

# THE REPORTER

Summer Issue

Illinois Labor History Society

430 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60605

August 2019 www.IllinoisLaborHistory.org

# UNION HALL OF HONOR 2019

Save the Date! December 6, 2019

TRAIN "BATTLE OF VIRDEN" TOUR

Saturday, October 12, 2019

LABOR DAY ART AND MEDIA EXHIBITION

SIU University Museum

**GOING DIGITAL** 

Mother Jones goes digital!

LABOR DAY 2019

Pullman: Women & Work



# FROM YOUR PRESIDENT

The use of the term, Military Industrial Complex, as security firms, a militarized police first offered to us in a farewell speech in 1961 by President Dwight D. Eisenhower, has spawned similar memes in the past few years. We now hear about the Prison Industrial Complex, the Medical Industrial Complex and so forth. I would like to offer a new one: The History Industrial Complex. I think this term adequately describes the approach by some media, academia and our overall educational apparatus to consciously avoid discussing important working class history and heroic figures in positive terms. In fact, rhetoric and historical inaccuracies are used to denigrate some of the people and events that contributed to building a better quality of life for all Americans when it comes to the story of working class heroes and labor. The consequence of this, of course, is that wage and wealth inequality continue unabated.

I talk about this when I give labor history tours and workshops. I will often provoke discussion by saying, "how come you don't know this, weren't you paying attention in school, don't you read the newspapers?"

A very typical response is, "no one ever told me this."

I would be willing to bet lots of money that more than 90% of the adult population don't know who the president of the AFL-CIO is or what those initials stand for. It is no surprise then that virtually no one outside of hardcore activists and history buffs would know of Eugene Debs, Mother Jones, John L. Lewis or Delores Huerta.

Most of you reading this know the history of International Labor Day (May Day) is tied to the Haymarket Tragedy and is celebrated around the entire globe except these United States. Even many of our celebrated figures in American history are not given the true labor context that their work was based around. For example, how many people know that Martin Luther King's body of activism was greatly inspired by labor leader, A. Phillip Randolph, who led the United Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and even was fundamental in organizing the historic 1963 March on Washington? How many thousands of social workers know that the great Jane Addams was very much a labor activist, organizer and mediator? How many people know that the early foundation of private

force and State National Guards was for the purpose of strike breaking and protecting the wealthy during the Gilded Age? These examples are the tip of the iceberg.

What I do know is when union activists learn the "secret history" of labor in this country they want to be more involved. They feel like they are now connecting the dots as to how wage and wealth inequality divide us and how collective action has moved us forward.

This my friends, is why the Illinois Labor History Society needs your support to help us continue telling the most compelling stories of our incredible history. We are working hard with the National Park Service, the Illinois Department of Natural Resources and the entire Pullman community to ensure that the labor story is a significant component as part of the ongoing development of Pullman National Monument.

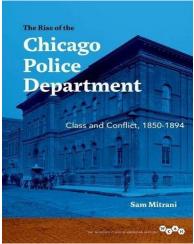
You may not have thought about this, but financial contributions don't have to be only through membership or cash donations. Just as millions of people normally do, one can name an organization in their will. Why not add the ILHS? While it is certainly a very personal decision about how one might leave the remainder of their estate, this sort of planned giving is one way among a number of bequest strategies and is simple to do. We have recently received a couple of requests for our Employee Identification Number to be used for this purpose. We will be sharing other kinds of planned giving strategies available to people that care about the work the ILHS does. You can even name us as an organization to donate to when you remind people on Facebook that you want your birthday present to be a gift to us. In turn we will give back much, much more!

In Solidarity,

Larry Spivack, President

# A book review of Sam Mitrani's The Rise of the Chicago Police Department: Class and Conflict, 1850-1894

#### By Edward LW Green



The Rise of the Chicago Police: Class and Conflict 1850-1894 captures the early formation of a municipal police department and contextualizes both Chicago and national histories that deliver a people's history of early policing. Somewhere between industrialization, wage labor, immigration, and a rising class consciousness developed a powerfully armed professional police force. Ultimately, Mitrani argues that the police during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century,

developed a social role in the reconciliation of democracy towards the interests of industrial capitalism.

Mitrani traces the development of the Chicago Police department through a number of labor riots and the part the police played toward the interests of the wealthy. The book itself is organized as follows: Chapter 1 Drunken Immigrants, Businessmen's order, and the founding the Chicago Police Department; Chapter 2 Paternalism and the Birth of Professional Police Organization; Chapter 3 The Police and the First May Day Strike for the Eight-hour Day; Chapter 4 The Native-born Protestant Elite's bid for Control in the 1870's; Chapter 5 1877 and the Formation of a Law and Order Consensus; Chapter 6 Carter Harrison Remakes the Chicago Police Department; Chapter 7 Chicago's Anarchists Shape the Police Department; Chapter 8 The Eight-Hour Strikes, The Haymarket Bombing, and the Consolidation of the Chicago Police Department; Epilogue The Pullman Strike and the Matrix of State Institutions. According to the author, "One of the most important implications of this study is that this strategy of accommodation and cooptation was facilitated by the existence of a powerful police force that could serve as the stick to supplement the liberal, progressive carrot" (p. 209). Further, Mitrani facilitates the reader in contextualizing the roots of the modern American politics between politicians of the wealthy, the labor movement, and social order maintenance.

The matrix of state institutions (political, media, and capitalists) designed to maintain social control emerged between the 1870's-1890's. Businessmen by then had multiple armed forces at their disposal, including military, militia, police, courts, and prisons. In short, the state had expanded into what we now refer to as the Criminal Justice system. Mitrani states, "The Pullman strike also clearly reveals that by the end of the

nineteenth century the United States had developed a matrix of state institutions to curtail the labor movement" (p. 214). This is a strong chapter as it also reveals that police didn't exist prior to the industrial revolution and the formation of cities in general. It was during this transition into labor markets that policing emerged as a profession. The notion of a social order had been sorted and the police had been forged into the urban armed force of the state.

Mitrani argues that the Haymarket conflict represents a watershed moment of the Chicago Police Force stating, "The Haymarket incident launched a whole new period of police development" (p. 194). In the weeks after May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1886, only the police narrative persisted of the Haymarket incident. *The Times*, CPD, and political pundits monopolized the story of Haymarket. The Haymarket incident was used to reframe the Chicago police into martyrs of civil society while framing the labor movement (Anarchists specifically) as the enemy. This perception largely persisted until the 1960's. It was during anti-war demonstrations of the sixties that saw the police statue in Haymarket Square bombed. As an important side note, by 1969, the labor perspective of Haymarket had been so revised to justify police violence that in response the Illinois Labor History Society was founded.

The Rise of the Chicago Police Department focuses on Chicago as the most turbulent, fastest growing, and violent city in America in the late nineteenth century. In this regard, Chicago formed the crucible of both the American labor movement and formation of modern policing. It is the assertion of the author that the rise of American policing succeeded in limiting democratic control of industry—but failed to control the behaviors in working class neighborhoods; an observation that is still observable today. Importantly, Mitrani adds a revitalized context of a class-oriented history of policing.

In conclusion, one primary question should be answered concerning a book such as Mitrani's *Rise of the Chicago Police Department Class and Conflict, 1850-1894:* Does the work contribute to labor history? I argue that yes, a labor-oriented perspective concerning the rise of contemporary (professional) police needs the historical context that Mitrani provides. Critical perspectives regarding both the growth and efforts to suppress working-class interests through early American policing, and its connection to the American labor movement tend to be scarce. Mitrani's work, like any well-researched extended historical case study, stands to contextualize historical and contemporary issues of both labor and the criminal justice system. The matrix of social institutions exists to shore up a top-down social order, and one very important labor perspective on the genesis of the Chicago Police Department.

Mitrani, Sam. 2013. *The Rise of the Chicago Police Department:*Class and Conflict, 1850-1894. Urbana, Chicago, and
Springfield Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

# On The Killing Floor Movie Screening

#### By Sarah Joy Liles

As part of our programming commemorating the events in Chicago during the Red Summer of 1919, the ILHS proudly co-presented, with South Side Projections and others, the first screening of the new 4K digital restoration of the 1984 film *The Killing Floor* followed by a panel discussion featuring labor leaders and community activists, some of whom worked on the film. Originally planned as part of a series of historical dramas illuminating the undertold true stories of American workers to air on PBS, the movie depicts the effort to organize both black and white workers under the Stockyards Labor Council (SLC) in the infamous meatpacking district of Chicago beginning in 1917. The screenplay draws upon extensive research in historical archives,

giants. Frank contends with competing pressures as friends and coworkers demand his loyalty. On one side, immigrant and native whites promise better conditions and wages through the union. On the other, he faces conflict with black coworkers, embittered by the 1904 waiters' strike, chiding that unions ultimately serve only white workers. Frank's struggle grows yet more fraught as racial tensions boil over in and out of the stockyards.

The screening, which took place on July 27<sup>th</sup>, was timed to coincide with the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the start of the Chicago Race Riot of 1919 because of its significance to the story. Our event was extremely well-attended – the biggest audience South Side Projections has ever had – with many people being turned away for safety and due to lack of seating. We thank our members and friends who attended

and appreciate the publicity we got from *TimeOut Chicago* and the *Chicago Tribune* as well.

Following the screening, panelists and audience members participated in a rich discussion. Moderated by film scholar Nina Cartier, the panel comprised historian Jim Barrett, labor leader Rose Daylie (retired CRTLL AFSCME 31)

Daylie (retired CBTU, AFSCME 31), community activist Amika Tendaji (Black Lives Matter, UMedics), labor leader Mark Hogan (IATSE 476), and producer of *The Killing Floor* Elsa Rassbach. Topics ranged from union involvement in the making of the film to implications for organizing diverse communities in the present. During the discussion, Rassbach credited the depth of understanding of labor history among the unions of Chicago she encountered in making the film directly to the work of the Illinois Labor History Society.

We also proudly note that several founders and key

board members were cited in the film credits.



including the records of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the SLC.

The story is told primarily through the experience of Frank Custer, a real-life black sharecropper from Mississippi who became an organizer for the SLC. The film opens with Frank leaving his family behind and boarding a train for Chicago, part of the Great Migration of Southern blacks seeking a better life and relief from racial violence in the industrialized North. It follows his search for employment and then for a better position once he hires on as a laborer on the killing floor of one the meatpacking

# Mother Jones Goes Digital

Now available: a multimedia self-guided tour of the Mother Jones Monument, just off I-55 and on Historic Route 66. This digital story-telling is available for smartphones, iPads, and from your desktop. See the links at motherjonesmuseum.org.

Learn about the rich history of the monument, hear performances from Vivian Nesbitt as Mother Jones, and see over a hundred photos of the people and stories connected to this historic site. Ideal for leading your own tour with friends at the site.

#### The Epic Mine War of the Late 19th Century.

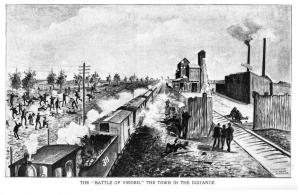
Along old Illinois Route 66 you can experience a different history of the "Mother Road" -- about the way unions became established in Illinois. Off the beaten track, but close to I-55, take a tour and imagine the time when coal barons and miners engaged in a war over worker rights. Mine operators built a stockade to house strikebreakers. They hired gun thugs to provoke violence.

The outcome of the war was bloody, including 13 deaths and dozens injured, but the results were significant for the entire nation's history. This was a turning point in labor history. Learn why.

"Remember Virden!" was a rallying call for the mine workers, not only in Illinois, but across the country. This was a spirit-thread that led Mother Jones, the most

well-known labor organizer of the early twentieth century, to be buried with the "Virden martyrs" in Union Miners Cemetery, Mt. Olive, Illinois.





"When the last call comes for me to take my final rest, will the miners see that I get a resting place in the same clay that shelters the miners who gave up their lives on the hills of Virden, Illinois on the morning of October 12th, 1898, for their heroic sacrifice of their fellow men. They are responsible for Illinois being the best organized labor state In America. I hope it will be my consolation when I pass away to feel I sleep under the clay with those brave boys."

Mother jones

This tour is best experienced by downloading our tour guide, or using your smartphone for the Vamonde app.

Access the information at www.motherjonesmuseum.org. Look for the link "sites and stories" from the front page.

Park your car and take this as a walking tour, starting at Virden town square and the bas relief— a total of about 1 mile.

It's also possible to experience this by car or bike. All sites have ample parking, but not all have sidewalks.

motherjonesmuseum.org





34th Annual Mother Jones Dinner
Saturday, October 12, 2019 \* 5pm social \* 6pm dinner
\* 7pm program — Erin's Pavilion, Springfield, Illinois
Featuring Sara Nelson Int'l President, Asssoc. Flight Attendants-CWA,
AFL-CIO, a leading voice in the tradition of Mother Jones
—During the longest shutdown in federal government history she highlighted the security and safety risks at the airports and on the airlines

while calling for a General Strike.

\$40.00 To reserve tickets call Al Pieper 217-522-4688 or Terry Reed at 217-491-1298

# Marking the 125<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the 1894 Pullman Strike

#### By Sarah Joy Liles



On May 11, 1894, nearly 4000 women and men walked off their jobs at the Pullman railcar factory south of Chicago. Their myriad unacknowledged grievances included reduced hours and wages, unmitigated high rents and fees for company-owned housing, and unfair treatment by supervisors on the factory floor. Hearing of the plight of the factory workers at their national convention in Chicago, the American Railway Union elected to boycott any train that included Pullman cars, effectively halting both freight and passenger traffic across the nation. George Pullman and the General Managers' Association fought back, drawing on the power of the federal government to defeat the strike through injunctions, military occupation, and violence. Although the strike ultimately collapsed under these attacks, its significance reverberates today.

On May 11 this year, the ILHS co-sponsored with Pullman National Monument and the Historic Pullman Foundation a panel discussion on the

relevance of the 1894 strike to current affairs. Our president Larry Spivak made opening remarks, giving the general historical background. Dave Rathke, who sits on the boards of the Mother Jones Foundation and the Debs Foundation, and is a new member of the ILHS board, spoke about Mother Jones and her connection to the Pullman strike. Allison Duerk, Director of the Debs Foundation, made a captivating presentation on Eugene Debs' life and work, focusing on his role in the strike and how it shaped him, featuring images from the murals at the Eugene V. Debs House Museum in Terre Haute, Indiana.

The highlight of the event was featured speaker Sara Nelson (pictured to the left), International President of the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA, who called for a general strike in response to the government shutdown this winter and whose own union's mobilizing to strike prompted a provisional end to the shutdown. She related these events directly to the 1894 Pullman strike, as the airline industry holds the same crucial role in today's economy as the railroads did then. Further, while many have noted the parallels between the Gilded Age of the late the 19th Century and conditions today – such as the outsized influence of corporations in government, enormous income disparity and other exploitations of workers – Nelson focused on the collective strength we hold to make change. She told of her own experience, how she came to understand the power of the union in her first weeks as a flight attendant, and how she was inspired by Mother Jones as she began to learn more about labor's story. She spoke about how important it is to know our history, especially in the face of the concerted effort by those in power to keep working people ignorant. Her words not only underscored the purpose of the event and the mission of the Illinois Labor History Society, but inspired those in attendance to carry forward the legacy of those who walked off the Pullman factory floor on May 11, 1894.

#### **Labor Day 2019 —** Illinois Labor Sponsored Events

#### **BELLEVILLE**

August 29– Southwestern Illinois CLC 53<sup>rd</sup> annual Labor Awards Dinner

**Location**: Panorama Banquet Center (downstairs), Bel-Air Bowl, 200 S. Belt West, Belleville, IL 62220

Time: Doors open 6:00 p.m. with Dinner at 7:00p.m.

Cost: \$25 per person in advance \$30 at the door for dinner, Sponsor ad book \$75 or \$150.

Contact: Charles Kaemmerer, Jr. at 618-979-4953 or Scot Luchtefeld at 618-340-

#### Sept. 2 – Labor Day Parade & Picnic

Location: Parade is in downtown Belleville, lineup starts in 4<sup>th</sup> block of South 1<sup>st</sup> St., and will end at Hough Park with the annual Picnic. Parade & Picnic open to union members and their families ONLY and food, beverages, rides and games for kids are available.

**Time**: Parade - 8:00 a.m. lineup, 10:00 a.m. start / Picnic - 11:00 a.m. - 3:00 p.m.

Contact: Scot Luchtefeld, 618-340-8300

Special Notice: NO PETS OF ANY KIND ALLOWED AT PARADE OR PICNIC

#### **BLOOMINGTON - NORMAL**

Sept. 2 – Labor Day Parade followed by a dinner in Miller Park for union members and their families.

**Theme:** Labor Day: 125th Anniversary Location: Downtown Bloomington starting at Front and Roosevelt Streets **Time:** Parade -9 a.m. line up, 10 a.m. start / Lunch – 11:30 a.m. – 2:00 p.m. \$5 chicken dinner

Contact: Mike Matejka 309-208-1120. Parade registration form is at www.bntrades.org

#### **CHAMPAIGN - URBANA**

#### Sept. 2 – Labor Day Parade & Picnic

**Location**: Downtown Urbana – starting at Lincoln Square Mall and ends at Prairie Park with picnic

Time: Parade staging begins at 8:30 a.m.

and begins at 10 a.m. A picnic will immediately follow at Prairie Park (1202 E. Washington) in Urbana. Lunch and drinks will be provided. Entertainment includes games for children, live band, and guest speakers.

Contact: Matt Kelly at 217-621-5201 or David Beck at 217-721-5344

#### **CHARLESTON**

Aug. 24 – Mid-Eastern Illinois CLC Labor Picnic, with food, drinks and live music.

**Location:** Fox Ridge State Park, brick pavilion, (8 miles south of Charleston on Rt. 130).

**Time:** Noon until 4 PM

Contact: Charles Delman, 217-348-7786 or Dan Kimball, 217-234-4609

#### Aug. 31 - Chicago Labor Day Parade & **Eddie Fest**

Location: The festivities begin at noon at the Southeast Side/CFL Labor Day Parade, which kicks off at 112<sup>th</sup> St. and Ewing Ave. The parade route ends in Calumet Park (98<sup>th</sup> and Avenue G) for Eddie Fest, a labor celebration and festival honoring the great Ed Sadlowski.

Time: Noon

Contact:

info@chicagolabor.org

Sept. 2 – Pullman: Women & Work

Location: 11111 S. Forrestville Ave. Chicago, IL 60628

Hosted by the Illinois Labor History Society, this event includes speakers, entertainment and tours in Pullman.

Contact: 773-264-7431

#### **DECATUR**

Sept. 2 – Labor Day Parade & Picnic

Location: Downtown

Decatur, line up on South Franklin Street at Wood Street

Time: 8:30 a.m. lineup, 10 a.m. start; Theme: UNION STRONG

Parade Contact: Riki Dial or Bill Francisco, 217-428-3013

There will be a picnic in the Fairview Park immediately following the parade until 2

**Comment**: This is the 7<sup>th</sup> annual combined picnic of all labor unions in Macon County, expecting about 2,500 participants. Free to union sponsors, \$25 for general public.

Picnic Contact: Lloyd Holman, 217-620-

4923

#### **SPRINGFIELD**

#### Sept. 2 – Labor Day Parade

**Location**: Downtown Springfield – Jefferson Street to 5<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> to Capitol, Capitol to 6<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> to Washington

Time: 9 a.m. line-up at Horrace Mann



**ROUTE:** 112th & Ewing Ave to Calumet Park (9801 S Ave G, Chicago, IL 60617)

#### APPLY ONLINE

chicagolaborparade.com

Email: chicagolaborparade@gmail.com





parking lot, 10 a.m. start

Contact: Andrew Spiro, 217-416-8793

#### **MADISON COUNTY**

#### **Alton**

**Aug. 21st & 24**<sup>th</sup> – James Stanley Charity Softball Tournament

**Location:** Gordon Moore Park, Alton, IL on hwy. 140.

Contact: B. Dean Webb, 618-259-8558

**Aug. 24<sup>th</sup>** – Labor Celebration Parade and Picnic- kids games

Notice New Location: The August 24<sup>th</sup> Labor Day Parade has been moved to Wood River/East Alton this year. The lineup for the parade begins at 8:00 a.m, at the Wood River Round House parking lot at 633 N. Wood River Ave. (Whitelaw Ave.) and ends at the Schnucks parking lot in Wilshire Village on Berkshire Blvd. Our picnic & softball tournament will follow at

Gordon Moore Park, Alton, IL.

**Time**: Parade 10 a.m. / Picnic after parade for union member families at Gordon Moore Park on hwy. 140.

**Contact**: B. Dean Webb, 618-259-8558 or Nick Dodson, 618 363-1384

#### **Granite City**

**Sept. 2<sup>rd</sup>** – Labor Day Parade and Picnic – Live music and petting zoo

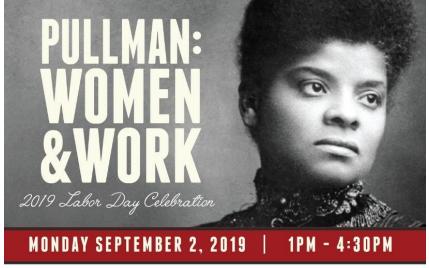
**Location**: Parade lineup begins at 9:00 a.m. in downtown Granite City on State Street between Niedringhaus & 18<sup>th</sup> Streets and will go to Wilson Park for picnic for Union Members and their family

Time: Parade starts at 10:00 a.m.

**Contact**: B. Dean Webb, 618-259-8558 or Mike Fultz 618-931-7212, cell 618-409-4314

#### **PEORIA**

Sept. 2 – Labor Day Parade with a

















🗣 HOTEL FLORENCE – 11114 S. FORRESTVILLE, CHICAGO, IL















Location: Parade - Downtown Peoria – details coming soon on assembly area.

Labor Day Party – on the Riverfront at

theme "Unions Protecting the Rights to a

parade's end. There will be food, music and fun for all!

Time: Parade starts at 10 a.m. with parade

**Contact**: Clint, 309-674-9243; Nancy, 309 -635-7308 or Ron, 309-696-9932

#### **QUAD CITIES**

lineup at 8:30 a.m.

Better Life"

**Sept. 2 - Labor Day Parade** Quad Cities Celebration

**Location:** East Moline – lineup at John Deere Harvester Works parking lot, 1100 13th Avenue in East Moline

**Time:** Lineup at 9 a.m.; parade starts at 11 a.m. and proceeds along 15th Avenue.

#### ROCKFORD

Sept. 2 - Labor Day Parade

**Time**: 10:00 a.m., lineup at 8:30 a.m. in downtown Rockford

**Contact**: Bill Corey, 815-968-1411, Jesse Dorner, 815-670-0902 or Jay Ferraro, 815-742-6553.

Sept. 3 – We Are One Picnic – This is an all-union picnic immediately following the parade at Davis Park in downtown Rockford. The picnic will go until 3:00 p.m and features live music. Meal tickets are \$6 in advance (or \$9 at the gate) and beer tickets are \$3 in advance (or \$5 at the gate). This is a family-friendly event with free games and activities for kids! To reserve tickets - Jesse Dorner at 815-670-0902 or jessed@unitedwayrrv.org.

#### **SOUTHERN ILLINOIS**

#### Aug. 23 through Sept. 2 – DuQuoin Illinois State Fair

Labor Pavilion will be open each day of the fair and is sponsored by The Egyptian Building Trades

Twilight **Parade** will be held at 6 PM on **Aug. 23** for union members wishing to walk with the Union float(s)

**Labor Day Picnic** Celebration will be held **Sept. 2**, starting at 11 AM on the North side of the Fairgrounds. (Free barbeque and music for union members and their families.) **Location:** All events will be at the DuQuoin State Fair Grounds, just off Route 51 in DuQuoin, IL

## A Letter of Thanks

THE KILLING FLOOR has been out of distribution since 2000 but is still used by many educators. But this year UCLA Film & Television Archive has digitally restored the film in a beautiful 4K HD version in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Race Riot in Chicago and the Red Summer of 1919. The distributor Film Movement will make the film available for limited runs in cinemas, non-theatrically, as a BluRay and DVD and via the internet. The film, with themes of the rebuilding of the labor movement and the struggle to overcome racism, is even more relevant today than when it was first made.

The film was the feature film debut of the African-American director Bill Duke and premiered in a national prime time broadcast on the PBS American Playhouse series in 1984. It won many awards at film festivals in 1985, including Sundance, and was distributed as a VHS and in 16 mm for educational screenings. Among the funders of the production were the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), Illinois Humanities, foundations, more than forty unions and two corporations. In US media history, this is the only film with such significant union support that has ever been broadcast.

I was very happy to be able to greet many ILHS members who attended the special preview screening of the film at the Logan Center on July 27th, the 100the anniversary of the 1919 Chicago Race Riot. So many people came to the screening that unfortunately some were turned away just because there were no more places available for them. But luckily the film will likely be shown in Chicago again soon.

As I said during my introductory remarks to the screening on July 27th, the Illinois Labor History Society played an essential role in the making of *THE KILLING FLOOR* from start to finish.

After I finished film school, I was hired in 1973 by WGBH, the Boston public television station, to work on the team of the NOVA series during its first seasons. WGBH also encouraged me to go forward with my dream of making a television series about the US labor movement.

The first person who really inspired me with the labor history theme was Bill Adelman of ILHS. He walked and talked me through several key episodes in US labor history that took place in Chicago. Upon my recommendation, WGBH engaged

Bill's close associate, Carolyn Ashbaugh, the author of the 1976 biography of Lucy Parsons, to work as my assistant in the development of the labor series, which was funded for development in 1975 by NEH. Working with many nationally known labor historians, we prepared several dramatic scripts and treatments for the series.

NEH selected our script about the packinghouse workers in Chicago, *THE KILLING FLOOR*, as the first to go into production. Unfortunately, due to the political climate that developed during the Reagan era, none of the other films that were planned could be produced.

In the preparation of the film script for *THE KILLING FLOOR*, I worked very closely with ILHS co-founder Les Orear, who became a good friend. He put me in touch with pioneering leaders of the Packinghouse Workers in Chicago such as Charlie Hayes, Ralph Helstein, and Jesse Prosten. Their input was very important to me in crafting the 80-page story for the screenplay that was based on the actual persons working on the killing floor at Wilson Meatpacking that I found in research in historical archives. In the writing of the final screenplay, I worked closely the well-known African-American playwright, Ron Milner, and then with the Obie-Award-winning African-American playwright, Leslie Lee.

The credits to Leslie Orear, Bill Adelman, Charlie Hayes, Ralph Helstein and Jesse Prosten at the end of the film show our gratitude for their inspiration and guidance. In the course of my research of many stories in the history of the American labor movement in many places, I have found the Illinois Labor History Society to be especially vigorous and helpful to this day.

Elsa Rassbach



# LABOR DAY ART AND MEDIA EXHIBITION

#### Poetry Readings Exhibition Gallery

Thursday
September 12 6:00
Tuesday September 17
6:00

Labor Organizing in Southern Illinois Today

PANEL UNIVERSITY MUSEUM AUDITORIUM Thursday September 19 6:30



Lecture by Professor Rosemary Fourer

The Life and Times of Labor Activist Mother Jones University Museum Auditorium Friday September 13 6:30

### **SIU UNIVERSITY MUSEUM** AUGUST 29 - SEPTEMBER 27

Film and Discussion: Sorry to bother you

Directed by Boots Riley

Guyon Auditorium September 5 @ 6:30

Artists Reception
SIU University Museum
Friday September 13
5:00 - 6:30

The Future of Work is Cooperative

Presentation by Carbondale Spring

University Museum Auditorium Wednesday September 25 5:30-7:30

Southern Illinois University

Brought to you by the SIU Department of Cinema, SIU Department of University, SIU University Museum, SIU University Honors Program

CARBO

CARBO

Illinois Labor History Society, Southern Illinois Democratic Socialists of America

For more information contact Cade Bursell cbursell@siu.edu

### "Battle of Virden" Oct. 12 Labor History tour

LIMITED OFFER - "Battle of Virden" Oct. 12 Labor History tour

Illinois does not have any Civil War battle sites, but it does have "battle sites" where workers faced off against gun thugs. Come join the Illinois Labor History Society for a special "Fall Foliage" train tour to central Illinois.

\$75 brings you round-trip train fare, lunch and a visit to labor sites in Virden and Mt. Olive.

#### This includes:

- Round trip train fare on southbound Amtrak train 301 from Chicago, Joliet or Bloomington; return on northbound Amtrak 304 from Carlinville. Train 301 will make a special stop at Virden, near the spot where the 1898 gun battle took place.
- Lunch from a local restaurant in Virden;
- Transportation to Mt. Olive to visit the Mother Jones Museum and the Union Miners Cemetery;
- Transportation from Mt. Olive to Carlinville.
- LIMITED to the first 25 respondents.

\$30 tour access, including lunch, for those not taking the train

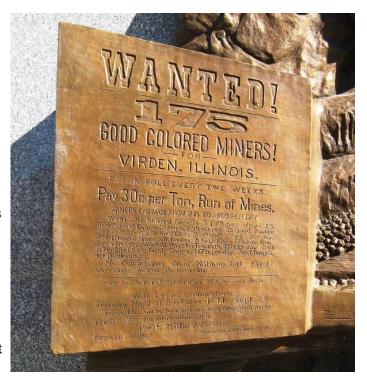
In Virden on October 12, 1898, striking miners surrounded a train carrying Alabama African-American strike breakers. The Alabama miners were unaware they were entering a strike zone. As the miners approached the train to talk to the Alabama workers, a Thiel Detective Agency operative opened fire. The detectives were armed with Winchester rifles and the miners were also armed. Seven miners and four guards were killed and 30 strikers wounded and five guards wounded. There is no accurate count on injuries to the African-American miners. After 20 minutes the train engineer pulled out to Springfield.

Illinois Republican Governor John Tanner (1844-1901) authorized the Illinois National Guard to prevent strike breakers from entering the state. This was an early and unprecedented positive intervention by a state Governor in a labor dispute. Unable to bring in strike breakers, the mine companies agreed to the

United Mine Workers conditions.

Miners from surrounding communities, especially Mount Olive, were in Virden that day. The seven miners killed were denied burial in Mount Olive. So the union bought land and established the "Union Miners Cemetery." When Mary "Mother" Jones (1837-1930) died, she had requested burial in this cemetery. Miners erected a monument over her grave in 1936.

This tour will leave Chicago on Amtrak Lincoln Service train 301 at 7 a.m., making a special, unscheduled stop at Virden. Local bookstore owner and historian John Alexander will lead a Virden tour, including a beautiful Virden Massacre bas relief in the town square. After sharing box lunches, the tour will travel to Mt. Olive and the Union Miners' cemetery. After touring Mt. Olive, the tour will proceed to Carlinville, to return to Chicago on Lincoln Service 304 at 4:15 p.m, arriving in Chicago at 8:40 p.m.



Advertisement for "good colored miners" reproduced on the monument.



"FALL FOLIAGE" TRAIN
TOUR TO CENTRAL
ILLINOIS

## Battle of Virden

Illinois does not have any Civil War battle sites, but it does have "battle sites" where workers faced off against gun thugs. Come join the Illinois Labor History Society for a special "Fall Foilage" train tour to central Illinois.

\$75 brings you round-trip train fare, lunch and a visit to labor sites in Virden and Mt. Olive.

This includes:

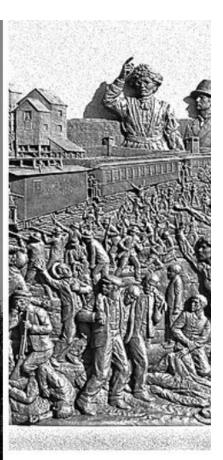
- Round trip train fare on southbound Amtrak train 301 from Chicago, Joliet or Bloomington; return on northbound Amtrak 304 from Carlinville. Train 301 will make a special stop at Virden, near the spot where the 1898 gun battle took place.
- Lunch from a local restaurant in Virden:
- Transportation to Mt. Olive to visit the Mother Jones Museum and the Union Miners Cemetery;
  - · Transportation from Mt. Olive to Carlinville.
    - · LIMITED to the first 25 respondents.
- \$30 tour access, including lunch, for those not taking the train

### Saturday, October 12, 2019

DEPART CHICAGO AT 7:00 AM RETURN AT 8:40 PM
DEPART JOLIET AT 7:57 AM RETURN AT 7:26 PM
DEPART BLOOMINGTON AT 9:14 AM RETURN AT 5:56 PM
DEPART SPRINGFIELD AT 10:15 AM RETURN AT 4:56 PM

Tickets Available by:

https://www.eventbrite.com/e/battle-of-virden-traintour-tickets-69058657303, calling 312-341-2248, or emailing ilaborhistorys@gmail.com





# 1919 Massacre remembered 100 years later in a period of increasing racist violence

#### By Julia Berkowitz

This year marks the centennial anniversary of the Red Summer of 1919 and the anti-black violence that swept across parts of Chicago, in what is often referred to as the Chicago Race Riot. Local institutions have been involved in commemorative programming throughout the year and the ILHS is no exception. In addition to co-sponsoring the screening of the recently restored labor film, The Killing Floor, the ILHS also led a Chicago 1919-themed tour of the Bronzeville neighborhood for the American Association of University Professors (AAUP). As well, we sponsored a book launch for David Bates' new release, The Ordeal of the Jungle: Race and the Chicago Federation of Labor, 1903-1922, on the CFL's stockyard organizing drive during and after World War I, which we will be discussing at the August 25 meeting of our quarterly book club.

1919 was a tumultuous year for labor and a deadly one for African Americans. In labor circles, the year is remembered for the Seattle General Strike, the Great Steel Strike, and the Palmer Raids and Red Scare that led to the deportation of hundreds of labor radicals, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. Until recently, the understanding of the year 1919 as a Red Summer, a term used to illustrate the blood of African Americans that flowed as a result of the widespread, white supremacist terror, has been all but forgotten.

In his book *Red Summer: The Summer of 1919* and the Awakening of Black America, Cameron McWhirter notes that the year was marked by at least twenty-five major race riots. There wasn't a week that went by, without reports of racial clashes, anti-black riots, lynchings or bombings of black homes and businesses somewhere in America. The historian John Hope Franklin considered the year, "the greatest period of interracial strife the nation has ever witnessed." In

Chicago alone, there were more than twenty-five bombings targeting African Americans in the months leading up to the July violence. In many cases, the linkage of race and labor became intertwined with the violence that ensued, as William Tuttle details in his classic, *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919*.

Even as the city and much of the nation was rocked by anti-black violence that year, the historian James Barrett demonstrates in his *Work and Community in the Jungle*, the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) was in the middle of a multi-pronged campaign to mobilize area workers. This campaign included the "Stockyards Labor Council drive to organize the packinghouses, the fight to free labor activist Tom Mooney, the building of a Chicago Railway Council to link all the locals of area railroad workers, the creation of an independent Labor party to run in local elections and the struggle to organize a massive steel strike as a means to unionizing area mills."

These themes on race and labor were front and center in our tour for the AAUP last month. We kicked off the tour to pause at the Monument to the Great Migration by Alison Saar, and also stopped at the Eighth Regiment Victory Monument, the first state-sponsored memorial to African American World War I veterans. The Black Devils, as they were called, were instrumental in armed defense of the black community during the riot. We also visited many important sites, including the iconic Stockyards Gate and William Walker mural depicting the struggles of packinghouse workers, the home of anti-lynching crusader, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, and the former offices of the Chicago Defender, a critical source of news and eyewitness reports during the riot and in the days and weeks that followed.

As well, The Renaissance Collaborative, housed in the former Wabash Avenue YMCA, was gracious enough to grant us access to the William E. Scott mural

(Continued on page 14)

#### (Continued from page 13)

housed there. Today, they use the building to provide affordable housing, workforce development, employment, and educational services. One hundred years ago, the Wabash Y was an important site for African Americans arriving in the city during the Great Migration to secure housing and jobs. The historian, Carter G. Woodson founded the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History there in 1915. During the SLC organizing drive, the meat packers attempted to use the facility to ignite their anti-union campaign among black workers.

Historian Peter Cole joined the ILHS on this tour, offering details of how the Red Summer took shape in Chicago. He also shared the work he has been leading around the CRR19 project-a public art project that seeks to commemorate the Chicago Race Riot by placing markers at the sites where thirty-eight were killed. You can learn more about his project at ChicagoRaceRiot.org.

During the tour, an important issue was raised by professors concerned about the use of the term 'riot.' It was noted that this term tended to equate white and black violence, and did not adequately reflect the complexity of factors that shaped these events, especially in Chicago. Some professors argued that the term pogrom, usually used in reference to the extreme anti-Semitic terror experienced by Jews in Tsarist Russia, was more apt. Others felt that events, as they unfolded in Chicago, were unique given the mobilization of the black community in armed selfdefense by returning African American soldiers and the lack of involvement by white unionized stockyards workers in the anti-black violence. The historian. David Krugler speaks to terminology in this context in a recent article for History News Network, (https:// historynewsnetwork.org/article/172710), and in his book, 1919, The Year of Racial Violence: How African Americans Fought Back.

to draw upon for the tour, and we were proud to sponsor a book launch for him earlier this month.

Bates brings a new understanding to packinghouse labor and Red Summer historiography by examining how race shaped the stockyard organizing drive. He details how white organizers prioritized the building of an interracial labor council, but were still limited by their understanding of race, in how best to organize black workers in the fight for integrated, industrial unions.

Just weeks after the 1917 East St. Louis Race Riot, considered the worst case of labor-related violence of the twentieth century and one of the worst race riots in American history, in which as many as two hundred African Americans were killed, CFL head John Fitzpatrick and William Z. Foster embarked on the campaign to organize Chicago's packinghouses. At the time, Gene Debs noted that the anti-black violence in East St. Louis was "a foul blot upon the labor movement," and continued, "had the labor movement freely opened their doors to the Negro instead of barring him, the atrocious crime of East St. Louis would never have blackened the pages of American History."

It is hard to imagine that Fitzpatrick and Foster embarked on the campaign to organize in Chicago without having been influenced by events in East St. Louis and by Debs' admonition. But one also has to wonder just how much worse the anti-black violence would have been in Chicago two years later, had the CFL not worked to build an interracial labor council in the stockyards, however flawed. Ultimately, the fight to organize integrated unions in the packinghouses would only succeed some twenty years later, when CIO organizers put African American men and women workers in leadership positions and spoke to the multiple struggles they faced on the shop floor and in their communities.

Join us at Harold Washington Library on August 25th at 2 pm to discuss David Bates' new David Bates' new book served as a main source book, available in our online bookstore, and the Red Summer of 1919. Also, let the ILHS know if you'd like to see this tour offered to the public this fall.

# Planning in Pullman

On Tuesday, August 20, 2019 at the Hotel Florence in Pullman, there was a meeting with the Governor of Illinois along with various partnering agencies and organizations to discuss the future of Pullman and its development. ILHS is proud to be a part of this ongoing conversation because we are working to make sure the workers' stories are told and the history is accurate.

Pictured below are Illinois AFL-CIO President, Michael Carrigan, Governor J. B. Pritzker, Chicago Federation of Labor Secretary-Treasurer, Don Villar, former Director of the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, Joe Szabo and ILHS President Larry Spivack.



Summer 2019











#### DO YOU KNOW YOUR LABOR HISTORY?

HTTPS://LABORHISTORYIN2.PODBEAN.COM/

#### **JULY 7, 1894**

On this day in labor history, the year was 1894. That was the day thousands of Pullman strikers confronted state militia forces at the Grand Trunk Railroad Crossing in Chicago. The strike began May 11 after George Pullman slashed wages but refused to lower rents in his company town. In late June, Eugene Debs and the American Railway Union called for a national boycott of all Pullman trains. The boycott spread to 27 states, involving more than 150,000 workers. Attorney General Richard Olney issued an injunction, declaring the strike illegal July 2. The injunction failed to break the strike. But it did prevent union leaders from communicating with strikers. The next day, President Cleveland ordered troops into Chicago rail yards to crush the strike. Workers were furious. They flooded the yards, stopping trains, smashing switches and barricading themselves with baggage cars. Fighting continued for several days as angry strikers stormed rail yards and overturned empty freight cars. Thousands of workers impacted by the Depression joined in, including those stranded in the city after the Columbian Exposition. Two strikers were shot dead on the Illinois Central railroad July 6. Workers responded by setting fire to hundreds of rail cars. Now, on this day, the militia attempted to run a work train, to clear the rail yard at 49th and Loomis. Thousands followed the train, showering it with bricks and stones. The troops returned gunfire, killing at least four and injuring dozens. Chicago unions soon voted in favor of a citywide sympathy strike, but the railroads quickly hired replacement labor. Federal troops and state militia cleared the railways for business. Main strike leaders were arrested. By the beginning of August, Pullman rehired strikers who agreed never to join a union.

#### August 5, 1969

That was the day a group of 25 labor activists got together at the office of labor attorney Joe Jacobs in Chicago to form the Illinois Labor History Society. The idea for Lewis Hine, was born in Oshkosh, the organization began a year earlier, with a group of activists who were concerned there was no memorial or tribute to workers at the site of the Haymarket Square, the place that many consider the birthplace of the modern labor movement. Les Orear of the United Packinghouse Workers of America (UPWA) was one of the leaders of this group. He explained, "We needed a memorial to the workers who were killed there. Their story must be told." On May Day 1969 the fledgling group held an event at the site of the Haymarket tragedy that was a great success. By August they had adopted an organizational constitution and bylaws. Dues were set at \$5 a year. Les Orear was elected President and labor historian Bill Adelman was elected Vice President. The mission statement of the organization declared, "It shall be the purpose of the Illinois Labor History Society to encourage the preservation and study of labor history materials of the Illinois Region, and to arouse public significance of the past to the present." By the next March, the ILHS was officially incorporated as a not-for-profit. Since then union activists, artists, actors, historians and American workers. In 1930-31, he took labor allies have worked together for 50 years to tell the histories of working people, of the Empire State Building. He was later protect important sites of Illinois labor history and to honor those who have helped build our labor movement and the rights of workers. Today a memorial stands at the site of Haymarket Tragedy in Chicago-a lasting testament to the tenacity of that group who insisted that must we remember our history!

#### **September 25, 1874**

Can a photograph bring about social reform? Lewis Hine believed it could. On September 25, 1874, the photographer, Wisconsin. Hine studied sociology at the University of Chicago, Columbia University and New York University. He then secured a job teaching at the Ethical Culture School in New York City. Hine used photography in his teaching. He took his students to Ellis Island to photograph some of the thousands of immigrants who arrived each day. In five years they had taken more than 200 photographs. Lewis Hine continued to use his camera to capture the lives of the poor and working class. Hine travelled the country taking pictures of children who worked in factories. Since factory owners often refused Hine entry to their factories, he sometimes hid his camera and posed as a fire inspector. His photographs helped prod Congress to take up the problem of child labor in the United States. Hine worked for the Red Cross during World War I. On his passport he listed himself as "following the occupation of a photographer and investigator." His camera documented the war's devastating impact on French and Belgian civilians. After the war, Hine joined the campaign to establish better safety laws for photographs documenting the construction employed by the Tennessee Valley Authority to photograph dam construction. He took photos of the Civilian Conservation Corps. These images remain a lasting documentation of the laborers employed by New Deal programs. Lewis Hine had difficulty earning enough money from his photography to support himself. His poverty mirrored that of the workers he had photographed. He died in poverty in November, 1940.



## Illinois Labor History Society Membership Form



Renew your membership in the Illinois Labor History Society. The **Standard ILHS membership** (\$30 annually) includes: "The Reporter" our quarterly newsletter, invitations to special events throughout the year and email updates about ILHS activities and programs. Your **Silver ILHS membership** includes: standard membership, an exclusive ILHS Magnet and an exclusive ILHS car decal. Your **Gold ILHS membership** includes: standard and silver membership packages plus a 50th anniversary commemorative t-shirt.

To join as an individual or to affiliate your local union, complete this form and send it with a check to our office, or renew online at www.illinoislaborhistory.org.

To suppor	rt ILHS, I want to:					
	Renew my members	hip	☐ Standard	☐ Silver	☐ Gold (ple	ease check one)
Become an individual standard member (\$30 annually)						
Become an individual silver member (\$60 annually)						
Become an individual gold member (\$100 annually)						
Tshirt Size (2XL, XL, Large or Medium available)						
Affiliate my union (\$250 annually)						
Your Name		_ N	Name of Union	Local		
Address:			City		State	Zip
Phone	~	Ema	ail			
Payment (please check one):						
<ul> <li>□ Check is enclosed</li> <li>□ Will make payment online at illinoislaborhistory.org</li> <li>□ Email full page ad to ilaborhistorys@gmail.com (size is 5.5 inches wide, 8.5 inches tall)</li> </ul>						

Return this Form To:
430 South Michigan Ave. Room WB 1806, Chicago, IL 60605
Also available for purchase at our bookstore online at www.illinoislaborhistory.org

#### Planned Giving Strategies to benefit the Illinois Labor History Society

This year marks the 50th anniversary of the Illinois Labor History Society. Would you like help us ensure that the voices of working people will be heard for another 50 years?

If you would like to make sure that the future generations can learn and explore labor history consider including ILHS in your estate planning. Legacy gifts play an important part in allowing the ILHS to tell the worker's stories for years to come.

If you are interested in talking about these options, contact ilaborhistory.org for more details.

There are many ways you can you include the ILHS in your planned giving:

Will Bequest - Your attorney can add a codicil or draft a new will which names ILHS as partial or full beneficiary of your estate after you die. Obtain the tax ID number and complete mailing address of ILHS and give to your attorney.

#### Life Insurance beneficiary

**designation** – contact your existing life insurance company and request a Change of Beneficiary form – you may make ILHS a partial or full beneficiary of the death benefits. (1%, 5%, 10%, etc.) Your personal beneficiaries) get the balance at death.

Purchase a new life insurance policy

- if you name ILHS as full beneficiary, then you may get a tax deduction by gifting the premium to ILHS and naming ILHS as owner and beneficiary; ILHS then takes your gift and pays the premium to the insurance company. OR you can spent during your lifetime. You just make ILHS a partial beneficiary (1%, 5%, 10% etc.) NO deduction this way and you continue to control the policy.

#### Annuity beneficiary designation -

Buy a new annuity or request Change of Beneficiary form naming ILHS as full or partial beneficiary of the account after your death. You have full control over the policy value during your lifetime.

**IRA distribution** - If you are older than 70 ½ you may withdraw up to \$ 100,000 from your IRA and roll it over to ILHS without having to pay taxes on this distribution. Since ILHS is a not for profit, it will get the benefit of the entire distribution with no tax. You do not get a tax deduction, but you don't pay taxes on this withdrawal. You may also gift your RMD (Required Minimum Distribution to ILHS.

**Charitable trust** – Two types, Charitable Remainder Trust and Charitable Lead Trust.

In the first case, you use a TPA (Third party administrator such as Renaissance) to be sure that all guidelines, tax filings, etc. are followed. You donate assets to a

CRT established in your name. During your lifetime, you have access to the principal and income. Upon your death ILHS and/or other charities will receive the remainder of the account that you have not receive a tax deduction up front for establishing this trust.

In the second case, again you must use a TPA to follow the rules. Here a charity such as ILHS receives annual income for a period of years. Then the balance of the account (and ideally the appreciation in the account) is for your estate. This technique works best when you donate assets that are very likely to appreciate over time. The CLT guidelines zero out the income to the charity so that even though the trust grows during your lifetime, the IRS considers your trust's value to have been totally paid out to the charity even though in reality it has more value than when you established it. The charity gets cash flow for specified number of years and your family will benefit from an appreciated asset with no income tax due.





ILLINOIS LABOR HISTORY SOCIETY'S 38TH ANNUAL

### UNION HALL OF HONOR

SAVE THE DATE! FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 2019

INDUCTING

CHARLIE HAYES,

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA

IRENE GOINS,

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION LEAGUE

RON POWELL,

UNITED FOOD AND COMMERCIAL WORKERS UNION

BOB SIMPSON,

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS

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#### Our Mission Statement

It shall be the Purpose of the Illinois Labor History Society to encourage the preservation and study of labor history materials of the Illinois Region, and to arouse public interest in the profound significance of the past to the present.



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**Or Current Resident**