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"WITH THE CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS UNDER ONE ROOF":
UNION HALLS AND LABOR TEMPLES IN AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS
FORMATION, 1880-1970

by

STEPHEN MCFARLAND

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Earth and Environmental Science
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

2014

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the
Graduate Faculty in Earth and Environmental Science in satisfaction of the
dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Dr. Ruth Wilson Gilmore

Date

Chair of Examining Committee

Dr. Cindi Katz

Date

Executive Officer

Dr. Vinay Gidwani

Dr. Joshua Freeman

Supervisory Committee

Abstract

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Advisor: Professor Ruth Wilson Gilmore

This dissertation is a historical geography of interior spaces created by labor unions and other working class organizations in the United States between 1880 and 1970. I argue that these spaces-- labor lyceums, labor temples, and union halls-- both reflected and shaped the character of the working class organizations that created them. Drawing on Neil Smith's theories of geographic scale, I spatialize Ira Katznelson's framework for understanding working class formation. I demonstrate that at their best, these labor spaces furthered working class formation at multiple scales, enabling collective action across lines of racial, ethnic, and gender difference, and bridging the division between organizing on the shop floor and organizing in residential neighborhoods. In periods of inclusive organizing along lines of social unionism, these spaces were bustling hubs of cultural, social, political, educational, and recreational activities with close ties to working class neighborhood life. The beginning chapters focus on the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum created by immigrant socialists in Brooklyn's Williamsburg neighborhood in 1882, and on the Labor Temples constructed by AFL-affiliated unions in San Francisco in the early 20th Century. The latter chapters examine the spaces created by CIO unions (in particular New York City's District 65, and Detroit's United Auto Workers) in the mid-twentieth century.

Acknowledgements

The late Neil Smith provided considerable encouragement and acumen as my committee chair at the outset of this project, and his illness and untimely passing was a terrible loss. Ruthie Gilmore stepped into the breach graciously and without hesitation, and her unerring advice and support in this project and in my development as a scholar have been invaluable gifts. I was wise enough to follow her suggestion to make projects in her classes count towards my dissertation, and Chapter 4 is much the better for it. Josh Freeman's introductory course in U.S. Labor history, with its spatial orientation, cast light on the fertile ground between labor history and labor geography where this project took root. His encyclopedic knowledge of the labor movement as well as his generosity with his time and in sharing his many contacts, deeply enriched my work. I'm grateful to Vinay Gidwani for gamely agreeing to serve on my committee from afar.

I've benefited immensely from the support of the rich intellectual community at the graduate center. Rolf Pendall, in advising me on my graduate school applications, suggested that the students would make the experience, and he was absolutely right. David Spataro, Cindy Gorn, Jesse Goldstein, Alyson Spurgas, Cathy Borck, Asher Dupuy-Spencer, Amanda Matles, Naomi Adiv, Terri Bennett, Francesca Manning, Laurel Mei Turbin, Hector Agredano, Amanda Huron, Bradley Gardener, Keith Miyake, Rachel Goffe, Antonia Levy, Jane McAlevey, Marnie Brady, Dominique Nisperos, Jeff Broxmeyer and many others helped cultivate a convivial and stimulating community of radical scholarship in and around our department that has made these six years unforgettable. Classes and encounters with labor scholars Ruth Milkman, Ed Ott, Stanley Aronowitz, Bill Kornblum, and John Mollenkopf helped make the Graduate Center the ideal place to carry out this project. Thanks are due to the Center for Place Culture and Politics seminar for financial support during 2013-14, and to my colleagues in the seminar there for

inspiring discussions that sustained me during a long year of writing-- especially Ruthie Gilmore, David Harvey, Sujatha Fernandes, Don Mitchell, Christina Heatherton, Tom Angotti, and Libby Garland.

Many archivists in collections across the country helped make my diggings efficient, fruitful, and enjoyable. Catherine Powell at the Labor Archives and Research Center at S.F. State, William LeFevre at the Walter Reuther Library at Wayne State, and Marjorie Bryer at San Francisco's GLBT Historical Society, who put the community in "community archive" with her generous introductions to the other researchers there. Archivists at the Tamiment collection at NYU, at Berkeley's Bancroft Library, and at the New York Public Library's map room also provided essential materials and guidance. I thank Bert Silverman, Gene Eisner, Patricia Sexton, and Michael Lardner for taking the time to share their firsthand memories of the unions I studied. The New Media Lab provided resources for the GIS portion of the project. Thanks to Andrea Vasquez and Steve Brier there. Steve tipped me off to the *Chronicling America* website without which Chapters 2 and 3 would be much diminished.

Thanks to my yoga teachers for keeping my spine straight and my mind clear during many months spent otherwise hunched over a keyboard.

Susan Pennybacker, John Forester, Rolf Pendall, and Marianna Pavlovskaya have provided years of mentorship and professional guidance. The fond memory of Fred Pfeil helps me figure out the kind of person I want to be in the academy and in the world.

I'm ever grateful to my mother Suzanne Curley, my father Steve McFarland Sr. and my brother Guy McFarland for a lifetime of love and support.

This study is dedicated to the workers and organizers who envisioned, built, and sustained the working class spaces in the study. I hope that what I have been able to recover of their legacy here can help in shaping the spaces of the social justice movements that will come.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

"The manipulation of space by workers and unions is a potent form of social power...power flows through spatial structures just as it flows through social structures."

-Andrew Herod (1998, 5)

"The development of a collective consciousness (be it class based or otherwise) is a complicated, political process inextricably intermingled with the production of space and its meaning"

-Leyla Vural (1994, 47)

Introduction

The protracted decline in the numerical strength and political and cultural influence of the US labor movement since 1970 has prompted much contemplation and study within unions and among their allies in the academy as to the nature and causes of this decline. The spatial aspects of American workers' struggles in the face of this retrenchment, too often overlooked or taken for granted, have been most avidly examined by Andrew Herod (1998, 2001), who has argued forcefully for, and put into practice, a *labor geography*-- a project distinct from the *geography of labor* that had come before chiefly in its attention to workers' spatial agency. Herod and his colleagues have made study of union's and workers' spaces at a broad range of scales, from neighborhood to global. But investigation of working class spatial agency at the fine scalar grain of interior spaces has been underdeveloped in the geographic literature.

This study of union-created interior spaces-- union halls, union headquarters, labor temples, and labor lyceums-- is an effort to develop an understanding of workers' spatial agency

at this fine scalar grain, and in so doing articulate the theory of scale with the theory of working class formation.

Studies of workers agency on the shop floor are numerous in labor history and social science (see Montgomery 1979 and Burawoy 1979 for notable examples). But there is little in the scholarly literature about the interior spaces created by unions and other workers' organizations themselves-- one aspect of a broader spatial lacuna in labor history in which "historians have been markedly reticent in writing theoretically or comparatively about the significance of physical form and spatial setting for the culture, politics, and organizational structure of working-class life" (Freeman, 2003).

Political Scientist Margaret Kohn's (2003) *Radical Space* is a notable exception; Kohn makes a forceful claim for the central importance of interior spaces controlled by the working class to the process of class formation. Taking the case of Italy, she recovers the history of the *casi di populi*-- "houses of the people"-- multi-purpose working class social centers that emerged around the turn of the 20th century, housing union headquarters, political party offices, and cooperative businesses, as well as lecture halls, libraries, cafes, bars, and dancehalls. These sites, Kohn argues, enabled the formation of a working class public through a process similar to the prior formation of the bourgeois public that emerged from cafes and fraternal halls. The bustling, multi-use centers of political, social, and cultural life Kohn describes, embedded deeply and organically in working class neighborhoods, seem to stand in stark contrast to the union-controlled spaces of the US labor movement today-- often non-descript, functional office spaces with little to distinguish them from the corporate suites they in many cases share a building with. This contrast provokes questions-- were there ever union halls, worker centers, or other "houses of the people" in the US similar to those in Italy and elsewhere in Europe? If so, what role did

they play in American working class formation, at various scales? How did the features of American life that have been identified as contributing to "American Exceptionalism" (Sombart 1976, Foner 1984) uniquely shape these spaces? How and why did they decline?

In this opening chapter, I situate my study within the literature on class formation and scale. In the second chapter, I trace the interior spaces of unions from their embryonic forms in working class saloons through the Labor Temples of the Knights of Labor and the Labor Lyceums of the German and Jewish immigrant socialist movement in the late 19th Century. The third chapter focuses on the Labor Temples of AFL craft unions in San Francisco in the early 20th century, examples of a broad effort within the AFL to create monumental urban structures emblematic of a newly established craft union power. This chapter also considers the spatial strategies of the IWW during the same period. In chapter 4, I look at the community-oriented union halls of two locals in the CIO in the 1930s and 40s: UAW Local 174, in Detroit, and Local 65, a union of wholesale, retail, and distribution workers in New York City. I locate the roots of these CIO spaces in the "free spaces" of earlier working class formations. I then consider the spatial aspects of Local 65's anti-racist practices, particularly as expressed through its hiring hall, which was modeled on those of the International Longshore Workers Union and that of the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union on the West Coast, and the National Maritime Union on the East Coast. The fifth chapter contrasts the spatial vision advocated by Local 65 President Arthur Osman as member of the CIO's Greater New York Industrial Union Council, with the spatial practices pursued by Walter Reuther during his time as UAW President. Osman's vision of a network of neighborhood based multi-union spaces that could link workplace struggles to community struggles over collective consumption, racial justice, and social reproduction was never realized. Under Reuther's tenure the UAW constructed modernist *Solidarity House* on the

east side of Detroit in 1951, and in 1970, developed the Black Lake Family Education Center, a rural retreat in northern Michigan. The Black Lake Family Education Center, as it was first called, was Reuther's spatial solution to the declining levels of participation and militancy in his union's rank and file. In concluding, I reflect on the "scalar tensions" (Savage 2006) in union organizing at the urban and neighborhood levels on the one hand, and the national level on the other. I offer some thoughts on the relevance of the legacy of the union spaces created in the period of this study for labor organizing and working class formation today.

Theoretical Framings

An attempt to assess union halls and other interior spaces created and controlled by unions in their influence in the process of class formation must tread a path along two fraught binary pairs: first, the structure/agency dilemma (the outlines and stakes of which for the theory of class formation are perhaps most clearly delineated in the polemic between E.P. Thompson and Louis Althusser (Thompson 1978)), and second, the tension ever-present in human geography between spatial determinism on the one hand and spatial ingenuousness on the other. For the purposes of navigating these dilemmas, and spatializing class formation theory, I introduce a heuristic framework cross-tabulating Ira Katznelson's (1986) four-level conception of class with Neil Smith's influential (1993) typology of scales. This optic enables us to see the role of union halls in class formation with greater nuance.

The structure-agency debate in the realm of the theory of class formation can be traced back to Marx's oft-quoted (1847) passage from *The Poverty of Philosophy* on the distinction between a class in itself and a class for itself:

Economic conditions [...] transformed the mass of the people of the country into workers. The combination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass is thus already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle, of which we have noted only a few phases, this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends become class interests.

Class in itself, in this distinction, is given by the structural relationship of masses of people to the means of production. A class emerges as a *class for itself*, on the other hand, through a process of organization and struggle around common interests. It is in theorizing the transition from class in itself to class for itself that the structure-agency dilemma, the "eternal problematique" (Przeworski 1977, 348) of class formation comes to the fore. Only proponents of the most "orthodox historical materialism," as Erik Olin Wright (1997, 185) puts it, "claim that one can broadly read off patterns of class struggle directly from the class structure." At the other extreme lies the "essentially relativistic sociological" approach, described (and rightly discarded) by Stuart Hall as resting on the "notion of a social formation as composed of a multivariate interaction-of-all-sides-on-one-another, without primacy or determination given or specified at any point" (Hall 1977, 44). The questions that arise, then, for those who reject both strict economic determinism and loose sociological relativism in accounting for the processes of class formation, are questions of balance and emphasis.

The thinkers on class who hung perhaps the heaviest theoretical weights to either side of the structure/agency fulcrum in the 1960s and 1970s were Louis Althusser and E.P. Thompson. E.P. Thompson's landmark study *The Making of the English Working Class* presented a forceful culturalist account of class formation with a strong emphasis on working class agency. In

Thompson's view, class ought not to be seen as "'structure' or 'category'" or "thing" but as a process, "something that happens," and "a relationship." He emphasizes *experience* as a crucial category for understanding class, and culture "embodied in traditions, value systems, ideas, and institutional forms" (9-11, see also Sewell 1990). Althusser's attempts at "last-hour regrouping on the classical Marxist terrain" (Hall 1996, 29) represented an effort to retain the base-superstructure metaphor, in which the economic base serves as the foundation from which the superstructure of political, social, and cultural forms arise. Althusser introduced concepts of "overdetermination" and "relative autonomy" of different social spheres, reframing the base-superstructure metaphor in a looser, more flexible mode. Thompson's fierce (1978) polemic against Althusser outlined the difference between their approaches and emphasized its stakes. However, Sewell, in an attempt to make explicit the theory of working class formation underlying Thompson's magnum opus, argues that the latter never really abandoned the base-superstructure metaphor, and that Thompson's "tacit model of the architectonics of society is actually very close to Althusser's" (1990, 63).

In introducing his edited volume of research on nineteenth century class formation in Western Europe and the U.S., Ira Katznelson presents a framework for analyzing class formation which registers four levels of the class formation process. This four-level analysis serves as a heuristic enabling a nuanced view of the role of structure and agency in the making of working classes. Katznelson's four levels are as follows: 1) *structure* ("class relations at the macroeconomic level"), 2) *ways of life* ("lived experiences of class in the workplace and in the residence community"), 3) *dispositions* ("groups of people disposed to act in class ways"), and 4) *collective action*. "Class formation," in Katznelson's view, thus "may be thought of [...] as concerned with the conditional (but not random) process of connection between the four levels of

class" (1986, p.14, 21). This framework permits an analysis of the interplay between structure and agency, but under-specifies the *spatiality* of the class formation process, presenting space as an intuitive or taken-for-granted category. Katznelson's work helps answer the question "*how* does class form?", but offers little aid in answering the question "*where* does class form?" A spatial theory of class formation need draw on the more rigorous conceptions of space developed by geographers. As Leitner et al observe, the spatialities relevant to the study of contentious politics are "multiple [...] multivalent and co-implicated;" these authors cite "scale, place, networks, positionality, and mobility" as among the crucial geographical concepts for the study of social movements, insisting that these concepts be theorized in tandem and deployed pragmatically in combination, without privileging any one as a "spatial 'master concept'" (2008, 157-158, 169) . In this spirit, and in the interest of spatializing Katnelson's theory of class formation, I deploy two heuristics, spatial and scalar, to guide my study of union halls. The heuristics were developed by David Harvey and Neil Smith, respectively.

In his (2008) chapter, David Harvey presents a nine cell matrix for spatial thinking. On one axis of this matrix are three ontological views of space, three ways of answering the question "what is the nature of space?" The three are *absolute*, *relative*, and *relational*. Harvey summarizes them here:

If we regard space as *absolute* it becomes a 'thing in itself' with an existence independent of matter. It then possesses a structure which we can use to pigeonhole or individuate phenomena. The view of *relative* space proposes that it be understood as a relationship between objects which exists only because objects exist and relate to each other. There is another sense in which space can be viewed as relative and I choose to call this *relational* space - space regarded in the manner of Leibniz, as being contained in objects in the

sense that an object can be said to exist only insofar as it contains and represents other objects (p.271, my emphasis).

For Harvey, then, absolute space is Newtonian and Cartesian, the space of fixed and measurable grids, and "all discrete and bounded phenomena". Relative space is instantiated in flows, movements, networks, and topological relationships. In the relational view, space is seen as processual, emerging from "disparate influences swirling" together (272-274).

Along the second axis of his matrix, Harvey arrays three Lefebvrian categories, which can be viewed as epistemological counterparts to the ontological categories of absolute, relative, and relational space. Lefebvre's categories are *material space* (experienced space), *representations of space* (conceptualized space), and *spaces of representation* (lived space). These three categories, though presented in Lefebvre's customarily elusive prose, and given maddeningly counterintuitive and anti-mnemonic names, can be most usefully understood, in my view, as representing three modes of *knowing* space-- perceptual, conceptual, and emotional. Harvey populates the cells in the matrix thus created with examples of the sorts of spatial phenomena each cell might direct our attention to. For example, at the intersection *absolute space/representations of space*, he offers cadastral maps... landscape description; metaphors of confinement," while at the intersection relational space/spaces of representation he locates "visions, fantasies...dreams... psychic states". He then applies the same framework more narrowly to Marxian theory, locating various Marxian economic and sociological categories within the matrix (Lefebvre 1991, 33-39; Harvey 2008, 279-283). This framework can be usefully applied to thinking through the spatiality of processes of class formation, and in theorizing the historical and potential future roles of interior organizing spaces such as union halls in the making, unmaking, and remaking of working classes.

To bring the categories of absolute, relative, and relational space to bear on union halls is to apply three different but interrelated ways of answering the question "what is a union hall?" To view the union hall as absolute space is to consider it architecturally, in terms of its location, its size, the dimensions, layout, and contents of its rooms. To view the union hall as a relative space is to think of it in terms of the physical flows through it-- the volumes, rhythms, and patterns of the movement of people and resources through its doors. In the relative view, the hall is a node in a network of working class lifepaths that intersect other spaces of home, work, leisure, and social reproduction. To see the union hall in terms of relational space is to be attuned to the immaterial movements and relationships that constitute it-- often at a distance. It is to take notice of social relations of control, influence and command that shape its use, to look for traces of the ideas and symbols that it houses, to view it as part of an archipelago (Graeber 2009) or constellation (Gieseeking 2013) of non-contiguous but closely interrelated social spaces that shape identity.

To apply Lefebvre's categories to union halls is to apply three different but inextricably related ways of answering the question "how are union halls known?" This question is worth applying both with regard to union leaders and members, and self-reflexively upon the researcher. To inquire in this way along the lines of Lefebvre's category of material space is to look into simple, immediate, taken-for-granted *perceptions* of sight and sensation at the level of daily practice-- what did the union hall seem like to someone visiting it? To apply the category of representations of space is to look at the abstract *conceptions* of union halls as recorded materially and in people's memories-- this can include descriptions, diagrams, blueprints, maps, and drawings, as well as metaphor (was the union hall a "home," a "fortress," a "refuge", a "temple"), synecdoche, and metonymy. Last, to consider union halls as spaces of representation

is to be attentive to the *emotional* register-- what were the feelings union leaders hoped and intended these spaces would stir in the workers who visited them, and in the general public? In what ways were these hopes realized and disappointed? What images and symbols were used to convey these emotional experiences?

In applying Harvey's heuristic framework, we must be careful not to treat it as a system of pigeonholes through which spatial data can be tagged and socked away. Lefebvre, in laying out his tripartite schema, cautions against treating the divisions between his three categories too cleanly, reminding us that purpose of "introducing divisions" in our understandings of space was ultimately to "rediscover the unity" of the spatial processes in question (Lefebvre 1991, 42). So too Harvey encourages us to keep the conceptual categories "in dialectical tension with each other and to think constantly through the interplay between them" (2008, 276), moving in our spatial thinking "across all points within the matrix and then beyond" (2008, 292). We must remind ourselves then that these spatial pigeons (if they can be called such) flock together, and that the message each carries is unintelligible without those of the others.

Harvey's open framework for spatial thinking, though generative, offers few prompts for thinking through questions of scale. Neil Smith's work on the question of scale played a vital role in much of the work on the concept in the last three decades (Smith 1998 [1984], Smith 1992, Brenner 1998, Marston 2000, Brenner 2001, Marston and Smith 2001, Marston et. al. 2005, Leitner and Miller 2007). As Marston (2000) recounts, Smith's initial (1984) formulation of the concept drew on Peter Taylor's (1981) three-part scalar schema, in turn inspired by Immanuel Wallerstein (1979). In Smith's (1984) version, the urban, the nation-state, and the global are the three primary scales emergent from the dialectical tensions between differentiation and equalization in capitalist development. Smith often returned to this framework, adapting and

revising it piecemeal in various publications in the following two decades. Perhaps the most comprehensive account of his expanded approach to scale is in Smith (1992). In this article, as Marston (2000) observes, he corrects for the privileging in his 1984 framework of capitalist *production* relations as the chief determinant of scale. He incorporates *social reproduction* and *consumption* as crucial elements in a theory of scale, and begins to account for the agency of counterhegemonic forces in the production of scale, justifying his earlier-coined term "politics of scale", and introducing the concept of "jumping scales". He further integrates sub-urban scales-- the body, the home, and the neighborhood-- as vital elements in the framework. Throughout, he insists that scales not be read as a rigid, a priori hierarchy of containment-- the "russian dolls" model-- but instead as an emergent, interpenetrating ensemble of nested spatial relations.

At what scales do classes form? Smith's observations about scale are useful in spatializing Katznelson's four-part class formation framework. Figure [1] represents a matrix of Smith's scales set against Katznelson's four levels of class formation. The cells are populated with examples of the sorts of phenomena and studies relevant to the given intersections.

	Body	Interior	Neighborhood	City	Region	Nation	Global
1) Structure of economic development	Contestations over bodily discipline in the factory-- bathroom, breaks, uniforms	subsistence economies, small scale cooperative industry	Urban "commoning"	Informal economies of El Alto (Zibechi)	Mondragon Cooperatives	Russian Revolution	World Revolution
2) Social Organization of Society	Struggles over bodily reproduction, sexuality, health, carework	Shop Floor control (Burawoy, Montgomery), Wages for Housework	interventions in econ development policy- eg Herod garment district interventions in housing (Reuther, Stonorov, NYC Garment trades)	Freeman (2000) on Working Class NY, Ealham on Barcelona, Red Bologna, Megan Cope on Lawrence, MA labor markets (Herod, ed. 1998)	Don Mitchell (1996) on California agricultural landscape; British Coal district	Allende's Chile	World Revolution
3) Dispositions of formed groups	Dress, style, speech- Robin Kelley (1994) on Zoot suits and Malcolm X	Saloon culture, Education, Lectures, Margaret Kohn on Houses of the People, Hunter (1998) on dancehalls	Newspapers, Recreation leagues, Gutman on NJ town, Leinenweber on NYC Socialists	Gutman on Paterson (1977 Ch 5); political campaigns-- mayor, sf, detroit, osman nyc ilc, Hobsbawm on Working Class City	cobblers' tramping routes, Reuther's Family Education Centers, McDowell and Massey (1984) on regional labor feminisms in England	German Social Democracy pre WW2, mass culture- Deming "Cultural Front"	mass culture; Katsiaticas "Eros Effect"
4) Collective Action	Edward Hall-Proxemics, affect, bodies in motion, rally, march	Union Hall, administrative office, strike hq, wildcat strike	District 65 geographic organizing (Phillips 2012); Community supported strikes of UAW- Flint, W. Side Detroit	General Strike (Lipsitz 1994), Jane McAlevey on geographic organizing in Stamford, SEU Justice for Janitors (Savage, 1998)	Herod (2001) on E. Coast Longshore organizing	political parties, nation unions and federations	transnational organizing (Herod 2006 on Metal Workers) solidarity campaigns Herod

Figure 1 Diagram- Scaling working class formation

The emphasis in this figure is on *working class agency in class formation*.

Working class agency tends to be at higher levels as we move left across Smith's scalar categories within the matrix (towards smaller scales of neighborhood, interior, and body). But as John Commons (1909) observed in his study of American shoemakers, working class organization has historically responded in kind to scale-jumping by capital, triggering further scalar expansions by capital. As Neil Smith describes this process of scalar jockeying, "class struggle can only be contained by expanding the scale on which the working class is confronted"(Smith 2008, 203). Andrew Herod's writings on transnational organizing and solidarity outline some of the rudimentary forms of the arrival of working class agency at the global scale (Herod 1998; 2001). Workers agency also increases as we move downward in the matrix, from economic structure towards collective action through Katznelson's levels. This is not to make a clean division between economic structure and working class agency-- indeed it is well to challenge notions of self- development of the capitalist system. Gidwani (2008) draws on postcolonial theory to mount a challenge to capital-centric views, demonstrating with reference to rural development in India that capitalist expansion proceeds very much through blockage and resistance, and that working class cultures act on the economic realm in independent ways. Cleaver (2000) concurs, reminding us that capitalist development should not be seen as autonomous, unfolding historically from its own internal laws of motion. On the contrary, working class struggles and resistance have very much impinged on and shaped the structures at levels one and two of Katznelson's framework, those of *economic structure* and *ways of life*.

The varying extent to which the role of workers' struggles in shaping the terrain of these levels of class formation is intentional or inadvertent in a given situation is a crucial question. Page (1998, 265), for example, details the ways that the Midwestern workers organized into the United Packinghouse Workers of America "were not simply passive recipients of a process of

industrial change initiated and carried out by firms [...but rather] actively shaped the geography of production" in the meatpacking industry, prompting a wave of decentralization in the industry out of large cities and into the hinterlands which ultimately undermined the union's strength. Wright (1978, 103) captures the recursive influences of working class organization and action upon class structure pithily: "both the class structure and the organizational capacities of classes are objects of class struggle and are transformed by class struggle."

Where then do we locate the union hall in this scalar view of class formation? In Smith's (1992) analysis, the lower rungs of the scalar hierarchy are body-home-neighborhood. Marston (2000) reasserts the vital importance of the scale of the home, summarizing her research on the construction of the domestic scale by women's movements in the decades around the turn of the 20th century. Her findings highlight how deeply the home is implicated in activities, identities, and understandings that "extend their influence beyond the home to other scales of life" (235). It is largely through attention to this scale, she argues, that the analysis of the role of social reproduction and consumption can proceed, and that scalar analyses that focus too exclusively on the domain of production can be revised to include these other key social processes. Brenner (2001) offers a critique of the place of the home within the theory of scale. He argues that to theorize the home as a scale is symptomatic of an undue and widespread "analytical blunting" and "slippage" in which scalar concepts blend into other concepts of space and place. He suggests that Marston "overstretches the concept of geographical scale," in her treatment of the home, and that she underspecifies its reciprocal action upon the ensemble of other scales. He concludes that the terms "socio-spatial arena, territory, locale or place" would be more apt to Marston's treatment of the household (591, 598).

Marston and Smith's (2001, 618) rejoinder to Brenner points out that it is "simply arbitrary that the home is relegated to a 'place' or 'arena' [by Brenner], while the state gets to be a multifaceted 'scale'". Their point that the household is no less crucial a sphere of human life than the nation state is well taken. But there are other important realms between the body and the neighborhood worth attending to. Schools, stores, places of worship are all sites of vital importance to the processes of consumption and social reproduction that Smith and Marston rightly uphold as essential to understanding the geography of capitalism. And certainly workplaces are crucial for understanding production. Should each of these be treated as its own scale?

Socrates argued for a butcherly approach to classification in the Phaedrus-- insisting on the principle that our concepts should divide reality at its joints, like a cleaver. In theorizing scalar articulation for the purposes of this study, I propose replacing the scale "home" with a broader concept-- *interior*. Interior scale includes the home but also the other sites of comparable proportion mentioned above. This scale articulates between the scale of the body below it and the neighborhood/community scale above it. To adapt Socrates' anatomical metaphor, we can think of the interior scale as the palm of the hand, articulating between the fingers (bodies) and the forearm (neighborhood). The bones of the hand run in parallel within the palm-- continuations of the fingers now enclosed in tissues and connected by ligaments. Just so, at the interior scale, bodies are enclosed together and the sinews of strong social ties mutually bind them. This broader scalar concept of *interior* includes the home but is not limited to it, permitting us to specify the role of sites like union halls in multiscalar social processes such as class formation.

Within the diagram of scale and class formation, then, the union hall is located at the intersection of the interior scale and Katznelson's fourth level, collective action. The role of the

union hall in working class formation can be conceived quite narrowly within the bounds of this cell in the matrix: as the product of, and infrastructure for, the organizing for collective action that unions do, such as routine meetings of members and union staff, and periodic flurries of activity during strikes. But to confine the importance of the union hall to this cell in the diagram is to overlook the influence union halls have had at other scales, and at other levels of class formation. In the diagram, I have colored in concentric blue rings around the intersection of *Interior* scale with Katznelson's level of *Collective Action* to indicate the way interior spaces of collective action such as union halls can have rippling influence on class formation at other levels and scales. Union halls, I argue in this study, have in periods of expansion been aimed to extend working class agency upward through Katznelson's levels of class formation, and served as launching pads for "jumping scale" to contend for power at higher scalar levels. In the next chapter, I present a capsule history of some of the precursor spaces to the interior union spaces of the CIO period that I analyze in the body of this study. As I trace this union hall genealogy, I will illustrate the ways union halls have been designed, and used, to further working class formation and expand working class agency-- both in scalar terms and in terms of Katznelson's levels of class formation. As my concluding chapters argue, these scalar articulations have been bedeviled by tensions between the exigencies of organizing at the neighborhood and urban scales, and those of organizing at the national scale and beyond.

Chapter II

From the Saloon to the Labor Temple

In the mid-19th century, the chief interior locus of labor organizing in the US, as in England, was the tavern and saloon (Thompson 1963; Ryon 1995). The labor organizations that emerged in the late 19th Century with ambitions for a broad working-class movement engaged in social and political struggles beyond the shop floor, such as the Knights of Labor and the Socialist Labor Party, envisioned and in some cases created spaces-- Labor Temples and Labor Lyceums-- that housed and hosted a broad range of working class organizations and activities including unions, political parties, cultural and recreational clubs, and cooperative businesses. These spaces, some of which resembled quite closely their European counterparts described by Margaret Kohn (2003), were sites of often fierce contestation between elements in the labor movement that intended to press forward with a broad vision of social transformation through class struggle, and those that sought to protect more narrowly concentrated economic advantages. At the turn of the 19th Century, the AFL's "pure and simple" trade unionism was ascendant in the US labor movement, and the labor temples of Gompers' AFL affiliates increasingly reflected, and literally set in stone, the ideologies of the bread and butter, class collaborationist forms of labor organizing that would predominate into the 1930s.

As Katznelson (1986, 36) recounts, it was in the generation prior to the Civil War that wage labor supplanted artisan production. With this shift in economic structure, at the first level of class formation, came a concomitant shift at the second and third levels of class formation-- the social organization of society and the class-oriented dispositions of workers:

by the Civil War, the majority of workers no longer labored in their homes or in immediate proximity to them. Rather, they lived in increasingly well-defined, class specific communities that contained a plethora of institutions-- gangs, fire companies, self-help insurance societies, saloons and clubs-- that divided the organizational and social lives of workers from non-workers.

The saloon was in many respects the precursor to the union hall and labor temples that followed.

The Saloon and the Birth of the Union Hall

The saloon, in Kingsdale's (1973) analysis, played a vital role at the third level of class formation, as a "transmitter of working-class [...] cultures" (472), and "the clearing house for the common intelligence-- the social and intellectual center of the neighborhood" (Melendy 1900, 295). The role of the saloon in the cultivation of class consciousness was not ignored by conservative forces; St. Louis's Archbishop Glennon, in a 1910 screed against socialism in the AFL, gave voice to ruling class fears of the radical class-formative influence of drinking places: "individually [the laboring man] joins the proletariat in a saloon where, over the fumes of beer and wine he creates a philosophy that turns him into a full-fledged revolutionist" ("Archbishop Bitter," 1910). Saloons proliferated in the mid 18th century, saturating working class neighborhoods to a degree that is hard to imagine today. Kingsdale estimates that by the early 20th century "many an urban working class district had at least one saloon for every 50 males" older than fourteen, and relates contemporary survey data showing that on a given day in cities like Chicago and Boston the number of saloon visits could approach half the number of people-- women and children included-- living in those cities (1973, 473). On the eve of repeal of prohibition, Rev. Charles Stelzle, director of the Presbyterian Church-funded Labor Temple in New York City, looked back on the 1890s as a time when "practically all of the labor unions,

social clubs, the singing societies of workingmen, many of the weddings, dances and christening parties, and nearly every other social function of working people were held in the back rooms of saloons" (1932).

Saloons thus played a crucial role at the 4th level of working class formation as well-- the level of organization. Saloons and rented meeting halls connected to saloons were a commonplace location for union meetings in the second half of the 19th century, particularly for modest-sized organizations with a membership too large to meet in private homes, but too small to afford their own permanent headquarters (Ryon 1991, 112-13). Some unions were able to secure space in fraternal lodge buildings, but often the low rental fees offered by saloon keepers who could count on augmenting their rents with healthy bar tabs made saloon spaces the best option for union leaders (Calkins 1901, 61-62). Statistics gathered by Temperance advocates for a 1901 report indicate how deeply many union organizations were rooted in the space of the saloon. Union representatives reported, for example, that one third of the meetings of Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Shipbuilders locals, roughly half of the branches of the Woodcarvers' Association, the majority of United Brewery Workers affiliates, and some 75% of Amalgamated Woodworkers chapters nationwide held their meetings in rooms connected to saloons (Calkins 1901, 307-313). In many large cities, saloon spaces seemed virtually the only ones available; the same study contained a report on Buffalo, NY unions showing that 63 of the city's 69 labor organizations met in saloon-connected halls, as well as a lament by a representative of the teetotaling leadership of the Journeyman Tailors that Chicago and New York were among the cities where it was "impossible to secure anything else" but saloon halls for local meetings. By the turn of the 20th century, though, the influence of the temperance movement among union leaders was powerful despite the deep rooted spatial connection

between workers organizations and saloons. Bemis' study found 15 national unions, with a combined membership of more than a quarter million, reporting "strong antagonism" or "some opposition" to the saloon (Calkins 1901, 302, 307).

The Temples of the Knights of Labor: Lifting the Veil

Among these temperance oriented organizations was counted the Knights of Labor (KOL); its 30,000 remaining members at the time of the temperance survey represented a pale shadow of the peak membership, variously estimated at 700,000 to 1 million, reached in 1886. The Knights from their earliest days had refused membership to saloonkeepers (Calkins 1901, 307), and their interior spaces traced a lineage not to the saloon but to the lodges of the secret fraternal organizations that inspired their formation. The Knights and other contemporary workers organizations adopted clandestine organizing methods after witnessing the defeat of aboveground trade unions by employer blacklists compiled by company spies (Commons et. al. 1918, 195-198). Like the Masons before them, the Knights referred to their halls as "Temples" (Weir 1996, 27). The rhetorical associations of sanctity, solemnity, reverence, and divinity that accompany the word temple could hardly have set the Knights' intentions farther from the profane connotation of the saloon. In its earliest years, from its founding in 1869 through the early 1880s, the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor was a secret society. Membership could only be attained on the invitation of an existing member. The Knights endeavored to cultivate an aura of divine purpose around their activities through an array of practices at the bodily and interior scales. Secret rituals, oaths, handgrips and signs adapted from other clandestine brotherhoods, or created whole cloth, bound the members bodily to the group's

"Holy" purpose (Weir 1996, xviii). The spatiality of the Knights' early Temples was also designed to similar effect; the central architectural trope of their halls during the organizations's clandestine period was the division between the Outer Veil and the Inner Veil. The Outer Veil consisted in the public areas of the hall; the Inner Veil was the interior space of the temple, accessible only to members, in which meetings and rituals took place. During meetings guards would stand watch outside to deny entry to the uninitiated (Weir 1996, 32). The interior space and bodily rituals were designed to cultivate feelings of "fellowship, protection, mutualism, and self-worth" (Weir 1996, 26).

For the first decade of its existence, the Order membership grew in this shrouded way, but upon the explosion of class conflict in 1877, the Knights found their existing structures inadequate to their aims. Advocates for a public turn emerged, and by 1881, the Knights' veil of secrecy had been officially dropped (Ware 1929, 54, 93). In a lumpy transition that lasted from 1878-1884, the KOL shifted from an organization of "labor fraternalism" based in secret, ritual, oral, and exclusive practices to become an "open, public and literary" culture "rooted in solidarity" and marked by "universalist pretensions" (Weir 1996, xviii). Weir characterizes the overall agenda of the Knights as follows: "The Order addressed gilded age fragmentation and tried to rebuild community by constructing an entire KOL universe that embraced not only work and ideology, but also badges, parades, picnics, music, poetry, literature, and religion." This aspiration was rooted to a large extent in the halls the Knights created. Ware describes the standard layout, and central importance of the Knights' halls: "Meeting places were built cooperatively with a store on the ground floor and an assembly hall above. This sanctuary became the center of the members' lives, their club, union headquarters, school, church, in one. Out of it came most, if not all, of the labor leaders of the future" (1929, xvi).

The rhetoric of Knights leaders by the time the organization's public turn was complete spoke to bold social ambitions that distinguished it from the "pure and simple" trade unionism that predominated before and after the Knights' heyday: "...our Order contemplates a radical change in the existing industrial system, and labors to bring about that change, while Trades' Unions and other orders accept the industrial system as it is and endeavor to adapt themselves to it. The attitude of our Order to the existing industrial system is necessarily one of war..." remarked members of the General Executive Board to the 1884 General Assembly (Ware 1929, 181). The Knights were also the first national labor organization to advocate, and practice, organizing across lines of gender and race (Rachleff 1989; Ware 1929, 346). Grandmaster Workman Uriah Stephens, himself raised in an abolitionist family, early declared "I can see ahead of me an organization that will include men and women of every craft, creed, and color" (Weir 1996, 46). The Order included as many as 95,000 black members at its peak, among whom numbered between one third and one half of all Southern members (P. Foner 1982). In 1887 there were an estimated 65,000 women Knights (nearly 10% of the organization, just slightly under the percent of the workforce that was female at the time) (Weir 1996, 46; Levine 1983, 325). Many Knights assemblies were integrated across lines of race, gender, or trade, and often by both race and trade or gender and trade. By the Order's peak in 1886 "mixed assemblies"-- chartered locals that included members from a variety of occupations-- outnumbered single-trade locals 1,279 to 1088 (Ware 1929, 158). Among the 400 KOL locals that included women, two-thirds were "ladies locals" while the remaining third were mixed gender. Racially, the majority of locals were segregated, but there were integrated locals even below the Mason-Dixon line (P. Foner 1982, 58). In New York, there were 3,000 black Knights, and only one segregated assembly (Weir 1996,51).

The well-known and fatal exception to the Knights' inter-racial organizing was Asian workers. Knights were highly active in Chinese exclusion. The most notorious incident of anti-Chinese violence of the period, the Rock Springs Massacre --in which 28 Chinese coalminers were murdered in cold blood and 75 homes burned to the ground-- was organized at the KOL Hall and carried out by a vigilante mob that included many Knights. The vile response by Knights spokesmen to this bloodshed was to renew the call for stricter enforcement of racist immigration and hiring policies (Saxton 1975, 201-205; Aiken 2007, 1204; Stone 1886, 1).

The Knights' commitment to solidarity across race, gender, and occupational lines, such as it was, followed from the foremost of the three "First Principles" of the Order enshrined in the preamble of the 1878 convention at which the Knights constituted themselves as a national body. To wit: union of all trades, education, and cooperative industry (Commons et. al. 1929, 335). Each of these principles was expressed through the Knights Temples, and in their use of other interior workers spaces. From the earliest days of the Knights in 1869, when the formative meetings were moved indoors from their initial location on three park benches arrayed in triangular formation in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park, the Knights were careful to insulate themselves from the saloon. In the prior experience of Knights' leaders like Terence Powderly's , "men who were given to the practice of indulging in strong drink had

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on societies to which they belonged by frequenting saloons on meeting nights [and either] became drunk and disturbed the harmony of the meeting" or presented an unwanted spectacle to the outside world. The Knights arranged from the beginning to structure their meetings so as to "offer a substitute for the amusement for which men sought in saloons" by breaking for "coffee,

sandwiches, cake and lemonade" midway through the proceedings (Powderly 1889, 139, emphasis in original). Later this social portion of meetings was augmented with the longstanding Knights practice of holding an "educational hour [devoted to] the discussion of general, social and economic questions" in order to make good on the organization's "large claims of exerting a broad educational and moral influence" (Calkins 1901, 307). The consumer coops that made up part of the Knights' ill-fated cooperative business ventures were often located on the ground floor of Knights Temples (Ware 1929, xvi).

The Minneapolis Labor Temple, an imposing four story structure on half an acre of land across the street from the downtown courthouse, spoke to The Knights' spatial ambitions at the height of their influence. Planned in 1886 and opened in 1888 at a cost of \$60,000, the Temple design included five stores at street level, office suites on the second floor, lodge rooms, committee rooms, an expansive 20' x 65' library, and reading rooms on the third floor, capped by a floor-through grand ballroom measuring 128' by 76' ("The Knights," 1887). At the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone, New York City Socialist Victor Drury delivered a speech sanctifying the occasion:

Labor is noble and holy. To defend it from degradation and to raise it to nobility is a work worthy of the greatest and best of our race, and this work has begun most effectively in Minneapolis. For the first time in the history of the world we are laying the corner stone of a temple of labor in which altars shall be raised from which her praises shall be sounded, a shrine at which those who are themselves noble and holy shall worship her. It will be the Mecca to which many thousands of pilgrims will come to worship. Do you understand the real importance of the act which we are performing this afternoon.[sic] To me it is a recognition that those who have been sufferers for us in the

past have become the victors. It is the assertion of the faith of a new civilization, of a true industry. ("First Temple," 1887)

The Minneapolis Knights boasted theirs was the first of its kind in the country to be "built and controlled by organized labor" (though the more modestly scaled Labor Temple in Elmira, NY adopted the name earlier ("Union Labor Party" 1887). The Temple served as central headquarters for KOL assemblies as well as trade unions that had been "scattered in various halls throughout the city" before its construction. By 1889 the building's six halls were filled "every night of the week"-- by union meetings, as well as by gatherings of some 25 secret societies (including a "society of working girls"), and twice monthly by the Trades and Labor Assembly, which convened delegates from all trades unions and Knights assemblies citywide ("In Labor's Field," 1889). Temple events advertised in the Twin Cities press in the years after its construction included balls, banquets, roller-skating, bicycle races, concerts, book clubs, religious services, discussions, debates, an ongoing Social Sciences Institute, cooking classes, and meetings of a wide array of radical and reformist groups including the Socialistic Labor Party, the Eight Hour League, the Christian Socialists, and the (Georgist) Single Tax Club. The Knights in St. Paul soon followed suit, leasing a building in 1888 on behalf of 25 trade unions, KOL assemblies, and benevolent organizations in which "at almost any time of the day or night a knot of labor agitators [could] be found in the vestibule discussing their pet measures of reform" ("In the Realm," 1889). These bustling Twin City spaces speak to the rich cultural, organizational, educational, and social ferment that the Knights saw as vital to building solidarity across the working class. They were crucial element in the Knights' efforts to make good on the prophetic words feminist Marion Marsh Todd spoke at the laying of the cornerstone of the Minneapolis temple: "The movement which recognizes 'the injury of one the concern of all,' and which

refuses to allow sex, race, or class distinction is sure to triumph at a day not far distant..." ("First Temple," 1887).

Middle class observers attached different hopes to the Temple spaces than Drury and Todd. An editorial in the St. Paul Daily Globe, a paper loyal to the city's Democratic establishment (Minnesota Historical Society, 2013) noted approvingly that "the erection of such buildings...lends a tone of conservatism to the labor organization which it would not otherwise have," proposing that "the example set by the Minneapolis workingmen ought to be imitated by their brethren in every city. Labor temples ought to adorn the entire land." ("First Temple, 1887). Democrat-turned populist politician (and new-age author) Ignatius Donnelly, former Lieutenant Governor of the State, expressed similar views in more colorful language at the "Kirmess" festival held to raise funds for the Temple's library:

I am glad that in the West the Great Black line that divides labor from capital in the East is yet so faint here that it is hardly discernable. In this Western country the laboring man of today stands a show of becoming a capitalist in twenty or so years, as laboring men have done before. It should be your duty by such efforts as you are making now to prevent that condition of things that now exists in the Eastern states. This can only be done by the elevation of labor by dignifying labor. When every working man is a gentleman there will be no oppression. By your erecting a labor temple in Minneapolis you give the lie to the statement that the laboringmen are combining to destroy property. You are NOT HOISTING THE RED FLAG, but you are striving to educate your children and place them on a level with the aristocracy of the old country. [...N]early all your capitalists here made money by buying property here early in the history of the city,

and what you laboring men want to do is follow their example ("Doings at Minneapolis," 1887).

These Horatio Alger-like views of Temples as spatial agents of conservatism, possessive individualism, and class mobility would not be adopted by union leaders themselves until the era of the AFL, as detailed below.

The Knights' vision of labor spaces extended beyond the local Temple; the 1886 General Assembly authorized \$50,000 for the purchase and outfitting of a national general headquarters in Philadelphia. This expenditure provoked dismay within some circles of the Order, among which the building was referred to derisively as "The Palace" (Powderly 1889, 610). Later, after the Knights had entered their decline and Powderly had been pushed out, the former Grandmaster Workman garnered publicity for a never-realized scheme to construct a national Labor Temple "in some central part of the country" in which would coordinate political activity among national unions, while leaving each to its own devices when it came to matters concerning its own trade ("Powderly's Plan," 1893). The Knights were also active in interior working class spaces not directly controlled by their Order, such as the Labor Lyceums and Labor Temples that were created in many cities, by various organizations, beginning in the 1880s.

Labor Lyceums and Labor Temples were widespread and influential spatial forms within the labor movement in the decades around the turn of the 20th century. Keyword searches of the Library of Congress's "Chronicling America" digital newspaper archive, alongside that of the New York Times and the Brooklyn Eagle, return records of Labor Lyceums and Labor Temples planned in 168 cities, including 8 in Canada and 1 in Puerto Rico, between 1882 and 1922. Of

these, 13 Lyceums and 69 Temples can be confirmed as built (or instituted in existing buildings) from the newspaper records in this period. The distinction between the Labor Lyceum and the Labor Temple is not hard and fast; in some instances the terms were used interchangeably. For example the Minneapolis Knights of Labor considered calling their new headquarters the "Labor Lyceum" or the "K. of L. Hall" before settling on "Labor Temple". In general, though, the title Labor Temple was applied to spaces created by unions, while the name Labor Lyceum was affixed to two things-- either a physical building (created often by socialist groups rather than labor unions) or a lecture or discussion series. Thus in a city like in Everett, Washington, that hotbed of Northwestern socialism and syndicalism, the Lyceum (lecture series) of 1912 was held in the Labor Temple.

The Labor Lyceum: *With the class conscious workers under one roof*

"When the new Labor Lyceum was built, a new hope took possession of the bakers. With renewed vigor the fight for the betterment of our conditions was taken up. The old fighters returned to the fold. We were now with all the class conscious workers under one roof, in our own home, and we took it as a matter of course that in our struggles we would make good progress" ("Bakery and Conf. Workers," 1907).

Newspaper records and secondary literature reflect Labor Lyceum spaces created in 12 cities between 1882 and 1919: Brooklyn, NY (1882); New York, NY (by 1883); Rosedale, KS (1885); St. Paul, MN (1886); Philadelphia (1892); Wilmington, DE (1894); Akron, OH (1899); Baltimore, MD (by 1904); Pittsburgh, PA (1910), Reading, PA (by 1912); Detroit, MI (by 1919); Rochester, NY (by 1919). Contemporary newspaper items reflect planning or fundraising for Labor lyceums in 7 other cities-- St. Louis, MO (1891); Lynn, MA (1892); Hoboken, NJ (1893); Union Hill, NJ (1893); Jersey City, NJ (1894); Oakland, CA (1895); and Paterson, NJ (1900)--

but do not confirm the success of such plans. For another seven cities, newspaper archives reflect the institution of Labor Lyceums as lecture series or salons in other existing spaces, so that the events themselves constituted the Lyceum rather than a particular building. Such Lyceums were formed in: New Haven, CT (1886); Boston, MA (1887); Minneapolis, MN (1889); San Francisco, CA (1894); Chicago, IL (1900); Washington, DC (1904); Buffalo, NY (1904); Perhaps the most ambitious endeavor undertaken under the name of the Labor Lyceum was a statewide speakers' bureau and literature distributor planned in Illinois, whose organizers intended to create branches in every city in the state, with the stated aim of "keeping the working men headed toward the eight-hour day movement and prevent them from drifting off into 'isms'"("The Industrial World," 1895; Labor Legacy, 2013).

Notwithstanding this antipathy to radical ideologies on the part of Illinoian Labor Lyceum boosters, the earliest Lyceums were in many cases associated with Socialist organizations rooted in immigrant working class communities. The Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, created in 1882 by German Socialists on a site just off Myrtle Avenue (the address on today's street grid is 949-955 Willoughby Ave) in the neighborhood now known as Bushwick, was the most imposing space to crystallize out of this milieu. It served for decades as an ecumenical center of working class life in Brooklyn, home to socialist organizations, labor unions, educational endeavors, and a variety of cultural and mutual aid activities, from canary fanciers' clubs to sick benefit societies. A contemporary journalist summed up the Lyceum's significance: "The word lyceum only feebly suggests what it is; it is labor's school, theatre, gymnasium, lodge room, play hall, concert saloon, dance house, debating club, drinking place, restaurant, and a good many of its members call it their church" ("Begun with 5-Cent Pieces," 1886). The "red hot socialist" Franz Gerau, a German-born homeopathic doctor and veteran of the 1848 revolts,

donated 5 adjacent city lots to the Socialist Labor Party in early 1882 to be the site of a new Labor Lyceum ("The Church of Humanity," 1882; "Obituary," 1896). Gerau had become convinced of socialism after fraternizing with socialist countrymen at the Turn Halle (gymnastics club) in Williamsburg. At the ceremony for the laying of the building's cornerstone, Gerau indicated his intention for the Lyceum to the assembled crowd of three to four thousand, consisting of representatives of nearly twenty trade unions, seven Knight of Labor Assemblies, and Socialist Labor Party chapters from across the metropolitan area, as well as choral societies, brass bands, and some 150 pupils of the Socialist school. He remarked in part:

Workingmen, friends, and comrades: in pursuance with the instructions of the Labor Lyceum Association, I hereby give this soil and the hall to be erected upon it to the entire working people without regard to their religious or political opinions. It shall be a strong fortress for that tremendous struggle which the enlightened workingmen have undertaken against the injustice of our present social conditions.

Today we lay the corner stone of a new temple of labor. The hall shall be opened to the working people. No distinctions shall be made here between Socialists, social revolutionists nor trade unionists. It shall be dedicated to all- to the working people. (Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association, 1907).

Sealing a tin box containing socialist literature inside the cornerstone with three ceremonial hammer strokes, Gerau further remarked: "I hope that this fraternity may grow until it conquers our Mammon, the great monster, Capital; and I hope that the international fraternity of the working men of the world will last for all future time." Another of the day's speakers, E. Franz,

reflected, in an equally momentous mood, that "the giant of the people was now sleeping, but would awake and trample on the corrupt corpse of capitalism" ("Laying a Corner Stone," 1882).

While the Labor Lyceum did not last long enough to play its wished-for role in such epoch-making triumphs as those, it was constructed and programmed with total social transformation, through the education and organization of workers, in mind, and served into the 1920s as a vital center of radical working class life in Brooklyn. It provided headquarters and meeting space for the day to day and week to week affairs of a wide array of labor, political, and social organization. The quotidian activity of the space was punctuated by more portentous events: strike meetings, speeches by a virtual who's who of national and international labor and left luminaries, countless debates on the burning questions of the times, and balls, feasts, and rallies marking significant occasions.

The building opened at the end of November 1882, replacing a clubhouse rented by German socialists at 72 Montrose Avenue since 1878 ("Socialist Headquarters," 1890). The new Lyceum stood four stories on a footprint 75' by 90'. Newspaper accounts of the building's grand opening describe its layout: "the first story contains a restaurant, two meeting rooms, a cooperative store, and a kindergarten room. In the second story is a large hall that will seat 2,000 persons. [...]The third story contains a library and a school room. The fourth story contains lodge rooms." ("Brooklyn's Labor Lyceum," 1882). Within a few years, additional amenities had been added-- on the first floor, two bars and a billiard room, and in the basement, cold storage for some 300 barrels of beer, and an industrial kitchen. On the second floor, a stage and a gymnasium for the Turners club, and on the third floor, additional classrooms for a school that by 1890 counted 243 pupils. In the yard, a covered dancing platform and bandstand with nightly

concerts in the summer, a bowling alley, a rifle range, and a dining area covered by a grape arbor ("Socialist Headquarters," 1890).

A weekly calendar of events circa Dec 1886 gives a sense of the breadth of activity in the Lyceum in its early years:

Sundays-- Central Labor Union, Building Trades Council, Humor Dramatic and Musical Society, Lassalle Maennerchor, Bier Brewers' Union.

Mondays-- Americus Lodge, Ropemakers' Union

Tuesdays-- Cigarmakers (K. of L.) Labor Club, Machinists' Progressive Union, Socialistic Labor Party (Brooklyn Section)

Wednesdays-- Excelsior Lodge (mutual benefit), Cabinetmaker' Union No. 8.

Thursdays-- Peter Cooper Lodge, Lassalle Maennerchor

Fridays-- Turnverein Vorwarts, United Machinists of Brooklyn, Sebastian Bach Club (musical), Cigarmakers (K. Of. L.), Tailors' Progressive Union No. 3, ladies' branch of the Tailors' Union

Saturdays-- The Bakers' Advance Association

("Begun with 5-Cent Pieces," 1886).

The Labor Lyceum Association, which controlled the property, reported 225 members in 1886, and 400 in 1899. In 1890, there were 28 labor organizations with delegates to the Association, with a combined membership of 5000 ("Protest Against," 1890). That year the Association made a push to include non-Socialist labor organizations in the building, at which point "nearly every German trades union in [New York City] and Brooklyn joined the association in a body, while many other organizations met in the Lyceum" ("Socialist Headquarters," 1890).

The by-laws adopted by the Labor Lyceum Association in 1896 put forward an explicit theory of class formation according to which the Lyceum and its activities were designed. The bylaws state the organization's purpose as follows: "to assist in bringing about the economic and intellectual improvement of the laboring class" by three chief means: organization, education, and recreation. The Association saw its role in organization as facilitating a movement from immediate struggles around the standard of life towards the ultimate formation of a "great independent party". Educationally, their stated objectives were to cultivate independent thinkers who could "recognize their social rights," both through adult education, and through childhood schooling modeled on Froebel's Kindergarten and work-school system. As for the "recreation and social entertainments" in the hall and on the grounds of the Lyceum, the Association "endeavor[ed] to infuse into [them] the elements of humane progressiveness whereby the strivings for social betterment may be satisfied" (Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association, 1896).

The range of groups active in the Lyceum indicate the ways these three aims were undertaken. In the last few years of the century, before a 1900 fire destroyed the building, the Lyceum Association boasted 42 member organizations headquartered at the building, including "the largest", such as the Brooklyn Central Labor Union and the Kings County District Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The building was rebuilt on a grander scale in 1902, with a footprint of 75x200 feet, and 50 labor organizations signed up as members. Upon the Lyceum's 25th anniversary, in 1907, affiliated unions included the Brooklyn Central Labor Union, the Brooklyn Federation of Labor (a progressive central body that had split from the AFL-aligned Central Labor Union in 1901), Butchers #211, Meat Cutters #342, Bakery and Conf. Workers #3, Beer Drivers #24, Brewers' #69, Bottlers' and Drivers' #345, Cigar Makers' Progressive Union #149, Piano Organ and Musical Instrument Workers #27, Silk Glove Cutters

#508, Painters, Amalgamated Decorators and Paper Hangers #2, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers #670, Carpenters and Joiners #12 and #291, Brooklyn Wood Carvers' Assn, Carriage and Wagon Workers #135, Carpet Upholsterers #121, Int'l Assn of Machinists File and Rasp Lodge 727, Metal Polishers Buffers and Platers #12, Independent Metal Polishers, Buffers, and Platers, Steam Engineers #56, Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers #522, German Engineers Club of L.I., Int'l Assn of Machinists #516, Boot and Shoe Workers #160, United Shoe Workers #1, Goodyear Operators Protective Union, Edge Makers Protective Union, and the Finishers' Protective Union. Fraternal and mutual aid organizations housed at the Lyceum included the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Branches 4, 75, and 166, the Cremation Society #6, and the Workingmen's Furniture Fire Insurance, as well as German-language benefit societies the Arbeiter Kranken und Sterbe Kalle and the Kranken-Unterstützungs-Verein "Columbia". Recreational and cultural groups included six Men's and Women's singing societies like the 120 member Lassalle Mannerchor, three socialist theater groups, the Athletic Society "Forward", the Chess Club, and the Society of Bird Fanciers "Canaria". In addition, the Kings County Socialist Party was headquartered in the building ("New Labor Lyceum," 1902; "Brooklyn's Labor Unions," 1886; "News from Labor's," 1890; Fehlund 1899; Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association 1907).

Aside from the organizations headquartered at the Lyceum, the building was used by an array of working class political parties and reform groups. In 1886, the Knights of Labor met with Brooklyn trade unions in the Lyceum to debate whether to run independent political candidates in elections. The Summer of the following year, it was home to the United Labor Party's convention, and that Fall, to the formation of the Kings County branch of the Progressive Labor Party ("The Knights and Politics," 1886; "Brooklyn," 1887a; "Politics Over," 1887).

Reform groups routinely used the Lyceum for meetings and public events, agitating around such issues as the eight hour day, child labor, Georgist tax reform, strike injunctions, blue laws, and anti-militarism ("Citizen's Mass Meeting," 1883; "Meeting of Socialists," 1885; "Home News," 1888; "Local News," 1888; "Form Anti-Injunction League," 1903; "Talks on Conscription," 1917).

The Lyceum Association's educational aims were undertaken on a day to day basis in its kindergarden and elementary school. The Lyceum library, which contained 500 volumes by 1899, was open for independent study (Fehlund 1899). In addition, the building was home at different times to various adult education programs such drawing and "industrial" classes, agitation and elocution classes, and English language classes for German workers ("Brooklyn," 1887b; "From the World," 1891a; "In the World," 1894c). The Lyceum's educational mission was also pursued through public debates and lectures on the burning social questions of the times by a many of the era's radical, progressive, and populist luminaries, including Philip Van Patten, Alexander Jonas, and Theodore Cuno (1882), John Swinton (1885), Wilhelm Liebknecht (1886), Samuel Gompers (1887), Eugene Debs (1894), Mother Jones (1903), Maxim Gorky (1906), William Randolph Hearst (1906), "Big" Bill Haywood (1908), Morris Hillquit (1910), and A. Philip Randolph, Max Eastman, and John Reed (1918) ("Brooklyn's Labor Lyceum," 1882; "Arousing Workmen," 1885; "Farewell," 1886; "Samuel Gompers," 1887; "In the World," 1894b; "Bostock Foiled," 1903; "Gorky Meeting," 1906; "Last Day," 1906; "C.F.U. Listens to Haywood," 1908; "More on Socialism," 1910; "Socialist Hopes," 1918).

Aside from the recreational and cultural groups aforementioned, the Lyceum was the site of many athletic, cultural and recreational events, such as gymnastics meets, boxing matches and

tournaments, and basketball games ("Amateur Boxing," 1889; "Free Coinage Talk" 1891; "With the Basketball," 1922). The Lyceum hosted balls, celebrations, and conventions organized by groups as diverse as the Grand Old Army, the St Patrick's Alliance, The Odd Fellows Purity Lodge, the Knitters' Benevolent Society, and the Druids ("The Grand Army," 1883; "An Officer Roughly," 1885; "Arousing Workmen," 1885; "Coming Events," 1895; "Going on Today," 1921). Perennial gatherings for holiday celebrations on Labor Day and May Day often convened at the Lyceum, as well as observances of more somber occasions, such memorials for the Haymarket martyrs and the Paris Commune ("Labor's Day," 1888; "The Red Flag," 1889; "The World," 1892a).

In 1889, some 3,000 men and women with children gathered at the Lyceum to mark the second anniversary of the execution of the Haymarket defendants. The evening culminated with remarks by Otto Reimer, a former member of the Reichstag who entered exile when the Socialist Laws went into effect. Reimer's speech echoed the themes of cross-ideological working class unity advanced by Franz Gerau in his benediction over the opening of the Lyceum. Reimer:

'We care not if our fellow workers entertain hopes of bettering their conditions through the ballot boxes, or whether they are of the opinion that the true solution of the labor problem is to be found in the tenets of the Knights of Labor or trade unions. We only ask for the spirit of solidity to exist among the workers [...] our honored dead were Anarchists [...] they were Communists [...] they were Atheists [...]. Follow us ye who agree with us. The opportunity is at hand, for good and evil will be divided into two camps. Anarchists, the day has arrived to hasten the triumph. Socialists, do your duty. Trade unionists, turn out in thousands [...]. Knights of Labor, Alfred Parsons was counted among the best of your brotherhood [...]. Turners, remember that August Spies was an energetic worker.

Free thinkers, our five waged war in common with you [...]. Citizens, pause for a moment only and you can no longer remain in doubt which side to choose. Close the ranks.' (*Loud and repeated cheers.*) *Singing of the Marseillaise, interrupted with loud cheering, brought the demonstration to a conclusion* ("The Red Flag," 1889).

The Brooklyn Labor Lyceum gave spatial expression to the vision of an ecumenical working class movement advanced by Reimer and Gerau in their fleetingly recorded speeches. That building, perhaps to a greater extent than any other in the country during the period, served as a conscious spatial instrument of working class formation, designed to bring together, reconcile, build on, amplify, and develop the various and uneven stirrings of class consciousness, fellow-feeling, and organization present among its city's workers at the neighborhood and urban scales.

How successfully was the Lyceum "give[n]" over, as Gerau and the Association intended it would be, "to the *entire* working people"(Brooklyn Labor Lyceum Association, 1907, unpaginated, my emphasis)? To what extent did the Lyceum succeed as common ground, crossing not only the lines of political and religious ideology that Gerau abjured, but also those of occupational segmentation, race, gender, and ethnicity that continue to divide workers today? The Lyceum, at the height of its strength, remained largely a German institution. As it developed, it became a bilingual space accessible to other white ethnics, but the record leaves virtually no trace of interracial organizing there. Women were active in the Lyceum to a significant extent, both as feminists, socialists, and trade unionists, in a significant departure from the masculine exclusivity of saloon spaces. Rhetoric of pan-working class unity notwithstanding, the Association did draw ideological lines excluding the most forbidden radical ideas from being given public expression within its walls.

The Lyceum remained a heavily German institution, though it had already gained some English-speaking members by 1886 ("Begun with 5-cent," 1886). By 1890, Hebrew, German, and American sections of Socialist Labor Party would gather there ("From the World," 1890). Discussion of racial issues, and the presence of people of color, are all but entirely absent in the newspaper records of the Lyceum's activities, despite the Lyceum's connections with racially progressive New York City bodies of the Knights of Labor. The Knights in New York included some 3,000 black members, including District Assembly 49's secretary treasurer Frank Ferrell, who was among the most prominent black Knights nationally. District Assembly 49 was the only local body on record defying the national Order's shameful policy barring Asians from membership; 49 organized two groups of Chinese workers in the city only to have charters for the organizations denied by the General Executive Board (Shawki 2005, 115). One exceptional event in the Lyceum's history illustrates its racial homogeneity: on the last Sunday in June 1884, a procession of 500 members of the Lyceum Association, the Germania and Lassalle singing societies, and the Humorist Society, a pleasure club, followed the remains of Anton Mohammed from Myrtle Avenue to the Evergreen cemetery. Mohammed, 26, had moved to Brooklyn the year before, under the sponsorship of a Bohemian baron who had bought him "when he was a child in the slave market." Upon arrival, Mohammed became a member of the Lyceum-based societies. The assembly at his funeral, after he was struck and killed by a Bushwick Avenue streetcar, was entirely white ("Anton Mohammed's Burial," 1884). Traces of the involvement of people of color in the Lyceum are otherwise virtually absent from the record, save for a cancelled speech by Lucy Parsons in 1890, and a talk by A. Philip Randolph nearly thirty years later ("To Fly," 1890; "Socialist Hopes," 1918).

In his study of craft union halls in Baltimore around the turn of the 20th Century, Roderick Ryon argues that union halls in the period were "facilitators of masculine roles," exploring the ways that gender segregation and forms of "hall room socializing identified craft unions and facilities with men and male-identified behavior," and that halls, between meetings, "functioned [as] all male recreational space [...] like a private gentlemen's club, or 'den.'" Union halls, Ryon argues, were central to the "culture of cultivated fraternalism" and male bonding that "molded craftsmen's gender consciousness at the expense of class identity, intensified anxieties about female industrial employment, and encouraged acquiescence in women's exclusion from craft and union" (1995, 213, 216, 230). In many ways, the Lyceum was a masculinist space of the kind Ryon describes, and the beer drinking that was central to social life there placed it in a lineage with the similarly masculine workers' taverns and saloons that preceded it. But there were also significant feminine and feminist presences there that complicate Ryon's analysis of the role of labor spaces in aggravating gender divisions in the working class.

Women's organizations, including union groups, political parties, advocacy groups, and benevolent societies were active at the Lyceum from the outset; The Tailoresses' Society and the Women's Socialistic Labor Party were present at the laying of the building's cornerstone ("Laying a Corner Stone," 1882). Women attended lectures and mass meetings on labor issues at the hall, such as twenty women among the "multitude" of men who heard John Swinton speak in 1885 on the organization of labor and the obligation of "the needy women [to] organize that they might get a few cents more for each shirt they manufacture" ("Arousing Workmen," 1885). The Knights of Labor-dominated Brooklyn Central Labor Union (CLU) of the late 1880s, unlike its counterpart across the East River, represented no women's unions. However, women's union delegates were present at CLU meetings, observing the proceedings and speaking at designated

times. As of 1886, the nearly 50 members of the Ladies' Socialistic Society met regularly in the Lyceum, and in 1900 the Lyceum hosted the annual convention of the Women's Socialist Society ("Brooklyn's Labor Unions," 1886; "Women Socialists," 1900). As early as 1890, the gymnastics society Turnverein Vorwärts had a women's branch at the Lyceum ("In the Labor Lyceum," 1890). The Lyceum's social calendar of June 1895 recorded the Summernight's Festival of the Knitters Benevolent Society and a picnic of the Working Women's Society ("Coming Events," 1895; "In the World," 1895). On February 28, 1909, a thousand women and hundreds of men came out for speeches at the Lyceum as part of a national Women's Suffrage Day, hearkening back to an earlier collaboration between suffrage groups and the Lyceum-based Brooklyn Central Labor Union in supporting a strike by the "girls" in a Williamsburg woolens factory ("Suffragettes Hold Meetings," 1909; "Aid for the Striking," 1886). The outdoor beer garden on the Lyceum grounds was a family oriented space, and the layout of the Lyceum upon its reconstruction after the 1902 fire included separate sitting rooms for families, as well as a ladies' parlor and ladies dressing rooms, indicating that the Lyceum by that time had evolved towards mixed-gender use while still preserving aspects of the segregated, masculinist working class spatial tradition described by Ryon (1995; "Labor Lyceum's," 1902).

The Lyceum Association carried out, to a remarkable extent, its commitment to creating a ecumenical space for working class organizing of all stripes. But limits were imposed, from within and without, on the range of political discourse acceptable in its halls. On the evening of the execution of the Haymarket martyrs, some 500 people gathered outside the locked doors of the Lyceum, which had been shuttered to a protest speech by Johann Most, the leading insurrectionary anarchist of the day ("Herr Most," 1887). Three years later, Jewish anarchists and atheists planned a satirical ball at the Lyceum, on the evening of Yom Kippur, the Jewish day of

atonement, with Johann Most to offer the Koll Nydre in the company of other "new rabbis of liberty". Outrage spread in the Orthodox communities, and influential Jewish politicians led by Coroner Ferdinand Levy prevailed on the mayor to suppress the event. Rabbi M. Friedlander translated for the Mayor an advertisement for the event in the "anarchistic Hebrew journal" Pioneer of Freedom, falsely interpolating incendiary language into the document, such that the closing prayer for the event was made to read: "Anarchy in the right hand and revolution and dynamite in the left; God never was, is, or ever will be." The city dispatched 100 policemen to the Lyceum and placed another 500 on standby to bar the doors to the building and disperse the anticipated 5,000 attendants from the site ("Mayor Chapin," 1890; "No Threat," 1890). Most was again prevented from appearing at the Lyceum in 1894, when police broke up a speaking engagement headlined by himself and London anarchist Wilfred Mowbray, on the subject "The Breaking Down of the Social Madhouse" ("Stopped by the Police," 1894). Most's Lyceum debut finally came two years later, when he starred alongside other prominent German radicals as "a violent mob leader [...] urging the demolition of nearly everything on earth that costs money" in a production of Die Weber, a play set among Silesian weavers in the Revolution of 1848.

The Lyceum Association's efforts to create and maintain home for pan-ideological working class organizing also came under strains on the right wing of its political spectrum. An 1887 meeting of the Building Trades Section of the then left-led Central Labor Union resolved to resist the larger body's efforts to compel the Builders to meet in the Lyceum instead of a separate hall. This may have represented ideological dissent on the part of the customarily conservative building trades, however as of 1886 the proportion of Knights of Labor among building trades union members was 3/5, identical to that among the 50,000-strong Central Labor Union at large ("The Building Trades," 1887; "Brooklyn's Labor Unions," 1886). By 1893, AFL affiliated

unions were on the rise in Brooklyn, and the AFL's Brooklyn Central Labor Federation joined a months-long boycott of the Labor Lyceum begun by the AFL's waiters and bartenders, causing Brooklyn unions sympathetic to the Lyceum to withdraw from the Federation and form their own central body, the Socialist Labor Federation. The dispute had begun as early as 1890, when the saloon keepers' union lodged complaints that the Lyceum was "terribly injuring the interests of the saloon keepers" by "inducing" labor organizations to meet in its halls. The boycott was lifted after nine months, but the ideological faultlines remained. In 1901, the "progressive" unions in the Central Labor Union, "grown sceptical [sic]" of the central body, which had come to be dominated by AFL-leaning voices, formed their own Brooklyn Federation of Labor. In 1904, the Central Labor Union joined the AFL, but remained headquartered at the Lyceum as of 1907 ("From the World," 1893a, "In the World," 1893, "In the World," 1894a; "News from Labor's," 1890; Labor Lyceum Association 1907, unpaginated).

New York City at large was the epicenter of Labor Lyceums nationally, and newspaper records show Lyceums existing at ten locations in Manhattan at various times (mostly on the Lower East Side), as well as in Brooklyn's Brownsville neighborhood, and in Queens ("The World," 1892b; "From the World," 1892; "Tammany and Anti-Tammany," 1883; "Mr. Swinton's Labor," 1885; "In the Labor," 1887; "Jottings," 1887; "Gleanings," 1888; "From the World," 1891b; "The World," 1893; "Tailor Immerman," 1916; "Socialists Have," 1914). These were mostly rented spaces on a more modest scale than the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum. The Philadelphia area boasted four Labor Lyceums, one in the Poplar neighborhood, two in Southwark and one in Kensington ("From the World," 1893b; "Labor Union Head," 1914; "Police Halt Meeting," 1919). Labor lyceums were not only associated with German workers. Fundraising by the United Hebrew Trades Unions to create Hebrew Labor Lyceum on New York City's Lower East side

began in 1891, and by the next year, their space at 93 Allen Street had become so overcrowded that they began searching for a whole building to occupy, settling later that year at 91 Delancey Street ("The World," 1892b; "From the World," 1892). During the second decade of the 20th Century, Labor Lyceums affiliated with Jewish sections of the Socialist Party or the Workmen's Circle were built in Pittsburgh (1910), Philadelphia (1912), St. Louis (by 1914), and Detroit (by 1919) (Budish 1919, 109; Peltz 1998, 17; "Labor Legacy," 2013; St. Louis Public Library 1914, 108).

The Lyceum movement never spread beyond ethnic enclaves to take on the national proportions that the Labor Temple movement of the AFL would later achieve. At the turn of the twentieth century, the saloon was still arguably the chief interior locus of working class formation. Over the next twenty years, the Labor Temple movement of the AFL emerged, city by city, to displace the saloon as the primary interior site of labor organizing. For a time, though, in places like Brooklyn, the Lyceums served as crucial nodes in ethnic working class networks akin to what Mike Davis has described as the "web[s] of integrating proletarian institutions" that emerged in Western European cities in the late 19th century (1986, 41). On the 25th anniversary of the inauguration of the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, one member union reflected on the significance of the building: "The old Labor Lyceum usually was the place where we planned the fight against our exploiters and where we asked support from other organizations [...] We were now with all the class conscious workers under one roof" (Bakery and Conf. Workers, 1907).

Chapter III

The AFL Labor Temple: "An outward and visible sign"

"organized labor has reached such proportions that it must needs have headquarters in every large city" ("The Labor Temple," 1899)

While the Knights of Labor can lay claim to erecting the first Labor Temple in the US, the Labor Temple would become the quintessential interior space of the consolidation of the AFL in the early part of the 20th Century, in most cases stripped of many of the social, educational, and cultural functions it had performed in the heyday of the KOL. Union membership under AFL auspices grew fourfold in the boom years 1897-1903, to nearly 2 million (Cochran 1959, 16). At the turn of the century, the saloon was still the chief home to the social and organizational life of American unions. Over the next twenty years, unions affiliated with the AFL would create Labor Temples in dozens of major cities, in most cases after years of painstaking planning and fundraising. In this chapter, after outlining in broad strokes the scope and contours of the rise of AFL labor temples in general, I turn to the labor temples of San Francisco. The particular details of the San Francisco Building Trades Temple and the San Francisco Labor Temple give a sense of the limits of the AFL's spatial imaginary (even in a city where, as Michael Kazin (1989) has documented, the labor movement had unusually wide ranging political ambitions and influence) compared to the spatial visions of the Knights of Labor and of the architects of the Labor Lyceums.

Keyword searches for the phrase "labor temple" in online newspaper archives returned records of plans for Labor Temples in 141 cities between 1886 and 1922, including eight in Canada and one in Puerto Rico. Of those 141, 69 were confirmed in the newspaper records as having been constructed; plans for others may or may not have materialized. This sample is of course partial-- the Chronicling America database includes 967 digitized papers over its entire span from 1836-1922 (for comparison, the Library of Congress lists over 100,000 newspapers published in the United States between 1840 and 1920). Of the 967 digitized newspapers, only six are labor papers. There is a geographic bias to the digitized collection as well, in that 17 states (Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Wisconsin, and Wyoming) have no newspapers published after 1885 in the database. On the other hand, many city newspapers did carry items heralding the creation of labor temples in other cities across the country and abroad, often in syndicated columns collecting brief tidbits of news from the "world of labor". While an editorial heralding the creation of a labor temple in Spokane was doubtless exaggerating in its 1903 claim that "there are very few cities of importance that do not boast of possessing a labor temple," ("Plans on Foot," 1903), it seems safe to assume that there were many more Labor temples built across the country than are mentioned in newspapers in this database. Nevertheless, the more than seven thousand articles in the database that do include the phrase 'labor temple' provide a wealth of information about the labor temple movement: its timing, its financing, its ideology and justification, the size, cost, and design of temple buildings, and the range of activities that took place in them.

At the turn of the 20th century, temperance movement researchers took stock of the "substitutes for the saloon"-- racking their brains and pounding the pavement in search of signs

of interior spaces that could take the place of drinking establishments in urban social life. In a telling chapter for present purposes, they evaluated the spaces associated with working class organizations including unions and political parties. The study found a dearth of union social space outside the saloon:

It is a rare thing to find the rooms of a union suitable in any way for social meetings. In New York, out of ninety labor organizations which belonged to the Amalgamated Federal Union, only two or three have social rooms [...] In Chicago, out of one hundred and twenty-six organizations, only four have club rooms with any social features connected with them [...] as a rule the social life of trade unions is reduced to a minimum [...] A reason why more social life is not found within the unions is that they cannot afford to pay the rental for rooms sufficiently ample to permit much of social life (Calkins 1901, p.59-60).

But by the time temperance activists published this data on union social spaces in 1901, unions affiliated with the ascendant AFL had already begun to plan and build labor temples, often at ambitious scale, in at least 28 cities during the 1890s. As the below chart shows, the years leading up to the First World War would see the height of the labor temple movement under the leadership of the AFL. The chart shows the year of the first mention in the Chronicling America database of a labor temple in a new city.

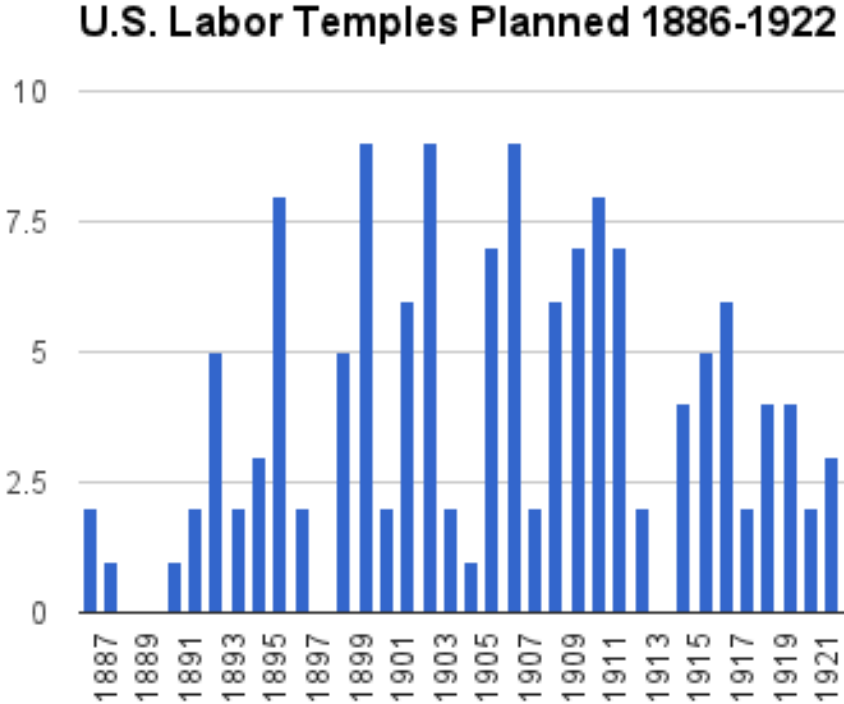


Figure 2 Chart of U.S. Labor Temples Planned, 1886-1922

By 1910, labor temples were widespread in the U.S. An editorial in the labor press calling for a newer, larger temple in Spokane (to replace the one built in 1901, the first on the West Coast) noted that "all over the country the union leaders are preaching and teaching the investment of union funds in union temples [...There is] scarcely a city in the land that does not already boast one but what the unionists are planning and working for a home" ("Directors Plan," 1910).

The construction of labor temples was a significant undertaking, requiring coordination between unions, intensive fundraising, and informed participation in real estate transactions and construction management. The completion of temples routinely took several years from the earliest planning stages, and in some cases more than a decade lapsed between the first mention

in the press of planning or fundraising and the announcement of the temple's opening ceremonies. Of the 45 temples that recorded estimated construction costs in the newspaper records, the average cost, in 1900 dollars, was roughly \$100,000 (\$2.7 million in 2011 dollars), and the median cost estimate was \$67,000. The most expensive American labor temple was in Los Angeles, where unions spent \$250,000 to complete construction in 1909 ("Labor Temple Seems," 1909). This represented a considerable expense, and unions pursued a wide array of fundraising strategies to make their labor temple plans into realities, including issuing stock, levying wages, soliciting subscriptions, donations, and in-kind labor from workers and other unions, selling temple branded union-made items such as hats, buttons, and cigars, and holding entertainments such as plays, wrestling matches, film screenings, and carnivals. Financial support from outside the working class was in some cases solicited or accepted. For example, Milwaukee's Federated Trades Council "took a step in the direction of practical socialism" in resolving in 1903 to request that the city government "buy land and build thereon a labor temple to be the property of organized labor" ("Socialistic Move," 1903), and in Butte, Montana, the Labor Temple Association convinced the county attorney to support a bid for property tax exemption for the city's temple in light of its educational mission ("News of the Labor World," 1906b). More controversial was the question of accepting financial support from capitalist investors and philanthropists. Sale and transfer of stock issues were often restricted to unions and "the laboring men" ("Plans For," 1900; "Launch Campaign," 1920). But in Cleveland in 1907, labor temple planners publicly considered soliciting a donation from John D. Rockefeller to finish their construction ("Rockefeller As," 1907). In Brantford, Ontario a few years later, the Independent Labor League accepted a Rockefeller pledge of \$15,000 in matching funds for a

labor temple, prompting writers for Chicago's left-leaning *Day Book* to quip "Why not a labor tomb? It would fit better coming from Jawn D" ("John D. Rockefeller," 1911).

The size of the spaces that were called labor temples ranged considerably, from the one-room "miniature labor temple" rented by unions in Yakima, Washington in 1909, to the monumental structures built in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago ("Local Unions," 1909). Of the eighteen temples which had newspaper reports detailing building height, the average was 4.5 stories. Of the 11 temples for which floor area could be reconstructed from newspaper accounts, average square footage was 42,000, with a median of 28,400. These small samples likely skew towards the larger side, as more imposing buildings were no doubt seen as more newsworthy. In any event, it is clear that the labor temples were formidable spaces in many cities.

These ambitious and costly spatial interventions were justified in a variety of ways by union officials who conceived of them. Common arguments in their favor were made on grounds of economic calculation, organizational efficiency, inter-union cohesion, and public image. M. Grant Hamilton, one of a handful of full-time national organizers on the AFL staff, and once and future member of the Federation's legislative committee, wrote an extensive article in 1909 advocating for the construction of labor temples in every city with "a population of union men exceeding 1,000 members" so that "all members of the various crafts might find a common meeting place." Hamilton's missive rehearses the main arguments made in favor of labor temples by his local AFL counterparts. Hamilton notes the wide prevalence of Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade buildings, pointing out that by contrast that "as yet, only a few [cities] have built temples devoted exclusively to organized labor." He observes "salutary effect in bringing

closer together the members of our various organizations" in places where labor temples existed, such as Seattle, San Francisco, and Kansas city, and cites economic benefits to unions by way of interest on investment in the property as well as through reduced rents paid by union tenants: "our movement to a very large extent is a business proposition". Arguing from grounds of organizational potency, he observes that "in every city where a home has been erected for organized labor, it is found that it is more effective than in places where organizations are scattered throughout various parts of the city." Through labor temple reading rooms stocked with "practically all of the labor press", Hamilton notes, "our efforts have been expanded along the lines of education." He advocates for regular temple "discussions on the various topics in which organized labor is represented" through which "members would become interested in the general activities [...] or the general movement." He recounts the positive effects of proximity and encounter: "where a common meeting place is provided you will always have the active members of our movement congregated and it necessarily follows that discussions are entered into beneficial to our movement, as a result of the mingling and commingling of our affiliates." With local meeting places no longer scattered across a city, he argues that the labor press could gather news more easily. Hamilton closes his case with reference to the impression labor temples could make on the general public, arguing that they serve as "object[s] of pride" that

give to the owners a firmer foothold and higher standing in the community [...] Our movement is not only interested in the welfare of its individual members, but in all public agitation which has for its purpose the betterment of existing conditions. The force of our organizations would be greatly increased in every locality where we maintain a permanent home for our unions. Our opinions in civic matters would be given greater

consideration and from every point of view the movement would be adequately recompensed. (Greene 1998, 114; "Glossary," 2013; Hamilton, 1909)

The following example of the labor temples of San Francisco illustrates the ways the aims of the AFL's labor temple advocates were carried out by some of the Federation's most powerful local affiliates.

The San Francisco Labor Temple Movement

It is the aim of your committee [...] to create [...] a symbol and emblem of the industry, integrity, loyalty and steadfastness of the members of this great organization which will appeal to all citizens irrespective of class or condition and show them the strength and stability of organized labor when it centers its efforts in one direction."

- P.H. McCarthy et. al, Temple Committee, San Francisco Building Trades Council (1905)

The union movement in San Francisco at the turn of the last century was in important ways unique within the AFL-- in its strength, in its (brief) success in electoral politics, and in the ideological bent of some of its key leaders. Michael Kazin argues that "beginning in the 1890s, San Francisco workers built the strongest labor movement that existed in any American Metropolis" (1989, 13). Their efforts in the economic and political arenas, Kazin maintains, "pressed at the unwritten boundaries of union power in America" (277). The movement attained the height of its political power with the 1909 election, which swept San Francisco Building Trades Council President P.H. McCarthy into the mayor's office at the head of a large slate of United Labor Party candidates for Board of Supervisors and other municipal posts. Kazin characterizes the political thought of the leaders of the Building Trades Council (BTC) as a "particular blend of civic reformism, egalitarian vision, romantic class consciousness, and Anti-

Asian fervor" that emerged from the pursuit of narrow craft interests rooted in traditions of "working-class republicanism" and "labor nationalism". He sums up their ideology, which blended currents of thought from the left, right and center of the labor movement, with the counter-intuitive label "business syndicalism" (Kazin 1989, 170, 150, 155). The BTC's counterpart, the San Francisco Labor Council (SFLC), in Kazin's view, contained a more heterogeneous membership in terms of trades, with its prevailing ideological tenor characterized by the "stern pragmatism" of Sailors Union of the Pacific President Andrew Furuseth (1989, 29, 30).

San Francisco's union movement was uncommonly powerful in the early years of the 20th century. However, the movement's leaders' approach to the creation of Labor Temples, which they saw as a central task in consolidating union power in the city, was well in line with the mainstream AFL vision of the labor temple movement as expressed by Grant Hamilton (indeed, the BTC Temple was cited as exemplary in Hamilton's 1909 article). Thus the specifics of the labor temple experience in San Francisco shed light on the new and altered views that emerged, with the AFL's ascendancy, of the purpose and potential of labor temples within American working class formation.

The two main San Francisco union bodies, the SFLC and the BTC, worked in unison in planning a labor temple for the city beginning in 1899. They split in 1901 over the SFLC's refusal to uphold a BTC boycott of a local baseball stadium, and created separate temples in 1906 and 1907, respectively (State Building Trades Council of California 1915, 15; Kazin 1989, 52). The initial joint Temple project was seen as one of three crucial elements in the effort to consolidate union power in the city, as summed up in a full front page editorial in the Building

Trades Council's fledgling newspaper, *Organized Labor*, in 1900: "Less than one year ago, there were three things to be done. An official organ to be established, the Labor Temple to be built, and the force of labor organizations in San Francisco to be systematized and centralized. [...T]he third will come about as the result of the two first" ("The Labor Temple," 1900). These institutional ambitions were founded on broadly successful strikes and organizing campaigns following the creation of the SFLC in 1892 and the BTC in 1896. By summer 1900, the BTC "had secured a closed shop on all major building sites in San Francisco," and numbered roughly half of the 20,000 union members in the two Councils combined (Kazin 1989, 28, 37, 44-45). The organizations would continue to grow rapidly in this period, in step with national AFL membership, which went from 297,000 in 1897 to 1,676,000 in 1904 (Olson 2001, 10).

A full front page editorial in an early issue of *Organized Labor* heralded joint efforts by the two committees to construct a labor temple. The article is illustrated by a rendering of the future temple's facade, with Virgil's phrase "LABOR OMNIA VINCIT" (labor conquers all) inscribed above the entrance. The editorial lays out the councils' leaders' "many reasons in favor of" the construction of a labor temple. In a telling departure from the inwardly focused rhetoric justifying the Knights of Labor halls and the Lyceum movement, the chief argument made for the creation of the building is *external*, outwardly focused:

In the first place, and perhaps the most important, the unions will stand before the public in an entirely new light. As the owners and occupants of this building their requests will be made with much greater authority and will be received with much more respectful attention. We know our power, but not one in fifty of the general public shares that knowledge. When the public see what we can do, their respect and consideration will be augmented fifty fold at once [...]

With this Temple, as an *outward and visible sign* of the strength of unionism...who can doubt that the community will realize that unionism is a force that must be reckoned with? [...]

Employers, legislators, attorneys, newspapers, possibly even Mayors, Governors and Judges will begin to realize that LABOR IS KING!" ("The Labor Temple," 1900, my italics, caps in original).

Only in the second place does the editorial consider the internal benefits to union organization that will accrue, in terms of unity and coordination: "next, it will more effectively unite the labor movement[...] The labor organizations can always be brought into joint action, but the machinery is too cumbersome [...] We must get into line and shoulder to shoulder. We must forget bygone differences [...] The unions of the city now meet in at least 15 different buildings."

The "differences" alluded to were evidently not so bygone, as the two Councils would part ways acrimoniously the next year, and remain estranged for the rest of the decade (Kazin 1989, 52, 187). Each continued on its own, as it grew, to pursue the construction of a labor temple. By Labor Day 1906, the BTC numbered 32,500 in 52 locals, and the SFLC counted 130 member organizations by early 1903 (further "retaining at least 30,000 members through World War I") (Kazin 1989, 124, 29). The SFLC constructed a "humble" two story Labor Council Hall at a cost of \$10,500 in 1906, and the BTC inaugurated its own four story, \$197,000 Building Trades Temple in 1908 ("Council Halls," 1906; "San Francisco," 1906; "Dedicated," 1908; State Building Trades Council of California 1915, 18). In 1914, the SFLT completed its long awaited Labor Temple, which cost \$150,000 ("New Temple," 1915).

Notwithstanding their struggles over turf, power, and tactics, the leadership of the two councils, in speeches and editorials, evidenced similar views on the value of labor temples to the craft union movement. The grand theme of these discourses centered around *monumentality*-- official commentaries return repeatedly to the conviction that the union movement needed temples as symbols to the city at large, and to the urban power structure in particular, of organized labor's arrival as a formidable player. Subsidiary motifs that recur in the spatial imaginary of San Francisco labor leaders recommending union halls are financial benefits, more efficient organization, and a heightened sense of unity among organizations (and, to a lesser extent, among individual workers). The emphasis on education, broad class consciousness, and the development of working class culture that was so central to the spatial visions of the Knights of Labor and the architects of the Labor Lyceum movement is all but absent. Indeed, to the extent that San Francisco's craft union leaders registered in print their wishes to change worker's minds, these wishes coalesce around the obfuscation of class differences, and the increased self-identification of workers along lines of race, nationality, and property ownership.

This perspective is perhaps most clearly symbolized by an image that was displayed prominently on the wall of the Building Trades Council's temporary offices in the aftermath of the 1906 Fire. In the image, a barrel-chested figure in a top hat, presumably representing capital, looms over a slender carpenter in white overalls, his left hand placed with avuncular confidence on the worker's shoulder as they shake hands before a silvery river. The left side of the image is cropped out by the photograph's framing, but on the right side, below a clutch of skyscrapers and active smokestacks, a slogan continues "...stands for A BETTER AND MORE Beautiful San Francisco". Presumably it is the Building Trades Council that is doing the "standing" referenced in this motto. The worker, though his hammer is cocked watchfully, is removed from the

organization's center-- visually, spatially, politically. The focus is on the interface between the white men of the two classes, rhetorically framed at the scale of the city (rather than, say, the shop floor or the world). The painting's awkward rendering of the joining of hands, at the center of the circle framing the new partnership between capital and labor, seems to reflect an ambivalence in the pact, wittingly or unwittingly portending the vexed fate that this collusion would meet with during and after World War I.



Figure 3 Building Trades Council- 14th and Guerrero interior, c. 1910.

Olav Tveitmoe, editor of *Organized Labor* and the BTC's Secretary, succinctly entwined this business unionist perspective with a heartfelt nationalism and anti-Asian racism in bringing his 1905 Labor Day address to a close:

all we ask is a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. [...]The union movement is an industrial movement pure and simple. [...]But when our enemies give battle on the political field, is it our duty to meet them on their chosen ground. [...]To you businessmen, I send this Labor Day greeting, **continued peace and prosperity!** Remember both [wage workers and businessmen], that your interests are closely allied; that you depend upon one another for success and happiness. If you fight, let it be our common foe who attempts to invade our land, ruin our standard of living, undermine our business and destroy American civilization. Labor and Capital-- **be friends**-- and when you fight, let it be for your country and for the advancement of humanity (Tveitmoe, 1905, emphasis in original).

Tveitmoe-- whose purported "radical ideology and taste for militancy" made him the chief BTC figure enlisted in Kazin's historiographical challenge to conventional views of craft unions as labor aristocrats-- here distinguished himself little from more conservative elements in the BTC, such as Cleveland Dam, the BTC's attorney, and General Counsel for the State Building Trades Council of California (Kazin 1989, 72-73). In a speech before 3,300 of the 20,000 people who attended the 1908 dedication of the Building Trades Temple (an audience that included local, state, and national labor leaders), Dam warmed to the theme of cross-class unity, and highlighted the symbolic power the temple building could exert on the opinions of outsiders:

how much better it would be if employer and employee could come into closer relationship...could sit down and discuss in a friendly way the necessities of each other and find a way to closer and better relationship, instead of living in a condition of armed peacefulness.

[...A]s our people and strangers who may visit us observe the temple of the

building trades, they must naturally say to themselves: "If the unions of San Francisco can own such a magnificent property there must certainly be substance and solidarity." And this my friends is the keynote to your success. ("A Monument," 1908; "Dedicated," 1908)

Though rhetoric highlighting the external, symbolic effects of the San Francisco Labor Temples on members of other classes was preponderant, union leaders also reflected publicly on the effects these buildings would have internally on the unions that built them, and, less frequently, on effects they might have on the working class at large. Commonly noted were the financial gains to be made, both by reducing the costs of hall rentals for member unions, and through profit that could be realized by labor investors in the halls as real estate propositions. Upon the opening of the its modestly sized new building in the Mission District in 1906, for example, the San Francisco Labor Council boasted that its hall rents were fully 50% lower than those prevailing elsewhere in the city ("Labor Council," 1906). At an early fundraising event for the San Francisco Labor Temple, Cleveland Dam, the Building Trades Council's attorney, gave pride of place to the financial arguments in his speech, over social and political arguments. He optimistically assured potential investors that the project would return "dividends of 12 to 15 per cent annually" (Organized Labor, August 11, 1900, 7).

Benefits of proximity-- in building fellow-feeling and solidarity, at an individual level and at the level of improved coordination among union locals-- were also anticipated. In his 1906 President's address to the State Building Trades Council of California's Fifth Annual Convention, P.H. McCarthy summarized such effects:

the Labor Temple enterprise is destined to fulfill a manifold purpose both in its moral and

financial effects. Such temples will be of incalculable benefit to the organizations at large, by bringing them into closer relationship...they will bring under one roof all who are working in a common cause, to their mutual advantage. They will bring to their members substantial profits, and the most pleasing fact that they are individually the proud possessors of some of the finest realty of their respective localities. Last, but not least, they will bring to the organizations the stability, strength and importance which can be acquired in no other manner. They will at once make the Building Trades Councils owner and large taxpayers, organizations to be reckoned with in all civic and municipal matters throughout the state ("State Building Trades," 1906).

Here McCarthy placed emphasis on closer relationship between organizations within the building trades council. In a similar vein, a front page article anticipating the 1908 opening of the Build Trades Temple (presumably authored by Tveitmoe), touted the potential of the recreational space on the first floor of the building: "Opposite the entrance [to the main assembly room] is a commodious cigarstand, and to the right and left there are billiard and pool, chess, checkers, and reading tables. Here is where the building artisans will congregate, meet, exchange ideas and form stronger ties of brotherly love and mutual protection." The very names of the Temple's meeting rooms ("Harmony," "Unity," "Brotherhood," and "Prosperity" Halls) attested to the fraternal aims-- narrowly focused on the building craftsmen-- that the Building Trades Temple's planners had in mind ("A Monument," 1908).

But insofar as the architects of the San Francisco Labor Temple movement viewed the Temples as spatial vehicles for the transformation of consciousness of the city's workers, such and intended ideological shift was by no means unequivocally one towards a greater class

consciousness. In public remarks that represented his broadest view of the role of the Labor Temple in working class formation, McCarthy argued:

aside from the financial investment the moral influence of such an institution on the trade union movement is of such value that it cannot be rated in dollars and cents. This object lesson of steel, stone, concrete, mortar and brick will stand there as a mute but nevertheless a strong symbol of the strength of union labor when properly organized and intelligently directed. It will serve as a tower of strength to the trade union movement of San Francisco and the organized workers of the state. It will stand as a beacon light, beckoning the toilers and producers of the world into yet unexplored fields of immense possibilities. it will awaken the most powerful force of the world-- labor-- to a recognition of its own strength and the success of the venture will help to direct the lethargic giant into safe and peaceful channels that will lead into the hoped for haven of human happiness. ("Building Trades Temple," 1906).

Here McCarthy deploys a sleeping giant metaphor similar to that advanced in speeches dedicating the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum a quarter century before-- only this giant, instead of "trampling on the corrupt corpse of capital" upon awakening, is to be guided into safe and peaceful channels.

McCarthy offered his final words on the subject before the building was opened for business in 1908. He dedicated the temple to "the peace, prosperity, perpetuity, honor, and glory of union labor". "Frequently interrupted with hearty applause," from an audience of 3,300 packing what was now claimed as the largest auditorium in San Francisco, the Council President rehearsed arguments regarding the useful impression the Temple would make on outsiders.

Likely still smarting from his loss as United Labor Party candidate in the 1907 mayoral election, and perhaps with an eye towards assembling the cross-class coalition that would bring him to victory in the 1909 race (Kazin 1989, 139, 182), he then articulated a new argument about the moral and ideological effect the temple would have on building trades workers. To wit: the temple would inculcate bourgeois values.

many are the benefits...that the members of the various organizations will derive from their ownership in a building like this, the finest of its kind in the world. As an object lesson to the outsiders it is worth ten times the amount of money invested in the building...it is a monument that makes the old time enemy of the council sit up and take notice"... [The newspaper report further summarized his speech:] This union home, collectively owned by the members, was as necessary to the future success and progress of unionism as is the individual home to the member and his family... [McCarthy] looked upon the Temple as a tangible evidence of the power and strength of the organized building mechanics and laborers of San Francisco, a something that should *make them better men and better citizens*; a something that would *stimulate them to thrift and industry*, and eventually enable each and every member who carries a Building Trades Council's card to *own his own home*, where he can enjoy that degree of peace, happiness and prosperity to which he is entitled ("A Monument," 1908, my italics).

The appeal to middle-class virtues and aspirations in justifying the Labor Temple was not novel in the public rhetoric of San Francisco craft unions on the matter. Labor leaders had earlier signaled their adherence to what Amy Kaplan (1998, 581) has called the "cult of domesticity" that was so central to 19th Century middle-class American culture. A 1900 front page editorial "A Home For Labor" in the new union paper paid treacly homage to the domestic faith in

justification of the Labor Temple project:

Of all the words in the English language there is none that has a greater meaning than the word Home. No other word is as dear or near to the heart of the organized workingmen as the word home. They will struggle through their daily labor for the love of home; they will work after the day's toil in shop or factory is over, until the orb of daylight sinks into its ocean bed, and the twilight hour kisses their sweat-stained brow, to preserve and beautify their homes. Those who have no home are striving to secure one.

If the home is a desirable acquisition for the individual, a home for the organization that protects his most vital interests is just as essential. ("A Home for Labor," 1900).

Here the editors of Organized Labor pluck the familiar, individualized, domestic heartstrings, attempting to make their ideological overtones resound at the higher, organizational scale. This is analogous to the highly orchestrated scalar resonances between the home and the nation that Kaplan identifies as having been so central to American imperial projects. But McCarthy's 1908 speech inaugurating the labor temple, excerpted above, went beyond mere endorsement of middle class domesticity. In that speech, McCarthy articulates a spatial determinism in which the labor temple project is not only vindicated by appeal to ideologies of the home, but is moreover *constitutive* of these and related middle class ideologies.

The spatial-ideological nexus McCarthy gestures towards in concluding his speech-- one in which citizenship, self-improvement, power, prosperity, progress and happiness are tied to property ownership and domesticity, was not unique to San Francisco. A 1920 epigram on the front page of *The Labor World* issue announcing the Duluth unions' "Campaign to Build Home for Labor", made a clear link between mass quiescence and real estate holdings, implicitly

conflating individual home ownership and the construction of labor temples: "Remember that a revolution never starts in a country in which the masses of the people are permitted to own their own home. They are reckless men, indeed, who would destroy a government that guarantees their title in private property." In those years of postwar labor tumult, the Duluth union leadership had arrived at a similar sociospatial perspective to that of Corbusier (2008[1922]), who formulated his widely-quoted reactionary dictum "architecture or revolution" at roughly the same time.

By the early years of the 20th century the leadership of the San Francisco craft unions had ranged far afield, in rhetorical and ideological terms, from the sociospatial imaginaries that had animated the architects of the KOL halls and the Labor Lyceum movement. But how did the use of the San Francisco temples compare to that of the earlier working class spaces? Kazin sketches the facilities and activities of the Building Trades Temple:

Besides offices for most BTC locals, there was a small employment bureau, a room with grindstones for sharpening and shaping tools, and facilities to please the idle mechanic: ten billiard tables, a cigar and news store, several nickel slot machines [...], and a piano. Temple directors opened their doors to visiting pro-labor speakers ranging from radicals Emma Goldman and Big Bill Haywood to the more respectable Samuel Gompers and Frank Walsh, chairman of the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations (1989, 102).

As in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum and KOL Temples, union offices in the building were complemented by recreational space, and periodic speeches by working class leaders were held. But unlike the earlier spaces, the San Francisco Temples did not emphasize ongoing educational activities. They had no libraries, and despite rhetorical gestures during planning of the Temple

projects towards the "exchange of ideas," there seems to have been little systematic programming of lectures, classes, or discussions ("A Monument," 1908). Also unlike the earlier spaces, which provided office and meeting space for a broad range of working class organizations, including political parties, fraternal societies, mutual aid organizations, and social and recreational clubs, the San Francisco Labor Temples were dedicated almost exclusively to trade union activities per se. Where the earlier spaces had made significant, if inadequate, gestures towards fulfilling Marion Marsh Todd's injunction against discrimination by race and gender, the San Francisco Temples remained bastions of privilege for white male members of the craft union elite.

In the unions' paper, Tveitmoe ran a full front page cover article borrowed from the *American Federationist* arguing that "Racial and Religious Dividing Lines in the Ranks of Labor are Pernicious to the Cause" and cautioning that "Clanish Coteries is Death" ("The New Trade," 1900). But as Roediger (2000, 25) has argued, "racial attitudes behave promiscuously and coexist with their opposites." An op-ed in *Organized Labor* later that year outlined the inverse sensibility that more consistently guided San Francisco union leadership in matters of inter-racial solidarity. The article, which sets out to decry the burning at the stake of a black man in Colorado, finds its way to asserting that "the plan to civilize the negro [...] is not worthy of any serious discussion," and closes with an exhortation to "send the African and the Mongolian back to their own happy homes" ("Who is Civilized?," 1900).

San Francisco union leaders, in concert with their counterparts elsewhere in the West, directed most of their racial animus against Asians (Saxton, 1975). Tveitmoe's *Organized Labor* asserted in an early editorial promoting the Labor Temple that the question of Asian exclusion

"overshadowed all others" ("The Labor Temple," 1900). In 1907 and 1908, the paper serialized *The Yellow Peril*, a novel rife with stock racist and anti-Semitic caricatures that depicted an Asian military invasion of the West coast. Extramurally, Tveitmoe served as president and spokesman of the Asiatic Exclusion League (Kazin 1987, 165, 167) .

The "clanish coterie" of whiteness, "deadly" though it was, remained a central organizing principle of the San Francisco craft unions, which consisted mainly of Irish- and German-Americans (Kazin 1989, 21). An early fundraising event for the Labor Temple, billed as a "mass meeting and entertainment, featured "humorous dialect specialties" by a comedian before the orchestra struck up some "choice numbers," indicating that the othering and stereotyping through ridicule that constructed white identity and undermined interracial solidarity was created within union spaces as well as without, sometimes in an atmosphere of enjoyment and bonhomie in clear continuity with 19th century traditions of minstrelsy (Roediger 2000).

The spatial practices of the Building Trades were well in line with a gender ideology that "axiomatically read women out of union culture." BTC leaders, Kazin asserts, adhered to a "separate spheres" doctrine (1989, 77-78). There were only a handful of women employed in the building trades, and the BTC "indefinitely postponed" the creation of a women's auxiliary.

However the Building Trades Temple did host notable female speakers including Emma Goldman and Mother Jones (Kazin 1983, 581-584). And outside the building trades, women made their presences felt in San Francisco's union movement and its spaces. A 1913 study of the history of San Francisco's union women listed 15 unions in which women had membership, and noted approvingly that "experience in contesting for their rights in union halls seems to have developed leaders among the trade union women" (Matthews, 94). The San Francisco Labor

Temple, erected in 1915 after Building Trades Council had rejoined the Labor Council in 1910, had a Ladies Parlor among its many amenities ("New Temple Opening," 1915). As of the Temple's opening, most city unions with significant female membership held meetings in its halls, including the 2,000-strong, all women Steam Laundry Workers, The Bindery Women's Local 125, which numbered 275 as of 1913, and the Journeyman Tailors Local 2, whose 700 members were between one half and one third women in the period 1905-1913. Smaller unions with significant female membership, such as the Bottle Caners, Press Feeders and Assistants, the Typographical Union, the Cracker Bakers, the Office Employees, also used the temple for meetings, while the large Waitresses Union convened meetings in its own space ("Directory of Labor," 1915; Mathews 1913, 1, 38, 46, 65, 74).

In sum, the Labor Temples created by AFL affiliates in San Francisco exemplify a marked shift in the spatial imaginaries and spatial practices of American labor leaders at the turn of the 20th century. This shift accompanied the well known ideological and strategic shifts that enabled the rise of the AFL in the period. The labor temple was viewed by craft union leaders such as P.H. McCarthy and Olav Tveitmoe as one of the crucial pillars in their endeavors to consolidate working class power at the urban scale. The temple was seen as vital by its planners both in terms of *relative space*-- in its function of agglomeration and coordination of dispersed local unions-- and in terms of *relational space*-- in the symbolic and monumental effects its presence would work on elites in particular and city residents in general. The builders of the KOL Temples and the Labor Lyceum movement, like their contemporaries in Europe (Kohn 2003), had viewed the development of broad working class consciousness as a central function of the spaces they created. Such development was to be achieved, in their eyes, through the co-location and close interaction of a multitude of workers' union, social, and political organizations

as well as through systematic educational programs. But the architects of the Labor Temples of the San Francisco craft unions largely foreswore educational efforts, and reserved their meeting halls and office spaces almost exclusively for union activities as such.

This socio-spatial shift can fruitfully be viewed through the lens of the scalar framework of class formation presented above. In the figures below, I locate the class forming activities rooted in the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum and San Francisco Building Trades Temple, respectively, according to their scale within Smith's schema and their position within Katznelson's four-part class formation framework. For each, the building itself can be positioned at the intersection of the *interior scale* and the level of *collective action*, in the sense both that the buildings were the result of collective action and that they were the sites of union organization. But the political, social, educational and recreational activities that the buildings housed enabled the buildings to be the loci of workers initiatives that projected onto other scales, and extended to other levels of class formation.

		Smith's Scalar Hierarchy						
		Neighbor-						
		Body	Interior	hood	City	Region	Nation	Global
Katznelson's Levels of Class Formation	1) Structure of economic development							
	2) Social Organization of Society		School		Reform organizing			
	3) Dispositions of formed groups	Beer Hall	Clubs, Cultural groups	Community Groups	Lectures, debates			
	4) Collective Action	Mutual Aid	Labor Lyceum	Strike Support	Political parties, Labor Slates			

		Smith's Scalar Hierarchy						
		Neighbor-						
		Body	Interior	hood	City	Region	Nation	Global
Katznelson's Levels of Class Formation	1) Structure of economic development		Producer Cooperatives		Public utilities			
	2) Social Organization of Society							
	3) Dispositions of formed groups	Socializing, Game room			Lectures	Organizing Asian exclusion		
	4) Collective Action		Labor Temple		Labor slates	CA Bldg Trades Council		

Figure 4 Diagram comparing class formation in Labor Lyceums and Labor Temples

Viewed in this light, salient differences in the sociospatial practices rooted in the two spaces are apparent. The diagram for the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum reflects a close cluster of class forming activities, rooted in the Lyceum (at the interior scale and the level of collective action), but taking effect at scales of the body and neighborhood, and extending into Katznelson's third level of class formation, that of *dispositions of formed groups*. (A similar diagram could be constructed vis a vis the Minneapolis KOL Temple). The diagram for the SFBTT, on the other hand, reflects the BTC's endeavors to project power at the urban scale, and its limited intentions to use the SFBTT to intervene in class formation at Katznelson's third level.

Neil Smith's concept of "jumping scale" has been used to describe the ability of political and social movement actors to project power and influence into larger arenas-- a concerted and definitive leap into higher realms of struggle (Smith 1993). But the "jumping" metaphor, while evocative, seems ill-fitting to the scalar strategies of class formation that the architects of the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum made explicit in their by-laws and put into practice in the years the Lyceum operated. The phrase "jumping scale" seems to suggest an abrupt, concerted, and definitive leap with both feet into a higher and larger arena (though Smith's elaboration of the concept is more nuanced). The German Socialists who created the Lyceum were fueled by an internationalist vision in which working class formation and organization would develop to the point of vying for power at the global scale. But their organizing as expressed through the Lyceum was multi-scalar, proceeding deliberately from the smallest scales upward through the neighborhood towards the urban and beyond without abandoning efforts at the smaller scales. The organizing expressed through the SFBTT, on the other hand, followed a different scalar logic, a kind of leapfrogging of scale in which the meeting places of member locals, once dispersed in neighborhoods throughout the city, were gathered centrally in the Temple,

coordinating and centralizing resources towards BTC leaders' electoral bid for power at the urban scale.

How representative of the AFL's labor temples nationally was the San Francisco case? The Federation was a vast and diverse organization, containing much variation regionally and locally in terms of density, power, ideology, and industrial character. It is thus difficult to make generalizations about the overall character of the Labor Temple movement, as the Temples themselves varied accordingly. The Building Trades Council of San Francisco, as Kazin argues, distinguished itself from urban labor councils elsewhere by its considerable political clout, as well as by its "business syndicalism"-- a sort of hybrid of ideological tendencies from left, right, and center of the contemporary working class movement (Kazin 1989, 147-150).

But newspaper accounts of Labor Temple activity in cities across the country suggest that for all the variation within the AFL, there were fundamental correspondences among AFL Labor Temples that broadly distinguished the Temples from the interior working class spaces that had preceded the Federation's rise, and from those that would emerge after its decline, with the CIO upsurge of the 1930s. The builders of the KOL Temples and the Labor Lyceums had endeavored to create multi-purpose spaces in which a variety of working class organizations-- unions, political parties, mutual aid groups, social clubs and fraternal groups-- would rub elbows and exert mutual influence through proximity, debate, and encounter. The Knights had labored to create a social and cultural "universe" (Weir 1996, xix) in which to grow a movement of all workers capable of bringing about the "radical change in the existing industrial system" contemplated in their preamble. The social, political, cultural, recreational, and educational activities conducted in their Temples furthered that aim.

While the builders of these earlier spaces expressed pride in the size and scope of their architectural achievements, their concern with the internal effects such spaces would have on the development of working class culture and consciousness overshadowed their attention to the symbolic effects these buildings would have on those outside the class. The rhetoric of the KOL and the Lyceum movement expressed the intention to build an ecumenical working class movement and culture across lines of craft, ideology, race, ethnicity, religion, and gender. As we have seen, this inclusionary vision was all too often honored in the breach. But the AFL project was a different one, and its spatial logic proceeded accordingly. As Sean Wilentz has summarized, the harsh repression of the period 1886-1894 marked a turning point, which the craft unions of the AFL responded to by effecting "a constriction and consolidation of the labor movement at its strongest points, formally independent of political parties or any other organization outside the unions" (1984, 16). The sociospatial character of the AFL temples largely reflected this retrenchment, this circling of wagons among the white, male, skilled, and moderate.

Newspaper coverage of Labor Temple planning, construction, opening, and activities in cities across the country during the early 20th century period points to a widespread concern with monumentality and external impressions on the part of AFL Temple advocates in line with the similar preoccupation voiced by San Francisco labor leaders. The below photo collage shows Sacramento's new Labor Temple (marked #9, in the center) in proud juxtaposition with the city's banks, churches, and municipal buildings, c. 1913.



Figure 5 A Group of Sacramento Buildings, photomontage, 1913.

The chief exception within the AFL to this shift in the function of Labor Temples was in cities in which Socialists had a particularly strong influence in the Federation. (The chief exception to the shift in labor spaces *outside* the AFL, was, of course, within the IWW, of which

more later). At the height of the SP influence in the AFL, the Party's candidate for President of the Federation gained nearly one third of the votes in his campaign against Gompers (Kazin 1989, 148). SP strength in cities such as New York, Los Angeles, Seattle, and Everett, Washington seems to have shaped Labor Temples in these cities in ways that distinguished them from AFL contemporaries and placed them more directly in line with the earlier Labor Lyceums as well as the Temples of the KOL.

Ground was broken for the Los Angeles Labor Temple in 1906. At seven stories on an 80'x120' footprint, it was the perhaps the largest temple in the country, with accommodations for the city's more than 70 labor organizations (as an evidently phallogentric point of pride, when the building was dedicated in 1910 it stood taller than the Los Angeles Times building of union foe Harrison Gray Otis) ("News of the Labor World," 1906a). Union Labor Temple Association President Stanley Wilson, a Socialist (and formerly "chief political organizer of the Union political party of Los Angeles"), gave the opening address at the temple dedication ("Labor Temple," 1910). In an earlier meeting heralding rapid progress in the Temple's construction, union leaders including Wilson expressed their intention to:

establish a second home for the working-man, where he can while away an hour or two of pleasure each day [...to] make the union as much of a social organization as political and business, as they are mostly at present, and to get the workingmen better acquainted with each other and thus solidify the unions by furthering social relations among the members ("Labor News," 1907).

Under Wilson's guidance, the Temple's first years saw a flurry of activities encompassing social, political, and trade union functions. It was strike headquarters for struggles such as the

battle of the city's tailors for the 8 hour day (Untitled, 1911). It was host to left cultural events Temple's such as a theatrical version of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* staged by a company led by actor Viola Barry, daughter of Berkeley's Socialist mayor Jackson Stitt Wilson ("The Jungle," 1910). Stanley Wilson (no relation) convened Socialist lectures, and the Temple inaugurated a cooperative "union men's grocery store," at which workers could find low prices and striking workers in particular could buy groceries at wholesale cost ("Socialist Propaganda," 1910; "Change in School," 1910). In stark contrast to the narrow focus on skilled, native-born labor of the Temple's counterparts in San Francisco and elsewhere, the Los Angeles Temple within a few months of its inauguration opened its doors to some 2,000 unskilled laborers (1,800 of them immigrants) to be "initiated" in the Temple following their inclusion in a union labor parade (Untitled, 1910). The I.W.W. maintained an office there during the 1910s (Reuther Archive IWW Collection 121:16). The Temple was the center of the formidable Socialist Party electoral efforts in the city in those years. The National Socialist Press reported that in the days leading up to the 1911 mayoral race, "nearly every night socialists hold big meetings in Labor Temple and the education of the workers is carried out with great care" ("Gompers Gives Reds," 1911). On the strength of this organizing, and with Gompers' endorsement, Socialist mayoral candidate Job Harriman won a 44% plurality of the votes in the multiparty primary. But just days before the general election, the union-affiliated culprits of the 1910 bombing of the L.A. Times building, which had killed 21, pled guilty to the crime, dashing Harriman's mayoral hopes and leading to the ruin of the city's labor movement in the face of the ensuing employers' onslaught.

The left was also influential in the labor movement in the Puget Sound, and Labor Temples in Seattle and Everett bore radical imprints of the SP, the IWW, and of populist movements, distinguishing the Temples from their counterparts in which the right wing of the

AFL held fuller sway. As elsewhere, this influence was the subject of considerable contestation. The efforts of the right wing of the Federation to limit organizing to skilled, native born white male workers along craft lines, and within ideological limits acceptable to the middle class, earned it the scornful nickname "the American *Separation of Labor*" among its left critics during this period. This impulse towards separation played out spatially in Labor Temples in Seattle, Everett, New York City, and many other cities in the early years of the AFL, as Temple officials moved to ban Socialist and IWW activities and members from using the buildings. Such efforts reached a peak during and immediately after the US engagement in World War I, as the war became a starkly polarizing issue within the labor movement.

Everett was the first city on the West Coast to create a labor temple, in 1902 ("Directors Plan," 1910). By 1911, the city's unions had created a larger Temple to accommodate their growing membership. As in other cities in Washington, the local branch of the SP held meetings in the Temple, until the Socialists rented a hall of their own-- the second largest in the city-- in 1912 ("Directory," 1911; "Socialist Headquarters," 1912). As late as 1916, the Temple was the site of lectures by SP politicians. The Seattle Labor Temple was completed in 1905, and the SP maintained an office in the Temple until a police incident at the end of 1908 presented an opportunity to more conservative elements in the Temple to kick the Party out ("The Socialists," 1908). By 1912, the SP had its own Seattle headquarters, but had regained a presence in the Labor Temple, with weekly Sunday evening "propaganda meetings" and a "Socialist Lyceum Lecture Course" ("Directory," 1912).

Washington's Labor Temples were also sites where the labor movement intersected with populist organizations and the cooperative movement. The Washington State Grange met in the

Temple in 1910 to form a statewide Grange Co-operative Association, and the Washington State Co-operative Union held its annual convention there in 1912 ("Grange Heads," 1910; "Fourth Annual," 1911). A decade later the state Farmer-Labor Party would be headquartered in the Everett Labor Temple, and hold mass meetings and conventions in Labor Temples in Seattle and Tacoma ("Farmer-Labor," 1921).

America's entry into World War I in April 1917, and the federal crackdown on radical anti-war voices in the SP and IWW gave the right wing of the AFL its cue for the quickening of the process through which the Temples were homogenized to serve narrow craft union purposes, to the exclusion of left currents within the working class movement. During the few years that brought the largest global upsurge of labor militancy yet seen, the AFL extricated itself, organizationally and spatially, from radical elements in the working class, leaving them to bear alone the brunt of the Palmer Raids and other violent assaults and disruptions by federal and local authorities and vigilante groups. The Federation would later face the employer reaction of the 1920s on its own, with disastrous results.

In Seattle, in May 1917, just a month after Wilson joined the War, the Central Labor Council "severed relations" with the IWW at a meeting at the Labor Temple, prohibiting local AFL members from membership in the IWW ("Unions Will Bar," 1917). In the heady days of the 1919 Seattle General Strike, which brought socialist and syndicalist elements of the city's labor movement to the fore, the Temple would serve as headquarters for the strike committee (as the Labor Temple in Winnipeg would in the general strike there a few months later, and as Philadelphia's Labor Lyceum had in the 1910 general strike ("Strike Call, 1919; "Veterans Oppose," 1919; "Universal Strike," 1910). But the Temple would not again serve the wide

working class constituency it had in earlier years. In Everett, the Temple underwent a similar trajectory. In 1919, the Everett Trades Building Association denied hall rentals in the Temple to IWW-associated groups, and the next year passed a motion denying the use of the Temple's halls to "organizations antagonistic to the AFL" (Reports of Unions," 1919; "The Central Labor," 1920). Parallel exclusionary measures were carried out in other cities around the country in these years, such as in Tampa, where socialists were denied use of the Labor Temple's main hall for May Day protest meetings against Federal repression ("Florida Mayor, 1919"). Similarly, in El Paso, the Central Labor Union determined that "under no circumstances would the hall be rented to I.W.W.'s or Bolsheviki," elaborating that "this hall is conducted for and by American unionists and not men who teach treason against organized government" ("Knows Nothing," 1919).

New York City's Labor Temples also saw considerable ideological tensions during this period. But because of the strength of the left within the city's trade union movement, and the peculiar institutional provenance of the Temples themselves, rightwing unionists were unable to dislodge left unions and political organizations from Manhattan's two main Labor Temples in the way they had elsewhere. The East Side Labor Temple was located on 84th Street and 2nd Avenue in the heart of the heavily German Yorkville neighborhood. It was planned and built by socialists, anarchists, and trade unionists who formed the Workingmen's Educational and Home Association. The Temple was similar in its constituency and amenities to the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum described above ("Labor Temple Begun," 1905). Dozens of unions, as well as mutual benefit societies and political parties made the Temple their home. It was the site of organizing among groups largely overlooked by mainstream AFL Temples, including women and the unemployed. The Women's Trade Union League met there, as well as English and German speaking women's socialist groups ("John Spargo," 1908; "Women Socialists Active," 1911).

Charles Leinenweber has argued that the streets, with their strike parades, demonstrations, and soapbox oratory, were the crucial sites in New York City during the early 20th Century for the creation of a working class culture that could overcome the division between the workplace and the home community (a division that Katznelson (1981) would later identify as a crucial element distinguishing American working class formation for the European cases). "Nowhere," Leinenweber asserts, "was the connection between socialism and working class community culture more evident than in the streets" (1977, 154).

But the record of Labor Lyceums and Labor Temples in New York City in the period suggests that the interior spaces created and appropriated by Socialist organizations were no less important. The Temple was a center for strike support in labor disputes near and far-- when children of workers from Lawrence, MA and Paterson, NJ were sent to New York City to be cared for by sympathetic households during the great strikes of 1912 and 1913, they were received at the Temple ("Strikers' Children," 1912; "Wild Scramble," 1913)



Figure 6 Children from Paterson at the Labor Temple, New York 1913

As of 1918, Manhattan's Central Labor Union (CLU) met in the Temple ("Labor Union Here," 1918), and the left maintained a strong presence in that body despite government repression targeting the Temple during the War. In one raid by 75 US Marshals and Department of Justice agents on the German community in Yorkville, in June 1918, some 300 workers were lined up against the wall in the Temple, with 20 detained as unregistered "enemy aliens" ("50 Taken Here," 1918). To Samuel Gompers' consternation, radical elements within the CLU made the East Side Labor Temple a hotbed of organizing, agitation, and propaganda among AFL members for projects such as the formation of a Labor Party ("Labor Leaders," 1918). In 1919,

the CLU passed a resolution in favor of a U.S. constitutional convention to reconstruct the country along socialist lines ("Central Union Adopts," 1919). Radicals won elections to the leadership of the CLU later that year ("Machinist's Union," 1919). The CLU announced a Labor Party convention at the Temple to draw up a complete state ticket ("Union Men Here," 1920). Organizing efforts in the temple during this period extended beyond "pure and simple" trade unionism to include independent party politics as well as neighborhood struggles over issues of social reproduction such as rent and housing policy ("Unions Push Rent Fight," 1920). Gompers' forces moved swiftly to quell this threat to their power and their ideology, voting at the AFL Executive Council meeting in February 1920 (and ratifying at a CLU meeting that August) a decision to merge the Manhattan body into a larger, more moderate 5 borough United Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York ("Gompers Beats," 1920). The new body moved its meetings from the Temple that year ("Central Union Ends," 1920). Though they were not able to take control of the space in this instance, conservative elements within the AFL had here as elsewhere succeeded in extricating the unions spatially from diverse extra-union currents of the workers movement. Nevertheless, the Temple remained a central site of working class organizing. The founding convention of the Workers Party, later to become the CP, was held there on Christmas Eve, 1921 ("2,500 Radicals," 1921).

Manhattan's other Labor Temple was founded under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church, on church property at 14th Street and 2nd Avenue in 1910 ("New Pastor," 1910). Under the guidance of Rev. Charles Steltzle, the Temple functioned as a "combination settlement house, church and school" hosting a variety of educational and cultural events including regular film screenings, concerts, and lectures on a variety of topics including anti-imperialism, communism, syndicalism, philosophy, and psychoanalysis by speakers including Big Bill

Haywood, W.E.B. Dubois, Lewis Mumford, and Will Durant (Francis 1910; Rubin 1991, 224; "Going On," 1920b; "Going On," 1920c).

The IWW maintained an active presence in the hall despite the common Wobbly mistrust of the "sky pilots" of organized religion ("Waiters' First Vote," 1913). This presence was sometimes fraught; one night at the end of April, 1914 some 65 homeless people occupied the Temple after a film screening, their IWW representatives demanding to be fed and sheltered ("Homeless Throngs," 1914). In 1917, Rev. Jonathan Day, new head of the Labor Temple, denounced the IWW from the pulpit, on grounds they were impeding the war effort and "injuring the cause of honest labor," calling for the government to "lock up every I.W.W. who opens his head" ("Denounces I.W.W.," 1917). Yet when the state set out to do just that in the ensuing years, even in the face of mounting attacks on the Temple from conservative elements in the church, the space stood as a reliable base of support for the Wobblies, holding legal defense meetings, speeches by IWW spokesmen, and mass meetings in support of IWW political prisoners ("No May Day," 1920; "Hayward [sic] to Speak," 1920; "Going On," 1920c; "Reds Gaining," 1921; "Church School Staff," 1921; "An Age," 1921).

In the 1920s, when AFL-controlled Temples had in many places been cordoned off from radical organizations, the Presbyterian church-supported Labor Temple remained a site of militant working class organizing in the trade union movement and in party politics. In 1920, William Z. Foster's Trade Union Education League was founded at the Temple, set to pursue a Communist Party-sponsored strategy of radicalizing AFL unions by "boring from within" (Loren, 1920). In 1929, the founding meeting of A.J. Muste's American Labor Party was held at the Temple ("Organize to Fight," 1929).

Overall, the AFL Temples exhibited a mounting tendency in the late 1910s towards spatial isolation from other organizations and currents within the working class. The implications of this isolation for class struggle were not lost on ruling class observers. In his speech at the July 4th, 1916 opening ceremonies of the National Labor Temple in Washington, DC, Woodrow Wilson dedicated the temple to "thing I believe in most, the accommodation of the interest of various classes in the community by means of enabling those classes to understand one another and cooperate with one another" ("Labor Temple Dedicated," 1916). But in places like New York, Los Angeles, Everett, and Seattle, institutions outside the AFL had the resources to create their own Labor Temples, or the influence to make the AFL Temples themselves sites of contestation. In these Temples, a diverse, multi-tendency, multi-organizational working class milieux similar to those of the Labor Lyceums and the KOL Temples, and to their counterparts in Europe, continued to develop for a time. And on a more modest scale in this period, the IWW endeavored to create its own spaces to develop social, educational, and cultural forms that could underpin its syndicalist challenge to the existing economic order.

The Hall, the Street and the Jungle in the I.W.W.'s Struggle for the One Big Union

"Two good meetings yesterday, one in the hall and one in the street"

- Albert Prashner reports on Detroit organizing to Big Bill

Haywood, 1917 (Reuther IWW Collection 120:16)

The chief union rival to the AFL's model of labor organizing in the early 20th Century was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). From their founding in 1905, the IWW, as the

KOL had before them, endeavored to build a movement around a broad working class identity, in which, as Wobbly chronicler Melvyn Dubofsky put it, "men and women were workers first and Jews, Catholics, whites or blacks, skilled or unskilled second" (Dubofsky 2000, 6). In this attempt, Salvatore Salerno argues, they departed from existing forms of labor organizing and political radicalism in their attempts to create "a common cultural sphere whereby the various ethnic groups could be united on the basis of shared sentiment," affirming "the indigenous cultures of its members," and replacing "the institutional basis of unionism with a concept of culture and community that was primary and constitutive" (Salerno 1989, 149).

This cultural project was carried out through a variety of media and forms including songs, poetry, cartoons, agitational stickers, and soapbox oratory. Carving out space was also a crucial element of the project. Don Mitchell and others have elaborated on the vital role of the street and the public sphere in the Wobbly project, highlighting the IWW's free speech fights of the 1910s as crucial to the organization's ability to continue to carry its message to workers, particularly in the centers of migrant agricultural and timber work in the West (Mitchell 1996; 2002). The IWW poured an astonishing energy into these fights, but they also put steady and concerted effort into carving out interior and semi-public spaces to anchor the movement-- both in the form of their halls and in the form of hobo "jungles"-- encampments along the railroad network that many Wobblies used for travel (Salerno 1989, 7-9, 29, 34).

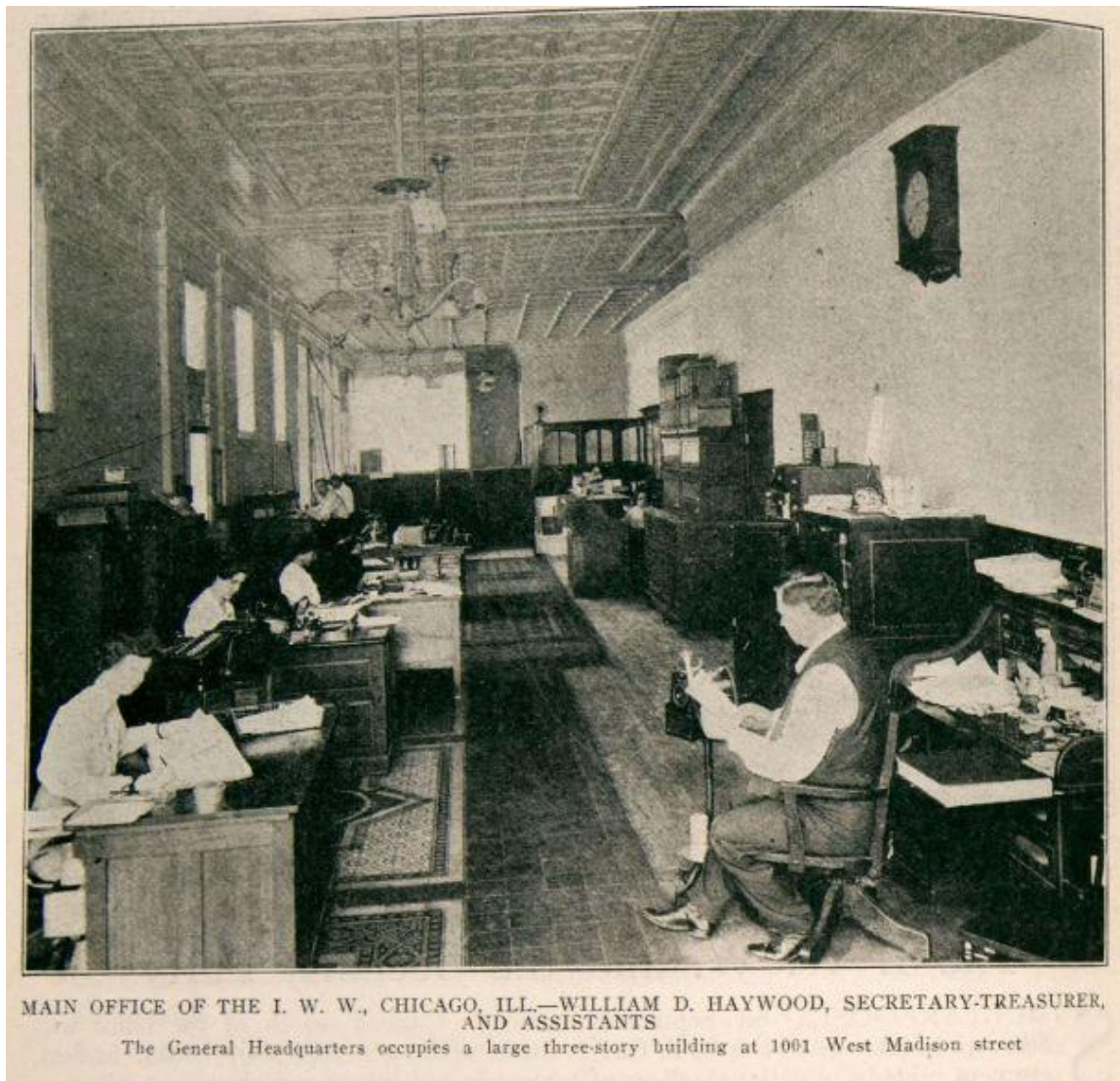


Figure 7 Big Bill Haywood and office employees in the General Office of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W Madison St., Chicago, 1917.

IWWs prided themselves on their itinerant methods of organizing. They advanced their struggles in large part by taking advantage of mobility and networking in relative and relational space. Their organizers, the saying went, "carried the local under their hats" (Mitchell 1998, 183). But they also pursued strategies of fixity and emplacement in absolute space. The IWW General Executive Board meeting minutes from 1907 reflect a resolution to establish libraries

and reading rooms wherever the Wobblies had sufficient resources to do so ("General Executive Board Minutes"). Franklin Rosemont describes the "hundreds" of Wobbly halls that were created in the years that followed as the "nerve centers of the IWW counterculture...the union's revolutionary alternative to such conservative institutions as church, tavern, gambling parlor, race-track and men's club" (Rosemont 2003, 33). These halls, in storefronts or offices, were usually open all day and into the night, and were the site of a wide range of organizational, educational, and cultural activities. An oft-quoted passage from John Reed underscores their importance as centers of radical working class culture:

Wherever, in the West, there is an I.W.W. local, you will find an intellectual center-- a place where men read philosophy, economics, the latest plays, novel; where art and poetry are discussed, and international politics...In Portland the I.W.W. local was the liveliest intellectual center in town... There are playwrights in the I.W.W. who write about life in the 'jungle' and the "Wobblies" produce the plays for audiences of 'Wobblies' (John Reed 1982 [1918], quoted in Salerno 1989, 8).

Melvin Dubofsky describes the IWW's Hall in Spokane, WA circa 1908: "the new headquarters included a large library and reading room, ample office space, and an assembly hall seating several hundred. It held inside propaganda meetings four nights a week, operated its own cigar shop and newsstand, and even featured regular movies" (Dubofsky 2000, 100). Such spaces required considerable financial resources to maintain; financial reports of the IWW's Agricultural Workers locals show rent as the locals' second largest expense after personnel costs ("Financial Reports").



Figure 8 Denver IWW Hall, 1924.

Less costly, but no less valuable to the IWW, were the dozens if not hundreds of hobo "jungles" carved out informally in and around railyards (Salerno 1989, 9). These encampments, which often lasted months or even years, were places where itinerant workers riding the rails could bed down, get a meal, and exchange the latest news of the political and economic situations in the towns they had passed through. In some cases entry to the encampments was restricted to those carrying a red card indicating IWW membership. Upton Sinclair paints a vivid, if romantic picture of the scene in a Northwest wobbly jungle in his novel *Jimmie Higgins*:

In the turpentine-country, in a forest, Jimmie and his pal came to a "jungle", a place where the "wobblies" congregated, living off the country. Here around the camp-fires Jimmie met the guerillas of the class-struggle, and learned the songs of revolt which they

sang—some of them parodies on Christian hymns which would have caused the orthodox and respectable to faint with horror. Here they rested up, and exchanged data on the progress of their fight, and argued over tactics, and cursed the Socialists and the other "politicians" and "labour-fakirs", and sang the praises of the "one big union", and the "mass strike", and "direct action" against the masters of industry. They told stories of their sufferings and their exploits, and Jimmie sat and listened (Sinclair 1970, 139).

Insofar as they served functions of encounter, exchange, and cultural production and reception, on the one hand, and recruitment, planning, administration, and organization on the other, the IWW hall and the jungle were crucial spaces in the Wobblies efforts to intervene in the process of class formation at Katznelson's third and fourth levels-- the levels of disposition and collective action, respectively. Moreover, the jungle can be viewed as an intervention at the second level of class formation-- that of "ways of life", insofar as the meals, shelter, and safety the encampments provided presented an alternative, collective model of social reproduction for the tramps and migrant laborers who passed through their orbit.

The scale of these modest places when considered in terms of absolute space, is restricted to the lower rungs in Smith's ladder. But Mitchell argues persuasively, in reference to the street corners over which the Free Speech Fights of Denver were waged, that "the production, control, and use of specific [read: small] spaces allows for the development of control over larger regions... Controlling the streets of Denver was necessary to gaining some control over life within the region as a whole." (2002, 64, 77). Mitchell constructs his argument about the importance of the free speech fights in register of *relative* space: when the Wobblies fought over

a spot for a soapbox, they were fighting for a space that offered the opportunity to crystallize a whole network of mobile workers and militants dispersed across an entire region.

To bring the relational register to the analysis of the spaces of the hall and jungle, we can join Rosemont and Salerno in observing how the dissemination through these spaces of the Wobbly's cultural trove of songs, symbols, language and images was crucial to the effort to "catalyze" an oppositional working class culture (Salerno 1989, 8). Salerno notes that at the core of the I.W.W. project was the effort "to create a common cultural sphere whereby the various ethnic groups could be united on the basis of shared sentiment[...]Wobblies replaced the institutional basis of unionism with a conception of culture and community that was primary and constitutive. They created and used cultural expressions as a means of unifying workers" (Salerno 1989, 149).

As Salerno has argued, the cultural dynamics of the IWW's mixed local hall and jungle have largely "fallen beyond the pale of organization history" chronicling the IWW. However, the State, the ruling class, and associated rightwing paramilitary groups and vigilante organizations did not underestimate the subversive influence of these spaces in their own time. Vigilante groups made attacks on IWW headquarters in Kansas City, Detroit, and Seattle in the spring of 1917, destroying records and office furniture (Dubofsky 2000, 219). IWW appeals to the federal government to defend its members' civil liberties fell on unsympathetic ears; the Department of Justice, in concert with local law enforcement agencies, prepared its own assault on the IWW and its spaces. On Sept 5, 1917, these authorities launched nationally synchronized raids on the Wobblies "in every city where the IWW had an office"-- some 20 cities in all-- and prosecuted 101 Wobbly leaders under provision of the new Espionage Act (Dubofsky 2002, 233, Haywood

1917, 205-207). The raids were aimed at crippling the organization, and vital organizational records were seized. Federal agents returned to ransack surviving IWW spaces in the 1920 Palmer Raids aimed at foreign militants. The IWW tried to put a brave face on the situation-- Wobbly organizer John Joseph Walsh testified during his scathing and colorful performance on the witness stand in Haywood's trial that "as soon as the Department of Justice began to raid our halls, the membership increased wonderfully!" (Walsh, p.9356). But the opposite was true. Vigilante attacks on IWW spaces continued into the 1920s. Among the most notorious such incidents were those in Centralia, Washington in 1918-1919, in which American Legionaries twice stormed IWW headquarters, and in San Pedro, California, in 1924, in which the KKK set upon the Wobbly hall during a fundraiser, assaulting families and wrecking the headquarters.



Figure 9 IWW Hall in New York City after the raid by federal agents, Nov. 15, 1919



Figure 10 KKK March in front of IWW Hall, San Pedro, CA 1924



Figure 11 San Pedro IWW Hall after KKK assault, 1924.

IWW Halls were not the only working class spaces to face repression by government and vigilante forces during this period. Socialist Party headquarters were raided, and Labor Lyceums in Brownsville, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Reading, PA were threatened, surveilled, and disrupted ("Maurer Afraid," 1919; "Police Halt," 1919; "Alleged New York Red," 1919). The Kansas City Labor Temple suffered a 1917 dynamite attack that injured one person ("Labor Temple Damaged," 1917).

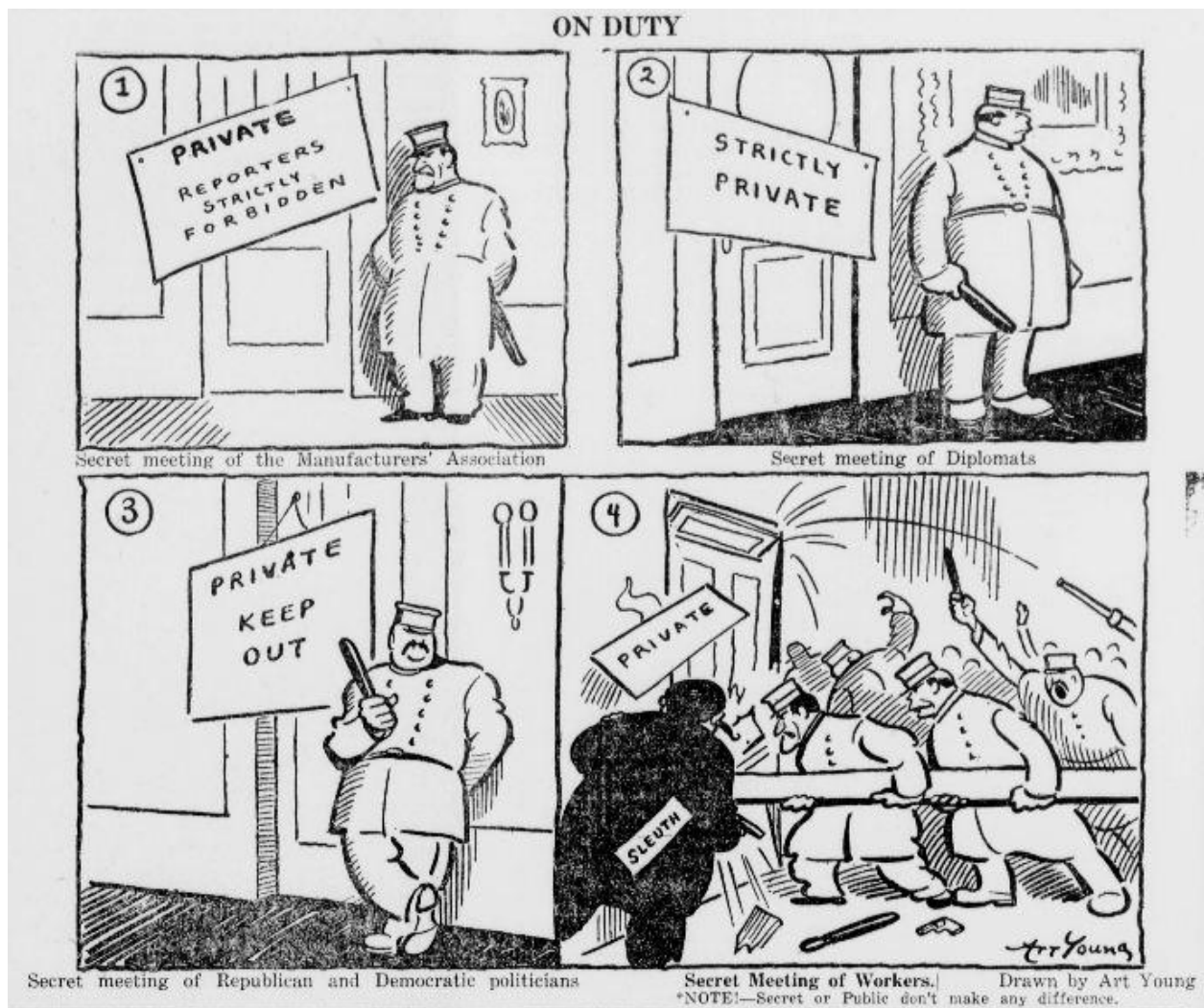


Figure 12 "On Duty" Cartoon. 1922.

This repression, and the growing isolation of radical working class spaces from the mainstream of the labor movement, made for a markedly different geography of interior labor spaces in the 1920s compared to what had existed before. It wouldn't be until the upsurge of organizing in the 1930s that spaces of mass organizing anchored in working class communities and committed to intervening in the process of class formation at Katznelson's third level, disposition, as well as at the fourth level, organization, would emerge. These spaces would draw on the legacy of the Labor Temples, Labor Lyceums, and union halls that came before them, and would build on it in important ways.

Chapter IV:

"The Center of the Worker's Life": Free Spaces and Union Halls in the Rise of the CIO

The history of the U.S. Labor movement is marked by a series of rapid upsurges alternating with periods of decline or stagnation (Cochran 1959, 16; Clawson 2003). The above descriptions of Labor Lyceums and Labor Temples indicate the way that working class movements at the turn of the last century devised and created interior spaces that both reflected and shaped the characteristics of the organizations that built them, in response to contemporary conditions of organizing. The labor temples built by AFL affiliates in cities across the country in the early 20th century served as a spatial infrastructure for the Federation's ascent. The unprecedented wave of working class militancy at the end of WWI enabled the AFL to increase by 2/3 in the four years from 1917-1920, reaching a membership of over 5,000,000. But unwilling to orient itself to the challenges of organizing the immigrant working class in the new mass industries, the AFL found itself isolated and unequal to the forces of reaction that employers brought to bear in the 1920s. Union membership entered a steep decline.

The industrial union upsurge of the 1930s would need to proceed along new spatio-organizational lines. Cochran (1959, 54) outlines salient differences between the craft union and industrial models of organizing:

The traditional craft union was built on the idea of creating a monopoly in a given trade, and that idea led to the exclusion of Negroes, of other minority groups, of newcomers in general. The labor supply had to be kept limited. The industrial union on the contrary had

to rest on solidarity, and hence was forced to battle from the first against all divisive prejudices based on craft, color, religion, or nationality.

Goldfield summarizes this perspective on the exigencies of solidarity in industrial organizing, which he attributes to Gutman as well as Spero and Harris, as follows: "industrial unionism requires the organization of inclusive, solidaristic unions when the industries are composed of low-skilled, racially and ethnically heterogeneous workforces" (1993, 2). The union halls and related spatial practices associated with the wave of industrial unionism in the 1930s would be rooted in such necessities. The success of the CIO would depend on inspiration, organizers, and in some cases even physical structures that were a legacy of earlier "inclusive, solidaristic" organizing efforts. It would also spring from economic, generational, cultural, and technological shifts in the terrain on which such organizing would be attempted.

Demographic and cultural shifts of the early decades of the 20th century opened up new possibilities for organizing along industrial lines. Olivier Zunz charts the new urban residential patterns that emerged in Detroit and, he proposes, other manufacturing cities in the Northeast and Midwest in the decades leading up to 1920, during which "previously socially mixed ethnic neighborhoods were fragmented into primarily working class ethnic communities" and "ethnic groups were divided along class lines in a way not known before". Multiclass ethnic enclaves were dissolved, and "race and class came to replace ethnicity in dividing and reshaping the mature industrial metropolis" (1982, 11, 327). Lizabeth Cohen (2008) documents cultural shifts that occurred alongside this spatial shift. In her study of Chicago, the failure of ethnic banks, stores, and charitable institutions in the Depression, combined with the melting pot effects of newly widespread mass cultural forms such as chain stores, radio broadcasts, and movie palaces, undermined workers' allegiances to conservative authorities in ethnic communities, preparing

workers to forge new identifications with the emerging industrial union movement and with the state apparatus of the New Deal. Roediger and Esch (2012) argue that this cross ethnic solidarity was in part founded on a newly inclusive cultural construction of whiteness that transcended national and ethnic divisions among workers of European descent. Cohen details the way CIO organizers endeavored to build a "culture of unity" to bind workers together in union struggles across ethnic and racial differences.

This effort to build a "culture of unity" was in important ways a spatial effort, and Cohen emphasizes, among other things, efforts by unions to "establish common grounds for all workers" (2008, 340). In this chapter, I examine some of the spatial resources and spatial strategies that went into the CIO effort to create a culture of unity on common ground, one that could overcome ethnic and racial divisions and contend with the "city trenches" (Katznelson 1981) dividing the workplace from the community. Deploying, and critiquing, the concept of "free spaces" proposed by Evans (1979) and developed by Polletta (1999), I note organizational, strategic, and infrastructural precursors to the CIO upsurge. Some of these confirm, and some trouble, Cohen's narrative of the dissolution and reconfiguration of ethnic bonds in the New Deal period. I go on to describe the local union halls of two CIO unions, Detroit's UAW Local 174 and New York City's Local 65, highlighting the importance of these spaces in the creation of a CIO "culture of unity" among the members of these locals.

Free Space

As Polletta (1999) notes, "free space" has been a popular and protean concept in studies of labor history, social movements and contentious politics. In an influential formulation, Evans and Boyte define the term:

Particular sorts of public places in the community, what we call free spaces, are the environments in which people are able to learn a new self-respect, a deeper and more assertive group identity, public skills, and values of cooperation and civic virtue. Put simply, free spaces are settings between private lives and large scale institutions where ordinary citizens can act with dignity, independence, and vision (1986, 17).

Examples of free spaces given by Evans and Boyte in working class movements in the US include "taverns, churches, reading rooms, clubs, and other groups" (1986, 193). Others have applied the term in other contexts to "block clubs, tenant associations, bars, union halls, student lounges and hangouts, families, women's consciousness-raising groups, and lesbian feminist communities" (Polletta 1999, 3).

As the above list suggests, the term "free space" carries considerable ambiguity-- here being used to describe physical buildings or rooms, and there to mark "subcultures, communities, institutions, organizations, and associations" (Polletta 1999, 5). This slippage between literal and metaphoric registers, between the absolute, the relative, and the relational, is indicative of a broader dilemma Smith and Katz identified as endemic to the uptake of geographical concepts in the spatial turn in the academy. In their view, spatial concepts were being adopted in an ingenuous fashion in social theory and the humanities in such a way as to muddy the "connectedness, the imbrication of material and metaphorical space" (1993, 80).

In an effort to more clearly articulate the free space concept, Polletta proposes its tripartite division. Instead of speaking broadly of free spaces, she argues, it is more useful to think in terms of three separate but related types of free space, three "associative structures" that she identifies as present in social movements across time, space, and culture: Transmovement

structures, Indigenous structures, and Prefigurative structures (1999, 8-12). These distinct structures, she argues, can be distinguished by the character of the social ties that constitute them and by the role they play in the mobilization of their constituents.

By Transmovement structures, she means "activist networks characterized by the reach of their ties geographically, organizationally, temporally" (1999, 9). The prime example she gives of Transmovement free space is the Highlander Folk School, which served as a reservoir of movement knowledge and contacts that temporally connected the CIO's failed Operation Dixie with the successes of the many Civil Rights movement organizers that trained there. Highlander also connected across space the various communities that these organizers represented.

Transmovement spaces, in network terms, are formed through extensive ties that span space and time. Indigenous spaces, for their part, are close knit, locally rooted community associations characterized by strong and dense ties that do not tend to extend across regions. Indigenous spaces of this kind are often insular and relatively isolated from dominant institutions and groups in power. When they are activated, often through contact with Transmovement groups, they can mobilize considerable community force. Polletta's examples of indigenous spaces include the Southern black church in the Civil Rights movement and the Turner Halls found in German immigrant communities in the US in the 19th century. Lastly, prefigurative spaces are alternative spaces that in some way prefigure the social relations that the movement aims for. Examples are "'autonomous zones of the European new social movements, the 'women's only spaces' of 1970s radical feminism [...] alternative food co-ops, health clinics, credit unions, and schools that flourished in the late 1960s and 1970s" (1999, 11). Symmetric, reciprocal ties characterize relationships in prefigurative spaces.

Polletta's elaboration of free space through application of network concepts is an illuminating one. It is consonant with Savage's application of network theory to the class formation process, in which he argues that ruling classes have historically been more adept at forging ties across communities to command space and wield political power, while the working class's strength has been in the dense, local ties of affinity and culture at the neighborhood level (1996, see also Harvey 1995). Polletta cautions against "conflation" of the three types of associational structures (1999, 13). However, in the following exploration of the roots of CIO's union halls, I will show that Polletta's categories can not always be applied so distinctly. CIO spaces and some of their important precursors shared qualities that spill across the categorical boundaries of free space that Polletta sets up. This hybridity was in important cases a source of strength. Based on these observations, I argue that rather than use Polletta's categories statically, as a means of classifying individual buildings or organizations, the categories can most fruitfully be viewed as types of free space *functions* which can be developed and combined in various ways and at various scales in efforts towards social mobilization and class formation.

Spatial roots of CIO Union Halls

The CIO drew on the resources of a variety of free spaces in its push to realize industrial unionism in the US in the 1930s. Among these were transmovement spaces such as local labor temples and educational institutions affiliated with leftwing political parties, and indigenous spaces such as ethnic halls and lodges. CIO organizers also drew inspiration and lessons from existing or remembered spaces of earlier worker organizations such as the IWW and militant unions in the AFL. To a significant extent in the early years of the CIO, left locals endeavored to

imbue their halls with properties of both indigenous and prefigurative spaces, forging ties along and across ethnic lines, and experimenting with the cooperative provisioning of goods and services along non-capitalist lines.

The CIO, as Mike Davis put it, "revived the unquenched fire lit by the Wobblies, and the Knights of Labor before them" (1986, 53). Emerging at a time when "few unions had developed educational or recreational programs" (Denning 1997, 67-68), the organizing efforts of the early CIO represented in important ways a return to the vision of the earlier union formations Davis cites. This is apparent in their challenge to conventional craft-based organizing models, in their efforts to enroll workers across lines of race, nationality, gender, and skill level, and in the goal of sweeping social and political change that motivated many of their key organizers. Aspects of this lineage can be traced through the life histories of individual CIO organizers who would have had experience in IWW halls. As Bernstein described the IWW influence in the interwar period, "they left behind neither permanent organization nor collective bargaining agreements. But they did bequeath a tradition of militant and radical industrial unionism" (2010, 122). CIO publicist Len DeCaux concurs in his assessment of 1930s industrial unionism: "when the CIO lefts let down their hair, it seemed that only the youngest had no background of Wobbly associations" (Lynd 1996, 4). Whatever the path of the influence, the CIO local union halls described below echoed IWW and pre-AFL labor movement spaces in the range of recreational, cultural, and educational programs they offered in their halls. By the mid-1930s the IWW as an organization was only a pale shadow of the former self that had stuck fear into ruling class hearts and inspired law enforcement and vigilante violence aimed at destroying its spaces. But militants who cut their teeth in IWW campaigns in the 1910s went on to become stalwarts of the CIO, carrying

with them the moral commitments and the strategic lessons developed in the IWW halls and hobo jungles that had grounded the earlier struggles.

More centrally and directly located in the lineage of the CIO approach to its union halls are the main ex-AFL unions that founded it, particularly United Mine Workers and the NYC-based garment unions. Other influences can be traced to left organizations which provided training and key organizers crucial to the CIO drives: the Communist Party, A.J. Muste's Workers Party, and the left wing of the Socialist Party (Goldfield 1993, 5; Zieger 1995, 83). The CP-affiliated International Workers Order (IWO) and other ethnically oriented fraternal lodges were also vital wellsprings for the CIO (Keeran 1989; Walker 1991 Ch.4; Denning 1997, 20). These sources, aside from setting the tone for the CIO's anti-racist and multicultural commitments, provided models for the spatial strategies deployed by CIO locals in creating and programming their union halls. The experience of the community-based "alternative unionism" of the 1930s described by Lynd et. al. (1996) is another element that shaped the CIO upsurge and its spatial strategies, though the nature and significance of this influence is subject to debate (Zieger et. al 1997).

The garment industry unions that played a vital role in the creation of the CIO (Fraser 1991; Zieger 1995) had in the early decades of the 20th century developed innovative and comprehensive strategies for creating and programming interior spaces in order to develop class consciousness and solidarity among their multi-ethnic mostly immigrant membership in cities such as New York and Philadelphia (Vural 1994; Fones-Wolf 1985). As 'hybrid organizations' that combined features of craft and industrial unions (Faue 1996, 190-191), the garment trades pioneered spatial strategies and methods of organizing in the 1910s and 1920s that would become more widespread in the upsurge of industrial unionism of the 1930s. Viewed in terms of

Polletta's free space categories, these unions can be seen as combining both Transmovement and Prefigurative functions: Transmovement in their ability to make links across cities in space, and to transmit organizing strategies across time to the new CIO unions, and Prefigurative in their efforts to carve out space for women, and to develop alternative institutions for the provision of goods and services such as education, housing, and healthcare.

In her study of the garment unions in New York City, Vural examines the "community orientation" of the ILGWU and the ACWA, with particular attention to the consciously spatial strategies these unions used to draw on gender and ethnic identities in developing class-based solidarities. The ILGWU emerged from New York City's socialist-influenced immigrant milieu, and was founded in the Labor Lyceum on the Lower East Side in 1900 (Vural 1994, 74-75). The ILGWU's approach to its interior spaces followed in many ways in the footsteps of the Lyceum movement.

The ILGWU's education department, founded in 1916 by Fannia Cohn, a Russian Jewish immigrant with a Socialist background, did pioneering work in the field of labor education until 1934 when Cohn was demoted by David Dubinsky. The department sponsored "instruction in economic geography, music appreciation, literary criticism, political theory, health care, dancing and exercise in neighborhoods throughout New York City. In 1917, the ILGWU opened the first two of what would become eight "Unity Centers" located in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn. Vural describes the activities of these centers: "each evening there were up to 20 shop meetings, lectures, concerts, physical education classes and dances. Union members also could enjoy the cooperatively-run cafes or meet with the nurse if they had a medical problem". In 1922-23, at the peak of the Unity Center activity, over 125,000 garment workers participated in union sponsored educational programs (Vural 1994, 159-60). In addition, the ILGWU's

Educational Department created a "Workers' University," and its Extension Division arranged lectures at local union meetings, and organized social and recreational events such as concerts, dances, hikes, and outings to theater performances and museums (Vural 1994, 165). Cohn was also influential nationally in the labor education movement, as a founder of Brookwood Labor College and of the Workers Education Bureau of America, both of which would provide training to many leading figures in the generation of organizers that built the CIO.

In the 1910s and 1920s the ILGWU, and to a greater extent the ACWA, pursued organizing strategies that drew on the various ethnic identities of the workers in their industries, "hiring ethnic organizers, printing their publications in several languages and establishing locals on the basis of ethnicity rather than trade, gender, or location, when necessary," and appealing to workers through lodge-based ethnic organizations such as the Sons of Italy. In these efforts, the garment unions aimed for a "delicate balance between recognizing ethnic differences and nurturing a class solidarity that transcended these differences" (Vural 1994, 120, 125-6). In its 1927 construction of the Amalgamated Houses, the ACWA hazarded an ambitious spatial challenge to the division Katznelson has identified as the "city trenches" separating workplace identity from home/community identity. The union created workers' housing as a class-based alternative to the tenements occupied by many of its members (Vural 1994, Ch. 5; Freeman 2000, 110). All of these initiatives, in Vural's view, were part of a "community orientation" through which the garment unions "encouraged workers to construct a class identity in which they connected their workplace and community-based experiences[...], blending class consciousness with gender and ethnic identity" (Vural 1994, ii). Garment unions in Philadelphia in the early 1930s organized in a similar fashion, developing sports facilities, educational programming, and social events, sometimes at the city's extant Labor Lyceums (Fones-Wolf,

1985). Faue details similar activities conducted by the ILGWU in Minneapolis in the 1930s, where a teacher in the union's labor school remarked "The union is more than just an organization to protect your job and working conditions. Your union provides an educational and recreational life" (1996, 178-179). Philadelphia's Hosiery Workers union sponsored the 1935 construction of the Carl Mackley Homes, designed by the left-wing German architect Oscar Stonorov, who would go on to draft plans for UAW facilities in close collaboration with Walter Reuther (Radford 2008, Ch. 5; Lichtenstein 1995). Fones-Wolf argues that many of these practices borrowed from the welfare capitalist programs implemented by business owners in the 1920s (1985, 14). But a longer historical view reveals precursors to these union practices in the Labor Lyceum movement developed by immigrant socialists around the turn of the century, where athletic activities, social events, worker education, and mutual aid fraternal benefit societies took hold among the immigrant working class well before the welfare capitalist turn of the 1920s. The garment workers unions thus represented a Transmovement link between the spatial practices of the immigrant working class movements of the early 20th century and those of the early years of the CIO.

The International Workers Order (IWO) was another institution that figured heavily in the spatial practices of the early CIO. The IWO was a multi-ethnic fraternal order that emerged out of the left wing of a factional split in the Workmen's Circle (WC), a Jewish mutual aid society that was founded in 1892 on New York's Lower East Side and began selling insurance policies in 1905. In 1930, after years of thwarted attempts to gain control of the WC, some 200 branches of the organization's left wing, representing 54 cities and 19 states, decamped to found the IWO (Walker 1991, 1, 9). The IWO's chief officers were open Communist Party members through the 1930s, and its founding documents proclaim a mission of providing sick, disability,

and death benefits, a proto-multicultural doctrine of unity across racial lines, and a commitment to "support labor's economic and social efforts" (Walker 1991, 13-14). The IWO grew from its Jewish origins to eventually encompass "15 semi-autonomous national groups," some of them already existing fraternal orders that joined the IWO en masse, and others organized from the ground up (Walker 1991, ix). In a period in which, as Cohen (2008) has argued, traditional ethnic ties were being attenuated by the growth of mass culture and by the failure of ethnic community institutions under the economic duress of the Depression, the IWO grew by leaps and bounds. In its first decade it was the fastest growing fraternal benefit society in the country. Numbering 5,000 at its founding in 1930, by 1934 the IWO had 62,000 members, and at its peak in 1947 it boasted 185,000 enrolled in one of over 1,000 lodges (Keeran 1989, 386; Walker 1994, 17). By some estimates, over a million people joined the Order at some point before it was liquidated in red scare-influenced court proceedings in 1954 (Walker 1991, 114).

Beyond its numbers, the IWO was notable for its influence in broader social and political formations. In his exploration of the cultural dimensions of the Popular Front, Denning cites the IWO as vital to the Popular Front's "infrastructure," particularly in Eastern European communities in mining and metalworking cities and towns, and central nationally to the "world of working class education, recreation, and entertainment" that made up the "cultural front". The IWO was a key site in the Popular Front effort to merge cultural nationalism with class politics, and develop ideologies of "ethnic Americanism" and radical "cultural pluralism" (Denning 1997, 9, 20, 67, 74-77).

Moreover, the IWO provided crucial space, both absolute and relational, for the emergence of the CIO in cities such as Pittsburgh, Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, and New York, each of which were home to more than 1000 IWO members (Keeran 1989, 388, 400). This

support for the fledgling CIO was most notable in the SWOC efforts to organize the steel industry (Keeran 1989, 387-400). In places like Pittsburgh, where, as leading local IWO figure and Communist Party District Organizer Bill Gebert put it, "practically every steel worker" in the heavily immigrant workforce "[was] a member of some sort of fraternal social organization," the IWO provided a crucial source of community support for the CIO. Many organizers were drawn from its ranks, and it provided crucial entry points into dense local ethnic networks through which broad swathes of steelworkers could be activated. In absolute terms, the IWO provided its lodge halls as meeting places that were embedded in the community and sheltered to the extent possible from company surveillance. The IWO also mustered support for the SWOC drives well beyond its numbers, convening a Fraternal Orders Committee that held conferences in support of the CIO with the participation of a range of fraternal organizations outside the IWO's ambit, including the Elks and the YMCA (Keeran 1991, 390-1).

The IWO was active in the SWOC drives outside the Monongahela valley as well, notably in Chicago, in both the U.S. Steel drive, and the Little Steel drive, in which IWO member Joseph Rothmund was among the 10 strikers and supporters murdered by police in the 1937 Memorial Day massacre. The IWO also played an important role in Chicago's packinghouse organizing; Stella Nowicki, a PWOC founder, recalls that the Committee to organize the stockyards was set up "on Communist Party initiative and we worked through contacts in the IWO" (Keeran 1991, 401). The IWO's rapid growth in the 1930s and its prominent place in Chicago's CIO drives are absent from Cohen's (2008) otherwise comprehensive narrative of the emergence of the CIO and the New Deal in that city. The IWO's strength seems to complicate Cohen's broad narrative of attenuating ethnic ties in the 1930s. To the extent that the anti-capitalist convictions of the IWO's leadership were shared by its

members, the organization's successes run counter to her view of "moral capitalism" as the ideological North Star of Chicago's industrial working class in the period. The IWO played an important part in CIO campaigns in many other cities, including in the genesis of the UAW in Detroit, as well as in various industries in New York City, where its membership was most highly concentrated. Of this, more below.

The participation of the IWO and other fraternal orders in CIO organizing drives helped give them a striking community character. Keeran describes the SWOC effort of 1936:

The steel campaign had assumed the character of a class struggle to a degree unsurpassed by most earlier labor struggles, including the 1919 strike. The campaign involved not just the recruitment of steel workers but the mobilization of the entire working class in the steel communities-- the steel workers' friends and families, mine workers, and fraternal organizations. The struggle involved not just the economic interests of the workers, but also the economic, political, and moral interests of the community. Reaching the larger community and explaining how the steel workers' fight was also its fight was one of the important contributions of [...] the IWO and the Fraternal Orders Committee [...] as [IWO official Bill] Gebert said at the outset: "The steel drive should take on the character of a community support in behalf of the drive." Through the nationality newspapers, picnics, lodge meetings, rallies, and conferences, the IWO and the Fraternal Orders Committee succeeded in doing just that (1989, 396).

In summing up the IWO's importance to the early CIO, Keeran argues that it "played a key part in turning union organizing campaigns into community-wide and class-wide struggles" (1989, 407).

As this brief sketch of the IWO illustrates, the organization combined the functions of both Transmovement and Indigenous free spaces, which was a considerable source of strength. At the lodge level, the IWO embodied the close, strong ties of Indigenous "associative structures," in dense community networks along ethnic lines. As Polletta indicates, Indigenous spaces can be a powerful source of movement leaders capable of mobilizing local constituencies. The Order's national scale organization, ties to a variety of radical groups not least the CP, and its deep historical roots in the Workmen's Circle enabled it to function as a Transmovement free space as well. Polletta argues that a key strength of Transmovement spaces is their ability to identify political opportunities that may not be apparent from locally embedded perspectives (Polletta 1999, 9-11).

The community character of the steel campaign mentioned above is similar to that of many of the "alternative" union efforts that sprang up in various industrial settings in the early 1930s, such as among nutpickers in St. Louis, Hormel workers in Austin, Minnesota, match factory workers in Barberton, Ohio, and textile workers in Woonsocket, Rhode Island. These bottom-up union movements in several cases spread across industrial lines locally, and, in the case of Minnesota's Industrial Union of All Workers (IUAW), regionally (Rachleff 1996; Gerstle 2002, Ch. 4). Bucki identifies the central common characteristics of this "solidarity unionism" or "community unionism" as consisting in "a strong blend of rank-and-file democracy and a wide community base" (1997, 181). Faue cites Mary Heaton Vorse's contemporary description of a new unionism that "did not stop at the formal lodge meeting. It [saw] the union as a way of life which [involved] the entire community" (1996, 172). In St. Louis, and in Barberton, working class infrastructure that remained from earlier periods, in the form of the Labor Lyceum, and Labor Temple, respectively, served vital organizing functions. In Barberton, the Labor Temple

was at the center of the Central Labor Union's efforts to develop a "culture of solidarity" through social activities, including those at a bar and grill it opened on the premises (Feurer 1996, 37; Borsos 1996, 244). In Minnesota, the IUAW "built a rich, active culture for its members and their families". Their union hall in Austin was the site of "classes in public speaking, parliamentary law, labor history, economics, and current events". Band, chorus, and drama groups, as well as radical library and active Ladies Auxiliary operated out of the hall. The IUAW's hall in nearby Albert Lea was destroyed by local police during a 1935 strike (Rachleff 1996, 57-58, 64).

Scholars exploring the legacy of this alternative unionism have used it to advance critiques, implicit or explicit, of the top-down "workplace contractualism" that came to characterize the CIO in later years (Lynd, ed. 1996). Some argue that the CIO was designed from the outset to harness the dissident energies of the early 1930s, and co-opt the threat of alternative unionism. As Davis puts it, "[the CIO was] *created for the purpose of capturing an already existing mass movement[...]*with dangerous embryonic proclivities toward an anti-Gompersian model of 'class struggle unionism'" (1986, 56, emphasis in original; Lynd 1996, 7-8). Others, thinking in a less conspiratorial mode, along lines of Michels' (1915) 'iron law of oligarchy,' view the bureaucratic development of the CIO as the near-inevitable outcome of a purportedly natural human desire for leadership and stability (Edsforth 1997, 179).

Whatever the explanation for the dynamics of the CIO's shift away from community unionism, it did not happen overnight; as Lynd argues, "the spirit of alternative unionism often carried over into the strongest *local* unions of the emerging CIO" (1996, 5, emphasis in original). In Faue's view of the CIO, a "community-based, grass-roots labor militancy prevailed through 1937," but "by the late 1930s the base of the labor movement had shifted from the community to

the workplace" (1996, 173). Examples of CIO locals in core industries that started out with a strong community orientation include SWOC Local 1010 in Northern Indiana, UE Local 601 in Pittsburgh, and UAW Locals 156 and 174-- in Flint and Detroit, respectively (Lynd 1997, 185-186). Michael Denning sums up the Popular Front activity in "Industrial cities of the Northeast and Midwest" as "largely a community based unionism uniting CIO locals, ethnic fraternal organizations, and women's consumer activism" (1998, 19).

In the remainder of this chapter, I examine one of these community-oriented mass-industrial local CIO unions, UAW 174, as well as another local outside the industrial citadels that the CIO is commonly associated with: New York City's Local 65. I explore the uptake by each of the spatial repertoire of working class formation inherited from sources such as the IWW, the socialist Labor Lyceums, the IWO, the garment unions, the workers education movement, and "alternative unionism" in creating and shaping their local halls. In the sections that follow, I examine the ways that the leaders of these two unions took divergent organizational paths. These paths, rooted in scalar necessities and sectoral particularities, shaped, and were shaped by, the buildings and interior spaces the unions created.

I chose Locals 174 and 65 in part for their similarities, and in part for their differences. The chief criterion I applied in searching for historical cases was that I wanted to explore unions that were pushing the limits of what the interior spaces of a union could do. I chose these unions not because their halls represented ideal types of the era, but because the union leaders who created them had uncommonly ambitious spatial imaginaries-- they envisioned ways that union halls could do more than they usually did. The founders of these locals had radical ideas about broad social change, and at least in their early years were affiliated with or influenced by Communist and Socialist organizations. They explored the possibilities of the union hall in the

context of these radical visions, and were cognizant of the kind of class formation that the fruition of such visions would require. They imagined the multi-ethnic membership of their unions changed in their consciousness, solidarities, and identities, through encounter, common struggle, education, cooperation, and social life rooted in the union hall.

There are also salient differences between the two unions. Not least of these are the differences in the cities and industries they organized in. Lipsitz (1994), drawing on O'Connor (1973) describes a central distinction in the mid-20th century American economy between the *competitive* and *monopolistic* sectors. The competitive sector, on the one hand, encompasses those fields that require relatively little capital to enter and thus tend to be overcrowded, which cater to local or regional markets, and which rely on hiring more workers in order to increase production. Historically characterized by low wages, low productivity, and a limited investment in machinery, these firms traditionally pursue anti-union policies, risking shutdowns of plants and machinery as a way of limiting their all-important labor costs.

The monopolistic sector, on the other hand, includes

enterprises in fields that require large amounts of capital to enter, that rely mainly on machinery to increase production, and that cater to national or international markets. [...F]earful of unused capacity, dependent on steady and predictable output, and concerned with long-term security for their investments, these companies generally recognize unions, pay higher wages, and support vigorous government action to bring stability (Lipsitz 1994, 160-161).

Local 174 organized auto workers at the industrial core of Detroit and of the Fordist economy as a whole. 174's membership was employed on the city's West Side primarily in large and mid-sized auto parts shops as well as in auto manufacturers such as Cadillac. The industry was highly capitalized, with considerable vertical integration. It was the driving force, so to speak, of the monopolistic sector of the mid-century economy. 174's shops employed hundreds or thousands of workers. As of 1939, the local's roughly 30,000 members were employed in only 30 plants, for an average shop size of 1000 ("West Side Local- Active Shop Stewards," 1939). The union's largest shop, Ternstedt, employed more than 12,000 (Lichtenstein 1995, 55).

65's members, on the other hand, were employed in a variety of marginal jobs in small shops (in many cases, numbering only a handful of workers) in dry goods, wholesale, distribution, and light manufacturing in New York City. In 1941, the average size of the more than 1000 shops in 65 was only 14 workers. Shops in its warehouse division averaged 10 employees, and its processing shops 42 ("Annual Organization Report", 1942, 27). These enterprises were situated squarely in the competitive sector. As Freeman recounts, New York was "a non-Fordist city in the age of Ford" (2000, Ch. 1). The city's economy was highly diversified, characterized by relatively small shops and low levels of capitalization.

While the two locals analyzed in this chapter were comparable in size, Local 174 was embedded in an international that grew to be a million members. 65 adopted and severed various affiliations in the course of the rise of the CIO and the ensuing Red Scare (see Phillips 2013, 187-8 for a useful chronology), but the local (later "district") always remained a predominant force within its broader organizational frame, which at times included unions in widely different industries.

65, especially as the union began to expand beyond its origins in New York's Lower East Side in the early 1940s, was markedly more diverse racially than 174. At the birth of the CIO, only 4% of auto workers were black, many of them employed by Henry Ford, who distinguished himself from his competitors by his willingness to employ blacks, albeit largely in dirty and dangerous foundry work. Both locals included many women among their ranks; 174 had an unusually high percentage of women for its industry-- some 40% in its early years, compared to 6.5% in auto production as a whole (Lichtenstein 1995, 97; Zieger 1995, 86). In 1943, women constituted 60% of Local 65's members ("1943 Composition" unpaginated, 1943).

Related differences between the two unions can be seen in terms of Erik Olin Wright's (2000, 962) distinction between *associational power* and *structural power*. Associational power, in Wright's framework, is made up of the "various forms of power that result from the formation of collective organizations of workers", such as unions and political parties. Structural power is the influence that a given group of workers has according to their location in the economy. There are two types of structural power: *marketplace bargaining power*, which comes from tight labor markets, and *workplace bargaining power*, which grows from "the strategic location of a particular group of workers within a key industrial sector" (see Silver 2003, 13-16, 170-173 for an insightful application of these concepts). Key differences in the industrial location of the two locals in this study are apparent in their relative levels of workplace bargaining power: 174, organized in key sites in the highly integrated leading sector of the Fordist economy, had considerable workplace bargaining power, while 65's location in marginal industries gave it little workplace bargaining power. As Silver notes, labor organizing in sectors with low workplace bargaining power must compensate by developing associational power. As the rest of this chapter relates, the two unions exhibited considerable similarities at the outset in the spatial

practices rooted in their union halls. Wright's distinctions are illuminating in accounting for the differences that would later emerge between the spatial strategies of the UAW and those of 65.

UAW Local 174: 'a perfect set up for a community center'

"There was a time in our union when the union hall [...] was the center of the worker's life. It was where he talks to his fellow worker about his common problems, it was his social life because he couldn't afford to do anything else." - Walter Reuther (1970a, 5)

The union hall that Local 174 set up within a few months of its initial organizing successes was influenced by an array of spatial precursors, notably the city's ethnic lodge halls and the spaces of socialist worker education such as Brookwood Labor College. The hall's location, programming, and design can be viewed as central to a nuanced spatial effort by the union's leadership to intervene ambitiously in the class formation process at various scales and across Katznelson's levels, drawing on Transmovement, Indigenous, and, to a lesser extent, Prefigurative free space functions.

The early years of Local 174 were characterized by a strong community orientation. The Socialist and Communist organizers of the local relied heavily on ethnic networks, particularly the IWO in the Polish community, to develop a union presence among workers in the auto parts factories on Detroit's West Side. Once the union had achieved substantial organizing victories, it moved quickly in the early months of 1937 to establish a union hall, the first UAW local hall in the city. Drawing on their experiences with the ethnic halls of the IWO and the workers education facilities at Brookwood Labor College and elsewhere, Walter Reuther and other leaders of Local 174 endeavored to shape the hall as a vital community center that could develop

solidarity and class consciousness among its members, and serve as a base of support for further organizing in the Detroit area, both in and out of the auto industry, as well as for the union's political activities. As Lichtenstein (1995, 97) describes 174, "in its early years the West side local was as much a community organization as a collective bargaining institution [...] collective bargaining and political mobilization were organically and fruitfully linked".

Making inroads among the 40,000 Polish autoworkers in Detroit was a sine qua non of the UAW's success in the city (Lichtenstein 1995, 62). Responsibility for this task fell on the shoulders of Stanley Nowak, a second generation Polish Communist "long associated with the IWO" (Keeran 1989, 404; Meyerowitz 1985, 245). Polish fraternal groups provided the fledgling local 174 with space for meetings in its halls. As Nowak recalls, "The ethnic groups were the place where the first union meetings were held. The UAW in 1936-37 could not rent a hall anywhere outside of these halls. Why? Because it was considered to be communist. And they had no money. They had no halls of their own like they do now". The IWO had significant strength in Detroit, with 50 lodges numbering 1000 members (Keeran 1989, 406). In Detroit, as elsewhere, IWO members worked through the IWO as well as through mainstream fraternal organizations to support CIO organizing (Buhle 1978, 99).

Influencing the stance of the Detroit's Polish community (the city's largest ethnic group), beyond the ranks of the IWO membership, to look with favor on the nascent industrial union movement in the auto industry was a challenging undertaking. Nowak, at the behest of famed Polish CIO orator Leo Kryzycki, was hired by the UAW in July 1936 to begin a comprehensive community campaign. The campaign relied on speeches at Polish fraternal lodge meetings, a bi-weekly radio program, Polish language literature, street corner soap-boxing, overtures to Polish

businessman, professionals, and clergy (which met with mixed success), as well as exposure in the Polish press (Nowak n.d., 152-157; Lichtenstein 1995, 62).

At the end of that year, Nowak was assigned to concentrate his efforts on the city's West Side (Nowak, n.d., 178). His community outreach efforts along ethnic lines gave rise to neighborhood-based workplace organizing that emerged in patterns that spilled outside Local 174's industrial jurisdiction. Polish women working in the city's cigar shops, for example, insisted on Nowak's leadership in their strike activity (Nowak n.d., 194). The depth of the UAW's support in Polish communities was indicated by the pitched battle that ensued when police attempted to escort strikebreakers into the West Side's Federal Screw works. A hail of brickbats, household objects, and boiling water rained down on the strikebreakers from windows and roofs in the neighborhood, complementing the fisticuffs offered to the scabs by the UAW members and supporters who had gathered from around the city to defend the plant's gates. 174 Leadership deferred to Nowak's influence in the community in permitting him to take the reins of the tactical preparations in the neighborhood (Nowak n.d. 220-224; Lichtenstein 1995, 98-102). The strike was settled with union recognition the day after the battle.

Nowak's influence in the Polish community proved vital during the effort to organize Ternstedt in 1937. Ternstedt, a GM small parts supplier, was the largest plant complex on the West Side. It employed 12,000-16,000 workers, of whom half were women, and a large portion Polish or Hungarian. The drive, organized out of the Slovene Hall, culminated in April 1937 with the success of an innovative "slow-down" strike, which enabled women workers to take part without the disruption of domestic responsibilities that a sit-down strike would have entailed (Nowak n.d., 202; Lichtenstein 1995, 108; Meyerowitz 1985, 235-236, 250).



Figure 13 174 Headquarters at 2730 Maybury Grand, 1944. (Local's sound truck in the foreground.)

On the strength of this victory and a flurry of others on the West Side, Local 174 was proud to be the first UAW local to secure its own building early in 1937. UAW organizer and Socialist Party member George Edwards described the facility: "an old three story Odd Fellows Hall with 2 bowling alleys-- 5 billiard tables-- a dining hall-- a big hall with stage, two smaller halls-- a big kitchen and office space-- a perfect setup for a community center for the auto workers" (Edwards 1937). The hall was a central element in the Reuther-led local's efforts to organize the West Side on a community basis. Influenced by the union's incubation in the city's ethnic halls as well as by the Reuther Brothers' experiences with labor education at Brookwood

College, the hall served a variety of organizational, educational, recreational, and social functions. As the union grew, the hall was the center of a dizzying weekly cycle of meetings of representatives of various plants and committees (Lichtenstein 1995, 91-92). The hall was the base for the local's forays into electoral politics, as well as for its efforts to organize the unemployed through its Welfare Committee (Lorence 1996, 139-144). It would serve as the headquarters for the UAW's prolonged siege of Ford's massive River Rouge plant, located just west of the city line in nearby Dearborn. The local's public relations specialist Carl Haessler remembered the hall as a "union fortress" well chosen for its defensibility in case of attack (1959, 63). The building at 2730 Maybury Grand, with its imposing and ornamented brick and stone facade, hearkened in its stately appearance back to the Labor Temples of the early years of the century. But the array of educational and cultural programming the union built in to the hall's routine distinguished it from its craft union precursors.

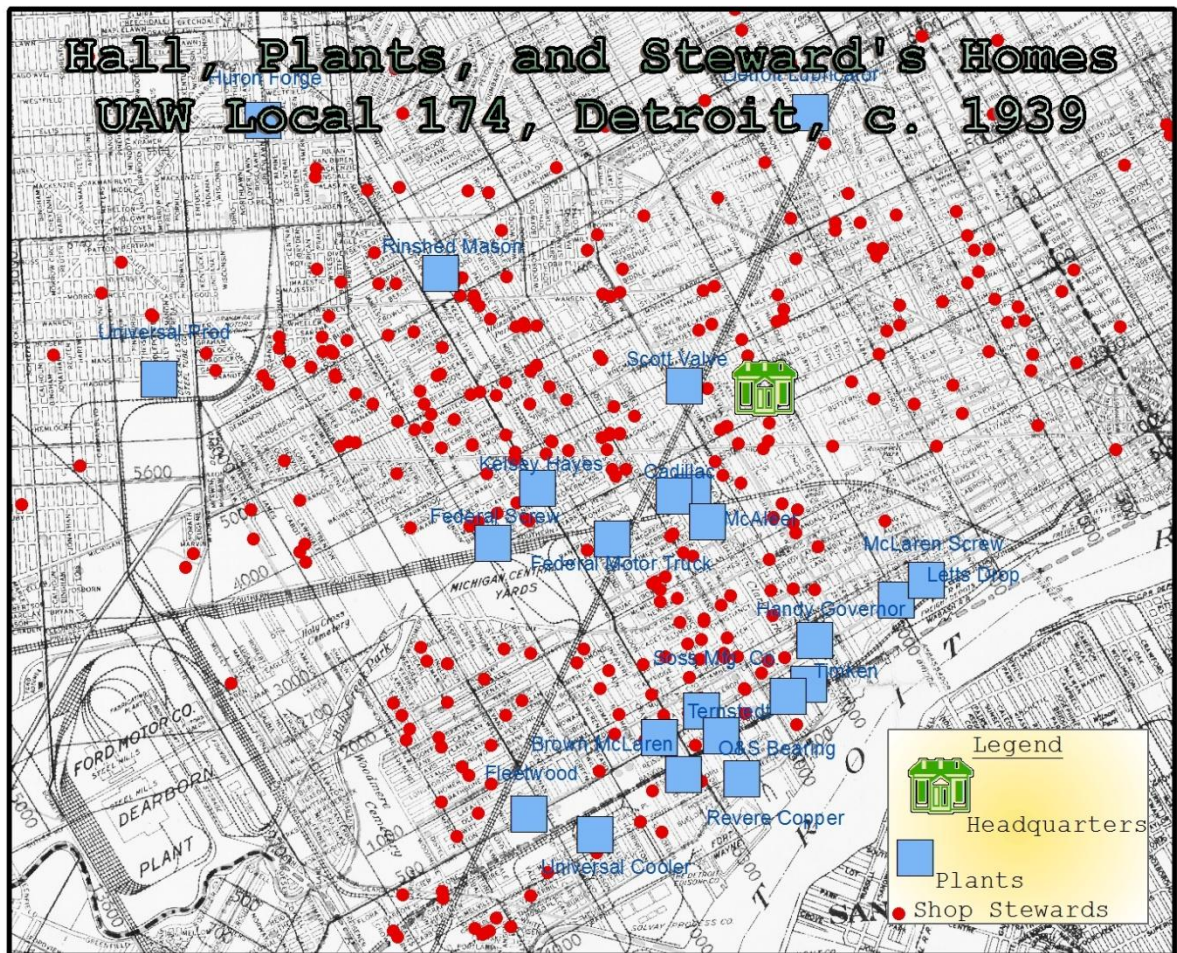


Figure 14 Map of 174 shop stewards from data in "Stewards Lists," c. 1939

As the map in the above figure shows, the hall was centrally located among the plants and workers residential communities of the West Side, and it was accessible to public transportation, making it easily embedded in members' spatial routines. The union used this location in relative space to its advantage in creating programming that could structure workers' co-presence to build solidarity and enhance class consciousness (see Sewell, Jr. 2001 for a discussion of spatial routine and copresence as key concepts for the spatial study of contentious

politics). In this relative sense, the hall was the central node in a spatial network developed by the union that extended to other formal and informal meeting places associated with particular plants, and to sites of union organized recreation such as bowling alleys, softball fields, picnic areas, and dancehalls.

To reconstruct the qualities of 174's hall as a relational space is more difficult, as this spatial register is subjective, internal, and symbolic. Traces of the images that the union selected to fill the hall remain. The touchstone of the imagery of the hall was the WPA mural "Ford Riot" painted by Walter Speck for the local in 1937. The painting was executed at the building's focal point, on the wall behind the stage of the building's main auditorium. Centered in the foreground of the mural are the larger than life figures of a male worker holding a hammer standing shoulder to shoulder with a female worker holding a CIO flag. Against the backdrop of the Ford River Rouge Plant, a tableaux of union activities unfolds in the middle ground of the image: on the right, a multiracial and mixed gender group of autoworkers loom over a manager at his desk, presenting him with a piece of paper, presumably a contract. In the center, groups of pickets mass on the street, and at the left of the frame, the action and aftermath of the May 1937 "Battle of the Overpass" (in which Walter Reuther and other UAW organizers were brutalized by Ford servicemen while leafleting outside the Rouge plant) unfold. The mural, a silent but powerful presence in local meetings at the hall until the local moved to new headquarters in the 1950s, emphasizes solidarity, mass action, class violence, and pride. Like the painting displayed prominently in the offices of the San Francisco Building Trades Council (see Ch. 3), this composition is centered on the joining of hands, with a smokestack filled urban skyline in the background. The joining of hands, that fundamental gesture of solidarity at the body scale, is by now a symbolic cliché gracing countless union and non-profit logos. But there are handshakes,

and there are handshakes. In the painting in the SFBTC hall described in Chapter 3, the worker and the industrialist stand facing each other, shaking right hands in a gesture of partnership and exchange. In Speck's mural for 174, the hands are not clasped across lines of class. The two workers at the center of the image join opposite hands, right to left, standing shoulder to shoulder across gender lines. The CIO banner above indicates working class alliance across industrial divisions.



Figure 15 "Ford Riot" Mural by Walter Speck (1937).



Figure 16 Local 174 Joint Council in Session (c. 1952).

Elsewhere within the hall, bulletin boards carried notices of social and political events, as well as CIO posters, situating the hall within the relational spaces of local working class culture and politics, as well as of national industrial organizing. In the image of the hall's interior below, a CIO poster exhorts "Build Industrial Union[s]" above an image of giant-scaled workers joining hands across factory buildings.

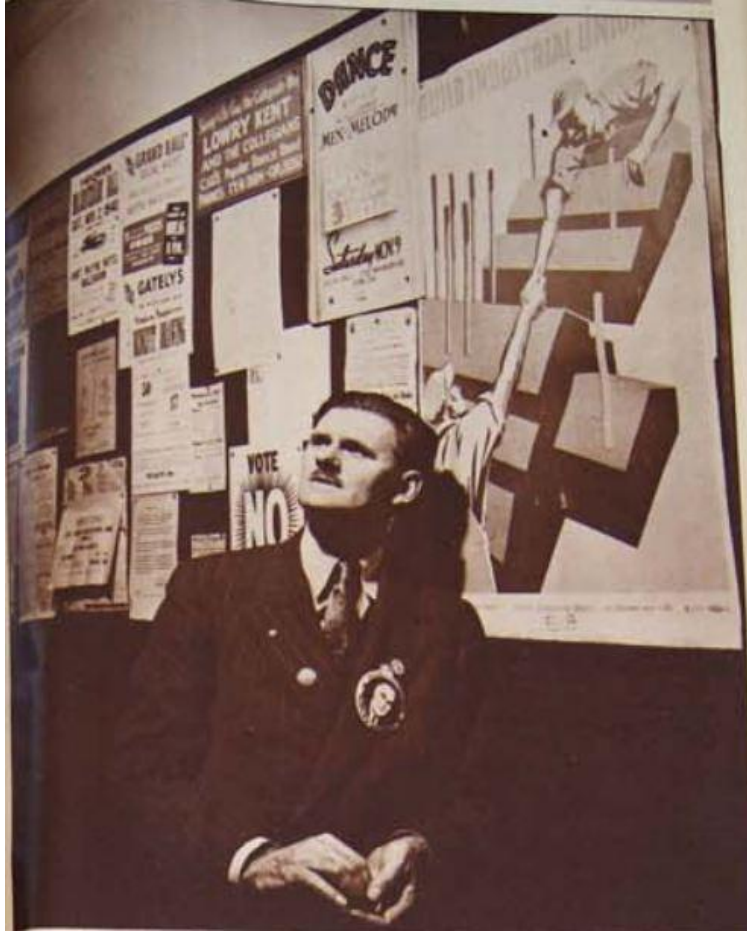


Figure 17 UAW Local 174 Financial Secretary Jack Fuller in the local hall (1940).

The hall was by definition a node in the union's efforts to form Detroit's working class at Katznelson's level four, collective action. It was the site of the many weekly and monthly meetings coordinating the union's activities at the shop and district levels. In these functions it was similar to its AFL precursors. It was the hall's use at Katznelson's level 3, dispositions of formed groups, that set it apart from the craft union spaces that preceded it, and placed it in a lineage that reached back to earlier union spaces that had made ambitious interventions at this level of class formation. Writing to his father in early 1937 with news that the local had just closed negotiations securing the union hall, George Edwards Jr., one of local 174's core Socialist Party affiliated organizers, expressed the local's leaders' aims to "consolidate our [organizing]

gains, and to educate our men in union solidarity and eventually socialism" (Edwards 1937). In his distinction between union solidarity and socialism, Edwards indicates that the class formation project envisioned by 174's leaders at the outset included, and exceeded, the project of building a "culture of unity" based on workers' "common ground" that Lizabeth Cohen identifies as the hallmark that distinguished the modes of early CIO organizing from craft organizing modes of the AFL (2008, 324, 333). Edwards' ambitions to educate auto workers in socialism links this project to the broader "cultural front" of the 1930s explored by Michael Denning, in which an array of working class forces rooted their challenge to capitalist hegemony in unionism, anti-fascism, and anti-racism (1998, 4).

The anti-capitalist character of the 174's class formation project, such as it was, would fade in short order. But the union's efforts to build a culture of unity, at Katznelson's third level of class formation, marked a significant departure from the spatial practices of the AFL. These efforts would be carried out in large part through the hall at 2730 Maybury Grand. They included educational projects such as classes and lectures and the creation of a library, as well as recreational activities such as dances, dinners, athletics, and other social gatherings that were designed in many cases to engage members' families. Through these activities and other, such as the union's involvement in local political campaigns, housing issues, and organizing of the unemployed, 174 evolved a multi-scalar, multi-level project of class formation on the West Side and beyond.

	Body	Interior	Neighborhood	City
1) Structure of economic development		cooperative store	credit union	
2) Social Organization of Society			housing	
3) Dispositions of formed groups	Dances	Library, Classes,	Recreational activities, sports teams, photo club	welfare committee
4) Collective Action		174 Headquarters	Local organizing	labor electoral slates

Figure 18 Diagram: Scaling class formation, Local 174.

Local 174's approach to worker education was deeply informed by the training that key organizers including Walter Reuther, Victor Reuther, Merlin Bishop, Frank Winn and George Edwards had received and participated in at Brookwood Labor College in Katonah, New York. Walter had even contemplated taking a job creating a branch of Brookwood in Detroit or Pittsburgh just before he threw himself into organizing 174 (Lichtenstein, 50-52, 66). Brookwood was one of several contemporary institutions of worker education which, in Polletta's terms, served as transmovement spaces providing early CIO organizers with linkages to veterans of earlier labor struggles as well as with inter-regional connections. Such institutions included Commonwealth College in Arkansas, the IWW's Work People's College outside Duluth, Minnesota, and the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, outside Philadelphia, among others (Davin 1996, 159). These schools would be joined in the 1930s by a variety of new institutions of labor education in many major cities, many supported initially with funds from the federal Workers' Education Project (Denning 1997, 68-72). Local 174's organizers' experience at Brookwood served as a model for much of the union's educational programming, and would later influence the ambitious educational program undertaken by the

UAW at the national level under the direction of Victor Reuther. The union's educational efforts in its early years combined practical and technical training for "stewards, committeemen, and local officers" in the skills necessary for administering the union's activities-- running meetings, processing grievances, keeping records, making speeches, writing for union newspapers-- with broader ideological training in politics and labor history. As Victor Reuther recalled, "the whole spectrum of democratic life became the terms of reference and the agenda for our educational activities. [...Members] were concerned about preparing themselves for fuller participation as citizens in the life of the community, and we considered this the responsibility and the obligation of our union" (Reuther, V. 1963, 29-30).

After Brookwood closed due to funding difficulties in 1937, its 5000 volume labor library was transferred to 174 headquarters, becoming the nucleus of the local's new library. The library, open weekday evenings and Saturday afternoons, circulated 1000 volumes in its first year of existence ("West Side Local Library," 1940).

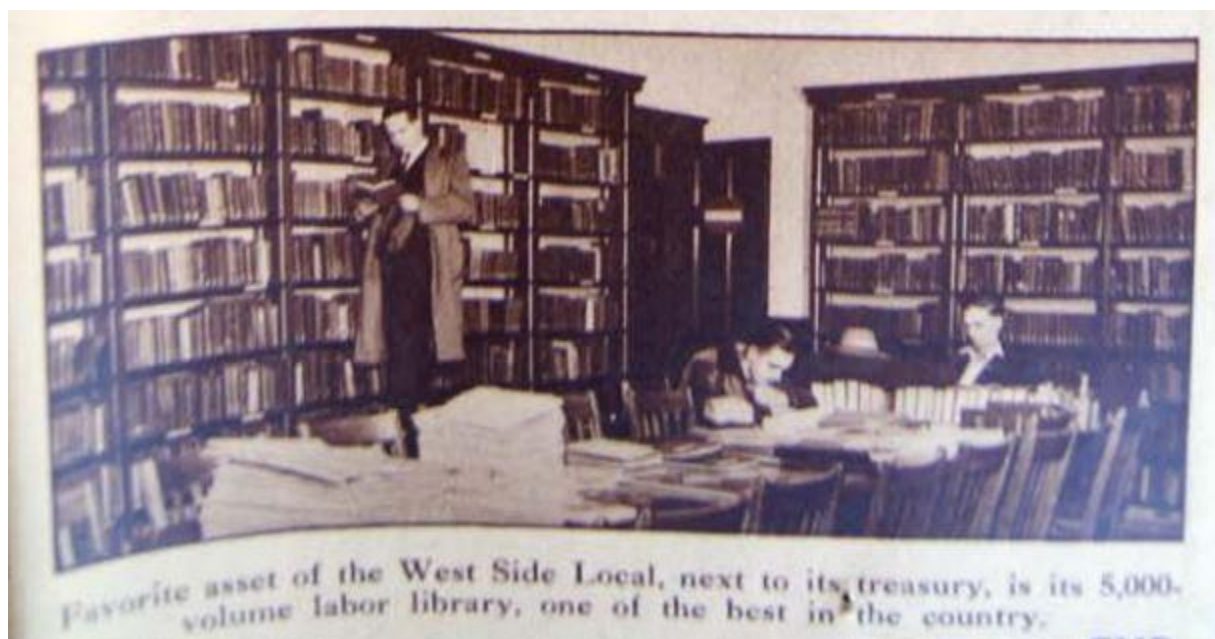


Figure 19 UAW Local 174 Library (c. 1940)

The local organized teams and clubs out of its hall. In 1942, in addition to an educational conference and a summer school, 174 set up golf and tennis tournaments, and boasted 3 baseball teams and 26 softball teams (Manning 1942, unpaginated). Softball and bowling, in particular, were attractive to unions as solidarity building activities in that they could be engaged in by workers of a wide age range (Cohen 2008, 341). 174 members organized a camera club in 1941, which held split meetings to accommodate those working morning and afternoon shifts ("Camera Fans Attention" 1941).

The local endeavored to develop bonds of solidarity that extended into members' families as well. 174's "Family Fun Nights" periodically turned the hall at Mayberry Grand into the site of an all-ages variety show. By the early 1950s, the union could boast that its Family Fun Night programs had been imitated by locals in "several surrounding states and Canada". The local also organized children's groups and activities including a summer camp, a teen club, and a west side recreation center ("West Side Local 174," c. 1952; Manning 1942, unpaginated).

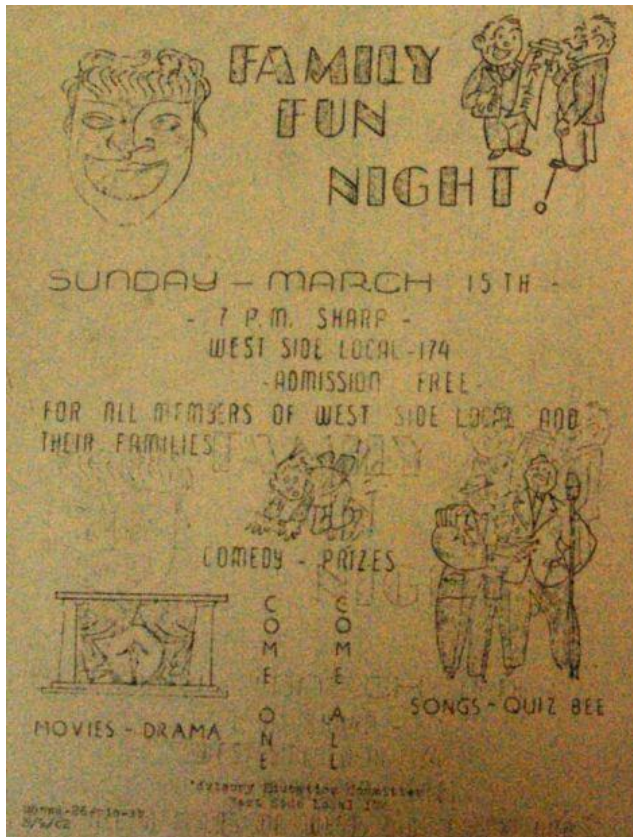


Figure 20 UAW Local 174 Flyer (n.d.)

In a prefigurative mode, the local experimented at various times with consumer cooperatives. The union briefly ran a cooperative grocery out of the hall, complementing other consumer cooperative activities including one focused on funeral services ("West Side Local 174," c. 1952, 19).

This influential UAW local, in its early years, drew on a rich array of free space precursors and precedents-- transmovement, indigenous, and prefigurative-- in developing a local hall it hoped would be adequate to the task of building solidarity and class consciousness among its members across lines of ethnicity and gender, and across the division between the factory and the residential community. The hall served as a springboard for the union's efforts to jump scale and vie for political power at the city level. Its more ambitious aspects would be scaled back or

done away with entirely as the UAW's leadership followed a more conservative trajectory in the 1940s. As I describe below, the interior union spaces developed in the UAW at large under Reuther's leadership after 1946 would be informed by the experiences of the 1930s, but configured under very different historical contingencies and ideological assumptions, and with a different scalar frame.

Building and Fighting: Space and Race in District 65

"We had definitely decided that we were going to organize the poor, the most oppressed, the least skilled people"-Arthur Osman (Osman and Hill 1968, 8)

"Our headquarters is indeed the finest organizer we have." -David Livingston (1952, unpaginated)

As noted above, there are a number of salient structural differences between UAW organizing in Detroit and District 65 organizing in New York City from their outset, including scale, setting, industrial sector, and levels of bargaining power. Other differences, such as those in ideology and organizational form would become increasingly apparent through the 1940s. But the union halls created by the two unions in their early years also showed many important similarities, as each union struggled with similar challenges of forging solidarity and class consciousness among divided workers, drawing on the legacy of spatial tools and templates generated by earlier working class organizations, and experimenting with new spatial forms in the absolute, relative, and relational registers. Each would combine elements of transmovement, indigenous and prefigurative free spaces, and endeavor to use the internal spaces of the union to leverage workers' power at neighborhood and city scales. The egalitarian commitments and increasing racial diversity of 65 in the late 1930s and 1940s would prompt the union to develop anti-racist strategies, many of them spatial, that were in many ways exemplary. And as Phillips

(2013) details, the nature and spatial pattern of the industries 65 organized made it necessary for the union to develop particular modes of organizing that remain highly relevant in today's organizing landscape.

District 65 was among the unions that put the most resources into their physical spaces in the CIO period. Internal documents touted the 65 headquarters, Tom Mooney Hall, in words like these: “known as the finest trade union hall in America [...] with constantly expanding facilities for our membership, our headquarters is among the finest products of the skill, efficiency, and democracy of our organization” (Opening Session, 1948). The union emphasized the importance of meeting attendance by the membership, and put into place many structures to encourage members to assemble outside of work hours for social, recreational, and educational purposes. Union leaders saw the union hall and social activities as crucial elements in building class consciousness and solidarity across racial and ethnic lines. Like the builders of the AFL's Labor Temples in San Francisco in the early part of the century, 65 leaders such as Arthur Osman and David Livingston appreciated the value of their hall in terms of financial savings and organizational efficiency-- at Katznelson's fourth level of class formation, that of collective action. But like the organizers of the Labor Lyceums of New York City's German immigrant working class, and the halls and hobo jungles of the IWW, 65's organizers transcended the spatial imaginaries of San Francisco's craft union "barons of labor," envisioning their interior spaces as active sites of class formation at Katznelson's third level, the level of dispositions. 65's leaders envisioned the interior spaces of their union as arenas in which their members could develop fellow feeling and solidaristic understandings both along and across cultural lines, breaking down barriers of racial prejudice and gender oppression through encounter, recreation, and study. At their most visionary, 65's leaders in the 1940s conceived of and began to build a

network of interlinked community union spaces. This network, they hoped, would form a spatial matrix for working class organizing and contestation around a host of community issues of social reproduction and collective consumption such as housing, recreation, health, and welfare (Osman 1943, 6; Castells 1983). In this way, 65ers imagined themselves using interior spaces to jump scale and intervene at Katznelson's 2nd level of class formation, that of "ways of life" and social organization on the community and urban plane. This ambitious vision was interrupted by the dismantling of the CIO's NY Industrial Council. But the lessons of 65's sophisticated, robust, and pragmatic spatial imaginary and praxis remain relevant today (Phillips 2013).

District 65: A Capsule History

The union that became District 65 began as the Wholesale Dry Goods Workers Union, organized in 1933 among Jewish workers on New York City's Lower East Side (Phillips 2013, 1, 26). By 1937, their membership numbered 1000, and they joined the CIO, merging with other modestly sized unions of shoe and textile warehouse workers (Phillips 2013, 38). Over the next five years, the union grew by leaps and bounds through a series of vast and closely coordinated organizing drives, expanding throughout Manhattan and into the outer Boroughs and beyond, and organizing among workplaces dominated by other ethnic groups. By the end of 1941, the union claimed nearly 16,000 members (Phillips 2013, 38; "Annual Organization Report " 1942, 3).

During the war years, new organizing slowed, as 65's Communist leadership hewed closely to the Party's directive to support the war effort. Campaigns to organize some of the city's major department stores after the war ended gave mixed results (Rosenzweig n.d., 22). In

1947, the union could tell that the political winds had shifted, and anticipated the backlash that employers and the government were preparing to unleash on the labor movement. 65ers prepared for a fight, with the membership voting to assess itself a week's pay to create a "war chest" of \$500,000 to weather anticipated strikes. In 1948, Local 65 and other left-led locals split from the CIO's United Retail Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America (URWDSEA, later RWDSU) due to the refusal by Osman and other 65 leaders to sign the non-communist affidavits required under the newly-passed Taft-Hartley act. The union amalgamated with the United Office and Professional Workers of America (UOPWA) and the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union, also leftwing unions expelled from the CIO, to become the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America (DPOWA). After this merger, District 65 was "the largest local in New York, and next to Ford Local 600, UAW, the largest in the country" ("Guide to the United Auto Workers," 2013).

In 1950, District 65 leaders finally agreed to sign the non-communist affidavits, signaling a shift away from Communist Party influence, which soon sparked "full-scale war between the CP and 65" (Freeman 2000, 89). In 1953, the DPOWA re-entered the CIO. District 65 continued to grow through the 1950s, "to include a variety of workers in small retail and manufacturing firms and other small shops such as those dealing in shoes, hardware, toys, gifts, television, mail order merchandise, needles, cigars, knitwear, chemicals and dental supplies. This growth brought significant changes in the composition of the union, adding groups of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Italians, and Irish to the original, primarily Jewish workers from small wholesale dry goods and textile shops" (Guide to the United Automobile Workers, 2013). By 1963 the union had 35,000 members, including 6,000 Blacks and 5,000 Puerto Ricans ("The Negro and District 65," 1963).

65's Spatial Praxis

From the earliest days of 65's main precursor, the Wholesale Dry Goods Workers Union (WDGWU), the union leadership's spatial imagination was at a premium. Union lore has it that the union's longtime President, Arthur Osman, held the first organizing meeting of 90 workers under pretense of inviting his coworkers to his son's birthday party—a ruse necessary to prevent his employer from getting wind of plans. Morris Rosenzweig, a longtime union organizer and staffer, recalls that he and David Livingston, in the early years of organizing the Amalgamated Textile Houseworkers local that would later merge with Osman's group to form 65, would hold meetings surreptitiously in the headquarters of the well-established International Ladies Garment Workers Union: “they had many small meeting rooms. We would just walk in nonchalantly and look into all the rooms until we found an empty one, and take it over. After a few days we would get kicked out, but we would come back. Finally we had some arrangements where they would let us come down at night...” (Rosenzweig, n.d.).

For the WDGWU, early meetings were held at various locations, including local high schools, until the union secured a small office on the Lower East Side. Minutes of early meetings suggest that deliberation over the uses of this modest space were extensive, with repeated discussion about the amount of time members should and shouldn't spend in the space, debate over a ban on card playing, efforts to control who could turn on and adjust the radio, plans for a bulletin board to post political articles and notices of events, and announcements of the much-anticipated and oft-postponed arrival of a ping-pong table. Discussions suggest that the space had something of a clubhouse atmosphere. Minutes from the mid-1930s meetings give scant trace of organized educational activities in the union hall, but provide ample records of social activities

sponsored by the union, including dances, banquets, theater parties, and baseball and basketball league games.

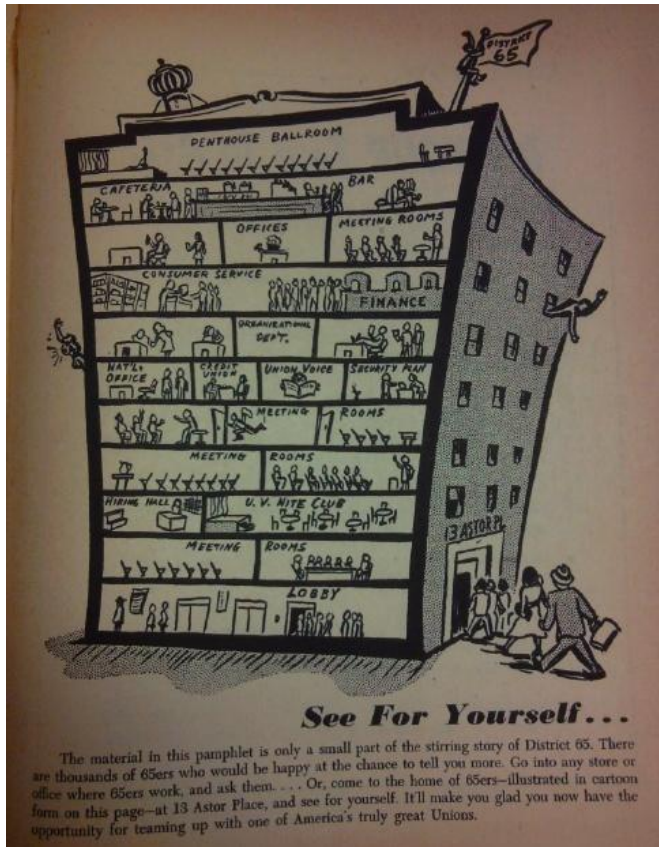


Figure 21 Drawing of 13 Astor Place (n.d)

Once the union had established itself, the mainstay of its spatial efforts to build unity was its headquarters, Tom Mooney Hall. The 11 story building, named after the late socialist political prisoner, was prominently located on Astor Place in Lower Manhattan. The hall opened with much fanfare in September 1942 before a crowd the union estimated at 5,000 (“1942 Meeting Attendance”). Leaders of 65 saw Tom Mooney Hall as a crucial part of the union, and exhibited great pride in the scale and bustle of the building, which housed offices, meeting halls, the hiring hall, a banquet hall, and at various times a bookstore and lending library, health facilities, a cooperative store, a cafeteria, and a nightclub, “Club 65.” Phillips argues that the hall was vital

to the union's efforts to build solidarity and class consciousness among workers in highly fragmented industries, and that the union consciously worked to make the hall "as central as possible to members' lives" (2013, 12). Osman summed up in 1953 his view of the importance of the space, linking its function to goals of union democracy and interracial unity

Our attitude towards union headquarters stems from the need to provide for our members the physical means of making democracy work. Without decent meeting halls, there cannot be decent, interesting, enlightening membership meetings. Without facilities for rank and file activity it is impossible for the rank and file to assume responsibility for the affairs of their union. Without a place where members can meet, mingle, and enjoy each other's companionship we can neither ignite the warming sparks of friendship nor dull the sharp and painful edges of prejudice. Impressive union halls are also a source of pride in one's union, a sign of strength and durability and a visible source of confidence in the solidarity of men and women who fight together (Osman 1953, p. 11).

In this statement Osman indicates an awareness of Tom Mooney Hall as absolute, relative, and relational space, and as a site of class formation at levels three and four of Katznelson's schema. For District 65, the union hall was not merely an administrative space, a black box with room for the people and papers that constituted the union. It served vital social functions in relative and relational terms, building ties between members across neighborhood divisions, and within and across racial and ethnic identities in such a way as to enable 65ers to participate in union struggle more effectively. Like P.H. McCarthy in San Francisco half a century earlier, Osman recognized the importance of the hall as "sign" and symbol of the union's "strength". But where for McCarthy the monumental image of the Building Trades Temple was directed outwards towards

the city's economic and political establishment, for Osman the relational power of image of the hall was primarily reflected inwards among the union's members.

For 65's leftwing leaders, the union was at its core an instrument of working class formation in opposition to the owning class:

The main objective of our union is to unite the workers in the industry for the purpose of leading them in the constant struggle against those who oppress and exploit them. In varying degrees, we also attempt to satisfy our members' cultural and recreational needs. [...] The greater the membership's participation in the life of the union, the more effectively will they be united around the policies and programs of the organization (Bernkopf 1941).

The union ran extensive cultural, educational, and recreational programs from Tom Mooney Hall in an effort to develop solidarity, capacity, and class consciousness. As Osman recalled of the union's early years, the union hall was "the center of social activity. We had recreation, athletics, dances, parties and every kind of thing you could think of" (Osman and Hill 1968a, 14). In 1942, thirty-seven meetings of various kinds were held in the building, and as of 1945, the hall's nightspot "Club 65" boasted 22,000 monthly visitors (Quirke 2012, 232). In 1949-50, the union's recreational programs were under the direction of Moe Foner, who would later go on to oversee the celebrated "Bread and Roses" cultural programs of hospital union 1199 (Fink and Greenberg 2009; Young, 2006). Foner recalls of the hall in those years that "that building was rocking seven days and nights every week" (Phillips 2013, 12). The bar on the 10th floor in the 1960s provided ready opportunity for socializing among members and organizers alike, and a visit to the hall for routine business or a meeting could smoothly transition into socializing that built camaraderie. In the 1960s, the bar was often "packed," with patrons

overflowing into the cafeteria (Eisner 2012). A report from the 1954 DPO convention gives a sense of the breadth of the union's programs:

[w]ith hundreds of members participating and thousands observing art, exhibits, dance groups, concerts, photography shows, the departments showed our capacity for organizing a great cultural movement in our union. Our sports programs [...] showed improvement with about 400 members in 24 teams participating in softball tourneys alone. [...] The children's art show and holiday parties drew more than a thousand eager youngsters and provide the foundation for making our recreational work a real family affair (Osman 1953).

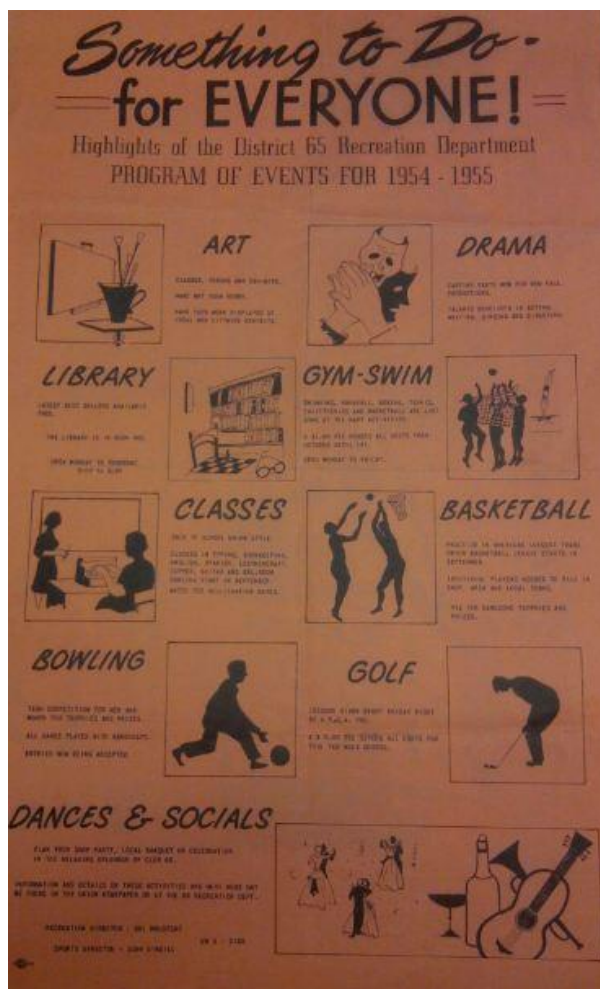


Figure 22 District 65 Recreation Department Program (1954).

Organized classes were also held in Tom Mooney Hall, on practical subjects such as public speaking, but also on social issues and history. A 1943 flyer advertising a roster of four 6-week courses offered by the union’s “School for Democracy”. Classes included “The Negro in American Life,” taught by Harlem Renaissance poet and painter Gwendolyn Bennett (Bennett also led the George Washington Carver School, a Popular Front labor school uptown, and directed the Harlem Community Arts Center (Denning 1997, 70, 79)), as well as “Women in America: Past and Present” and “History of the American Labor Movement” (both taught by

Philip Foner). This roster indicates the priority the union placed on workers examining race, class and gender systematically (“Enroll Now,” 1943).

The union carved out space for creative pursuits as well. On weekends during the 1940s the hall was the site of a regular musical social that was central to the leftwing folk music revival of the period, featured entertainers such as Woodie Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and Leadbelly. Jazz performers such as Earl Hines and Sarah Vaughan also performed in the hall. (Silverman 2012; Quirke 2012, 260). Union members' artwork decorated the walls, and the photo club was highly active, with members providing images for 65's newspaper and engaging in documentary and art photography projects (Eisner 2012; Quirke 2012).

In writings in the 1940s, Osman observed limits of the union halls of his day, and envisioned and advocated for a new and more ambitious geography of working class spaces spread out in city neighborhoods. In a 1944 speech to the first membership meeting of the Tom Mooney Hall Association, a body incorporated to run cooperative businesses out of the union's headquarters, Osman enthusiastically sketched a vision of a cooperative movement growing out of beginnings in Tom Mooney Hall which would eventually include “a number of neighborhood centers” in “various parts of the city” such as Brownsville and Harlem. An enlarged association, Osman continued, “can undertake the procurement and operation of a summer camp which our members can use as their vacation playground and perhaps also as a convalescent home. There is no reason why we can't organize a more ambitious system of life and health insurance such as is available in many fraternal societies. Burial grounds and similar services [...] are all potential undertakings [...] These and scores of other plans can be realistic as we grow in numbers.” In Osman's vision, these cooperative endeavors could draw participation from other unions and working class communities at large, to eventually eclipse in importance even the union itself:

“Tom Mooney Hall Association will rise in importance far beyond anything that was envisioned for it when it was first suggested[...] The association, though originally a mere by-product in the effort to form a more efficient trade union, may eventually play a far greater role in the lives of its members than even the union whose activities gave it birth” (“Report on Tom Mooney,” 1944). This ambitious vision of Tom Mooney Hall as a prefigurative free space, through which the union could provide a range of crucial elements of its members' social reproduction and well-being on a cooperative basis, never came to full fruition. The Tom Mooney Hall Association struggled with operating deficits throughout its existence and was never able to expand its activities as Osman had hoped on a self-sustaining financial basis (“Tom Mooney Hall,” 1962). However the union did operate a cooperatively run retail store selling clothing and sundries to its members during World War II (Rosenzweig undated, 27). The dental offices on site at the union hall were part of a pioneering comprehensive health plan that was a pride of the union (Eisner 2012).

Aside from the many social, educational, and recreational events held at the hall, 65 leadership consciously set out to organize the co-presence of members by administrative mechanisms. They refused to build dues check off into contracts, ensuring that members would have to visit the hall at 13 Astor place regularly to pay their dues. Osman explains "a member of the union has to come down to the union hall himself and pay his own dues. It's a matter of necessity because if we merely collect dues through the employer we will never know what's bothering our member" (Osman and Hill 1968a, 29; Phillips 2013, 49). Organizers worked to ensure high levels of attendance at meetings, and in its early years endeavored to follow a quorum of half of eligible members for binding decisions to be made at meetings (Osman and Hill 1986b, 23). David Livingston, the union's second president, recalled membership meeting

attendance at 60 to 70% in the early years of the union (Livingston and Hill 1969, 25). In the year 1942, when the membership stood at roughly 16,000, union records indicate that 65 held 4,219 meetings with a total attendance of 166,858 ("Credit Union" 1943, unpaginated). This impressive level of meeting attendance-- an average of 10 meetings per member in a single year-- indicates the high premium the organization placed on rank and file participation in its affairs.

In her study of Chicago working class life and organizing in Chicago in the interwar period, Lizabeth Cohen argues that the CIO in the 1930s drew lessons from the divisions and defeats of the failed industrial organizing drives of the late 1910s and early 1920s. CIO organizers consciously endeavored to construct a "culture of unity" extending the new "common ground" that mass culture had created among workers (324). Cohen describes how the "organizational strategy that built on this new potential for unity" was operant at various scales from the body to the national. This was evident in a range of practices: the promulgation of union buttons in the workplace to mark bodies as allegiant to the CIO, the use of ethnic halls for meetings and the development of cultural and recreational programming in interior union spaces, efforts to engage workers' families through social events and the creation of women's auxiliaries, and the development of union media at the city, regional, and national levels in the form of radio broadcasts and union newspapers (Cohen 2008, 338-349).

65 was not able to muster media campaigns at the scale that large industrial union formations like PWOC and SWOC in Chicago were able to, but the smaller union endeavored to build a "culture of unity" in many of the ways Cohen describes. *New Voices*, the union's newspaper, was seen by Osman as 65's "most important instrument of education" and envisioned as "an avenue for self-expression" of members (Quirke 2012, 229). The union's use of colored buttons was originally a way of recording the payment of dues, with the color changing

quarterly. During a 1940 organizing campaign in the garment district, 65ers wearing green buttons were targeted and assaulted by rivals in the mobbed up Teamsters Local 102, leading to pitched street fighting that spilled in to union offices. The green button became a lasting symbol of the union, commemorated in the song "The Wearing of the Green" (Osman 1968b, 5;

Rosenzweig n.d., 19):

Our union button that we wear,
Is one of which we're proud,
A symbol of security,
It stands out in a crowd.
Now we're glad to wear this emblem,
In our organizing drive,
It shows that we are members,
Of our Local 65.

Oh, the wearing of the green,
Makes us fight in unity,
For a better way of living,
That's why we're glad to be,
Members of a growing union,
Who always can be seen,
Organizing other workers,
To the wearing of the Green ("Wearing of the Green," 1948).

The unity 65ers envisioned, importantly, extended across racial and ethnic lines.

"We never had anything except our unity": Race and Space in 65

Central to the effort to build the CIO culture of unity Cohen describes in Chicago were the organizers' efforts to overcome the racial and ethnic divisions that had doomed earlier industrial organizing efforts in the city's steel mills and slaughterhouses (2008, 333-339). These divisions were in no small part a legacy of decades of "race management" by employers who developed a variety of "strategies to make differences among workers pay" (Roediger and Esch, 2012, 7). Roediger and Esch argue, for example, that the use of racial difference was "central" to the exploitation of labor in Chicago's meatpacking industry:

Management manipulated racial differences to divide workers. The industry thought it "neither necessary nor prudent to conceal this policy of divide and rule." Meatpacking magnate Philip Armour urged that the industry work to "keep the races and nationalities apart after working hours and to foment suspicion, rivalry, and even enmity among such groups." (Roediger and Esch, 2012, 153; quotes from Barrett 1983, 105-109).

Cohen argues that the CIO, in its efforts to overcome the organizing challenges presented by such differences (whether produced through employer machinations or emerging from within white working class culture) "went further in promoting racial harmony than any other institution in existence at the time" (2008, 337). W.E.B. DuBois' contemporary observations on the CIO support this view:

[The CIO has brought about] the greatest and most effective effort towards interracial understanding among the working masses...[N]umbers of men like those in the steel and automotive industries have been thrown together, black and white, as fellow workers striving for the same objects. There has been on this account an astonishing spread of interracial tolerance and understanding. Probably no movement in the last 30 years has been so successful in softening race prejudice among the masses. (Dubois, 1948, quoted in Stepan-Norris and Zeitlin, 2002)

As Dubois attests, the CIO organizing that commenced in the mid-1930s was a high point in anti-racist struggles by the US working class. There are other celebrated moments of interracial solidarity in labor organizing prior to the CIO period, such as those of the early Knights of Labor, the IWW on the Philadelphia waterfront and in the southern timber industry, Alabama coalfield organizing, and New Orleans waterfront struggles (Rachleff 1989; Roediger 1994; Kimeldorf 1998; Wilson 2000). But as George Rawick observed, "such efforts were not

successful often enough" (Roediger 1994, 62); the record of the US labor movement on racial issues is largely one of racial exclusion (Foner, P. 1982; Hill 1988).

To what extent did the CIO mark a departure from earlier patterns of white privilege and racial exclusion? Divergent views of the CIO's anti-racist commitments and contributions have emerged. Goldfield (1993, 2-3; see Arnesen 2006 for a more recent overview) summarizes the perspectives of the two main camps in the debate over these questions: one position, represented in the writing of Herbert Gutman and Spero and Harris "assumes that there is a racially egalitarian logic to industrial unionism...that requires the organization of inclusive, solidaristic unions when the industries are composed of low-skilled, racially and ethnically heterogeneous work forces." These structural necessities, in combination with a "broad social philosophy" held by the unions in question, explain the breakthroughs of the CIO period. Scholars aligned with the other position, represented by Herbert Hill, cast a gimlet eye on CIO egalitarianism, arguing that it was largely an expedient, present only when necessitated by high percentages of black workers in given industries, and soon abandoned once the unions had become ensconced-- with "even the 'most racially progressive' industrial unions inevitably becoming white job control organizations". Goldfield attempts a synthesis of the two positions, arguing that to settle the question it is necessary to look closely and comparatively at the record of racial practices in question, disaggregating them by "union and industry" as well as by racial makeup, region and locale, and distinguishing between the attitudes, positions, and practices of rank and file members and union officials at various levels of organizational hierarchies (1993, 3). He adduces examples that show that having a high percentage of black workers in an industry was neither necessary nor sufficient for racial egalitarianism to flourish in its unions. On the one hand, he notes left-led unions with small percentages of black workers in their core industries at their

outset, such as the NMU, FE, 1199, and the Fur and Leather Workers Union (to these examples could be added the Bay Area's ILWU Local 10 (Nelson 1998), and District 65), unions that "were more egalitarian in many ways than even those non-left unions with substantial minority memberships." On the other hand, he points to the UAW, UMWA, and the Steelworkers as examples of unions with significant black memberships that evolved to "accept discriminatory practices". Goldfield argues on this basis that Hill's structural explanations underestimate the decisive influence of leadership and ideology (1993, 25). Even critics of the CP acknowledge that some of the biggest anti-racist strides within the CIO were made by communist led "red" unions (Zieger 1995, 255; Roediger 1994, 63). As Stepan-Norris and Zeitlin put it, "the CIO's Communist-led unions were among the most egalitarian and progressive on class, race, and gender issues"(2002, front endpapers).

Hill himself recognized as early as the 1960s that some unions did not fit his model for understanding union racism. He wrote to 65 President David Livingston in 1967 that "the history of District 65 represents a unique development in the racial policies and practices of contemporary labor unions" and that District 65 was "prominent...among several significant examples of labor unions that did respond affirmatively to the needs of Negro workers" (Hill 1967). In the transcripts of Hill's interviews with 65 leaders in the late 1960s he seems genuinely puzzled by the mismatch of the union's history with his framework for understanding race and the CIO, which seeks explanation for the apparent racial egalitarianism of the period by reference to economic self interest of white workers (Livingston and Hill 1969; Osman and Hill 1968a,b). In what follows, drawing on Hill's line of questioning, I examine the antiracist ideas of 65 leaders, and consider the way these ideas were bound up with and expressed through the physical, educational, and recreational spaces the union created and maintained. What drove the

union's commitments to racial equality? To what extent were these commitments merely *pragmatic*, given by the exigencies of constructing unity in the face of employer divisions? To what extent were they *prophetic*, bearing moral witness to a vision of racial justice? In what ways were the union's spatial imaginaries and spatial practices aligned with, or even bound up with, the union's antiracist practices? In excavating District 65's spatial imagination and spatial practices alongside its racial imagination and racial practices, I endeavor to illuminate the ways that the union conceived of and used space as a nexus for its anti-racist commitments to be realized.

What did it mean in those years to, in Hill's words, "respond affirmatively to the needs of Negro workers"? Assessing a union's commitment to racial justice is not a simple matter. As 65 and other antiracist unions saw, anti-racism was a question not only of responding to racialized productions of difference enacted and reinforced by employers, but of challenging racist ideas and practices of union members in workplaces and working class residential communities and in social and cultural institutions at large. "Racialism," as Robinson notes, "is rooted [...in the] civilization itself. [...A]s an enduring principle of European social order, the effects of racialism were bound to appear in the social expression of every strata of every European society [...N]one was immune[...T]his proved to be true for the rebellious proletariat as well as the radical intelligentsias" (1999, 28). Thus, as 1199 President Leon Davis saw it, "the categories of race and class were inextricable [...and] racism was *not only a union problem but also a problem within the unions*" (Young 2006, 73, my emphasis).

William Gould identifies six racist practices that were historically widespread among US unions:

(1)the restriction of admissions to apprenticeship programs jointly administered by

employers and industrial and craft unions; (2) the denial of journeymen cards to qualified black non-unionists; (3) the refusal of union admission to membership despite constitutional prohibitions; (4) the creation of segregated auxiliary locals for blacks; (5) the maintenance of separate lines of progression and seniority which prohibits or discourages transfers by black members into better paying and more desirable jobs; and (6) the absence of blacks and other minorities from policy-making position, both selected and appointed, inside the unions (cited in Foner, 1982, 433).

Goldfield (1993, 6) puts forward a related set of criteria for the systematic evaluation of racial practices in the CIO and its unions: 1) degree of union access, 2) defense of the rights of employed black workers, 3) discrimination in hiring and job-placement, 4) outside civil right activities, 5) egalitarian education and involvement of workers in struggles for equality, 6) social equality in union social affairs. In their efforts to quantify these practices statistically, and compare them between left-led and anti-communist unions, Stepan-Norris and Zeitlin boil down the question to three criteria: “(1) equality of access to membership, (2) black representation in the highest councils, and (3) establishment, during the war, of special ‘egalitarian racial machinery’ to combat racism, such as a fair employment committee or committee to abolish discrimination” (2002, 213). In outlining an anti-racist union practice for the present day, Fletcher and Gapasin pare down the question even further, offering the following definition: “*antiracist practices are those that champion consistent democracy*” (2008, 182, emphasis in original). A union in struggle for “consistent democracy,” they argue, would combat discrimination in pay, hiring, and job conditions, but would also look beyond the workplace in organizing for a broad social democratic agenda in alliance with independent social movements

of people of color, as well as developing and supporting leadership of color within the union structure (2008, 182-85).

Under any of these rubrics, District 65 stands out among American unions in the period from the early 1940s through the late 1960s for its antiracist commitments. Union membership was never closed along race lines, and union leaders prided themselves on their “bitter struggle” with employers to implement a “conscious policy of fighting Jim Crow in hiring,” largely pursued through the union's hiring hall. 65 endeavored at least from the early 1940s to keep statistics on the racial makeup of its membership (Osman, 1944). As early as 1941, 65ers identified and sought to remedy the lack of racially representative union leadership that they saw as a chief aspect of the “crisis in leadership” arising from the union’s tremendous growth in the early CIO years (“Annual Organization Report on the Year 1941”). The union was a force in many broader civil rights struggles in New York City and beyond, and put considerable resources into anti-racist education, identity based organizing and socializing, and integrated social activities in Tom Mooney Hall and elsewhere.

As the union expanded beyond its original location and target sector among dry goods shops on the Lower East side, into other areas of Manhattan and the outer boroughs and into related industries, the membership rapidly diversified beyond its initial Jewish base. By the beginning of 1944, after 65's major organizing drives of the early 1940s, union records counted a total membership of 10,673. Nearly half of the members, 5,255, were Jewish, Black members numbered 2,567, Italians 1,494, "Spanish" (likely mostly Puerto Rican) 945, Irish 334, and Polish 70. Within a few brief years, the membership had gone from virtually all Jewish to less than half; Black and Latino members now made up one third of the union. This shift was the result of impressive organizing across racial, ethnic, and religious lines among some of the

lowest paid echelons of the city's labor force. These organizing victories were due in no small part to the spatial practices and strategies of the union's leaders at the interior, neighborhood, and urban scales. The new composition that these organizing drives brought into being for the union would present new challenges in the areas of solidarity and representation that 65ers would attempt to meet in part through spatial practices. The union experienced substantial growth over the next two decades, and its proportion of members of color remained roughly the same: in 1963 the union had 35,000 members, including 6,000 Blacks and 5,000 Puerto Ricans ("The Negro and District 65," 1963). By 1968, Osman estimated that 40% of the union's member were Black or Puerto Rican (Osman and Hill 1968b, 24).

In 1950, refusing to bend to pressure from CIO leaders to knuckle under to the red scare, Local 65 merged with two other left unions, the United Office and Professional Workers, and the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, to form the Distributive, Processing, and Office Workers (DPO). 65 President Arthur Osman took the helm of this new International, and with it the challenge of organizing workers across industries and in locals scattered across the country, including in the South. The DPO's second convention, in 1953, would form the occasion for Osman to make his most lengthy public remarks on organizing across racial lines:

We have not yet discovered the most effective path of struggle for genuine Negro-White unity without which all our hopes in the South are doomed to frustration. We did learn that we know very little and understand even less.

Some of the approaches we have developed stem from a [clearer] acquaintance with these problems. We note for instance, that the problem varies drastically from place to place and even in different situation in the same place.

In some locals the bulk of the workers in the plants we organize are Negroes and

what the Negro people do there is completely decisive. In others, the bulk of the workers are white. In still others, the whites are a bare majority who need at least some support from the Negro workers if they are to be effective. Then there are situations where the bare majority is Negro but where the substantial minority of whites is decisive. An altogether different problem arises where all the women workers are white and all the males are colored. In each such situation the road to unity is completely different.

The hates, fears, and prejudices which many of these workers harbor against each other are not going to be eliminated by resolutions. Nor by any other means are they likely to be caused to disappear overnight. The need for cooperation amongst these workers is too urgent to be delayed till all our people are pure of heart, cleansed of all prejudice, and so imbued with mutual love and affection that they can no longer hate, resent, or fear. On the contrary, if our people are even to begin to shed their prejudices it will be primarily to the extent that necessity compels them to discover their dependence on one another, to recognize the need to induce each other to cooperate. Every day our people are learning anew how much they need one another (Osman 1953, 12).

Osman's remarks, which would later be published in the union's newspaper, go on to emphasize the mutual respect that arises out of struggle, and the importance of northern organizers not looking down on Southern workers, White or Black. He points to the differences of the "struggle for Negro-white unity" in the North from that of the South, and admonishes that while the Northern locals have "cause for pride in their contribution to Negro rights and Negro-white unity," that they should not settle for mere appearances or hollow victories. (Osman 1953, 12-14). Osman here outlines a pragmatic, context-sensitive approach to union anti-racism in which solidarity and recognition of common interests across racial lines emerge naturally in

economic struggle. But 65's history contains many examples where union leadership devised mechanisms and strategies, many of them spatial, to develop and enhance anti-racist consciousness and practices among the union's members.

In its early years in New York City, the union's racial makeup shifted so drastically in part because of its aggressive moves to organize in new industries and new areas that included many people of color. But the shift also reflected the union's systematic efforts to desegregate white only shops, through the power of the hiring hall it established in 1939. Like unions in many industries in New York City, 65 used its hiring hall to exert considerable control over hiring. But unlike many of these, particularly craft unions, who used their control over hiring to "engage in discriminatory practices that fragmented the working class and bred ethnic, racial, and gender resentment" (Freeman 2000, 42), 65ers used their hall as an anti-racist space. Veteran 65 organizer Morris Rosenzweig reflects on the crucial role of the hiring hall in challenging racial employment discrimination:

Our employers would not hire Blacks, no matter what. We decided that was wrong and had to be changed. We had a meeting with our unemployed, and they all agreed to waive their seniority on the Board, and when an employer called for a worker, we would send only a black worker. The employer had the right to reject, on the basis that it did not work out. He would reject, and we would send another Black worker. And we continued to do that. Eventually, they hit the ceiling, I don't have to tell you. ~~We had workers who had never worked with a black worker, and some of them complained,~~ but anyway, we broke through and Blacks were hired. [...I]n 1939, this union already had affirmative action. We didn't call it by that name, but we had it (Rosenzweig, undated, strikethrough in original).

The report from 65's 1948 convention boasted of the efficacy of its hiring hall: "Pursuing our fight against discrimination, our members saw to it that one out of every four placements was a Negro but more importantly, broke down the barriers to employment that confined Negroes to menial jobs" (Opening Session, 1948). The report went on to claim over 100 placements of Black workers in office jobs. In this way, the union used the hall not only to break the color barrier by shop but to challenge discrimination by job type, repeatedly sending white workers to fill porter and janitor positions employers had reserved for black workers, while sending black workers to fill office positions that had been whites-only (Phillips 2013, 47). Union records from the roughly 92,000 placements in the hiring hall in the period 1957-62 show that 15% of warehouse placement and 14% of office placements went to black workers, while 28% of warehouse and 7% of office placements went to "Spanish" workers ("Analysis," 1962).



Figure 23 District 65 Hiring Hall (c. 1953)

The union drew its inspiration for creating the hiring hall from the halls set up by the ILWU on the West Coast after the 1934 strike (Phillips 2013, 47). In the longshore industry, these halls were central in the sea change in class power that ended the "shape-up" and gave control over hiring to the union, establishing ILWU members as the "lords of the docks" (Quan-Wickham 1992, Nelson 1998). Other maritime unions such as the NMU and the MCS established similar halls to control job placement in their industries. The metaphor and synecdoche that unions used to refer to these hiring halls indicate how large they loomed in industries where livelihood depended on repeated short stints of employment-- the hiring hall was the "cornerstone" of the ILWU (Nelson 1998, 178), or, as one ILWU publication phrased it, "the hiring hall *is* the ILWU" (Quan-Wickham 1992, 49).

In some cases, such as ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco, and the smaller Marine Cooks and Stewards Union on the West Coast, unions used the power of the hiring hall to break down institutionalized racism in hiring practices, replacing systems of nepotism, cronyism, bribery, corruption, and discrimination with systems based along ostensibly race-neutral lines of seniority, work sharing, or rotation.

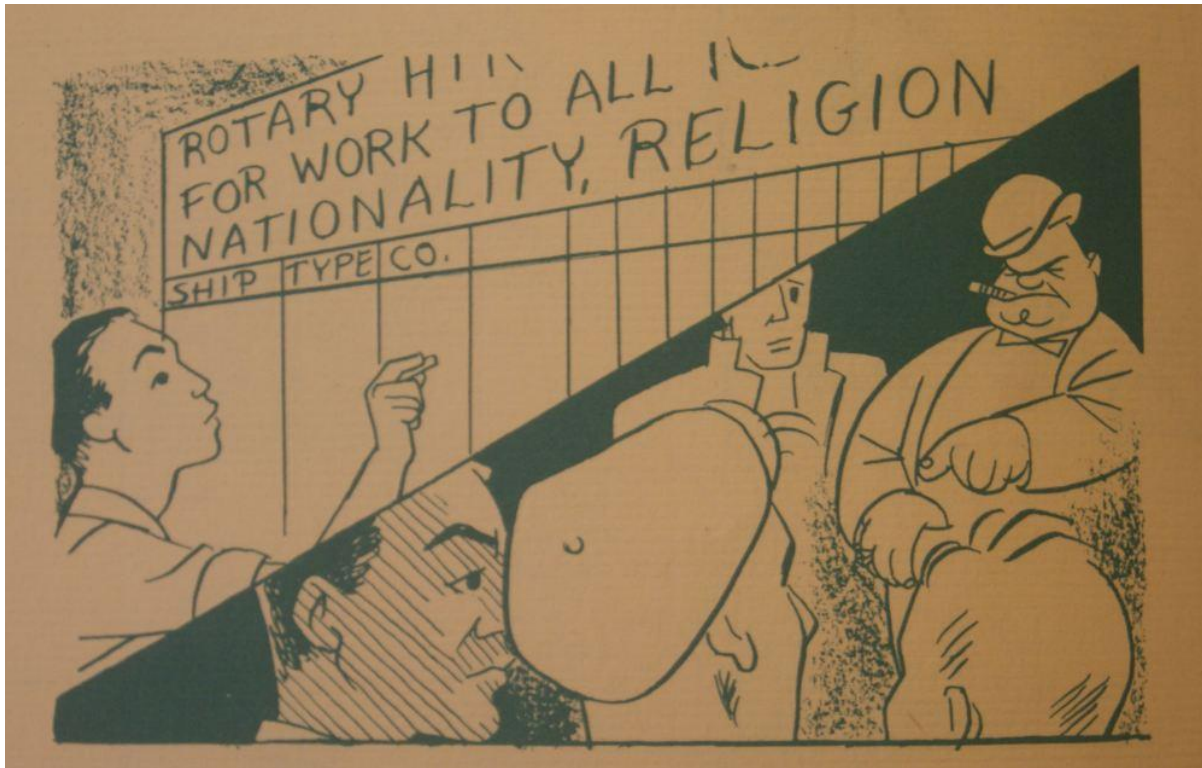


Figure 24 MCS Hiring Hall Cartoon (n.d.)



Figure 25 "Hiring Hall: MCS" Cartoon (n.d.)

Each of these hiring frameworks, when applied consistently and fairly, had the power to interrupt employment discrimination by applying race neutral criteria, to the consternation of racist employers and racist union members alike. The ILWU's Local 10 was acclaimed as a haven of racial equality" and, together with its sister union the MCS, as "guardian of the Negro community and its economic backbone" in San Francisco (Nelson 1998, 158). But District 65, like 1199 in drugstore and pharmacy organizing, went beyond race neutrality and the rhetoric of "color blindness" that characterized the position on race put forth by the mainstream of the CIO, applying affirmative action *avant la lettre* (Freeman 2000, 71; Zieger 1995, 85, 156-160).

Without this conscious effort to find employment for black workers, the seniority basis that guided hiring from 65's hall after the passage of Taft-Hartley would have represented a limitation on the hall's power to integrate-- as in any industry that had a history of excluding black workers, white workers had accrued seniority on the very basis of this exclusion, fueling a pattern of "last hired, first fired" all too familiar to black workers. Hiring hall systems not based on seniority thus had the advantage of cutting out advantages that white workers had gained on the basis of prior discrimination. In the West Coast NMU and the MCS, a rotary, "first in, first out" system prevailed, where the person "on the beach the longest" was entitled to the next available job in their employment category. In the ILWU, where the dock and warehouse work could be assigned day by day instead of voyage by voyage, labor could be distributed even more evenly through the "low man out" system. In this system, the members with the fewest hours logged for a given pay period were placed first in line for the next available job, and once a member reached a maximum number of hours worked, calculated on an even split of the available work for that period, they were prohibited from working more (Thibodeaux 1950, 515-16; Sanjines and Berube 1998, 3-4).

Inspired by the west coast maritime unions, 65 copied the rotary model for its hiring hall (Osman and Hill 1968a, 15). But as Quan-Wickham and Nelson note, the racial egalitarianism intended by these hiring hall systems was too often observed in the breach. In the Portland and San Pedro (Los Angeles Port) locals of the ILWU, racial exclusion continued to be practiced through new member "sponsorship" rules that favored sons, brothers, and friends, through seniority rules for advancement into higher paid positions, and through racist flouting of other rules. Members' right to call for "replacement" on a job allowed racist white workers to refuse to join integrated crews. In the case of San Pedro, when the union found itself with a surfeit of workers after demobilization in 1946, it deregistered 500 members with the least seniority, half of them black-- reducing black membership in the local by some 90 percent (Nelson 1998, 165, 168). Quan-Wickham sums up the effects of the hiring hall in the ILWU's Portland and San Pedro locals: "this powerful instrument of workers' control...clearly was misused by the reactionary and the racist to further job-conscious, not class-conscious, unionism" (1992, 64). But even when it was used for egalitarian purposes, from a class-conscious perspective, as in the MCS, it was not always enough to merely have the right rules in place. After some of its black stewards were assaulted by white deckhands in the exclusionary SUP as they attempted to integrate a ship's crews, the MCS found that it had to send new black placements on all-white ships accompanied by "big and strong" companions-- other stewards as well as allied longshoremen-- in case of physical confrontation (Berube 2011, 309). As Osman relates, it could take considerable convincing-- sometimes "two or three days arguing it out"-- to persuade white 65 members to permit Black workers to be dispatched ahead of them, forgoing job opportunities that strict application of the rotary system would have granted them (Osman and Hill 1968a, 15).

Workers' control of the hiring process through the union hall represented a considerable threat to employers, and particularly in the maritime unions the hiring halls were under constant attack, particularly by efforts to give the military control of hiring during World War II. Unions defended the hiring halls with considerable energy, seeing them as central to their position.

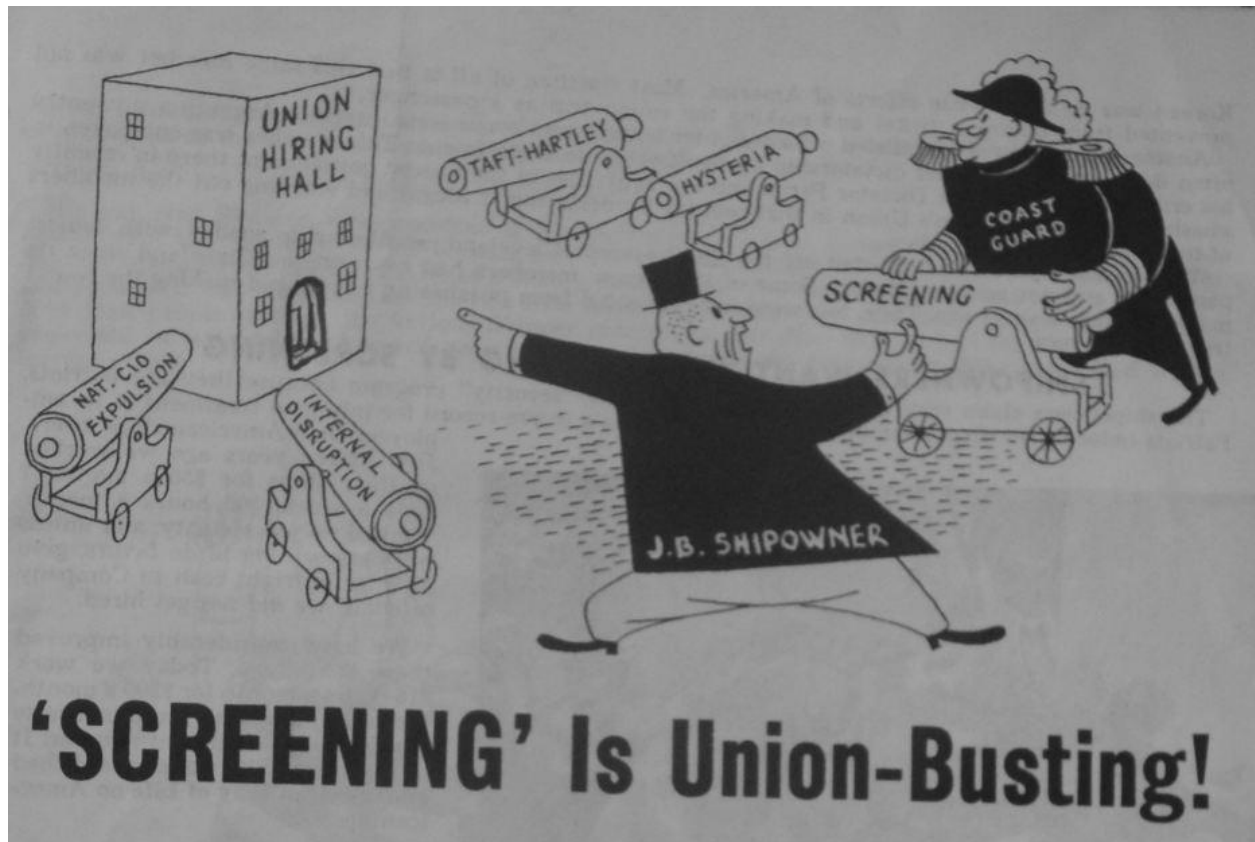


Figure 26 'Screening' Is Union-Busting! cartoon (n.d.)



Figure 27 MCS Hiring Hall Raiders Cartoon (1952)

The NLRB interpretations of the hiring hall provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act that came down in the first few years of the Act's passage significantly undermined union control over the hiring process, prohibiting closed shop hiring and the rotary hiring system (Livingston and Hill 1969, 11-15; Osman and Hill 1968a, 15; Phillips 2013, 56; Nelson 1998, 177-8). Hiring hall systems based on seniority were permitted through union halls, and 65's hall continued to operate and place significant numbers of Black and Puerto Rican workers into the 1960s, despite the fact that

the seniority provision had discriminatory effects in placing newer workers of color at a disadvantage vis a vis white workers who had the opportunity to accrue seniority in exclusionary shops.

To what extent did the spatial aspects of these hiring halls further the aims of egalitarianism and solidarity? Would these purposes been served just as easily by a more or less aspatial hiring system organized over, say, telephone, as is now common in many craft unions? For 65 the hiring hall was a part of its overall efforts to use its headquarters to organize workers' copresence, in terms of relative space. Workers who stopped in for employment might also take lunch at the union's cafeteria, shop in its cooperative store, find out about classes or social events, and have chance encounters with other members and union officials. Some hiring halls, like the ILWU hall on the San Francisco waterfront depicted below, were places of lively socializing, reading, card playing, discussion, and debate. As Osman describes, the 65 hall was the site of some lengthy and pitched debates over the union's affirmative action policy. The hiring hall was thus a fraught, powerful forum for the collective confrontation of questions of solidarity, fairness, egalitarianism, and white privilege.



Figure 28 ILWU Dispatching Hall (Hayden, 1949).

In relational terms, these spaces were often designed to symbolically reinforce their function in the union. In 65 and MCS, the hiring board-- the point of central focus in the hall-- was capped with a slogan describing the union's hiring principles: " democratic dispatching" in the case of 65, and "Rotary hiring means equality of opportunity for work to all members regardless of race, nationality, religion, or political opinion" in the case of the MCS. MCS also placed a mural depicting the union's history and battles in the broader context of the struggle for "maritime unity" prominently in its hiring hall.

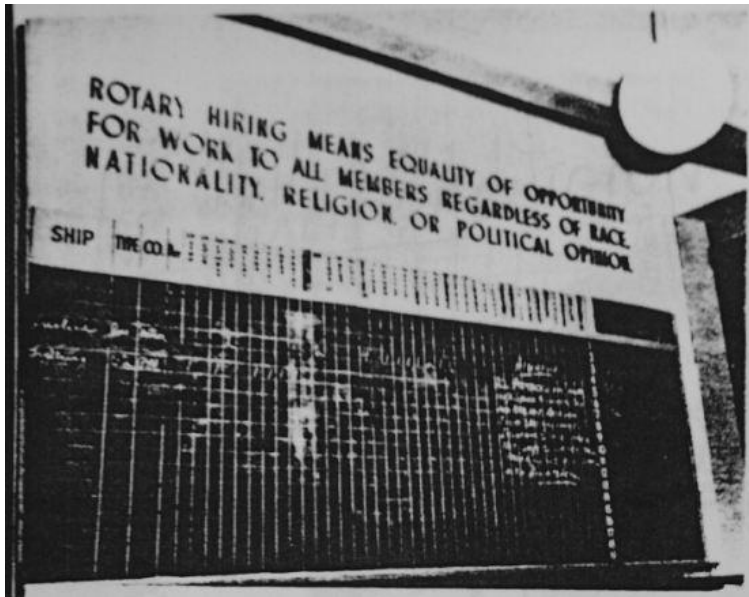


Figure 29 MCS Hiring Board (n.d).



Figure 30 MCS Hiring Hall with Charles Safford mural visible in background.

The challenge to discrimination represented by 65's hiring hall was both a moral and a

practical achievement. Reflecting in later years on the significance of the hiring hall, Arthur Osman pointed to the value that a rationalized hiring process had in preventing employers from using race management tactics to create conflict among workers along racial lines:

In 1953, our hall organized [...] 16,734 job placements. Imagine the chaos, the decline of wage standards, the demoralization amongst employed and unemployed workers, were there no hiring hall, with each worker soliciting a job in each of our several thousand shops and inevitably trying to underbid other workers. Consider the hostility that would naturally arise between Negro and White, Jew and Gentile, Puerto Rican and others as the employers sought to exploit every difference to their advantage. Instead, our hiring hall [dispatches jobs] on the basis of seniority in an orderly and impartial manner (Livingston 1954, 12).

The explosive growth of the union into new territory, new industrial sectors, and new ethnic and racial groups through its organizing drives in 1939-1941 brought new challenges—anti-racism in 65 was now no longer only a matter of pressuring employers to abandon discriminatory practices, or supporting broader struggles for civil rights through slogans and resolutions, but a matter of incorporating workers of color into the union’s internal life and leadership. The union’s 1943 Annual Report provides a window on the union’s efforts to come to terms with this growth and the changes to the union’s demographics. In the course of dressing down organizers for their inadequate leadership, Osman laments the situation of the new Christian members in South Brooklyn, noting that even the “best elements” of this group were “anti-semitic, anti-union, and red-baiting through and through. They could be relied upon,” his report continued, “to dig the grave of the union. [...] This shows that the non-Jewish members of our leadership have not done their job. They undoubtedly have a tough job, because these

members will not be convinced by something a Jew says, they will look upon a Jew as something queer and wrong.” The report goes on to detail union meetings in Black communities of Harlem and Brooklyn’s Bedford-Stuyvesant, noting similar difficulties:

generally in New York [...] there is greater labor consciousness among the Negro than among the non-union gentile forces. But even among the Negro members inadequate leadership has been expressed. In Harlem neither Clayton Powell nor any of our members thought or felt a need to urge the Negro to be loyal union members and to appreciate what Local 65 is. Anything a white person may have said would have had no meaning. As a matter of fact we tried to coach some people and it couldn’t be done.”

Osman further emphasizes his belief in the importance of union messages and leadership being expressed through organizers who reflected the racial and ethnic background of the members:

It’s what they say to their own people. [...] Our Italian members, our Irish members, our Spanish members have no love for this union. And the only explanation for that lies in the leadership of our organization, they have not inspired such a love. [...] They have to inspire their own kind, no one else can. At least no one can do it nearly as well as they can, if they would. These things have not been done because we the people in this room [the union leadership] have not felt keenly the need for that.

Osman continues in this vein, criticizing Italian leaders for electing a “rare Jewish girl” to be section secretary in a “section which is 90% Italian. [...] In this struggle and campaign to bring forward all the new elements to positions of leadership,” Osman insists “this was a wrong move” (Osman 1943a).

Perhaps nowhere else in the archive does the top 65 leadership's perspective on the necessity of racially and ethnically representative leadership come across with such unvarnished essentialist and instrumental rhetoric. But the approach it reflects, of organizers working to "inspire their own kind" drawing on racial and ethnic solidarities to further "union consciousness," is of a piece with broader CP efforts to handle race, class, and nationality such as those pursued through the IWO (Walker 1991; see Kelley 1990 for the case of Alabama).

The union made efforts to develop leaders of color. It kept track of how well its lower levels of leadership reflected the racial and ethnic demographics of its membership, and annual reports often provided snapshots of these statistics, noting the number of black shop stewards and paid organizers. In a 1951 press conference, the union claimed "14 full-time Negro organizers, [...] 2 Negro Vice Presidents, [and] 25 negro workers on the union's 40-hour personnel staff, as well as 35% of union stewards" ("Press Conference"). The 1954 DPOW Officers Report noted "amongst our stewards are more than 200 Negro workers [...]. The stewards include also substantial numbers of Irish, Italian, and Spanish workers as well as those of Jewish origin. The significance of these facts," the report elaborated, "lies in the members' realization that in the council we have a leadership typical of our members reflecting the views of all, and sensitive to the needs and attitudes of each" (Livingston 1952). By 1962, there were 257 black and 124 "Spanish" shop stewards, a combined 44% of all stewards reporting their race and ethnicity (Membership and Leadership 1962).

The foremost black leader to emerge from the union's rank and file was Jamaican-born Cleveland Robinson, who was a shop steward and organizer in the late 1940s before being elected Vice President in 1950 and beginning a 40 year stint as 65's Secretary-Treasurer in 1952. Robinson was a trusted associate of A. Philip Randolph, and was a founder and eventually

President of the Negro American Labor Council, and later a founder of the Council of Black Trade Unionists. He served as the administrative chairman of the 1963 March on Washington ("Guide to the Cleveland," 2011), which was organized from 65 headquarters and to which 65ers sold some 2,000 train tickets (Freeman 2000, 188). A 1952 speech by Robinson, partly in response to CP criticisms of the union's racial politics, noted that 4 of 9 Vice Presidents of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America (DPO), the short-lived international that 65 formed with other unions, were Black ("65 Convention Hears," 1952).

District 65's approach to anti-racism did not operate from a zero-sum conception of identity in which the extent of class consciousness was seen as being in inverse relation to the extent of cultural, religious and racial affinities. On the contrary, the union endeavored to honor racial and ethnic identities, creating physical and organizational space for them to flourish and align with union principles and purposes. Cohen describes the broader CIO's approach in this regard as follows: "Appealing to workers' ethnicity was a means, not an end, for CIO organizers. They sought just the right balance between acknowledging ethnic differences and articulating worker unity. Their strategy was to meet workers on their ethnic, or racial ground and pull them into a self-consciously common culture that transcended those distinctions" (2008, 339). Beginning in 1941, 65 organizers including the union's first Black organizer Morris Doswell set up a "Friends of 65" program through which they rented space in Borough Park, Brownsville, Bed Stuy, Harlem, and the Bronx for weekend meetings, entertainment, refreshments, socialization, and discussion. The Harlem chapter was developed as a way of getting black people acquainted with the union, and in many cases, channeled into the 65 hiring hall. The program, Doswell later recalled, "played a major role in changing the ethnic and racial composition of the union." 65ers envisioned developing these spaces into a network of "union-

sponsored community centers," or "mini-headquarters" in "every community throughout the city" (Phillips 2013, 46, 54-55). This vision of scalar paths between interior spaces and neighborhoods developing into a network that could exert influence at the urban scale never came to fruition, but indicates the spatial and scalar ambitions that the small union continuously held in mind.

Along with recruiting new members, the union created space to build on identity-based affinities through its Affairs Committees, operating under its Recreation Department, which "organized successful social evenings sponsored by Irish, Italian, Spanish, Negro, and Jewish members" as well as channeling contributions to charities and organizations. "Such activities," a 1952 DPOW convention report held, "are important contributions to deepening the unity of the various national groupings in our ranks" (Livingston 1952, 14). The Negro Affairs Committee was described by its Chairman Cleveland Robinson as having "two objectives: (1) to highlight problems of our Negro people in our union and nationally, so that members of our union can be acquainted with these problems and take whatever steps are necessary to cope with them, and (2) to develop a greater degree of understanding between the races" ("Press Conference," 1951). This cultural pluralism, through which class-based solidarities were cultivated in concert with ethnic identities instead of in opposition to them, can be seen as an instance of what Katz (2011) calls "mutual culturalism."

With respect to Fletcher and Gapasin's concept of union antiracism as *consistent democracy*, as the pursuit of broad social progress beyond narrow economic gains, in alliance with independent social movements of people of color, District 65 stands out. Even the union's

Leninist critics acknowledged that in the middle forties, it “appeared that 65 was pushing trade unionism to its limits within the confines of capitalism” (Linder 1970, 4). There is little evidence that the union concerned itself much with racial justice in the years before the union significantly expanded beyond its Jewish founding membership at the close of the 1930s. Indeed, minutes from one mid-1930s meeting record plans for a minstrel show fundraiser. As 65 began to organize beyond the Lower East Side in the late 1930s, references to broader anti-racist activities by the union begin to appear in the Executive Board meeting minutes: In April 1940, the union joined in a resolution condemning discrimination in major league baseball, and the next month’s meeting included a report-back on the CP-affiliated National Negro Congress (Executive Board 1940). The records of the union’s participation in the 1948 May Day Parade, one of the last significant public manifestations of left forces in the city before anticommunism took hold, give a sense of the breadth of social issues that the union was engaging with-- many of which would today be encompassed in the Right to the City framework (Harvey 2012). Parade slogans included

PREVENT ANOTHER CRISIS: RAISE WAGES, LOWER PRICES; SET THE INGRAM FAMILY FREE; JIM CROW HAS GOT TO GO; THE BILL OF RIGHTS MEANS NEGROES AND WHITES; JOHNNY WANTS A HOME, NOT A GUN; PLUG THE RENT CEILINGS, KEEP RENTS DOWN; AID TO THE SPANISH PEOPLE, NOT BUTCHER FRANCO; FREE PUERTO RICO; OUTLAW ANTI-SEMITISM; END JIM CROW HOUSING; OUTLAW RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS; OPEN THE DOORS OF STUYVESANT TOWN; STOP POLICE BRUTALITY (May Day 1948 Slogans).

In the 1950s, though coming under attack from the CP for its “opportunism” in the “full scale war” between the Party and 65 (Kendrick and Golden, 1953; Freeman 2000, 89), the union

continued to engage in a broad range of anti-racist and social movement activity, notably on issues of housing discrimination and through Cleveland Robinson's efforts to help "build a powerful coalition of civil rights and labor activists that launched movements against school segregation and police brutality" (Jones 2010, 38). The union's Negro Affairs Committee steadfastly channeled 65ers support for Civil Rights movement organizations into the 1960s.

65's record fighting battles for racial justice against employers and within its own ranks was not a spotless one; there seems to have been some truth to critiques by the CP (Kendrick and Golden 1953) that black members tended to disproportionately occupy unskilled and lower paid positions. Moreover, the union's decision in 1969 after "extended debate" to "take affirmative action to expand top leadership to include more minority people" suggests that union's the staff and leadership had been less than fully representative of its membership in the years prior (Rosenzweig, 33). Still, judging the union's activity within the frameworks posed by Gould, Stepan-Norris and Zeitlin, and Fletcher and Gapasin, District 65 seems to have earned the praise for its antiracist activity bestowed on the union by Herbert Hill and others, included Martin Luther King, Jr., whose wife quoted him after his death as saying "Wherever there was a struggle for human decency, District 65 was always there. Other unions may be bigger and have bigger treasuries, but District 65 is the conscience of the labor movement" ("A Letter," n.d.).

When Herbert Hill interviewed 65 President David Livingston in 1969, he pressed him to account for 65's unique track record on racial issues. "I'd like to state that we're different and better because our people are different and better," Livingston replied, "but I'm compelled to say I think we're different and better because we had to be." He elaborated:

"we never had anything except our unity...we were always unskilled workers, unneeded people, poor people, unwanted people....The nature of our industry was such that to survive it at all, we had to get an enormous response from our rank and file. And, to get that response, you had to appeal to something in people that was...I'm sorry, I search for the words [...]We had to say 'You have something in you that hates rottenness, and hates indecency and hates oppression'. And we could appeal to that and you would respond to that appeal by giving more of yourself and giving your time and your energy in quantities that you never even dreamed were possible. Now, we did this, as I say, because we had to. Some unions can afford to tolerate discrimination. [...] To us, if there's discrimination, and therefore, there's division among the workers, and, there's something less than that high degree of harmony and high degree of devotion, then, our union is weak and we can't succeed" (Livingston and Hill 1969, 14-15).

Livingston's response confirms the structural explanations that Goldfield (1993) puts forward in accounting for the racial egalitarianism of the CIO-- as Livingston explains it, levels of "discrimination and division" that might be tolerable to unions in other industries is intolerable for a group of unskilled workers in a highly competitive and fragmented industry. 65s multi-decade record of anti-racist practices contravenes Hill's contention that CIO "interracialism was a purely opportunistic strategy, designed to better defend the privileges of white workers" (Goldfield 1993, 25). Livingston here confirms Goldfield's emphasis on the role of leadership and ideology in explaining the union's racial stance. But the remarkable aspect of Livingston's statement is the way it scrambles received notions of the dichotomy between idealism and pragmatism. For Livingston, for 65, *idealism was pragmatic*. 65ers found no other way to build the levels of commitment and participation that organizing in such a marginal and fractured

industry required than to align the union's struggles with a broader vision of racial justice and social transformation. In Livingston's telling, visions of racial and social justice were not some alien ideology temporarily grafted onto the union rank and file by leaders whose main contributions lay in being efficient trade union bureaucrats. On the contrary, it was 65's alignment with social justice that galvanized the high level of rank and file participation and commitment to the union work that enabled its success.

The history of District 65 suggests that the union saw the spaces it controlled—the union hall, the hiring hall, the "Friends of 65" meetings—as a crucial nexus where union democracy, racial egalitarianism, working class consciousness, and class power would be formed. Like 174, 65 rose to the challenge of organizing unskilled, ethnically divided workers in part through creating interior spaces that shaped encounters among their members in ways that built solidarity and class consciousness across difference. Each union learned from, articulated with, drew on, and developed a particular mix of transmovement, indigenous, and prefigurative free spaces and free space functions that enabled it to transcend the spatial practices of the AFL period, and intervene in the process of class formation across Katznelson's levels. The unions' halls served organizational purposes, at Katznelson's fourth level, but also provided the basis for efforts to intervene at the third level, that of disposition and consciousness, through educational, social, and recreational programs. The unions used their halls also as the ground for their interventions at the second level, that of social organization, in their involvement in campaigns around social reproduction and collective consumption that could today be classified as struggles over the right to the city. In their experiments in the halls with cooperative business models, the two unions even gestured towards a transformation at Katznelson's first level of class formation, that of

economic structure. District 65, due to its particular industrial position and the ideological commitments of its leadership, made exceptional efforts through its hiring hall, educational programs, affairs committees, and integrated social events, to use its headquarters an anti-racist space. In many other ways, the early CIO local spaces developed under the leadership of Arthur Osman and Walter Reuther were markedly similar. As the next section describes, the way the two leaders imagined-- and in Reuther's case, carried out-- a vision of the creation of interior spaces that would be adequate to further development of the labor movement and its aims, would diverge sharply in the postwar period. These differences are bound up in questions of place, space, scale, hierarchy, power, and social transformation that remain relevant today.

Chapter V

Resting on Solidarity: Scale, Horizontalism, Bureaucracy, and Interior Space

Surveying the labor scene at the end of the 1950s, in light of the red scare and the AFL-CIO merger, Bert Cochran considered the advances that the industrial organizing of the mid-century had made over earlier craft union formations:

The traditional craft union was built on the idea of creating a monopoly in a given trade, and that idea led to the exclusion of Negroes, of other minority groups, of newcomers in general. The labor supply had to be kept limited. The industrial union on the contrary had to rest on solidarity, and hence was forced to battle from the first against all divisive prejudices based on craft, color, religion, or nationality (Cochran 1959, 54).

More recently, in light of the bureaucratization, inertia, and racial discrimination that took hold or resurfaced in many industrial unions in the 1950s and after, scholars have re-evaluated the extent to which the intense and inclusive solidarity required by, and generated by, the union upsurge of the CIO period extended beyond the CIO's formative years. Did the industrial unions rest on solidarity as a building rests on its foundation or as a once-celebrated champion rests on his laurels?

As we have seen, the local halls of 174 and 65 shared marked similarities in their initial years. Both unions created multipurpose, multi-use spaces with a wide array of recreational, educational, and social programs that complemented and enhanced the local's organizational functions. Each aimed to use the space to build solidarity and class consciousness among

members across the division between workplace and home and across differences in gender, ethnicity, age, and occupation. For each, the interior scale was crucial to a broader multiscale project of class formation and social change.

But, as this section details, the 1940s marked the beginning of a significant divergence between the two unions in their spatial strategies and their visions of the role of interior space in these strategies. District 65, under the leadership of Arthur Osman and David Livingston, endeavored to develop a horizontal network of union spaces that could project power at the neighborhood and urban scale, attempting to build such a network on its own and advocating for a multi-industry network of such spaces through its participation in New York City's left-led Industrial Union Council. Though these plans were never fully realized, 65 continued to place a high premium on social and educational activities in its headquarters on Astor Place, which remained a bustling hub into the 1970s. The spatial imaginary of Walter Reuther as he rose from Local 174 through the GM department to become union president was different in important ways-- a function of differences in scale, industry, and ideology. These differences were clearly expressed in the design of the UAW's international headquarters, Solidarity House, and in Reuther's final, vainglorious, spatial endeavor, the Family Education Center at Black Lake. At the end of Reuther's life, he committed the UAW to a partnership with the Teamsters and District 65, along with other unions, that promised a return to the community-based unionism that had marked the rise of the CIO. This alliance disintegrated after Reuther's death, but the dilemmas of scale, strategy, and organizational form that it set out to grapple with remain to be resolved.

As several scholars have described, some of the aspects of the initial organizing period of the CIO-- aspects that distinguished it from the craft organizing that had gone before-- were short-lived. The "new unionism" of the early years of the CIO, as Mary Heaton Vorse described, had seen "the union as a way of life which [involved] the entire community". But by the late 1930s, this "community-based, grass-roots labor militancy" had given way, and "the base of the labor movement had shifted from the community to the workplace" (Faue 1996, 172-3). In Faue's telling, this shift went hand in hand with the marginalization of women in the union movement as well as with bureaucratization and a decline in union democracy. Stevenson charts an overlapping shift in the racial stance of the CIO, distinguishing its 1936-41 "initial thrust phase of opportunistic racial egalitarianism" from the "liberal, gradualist," pacifying stance taken with the creation of the Committee to Abolish Racial Discrimination in 1942. For the UAW, this meant dissolving the union's Interracial Committee in 1943, a year of intense racial violence in Detroit and white hate strikes in the auto industry (Stevenson 1993, 47-48; Lichtenstein 1995, 202).

As the previous chapter detailed, District 65 followed community based, racial, and participatory practices associated with the "initial thrust phase" of the CIO for decades beyond 1941. This was in part due to the radical ideology of its leadership (see Stepan-Norris and Zeitlin 2002 for a broad effort to distinguish the record of right and left-led unions in the CIO and to vindicate the left unions on empirical grounds). But, as Phillips (2013) details, it was also largely due to exigencies of the industrial sectors and labor market strata that 65 was organized in. Osman describes the position of his union:

We were not working in a manufacturing plant. When we walk out on strike we do not automatically cripple our employer. So we seem to be powerless. Because of this lack of

capacity to cripple our employer we had to devise methods of involving not only our total membership, but all sorts of other people including the community...for us to win with our limited power we had to involve the whole community and many communities" (Osman and Hill 1968a p. 9).

Osman is distinguishing here between two forms of workers' power: what Erik Olin Wright calls "structural power" and "associational power" (Silver 2003, 13-16, 170-173). 65's leaders, even as they embarked on a series of remarkably successful organizing drives in the late 1930s and early 1940s that expanded their membership into new areas and new industries, recognized that the forward momentum of working class formation at the city level would need to be sustained through concerted action with other unions that could generate a critical density of union activity in neighborhoods across the city.

The vehicle for such an effort, in Osman's eyes and those of other radical unionists in the city at the time, was the Greater New York Industrial Union Council (IUC). IUCs were established under the CIO's 1938 charter, convening representatives of the CIO's affiliates at the local and state levels in a similar fashion to what are now known as Central Labor Councils. By 1944 the CIO had established 36 IUCs at the state level and 232 at the local and area levels. The Councils "were charged with coordinating support for local strikes and organizing campaigns, keeping track of legislative and political developments, maintaining a CIO presence in civic and community affairs, and transmitting information between the national CIO and local unionists". Zieger downplays the neighborhood influence of the IUCs, arguing that these councils "often played a minor role in the lives of CIO workers," who were concerned more with the workplace effects of union organizing than with their unions' community involvements. He acknowledges, however, that the "councils were the keys to labor's involvement in local politics" (Zieger 1995,

148-9, 272). The union left saw these geographic structures as crucial to broadening, deepening, and consolidating working class influence on urban life and policy. By the end of World War II, "Communists and their allies controlled or heavily influence most of the big-city IUCs" (Zieger 1995, 254). Among these left-led councils, the Greater New York IUC distinguished itself as "clearly the most active and innovative regional body in the CIO" (H. Foner 1990, 348). The city's IUC "saw as its province all aspects of society that affected workers, including politics, the economy, race relations, and social welfare," (Freeman, 63) "cultural development" (H. Foner 1990, 347) and police brutality (Mills 1946). Total membership of IUC affiliated unions in the city in 1947 numbered 220,000 (Per Capita Report, 1947).

Osman represented 65 on the IUC. In a sweeping 1943 memo to his fellow council members titled "Union Work on a Community Basis," he articulated a vision of a network of IUC affiliated interior spaces that could anchor the union movement in neighborhood life, connecting workers across industries and serving as a vehicle for workers' engagement in electoral politics. In the memo, he critiqued the model of a single central headquarters as the only union space:

the average worker lives an hour's travel from his workplace and a similar distance from his union headquarters. Activity at the union hall involves physical difficulties as well as expenses such a fare and supper. Furthermore, activity at the union hall often strains family time and rarely facilitates involvement of relatives and neighbors. Union activity, therefore, has been practical only to a limited number of persons who can ignore these difficulties or whose extreme consciousness helps them overcome all obstacles [*... We must attempt to bring the union closer to each member's home [...] through neighborhood forms of organization[...].*]

The organizations that Osman envisioned would be governed by community councils, each with representatives from unions whose members lived in the neighborhood that council was based in. Such councils could then develop physical infrastructure:

[A] community where many unions are active and well-organized will enable the CIO Community Council to operate a labor center which would be used for meeting places as well as for recreational, welfare, and educational facilities. It would facilitate the organization of mass auxiliaries who would use the labor center as their headquarters (Osman 1943, my emphasis).

Osman's vision never fully materialized. In 1946, the CIO Executive Board adopted new rules governing the IUCs designed to circumscribe their activities and bring them under closer control by national leadership. This marked an intensification in the fierce and often underhanded struggle by national CIO leaders to rid IUCs across the country of Communist influence. In 1949, the CIO formed a new NYC Council on an anti-communist basis, with much narrower aims (Freeman 2000, 82; Zieger 1995, 272-3; H. Foner 1990).

Osman kept alive his vision of a network of neighborhood union spaces, even imagining that 65 could sustain such a network on its own. His speech at the 1948 Local 65 convention, full of bravado in anticipation of the coming attack on the union by employers and government, invoked the vision:

We will win because our cause is just and ten thousand 65ers fighting a just cause will give this city a strike they have never seen before.

We will win because we know how to win—to keep on building and fighting—and we mean to do that.

When our victory is won, we can begin to tackle the questions then before us. Perhaps some of our dreams will then be nearer to reality. A summer camp for our members and especially our kids; --*Community centers—a dozen baby Club 65s scattered throughout the city*, a pension plan and a medical plan to supplement the Security Plan. And finally, two great new organizing drives – one to build 65 at a pace which will bring us twenty thousand members by February 1950, and a second to build the New Party so that it remains not a third or a second party, but the First Party of this land (“Opening Session,” my emphasis).

The vision of a networked, cross-industry community unionism rooted in multi-function local interior spaces was beyond the capacity of 65 to achieve on its own, and ultimately beyond the high water mark of working class formation that the CIO was able to achieve. But the sensibility this vision represented, of a place-based labor movement drawing on dense community ties and addressing itself to all aspects of urban life across the "city trenches" dividing home from workplace (Katznelson 1981), is one that is reflected at moments of working class power in other times and places, and, to judge by key provisions of the Taft Hartley Act, is one that was seen as deeply threatening by the US state in the early post-war period.

As Freeman (2003, 3) notes, Gutman (1986) and Hobsbawn (1987) have explored the questions of cohesion and density of working class communities at various scales. In the course of his exploration of working class power that manifested in smaller industrial towns in the US in the 19th Century, Gutman argues that increasing urban size created rifts between workplace and home, among workers, and between the working class and the middle class: in the big city, "the social structure in large cities unavoidably widened the distance between social and economic classes. Home and job often were far apart. A man's fellow workers were not necessarily his

friends and neighbors. Face to face relationships became less meaningful as the city grew larger and production became more diverse and specialized" (1986, 73). Hobsbawm, wrestling with related questions, notes that so many of the classic factory towns in England that became "labor strongholds" were places of "Gemeinschaft [...]" in which people could walk to and from work [...]"places where work, home, leisure, industrial relations, local government and home-town consciousness were inextricably mixed together". The megalopolis, on the other hand "so vast and disarticulated [...] ought to have been an inhospitable environment for labour movements. To the extent that working class power did manifest in "the great city", Hobsbawm argues, it was often mainly through the influence of "urban villages"-- concentrated working class districts within the metropolitan area, such as those of Paris's 'red belt' (1987, 40, 43-45).

Osman's spatial practices as president of 65, and his visionary grappling with the spatial dilemmas of organizing at the scale of New York City confirm Herod's insistence that working spatial imaginaries, and working class agency in shaping space and producing scale must be reckoned with. Too often overlooked by labor historians and geographers alike, he argues, are the manifold ways in which "workers actively mold and shape spatial relations and landscapes as an integral part of their political praxis and as a source of political power" (1998, 5; see also Herod 2001). 65's hall, and the network of community sites Osman envisioned, represent a circumscribed praxis and a broad vision of what Herod (2001, 35) calls "labor's spatial fix". Osman was articulating a socio-infrastructural strategy adequate to the task of working class formation in the "great city" of New York, at the second, third, and fourth levels of Katznelson's schema (collective action, disposition, and social organization) and across the interior, neighborhood, and urban scales

The sort of place-based power that Osman kept his mind on waxed fiercely in many smaller US cities in the immediate postwar period. As Lipsitz (1994, 120-152) details, general strikes or broad based multi-industry sympathy strikes that verged on general strikes erupted in Stamford, CT, Lancaster and Pittsburgh , PA, Houston, Tx, and Oakland, CA in 1946. This "rank-and-file labor unrest," Lipsitz argues, "provided the definitive impetus for [...] the Taft-Hartley act" in 1947. Taft-Hartley, in this view, "adapted existing labor legislation to new challenges posed by rank-and-file militancy" (1994, 152, 157). Key provisions of the bill undermined the sorts of place-based, inter-industry solidarities that had manifested in these strike waves. The law provided for sanctions against "unfair labor practices" including secondary boycotts, sympathy strikes, and mass picketing. These were precisely the forms of struggle through which individual industrial disputes had become generalized in places like Oakland and Stamford. The removal of these forms from labor's repertoire, Lipsitz argues, "worked to isolate the rank and file from community support" (1994, 172-3, 177).

In this way, the adaptable legal apparatus of the state, and the anti-communist assaults of national CIO leaders forestalled the efforts of the Industrial Union Councils and individual unions left-led unions such as 65 that were pursuing community based unionism. Further development of spatial-organizational-infrastructure strategies for working class formation along place-based, broadly solidaristic lines that transgressed the division between the workplace and the home was prevented in favor of stable, top-down industrial unionism focused on wages, benefits, and conditions of work. The UAW under Walter Reuther exemplified this accomodationist path in many ways. In what follows, I examine two UAW facilities developed under Reuther's leadership: the union's International headquarters, Solidarity House, completed in 1951, and the Black Lake Family Education Center, opened in 1970.

"The Nerve Center": Solidarity House

Solidarity House was completed in 1951, five years after Walter Reuther assumed the UAW presidency. It was sited on the Detroit River at 8000 E. Jefferson Avenue, the former location of a Ford family home. Reuther's close associate, the German architect Oskar Stonorov prepared the modernist glass and steel design. The building's facade, with its marked resemblance to a computer punch card, made it, as Lichtenstein has observed, a "perfect symbol" of the bureaucratization of the union in the postwar years (1995, 311).



Figure 31 Solidarity House Postcard (c. 1954).

This architectural turning point in the union matched shifts in the union's bargaining pattern and urban political engagements. These two shifts were signaled, respectively, by the 1950 Treaty of

Detroit, and the stinging defeat of George Edwards in the 1949 Detroit mayoral race. Stonorov and Reuther had become close friends in the early 1940s during their collaboration on never-realized designs for a comprehensively planned workers' settlement of 55,000 at the site of Ford's new Willow Run bomber plant (Lichtenstein 1995, 172). Stonorov's designs for New Deal housing such as his Carl Mackley homes in Philadelphia were informed by a spatial determinism that he shared with his hero Corbusier, matched with a communitarian feel for the complex overlapping of various realms of workers lives (Radford 1996).

Stonorov's plan for Solidarity House, on the other hand, was driven by a functionalist sensibility organized around command and control of the now immense union (at the time the building opened, the UAW's 1200 locals included 1.5 million members). From the start, Solidarity House was designed with other priorities in mind than those that had animated Local 174's headquarters. The new International headquarters were devised as a space for the union's staffers to administer the organization's nearly 30 departments. Staffers on site numbered 500, and were paid "double the wages of a GM Production worker" (Lichtenstein 1995, 311). Departments devoted to coordinating extra-occupational activities of the sort that Reuther had cultivated at the local level in the 174 hall, as central to his social democratic vision, included Community Relations, Community Services, Education, Political Action, Recreation, and the Women's Department. But the building itself was not devised as a space in which the broader membership would be directly engaged in such activities or, for that matter, as one where they would congregate at all. In an affidavit submitted for the building permit, the union assured the city of Detroit that "no provision is made in the plans for conventions, large assemblies or mass meetings. The building will not include an auditorium of any kind [...] The largest meetings [...]

will be the periodic meetings of the International Executive Board, never exceeding 50 in number” (Building Permit Affidavit, n.d.).

A pamphlet sent to invitees to the building’s June, 1951 dedication offered “welcome to Solidarity House, the New Home of your union.” The domestic connotations of the building’s name were ironic given it’s austere and businesslike design: a contemporary cover feature on the building in Michigan Architect and Engineer Magazine touted not its home-like qualities but its modern electric and communications system, which helped ensure that “employee efficiency rates as tops” (Michigan Architect 1952). An article in the UAW's newspaper heralding the construction of Solidarity House emphasized "administrative efficiency...more effective coordination between various departments, [and] better service" to local unions and the membership" as the primary benefits of the new headquarters ("Our Union's New Home," c. 1949). Henry Ford was by then a few years in his grave. But the Flivver King might have been honored that the site of his family home was being devoted so wholeheartedly to the spirit of productivity, efficiency, and rational management.

The building was well-suited for a new era in the UAW and in the CIO at large. The UAW's 1950 contract, touted as the “Treaty of Detroit” by the business press, guaranteed no strikes in the industry for 5 years, giving up significant elements of shop-floor control in exchange for substantial increase in wages and benefits (Barnard 2004, 279; Aronowitz 1992, 247). The contract would become a template for labor relations in many industries during the postwar boom. In this new era of labor peace, stability, and shared prosperity, it seemed the chief tasks of union leaders was not organizing members but administering the details of the contract. By the mid 1950s, Lichtenstein observes, “the UAW employed about 700 staffers, over four hundred of whom were International representatives who directly ‘serviced’ the membership.

These were good steady jobs, paying more than twice the wages of a GM production worker” (Lichtenstein 1995, 311).

This bureaucratization was accompanied by a shift in the UAW’s involvement in local politics. In the 1949 Detroit mayoral election, the UAW political apparatus backed Local 174 stalwart George Edwards, who lost by nearly two to one to conservative Albert Cobo. The racial dynamics described by Sugrue (1995) were at the heart of this landslide, which soured Reuther’s UAW on all-out contestations in Detroit city politics for more than a decade (Lichtenstein 1995, 306-311). Reuther’s vision from the early days of Local 174, of a union movement integrating collective bargaining and community politics, had grown dim indeed.

Nevertheless the union continued throughout the 1950s to invest heavily in social, leisure, and educational activities, in the form of consumer cooperatives, a union bookstore, credit unions, sports leagues, radio programs, “golf tournaments, children’s summer day camps, family picnics, Christmas parties, choral and musical groups, sportsmen’s shows, retiree drop-in centers, and hobby exhibits and demonstrations.” The UAW estimated that “over 600,000 members participated in one or more such activity in 1960” (Barnard 2004, 268). The union’s educational efforts, in particular, were formidable. Barnard relates that throughout “the 1950s over 50,000 auto workers enrolled annually in the union’s education classes [...] Summer schools and weekend institutes supplemented ongoing classes that local unions offered [on leadership development as well as current events]” (2004, 266).

But where the local headquarters of 174 had been envisioned as a "perfect community center" by its socialist organizers, Solidarity House was envisioned as the union's "nerve center"-
- a locus of communication flows designed to direct the movements of the body of the union

outside ("Solidarity House", 1954). . In spite of its name, the building instantiated, and reinforced, a growing division in the union between its leaders and staffers and its rank and file. The headquarters was a "spatial fix" for quite a different set of union problems than those that Osman had dreamed up his network of community spaces to solve. Osman, with the IUC in the 1940s, was grasping for answers to horizontal question of class formation across industrial lines at the neighborhood and urban scales. Reuther, at the helm of a massive union with some 1.5 million members scattered across 1200 locals throughout the US and Canada, was contending with vertical questions of command, control, and coordination at the national scale and beyond. Yet as Reuther projected the union's power across space at the national scale, the place-based, horizontal power that had constituted the UAW at its grassroots withered gradually.

"Stars in the Eyes of the Union": The Black Lake Retreat

"What we've done here is we have built a city. This is really building a city. It's our city. It's our education center. And I personally think this is going to make it possible for thousands of our people with their wives and their kids to come up here in the years ahead to learn to have fun and to keep the stars in the eyes of this union."

-Walter Reuther, inaugurating the Black Lake Family Education Center, March, 1970.

The negative repercussions of the vertical distance between the union leadership and the rank and file were to become increasingly apparent to Reuther and other UAW leaders in the 1950s and 60s. In his last defining act of spatial planning for the union, Reuther, with his trusted associate Oskar Stonorov, devised the Black Lake Family Education Center. The Center, set on 1000 acres on a lake more than 250 miles north of Detroit, was the consuming project of the last months of Reuther's life. He envisioned the center as the first in a national network, "modeled after Swedish labor's network of training facilities and vacation hostels" (Lichtenstein 1995,

436), and presumably, partly on Brookwood. Black Lake was designed to replace the FDR Labor Education Center in Port Huron, Michigan, which was “the most important central area for summer school training” in the early years of Reuther’s UAW presidency, “purchased by the Michigan CIO Council but used extensively by the UAW” (V. Reuther 1976, 260). Reuther had “for years considered [the Port Huron site as] little more than a ‘recreational slum’” (Lichtenstein 1995, 436). Michael Lardner, whose parents worked at the FDR Center in its final years, remembers its qualities with higher regard, noting that its nearer proximity to Detroit made it more accessible to rank and filers, and reflecting on its value as a retreat center for the broader left, and particularly student activists (SDS’s founding ‘Port Huron Statement’ was drafted at the camp) (Lardner 2010).

The rationale for devoting the union’s resources (in increasingly extravagant measure) to the Black Lake project was rooted in a realization that had slowly dawned on union leadership since the early 1950s. Reuther saw the union as getting flabby, with new members both unaware of the difficulties of life in the factories before the union, and untempered by the fierce heat of the 1930s and 40s strike waves. He saw a need to “unionize the organized,” to “bridge the generation gap” and instill class consciousness, political analysis, and bureaucratic capacity widely in younger generations of union members (Barnard 2004, 263-267; M. Osman 1972, 30). This was a recognition of a shift in what Raymond Williams has theorized as generational structures of feeling (Denning 1998, 26-29). The UAW’s Educational Department, helmed by Victor Reuther after 1947, addressed itself with considerable energy to these problems (V. Reuther, 1963). But by the late 1960s, this generational disjunction was considerable, and increasingly amplified by racial divisions within the union membership, with black workers challenging their continued relegation to the more dirty, difficult, and dangerous jobs in the auto

plants, their under-representation in official union positions, and other intolerable conditions (P. Foner 1982, Georgakas and Surkin 2004). At the 1966 UAW Convention in Long Beach, CA, Reuther ratified his plan to develop the Black Lake Center. The stated aims of the Center were written into the union's charter: "to develop a cadre of future leadership [...] and to develop among potential leaders and their families a clearer understanding of the Union and the complex problems facing our society" (UAW Internal Executive Board, 1978).

Reuther enlisted his Socialist Party comrade of the old days, Brendan Sexton, to devise and direct the programming at Black Lake. Sexton's widow Patricia, also an SP activist and UAW member from the union's early days, characterizes his approach to education as flowing from his "Irishman's" gift for conversation-- dialogic and interactive, based on collective research, discussion, and problem solving, in which you would "gather people together in groups, pose problems relating to unions, seek out information, produce materials on social and political problems, problems in the operation of the union" (P. Sexton 2010). Workers were encouraged in this model to develop their own knowledge and figure out ways of sharing it with fellow union members. Sexton outlined the aim of the Center in a memo (B. Sexton 1969c). The Center would be designed to "move people to involvement in healthy, rational, democratic union activities. [... Younger, disproportionately black] workers," Brendan Sexton asserted, "need to learn how the union in their hands can become an instrument for social change as it was in the hands of previous generations." Sexton laid out a multipart goal for the center:

to convince the participants that: (1). the union is an open community in which they are welcome[...] (2). The union has the power to affect events as no other institution that is open to them can [...] (4). The received wisdom as it has come to them through the schools and the media is not necessarily either valid or true. (5) Decisions affecting their

lives [...] will be made for them by others unless they take a hand in the decision making process. (Sexton 1969b).

Elsewhere, Sexton emphasized the effects the center's programs could have in reducing internal strife in the union, be it interracial or intergenerational, and also pointed to its potential use in countering the influence of "extremist groups such as DRUM" among UAW members (B. Sexton 1969b). Sexton's educational vision held sway at the site into the 1980s.

Typical sessions ran two weeks, with participants selected initially from among promising young leaders. Victor Reuther describes the facilities:

the center was built to provide year-round housing for nearly 500 students or guests and a permanent teaching and management staff; it has a large dining hall and lecture complex, a gymnasium that can serve as a concert or lecture hall seating 1200; and an indoor swimming pool. The intellectual nerve center is the library; there are a dozen separate classrooms nearby for small study groups (1976, 460).

Participants would be grouped into "mock locals" for the duration of the stay at Black Lake, and enact union functions such as electing leaders, running meetings, and drawing up resolutions for the mock convention (Nash 1973). Patricia Sexton emphasizes the participatory and social aspects of the educational experience, with "people working together on projects related to the union, *finding* knowledge, not just listening to experts talk [...] People became very close," she observes, in part because of the distant site's isolation from life's daily pressures. The tavern and the evening programs of films, performances, and talks, she recounts, were no less important to the process than the classroom experiences (P. Sexton 2010). There is a certain irony that Black Lake students from Detroit locals might have to travel 260 miles to the backwoods to talk politics over a beer or after a movie with fellow union members.

Reuther initially envisioned the center as one in a network of similar regional facilities, but the expense of the construction at Black Lake made creating identical centers elsewhere an unlikely prospect. With a total UAW membership of 1.5 million, the 800 students estimated to receive training at the center annually represented only slightly better than 1 in 2000 members (B. Sexton 1970). Letters to the center from the 1970s indicate that many participants in its programs benefitted considerably from the training they received there. But given the scale of the union, the center was inadequate to the considerable task that Reuther and Sexton had set for the space, of shifting the consciousness of the membership at large.

The project represented a significant financial burden on the union. Construction costs, borrowed from the union's strike fund, were initially planned at \$11 million to \$13 million, but ballooned to \$30 million. Annual operating costs were \$4 million by the mid 1970s-- fully 2% of the union's dues (Lapham 1976, 31; Miller 1970). The project took on a special personal significance for Reuther, and he spent the bulk of his free time at the site overseeing details of construction. In his public paeans to the site's natural beauty and exquisite furnishings, Reuther seemed to suggest that the trees and the lake and the starry skies on the site would have an even more salutary effect on members than the lessons and discussions of the program (Reuther 1970). Stonorov stoked Reuther's ego, secretly preparing a small building at the site which displayed on the ceiling the alignment of the constellations at the moment of Reuther's birth on September 1, 1907 (Reuther 1970, 16). The stars Reuther contrived to be kept in the eyes of the union by the Black Lake Center were, in more ways than one, his own.

Auto industry observers reserved judgement in the early years of the center as to whether its stars were as illuminating for the class struggle as those that had accompanied sharp blows over the head from police and company goons in the organizing drives of the 1930s (Lapham

1976, 33). But the UAW's trajectory in the final decades of the 20th century shows that Reuther's quixotic vision of a remote summer camp resolving the class decomposition of its base in the postwar years amounted, in the end, to little. By the late 1970s, the union recognized that the divisions between top leadership, local officials, the rank and file, and auto-workers broader communities had only increased. A 1978 report to the executive board on education diagnosed the problem in a corporate-bureaucratic idiom:

the transfer of information from local union leaders to the members appears to have weakened [...] Programs should be devised to generate more effective communication between the International Union and its local union leadership, and its members, directed toward inculcating a greater spirit of enthusiastic commitment to the UAW cause and stimulating more direct involvement of members in the Union's activities. [...] Programs of direct communication with the various sectors of the community at large should be improved and broadened in order to upgrade acceptance of UAW positions on key issues and induce a more favorable attitude toward the union as an instrument for progress with and for the community (IEB Education Committee 1978, 2-3).

The committee's recommendations included redoubling efforts at education at the local level, increasing resources devoted to public relations and direct mailings. This document indicates how thoroughly the UAW leadership had abandoned the broader project of class formation per se-- here the union itself is the central referent for members' consciousness, rather than the broader social struggle the union was once a part of.

The Black Lake project wasn't the only experiment Reuther pursued in the last years of his life. In 1968, he began to moot the formation of a breakaway progressive labor federation that

would engage in union organizing in concert with community organizing. In 1969, with the Teamsters on board, the Alliance for Labor Action was born, representing nearly a quarter of AFL-CIO members. The ALA sought partners among a range of progressive unions, but in the end recruited only the Chemical Workers and District 65. Briefly, it seemed as though the UAW and 65 were in sync in a community-based approach to organizing in a way they hadn't been since the early 1940s. In a 1970 speech UAW's Community Action Project National Advisory Council inaugurating the Black Lake complex, Reuther defined the community ethos that he hoped would guide the ALA:

I think our union is distinguished from many other unions because we are not only about collective and higher wages and better working conditions although all of those things related to the collective bargaining process are most important. We are about the whole man, we are about the worker in a factory, we are about that worker in the community, we are about his family, we are about all those things that relate to the quality of his life" (W. Reuther 1970a).

The Alliance collapsed in the wake of Reuther's death, and under considerable tensions between the progressive posture of Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons and the entrenched craft union culture of the Teamsters at the local level (Lichtenstein 1995, 430-433; Phillips 2012, 181-185).

65 was undergoing difficulties of its own in this period. Ten thousand of the union's department store workers stayed behind in the CIO when 65 joined the ALA (Eisner 2013). Looming large among 65's difficulties were the "spatial and social challenges that suburbia [had increasingly] presented to the union" since the 1950s. Like those of many other unions, 65's

shops and its members were relocating to the outskirts of the city, dispersing the center of gravity that had been so carefully developed around its union hall, and removing workplaces from the milieu of "preexisting community based activism that was well entrenched in many working class neighborhoods of New York City but that was less developed in the newer communities" (Ziskind 2003, 61, 69). As of 1962, 7,300 of 65's 26,000 members-- more than a quarter-- lived outside the five boroughs of New York City (Where 65ers Live, 1962). Hobsbawm (1987, 48) points to the implications of suburbanization for the spacetime of working class life and organization: "for an increasing number of workers [suburbanization] has snapped the links between day and night, or between the places where people live and those where they work, with substantial effects on the potential of labor organization which is always strongest where work and residence belong together."

As Freeman (2000, 173-4) observes of New York City, "residential dispersion eroded the viability of social benefit delivery through central facilities, like union health clinics, and made it less likely that workers and their families would go to union halls for entertainment and recreation". By 1972, attendance at meetings at 65's hall had begun to decline. The union wrote clauses into its contracts in 1973 guaranteeing members 2 hours off per month to attend meetings, but this incentive was not enough to overcome the socio-spatial shifts at play (Rosenzweig n.d., 14). 65 continued to experiment with the use of the hall for educational purposes, opening a college program for its members in affiliation with Hofstra University in the 1970s (Silverman, 2012). Revlon, Lerner's, and other key employers under contract with the union moved production or opened new plants in far flung states. The union was able to maintain contracts in many of these runaway shops for a time, but became increasingly stretched (Rosenzweig n.d., 36; Eisner 2012). Financial pressures from its generous healthcare plan

mounted on the union, and it fell behind in its mortgage payments on the Astor Place hall in 1993, ultimately selling the building at a considerable loss during a downturn in the real estate market (Eisner 2012).

District 65 was far from the only union that had to reckon with suburbanization, capital flight, and the formation of what Mike Davis has called "the new union resistant geography of American industry" (1986, 129). These spatial shifts were co-constituted with social and cultural shifts. In one of his first speeches presenting Black Lake to UAW members, Walter Reuther gestured towards some of these shifts:

Our union is close to the wives and close to the families. But we have a practical problem. In the early days, if you went back and researched it, you would find that when a local union met, sometimes 85 per cent of the membership would be at the local meeting. Why? A local meeting was his social activities, all of his activities, because he couldn't afford to go anyplace else. And then we began to raise the level of income. And as we raised the level of income, people were able to do things with their lives they couldn't do before (1970b, 10).

The collective memory of the struggles of the 1930s and 40s had faded. Dispersing geographies of home and work undermined the functionality of the union hall in terms of relative space. The prosperity gained in the earlier struggles enabled a range of leisure pursuits and a consumption oriented lifestyle. In the wake of the red scare in Hollywood, the mass media that Cohen (2008) credited with building a "common ground" among workers of different ethnic and racial backgrounds in the 1930s shaped the structures of feeling of the rising generation of workers in a profoundly different way than the "cultural front" of the 1930s had set out to do (Denning 1998).

The spatio-organizational forms devised by the UAW, District 65, and other unions of the CIO period were inadequate, on this shifting socio-spatial terrain, to the tasks of working class formation they had set for themselves at their outset.

CHAPTER VI

Scalar Tensions

I frame my conclusion between two images that illustrate the scalar dichotomy I've set up in the previous chapter. The first, a painting by Ralph Fasanella, a largely self-taught popular front artist who began making pictures in the 1940s while employed as a New York City front artist who began making pictures in the 1940s while employed as a New York City organizer for the left-led United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (Denning 1998, 54, 60).



Figure 32 Painting "Local 65: Build Your Union" (Fasanella, 1950).

This 1950 painting, titled "Local 65: Build Your Union," was Fasanella's tribute to 65's rank-and-file oriented, culturally elaborated approach to community unionism (Labor Arts 2014). The canvas presents a vertically compressed visual psychogeography depicting the seamless, (and seemingly impossible) topologies the union developed articulating the realms of organizing, social, cultural, and intellectual life with city streets, shops, and neighborhoods. At the composition's center is the union meeting hall, a site of talismanic power for Fasanella, who returned to it repeatedly in paintings throughout his career, particularly when feeling demoralized (D'Ambrosio 2001). Branching off from the meeting there are union social events, musical performances, and a union bookshop, all attended by a multiracial group of people stepping smoothly from the streets into the union's realms. The spatial distinctions between the union's interior spaces and its urban exterior are smeared and undone by the picture planes refusal to resolve into conventional perspective. The painting's title and admonition, BUILD YOUR UNION, is threaded across multiple sites. Fasanella expresses visually the 65 union hall's role in mediating between the bodily scale and the urban scale, and in forming class at the levels of collective action and disposition. The image, viewing the union through the lens of relative and relational space, celebrates the community based, participatory unionism exemplified by 65.

The second image, drawn from undated pamphlet distributed by the Michigan CIO Council Education Department, diagrams the spatio-organizational structure of the national CIO.

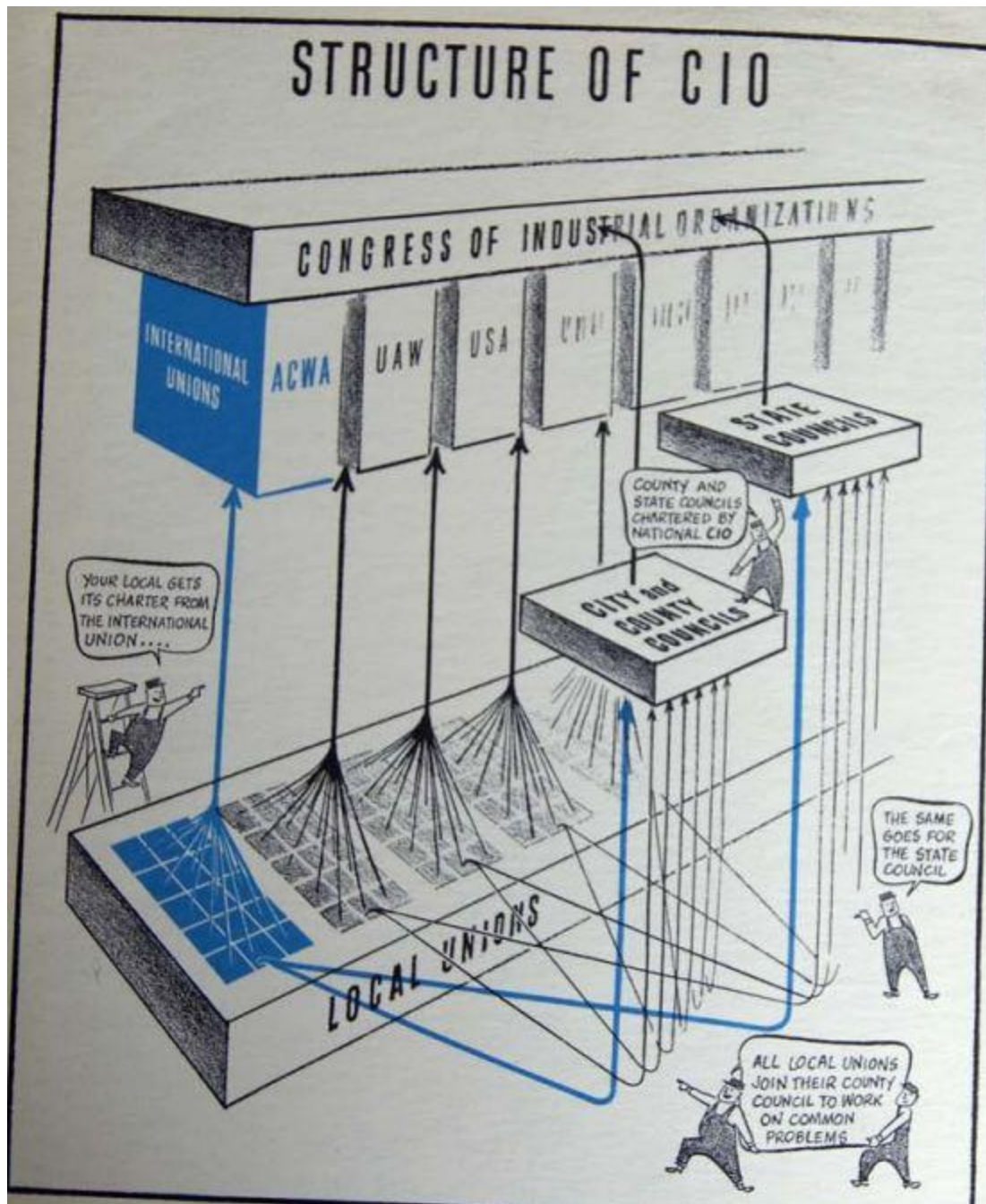


Figure 33 "Structure of CIO" diagram (n.d.)

The bulk of the diagram show the industrial organization of the Congress, with the strands reaching up from each flat, two-dimensionally rendered local union in a given industry gathering together into the solid, three-dimensional blocks of "international" unions on which the congress

rests at the national scale. In the foreground, the diagram indicates the way the geographic structures of the city, county, and state CIO councils are constituted by representation from local union bodies. The entire network of councils is given roughly equivalent visual weight as a single industrial union. The image is a striking representation of the vertically integrated hierarchy through which the CIO constituted industrial power at the national scale. This verticality is emphasized through its portrait composition, its orthographic perspective, its array of upwardly raking arrows, and the ladder one of the overall-clad cartoon interpreters of the diagram uses to get a better view. One misleading feature of the diagram is of particular interest: each industrial union-- the ACWA, the UAW, the Steel Workers-- appears to draw from a distinct and spatially separated set of local unions. Each of these industries was indeed based in regional clusters and strongholds-- but the diagram makes it seem as though each is in its own separate spatial silo, erasing the way these industries drew members from overlapping sets of neighborhoods and cities. This overlapping was a spatial reality that many CIO unions used to their advantage in their initial organizing phases.

By juxtaposing these two images, I want to draw attention to the "scalar tensions" (Savage 2006) inherent in the labor movement, and indeed in any mass social movement. As the CIO projected its power at the national scale, the realities and necessities of organizing at the neighborhood and urban scale became blurred, flat, and seemed to diminish in importance. The view from above can obscure local particularities. For Fasanella, the painter organizing at the grassroots of community-based unionism in NYC, a complex picture of the overlapping spatialities of the body, interior, neighborhood, and urban scale is vividly in view. But the reality of the sociospatial scales between the city and the cosmos it seems to float in in his image does

not come into view. The local perspective can obscure broader political and organizational realities (Zieger et al, 1997).

As Herod (1998, 18-20) notes, the question of the scalar organization of the labor movement, and the accompanying division of territory into administrative units, is one that has long bedeviled unionists, who developed strategies based on historical experiences of victory and defeat at various scales. The shorthand dichotomy "place vs. space" has been used as a way of signifying the tension between small and large scale organizing of territory. The conventional wisdom has it that working class organizing is at its strongest in place-- in drawing on local, dense community ties to build solidarity. The working class is at a disadvantage to capital, this theory holds, in organizing across space-- footloose capital can slip the bonds of disadvantageous local labor relations scenarios through capital flight and industrial restructuring (see for example Cowie 2001). Ultimately, Harvey argues, the larger scales are decisive: "those who command space can always control the politics of place" (1989, 234-5). In this view, the decline of working class organization in the US in the late 20th century can be viewed as a function of its failure to match the global scale of transnational corporations. Recent work on transnational union solidarity explores the possibilities and challenges of working class organizing on a global-scale (Herod 1998, 2001; McCallum 2013).

But as I illustrated in this chapter with reference to the UAW, the vertical concentration of resources and authority carries with it an inertia that tends to pull away from the place-based, community scale of organization. Lydia Savage has coined the term "scalar tension" to describe this dilemma. In her view of the 20th Century US labor movement, "unions trade[d] a reliance on worker activism that was deeply rooted in communities for a reliance on an organizational structure that has often weakened the involvement and commitment of the membership, a

weakening whose consequences are now coming home to roost" (2006, 646). Walter Reuther's big bet on the Black Lake Center can be seen an attempt to suture these scalar tensions-- or even scalar ruptures-- in the UAW.

In light of these contradictions, Savage calls the spatio-strategic question:

In what ways and at what scales should the labor movement and its individual unions operate to be effective defenders of workers' interests yet also remain responsive to such workers? At what scales do they need to structure themselves in order to face the enormous challenges posed by an ever-changing global economy? How big can a union structure grow before worker activism and participation are no longer developed or supported (2006, 652)?

If, as Howitt (1998) has argued, the musical metaphor for scale is germane to social theory, observers have long argued that the labor movement needs to be making considerably more noise in the bass clef. The key to a revitalized labor movement is to redouble efforts at the community and urban scales. Phillips (2013) draws the conclusion from her study of District 65 that 65's brand of place-based, multi-industry community unionism among diverse low income workers in marginal industries is highly relevant to the organizing climate in the US today. In the mid 1980s, Evans and Boyte (1986, 149) argued that such activity is best pursued through free spaces that bridge divisions of residence and workplace:

The most innovative and successful examples of contemporary organizing [...] all manage to merge into the activity of the union the communal traditions central to people's identities. This occurs in particular sorts of voluntary associations, free spaces that link communal life and workplace activity, where people can learn essential public skills and

a powerful sense of their own rights and capacities. In the process of organizing, traditional identities and institutions furnish ideological resources even while themselves undergoing democratic transformation. Class as a lived and powerful reality, then, always has a populist cast. It is about peoplehood, multiple identities, and the places in the community that nurture democratic aspiration and capacity, as well as about relations to the means of production.

More recently, Clawson has argued along similar lines for a "new paradigm, a community-based labor movement that breaks down the barriers between 'union' and 'community,' mobilizes and connects a range of individuals and organizations [...] and builds a social movement that transcends what we now mean by 'union'" (2003, 91). Fletcher and Gapasin (2008, 166-9) advocate for a "social justice unionism" that shares similar features. They argue that racial justice needs to be at the center of labor's agenda for both moral and strategic reasons, a position borne out by empirical studies of union tactics and strategies (Bronfenbrenner and Hickey 2003). Fletcher and Gapasin argue that the urban scale is crucial along with the community scale. They ask "How then, does one organize a city?" In answering this question, they point to opportunities for revitalizing central labor councils by bringing non-union organizations to the table, and advocate for the creation of a new organizational form, "working people's assemblies," which would gather unions, electoral coalitions, cooperatives, and other working class organizations together to pursue common causes (2008, 174, 177, 209). This vision is remarkably similar to that expressed in Arthur Osman's writings on the potential development of the New York Industrial Union Council in the 1940s, and to that instantiated in the "Houses of the People" of the early Italian working class movement (Kohn 2006). Fletcher and Gapasin (169) and Clawson (110-130) point to the Stamford Organizing Project begun in 1998 under the auspices of the

AFL-CIO organizing department as exemplary of this approach. Jane McAlevey, the project's director, presents a detailed account of the project multi-sector organizing in concert with faith based groups working on community issues such as affordable housing in her 2012 (27-60) memoir. Her organizing among Las Vegas hospital workers a few years later followed similar principles, and expanded into active local electoral campaigning. McAlevey's narrative is one in which these breakthroughs at the local level are constantly being undermined and confounded by boardroom level deal-cutting pitched to national scale strategies of sectoral density, and by the exigencies of service to the Democratic Party. The Justice for Janitors Campaigns in Los Angeles and other cities in the 1980s and 1990s are also widely cited as models of community based unionism (Milkman 2006; Savage 2006). As Lynd (1997, 201) notes, however, even as SEIU Local 399 in LA was being celebrated for its innovative multi-sectoral approach, it was placed into trusteeship by the SEIU's national officers.

What interior spaces are called for by a new community unionism, a solidarity unionism that can reground the labor movement at the community and urban scale? The spatial history I've detailed in this study offers no surefire blueprints for union spaces. Much has changed since the in terms of the industrial sectors and spatial patterns that characterize employment, but co-presence remains a sine qua non of solidarity building and class formation across difference. As Bobby Wilson observes, quoting Lefebvre, "dislocation, displacement, and division are the primary means by which capitalism and its modernist cultural form (re)produce space" (2000, 160). It follows that persistence, emplacement, and unification are means by which interior union spaces might be designed to serve labor's interests. Experiments with spatial forms will go hand in hand with experiments in organizational forms, New articulations and new partnerships will create new spaces as labor unions, community organizations, and hybrid organizations grasp

their way towards structures adequate to the considerable organizing tasks they share (Milkman, Bloom, & Narro, eds., 2010; Milkman and Ott, eds. 2014).

House meetings were where District 65 got its start, and they were a central feature of the Justice for Janitors campaign in Los Angeles (Savage 2006), as they had been for the organizing of the UFW, so strongly influenced by the Alinsky model, years before (Evans and Boyte 1986, 146).

The worker centers that have emerged since the 1980s, in most cases designed to serve low income immigrant workers, often in industries "excluded" from conventional labor law protections, have generated considerable interest (Excluded Workers Congress 2010; Fine 2006; Gordon 2005). Often targeted narrowly at a single ethnic or language group, such centers have experimented with a range of activities including advocacy, social service provision, legal services, organizing, hiring hall functions, and cooperative businesses. As Clawson (2003, 108-9) points out, the ethnic solidarities these centers are often based on are both a strength and a limitation in the face of employers' race management strategies. Further, Clawson observes, organizing gains made outside the framework of the NLRB can be short-lived. Moreover, the overwhelming bulk of funding for these projects comes from foundations, which prompts the question of whether the label worker center is appropriate for a form that is for workers but not of them (as a member of the Chicago Labor Press quipped when he heard about Rockefeller funding a Labor Temple in 1911-- "Why not a labor tomb? It would fit better coming from Jawnd" ("John D. Rockefeller," 1911).

Fletcher and Gapasin's vision of some form of augmented central labor council, or "workers assembly," seems to be well suited to inhabit new forms of interior space. It perhaps ill-

served the unions of the CIO period to internalize all the educational, recreational, social, cultural, and political functions that they did in the period when 65 could claim that the union provided "a way of life". The Italian worker centers explored by Kohn (2006), and the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum described in this study, both provided a home for a variety of independent but interconnected workers organizations, from unions to political parties to cooperatives to sports teams and singing groups. Fletcher and Gapasin's vision takes an ecological view of working class formation which would be well served by multi-purpose, multi-organizational spaces along these lines.

In this era of neoliberal ascendancy (Harvey 2003), it is easy to take a grim view of the prospects for the labor movement. But as Przeworski states, "the process of class formation is a perpetual one: classes are continually organized, disorganized, and reorganized" (1977, 372). These shifts happen in shifting, often swift and unpredictable ways. As Cochran reminds us, "unionism is a product of social revolt, not of bureaucratic effort. Union growth has been derivative of mass insurgency, not slow accretion[...] Every one of the periods of [union] growth was a period of social crisis" (1959, 22). This reality may give heart though those who despair, but might also give pause to those with hopes of a grand plan to revive the labor movement through good ideas, better forms, and best practices. I tried to show, in tracing the free space roots of the CIO, that union upsurges can burst forth like the fruiting of a mushroom: under particular external conditions, but also drawing strength from obscured mycelial networks and earlier vehicles of struggle in various stages of decay. New struggles will call for new spaces. We can't be sure which ones will stick, and whether they'll be adequate to the scalar tensions inherent in confronting capital at the urban, national, and global scales. But as Polanyi reminds

us, "not for the first time in History may makeshifts contain the germs of great and permanent institutions"(1957, 251).

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