

Seventeenth Annual  
North American Labor History Conference



Courtesy of the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University

COMMUNITY AND CULTURE  
IN WORKING CLASS HISTORY

October 19-21, 1995  
McGregor Memorial Conference Center



Wayne State University



Wayne State University

Department of History  
College of Liberal Arts  
3094 Faculty/Administration Bldg.  
Wayne State University  
Detroit, Michigan 48202

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1995

Registration 9:30-11:00 a.m.  
Coffee Hour sponsored by the Labor Studies Program

Political Culture and Labor Politics, 1945-1995: Works in Progress  
11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m., Room F/G

Chair: Elizabeth Faue, Wayne State University

*Wages, Prices and Profits: The Postwar Debate in the Electrical Industry*  
Lisa Kannenberg, Rutgers University

*"Community" and its Perils: Local Control and Civil Rights in New York City, 1960-1980*  
Jerald Podair, Princeton University

*"A Living Thing and a Museum of Fossils": The Language of Labor in Cold War America*  
Samuel White, Indiana University

*From Wildcats to Technocrats: The AFL-CIO, 1955-1965*  
Julian Zelizer, The Johns Hopkins University

Comment: Elizabeth Faue, Wayne State University

Cotton, Class and Community: Textile Workers in Mexico, New England and the South, 1910 to 1945  
11:00 a.m.-1:00 p.m., Room I

Chair: Jonathan Prude, Emory University

*Textile Unions in Mexico, 1910-1930: From Heroic to Gangster*  
Jeffrey L. Bortz, Appalachian State University

*Spinning and Sewing: Southern Women Workers in the Textile and Needle Trades, 1929-1945*  
Michelle Haberland, Tulane University

**The Dynamics Shaping Steelworkers Between the 1930s and the 1970s:  
Race, Gender and Unionism**

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

Chair: Michael Goldfield, Wayne State University

*Strange Bedfellows: The Marriage of Company Unionism with Rank and  
File Activism in the Formation of Steel Unionism*

James Rose, University of California, Davis

*Dialectic of Division: Race and Power Among Western Pennsylvania  
Steelworkers, 1937-1975*

John Hinshaw, Carnegie Mellon University

*Women Steelworkers During World War II and the Korean War*

Elizabeth Jones, California University of Pennsylvania

*The Transformation of Gender in a Steelmaking Community: An  
Ethnographic and Historical Study of Sparrows Point, Maryland*

Karen Olson, Dundalk Community College

Comment: Thomas Sugrue, University of Pennsylvania

**Class and Cultural Identity in Four Australian Industrial Communities**

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

Chair: Jeremy Mouat, Athabasca University

*From Class Conflict to "Workers' Control": Community, Culture and  
Working Class Demobilization in Broken Hill, 1919-1925*

Bradon Ellem, University of New South Wales

John Shields, University of New South Wales

*Industry and Community Relocation and Retrenchment at the Lithgow Small  
Arms Factory, Australia, 1915-1932*

Greg Patmore, University of Sydney

*The 1922 Australian Pulp and Paper Mill Dispute in Burnie, Tasmania: A  
Working Class Community Response to an Attack on Organizational Culture*

Lucy Taksa, University of New South Wales

*"One Big Happy Family"?: Constructions of Local Identity in an Australian  
Steel Town*

Erik Eklund, University of Newcastle

Comment: Jeremy Mouat, Athabasca University

**Nat Weinberg Award  
Presentation and Reception**

4:30 - 6:00 p.m., Room B/C

Award Recipients:

Lawrence Mishel  
Economic Policy Institute

John Herling  
Late Labor Journalist

**Plenary Session I**

**Working Class Community in Deindustrializing America**

7:00-9:00 p.m., Room F/G/H

Welcome and Chair: Christopher H. Johnson, Wayne State University

*Generation, Gender and Deindustrialization: The Anthracite Region Since  
1920*

Thomas Dublin, Binghamton University

Walter Licht, University of Pennsylvania

*A Tale of Two Cities: Deindustrialization, Race and Space in Chicago,  
1945-1981*

Janice Reiff, University of California - Los Angeles

Comment: Karen Brodtkin Sacks, University of California-Los Angeles  
Giovanni Arrighi, Binghamton University

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1995

Registration 8:00-9:00 a.m.

Coffee Hour sponsored by the History Department

**Working Class Religious Experience and Labor Activism**

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

Chair: James R. Barrett, University of Illinois-Urbana

*In Search of Salvation, Not Revolution: The Experience of Worker-Sectarians in Tsarist Russia*

Page Herrlinger, University of California - Berkeley

*The Parameters of Faith: Black Working-Class Religious Experience and Labor Activism, 1915-1955*

Kimberley Phillips, Case Western Reserve University

Comment: Lori Citti, Drew University

James R. Barrett, University of Illinois-Urbana

**Communities of Interest, Communities in Conflict: Labor during the Progressive Era**

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

Chair: Nancy A. Hewitt, Duke University

*Organizing and Romance: John and Mary Kenney O'Sullivan and the Boston Labor Community of the 1890s*

Kathleen Banks Nutter, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

*Labor Solidarity and Social Solidarity: The Contest Over the Meaning of Community Interests in Massachusetts, 1880-1912*

Patricia A. Reeve, Boston College

Comment: Ardis Cameron, University of Southern Maine

Nancy A. Hewitt, Duke University

**Culture and Community in African Working Class History**

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

Chair: Monica Schuler, Wayne State University

*Working Class Culture in Colonial Freetown, Sierra Leone, 1880-1939*

Ibrahim Abdullah, Illinois State University

*Social Networks and Solidarity Among the Railway Workers of Atbara, Sudan, 1924-1956*

Ahmad Sikainga, Ohio State University

*European Drunkenness, Public Order and the Role of African Constables in Maintaining Town Control, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1875*

Keletso Atkins, University of Michigan

*Urban Order and Labor Control: Enugu, Nigeria's Coal Town, 1914-1940*

Carolyn A. Brown, Rutgers University

Comment: Anton Rosenthal, University of Kansas

**Polish or Polish-American? Ethnic, Cultural and Political Conflict in the Working-Class Communities in Milwaukee and Detroit, 1930-1950**

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

Chair: John Bukowczyk, Wayne State University

*The Union Comes First: Ethnic Loyalties versus Class Identity During the 1946 Milwaukee Congressional Election*

Robert D. Ubriaco, Jr., Webster University

*Working All Day and Playing All Night: The Role of the Dance Band Musician in the Polish-American Working-Class Community of Detroit*

Paula Savaglio, University of Illinois

Comment: Nora Faires, University of Michigan - Flint

Dominic Pacyga, Columbia College

**Luncheon**

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

Moderator: Les Hough  
Wayne State University

Lawrence Mishel  
Economic Policy Institute

Nat Weinberg Award Recipient

**Community as Construct in Working Class History:  
A Round Table**

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

Moderator: Sonya Rose, University of Michigan

Panelists: Donna Gabaccia, University of North Carolina - Charlotte  
Susan Hirsch, Loyola University of Chicago  
Earl Lewis, University of Michigan  
Peter Rachleff, Macalester College

**Gender, Culture and the Contemporary Labor Movement in  
Comparative Perspective**

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

Chair: Claudia Clark, Central Michigan University

*Strikes and Standing: Women and Miners' Strikes in Britain*  
Karen Beckwith, The College of Wooster

*Women of Steel: Gender Politics in the United Steelworkers  
of America*

Mary Margaret Fonow, The Ohio State

Comment: Nancy Gabin, Purdue University  
Peggy Kahn, University of Michigan - Flint

**Progressivism, Class Relations, and Political Culture**

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

Chair: Paula Baker, University of Pittsburgh

*The "Revolt of the Laborers" and the Crisis of Progressivism*  
Shelton Stromquist, University of Iowa

*Shorter Hours and the Protestant Sabbath: Interclass Discourse and  
Movement Alliances in Late 19th Century Chicago*  
William A. Mirola, Indiana University

Comment: Bruce Laurie, University of Massachusetts  
Paula Baker, University of Pittsburgh

**Labor and Community Welfare: American and Canadian Perspectives**

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

Chair: Mark McColloch, University of Pittsburgh

*Solving the Problems of Success: Welfare Work and Union Activism,  
1950-1965*  
Shirley Tillotson, Dalhousie University

*Becoming a Citizen of the Community: The CIO's Community Services  
Program, 1945-1956*  
Elizabeth Fones-Wolf, West Virginia University

*The AFL-CIO Department of Community Services: A Contemporary  
Perspective*  
Chris Marston, AFL-CIO Dept. of Community Services

Comment: Mark McColloch, University of Pittsburgh

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Cover photograph is a copy print of a poster, "There Can Be No Greater Power," by Bart Forbes, 1987, commissioned by the Communication Workers of America in honor of its Fiftieth Anniversary. The Stephen Schlossberg Poster Collection, The Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

**The Politics of Music, the Music of Politics: Race and Urban Working Class Consciousness**

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

Chair: Burton Peretti, Middle Tennessee State University

*Constructing Manhood: The Mississippi Delta, the Blues and Rough Masculine Culture*

Steve Meyer, University of Wisconsin-Parkside

*Dancing in the Streets: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit, 1958-1972*

Suzanne Smith, George Mason University

Comment: Keith Owens, *Blue Spirit Tribe*

Burton Peretti, Middle Tennessee State University

**Community Solidarity, Politics, and Labor Militancy**

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

Chair: Dorothee Schneider, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

*Networks of Solidarity: The 1915-16 Nashua Textile Strike*

Dexter P. Arnold, South Central Federation of Labor

*The Streetcar Workers of Albany, 1900-1921: The Influence of Community Support on Industrial Relations in the Mass Transit Industry Revisited*

Victor J. DiSanto, Historic Preservation Field Services Bureau

*Community Politics and Worker Resistance During the 1921 Paper Strike*

Stephen Cernek, Daniel Webster College

Comment: Dorothee Schneider, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

**Politics, Labor and the State in the Postwar United States**

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

Chair: Karen Miller, Oakland University

*Making Friends and Enemies: Textile Workers and Political Action in Postwar Georgia*

Michelle Brattain, Rutgers University

*Atomic Workers, Atomic City: The Struggle of Workers at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, for Unions and Constitutional Rights*

Russell Olwell, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*Local Rank and File Militancy: The Battle for Teamster Reform in Philadelphia in the Early 1960s*

David Witwer, Lycoming College

Comment: Kevin Boyle, University of Massachusetts

**Class, Community and Culture in 20th Century Liverpool**

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

Chair: Victor Silverman, Pomona College

*Religion, Community and Working-Class Politics in Liverpool, 1900-1939*

Sam Davies, John Moores University

*Cultural Diversity in Post-1945 Liverpool*

Marij Van Helmond, Mercyside Maritime Museum

*Community Blight: The Closure of Love Lane Refinery and the End of "Sugar Cane Time" in Liverpool*

Ron Noon, John Moores University

Comment: Neville Kirk, Manchester Metropolitan University  
Tony Wailey, University of East London

**Exhibit Opening and Reception:  
The Schlossberg Labor Posters**

4:30 - 6:00 p.m., Reuther Library Lobby

**Dinner**

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

Introductory Remarks: David Adamany  
President, Wayne State University

Introduction: Douglas Fraser  
Wayne State University

*The Future of Work and Unions in the U.S.*

Stephen I. Schlossberg

Senior Consultant to the Camber Group  
Director, Washington Branch, International Labor Office  
U.S. Deputy Undersecretary of Labor  
for Labor-Management Relations  
General Counsel and Director of Government Affairs,  
United Auto Workers

**Plenary Session II**

**Sounds of the Struggle: Labor and Civil Rights Music and Theater**

7:45-9:45 p.m., Room B/C

Chair: Joyce Kornbluh, University of Michigan

*Songs and Images of the Labor and Civil Rights Movements*

Michael Honey, University of Washington, Tacoma

*Working for a Living*

Elise Bryant, University of Michigan

Comment: Shaun Nethercott, The Matrix Theatre of Detroit

Joyce Kornbluh, University of Michigan

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**Post-Plenary Gathering: Labor and Social Conscience**

**Bernard J. Firestone Memorial Tribute: Labor Poets 95**

Sponsored by the College of Urban, Labor, and Metropolitan Affairs

Alvin's Twilight Bar

5756 Cass Avenue

9:00 p.m. until...

Free Admission

Featuring Ed Sanders, Mikhail Horowitz and Giles Malkine of New York, Ray McNiece of Cleveland, Judith Roche of Seattle and Kevin Rashid of Detroit

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**SATURDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1995**

**Registration 8:00-9:00 a.m.**

Coffee Hour sponsored by the College of Urban, Labor, and Metropolitan Affairs

**Alternative Communities in the Making: Veterans and the Cultural Politics of Labor, 1945-1955**

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

Chair: Rick Halpern, University College of London

*Culture Bearers: Afro-American Ex-GIs in Detroit's United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, 1946-1949*

Robert Jefferson, Wayne State University

*The Search for Alternatives: Veterans, Unions and Veterans Organizations, 1944-1955*

Thomas Moore, Wayne State University

Comment: G. Kurt Piehler, Rutgers University  
Rick Halpern, University College of London

**Solidarity, Division, and Community: The Railroad Brotherhoods**

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

Chair: John Beck, Michigan State University

*"Let Them Go It Alone": Sources of Division among Locomotive Engineers and Locomotive Firemen in the Late 19th Century United States*

Marla J. Hughes, University of Maryland-College Park

*Railroad Labor and its Efforts to Abolish the Railroad Labor Board, 1920-1926*

Jon R. Huibregtse, University of Akron

*Pullman Car Porters and the Culture of Community Protest: Chicago, 1925-1933*

Beth T. Bates, Columbia University

Comment: Colin Davis, University of Alabama at Birmingham  
John Beck, Michigan State University

**Gender, Ethnicity and the Electrical Workers: The Canadian Case**

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

Chair: Steve Babson, Wayne State University

*Union Solidarity and Women's Place: Negotiating Gender in the UE, 1949-1955*

Julie Guard, York University

*"This is Welland-Crowland!": Class, Ethnicity and Gender in a Community of Communities*

Robert Ventresca, University of Toronto

Comment: Patricia Cooper, University of Kentucky  
Steve Babson, Wayne State University

**Strategies of Working Class Resistance: Russia, United States and Canada in the 1940s**

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

Chair: Martin Glaberman, Wayne State University

*"Skirts and Leathers": Work Culture and Communities in Times of Crisis; The Case of Shipbuilding in the Second World War*

Deborah Hirshfield, The University of Dayton

*Rebellion on the Soviet Home Front: Cultures of Resistance in a Russian Working-Class Community, June-December 1941*

Jeffrey Rossman, University of California, Berkeley

*Working Class Communities and Left Politics in the Crownsnest Pass, Alberta, 1945-1970*

Chris Frazer, University of Calgary

Tom Langford, University of Calgary

Comment: Marilynn S. Johnson, Boston College  
Jack Stuart, California State University - Long Beach



**Luncheon**

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

Jonathan Rosenblum  
author, *Copper Crucible*

**Stopping and Starting: Auto Worker Militancy and Strike Waves in Comparative Perspective**

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

Chair: Seth Wigderson, University of Maine

*Work, Community and Culture in Automobile Industry Strike Waves: A Comparison of Detroit, Turin, Sao Paolo and Ulsan*

Beverly J. Silver, The Johns Hopkins University

*Work Stoppages, Auto Worker Militancy and the State: The United States and Canada, 1950-1980*

Heather Thompson, Princeton University

Comment: Ruth Milkman, University of California - Los Angeles  
Martin Halpern, Henderson State University

**Class, Community and Conflict in West Virginia's Mining Communities**

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

Chair: Jeffrey Cook, West Virginia University

*Liberty and License: Class, Power, and the Investors of the Williamson-Thacker Coalfield, Mingo County, West Virginia 1890-1920*

Rebecca Bailey, West Virginia University

*Genesis of a Violent Culture: Scotts Run Coal Community, 1920-1940*

James H. Cook, West Virginia University

*The Construction of Racial and Ethnic Communities: African-Americans and Italians in Marion County, West Virginia, 1900-1930*

Michael A. Rudden, West Virginia University

Comment: Elizabeth Jameson, University of New Mexico  
Jeffrey Cook, West Virginia University

**The Social Bases of Working Class Identity: Case Studies in 20th Century United States**

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

Chair: Peter Rachleff, Macalester College

*The Making of the Navajo Wage Worker and the Transformation of the Navajo Household Economy*

Colleen O'Neill, Rutgers University

*Everyday Constructions of Class or How Modern Steelworkers Lived*

Robert Bruno, Union County College

*"Chain Reactions": Women's Work and Community in the Hairstyling Industry, 1970s-1990*

Julie A. Willett, University of Missouri-Columbia

Comment: Lisa Fine, Michigan State University  
Peter Rachleff, Macalester College

**Memory, Culture and the Chicago Working Class**

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

Chair: Robert Weir, Bay Path College

*Visual Culture and Working Class Community: The Photography of Labor Organizing in Chicago in the 20th Century*

Larry Peterson, City University of New York

*Building Hammond: Material Culture and the Creation of a Working-Class Community, 1869 to 1914*

Joseph C. Bigott, Purdue University-Calumet

*Popular Memories of the Pullman Strike*  
Joel Woller, Carnegie Mellon University

Comment: Robert Weir, Bay Path College

### Plenary Session III

#### Community and Union: Strategies for the Future

Chair: Elizabeth Faue, Wayne State University

*The Webbs, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg: Models of Renewal and Decay in the Labor Community*

Staughton Lynd, Independent Scholar

Respondents: Peter Linebaugh, University of Toledo  
James Atleson, SUNY - Buffalo Law School

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Join us for an evening of celebration, solidarity, and music

*Blue Spirit Tribe*  
Blues and a little extra

Alvin's Twilight Bar  
5756 Cass Avenue  
8:00 p.m. until...

Free Admission  
Cash Bar

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### Call for Papers

The program committee seeks panel and paper proposals for a conference on "Memory and the Retelling of Working Class Lives," October 17-19, 1996, at Wayne State University in Detroit. Direct proposals and inquiries to Elizabeth Faue, Coordinator, NALHC, Department of History, 3094 Faculty/Administration Bldg., Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 48202; 313/577-2525.

## 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, 1995, you will be assured the special institutional discount rate of \$69 for a single room and \$79 for a double room. Just indicate that you will be attending the North American Labor History Conference at Wayne State to lock in your room rates.

Unfortunately, Wayne State University cannot guarantee the institutional rate for hotel reservations made after October 1, 1995. Standard rates at the Hotel St. Regis are \$99 for a single room and \$109 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, U.S.A., 313/873-3000. The 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 participants to campus prior to the beginning session each day and will return participants 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 Detroit Transport services, it appears that Commuter provides the most convenient and economical shuttle between the airport and the Hotel St. Regis.

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Conference funding provided by the College of Liberal Arts, the College of Urban, Labor, and Metropolitan Affairs, 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, Frank Koscielski, Philip Mason, Alan Raucher, Stanley Shapiro, Stanley Solvick and Joseph Ward.

North American Labor History Conference

REGISTRATION FORM

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_

Registrations received before October 1, 1995 will lock in substantial savings.

Registration	\$30.00 ( <i>\$45.00 after Oct. 1</i> )
Thursday Reception	Free to Registrants
Friday Luncheon	\$10.00
<i>-Mandarin Smoked Chicken Salad-</i>	
Friday Exhibit Opening and Reception	Free to Registrants
Friday Dinner	\$17.00
<i>-Orange Roughy-</i>	
Saturday Luncheon	\$10.00
<i>-Chicken w/fruit and apricot glaze-</i>	

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 wish to dine at the McGregor 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, U.S.A.