I. Second Civil War (1877-1920s)

A. From 1877 through WWII workers engaged in sustained resistance to “organized power and wealth.”

Bibliography: *Strike!* by Brecher; *Labors Untold Story* by Boyer, *Who Built America*, by Freeman, et al, *Age of Acquiescence* by Fraser, *People's History of the United State* by Zinn

B. Workers vs Capital (and the State)

1. miners against mine owners

a. West Virginia to Minnesota to Colorado

b. Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, Ludlow Massacre

"a mule is more valuable to me than a worker, because I have to buy another mule if it dies, if a worker gets killed, I can just get another worker"

2. textile sweat shops

a. New England to South

b. America Woolen Company, Lawrence Textile Strike

c. Triangle Shirtwaist Factory, New York

Dark Satanic Mills

"A considerable number of the boys and girls die within the first two or three years after beginning work . . . thirty-six out of every 100 of all men and women who worked in the mill die before or by the time they are twenty-five years of age."

3. Steel mills

a. Northeast to Midwest

b. Carnegie Steel, the Battle of Homestead

4. railroads

a. throughout the U.S.

b. Chicago

c. Pullman Strike

C. Labor's situation: "wage slavery"

1. wage dependent labor

a. long hours, 12-16 hour days, six days a week

b. below subsistence wages

c. unhealthy and dangerous working conditions

d. child labor

e. poverty, hunger, disease, injury

f. company towns

g. slums, tenements, squalor, disease

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h. Robber Barons

i. Millionaire’s Row

ii. mansions, castles, yachts, private train cars

<https://www.google.com/search?q=mansions+of+the+gilded+age&rlz=1C1RUCY_enUS692US693&espv=2&biw=1340&bih=959&tbm=isch&tbo=u&source=univ&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwic7tjqjs_PAhXMOz4KHX5sAw8QsAQIPA>

2. owners determine:

a. who works: **shape up system**

b. when they work

c. how long they work: **no wage and hour laws**

d. where they work

e. conditions of work: **no OSHA**

f. children

d. people: "savages that need to be tamed"

3. goals

a. wage and hour laws

b. safety regulation

c. decent wages

d. benefits

e. collective bargaining

f. industrial democracy

D. Resistance.

1. strikes

a. sympathy strikes,

b. sit-down strikes

c. general strikes

d. mass strikes

2.. boycotts

3. violence against property and person

a. sabotage, destruction of property, fires

b. guns, clubs, hammers, stones

4. The Great Upheavals 1880s and 90s

a. one two year period (1884-1886)

b. main goal: eight hour day

c. 1500 strikes involving 400,000 workers

d. Boycotts! From 1884 to the peak in 1886 hundreds

of boycotts

i. owners called them "un-American"

ii. courts: criminal conspiracy

**5. belief, commitment: another world is possible**

**a. questions: what type of society should we live in, race question,**

**gender question, labor question.**

**b. anti-capitalist**

**i. wage labor is wage slavery**

**ii. people over profit**

**c. solidarity, sympathy (institutionalized as a type of strike)**

**d. ideologies: socialism, Marxism, populism, Social Gospel, anarchism, industrial democracy**

**e. labor halls, newspapers, music, literature, events.**

E. In reaction, the state waged war against the people on behalf of monopoly capital.

1. goal

a. destroy labor’s capacity to resist

b. destroy the culture and the belief that there are other possibilities

c. destroy the idea of solidarity

2. state used all of its power on behalf of capital

a. political and judicial

i. injunctions

ii. deportations

iii. warrantless searches and arrests

iv. laws: Espionage Act

v. ignoring or condoning and/or participating in vigilante violence

vi. ignored owners breaking the law

b. military: federal troops, state militia (national guard), police\*

i. violence

ii. support strike breakers

c. ideological: propaganda, especially nationalism, anti-communism

3. capital used its power

a. economic: company unions, yellow dog contracts, strike breakers, blacklisting, company spies, firing, blacklisting

c. force: private security, vigilantes

E. The War and General Strike 1877

1. July 16, 1877 Martinsburg, West Virginia

a. Baltimore &Ohio cut wages 10% for second time

b. Workers stopped trains from leaving

c.. Governor called out militia to “prevent obstruction of the trains.”

i. militia not able to help

ii. *solidarity:* people of Martinsburg unanimously supported strike

iii. pattern for the war: people support workers

2. Strike spread to all workers on B&O

a. B&O asked for and received federal troops

b. workers in surrounding towns and other occupations joined

*"sympathy strikes"*

c. becoming a “*mass strike”*

3. spread to Maryland,

a. in Baltimore people stoned National Guard which firedon people

b. B &O asked the President for the U.S. Army

4 spread to Pennsylvania, workers controlled railroad activity in Pittsburg

a. National Guard attacked workers,

b. *the entire city mobilized*, fired on Guard, burned the rail cars, round houses

5. spread to New York, militia attacked and people fired back

6. movement for *general strike* in Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio then spread to Chicago and the South. *St. Louis: General Strike: Executive Committee*

7. Force:

Massive state and capital violence, federal troops+

“the strikers have been put down by force”: President Hayes

federal troops, citizens patrols, 5,000 special police, employer police units.

F. Lawrence Textile Strike

1. American Woolen Company in Lawrence, Mass

1. immigrant workers
2. wooden tenements: crowded, unsanitary, flammable

1. wages $8.76 a week
2. labor force: young women between 14 and 18

"A considerable number of the boys and girls die within the first two or three years after beginning work . . . thirty-six out of every 100 of all men and women who worked in the mill die before or by the time they are twenty-five years of age."

1. Jan cut back in pay
2. Job action: 10,000

2. IWW (International Workers of the World)

"the IWW was the most egalitarian labor organization in American history, organizing skilled and unskilled, men and women, blacks and Mexicans, and in a break with tradition, Chinese and Japanese workers.”

a. goal: worker control (industrial democracy)

b. means: direct action (include strikes, boycotts, general strikes)

c. small organization but a powerful idea

d. arrested for speaking, no free speech, hung, murdered

3. IWW leaders to conduct strike

a. committee of 50 from all nationalities

b. soup kitchen to feed 50,000

c. financial support from all over the country

4. Government response

a. mayor called out the local militia

b. governor called out the state police

c. peaceful parade attacked by the police and

a female striker killed

d. arrested strikers Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovanni

e. Martial law, 22 cos of militia, 2 troops of cavalry,

citizens forbidden to talk on streets

5. workers: mass picketing, 7000 to 10,000

6. children

a. hungry

b. four out of 119 had underwear, their outerwear was

in rags, their coats torn to shreds."

c. supporters of the strike in other cities offered to take the children

d. City officials forbid this and police attacked parents and children

when they tried to get on the train

7. outcome

G. Ludlow Massacre, Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire, Homestead Strike

I. WWI and the (temporary) defeat of labor, Propaganda, Palmer Raids, Reformism

1. WWI: Propaganda and the "House of Truth"

2. Espionage Act

3. Palmer Raids and Deportation

4. Progressive Era: Reformism

5. Consumerism

Can You Name a Country?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=umpalMtQE50>

Strikebreakers

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9U9OAN0qTY>