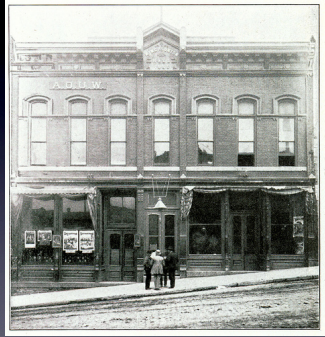


## THE HOUSE OF LABOR 1880 - 1910



Butte Miners Union Hall, 1900

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## LABOR UNIONS:

THE FOLKS WHO BROUGHT YOU THE WEEKEND.  
CHILD LABOR LAWS, OVERTIME,  
MINIMUM WAGE, INJURY PROTECTION,  
WORKMENS COMPENSATION INSURANCE,  
PENSION SECURITY, RIGHT TO ORGANIZE . .ETC.

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**United We Stand:**  
**Labor Unions and Working Conditions:**

**Labor Unions and Working Conditions: United We Stand**  
Lesson Overview

**IN MOTION: The African American Migration Experience**  
(Schubert Center for Research in Black Culture)

**United We Stand:**  
This lesson plan is designed to help students understand the role of labor unions in the early 20th century. It includes a video, a reading, and a writing activity.

**IN MOTION:**  
This lesson plan is designed to help students understand the African American migration experience. It includes a video, a reading, and a writing activity.

<http://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/lessons/labour/>

<http://www.immigration.gov/>

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**The rise of the American Labor movement and how political issues reflected social and economic changes.**

- How the "second industrial revolution" changed the nature and conditions of work.

Grades 5 - 8 What kind of working conditions did unions and children experience?

- How are workers protected from these conditions now?

- What factors were necessary to achieve skilled and high paying jobs?
- What were the highest paying jobs during this era?
- Do these jobs still exist today?
- Do people today who hold these jobs have the same status in society as their late 19<sup>th</sup> century counterparts?

Grades 7-8 What affect did the rise of big business have on the number of manufacturing workers needed in American industry?

- Which jobs – both skilled and unskilled – were most affected by change during the period?
- What were working conditions like at this time? Wages? Benefits? Safety precautions?
- What place did women and children play in this work force? To what degree did there experiences differ from those of the men?
- What do the sources reveal about the nature and condition of work in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. What comparisons or observations might be made to evaluate the differences between the past and the present day?

- How did the running of factories by managers change the prior relationship of owners and workers?

Grades 9-12 How did workers respond to the increasingly impersonal nature and strict timetables of factory work?

- Why did early labor unions refuse to admit women? Why did the Knights of Labor admit women as members while other unions did not?
- How did the employment of African American women differ from immigrant and native-born white women?

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**The Rise of national labor unions and the role of state and federal governments in labor conflicts.**

Grades 5 - 6 How did William Sylvis, Terence Powderley, Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, Isaac Myers, Eugene V. Debs and Samuel Gompers influence history? How effective was she or he in promoting the interests of the workers?

- Why tension grew in factories and mines during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century?
- How do workers solve their problems today?

Grades 7-8 In what ways did trade unions differ from reform unions?

- What circumstances prompted workers to attempt to band together in unions?
- How did management from different regions and different industries respond to union organization?
- What were the reasons underlying the workers decision to strike in the Railroad Strike (1877), the Haymarket Affair (1886), the Homestead and Coeur d'Alene Strikes (1892) and the Pullman Strike (1894)?
- How, why and to what extent did government come to be involved in these crises?

Grades 9-12 Why did most unions support a "ily white" policy in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century?

- How and why did the Knights of Labor differ?
- Why did the Knights of Labor display racial hostility to the Chinese in contrast to their policy toward African American and women workers?
- Why did the American Federation of Labor avoid involvement in broad-based reform and political movements?
- Why did Henry Frick feel that he was defending American republicanism in the Homestead affair? Why the Amalgamated Association of Steel and Iron Workers believe their actions were in the true spirit of republicanism? What point of view do you support?
- Why was Coxey's Army formed? Why did Thorstein Veblen mean when he argued that the men of Coxey's Army changed the phrase of the Declaration of Independence from "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" to "life liberty and the means of happiness"?
- Why did Attorney General Olney seek an injunction against the Pullman Strikes?
- Why did the Pullman strikers justify their actions?
- How did President Cleveland justify the use of the U.S. Army? Would you agree with the president's decision?

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Was (person, strike, organization) effective in promoting the interests of workers?

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Striker (left) "discussing" strike demands with Strike Breaker (right)  
Bowery, New York, 1910

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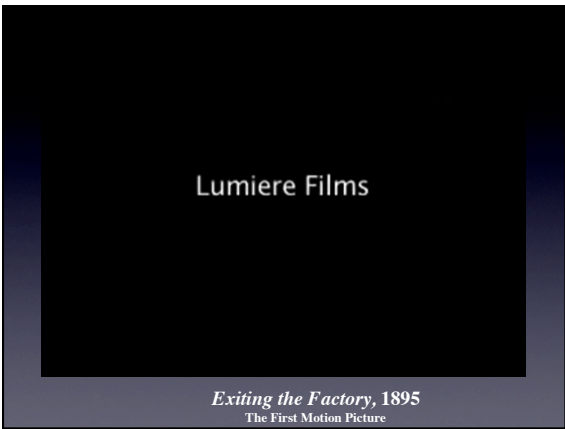
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Lumiere Films

*Exiting the Factory, 1895*  
The First Motion Picture

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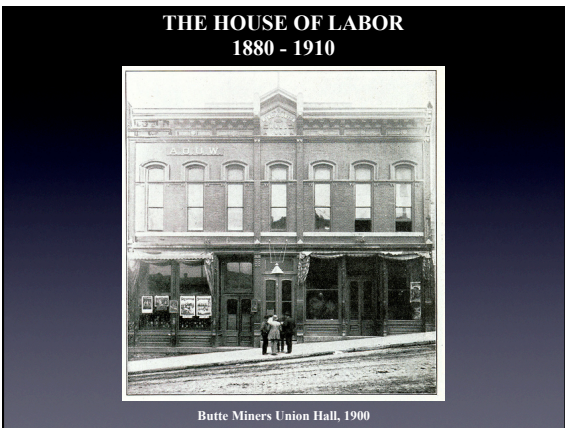
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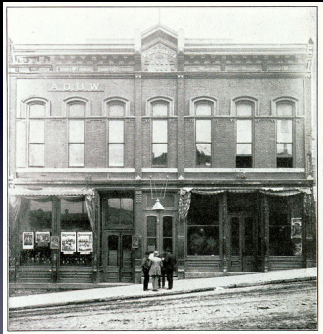
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**THE HOUSE OF LABOR**  
1880 - 1910



Butte Miners Union Hall, 1900

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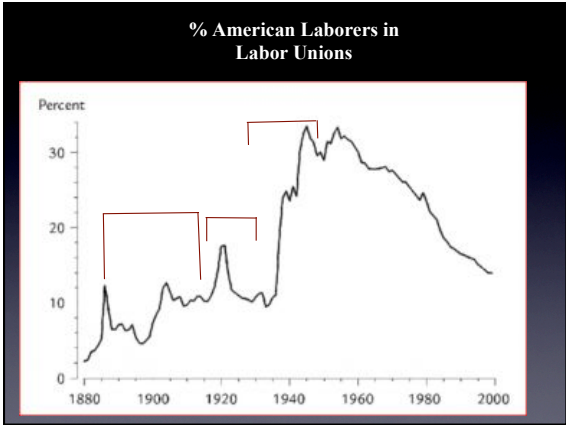
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• Every nation produces an aggregate national income, which is the product of the collective activities of all its inhabitants (*GDP using the income approach*).

### share of the Top 1%

• The national income in turn is distributed according to the structures of class, gender, and race, which are essentially power relationships. Those with greater power, get more of the national income; those with less power, get less.

• The history of labor in America, as elsewhere, is essentially the story of the struggle of workers and their allies to win a greater proportion of the aggregate national income.

• All of that for which labor fights – higher wages, shorter work day, safer working conditions, more autonomy in the workplace, more and better benefits, better living environments, old age and unemployment security etc. – are demands for a greater share of the aggregate national income.

Year	Share (%)
1910	10
1928	23.9
1930	15
1950	12
1980	10
2007	23.5
2010	20

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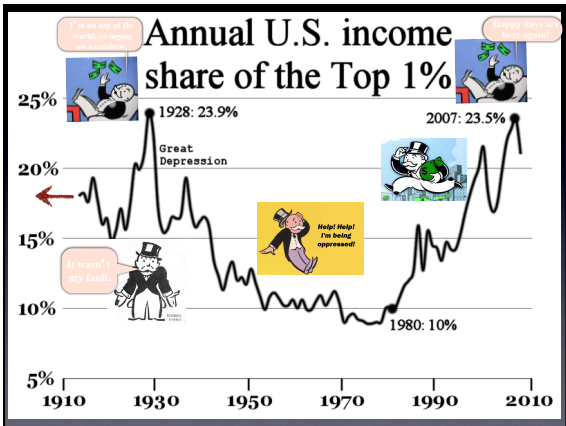
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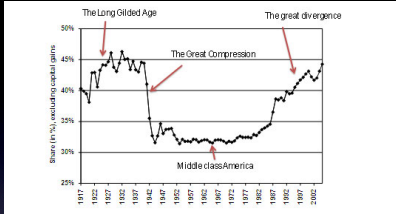
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Aggregate National Income Share accrued by the Top 1%

Periodizing American History (1917 - 2013)  
Thanks to Paul Krugman



**The Long Gilded Age:** The Gilded Age continued right through to the New Deal. Income remained about as unequally distributed as it had been the late 19th century. Public policy did little to limit extremes of wealth and poverty, mainly because the political dominance of the elite and working Americans were divided by racial, religious, and cultural issues.

**The Great Compression:** The middle-class society was created, in a remarkably short period of time, by FDR and the New Deal. Income inequality declined drastically from the late 1930s to the mid 1940s, with the rich losing ground while working Americans saw unprecedented gains.

**Middle class America:** It was a society without extremes of wealth or poverty, a society of broadly shared prosperity, partly because strong unions, a high minimum wage, and a progressive tax system helped limit inequality. It was also a society of political bipartisanship meant something; in spite of all the turmoil of Vietnam and the civil rights movement, it was an era in which Democrats and Republicans agreed on basic values and could cooperate across party lines.

**The Great Divergence:** Since the late 1970s, middle class America has unraveled. We're no longer a middle-class society, in which the benefits of economic growth are widely shared; between 1979 and 2005 the real income of the median household rose only 13 percent, but the income of the richest 0.1% of Americans rose 296 percent.

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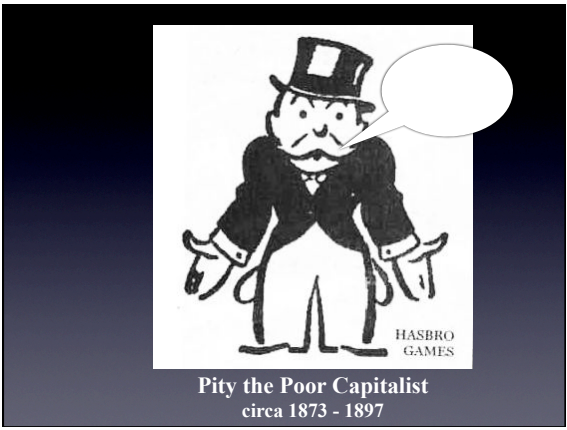
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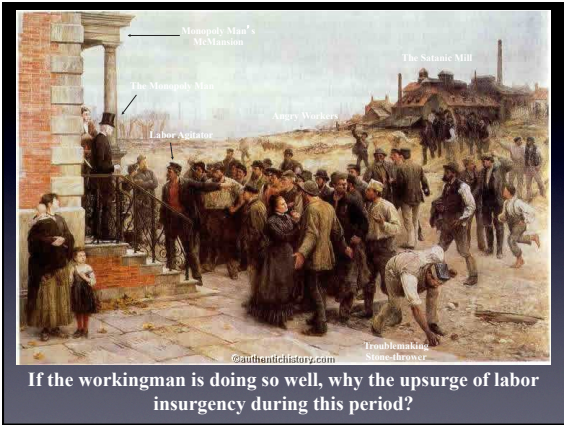
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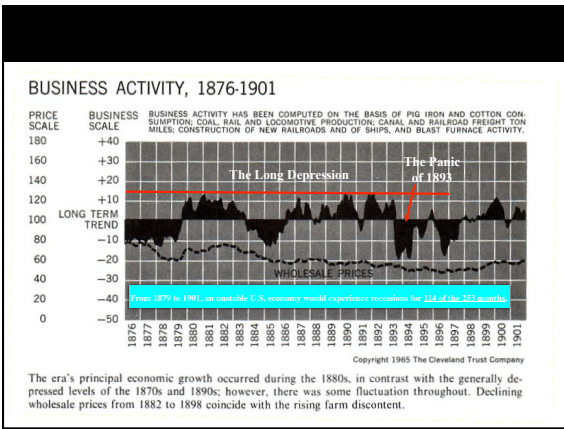
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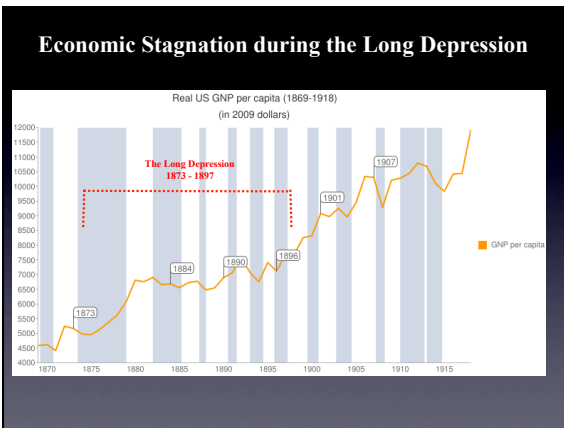
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## The Leisure Class in Hell

### Gilded Age Hell

Capitalists faced an upward trend in real wages accompanied by falling prices and profits.

Capitalists faced growing competition that required greater investments in fixed capital (machinery) in order to retain market share through lower costs and prices.

And, therefore, with the profit margins dropping, they felt dissatisfied with their share of the national income.



### What were their Possible Paths out of this Hell?

#### Lower wages

Mechanize production by replacing skilled craftsmen with machines, thereby increasing labor productivity and profits.

Create monopolies, cartels, or oligopolies, which would allow them to reduce competition and thereby maintain prices at a higher level by lowering output, and restricting competition.

Why not try all of the above?

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## Labor republicanism (Producerism)



- Labor Theory of Value
- Labor and Skills as Property
- U.S.' Two Class System: Producers and Non-Producers
- Wage labor is Slavery
- "Manliness" and Patriarchy

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## Anti-Monopolism



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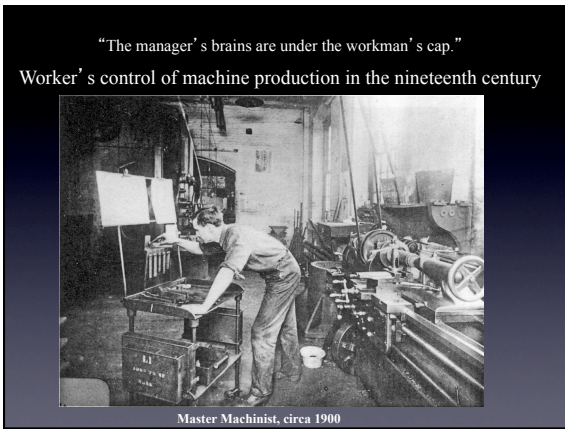
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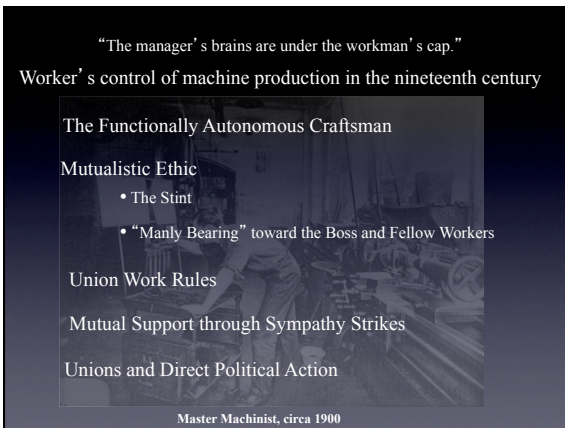
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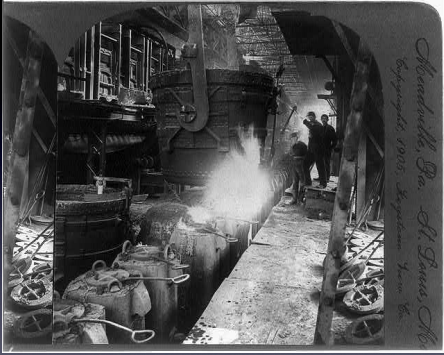
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*Chenoweth, Dan. At Jones Co.  
Copyright 1905. Reproduced from the  
Library of Congress.*

**Iron Castings Crew**  
Master Caster and His Helpers

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**"The manager's brains are under the workman's cap."**

Big Bill Haywood

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**The work of puddling:**

The puddler is "working up" his "ball of iron" to be carried to the "squeezer."

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The Great Upheaval, 1881 - 1900:  
22, 739 Strikes



McCaughy Haystack Cannery Strike, 1886  
(Eight Hour Workday)



The Haymarket Affair, 1886  
(Eight Hour Workday)



Great Southwest Railroad Strike of 1886  
(Sympathy Strike)



The Vesper Massacre, 1886  
(Eight Hour Workday)



Lafourche Sugar Cane Workers Strike, 1887  
(Higher Wages in Real Money)



Burlington Railroad Strike, 1888  
(Wages, Union Rules)



Homestead Strike, 1892  
(Wages, Union Rules)



Coeur d'Alene Idaho labor strike, 1892  
(Wages, Union Recognition)



Coxey's Army, 1894  
(Wages, Union Rules)

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The Great Upheaval, 1881 - 1900:  
22, 739 Strikes



Cripple Creek Miners' Strike, 1894  
(Eight Hour Workday, Wages)



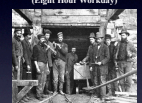
The Pullman Strike, 1894  
(Eight Hour Workday)



The Great Northern Railroad Strike, 1894  
(Sympathy Strike)



Bituminous Coal Miners Strike of 1894  
(Wages)



Leadville, CO Miners' Strike, 1896  
(Wages)



The Lattimer Massacre, 1897  
(Wages, Working Conditions)



Coeur d'Alene Idaho labor strike, 1897  
(Wages)



Cleveland Streetcar Strike, 1899  
(Wages, Union Rules)



Newbury's Strike of 1899  
(Price of Papers)

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Ambridge Coal Strike, 1900, 1902  
(Wages, Hours, Union Recognition)



U.S. Steel Recognition Strike, 1901  
(Wages, Hours, Union Recognition)



Colorado Labor Wars, 1903 - 1904  
(Wages, Hours, Union Recognition)

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## Great Railroad Strike of 1877



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## Knights of Labor

(1869 - in decline by 1887)

- Social Reform Union: (1) Prohibition of **child, convict labor, and** contract labor (the importation of foreign laborers, particularly Asians, under the Contract Labor Act of 1864); (2) advocated worker safety and weekly pay laws, and a graduated income tax.

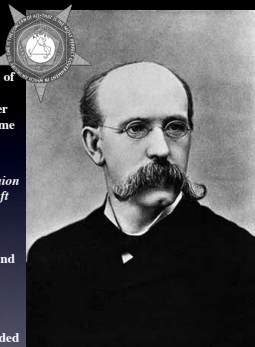
- "One Big Union": Organized all workers regardless of their skill (KOL was an *industrial union* in contrast to the AEL which was composed of *craft unions*). 600,000 members in 1886.

- Advocated arbitration rather than strikes.

- Advocated government ownership of railroads and telegraph companies.

- Advocated Producers Cooperatives to **replace the wage** system.

- Admitted African-Americans, women, but excluded Asians and permitted segregated KOL chapters in the South. Excluded bankers, doctors, manufacturers, liquor dealers from membership because they were "unproductive members of society."



Terence V. Powderly

1849 - 1924

KOL Grand Master, 1877 - 1893

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Leonora O'Reilly  
1870 - 1927  
Organized the United Garment Workers of America, a K.O.L. Affiliated Union



Members of the Knights of Labor circa 1880's



Leonora Barry  
1849 - 1930  
Knights of Labor Organizer, Officer and Assembly Delegate



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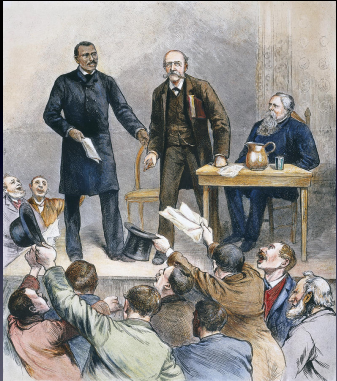
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Richmond, Virginia- 10th Annual Convention of the Knights of Labor

"Frank Farrell, colored delegate of District Assembly 89, introduces Grand Master Workman Terrence Powderly to the convention."



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### Rock Springs, Wyoming Massacre



THE BARRAGE OF THE HORDES AT ROCK SPRINGS, WYOMING... DRAWN BY T. W. HARRIS FOR THE ILLUSTRATED CATHOLIC. A. B. DODD, ARTIST. FROM THE ILLUSTRATED CATHOLIC—ONE YEAR OLD.

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### The Haymarket Riot, 1886



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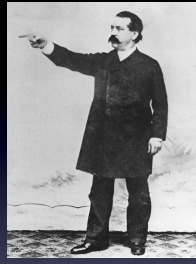
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## Samuel Gompers and The American Federation of Labor

A Revisionist View of the Man and the Federation



Gompers, 1918



Samuel Gompers  
1850 - 1924

American Federation of Labor President  
1886 - 1894, 1895 - 1924

### A.F.L. Unions, 1924

International Union of Alcohol Workers, Heat and Frost Insulators,  
Associated Actors and Actresses of America  
International Union of Associated Bakers and Confectionary Workers  
International Union of American Barbers  
International Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers  
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Book Binders, and Hangers  
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and Iron Shipbuilders  
International Brotherhood of Bookbinders  
Bread and Ship Workers Union  
Brokers, Fruit, Coal and Bulk Dock Workers of America  
United Brick and Clay Workers of America  
Bookbinders, Makers and Printers' International Union of America  
International Association of Bridge Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers  
International Bruner and White Makers' Union  
Building Service Employees International Union  
Amalgamated Association of Carpenters and Joiners  
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America  
Cigar Makers' International Union  
Civil War, Civil, and Military Workers' International Union  
Order of Sleeping Car Conductors  
Coppers' International Union of North America  
International Union of Cutting Die and Cutter Makers of America  
Regional Workers' Protective Union of America  
Amalgamated Association of Elastic Goring Weavers  
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers  
International Union of Elevator Constructors  
National Federation of Federal Employees  
International Association of Fire Fighters  
International Brotherhood of Furniture Employees  
Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada  
United Garment Workers of America  
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association  
American Hat Glass Workers' Union  
National Window Glass Workers  
International Glass Workers' Union of America  
International Union of Granite Workers  
United Hatters of North America  
International Hat Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union  
International Union of American Hierarchies of the United States and Canada  
Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' League of America  
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers  
International Jewelry Workers' Union  
Chartered Association of Law Operators

International Ladies' Garment Workers Union  
Union of Hair, Wig, and Metal Lathers  
International Laundry Workers' Union  
United International Union of Lumber Workers  
International  
National Association of Letter Carriers  
National Association of Rural Letter Carriers  
Amalgamated Lithographers of America  
International Longshoremen's Association  
International Association of Machinists  
United Brotherhood of Maintenance and Way Employees  
International Association of Marble, Slate, and Stone Finishers, Rubbers and Services, Tile and Marble Setters  
International Association of Organizers  
National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association  
Masters, Mates, and Pilots of America  
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen  
Meat Employees' International Union  
International Meat Packers Union of North America  
International Union of Miners, Mill, and Smelter Workers  
United Mine Workers of America  
International Molders' Union of America  
American Federation of Musicians  
Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America  
International Brotherhood of Papermakers  
Pattern Makers' League of North America  
International Union of Pavers, Enumerators, Flag Letters, Bridge and Stone Setters  
Paper Cutters' Union of the United States  
International Photo Engravers' Union of North America  
International Photo Engravers' Union of North America  
Plaster and Cement Finishers International of the United States and Canada  
International Pipe Fitters' and Steamfitters' Union of North America  
United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada  
National Federation of Postal Employees  
National Brotherhood of Operative Pattern Makers  
United Powder and High Explosives Workers  
International Print Crafters Association of America

International Association of Machine Printers and Color Men of the United States  
International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America  
Quarry Workers' International Union of North America  
Brotherhood of Railroad Carmen  
Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen of America  
Order of Railroad Telegraphers  
Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks  
Railway Mail Association  
Retail Clerks' International Protective Association  
Refrigerators, United States, Fish and Commission and Drapery and Waterproof Workers' Association  
Newsmen's National Union  
Seamens' International Union of America  
Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' Union  
International Spicers' Union  
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada  
International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Other  
International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers  
International Brotherhood of Steam Shovel and Dredgesmen  
Journemen Steam Carriers' Association  
Shoe Makers' International Union  
Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America  
Stevedores' Union of North America  
Railway Employers of America  
Journemen Tailors' Union of America  
American Federation of Teachers (1916)  
International Brotherhood of Teachers, Chautauques, Subscribers and Helpers  
International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects, and Draftsmen's Union  
Commercial Telegraphers Union of America  
International Union of Tinplate Workers  
Tobacco Workers International Union  
International Steel Pipe Transformers' Association of America  
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners International Typographical Union  
United Mine Workers of North America  
United Wall Paper Carriers of North America  
American Wire Workers' Protective Association  
International Association of Wood Carvers' Association of North America

### Independent Unions, 1925



Locomotive Engineers, Firemen, Enginemen



Sleeping Car Porter

#### Non-Affiliated Railroad Unions

Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers  
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen  
Order of Railroad Conductors  
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen  
American Federation of Railroad Workers  
Brotherhood of Railroad Yardmasters  
Brotherhood of Railway Employees  
Order of Railway Expressmen  
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters  
Train Dispatchers Association

#### Other Independent Unions

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America  
Amalgamated Food Workers  
National Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association



Food Workers



Clothing Workers



Marine Engineers



Samuel Gompers and the A.F.L.:  
"Business Unionism" or "Pure and Simple Trade Unionism"

- Craft Unionism
- Accepted Wage Labor and refused to call for its abolition.
- Advocated the tactical use of strikes sympathy strikes, and boycotts
- Spurned political activity
- Forbad Discrimination on the basis of gender or race.
- Accepted Corporate Capitalism as the necessary, but not the sufficient, condition for worker's economic liberty.
- Preached the Philosophy of "More."



American Federation of Labor President  
1886 - 1894, 1895 - 1924



Gompers in AFL Office, 1887

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"What does the Working Man Want?"

More!

"American workers want "more" - More leisure, more rest, more opportunity for going to the parks, of having better homes, of reading books, of creating more desires.

We want more school houses and fewer jails; more books and fewer arsenals; more learning and less vice; more steady work and less crime; more leisure and less greed; more justice and less revenge; in fact, more of the opportunities to cultivate our better natures, to make manhood more noble, womanhood more beautiful and childhood more happy and bright. These in brief are the primary demands made by the Trade Unions in the name of labor. These are the demands made by labor upon modern society and in their consideration is involved the fate of civilization.

We are tired of sympathy without relief. Mustard without beef. We ... declare that political liberty without economic independence is illusory and deceptive. Only when we gain economic independence can our political liberty become tangible and important."

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©DR. KEN JONES / DEKENONES.CO

Butte Socialist Hall, 1916

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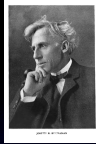
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## Rocky Mountain Workers' Social Democracy

- Unions as Political Organizations
- Local and State Union-Centered Political Action
- Focus on Electing Pro-labor officials & enacting Pro-Labor Laws
- Non-Partisanship ("Anti-Partyism")
- A "Living Wage" is not Wage Slavery
- Mutualism



Edward Boyce

Charles Boyer

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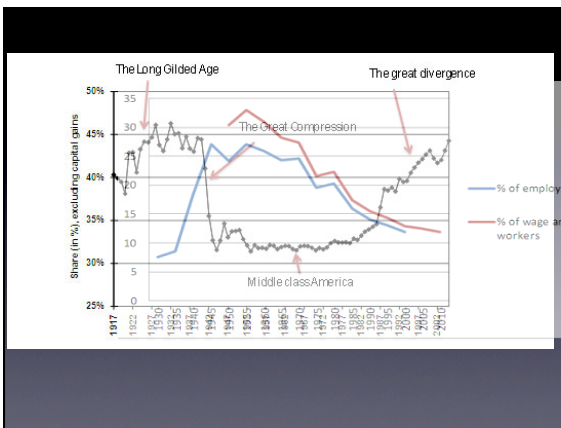
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