, carrying an American flag which they waved amid shouts of "Strike! Strike!! Strike!! All out; come on; all out.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Ibid.

OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

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A Plea for Comradeship

later age. Only 26 per cent occur before the 35th year and 40 per cent between the 56th and 65th years.

Of all those persons engaged in spinning as a trade, 36.5 per cent die before they have worked ten years. Out of a hundred deaths thirty-six die before they are 25 years of age, and fifty-two before they are 35 years of age. That is, over one-third die just as they attain maturity, and over one-half as they reach the most productive years. It is very rare that a spinner lives to be 70 years of age.

Among the various occupations carried on in the City of Lawrence, Mass, the one sowing the greatest mortality from tuberculosis is the textile industry; 27.1 per cent of all operatives die from infection by bacillus of tuberculosis. There have been 1,010 recorded deaths of textile operatives in the city during the last nine years (1903-1911) and 274 of them have been due to tuberculosis. Whereas from the twenty-one recorded deaths of manufacturers there has not been a single death from that disease. Mortality from tuberculosis in the professional class was 9.7 per cent, or only one-third of that among operatives. The farmers show a consumptive morality of four-fifths of 1 per cent, and the day laborer 12.8 per cent, while the skilled trades range between this low mortality on the one hand, and the high morto among aparatives.



Anna LoPizzo

This is an old revision of this page, as edited by Hmains (talk I contribs) at 01:12, 6 January 2019 (standard quote handling in WP; standard Apostrophe/quotation marks in WP; MOS general fixes). The present address (URL) is a permanent link to this revision, which may differ significantly from the current revision.

Anna LoPizzo was a striker killed during the Lawrence Textile Strike (also known as the Bread and Roses Strike), considered one of the most significant struggles in U.S. labor history. Eugene Debs said of the strike, "The Victory at Lawrence was the most decisive and far-reaching ever won by organized labor." [1] Author Peter Carlson saw this strike conducted by the militant Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) as a turning point. He wrote, "Wary of [a war with the anticapitalist IWW], some mill owners swallowed their hatred of unions and actually invited the AFL to organize their workers. [2]

Anna LoPizzo's death was significant to both sides in the struggle. Wrote Bruce Watson in his epic Bread and Roses: Mills, Migrants, and the Struggle for the American Dream, "If America had a Tomb of the Unknown Immigrant paying tribute to the millions of immigrants known only to God and distant cousins compiling family trees, Anna LoPizzo would be a prime candidate to lie in it." [3]



Photo, Memorial Day 1912, Lawrence, Massachusetts, at the grave of Anna LoPizzo

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Anna LoPizzo's death
Immigrants in the Lawrence mills
The charges and the trial
Significance of Anna LoPizzo's death
Commemoration
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Anna LoPizzo in life

Ardis Cameron describes the immigrant's world in which Anna LoPizzo lived:

Relying on old-world practices and principles of collectivity, the immigrant community routinely "swapped" names and falsified documents to evade "impossible" laws and ensure mutual survival...^[4]

Falsification of documents might serve a number of purposes — citizenship status, job experience, age requirements...

Three witnesses—his landlord, his child's god-father and his wife—helped Caruso to establish a complete alibi; he was at home eating supper when Annie Lo Pizzo was alleged to have been shot by him... Caruso said he was not a member of the I.W.W., but would join as soon as he got out [of the jail].^[11]

Immigrants in the Lawrence mills

Lawrence, Massachusetts was home to many textile mills which relied heavily upon immigrant labor. According to Carlson the strike was "a spontaneous revolt by immigrants who had arrived in Lawrence expecting a land of opportunity, but found instead a claustrophobic life of hard work and low pay."^[12] Carlson continues,

"It is obvious," the State Bureau of Labor Statistics concluded in 1911, "that the full-time earnings of a large number of adult employees are entirely inadequate for a family." Consequently, the average Lawrence family sent mother, father, and all children over the legal minimum age of fourteen to work. The dirty, crowded mills were breeding grounds for disease. Tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments killed some 70 percent of the city's mill workers. "A considerable number of the boys and girls die within the first two or three years after beginning work," wrote Dr. Elizabeth Shapleigh, a Lawrence physician. "Thirty-six of every 100 of all men and women who work in the mills die before or by the time they are 25 years of age." ... While the mill hands lived and died in poverty, their employers thrived. [13]

The Industrial Workers of the World already had a significant presence in the Lawrence mills. Fred Thompson has written,

A persistent myth about the IWW is that it plunged into strikes without previous organization, bringing out contented workers with spell-binding oratory, won great victories, then deserted the workers to repeat the process elsewhere. The myth is groundless... Prior to its fame at Lawrence the IWW had been organizing textile workers for seven years, and these constituted roughly half of its membership.^[14]

The IWW's national organizers became involved when the Italian immigrant community in Lawrence sent a telegram to organizer Joseph Ettor. [15] Ettor was an Italian and, at age 27, already a veteran organizer for the IWW. [16]

Haywood wrote in his autobiography that there were about twenty-eight different nationalities among the strikers, and they spoke forty-five different dialects. [17] (Thompson reported 16 "major" languages.) [18]

Ettor and fellow organizer Arturo Giovannitti had successfully organized the strike by the time chief IWW organizer Bill Haywood arrived. Within a month of walking out of the mills, there were twenty-five thousand workers participating in the strike. [19] Haywood was sufficiently impressed that he thought it appropriate to leave the strike in the hands of his experienced organizers, and go on a speaking tour of northeastern U.S. cities in support of the strike. [20]

The charges and the trial

The death of Anna LoPizzo was used by the authorities during the Lawrence Strike as a means of disrupting and pressuring the union. Although union leaders <u>Ettor</u> and <u>Giovannitti</u> were two miles away at the time of her death, they were charged with her murder and imprisoned without bail until trial.^[21] Bill Haywood cut short his tour, and returned to take control of the strike effort.

- 7. Autobiography of Big Bill Haywood, William Dudley Haywood, 1929, page 249.
- 8. Roughneck, The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood, Peter Carlson, 1983, page 166.
- 9. The Trial of a New Society, Being a Review of The Celebrated Ettor-Giovannitti-Caruso Case, Beginning with the Lawrence Textile Strike that caused it and including the general strike that grew out of it, CHAPTER III. THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY OVERCOMES ALL OPPOSITION, April 1913, Published by I.W.W. PUBLISHING BUREAU, From http://www.workerseducation.org/crutch/pamphlets/ebert_trial/chapter3.html Retrieved February 20, 2007.
- 10. The Trial of a New Society, Being a Review of The Celebrated Ettor-Giovannitti-Caruso Case, Beginning with the Lawrence Textile Strike that caused it and including the general strike that grew out of it, CHAPTER V, THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHS IN COURT, April 1913, Published by I.W.W. PUBLISHING BUREAU, From http://www.workerseducation.org/crutch/pamphlets/ebert_trial/chapter5.html Retrieved February 20, 2007.
- 11. The Trial of a New Society, Being a Review of The Celebrated Ettor-Giovannitti-Caruso Case, Beginning with the Lawrence Textile Strike that caused it and including the general strike that grew out of it, CHAPTER V, THE INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY TRIUMPHS IN COURT, April 1913, Published by I.W.W. PUBLISHING BUREAU, From http://www.workerseducation.org/crutch/pamphlets/ebert_trial/chapter5.html Retrieved February 20, 2007.
- 12. Roughneck, The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood, Peter Carlson, 1983, page 161.
- 13. Roughneck, The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood, Peter Carlson, 1983, page 161.
- 14. The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years, Fred W. Thompson & Patrick Murfin, 1976, page 56.
- 15. Autobiography of Big Bill Haywood, William Dudley Haywood, 1929, page 246.
- 16. Roughneck, The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood, Peter Carlson, 1983, page 161.
- 17. Autobiography of Big Bill Haywood, William Dudley Haywood, 1929, page 247.
- 18. The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years, Fred W. Thompson & Patrick Murfin, 1976, page 59.
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- 21. Roughneck, The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood, Peter Carlson, 1983, page 166.
- 22. Roughneck, The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood, Peter Carlson, 1983, page 190.
- 23. From "Bread Winners", Mary Spicuzza, March 10–17, 1999 issue of Metro Santa Cruz http://www.metroactive.com/papers/cruz/03.10.99/women3-9910.html Accessed February 20, 2007.
- 24. Roughneck, The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood, Peter Carlson, 1983, page 185.
- 25. Arno Dosch, "WHAT THE I.W.W. IS", The World's Work, vol. XXVI, no. 4 (August 1913), pp. 406-420, accessed February 20, 2007 at http://www.workerseducation.org/crutch/others/dosch.html
- 26. Roughneck, The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood, Peter Carlson, 1983, page 191.
- 27. The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years, Fred W. Thompson & Patrick Murfin, 1976, page 58.
- 28. Bread and Roses: The 1912 Lawrence textile Strike, By Joyce Kornbluh, "Archived copy" (https://web.archive.org/web/20070224211828/http://www.lucyparsonsproject.org/iww/kornbluh_bread_roses.html). Archived from the original (http://www.lucyparsonsproject.org/iww/kornbluh_bread_roses.html) on 2007-02-24. Retrieved 2007-02-20. retrieved February 20, 2007.
- News item from Work in Progress: http://unionyes.htmlplanet.com/newfile.html Retrieved February 20, 2007.

See also

- Anti-union violence
- Lawrence Textile Strike
- Industrial Workers of the World
- Big Bill Haywood
- Bread and Roses
- Murder of workers in labor disputes in the United States

Carlson1983

Roughneck

The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood

PETER CARLSON

W · W · NORTON & COMPANY

New York · London

Frontispiece: ". . . a brawny brawler who wasn't afraid to shoot it out. " "CULVER PICTURES, INC.

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calling for the workers inside to join them. By day's end some ten thousand men, women, and children were galloping through the streets, singing and shouting in the snow.

The strike was a spontaneous revolt by immigrants who had arrived in Lawrence expecting a land of opportunity, but found instead a claustrophobic life of hard work and low pay. The average weekly wage in the city's mills was \$8.76. Women and childrencomprising over half the work force-earned even less. "It is obvious," the State Bureau of Labor Statistics concluded in 1911, "that the full-time earnings of a large number of adult employees are entirely inadequate to maintain a family." Consequently, the average Lawrence family sent mother, father, and all children over the legal minimum age of fourteen to work. The dirty, crowded mills were breeding grounds for disease. Tuberculosis and other respiratory ailments killed some 70 percent of the city's mill workers. "A considerable number of the boys and girls die within the first two or three years after beginning work," wrote Dr. Elizabeth Shapleigh, a Lawrence physician. "Thirty-six of every 100 of all men and women who work in the mills die before or by the time they are 25 years of age."

While the mill hands lived and died in poverty, their employers thrived. Protected by tariffs, the wool business boomed. In 1910 the American Woolen Company, Lawrence's largest employer, announced profits of \$3,995,000. Company president William Wood clearly enjoyed the trappings of success. "I never had time," he once stated, "to count how many automobiles I own."

On the eve of the fateful January 12 payday, a small group of Italian workers had gathered in their ethnic meeting hall and vowed to strike if wages were cut. With no union to organize the walkout, they sent a telegram to Joe Ettor, an Italian IWW organizer who had once addressed them, begging him to come to Lawrence to lead the strike.

The telegram reached Ettor the next day, just as he was leaving his Brooklyn home to attend the debate at Cooper Union between Big Bill Haywood and Morris Hillquit. Short and stocky, with a headful of unruly black curls and a perpetual grin that earned him the nickname "Smilin' Joe," Ettor was, at twenty-seven, already a veteran IWW organizer. After the debate, he showed Bill Haywood the telegram from Lawrence. Haywood urged him to go and suggested that he take Arturo Giovannitti—a handsome twenty-eight-

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Notes on Sources

Roughneck is a work of nonfiction. Everything in the book is true—or as close to the truth as can be reconstructed six or eight decades after the events occurred. Although I have attempted to tell Bill Haywood's story in an accessible and popular style, I have not tinkered with or embellished the facts. Nor have I concocted any dialogue. All quotes were gleaned from historical sources. History allows no poetic license. Since I am not an academic and I have not attempted to produce a "scholarly" or "definitive" biography, however, I see no need for exhaustive footnoting of every fact and quote used. I do feel, though, that the curious reader is entitled to a documentation of my sources. First, I will give a general overview; then, a chapter-by-chapter breakdown.

A full shelf of history books provided me with the background for Haywood's story. For a perspective on American labor history, I used several books, including Labor Wars by Sidney Lens (Doubleday, 1973) and Dynamite by Louis Adamic (Chelsea House, 1931). The history of the Western Federation of Miners is ably recounted in Heritage of Conflict by Vernon H. Jensen (Cornell University Press, 1950). For the story of the IWW, I used four valuable books, each with its own strengths: Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology by Joyce L. Kornbluh (University of Michigan Press, 1968) contains a rich selection of Wobbly writings; The IWW: Its First 70 Years by Fred W. Thompson and Patrick Murfin (IWW, 1976) is the official Wobbly version of IWW history; The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917 by Philip S. Foner (International Publishers, 1965) is a richly detailed account of the Wobblies up to World War I; We Shall Be All by Melvyn Dubofsky (Quadrangle, 1968) is probably the best book on the IWW—fat, fact-filled, and intelligently written. The Little Red Songbook (IWW, 1970) provided the Wobbly lyrics reprinted here.

Several memoirs provided more personal views of the IWW and Bill Haywood. Wobbly: The Rough and Tumble Story of a Radical, by Haywood's friend Ralph Chaplin (University of Chicago Press, 1949), gives glimpses into Haywood's personality, as well as accounts of his activities in

the IWW office, court, and various jails. The Rebel Girl by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (International, 1955) shows Haywood in action in Lawrence and Paterson and provides a critique of his later leadership strategies. Haywood's own memoir was obviously invaluable to me. As I mentioned earlier, I reject the popular notion that Haywood's book was concocted by ghostwriters. The book has its glaring faults—chief among them in Haywood's inability to bring other characters to life, particularly his wife Nevada Jane—but his account of his adventures is generally accurate and sometimes excellently rendered.

1 The Most Hated and Feared Figure in America

The story of the Justice Department's raid on the Chicago IWW head-quarters in 1917 and the subsequent arrests of Haywood and other Wobblies is pieced together from several sources. The Chicago papers, chiefly the Daily News and the Tribune, provided accounts of the raid from the hunter's perspective. Chaplin and Haywood tell the same story from the view of the hunted. Chaplin provided a poet's view of the sights, sounds, and smells of the raid and arrest, including most of the dialogue in this chapter. In his autobiography Haywood recalls his barbershop shave before the arrest. In an article in the Liberator of May 1918 (reprinted in Kornbluh) he provides a description of Cook County Jail. Other IWW views come from accounts in the Wobbly weekly Solidarity, collected in the files of the Walter P. Reuther Library at Wayne State University in Detroit, which also provided the inventory of items seized in the raids.

2 As American as Mark Twain

The key source for my account of Haywood's childhood is, obviously, his autobiography. Fortunately, Haywood's account of his early years is rich and detailed, although his Wild West tales are sentimentalized and, no doubt, embellished. For background on Haywood's family tree, I also drew from his September 5, 1918 letter to Elizabeth Serviss, which is located in the files of the Reuther Library. For background on Ophir, the mining camp in which Haywood grew up, I used information culled from the files of the Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City. Various articles in the *Utah Historical Quarterly* also provided background on the early mining industry, as did Jensen's *Heritage of Conflict* and *The Miners* by Robert Wallace (Time-Life Books, 1976).

3 A Great Rift of Light

For background on the Panic of 1893, Coxey's Army, and the Pullman Strike, I relied on Lens's Labor Wars and Adamic's Dynamite. For background on Silver City, I used the many articles and pamphlets on the boomtown in the Idaho State Historical Society files, particularly Historic Silver City by Mildretta Adams (Owyhee Press, 1969). The statistics on mining accidents are from Wallace's The Miners. The background on Ed

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10 Harpoon Him in the Pocketbook

My account of Haywood's reception in Denver draws heavily from the Rocky Mountain News of August 5, 1907. The story of his New York speech is from the New York Times of January 18, 1908. Otherwise, the tales of his travels across the United States and Europe are culled from his autobiography and from the many articles by and about Haywood that appeared in the International Socialist Review between 1910 and 1912. The Review was also the source of many of his aphorisms, including the extended diatribe against detectives. Ralph Chaplin's description of Haywood in private is from Wobbly. His description of Haywood as a speaker is from his unpublished review of Haywood's autobiography, now on file among the Chaplin papers in the Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma. Art Shields's description of Haywood's speaking style appeared in The Living Spirit of the Wobblies by Len De Caux (International, 1978). Ramsey McDonald's view of Haywood in Europe was quoted in Dynamite.

The story of the Haywood-Moyer split comes from Haywood's autobiography, which is also the source for the story of how he quit drinking. For background on the Socialist Party, I used the excellent biography of Eugene Debs, *The Bending Cross* by Ray Ginger (Rutgers University Press, 1949). A detailed account of the "Red Special" and Haywood's role on it appears in H. Wayne Morgan's article "Red Special: Eugene V. Debs and the Campaign of 1908" in the September 1958 issue of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

A transcription of Haywood's infamous Cooper Union speech appeared in the *International Socialist Review* in February 1912, and his debate with Morris Hillquit is covered in Foner's book on the IWW.

11 Bread and Roses, Too

The Lawrence strike is one of the most documented of American labor struggles. Dubofsky, Lens, Kornbluh, and Foner write extensively about the strike in their books. Also valuable to me was an illustrated book called *Lawrence 1912: The Bread and Roses Strike* by William Cahn (Pilgrim Press, 1980). For my brief account of the trial of Ettor and Giovannitti, I relied on Kornbluh and Cahn. Most of the reactions to the IWW's victory at Lawrence come from Foner.

Beyond those secondary sources, I also used Gurley Flynn's memoir *The Rebel Girl* and the transcription of her remarks at Northern Illinois University on November 8, 1962, which is available in the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. Most of the quotes from Haywood's speeches in Lawrence come from microfilmed copies of the *Lawrence Tribune* from January through March 1912, which are available in the Lawrence Public Library. The library also has a transcription of the United States House of Representatives' hearings on Lawrence, entitled "Strike at Lawrence Massachusetts," House Document #671, 62nd Congress, second

session. My description of Haywood's arrest in Boston is drawn from his autobiography and from various Boston newspaper accounts found in the newspaper morgue at Boston University's School of Public Communication.

12 Haywood Is Unworthy to Remain Any Longer . . .

After the Lawrence victory, Haywood was a popular newspaper subject, and I culled his remarks on syndicalism, the general strike, and Utopia from various interviews in Boston and New York newspapers, as well as from a transcription of a speech he delivered in New York on May 21, 1912, which is available at the Reuther Library.

The split in the Socialist Party over Haywood is discussed at length in Foner's book, in Aliens and Dissenters by William Preston (Harvard University Press, 1963), in American Syndicalism: The IWW by John G. Brooks (Macmillan, 1913), and in Bread and Roses, Too: Studies of the Wobblies by Joseph Robert Conlin (Greenwood Publishing, 1969). For contemporary coverage of the campaign to recall Haywood, I used the International Socialist Review of February 1913.

Carlo Tresca's account of the Paterson strikers demanding Haywood's presence appears in his essay in Kornbluh's Rebel Voices.

13 There's a War in Paterson

The Paterson strike is covered at length in all the books on the IWW. I also used the day-to-day coverage in the Paterson newspapers, particularly the Press and the Guardian, articles in the Literary Digest on May 10 and June 14, 1913, and Haywood's own account, "On the Paterson Picketline," which appeared in the International Socialist Review of June 1913. For the account of Haywood's arrest and jailing in Paterson, I used Phillip Russell's "The Arrest of Haywood and Lessig" in the May 1913 International Socialist Review and John Reed's article for the Masses, which is reprinted in The Education of John Reed, edited by John Stuart (International, 1955). Sophie Cohen, a veteran of the Paterson strike, shared her recollections with me in an interview in May 1981.

The Akron material comes from Haywood's autobiography and from microfilmed copies of the Akron Beacon-Journal in the Akron Public Library. My chief sources for the material on Haywood's adventures in Greenwich Village were Hutchins Hapgood's memoir, A Victorian in the Modern World (Harcourt, Brace, 1939), and Mabel Dodge Luhan's autobiography, Movers and Shakers (Harcourt, Brace, 1933). Luhan's book provides the best glimpse into the creation of the Paterson pageant at Madison Square Garden. Gurley Flynn's Rebel Girl adds another perspective on the pageant.

The best account of Haywood's post-Paterson illness appears in the article "Haywood Resting in Provincetown" in the Boston Post of September 29, 1913. The appeal for funds for Haywood's medical bills comes from Solidarity, October 25, 1913. Haywood recounts his second European trip

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LAWRENCE 1912: The Bread and Roses Strike

William Cahn

The Pilgrim Press New York

Dedicated to Susan, Kathe and Daniel.

Aperture, Inc. as published in AMERICA AND LEWIS HINE Copywrite © 1977. pp. 67 and 73.

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Editor's Note

William Cahn, noted author, first assembled a book on the Lawrence Strike of 1912 in the early 50's. Cahn was working on a revised version of the book when he died. The revision has been completed through the joint efforts of his friend Moe Foner with District 1199's Bread and Roses Project and The Pilgrim Press. Journalist Paul Cowan, a student of Lawrence and author of a moving description of the town for the Village Voice, has written a new introduction to the book, linking what happened to Lawrence in 1912 to what's happening in labor today.

History is often lost and regained. The city of Lawrence is an example. Lawrence is now in the process of regaining her history. Very few people discussed the strike until recent years, and even today, students and teachers alike are just beginning to study the rich and complex history of this community. Since the first publication of the book, the town has changed considerably, moving from the oddly silent place Cahn describes in the book's beginning to a more vibrant community attempting to grapple with its past, and use that past to build a strong and significant future.

ESTHER COHEN
THE PILGRIM PRESS

Children often had to forego their schooling and enter the plants

to help their families survive. . . .

"A considerable number of the boys and girls die within the first two or three years after beginning work," stated Dr. Elizabeth Shapleigh of Lawrence. "Thirty-six out of every 100 of all men and women who work in the mill die before or by the time they are 25 years of age."

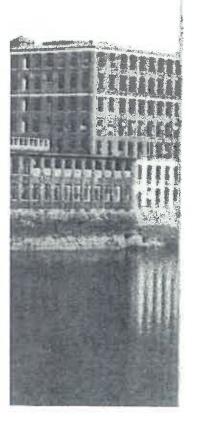
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MILL TOWN

by BILL CAHN





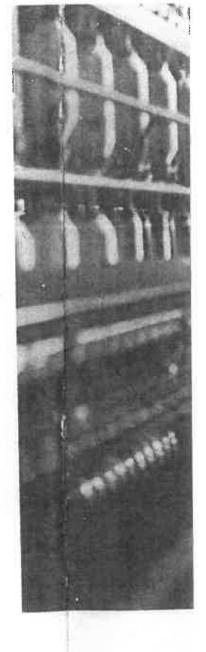
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SOURCES

The following is a partial list of the sources—not including individuals who assisted in this work—which proved most useful in preparing MILL TOWN. This book merely touches the surface of a vast historical wealth largely overlooked by many historians. Doubtless there will come a time when the fighting history of our nation's working people will be made more generally available.

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Perlmutter 1999

Philip Perlmutter

Legacy of

Hate

a short history of ethnic, religious, and racial prejudice in America

M.E. Sharpe

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State orker were haggard feeders of machines—like those described in the days of a century past in England."59

Because the vast majority were young, single, lived with their parents, and usually worked until they were married, they were slower than men in organizing against their employers. Working daughters and mothers were discouraged from or reluctant to attend evening meetings or educational classes, either because of ethnic customs, household responsibilities, or fear of compromising their reputation. Moreover, women were expected to turn over their earnings to their parents or husbands. For Polish, Bohemian, Irish, and Slovak working women, economic independence was incomprehensible. "It follows that what the girl earns is easily appropriated by the parents, and, broadly speaking, obediently surrendered by the girl," wrote Louise Montgomery in her 1913 study. "Among the 300 girls between sixteen and twenty-four years of age, there are 290 who have no independent control of their own wages." 60

Ethnic differences also existed among women who lived and worked independently of their families; according to a 1909 study, 25.7 percent were Russian Jewish, 18.6 were American-born natives, 14.3 were Irish, 11 percent were German, 5.1 percent were Bohemian, 5.1 percent were Austrian, 4.2 percent were Italian, and the remaining percentage was spread among Scottish, English, Romanian, Hungarian, Swedish, and others.⁶¹

Industrial accidents, child labor, and unsanitary and unsafe conditions were common, without benefit of health and accident insurance, employer liability laws, unemployment insurance, old age benefits, or resident medical facilities. Scores of Irish women were maimed or killed in New England mills. In Lowell, Massachusetts, in 1860, an entire mill of mostly Irish workers suddenly collapsed and caught fire, killing 88 and severely injuring 116. In the Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire in New York City in 1911, 146 workers died, mostly young Jewish and Italian women. Some five weeks later, at a large protest meeting, Rose Schneiderman mournfully noted: "This is not the first time girls have 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 140-odd are burned to death."

Child labor, particularly by immigrants, was extensive. At the turn of the century, more than 1.7 million children under fifteen years of age were working long hours in fields, factories, mines, and workshops. A 1902 investigating committee found some 17,000 little girls working as long as twelve hours a day in Pennsylvania's silk mills and lace factories. Conditions were so bad in one Massachusetts mill town that a doctor found "a considerable number of boys and girls die within the first year after beginning work. Thirty-six out of every 100 of all men and women who work in the mill die before or by the time they are twenty-five years of age." 63

Immigrants were particularly vulnerable to accidents because of their inability

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PURSUING THE AMERICAN DREAM

White Ethnics and the New Populism

RICHARD KRICKUS

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unskilled, with the exception of some three hundred largely Italian- and French-speaking workers who belonged to a local

of the radical IWW, were non-union.

The average millworker lived in an overcrowded company tenement. The standard dwelling was four stories high, built so close to adjacent structures that housewives could build shelves on the "outside walls" next to their kitchens to store pots, pans, and canned goods. "Extra space" was at a premium. Because rents were high, more than one family often shared a flat. A sixty-hour work week was typical, with men, women, and children often working at the same grueling job. Women and children, though they often performed identical tasks as men, did not receive equivalent wages. It was estimated at that time that an average urban family was unable to live for less than \$900 a year in the Commonwealth. Despite the collective labors of the immigrant families, their income was barely sufficient to provide for subsistence. The conditions which prevailed were appalling. The life expectancy of the millworker was twenty-two years less than that of management employees. Dr. Elizabeth Shapleigh of Lawrence found that "a considerable number of boys and girls die within the first year after beginning work. Thirty-six out of every 100 of all men and women who work in the mill die before or by the time they are 25 years of age."14

This then was Lawrence, the setting for one of the most celebrated strikes in American labor history. On January 1, 1912, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts passed a law reducing the work week for women and children. The owners retaliated. They lowered the work week for men too and sped up the machines without making pay adjustments. When a group of Polish women on Thursday, January 11, discovered shrunken paychecks, they walked out in protest. The next day an even larger number of workers discovered that their paychecks were short too. "About 9 A.M. an angry mob of Italians in the Wood Mill of the American Woolen Company . . . deserted their machinery and ran through the mill demanding that other workers march out." Moving "from one department to another, they disassembled machinery, cut wires, blew fuses, and intimidated non-cooperative workers into joining their

CHAPTER THREE

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Solidarity Forever

An oral history of the IWW

Stewart Bird Dan Georgakas Deborah Shaffer



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Lake View Press Chicago The Wobblies, the film for which most of the interviews contained within were made, is available from First Run Features
153 Waverly Place
NY, NY 10014
212-243-0600

Appearing in the film are:
Jack Miller, Joe Murphy, Sophie
Cohen, Irma Lombardi, Violet Miller,
Dominic Mignone, Tom Scribner,
James Fair, Angelo Rocco, Nels
Peterson, Irv Hanson, Katie Pintek,
Nicolaas Steelink, Art Shields,
Fred Thompson, Sam Krieger,
Vaino Konga, Mike Foudy,
and Utah Phillips.

a category of labor and the first to organize chambermaids and prostitutes.²

The major industry in the East earmarked for organization by the IWW was textile manufacturing. Approximately half of the textile workers were female, a large percentage under the age of twenty with many less than fourteen. Women played such a pivotal role in textiles that industrial unions without their full participation were inconceivable, just as industrial unions in Southern lumber had been inconceivable without the full participation of blacks. The IWW also understood that no textile strike would succeed if women who worked at home succumbed to the anti-union pressures generated by the employers and their allies in the press, public office, the school system, and the clergy. Women who did not themselves work in the mills had to be convinced that whatever the immediate hardships of a strike, there would be real long-term benefits for their families and community.

The conditions faced by textile workers were grim. Wages for all but a few skilled workers were so low that most were in chronic debt, and work conditions, especially for women and children, were lethal. At a time when the national life expectancy was nearly fifty years, over a third of all mill workers died before the age of twenty-six. Substandard housing was the rule in mill towns, which were usually organized into de facto language ghettos with the most recent immigrants having the worst accommodations.

When IWW organizers began to arrive at textile mills to proclaim the doctrine of industrial democracy, a substantial number of workers were interested. By 1908, after leading a number of minor strikes, the IWW could claim 5,000 members for its National Industrial Union of Textile Workers headed by James P. Thompson. The biggest textile challenge came four years later when pay cuts led to a groundswell of strike sentiment in Lawrence, Massachusetts. IWW Local 20 had been on the scene for more than four years, and its members had an excellent grasp of the conditions of the 60,000 Lawrence residents dependent on the mills for their livelihood. Prompted by local IWWs, the strikers sent for seasoned organizer Joe Ettor, an IWW orator who had already been in Lawrence, and Arturo Giovannitti, Secretary of the Italian Socialist Federation and editor of its organ, Il Proletario.

Faced with having to organize workers from twenty-four major national groups speaking twenty-two different languages, the Lawrence leadership devised an organizational structure that became the standard IWW mode of operation. Each language group was given representatives on the strike committee, which numbered from 250 to 300 members. All decisions regarding

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General readers will find the following three histories of interest. Joyce L. Kornbluh, Rebel Voices—An IWW Anthology (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1972) provides informative lead essays to a rich collection of IWW writing and graphics. Philip S. Foner, The Industrial Workers of the World—1905-1917 (New York: International Publishers, 1965) offers a detailed account of the period with a decided sympathy for the IWW's revolutionary aims. This is the fourth volume of Foner's History of the Labor Movement in the United States. Other volumes in the series also contain references to the IWW. Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All (New York: Quadrangle, 1969) is exceptionally strong in providing background to the formation of the IWW but is thin on post-1917 events.

Among IWW autobiographical works, two give a vivid sense of the times and organization. They are Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *The* Rebel Girl (New York: International Publishers, 1955) and Ralph Chaplin, Wobbly: The Rough and Tumble Story of a Radical (Chicago: University of Chicago press, 1949). William D. Haywood, The Autobiography of Big Bill Haywood (New York: International Publishers, 1929) concentrates on his career in the Western Federation of Miners. There is some question whether the book, written by an ailing Haywood in Moscow, is entirely his own work, but this is most definitely not his finest writing.

The endnotes which follow sometimes contain annotated bibliographic entries for additional reading on the specific topic. The citation form followed is to give complete bibliographic entries for books the first time listed and provide only author's last name and the title thereafter. Songs quote in the text have been taken from various edition of *The Little Red Song Book*. Also useful was Kornbluh, Rebel Voices. Readers should be aware that some songs have variations in what has been a continuing oral tradition. The exact selection of songs in any given edition of The Little Red Song Book gives a sense of what the organization was most concerned with at the time. Thus, the 1918 edition, issued at the time of America's entry into World War I, deleted eighteen songs about sabotage and revolution. In the edition which was issued in 1984, considerable space is given to songs printed for the first time in order to emphasize what the organization considers the living presence of the IWW.

The interviews in this book (with the exception of the one with George Hodin) were done by Stewart Bird and Deborah Shaffer for *The Wobblies*. They made transcripts of these interviews which were then edited by Dan Georgakas. The edited versions were reviewed by Bird and Shaffer and when possible by those who had been interviewed. The George Hodin interview was done by Dan Georgakas expressly for this book and was reviewed by Hodin. The raw transcripts from which the oral histories were shaped have been donated to the Oral History of the American Left Project of the Tamiment Library, New York University, New York City. These transcripts contain considerable material that was not used in this book or in *The Wobblies*. The introductions to each section were written by Georgakas with assistance from Bird and Shaffer.

The sources for the graphics and photographs used in this book include the Industrial Workers of the World, the Seattle Historical Society, the Everett Public Library, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Colorado Historical Society, the Minnesota Historical Society, the University of Nevada Library (Special Collections), Wayne State University (Archives of Labor), the Arizona Historical Society, the University of Washington Library, the International Museum of Photography (George Eastman House), the Chicago Historical Society, and the Paterson Library.

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