

WORKING WOMEN'S MUSIC

The Songs and Struggles of Women in the Cotton Mills, Textile Plants and Needle Trades

by Evelyn Alloy

Complete with Music for Singing and Playing

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WRITE FOR OUR FREE CATALOGUE

Musical notation by Martha Rogers

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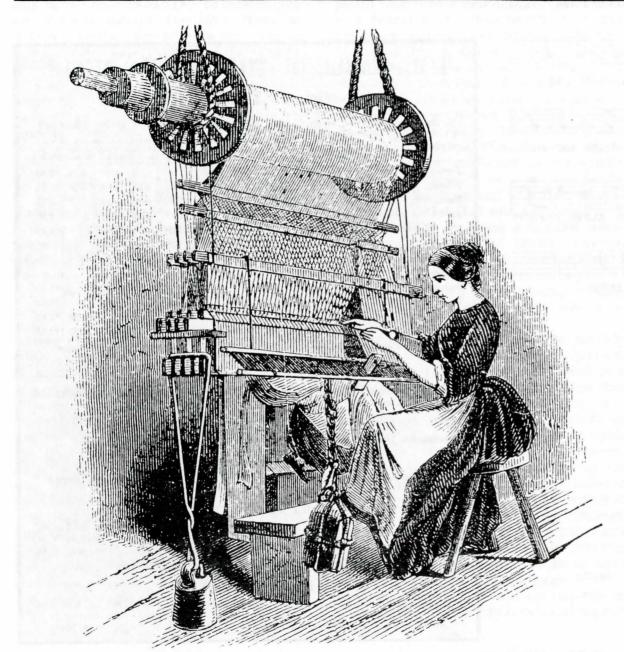
"The songs of the working people have always been their sharpest statement, and the one statement that cannot be destroyed. You can burn books, buy newspapers, you can guard against handbills and pamphlets, but you cannot prevent singing.

"For some reason it has always been lightly thought that singing people are happy people. Nothing could be more untrue. The greatest and most enduring songs are wrung from unhappy people — the spirituals of the slaves which say in effect — 'It is hopeless here, maybe in heaven it will be better.' Songs are the statement of a people. You can learn more about people by listening to their songs than any other way, for into songs go all the hopes and hurts, the angers, fears, the wants and aspirations."

John Steinbeck*

^{*}Quoted from American Folksongs of Protest by John Greenway. 1953.

EARLY INDUSTRIALIZATION



Merrimack Valley Textile Museum Collection

The New England Mills

In 1381 in England the peasant ancestors of the women who settled and worked in New England had revolted and marched on London, singing this chant: ¹

When Adam delved and Eve span Who then was the gentleman?

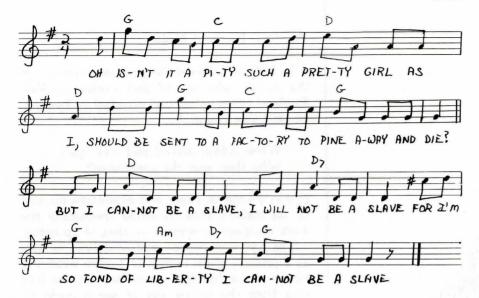
It was a song of anger and aspiration marked by its derisive tone. It noted specifically the work assigned to women — that of spinning.

The Eve who "span" and continued to spin as a primary contribution to family wellbeing for over four hundred years became the Eve who from the tender age of seven could be found in the first cotton mills of New England. The first of these was the Slater mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, founded in 1791. It initiated a process which would appreciably change the character of the early New England villages and the living patterns of the inhabitants.

Lewis Mumford, in the Brown Decades (page 36) reminds us that the original New England villages had been planned "as a definite communal unit: the pattern of common, school, church, town hall, inn and houses had been worked out in relation to the need to exercise the direct political and economic functions of the community; and the result was as fine, on its limited scale, as anything the Old World could show." At the time Mumford refers to, there was a large measure of social interaction, a degree of social equality, shared religious values and presumptions. Children were put to work at a tender age, for idleness

I Cannot Be a Slave

Tune: "I Won't Be a Nun!" 1810



TIME TABLE OF THE LOWELL MILLS,

To take effect on and after Oct. 21st, 1851.

The Standard time being that of the meridian of Lowell, as shown by the regulator clock of JOSEPH RAYNES, 43 Central Street

	1stBell	2dBell	3dBell	Eve.Bell	1stBell	2d Bell	3d Bell	Eve. Bell	1stBell	2dBell.	3d Bell	Eve.Bell.
January,	5.00	6.00	6.50	*7.30	5.00	6 00	6.50	•7.30	5.00	6.00	6.50	•7.30
February,	4.30	5.30	6.40	•7.30	4.30	5.30	6.25	*7.30	4.30	5.30	6.15	•7.80
March,	5.40	6.00		*7.30	5.20	5.40		•7.30	5.05	5.25		6.35
April,	4.45	5.05		6.45	4.30	4.50		6.55	4.30	4.50		7.00
May,	4 30	4.50		7.00	4.30	4.50		7.00	4.30	4.50		7.00
June,						**		••	**	"		
July,	44	"	¥	**	**				"			"
August,	**	a		**		- 44			14	"		
September,	4.40	5.00		6.45	4.50	5.10		6.30	5.00	5.20		•7.30
October,	5.10	5.30		•7.30	5.20	5.40	- 36	•7.30	5.35	5.55		•7.30
November,	4.30	5.30	6.10	•7.30	4.30	5.30	6.20	•7.30	5.00	6.00	6.35	•7.30
December,	5.00	6.00	6.45	•7.30	5.00	6.00	6.50	•7.30	5.00	6.00	6.50	•7.30

[·] Ecoapting on Saturdays from Sopt. 21st to March 2)th inclusive, when it is rung at 20 minutes after sumet.

YARD GATES,

Will be opened at ringing of last morning bell, of meal bells, and of evening bells; and kept open Ten minutes.

MILL GATES.

Commence hoisting Mill Gates, Two minutes before commencing work.

WORK COMMENCES.

At Ten minutes after last morning bell, and at Ten minutes after bell which "rings in" from Meals.

BREAKFAST BELLS.

Remainder of year work commences after Breakfast.

DINNER BELLS.

"Ring out"..... 12.30 p. m...... Ring in".... 1.05 p. m.

In all cases, the first stroke of the bell is considered as marking the time.

was thought to encourage depravity. There was also the economic imperative — a household bulging with children could not be economically self-sufficient without the labor input of children's hands. From labor in the home, it was an easy step to respond to Slater's advertisements for child labor alone, or for child labor as part of a family unit. However, in the environment of the mill, child exploitation was more obvious; and later songs dwell on the sorrowful conditions of the child worker. Slater's first nine operatives ranged from five to twelve years of age, working six days a week, fourteen hours a day, for wages of 33 to 67 cents a week, paid in scrip . 2 Slater's mill towns were not planned for patterns of communal living, but for the primary purpose of profiteering; and the towns, therefore, represented a sharp decline in living conditions and standards for the young children and their families. 3

The first factory that can be termed "modern," in the sense that all processes of manufacture took place under one roof, was founded in Lowell in 1815. The Lowells and other affluent New England merchants, many of whom until the War of 1812 had been accustomed to earning up to 500% on their sea ventures, had an abundance of idle capital to invest. Thus it was that the Lowells, Abbots, Appletons, Cabots and Lawrences capitalized the Lowell and subsequent mill ventures, retaining firm control through direct ownership. Blood relationships and inter-marriages strengthened their ties.

By 1815 conditions were favorable for a full time labor force in the mills. Farms in New England, by virtue of the laws of inheritance, had become fragmented. Women were in abundance whose labors in the home, or as domestics or teachers could not be fully utilized. These girls (spinsters) were thought to be a useless class of society and a financial

drain to their families. But the New England families had moral scruples that would not permit them to send their daughters off to work in a distant town unless certain moral and physical standards were established. The rural prejudices that existed against factories and factory life, in some instances remembered all too well from life in England, were overcome by building in Lowell an attractive, neat community with supervised boarding houses. churches and a library. Hannah Josephson, author of The Golden Threads, which details the story of the Lowell and Lawrence mills, assessed Mr. Lowell...."as a practical gentleman not so much imbued with the 'religious cant' of the period" but with a profound sense of the necessity of having a satisfied, docile labor force. The town of Lowell, therefore, unlike the smaller mill developments of Slater's was for the first twenty to twenty-five years of its existence a model mill community. Despite the milltown's amenities, the owners never resided in the vicinity."

The code of morality that had been endlessly drilled into the young girl workers by primers, by preachers and by parents functioned as a class weapon against the girls. The salary that at first had appeared so munificent, that enabled these youngsters to help provide for their families, or to send brothers off for higher education 5, or was put aside for a dowry, became more and more inadequate as the corporations increased the number of looms to be attended or demanded a greater output of work for the same base pay. Wages continued to average \$2 a week, but when the mill owners decided to increase the deduction for boarding house expenses, the girls revolted, for it meant a very real cut in their meager wages. 6,6a,6b Over 1.500 Lowell girls went out on strike in 1836, parading through the streets and singing:

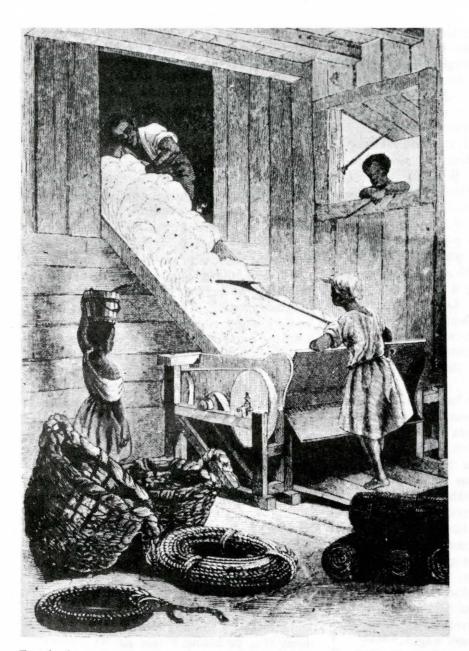
"Oh! Isn't it a pity that such a pretty girl as I Should be sent to the factory to pine away and die? Oh! I cannot be a slave; I will not be a slave, For i'm so fond of liberty That I cannot be a slave."

(see page 6)

By the late 1830's the shared cultural attitudes of New England mill worker and mill owner — devotion to hard work as a religious. civic and personal virtue and the view that money making was part of a noble purpose were beginning to be split by hard economic realities. The girls could barely live on their pittance, while the owners were acquiring enormous wealth. A full fledged economic panic and recession occurred in 1837, and in New England many families were dispossessed from their small farms. The formerly independent factory girl, who in the past could return to farm and family for rest and recuperation from the driving pace of the mill, could no longer do so. Indeed, the factory girls were confronted with an influx of farming families anxious to replace the sassy girls who resented long hours, little pay, increasingly dismal physical surroundings and a deteriorating moral climate. 7,7a,7b William Blake's vision:

> "And was Jerusalem builded here Among these dark Satanic Mills?"

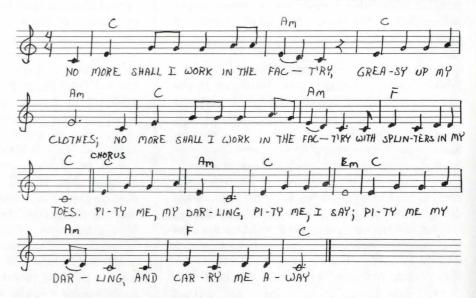
had become a reality in New England. A song of the 1830's shows that the girls were still spirited, nostalgic for country life, but basically sought to find individual solutions to dispiriting problems. 8 (see pg. 8)



Female slaves ginning cotton, the raw material for the mills of New England. Under slavery, some black women also worked in Southern cotton mills. (See page 35)

The Factory Girl

Tune: "Ten Thousand Miles"



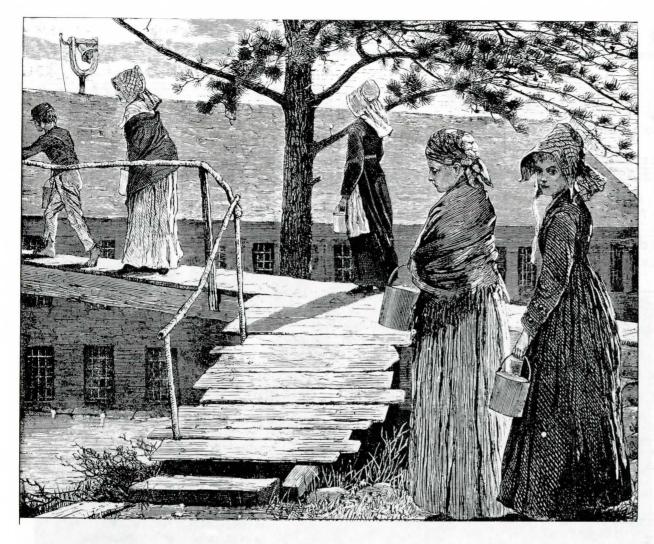
No more shall I hear the bosses say,
"Girls, you'd better daulf."
No more shall I hear those bosses say,
"Spinners, you'd better clean off."

No more shall I hear the drummer wheels
A-rolling over my head.
When factories are hard at work,
I'll be in my bed.
To

No more shall I hear the whistle blow To call me up so soon. No more shall I hear the whistle blow To call me from my home.

No more shall I see the super come, All dressed up so proud; For I know I'll marry a country boy Before the year is out.

No more shall I wear the old black dress, Greasy all around. No more shall I wear the old black bonnet, With holes all in the crown.



"The Morning Bell" Daybreak marked the beginning of the working day.

Immigration

By the 1840's the expanding mill system required more workers than the immediate area could provide. Irish workers were recruited, some the offspring of the Irish day laborers who had built Lowell and who lived in the slum section of Lowell. Active recruiting in Europe by labor agents, and the potato famine in Ireland in the 1840's brought additional waves of Irish workers to the textile plants. The New England girls were clannish, and instead of engaging in united action with the Irish felt:

"That the Irish as a general thing are ignorant, passionate; so that the middle class of our New England girls will not be seen in the streets with them, will not room with them. It is incalculably better that the native girls fill the mills. If the Irish low-class New England girls only remain, wages may come down." 10

(Emphasis - EA)

Wages were to come down, but not because the religious affiliation or national composition of the girls had changed. Wages came down because there was now an excess labor pool, and underpaid girls could be kept "in line" by the threat of unemployment. What transformation had taken place in the owners so that religious cant could be abandoned altogether? As the historian James Truslow Adams observed:

"Money making having become a virtue, it was no longer controlled by the virtues, but ranked with them, and could be weighed against them when any conflict occurred." 11





Arise ye pris'ners of starvation.
Arise ye wretched of the earth.
For justice thunders condemnation
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us
Arise ye slaves no more in thrall.
The earth shall rise on new foundations.
We have been naught, we shall be all.

We want no condescending saviors
To rule us from their judgement hall.
We workers ask not for their favors,
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty,
To free the spirit from its cell.
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

Behold them seated in their glory, The kings of mine and rail and soil! What have you read in all their story, But how they plundered toil? Fruits of the worker's toil are buried In strongholds of the idle few; In working for their restitution The men will only claim their due.

We toilers from all fields united Join hand in hand with all who work; The earth belongs to us, the workers. No room here for the shirk. How many on our flesh have fattened! But if the noisome birds of prey Shall vanish from the sky some morning The blessed sunlight then will stay.

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION: LABOR REVOLTS AND ORGANIZES



There were many abortive strikes throughout the New England states, in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware from the 1840's on, and an increasing degree of militancy on the part of the young women. Factory doors were broken down with axes, scabs (defined in 1806 as "a shelter for lice") entreated to join the strikers or forced to leave the factories. The middle class's disapproval of "unladylike behavior" was being ignored more and more at a time when there was no legal protection for children or women workers. Trade union associations were being formed in an attempt to offset the grave handicap imposed by a political system that did not provide voting rights for women or the propertyless class. The ten hour day was being demanded by the late 1840's. Working women were becoming class conscious. Middle class reformers, reflecting a general tone of humanitarianism, were pressing for legislative labor reform measures. Slowly, some men in trade union associations were beginning to realize that their economic betterment was bound up with the advancement of working women. Now songs began to reflect the theme of unity, such as a song sung at a meeting of female sewing machine operatives, with male workers in attendance, in 1865: 12

"Welcome sisters, to our number, Welcome to our heart and hand; At our post we will not slumber, Strong in union we shall stand.

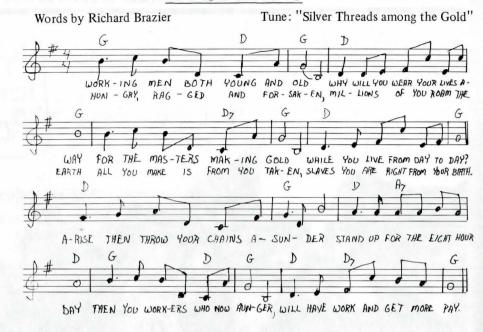
No angry passions here should mar Our peace, or move our social band, For friendship is our beacon star, Our motto, union hand in hand."

In the Good Old Picket Line

Tune: "In the Good Old Summer Time"



The Eight-Hour Song



The drive to unionization in the 1860's was set back by an influx of thousands of Civil War widows, swelling the labor supply and enabling mill owners to debase already low standards of working conditions and pay. But the ferment went on. In 1881 the Knights of Labor ¹³ admitted women to its ranks in the spirit of equality, singing:

"If we will, we can be free Lo from Labor's sons and daughters." 13a

New means and expansion of productive forces brought changes to the social structure. Workers were restless and their grievances multiplied. Unions formed, and became the vehicle for worker challenge to the existing order. In 1886 the American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.) was born; and in 1905 the smaller Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W. — the "Wobblies") organized, and played a major role in the great textile strikes of Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1912 and Paterson, New Jersey, in 1913.

What were women singing in 1912 and 1913? Ray Stannard Baker in an article entitled "The Revolutionary Strike" in the American Magazine of May, 1912 14 noted:

"It is the first strike I ever saw which sang. I shall not soon forget the curious lift, the strange sudden fire of the mingled nationalities at the strike meetings when they broke into the universal language of song. And not only at the meetings did they sing, but in the soup houses and in the streets. I saw one group of women strikers who were peeling potatoes at a relief station suddenly break into the swing of the "Internationale." They have a whole book of songs fitted to familiar tunes — "The Eight Hour Day," "The

Banner of Labor," "Workers, Shall the Master Rule Us?" But the favorite of all was the "Internationale." (see pg. 10)

The Great Textile Strikes

There were no cultural ties between mill owners and the mass of workers in Lawrence and Patterson, for the workers were recent immigrants, the unskilled of many nationalities. Many were of socialist persuasion. The mills employed over 40,000 - about half of the population of Lawrence; about 22,000 were women and children, half between the ages of fourteen to eighteen. It was estimated that the death rate was 36 out of every 100 before or by age 25. The strike in Lawrence erupted following the speedup of machines that gave manufacturers the same output in 54 hours that had previously been obtained in 56 hours. The net effect for the workers was a wage cut. Two hours less pay equaled three less loaves of bread weekly! Responses to the strike varied. English speaking skilled workers in the craft A.F.L. union did not strike. And one song seems to suggest that Irish participation in the strike was not considered adequate in numbers: (see pg. 12) 15

At the same time that the Irish are being chided for heeding the anti-strike advice of their priests, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a firebrand of a young Irish woman (mentioned in the song above), was an inspiration to the strikers, devoted to the welfare of the workers, first as an activist in the I.W.W. and later in the Communist Party. In 1915 the labor organizer and songwriter, Joe Hill, sent to Flynn, as he had to other "rebel girls," the following song that was widely known and sung at that time: (see pg.14) ¹⁶ The demand for the eight hour day was being heard in song during the strike at Lowell and Paterson: 17 (see page 12)

The song "John Golden and the Lawrence Strike" condemns the agents of the capitalist, in particular the labor leader who tries to sell out the strikers. During this strike, John Golden who was head of the United Textile Workers (A.F.L.) tried to "rescue" the workers from the radical I.W.W. Soon the strikers were singing this song written by Joe Hill for the occasion. (For reference to what happened, see Dubofsky, We Shall Be All, page 235 et seq.)

John Golden and the Lawrence Strike ^{17a} (Tune: "A Little Talk With Jesus")

The preachers, cops and money-kings were working hand in hand,

The boys in blue with stars and stripes were sent by Uncle Sam;

Still things were looking good 'cause every striker knew

That weaving cloth with bayonets is hard to do.

John Golden pulled a bogus strike with all his "finks and stools."

He thought the rest would follow like a bunch of crazy fools.

But to his great surprise the "foreigners" were wise,

In one big solid union they were organized.

That's one time Golden did not Make it right, all right; In spite of all his schemes The strikers won the fight. When all the workers stand United hand in hand, The world with all its wealth Shall be at their command."

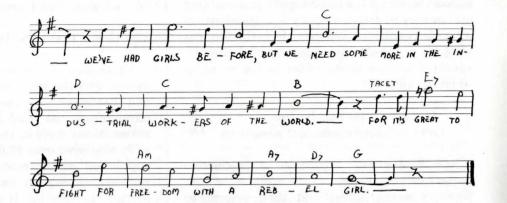
In Lawrence a group of women workers had carried banners proclaiming "We want bread and roses too!" inspiring a song of the same title: ^{17b} (see page 16)

The Lawrence strike demands were in large part won, but the strike in Paterson was lost. The "wops, the kikes, the honkies firm in

The Rebel Girl

Words and Music by Joe Hill, 1915



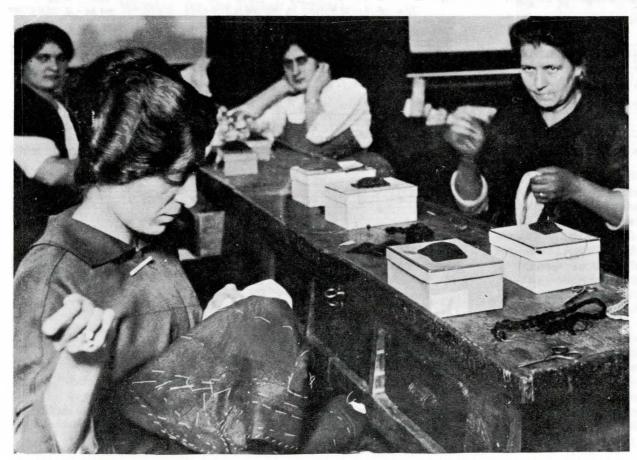


Yes, her hands may be darkened from labor, And her dress may not be very fine; But a heart in her bosom is beating, Warm and true to her class and her kind. And the grafters in terror are trembling When her spite and defiance she'll hurl; For the only and thoroughbred lady Is the Rebel Girl.

struggle" 18 were defeated by an alignment of their class enemies — teachers who harangued their children against the strike, a hostile press, an indifferent to hostile clergy, social democratic leadership in the A.F.L. U.T.W.U. who sabotaged the unity of the workers — as well as dwindling relief contributions, and the specter of hungry children. These men and women who had been singing "The Marseillaise" — "Ye sons of toil awake to glory!" — and who had infused a new vitality into the working scene, had to wait long, long years for amelioration of their condition.

The Urban Garment Workers

At the turn of the 20th Century the bulk of the waistmakers and needle trades workers in New York City and Philadelphia were Jewish. Most of these workers were members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union which had been formed in 1900. The militancy and persistency of the Jewish girls were inspiring to their Italian and Slovak coworkers. This was a turbulent period, when the girls went out on strike again and again, by the tens of thousands. ¹⁹ Here is the song they proudly sang in 1909: ²⁰



Hail the Waistmakers (also titled: "The Uprising of the Twenty Thousand: Dedicated to the Waistmakers of 1909")

"In the black of the winter of nineteen-nine, When we froze and bled on the picket line, We showed the world that women could fight And we rose and won with women's might.

And we gave new courage to the men, Who carried on in nineteen-ten, And shoulder to shoulder we'll win through, Led by the I.L.G.W.U.

Chorus:

Hail the waistmakers of nineteen-nine, Making their stand on the picket line, Breaking the power of those who reign, Pointing the way, smashing the chain."

The use of music was a very vital component of the Jewish European tradition, and it was grafted on to union meetings that thousands attended. Jewish poets who worked in the garment factories composed songs that were well-known by Jewish workers. One such song urges workers to put an end to oppression.²¹ (see page 16)

Another song reflects the agony of mothers, children, husbands and fathers whose loved ones died in the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire in 1909. Over 140 Jewish and Italian young women perished, and others were severely burned and injured. Some of the exit doors had been locked to prevent union organizers from entering. Bales of material against other doors hindered escape and rescue efforts. 22a,22b (see page 17)

Another Jewish poet-worker put the words of the "Song of the Shirt," written by the English poet Thomas Hood in 1843, to music. In the sweatshops of the United States in the nineteen-hundreds, working conditions, alas, were all too similar to those Hood reveals existed in 1843 in England. ²³ (see pg. 18)

Words by James Oppenheim

Music by Martha Coleman



As we come marching, marching, we battle too for men,
For they are women's children and we mother them again.
Our lives shall not be sweated from birth until life closes.
Hearts starve as well as bodies:
Give us bread, but give us roses.

As we come marching, marching, unnumbered women dead Go crying through our singing their ancient song of bread. Small art and love and beauty their drudging spirits knew. Yes, it is bread we fight for, But we fight for roses too.

As we come marching, marching, we bring the Greater Days.

The rising of the women means the rising of the race.

No more the drudge and idler, ten that toil where one reposes, But a sharing of life's glories,

Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses.



Wus toig gur der in jener Glauben
Menschen solen sein zu sheidt
Einer sol dem zweiten rauben
In Namen fin Heiligkeit
Wifil Idelach hoben geliten
In Leiden ieder einer
Wus shweigt men di Antisemiten
Wus brecht man seh nit die Beiner eh!

Blust in ale Winkelach
Arbeiter lebt nor of
Brent mit Feier Finkelach
Fin Antisemiten Macht a sof!

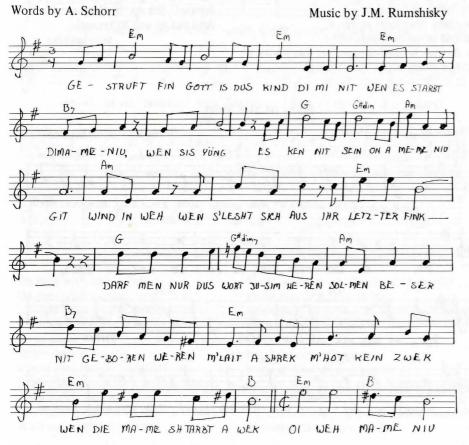
Shklafen hostu Gott beschafen Hershen sol men iber seh Meinsti as mir senen Affen Ferstehen gur kein Weh Menshin solin einem kreinen Im geben alle Rechte Der noch sol a jeder weinen Uber seine Thaten shlechte heil

Il: Blust in ale Winkelach
Arbeiter lebt nor of
Brent mit Feier Finkelach
Fin di Zarin Macht a sof!

| bis Macht a sof!

(English translation, pg. 18)

Mamenu (or The Triangle Victims)





- 2. Dort steht a kind in stekt aus die hend.
 Es seht aus blas in mied wie der todt.
 Mit ge wein beit dus kind,
 oi! ---shenkt a porsent rachmunes hot ane
 du we shenkt auf a shtikele broit!
 Auf dem punimken a jeder leisen.
 Wen es wolt kein jusem nit gewesen wolt dus kind
 a soi geshwind nit aus ge strekt die hend a zind.
- 3. Es reist dus herz finder shreklicher plug s'judishe Volk klugt in weint inbrecht die hent. Esbrecht aus a feider, oi in hellen tug, hinderter arbeiter sei weren ferbrent. Die wus seinen fin feier entrinen huben springendig seier todt. Gefinen der morg is fil. Men wert shir dil wie a mame klugt dort in der stil

Refrain 3

Oi weh! Kindeniu reist sich bei hur di mameniu zuliebedem stikel. Broit hot a shreklicher todt ge robt mir mein ein zig kind. Todt ligt mein meidele tach ri chim an stadt a chipe kleidele weh is mei, ne juhr a Kind fin sechzin juhr. Oi! Mame, mame, weh is mir weh.

Mamenu (Free translation for content only, not to be sung)

Title: My Poor Dead Mother (of my children)

- A young child is punished when its mother dies.
 Without a mother, life is no good.
 The word "orphan" has a terrible sound.
 Life has no purpose when a mother dies.
- There stands a child, stretching out a hand.
 Pale as death, it begs and pleads:
 Oy! Have pity, please---a couple pennies
 for a piece of bread!
 Misery is etched into its face.

Refrain 1-2

"Mama" is a child's first word.
Only a mother's heart heals a child's cry.
An orphan is like a sapling cut down,
Unnoticed, lonely and alone.
Oy! Mama, mama! Where are you?

3. Hearts are broken by this dreadful thing.
The Jewish people weeps and wrings its hands.
A fire has erupted in the light of day,
And a hundred workers burned alive.
Those who managed to escape the flames
leaped down to death. The morgue is full.
You can hear the mothers crying
in the still of the night:

Refrain 3

"Oy vey! my child, for a crust of bread, Death has robbed me of my only child! My little girl lies dead, dressed up in a shroud instead of in her wedding gown...." Oy, mama, mama, we cry together.

(The song seems to be written from the point of view of a father who stands at the grave of his dead wife, lamenting to her the death of their child who had to go to work in the factory and was killed in the fire)

Die Finkelach (Free translation for content only, not to be sung)

Title: Sparks (The Strikebreaker)

From all you great deeds, dear God, Only the poor man benefits!
The way you run the world---May the Tsar have such a year!
A thousand toil for one.
Why does he deserve it?
He skins everyone alive---Why the hell do they keep silent?

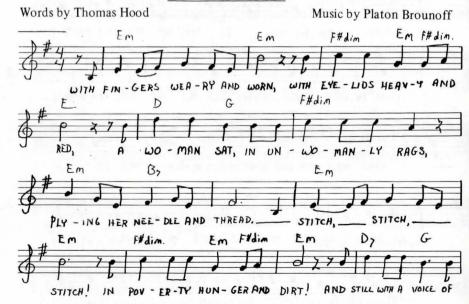
What's the use of this or that religion?
It only keeps people divided
And lets one rob the other
In the name of holiness.
How many Jews have suffered,
Each one in his own anguish?
Why do they let anti-Semites get away with it?
Why don't they break their bones?

Slaves you have created, Lord,
So others can rule over them.
Do you think we all are apes
Who don't feel any pain?
Why should we crown a single individual
And give him all the rights
And then have everyone weep
Over his evil deeds?

Refrain:

Workers---blow in all the corners Awake! Stir up the fiery sparks And put an end to tyrants anti-Semites Tsars

Song of the Shirt





Oh men with sisters dear, Oh men with mothers and wives, It is not linen you're wearing out, but human creatures' lives!

Stitch, stitch, stitch!
In poverty, hunger and dirt!
Sewing at once, with a double thread,
A shroud as well as a shirt!
Sewing at once, with a double thread,
A shroud as well as a shirt!

Work, work, work! Work, work, work! From very chime to chime; And work, work, work! Work, work, work! As prisoners for crime.

Band, gusset and seam,
Seam and gusset and band;
Till the heart is sick and the brain benumbed
As well as the weary hand;
Till the heart is sick and the brain benumbed,
As well as the weary hand.

The American Dream and Upward Mobility

An absolute minimum of the American Dream seems to have emerged from our survey of songs thus far. However, we do know that the expanding economy of the United States allowed for some mobility of workers. We can assume that gradually many of the families of women workers in the cotton mills, textile plants and needle trades became in fact members of the "middle class." This would represent a better income; a need to struggle less; perhaps even the achievement of some degree of egalitarianism as an "American," all components of the "American Dream." It would appear reasonable to conclude that second and third generation offspring of the immigrant garment workers, particularly those in larger Eastern cities, had significant belief in the "American Dream" by the late 1930's. Certainly the musical of 1937, Pins and Needles, an effective public relations product of the I.L.G.W.U., projects pride and selfassurance, and acceptance of American cultural and material values, as well as strong belief in the union. (see pgs. 20, 21, 22)

Another illustration of "Americanization" or homogenization is in the song "Nobody Makes a Pass at Me" Vulnerability to advertising messages and acceptance of the burgeoning spirit of consumerism are obvious, though tempered by a fine touch of skepticism and satire. It is also clear that woman is seen here as "sex object." (see pg. 24).

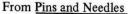
And finally. "We Sing America" is a hymn of praise and thanksgiving for America. What the Daughters of the American Revolution would deny them — identification with the early settlers and pioneers — the offspring of immigrants claimed as their right. (see pg. 23)





Lyrics and music for the songs from "Pins and Needles" on pages 20-24 are by Harold Rome. Permission from Chappell & Company, publishers, is pending.

Sing Me a Song with Social Significance

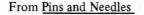






Sing me a song with social significance, All other tunes are taboo. I want a song that's satirical, And putting the mere into miracle. Sing me a song with social significance Or you can sing till you're blue--

It must be packed with social fact
Or I won't love you.
Sing me of kings and conf'rences martial,
Tell me of mills and mines.
Sing me of songs that aren't impartial;
What's to be done with 'em tell me in rhythm!
Sing me a song with social significance,
There's nothing else that will do-It must be tense with common sense
Or I won't love you.







From Pins and Needles





Pins and Needles

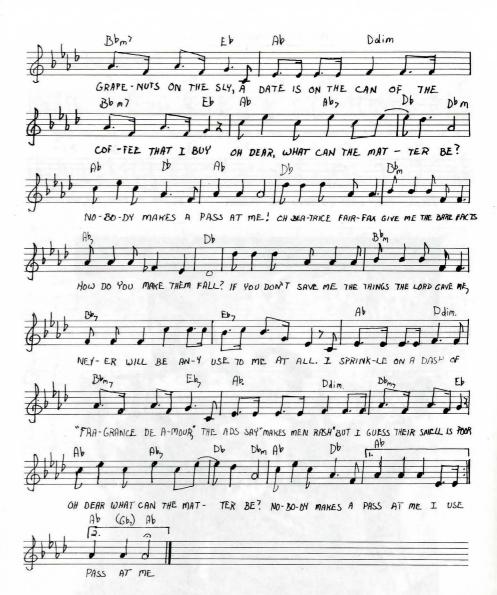


PEO-PLE SAY DE-MOC-RA-CY SHALL PRE-VAIL

We sing to man's dignity and his place With no thought of creed or race. We sing a land that is too free and great To sow the seeds of hate. America, you are the hope we sing, Yours the light that must not fail! We the people, we the people, Say democracy shall prevail.

Nobody Makes a Pass at Me

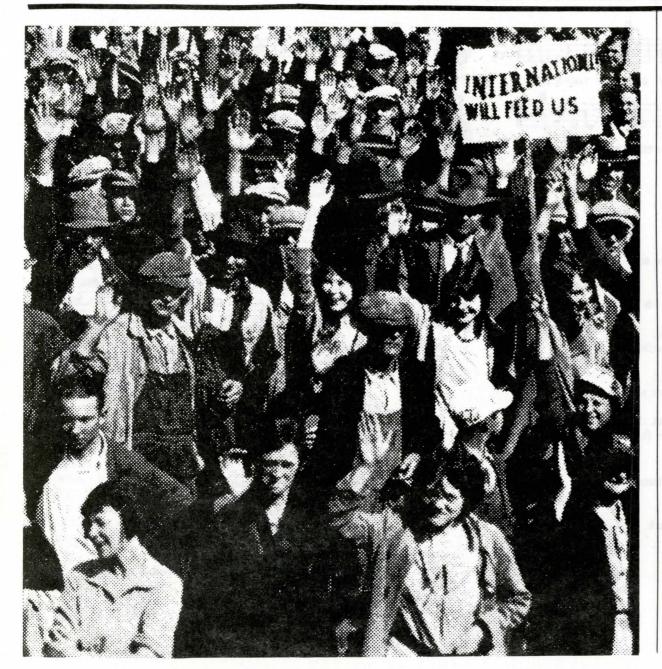




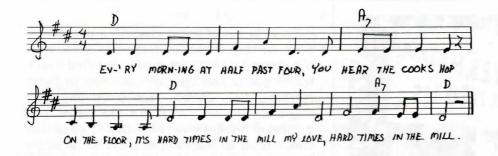
My girdles come from Best, the *Times* ads say they're chic, And up above I'm dressed in brassiere of the week. Oh dear, what can the matter be? Nobody makes a pass at me! I use Pond's on my skin, with rye-crisp I have thinned, I get my culture in, I began Gone With the Wind.

Oh dear, what can the matter be? Nobody makes a pass at me!

RUNAWAY: THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY MOVES SOUTH



There is considerable change in perspective when we turn to the Southern mill scene from the 1920's to 1973. For over a hundred years, textile plants had been concentrated in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and New England. By the mid-1920's the major production of textiles was in the South, since that area offered to Northern employers the major incentive of low wages. The farming families coming down from small farms in nonproductive mountainous areas were now the backbone of the labor force. These children, men and women were white, primarily of Scotch and German descent, culturally homogeneous, isolated from the spirit of industrialism, unaware of union struggles elsewhere in the nation, individualistic in attitude but nonetheless docile, and had a reputed pattern of quick eruptions into violence. Physically they suffered from the diseases associated with malnutrition, a by-product of marginal existence since the days of slavery, when poor whites were "superfluous" as a labor force. 24 25 Several songs reflect the conditions they (see pgs. 26, 27: "Hard Times...", endured: "Cotton Mill Girls," "Weaver's Life...")



Every morning just at five, You gotta get up, dead or alive.

Old Pat Goble thinks he's a hon, He puts me in mind of a doodle in the sun.

The section hand thinks he's a man, And he ain't got the sense to pay off his hands.

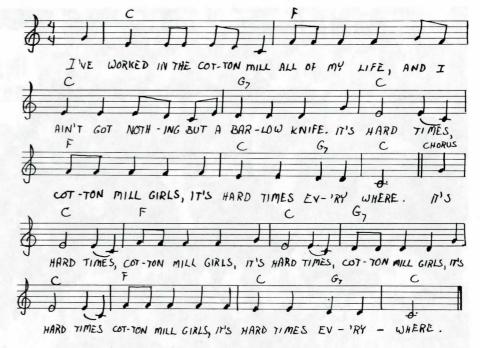
They steal his ring, they steal his knife, They steal everything but his big fat wife.

My ropen's all out, my ends all down, The doffer's in the alley and I can't get around.

The section hand's sweepers standing at the door, Ordering the sweepers to sweep up the floor.

Every night when I go home, A piece of cornbread and an old jaw bone.

Ain't it enough to break your heart, hafta work all day and at night it's dark.



In nineteen fifteen we heard it said, "Move to the country to get ahead." It's hard times, cotton mill girls, It's hard times everywhere.

Us kids worked twelve hours a day For fourteen cents of measly pay. It's hard times, cotton mill girls, It's hard times everywhere.

When I die don't bury me at all. Just hang me up on the spinning mill wall, Pickle my bones in alcohol, It's hard times everywhere.

Weaver's Life



Very often meet a partner
who would like to learn to weave,
And we feel it is our duty,
we are bound to believe.
Show him all about those breakouts
for he will have them by the score.
When the conversation's over
he will want to weave no more.

Very often have a breakfast
that will surely make you sweat.

If you're feeling blue and drowsy,
they will almost make you quit.

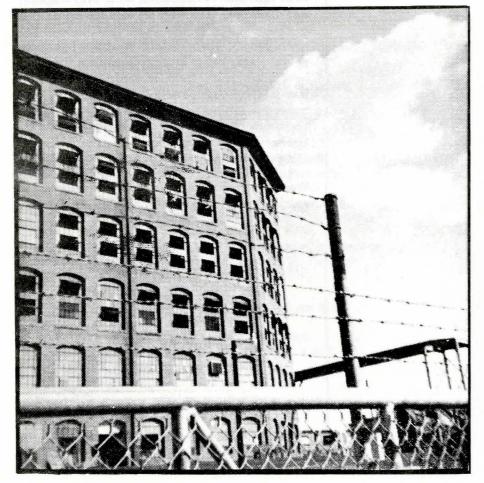
Very often have a headache
when our looms are running bad;

When we've ground and snagged the lever,
you can bet your life we're mad.

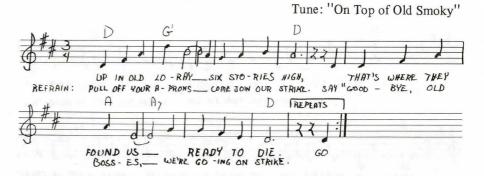
In 1929 when the stretch-out system was introduced, longer hours instituted, and the same or reduced pay given for greater output. mill workers in the Piedmont area began to "turn out" (an expression used by the Lowell factory girls in 1836). The sudden militancy of the Southern workers was bred of a half century of deprivation under a seemingly paternalistic mill ownership that had confined them to drab mill towns, shanty houses, company stores with inflated prices that kept them virtually in bondage. Wages were so low that children had to be sent into the factories, their lives blighted and shortened. The workers also felt demeaned or dehumanized by the scornful attitude of the townspeople, that middle stratum of entrepeneurs, shopkeepers and professionals that had benefitted greatly from the spread of industrialism in the South. For all these reasons, and more, the strikes mushroomed. 24,25 Here are the songs of the strikers of Gastonia, Marion, Greenville and Danville:

(see pgs. 28, 29: "Up in Old Loray," "We Are Building...", "Come On...", "Let Them Wear...")

The Loray Mill, Gastonia, 1973



Up in Old Loray

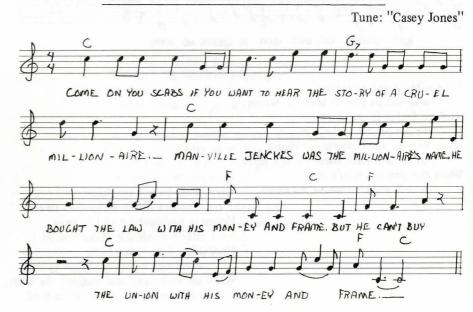


The bosses will starve you, They'll tell you more lies Than there's crossties on the railroads, Or stars in the skies.

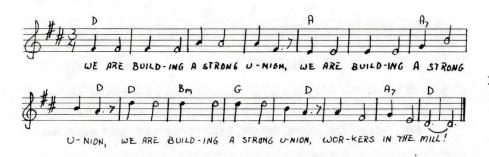
The bosses will rob you, They will take half you make, And claim that you took it up In coupon books. Up in old Loray, All covered with lint, That's where our shoulders Were crippled and bent.

Up in old Loray, All covered with cotton, It will carry you to your grave And you soon will be rotten.

Come On You Scabs If You Want To Hear



We Are Building a Strong Union



2. Every member makes us stronger. Every member makes us stronger. Every member makes us stronger. Workers in the mill!

- 3. We won't budge until we conquer.
- 4. We shall rise and gain our freedom,
- 5. We are building a strong union, etc.

Let Them Wear Their Watches Fine

Tune: "Warren Harding's Widow"



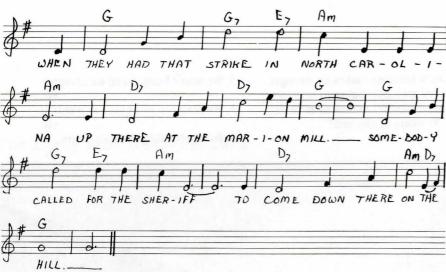
- 2. You factory folks who sing this rhyme 4. We rise up early in the morn Will surely understand, The reason why I love you so Is I'm a factory hand.
- 3. While standing here between my looms You know I lose no time To keep my shuttles in a whiz And write this little rhyme.
- And work all day real hard To buy our little meat and bread And sugar, tea and lard.
- 5. We work from weekend to weekend And never lose a day, And when that awful payday comes We draw our little pay.

- We then go home on payday night And sit down in a chair; The merchant raps upon the door--He's come to get his share.
- 7. When all our little debts are paid And nothing left behind, We turn our pockets right side out. But not a cent we find.
- 8. We rise up early in the morn And toil from soon to late: We have no time to primp or fix Our dress right up to date.
- 9. Our children they grow up unlearned. No time to go to school; Almost before they've learned to walk They learn to spin or spool.

- 10. The boss man jerks them round and round And whistles very keen: I'll tell you what, the factory kids Are really treated mean.
- 11. The folks in town who dress so fine And spend their money free Will hardly look at a factory hand Who dresses like you and me.
- 12. As we go walking down the street, All wrapped in lint and strings, They call us fools and factory trash And other low-down things.
- 13. Well, let them wear their watches fine, Their rings and pearly strings; When the day of judgment comes We'll make them shed their pretty things.

The Marion Strike

Tune: "The Wreck of the Altoona"



The sheriff came down there to the factory, And brought all of his men along, And he says to the mill strikers, "Now boys, you all know this is wrong."

"But sheriff, we just can't work for nothing, And we've got a family to feed. And they've got to pay us more money To buy food and clothes that we need.

"You've heard of the stretchout system, A-going through this country today; They put us on two men's jobs, And just give us half enough pay.

"You know we helped give you your office, And we helped to give you your pay, And you want us to work for nothing. That's why we are down here today." So one word just brought on another, And the bullets they started a-flying, And after the battle was over, Six men lay on the ground dying.

Now people, labor needs protection. We need it badly today. If we will just get together, Then they can't do us that way.

Now I hear the whistle blowing; I guess I'd better run along. I work in the factory; That's why I wrote this little song.

The Mill Mother's Lament

Words and music by Ella Mae Wiggins



And when we drew our money, Our grocery bills to pay, Not a cent to spend for clothing, Not a cent to lay away.

And on that very evening, Our little son will say, "I need some shoes, mother, And so does sister May."

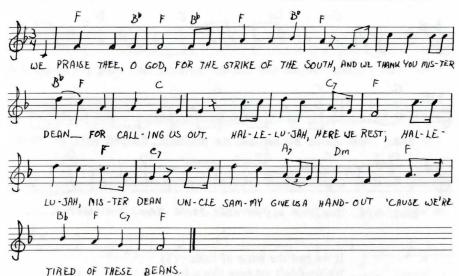
How it grieves the heart of a mother, You everyone must know. But we can't buy for our children, Our wages are too low.

It is for our little children, That seem to us so dear, But for us, nor them, dear workers, The bosses do not care.

But understand, all workers, Our union they do fear; Let's stand together, workers, And have a union here.

Here We Rest

Tune: "Halleluiah I'm a Bum"



We are standing on guard Both night and day, We are doing our best To keep scabs away.

We are 1200 strong And the strike is still on, And the scabs are still standing But they won't scab for long.

> Hallelujah, we are union, Hallelujah, here we rest; Mrs. Semour sends our checks out. We are standing the test.

The scabs are all sore Cause we brought back Mr. Dean, And they all swore to heaven They would get him again.

> Hallelujah, we are union; Hallelujah, here we rest; Hallelujah, come and get him. We are armed for the test.

We thank you Mr. Dean, Mrs. Berry and Miss Dowd, For staying here with us, through this strike you've called out. The Marion strike ended in a massacre of six men dead and twenty-five wounded. (see page 30)

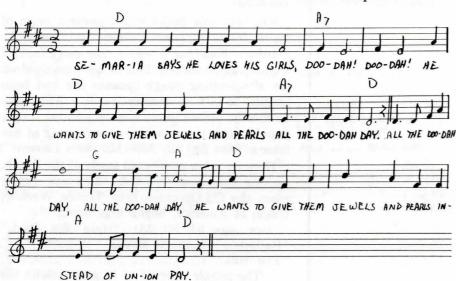
The Gastonia strike ended under a reign of terror, frame-up, mass violence, and finally the murder of Ella Mae Wiggins. She was a factory worker, who had seen four of her nine children die of whooping cough because she had been unable to afford medication. ²⁶ Ella Mae became an ardent union worker, and her songs, popular with her co-workers, were sung at her funeral: (see pg. 30, "Mill Mother's Lament")

Here are a few additional songs of the South, making the rounds in the 1930's and 1940's when the C.I.O. union, The Textile Workers Union of America, began organizing:

(see pgs. 31, 32, 33: "Here We Rest," "Ballad...," "Semaria Says," "Winnsboro...", "The Mill...")

The people referred to in gratitude in the song "Here We Rest" are union leaders. Dean was killed during an outbreak of company violence. The Blue Bell Jail" (pg. 32) refers to the Blue Bell Garment Factory in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Tune: "Camptown Races"



Ballad of Blue Bell Jail

Tune: "Hand Me Down my Walking Cane"

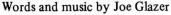


If we had the sense of fools (3) We wouldn't set here like a fool All our freedom's taken away, taken away.

For we know that a mule will balk (3) Let's get busy with this union talk All our freedom's taken away, taken away.

We are worn and the place is tough (3) Oh, my Lord, we've had enough, All our freedom's taken away, taken away.

This union sure will do the trick (3) It will make the bosses sick All our freedom's taken away.





This mill was built in a garden—No dust or lint could be found.
The air was so fresh and so fragrant With flowers and trees all around.

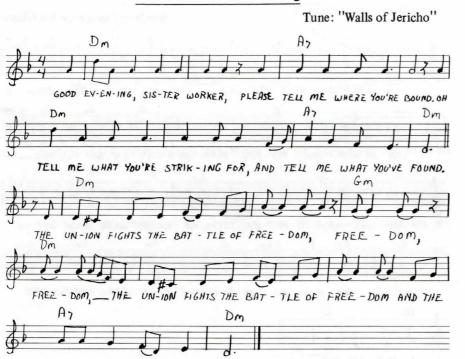
It was quiet and peaceful in heaven— There was no clatter or boom. You could hear the most beautiful music As you worked at the spindle and loom.

> There was no unemployment in heaven; We worked steady all through the year. We always had food for the children; We never were haunted by fear.

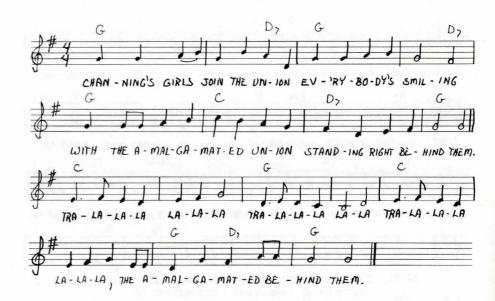
When I woke from this dream about heaven, I wondered if some day there'd be A mill like that one, down below here on earth, For workers like you and me.



When I die, don't bury me at all, Just hang me up on the spoolroom wall. Put a knotter in my hand, So I can spool in the promised land. When I die, don't bury me deep; Bury me down on 600 Street, Place a bobbin in my hand, So I can dolph in the promised land.



BOSS-ES COME TUM - BLING DOWN.



Many songs reveal perceptions of the myths or realities of the American Dream or Nightmare on the part of black workers in the cotton mills, textile plants and needle trades. The first cotton mill in the South opened in 1816 in North Carolina. From that year until the Civil War some slaves could be found working in the mills. ²⁸ Slave wages went

directly to their owners, providing for the slave owners what in Marxian terms is called "the primitive accumulation of capital." But after the Civil War, a systematic policy of exclusion of black workers from the cotton and textile mills was practiced by Southern employers. With the migration of black families northward, we find that by 1900 black women were



working in the North in the waist industry. They were organized into the I.L.G.W.U. in 1909. In the shops they were mainly the pressers, doing the most grueling work at far less pay than white workers received. Despite active discrimination by a union that did not take up the cudgels in their behalf, black women were enthusiastic supporters of the 1909 Waistmakers Strike in New York City. 28a

In 1917 in Chicago and in 1921 in Philadelphia, the garment industry brought black women in as strikebreakers. Negro leaders and ministers supported strikebreaking as a wedge that would expand black employment in industry. The strikebreakers received approximately half the wages previously earned by white union employees. Five hundred black strikebreakers became permanent workers, ^{28b} and also members of the I.L.G.W.U.

In the Handkerchief Strike in New York and Chicago in 1941 black and white together were singing: 29 (see pg. 34)

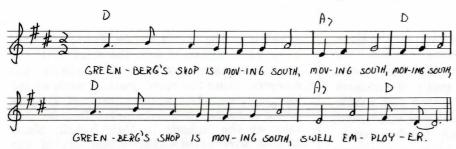
And they were singing together in 1940: 30 (see pg. 34, "Sing Amalgamated")

Returning to the Southern region, we find that there was virtual exclusion of black workers in the industries that concern us, from the end of the Civil War to 1960. Some breakthrough in employment, but of a minor nature was achieved during the 1930's C.I.O. drive of the Textile Workers Union of America, when black and white textile union members sang:

"Since I been introduced to the CIO I ain't no stranger now"....

Greenberg's Shop is Moving South

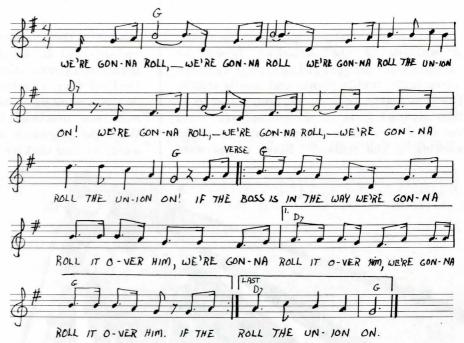
Tune: "London Bridge is Falling Down"



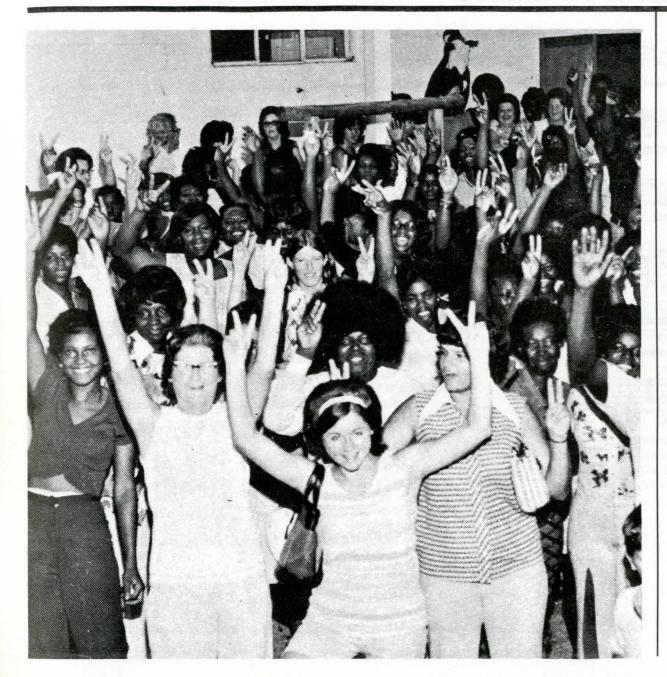
After we slaved to make them rich, Make them rich, make them rich, After we slaved to make them rich, Lousy employers!

Roll the Union On

Words by John Handcox and Lee Hays



CURRENT STRUGGLES AND THE FUTURE



With the movement of all types of northern industry to the South, largely in expectation of a docile labor force and low wages, there has been absorption of much of the available white working class. To augment its work force, therefore, the textile industry has had to hire black women and men. Black women pick (clean and form into rolls), card, handle bobbins, doff and spin. Few have worked up into the hierarchy, as yet, of the skilled weaving force. 31

Here, in song, are illustrations of the dichotomy resulting from the shop or plant owner's move South to obtain more of the material benefits of the American Dream, and the Nightmare that results for the Northern workers who lose their jobs: (see pg. 36, "Greenberg's Shop Is Moving South") Simultaneously, the Southern textile workers, no longer a "docile labor force," black and white together, have been singing: (see pg. 36, "Roll the Union On")

Restless, dissatisfied workers in the South today are confronted with a formidable array of forces. Capitalism, finding itself opposed in the last colonial region of its own country, a region that appeared available for maximum exploitation, can be expected to react to opposition with all the weapons at its disposal. However, qualitative changes are taking place in the folkways, mores and social relationships in the South. Racial attitudes have been altered — white and black work together, and white and black strike together. In some strikes, white workers have acknowledged the leadership role of the black women:

"Well, it was real necessary for the white

Solidarity Forever

Words by Ralph Chaplin

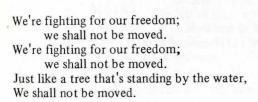


It is we who plowed the prairies
built the cities where they trade,
Dug the mines and built the workshops,
endless miles of railroad laid.
Now we stand outcast and starving
'midst the wonders we have made,
But the union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions
that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle
not a single wheel can turn.
We can break their haughty power,
gain our freedom when we learn
That the union makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power
greater than their hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of atoms
magnified a thousandfold.
We can bring to life a new world
from the ashes of the old,
For the union makes us strong.





We're fighting for our children;
we shall not be moved.
We're fighting for our children;
we shall not be moved.
Just like a tree that's standing by the water,
We shall not be moved.

Black and white together,
we shall not be moved.
Black and white together,
we shall not be moved.
Just like a tree that's standing by the water,
We shall not be moved.

We're building a mighty union;
we shall not be moved.
We're building a mighty union;
we shall not be moved.
Just like a tree that's standing by the water
We shall not be moved.

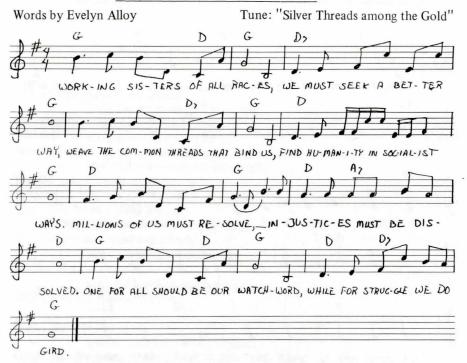


We will organize, we will organize, We will organize some day. Oh deep in my heart I do believe, We will organize some day.

We will build a new world,
we will build a new world,
We will build a new world some day.
Oh deep in my heart I do believe
We will build a new world some day.

We will overcome, we will over come, We will overcome some day. Oh, down in my heart I do believe We will overcome some day.





Millions of us must resolve, Injustices must be dissolved, One for all should be our watchword, While for struggle we do gird.

No longer separate or alienated, Class differences a thing of the past, Sister and friend to one another, Our human potential realized at last! and black to stick together, but what really made the difference was the black people were so together and strong. They carried the strike." 32

And the song, "We Shall Not Be Moved" (page 39) demonstrates the unity that has sometimes been achieved.

A second qualitative change that appears to be taking place, and that has much portent for the future, is in the probable abandonment of the traditional psychic dependence relationship of worker to preacher. Black and white ministers opposed the Oneita strike (Andrews and Lane, South Carolina). When their church membes disregarded ministerial opposition to the strike a number of black and white ministers took jobs as strikebreakers. In this way the ministers revealed their own class identity and interests, and their own support of the white power structure to which they were tied. "We used to think the preachers were the backbone of the black movement." said Carmela McCutcheon, one of the elected (black) strike leaders. "Now we see that it's the people who are the real backbone." 33 (Southern Patriot, 9/73, page 8.)

Today's Southern working woman in mill and plant is singing songs that are secularized in sentiment. They are expressive of the "here and now," not the "bye and bye," though the words may be attached to the melody of a spiritual:³⁴ (see pgs. 38, 39, 40: "Solidarity Forever," "We Shall Overcome," "The Union is Our Leader," "Which Side...")

Textile workers of the J.P. Stevens firm, in 85 plants scattered through North and South Carolina and Georgia, are waging a spirited fight for union recognition (Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union) through a national boycott of Stevens products. In addition, they have visited state and federal legislators to press for protection from cotton

dust and for just compensation for brown lung disease (byssinosis) victims. At their meetings they are singing:

Stevens don't allow no organizing 'round here (2X)

We don't care what Stevens don't allow, Gonna organize anyhow,

Stevens don't allow no organizing 'round here.

Stevens don't allow... contracts...
unions... pensions..., etc...
(Tune: Mama Don't Allow,

adapted by Si Kahn; music by Charles Davenport)

And they are also singing, to the tune of Old Gray Mare:

Old J.P. he ain't what he used to be, Ain't what he used to be, Ain't what he used to be, Old J.P. he ain't what he used to be Now we've organized...

> (Adapted by Si Kahn and Stevens workers in Milledgeville, Ga.; music by Frank Panella)

Today, black and white women workers in the South, Puerto Rican workers in the East, Chicanas in the Southwest, and Chinese women on the East and West coasts are continuing their struggles. The strike of the Chicanas against Farah Pants, 1972-73, in the largely unorganized Southwest, was successful. Their militant unity insured them maternity leave without loss of seniority, a remarkable victory for working women. Chinese women have a history of struggle in the needle trades since 1938, when they won the right to ILGWU representation in San Francisco. They fought the great American Sewing Machine Company in the same city in

1974-75, vowing to "fight you until WE win." In New York, thousands of Chinese women have joined the ILGWU to more effectively combat sweatshop conditions and discriminatory practices.

The perceptions of social reality of these women have been changed and will continue to change and develop. They are much more aware of sexism and racism, and they strive to eliminate these divisive elements in the workplace and in union contracts. Some women are being stimulated by the revolutionary rhetoric and activity of small, independent left-wing organizations. There can be no question that many women in the industries we have been concerned with, no less than workers in other industries, have been affected by the visible signs of our society's decay. The workability, the viability of capitalism is in question. It cannot be long before a spate of new songs reflecting a desire for basic, revolutionary change will be composed and sung. The new songs will be expressive of the realities of our country, of our national characteristics, and of our need to knit together the tangled racial. cultural strains that are part of our inheritance into a socialist sisterhood and brotherhood. Such a song might say: (see page 40)

Steinbeck has spoken truly. "Songs are the statement of a people." "You can learn more about people by listening to their songs than any other way." What remains is to hope for change in content. Songs can express joy, not sorrow; fulfilled, not unfulfilled aspirations; sisterhood and brotherhood, not racial and religious differences; striving in unity and purpose rather than individual striving. "There's a Geat Day A'Coming" when we create the conditions wherein such songs can become a singing reality!

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Professor Philip S. Foner
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Jewish Archive Center, New York City
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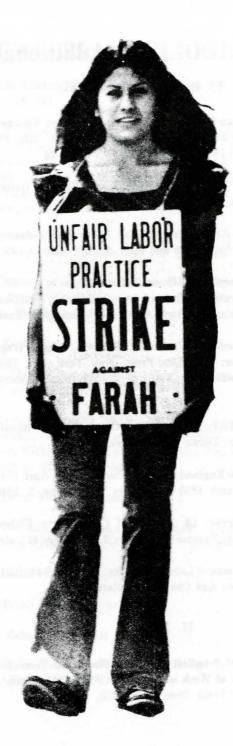
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Pictures without captions

Pg. 11: The uprising of the 20,000 unorganized shirtwaist and garment workers, 1909.

Pg. 25: Strike meeting at Gastonia.

Pg. 37: Victorious Oneita strikers in 1973.

Picture Credits

Pgs. 5&6: Merrimack Valley Textile Museum

Pg. 8: A Pictorial History of the Negro in America/ Hughes and Meltzer

Pgs. 9&11: American Labor, A Pictorial Social History/Schnapper

Pg. 15: The Inheritance/Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO,CLC

Pg. 23: Signature of 450,000/ILGWU

Pgs. 25&28: No More Moanin'/Southern Exposure

Pg. 35: Photo by Roger Manley in Facing South/ Southern Exposure

Pg. 37: Facing South/Southern Exposure

Pg. 44: Womankind/Community Press Features

Additional Song Attributions

Pg. 26: "Hard Times in the Mill" is based on "Cryderville Jail"; written by workers of Columbia Duck Mills, Columbia, S.C., early 1900s

Pg. 27: "Weaver's Life": words by Dorsey Dixon; music traditional

Pg. 29: "We Are Building a Strong Union": words by Marion, N.C. textile strikers, 1929, to tune of "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder," hymn

Pg. 40: "Which Side Are You On?": words by Florence Reece; melody: Baptist hymn "Lay the Lily Low" and/or British ballad "Jack Munro"

About the Author

Evelyn Alloy has been active in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women Strike for Peace, and the U.S. China People's Friendship Association. She is a graduate of Temple University, Department of American Studies. She visited the People's Republic of China in 1974, and has published articles on China as well as other topics. She has given a program of narration, slides and songs based on this book to a number of groups in the Philadelphia area.

About This Book

Evelyn Alloy intersperses commentary on the history of America's women laborers with the songs they have sung to express their fury at being exploited and their determination to win a better life for themselves and their sisters.

Of the rousing songs in the 44-page booklet, one of our favorites was I Cannot Be a Slave:

Oh, isn't it a pity such a pretty girl as I

Should be sent to the factory to pine away and die?

Oh, I cannot be a slave, I will not be a slave,

For I'm so fond of liberty

That I cannot be a slave.

The music is clearly notated, the history of the unionization of women is enlightening, and the illustrations are well chosen. Working Women's Music would be a nice addition to any women's collection. — Wilson Library Bulletin