

*Fifteenth Annual
North American Labor History Conference*



**LABOR, CITIZENSHIP,
AND THE STATE**

*October 14th through 16th, 1993
McGregor Memorial Conference Center*



Conferences



Department of History
Wayne State University
3094 Faculty/Administration Building
Detroit, Michigan 48202

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1993

9:30-11:00 Registration

Coffee hour sponsored by the Labor Studies Program

Labor, Progressivism, and the State: Roundtable on New Scholarship

11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m., Room E

Moderator: Molly Ladd-Taylor, York University

"'Best Little Soldier on the Line': Ellen Gates Starr and Hull House Labor Activism"

Jennifer L. Bosch, Indiana University-Indianapolis

"'A Dead Convict Don't Cost Nothin': The Politics of Occupational Health in the Alabama Convict Coal Mines, 1893-1912"

Robert Cvornyek, Rhode Island College

"Labor and the Campaign for Health Insurance, 1915-1920"

Beatrix Hoffman, Rutgers University

"'Serving the Welfare of Wage Earners': The Labor Department and Immigration, 1913-1921"

Larry Briggs, Syracuse University

Comment: The Audience

Class, State and Citizenship in 19th Century England

11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m., Room J

Chair: Sonya O. Rose, University of Michigan

"'For the Protection of the Manufacturers' Property': Policing the Workplace and Statutory Control of the Labor Process in the Yorkshire Worsteds Industry, 1810-1845"

Richard J. Soderland, Illinois State University

"'A Manly Opposition': Working Class Organizations and the Law in Nineteenth Century England"

Karl Itman, University of Houston

"Class, Gender, and the Stabilization of Mid-Victorian Society: The Case of James Kay-Shuttlesworth"

Theodore Koditschek, University of Missouri-Columbia

Comment: Richard Price, University of Maryland

Free Labor and Citizenship Under the Law

11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m., Room B

Chair: Sandra VanBurkleo, Wayne State University

"*Free Labor and Capitalism: English Wage Work and the American Peonage Cases*"

Robert J. Steinfeld, SUNY at Buffalo

"*Reinventing Free Labor: Contract Labor Law and Immigrant Padrones in North America, 1885-1920*"

Gunther Peck, Yale University

Comment: Wythe Holt, University of Alabama
William Cohen, Hope College

Politics of Communication: Organized Labor and the Media

11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m., Room G/H

Chair: Daniel J. Leab, *Labor History*/Seton Hall University

"*Propaganda, Education, and Alternative Broadcasting: Organized Labor and Radio Stations WCFL and WEVD, 1926-1938*"

Nathan Godfried, Hiram College

"*The Campaign to Organize Workers in the U.S. Broadcasting Industry, 1935-1945*"

Robert W. McChesney, University of Wisconsin

"*For Better Listening: Organized Labor and Radio, 1940-1960*"

Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, West Virginia University

Comment: Elliott Shore, Institute for Advanced Studies
Daniel J. Leab, *Labor History*/Seton Hall University

Unions, Citizenship, and State-Formation in the Interwar Years

2:30-4:30 p.m., Room B

Chair: Nancy Gabin, Purdue University

"*The Prospect of Nationalization: California Oil Workers, Unionism, and the Politics of Oil Production in the 1920s*"

Nancy Quam-Wickham, University of California-Berkeley

"*The Death of the UTW: Union-Management Cooperation and the Role of the State*"

Janet Irons, Lock Haven University

"*The Missouri Valley Authority, the CIO, and Civic Unionism, 1944-1948*"

Rosemary Feurer, Washington University/Labor Vision

Comment: Howard Kimeldorf, University of Michigan

Women's Political Activism and Citizenship during the Interwar Years: A Roundtable Discussion

2:30-4:30 p.m., Room G/H

Moderator: Alice Kessler-Harris, Rutgers University

Panelists: Laura Frader, Northeastern University
Annaliese Orleck, Dartmouth College
Eve Rosenhaft, University of Liverpool
Elizabeth Faue, Wayne State University

After the Revolution: A Roundtable on Christopher Tomlins, *Labor, Law, and Ideology in the Early Republic*

2:30-4:30 p.m., Room J

Moderator: Mike Merrill, Rutgers University

Panel: Gary Kornbluth, Oberlin College
Amy Dru Stanley, University of California-Irvine
Lea Vandervelde, University of Iowa

Response: Christopher Tomlins, American Bar Foundation

Class and Political Culture: Roundtable on New Scholarship

2:30-4:30 p.m., Room E

Moderator: Colette Hyman, Winona State University

"Working Class Political Theory: Bringing Culture Back In"

Robert Bruno, Union County College/Cornell University

"The WPA and the Labor Movement: Chicago Industrial Folklore"

Alan Harris Stein, George Mason University

"A Fatal Embrace? Aspects of the New Deal's War on Nativist State Formations"

Graham Barnfield, Sheffield Hallam University

"Representations of Women in Labor Drama of the 1930s"

Kathleen Grimm Garrett, Wayne State University

Comment: The Audience

Nat Weinberg Award Presentation and Reception

5:00-6:00 p.m., Room 200

Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor
and Urban Affairs

Award Recipient: John Zalusky, AFL-CIO
Research Department

Plenary Session I: Class, Gender, and Citizenship in the United States

7:30-9:30 p.m., Room B/C

Welcome: Arthur Johnson, Wayne State University

"Servants or Citizens: Sex, Class, and Contracts in Antebellum America"

Nancy G. Isenberg, University of Northern Iowa

"The Free Gift of the Ballot? The American Working Class and the Right to Vote"

Alexander Keyssar, Duke University

Moderator: Marc W. Kruman, Wayne State University

Friday, October 15, 1993

8:00-9:00 Registration

Coffee hour sponsored by the Master of Arts in
Industrial Relations Program (MAIR)

Gender, Race, and Class Constructions of Citizenship

9:00-11:00 a.m., Room G/H

Chair: John Jentz, Northern Illinois University

"Children's Labor and Children's Citizenship: The Decrease of Poor-Apprenticeship and the Increase of Parental Custody Rights in the New Republic"

Holly Brewer, University of California-Los Angeles

"The Odyssey of Alexander and Margaret Chavis Proctor: Race, Citizenship, and the African American Search for the New Jerusalem, 1840-1865"

Paul Krause, University of British Columbia

"Wrested Rights: Working-Class Citizenship on the Comstock Lode"

Keith Gallagher, University of California-Santa Cruz

Comment: Nancy MacLean, Northwestern University

Constructing Labor Relations Law: Progressives, Pluralists, Politics, and Power

9:00-11:00 a.m., Room J

Chair: Christopher Tomlins, American Bar Foundation

"The Bucks Stove and Range Company Case"

Daniel Ernst, Georgetown University

"Voluntarism, Progressivism, and the Creation of Pre-New Deal Labor Policy"

Ruth O'Brien, University of Denver

"Aliquippa: The Company Town and Contested Power in the Construction of Law"

Kenneth Casebeer, University of Miami

Comment: Katherine Stone, Cornell University

**Workers, Reformers, Industrialists, and the State:
The Development of Industrial Policy in England, France,
and the United States, 1900-1950**

9:00-11:00 a.m., Room B

Chair: Christopher Johnson, Wayne State University

*"Campaigning for Unemployment Insurance: A Look at England, France,
and the United States, 1900-1950"*

Miriam Cohen, Vassar College

Michael Hannagan, New School for Social Research

*"The Country and the City: Rural Migration and Industrial Policy in the
Paris Region, 1920-1936"*

Laura Lee Downs, University of Michigan

*"Social Policy and Women's Work: Wage-Earning for Mothers Receiving
Public Aid"*

Joanne Goodwin, University of Nevada-Las Vegas

Comment: Christopher Johnson, Wayne State University

**War, Labor, and the State in
Comparative Perspective**

9:00-11:00 a.m., Room E

Chair: Ronald Schatz, Wesleyan University

*"Crisis Prevention and the Remaking of the Working Class: U.S. Federal
Labor Policy and World War I"*

Eric Karolak, Ohio State University

*"'Intentional' Versus 'Conjunctural' History: The Canadian State and
Collective Bargaining, 1938-1944"*

Taylor Hollander, Binghamton University

Comment: James Atleson, SUNY at Buffalo

Luncheon

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m., Room L/M

Introduction: Leslie Hough,
Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs

Speaker: John Zaluski,
AFL-CIO Research Department
and Winner, Nat Weinberg Award

Open Shop Employers and the State in Progressive America

12:30-2:30 p.m., Room J

Chair: Robert Cherny, San Francisco State University

*"Organized Employers and Labor's Right to Picket in Progressive
Era California"*

Thomas Clark, University of California-Los Angeles

*"Dinner-Pail Politics: Employers, Workers, and Political Organization
in the Progressive Era"*

Julie Greene, University of Colorado-Boulder

Comment: David Montgomery, Yale University

Robert Cherny, San Francisco
State University

**Immigration Policy, Legal Status, and Citizenship:
The United States and France**

12:30-2:30 p.m., Room G/H

Chair: John Bukowczyk, Wayne State University

"From Subject to Ethnic Citizen: Algerian Workers in France"

John Barzman, University of Texas-Pan American/Universite du Havre

*"Outrageous Women: Sexuality, Race, and Gender in the Coal Fields of
Appalachia and South Wales"*

Camille Guerin-Gonzales, Oberlin College

Comment: Leslie Page Moch, Michigan State University
Donna Gabaccia, University of North Carolina-Charlotte

**Defining Citizens, Confining Citizenship: The 20th Century
Industrial Regulatory State in Comparative Perspective**

12:30-2:30 p.m., Room E

Chair: Peggy Kahn, University of Michigan-Flint

*"Wages, Hotel Workers, and the Limits to Political Citizenship under
Compulsory Arbitration, Australia, 1904-1968"*

Diane Kirkby, La Trobe University

*"The Pitfalls of Industrial Citizenship: Early Experiments
in Canadian Tripartism"*

Bob Russell, University of Saskatchewan

Comment: Michael Goldfield, Wayne State University

**Work, Occupational Health,
and Social Policy**

12:30-2:30 p.m., Room B

Chair: Robert Asher, University of Connecticut

"Digging Up Black Lung: The Politics of Epidemiology in the Coal Industry"

Alan Derickson, Pennsylvania State University

*"What's the Use of Living in the Past? The Emergence of Medicolegal State
Management of Conflict Around the Emotional Underside of Working Life"*

Anthony Bale, New York University School of Medicine

Comment: Robert Asher, University of Connecticut
Claudia Clark, Central Michigan University

**Books on labor history and related topics are on sale in Room F throughout
the conference.**

REGISTER BEFORE

OCTOBER 1, 1993

AND SAVE

\$10.00

!

ACCOMMODATIONS AND TRANSPORTATION

Out-of-town participants for the North American Labor History Conference are encouraged to use the Hotel St. Regis, located in the New Center area just north of campus, during their stay.

If you register before October 1, 1993, you will be assured the special institutional discount rate of \$69.00 for a single room and \$79.00 for a double room. Just indicate that you will be attending the North American Labor History Conference at Wayne State University to lock in your room rates.

Unfortunately, Wayne State University cannot guarantee the institutional rate for hotel reservations made after October 1, 1993. Standard rates at the Hotel St. Regis are \$99.00 for a single room and \$109.00 for a double room. Hotel registrations after October 1 are not secured, and will depend upon room availability. For reservations, contact the Hotel St. Regis, 3071 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Michigan, 48202, 313/873-3000. Their FAX number is 313/873-2574.

The Hotel St. Regis will offer limited shuttle service between the hotel and the campus for conference participants free of charge. This service will bring conference participants to campus prior to the beginning session each day and will return to the hotel after the last session each evening. A sign-up sheet will be located at the hotel desk for persons wishing to use the shuttle service.

We suggest that out-of-town participants consider using Commuter Transport as a shuttle between the airport and the hotel. In our survey of the Detroit transport services, it appears that Commuter provides the most convenient and economical shuttle between either City or Metropolitan Airport and the Hotel St. Regis.

Conference funding provided by the College of Urban, Labor, and Metropolitan Affairs, the College of Liberal Arts, the Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, and the Department of History, Wayne State University. Special thanks to the staffs of the Reuther Library and the Department of History, Wayne State University.

Program Committee: Elizabeth Faue (chair and coordinator), John Bukowczyk, Leslie Hough, Christopher Johnson, Philip Mason, Alan Raucher, Stanley Shapiro and Joseph Ward.

North American Labor History Conference

REGISTRATION FORM

Name _____

Address _____

Affiliation _____

Registrations received before October 1, 1993 will lock in substantial savings.

Registration \$20.00 (*\$30.00 after Oct. 1, 1993*)
(Registration is free to students with current student ID)

Receptions Free to Registrants

Friday Luncheon \$10.00

Friday Dinner \$16.50

Saturday Luncheon \$10.00

Total Enclosed: \$ _____ (U.S.)

Request Vegetarian Meals (check here) _____

Please note: Due to the size of this year's conference, we anticipate filling our maximum capacity at each of the meals. Please register early if you will wish to dine at the McGregor Center facility. **No meal tickets will be available at the door.** We will provide a dining guide in the participant packets for your use in selecting an alternate choice.

Please return form and check payable to Wayne State University to: NALHC, Department of History, 3094 Faculty/Administration Building, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

REGISTER BEFORE

OCTOBER 1, 1993

AND SAVE

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!

**Citizen-Consumers: Labor Unions
and the Politics of Consumption**

3:00-5:00 p.m., Room G/H

Chair: Lawrence Glickman,
University of South Carolina

*"The Citizen as Consumer: Working-Class Women, the Living Wage,
and the 1922 Railroad Shopcraft Strike"*

Susan Levine, East Carolina University

"'Buy American' Campaigns in Historical Perspective"

Dana Frank, University of California-Santa Cruz

Comment: Heather Thompson, Princeton University
Lawrence Glickman, University of South Carolina

**Aliens and Subjects: Management
and Manipulation of Labor and
Citizenship in Post-War Britain**

3:00-5:00 p.m., Room B

Chair: Fraser Ottanelli, University of South Florida

*"A Question of Citizenship: Irish Aliens, Colonial Subjects,
and British Workers"*

Kathleen Paul, University of South Florida

*"Withholding Their Due: Irish Workers, Unemployment Insurance,
and British Government in Wartime Britain"*

James B. Wolf, University of Colorado-Denver

Comment: Laura Tabili, University of Arizona
John A. Jackson, University of Dublin

The Uses of the State: Canadian and U.S. Labor Movements in the Twentieth Century

3:00-5:00 p.m., Room J

Chair: J. Nolan Reilly, University of Winnipeg

"Unionization and the State in Canada and the U.S."

Bruce Rankin, University of Chicago

"National Labor Movements and Reluctant Citizens: The Approach of American and Canadian Labor to White Southerners and French-Speaking Quebecers during the 1940s"

Daniel Marien, New School for Social Research

"The Contradictions of Community: Canadian Labour and Working Class Support for Private Charity, 1920-1960"

Shirley Tillotson, Dalhousie University

Comment: J. Nolan Reilly, University of Winnipeg

Educating the Industrial Citizen: State Policy, Apprenticeship, and Education

3:00-5:00 p.m., Room E

Chair: Bruce Fehn, SUNY-Potsdam

"Rethinking the Class Dilemma in Education: Citizenship, State Policy, and Flexibility"

Robert Lanning, University of Saskatchewan

"Patterns of Federal Intervention in Apprenticeship Training: Is There a Future for Industrial Citizenship?"

Stephen Amberg, University of Texas-San Antonio

Comment: Eric Parker, University of Wisconsin

Reception

5:00-6:00 p.m., Lobby

Dinner

6:00-7:30 p.m., Room L/M

Plenary Session II: Activism, Organizing and the Future of the U.S. Labor Movement

7:30-9:00 p.m., Room B/C

Moderator: Steve Babson, Wayne State University

Panelists: Kim Hodge, Organizing Director, SEIU Local 79
Michael Leslie, Organizer, UAW Region 1A
Robert Potter, President, UFCW Local 951
Peter Rachleff, Macalester College
Dennis Valdes, University of Minnesota

Post-Plenary Gathering Labor and Social Conscience: A Memorial Tribute to Bernard J. Firestone

Sponsored by CULMA

Poetry Readings and Performances

Alvin's Finer Twilight Bar
5756 Cass Avenue

Saturday, October 16, 1993

8:00-9:00 Registration

Coffee hour sponsored by the Department of History

The Politics of Working-Class Patriotism in the United States, 1890-1920

9:00-11:00 a.m., Room G/H

Chair: Joseph McCartin, SUNY-Geneseo

"Labor Republicanism and the Changing Meaning of Popular Patriotism, 1890-1914"

Andrew Neather, Duke University

"Class Consciousness and the Costs of 'Working-Class Americanism': Southwestern Illinois Coal Miners in the World War I Era"

Carl Weinberg, Yale University

Comment: Gwendolyn Mink, University of California-Santa Cruz
Julie Greene, University of Colorado-Boulder

Industry, Militarism, and the State: France and Germany in the World War I Era

9:00-11:00 a.m., Room J

Chair: Joseph Ward, Wayne State University

"The French State, Industry, and Labor Relations: The Case of Saint Nazaire's Shipbuilding Industry, 1880-1910"

Leslie Schuster, Rhode Island College

"German Industrial Relations, 1910-1925: The Case of Thyssen and Co., Mulheim a.d. Ruhr"

Jeff Fear, Harvard Business School

Comment: Judith Stone, Western Michigan University

Labor, Liberalism, and the State in the 1970s

9:00-11:00 a.m., Room B

Chair: Leslie Hough, Wayne State University

"Striking Against the State: The 1970 Post Office Strike"

Aaron Brenner, Columbia University

"F. Ray Marshall: Jimmy Carter's Ambassador to Organized Labor"

Gary Fink, Georgia State University

"Jimmy Carter and the UAW: Failure of an Alliance"

Martin Halpern, Henderson State University

Comment: Thomas Sugrue, University of Pennsylvania

Public Employees, Unions, and the State

9:00-11:00 a.m., Room E

Chair: William Canak, Loyola University of New Orleans

"Did the Passage of the Wagner Act Encourage U.S. Union Membership Growth? A Canadian Perspective"

Roy J. Adams, McMaster University

"The Passage of Public Sector Collective Bargaining Laws in the American States: A Comparative Analysis"

William Canak, Loyola University of New Orleans

Berkeley Miller, Kansas State University

"Civil Service: An Early Model for Employment Rights?"

Anthony Browne, Columbia University

Kathryn M. Neckerman, Columbia University

Comment: Gilbert Gall, Pennsylvania State University

Luncheon

11:00-12:30 p.m., Room L/M

Negotiating Government Resources: Class Dynamics and the Debates over Taxes in the Mid-Twentieth Century

12:30-2:30 p.m., Room B

Chair: Paula Baker, University of Pittsburgh

"Defining the 'Public Good': Class, Taxes, and Municipal Finance in the Early Depression"

Cecelia Bucki, Fairfield University

"The Shaping of 'Forgotten America': Workers and Taxpayers in Post-World War II New York"

Sylvie Murray, Yale University

Comment: Mark Leff, University of Illinois-Urbana

Paula Baker, University of Pittsburgh

Working Class Nationalism in Comparative Perspective: Germany, the United States, and Poland, 1930-1950

12:30-2:30 p.m., Room J

Chair: Kathleen Canning, University of Michigan

"Bertold Brecht, Visions of State, Society, and the German Left"

Richard Bodek, University of Charleston

*"Like a Free American Factory: Patriotism and Protest in Detroit,
1941-1945"*

Kevin Boyle, University of Toledo

*"Whose Nation, Whose State: Workers and Communism in Poland,
1944-1947"*

Padraic Kenney, University of Colorado-Boulder

Comment: Kathleen Canning, University of Michigan

Radicalism, Citizenship, and the State

12:30-2:30 p.m., Room E

Chair: Robin D.G. Kelley, University of Michigan

*"William Z. Foster and Eugene Debs: Conflicting Definitions of Socialist
Citizenship, 1910-1924"*

Edward Johanningsmeier, Independent Scholar

*"The IWW and World War I: Citizenship, the State,
and Alternative/Oppositional Politics"*

Fran Shor, Wayne State University

*"Extinguishing Red Flames: The Immigration Service and the 1931
Lawrence Textile Strikes"*

Dexter Arnold, South Central Federation of Labor

Comment: James Barrett, University of Illinois-Urbana

The Relationship Between Contemporary Unions and Government

12:30-2:30 p.m., Room G/H

Chair: Mark McColloch, University of Pittsburgh-Greensburg

"State Workers' Unions Begin to Organize"

Camille Colatosti, author, Stopping Sexual Harassment

"Federal Government Forces Railroad Workers from the Track"

Peter Rachleff, Macalester College

"Teamsters and the Federal Government — Unhappy Marriage"

Dan LaBotz, author, Rank and File Rebellion

Comment: Mark McColloch, University of Pittsburgh-Greensburg

Capstone Session

3:00-4:30 p.m., Room B/C

Introduction: Sue Marx Smock, Wayne State University

*"Democracy and the 'Free Market' Economy: Some Reflections on the
Experience of Workers in the United States during the Nineteenth Century"*

David Montgomery, Yale University

CALL FOR PAPERS

The 16th Annual North American Labor History Conference will be held October 13-15, 1994, at Wayne State University in Detroit. The theme for the conference is "International and Comparative Labor History." Contact Elizabeth Faue, Department of History, 3094 Faculty/Administration Building, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202; phone: 313/577-6986. Proposals for panels and papers are due March 1, 1994.

NOTES