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Appendix A

Biography and Photograph of President Woodrow Wilson, 1919



Thomas Woodrow Wilson (December 28, 1856-February 3, 1924) was born in Staunton, Virginia, to parents of a predominantly Scottish heritage. Since his father was a Presbyterian minister and his mother the daughter of a Presbyterian minister, Woodrow was raised in a pious and academic household. He spent a year at Davidson College in North Carolina and three at Princeton University where he received a baccalaureate degree in 1879.

After graduating from the Law School of the University of Virginia*, he practiced law for a year in Atlanta, Georgia, but it was a feeble practice. He entered graduate studies at Johns Hopkins University in 1883 and three years later received the doctorate. In 1885 he published *Congressional Government*, a splendid piece of scholarship which analyzes the difficulties arising from the separation of the legislative and executive powers in the American Constitution.

Before joining the faculty of Princeton University as a professor of jurisprudence and political economy, Wilson taught for three years at Bryn Mawr College and for two years at Wesleyan College. He was enormously successful as a lecturer and productive as a scholar.

As president of Princeton University from 1902 to 1910, Wilson became widely known for his ideas on reforming education. In pursuit of his idealized intellectual life for democratically chosen students, he wanted to change the admission system, the pedagogical system, the social system, even the architectural layout of the campus. But Wilson was a thinker who needed to act. So he entered politics and as governor of the State of New Jersey from 1911 to 1913 distinguished himself once again as a reformer.

Wilson won the presidential election of 1912 when William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt split the Republican vote. Upon taking office he set about instituting the reforms he had outlined in his book *The New Freedom*, including the changing of the tariff, the revising of the banking system, the checking of monopolies and fraudulent advertising, the prohibiting of unfair business practices, and the like.

But the attention of this man of peace was forced to turn to war. In the early days of World War I, Wilson was determined to maintain neutrality. He protested British as well as German acts; he offered mediation to both sides but was rebuffed. The American electorate in 1916, reacting to the slogan «He kept us out of war», reelected Wilson to the presidency. However, in 1917 the issue of freedom of the seas compelled a decisive change. On January 31 Germany announced that «unrestricted submarine warfare» was already started; on March 27, after four American ships had been sunk, Wilson decided to ask for a declaration of war; on April 2 he made the formal request to Congress; and on April 6 the Congress granted it.

Wilson never doubted the outcome. He mobilized a nation - its manpower, its industry, its commerce, its agriculture. He was himself the chief mover in the propaganda war. His speech to Congress on January 8, 1918, on the «Fourteen Points» was a decisive stroke in winning that war, for people everywhere saw in his peace aims the vision of a world in which freedom, justice, and peace could flourish.

Although at the apogee of his fame when the 1919 Peace Conference assembled in Versailles, Wilson failed to carry his total conception of an ideal peace, but he did secure the adoption of the

Covenant of the League of Nations. His major failure, however, was suffered at home when the Senate declined to approve American acceptance of the League of Nations. This stunning defeat resulted from his losing control of Congress after he had made the congressional election of 1918 virtually a vote of confidence, from his failure to appoint to the American peace delegation those who could speak for the Republican Party or for the Senate, from his unwillingness to compromise when some minor compromises might well have carried the day, from his physical incapacity in the days just prior to the vote.

The cause of this physical incapacity was the strain of the massive effort he made to obtain the support of the American people for the ratification of the Covenant of the League. After a speech in Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, 1919, he collapsed and a week later suffered a cerebral haemorrhage from the effects of which he never fully recovered. An invalid, he completed the remaining seventeen months of his term of office and lived in retirement for the last three years of his life.

Source: Photograph; "Woodrow Wilson." *Library of Congress Home*. Library of Congress. Web. 29 Oct. 2010. <<http://loc.gov/pictures/resource/cph.3f06247/>>. Biography; "Woodrow Wilson - Biography." *Nobelprize.org*. Nobel Committee. Web. 23 Nov. 2010. <http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1919/wilson-bio.html>.

Appendix B

Article II of the Constitution

Section. 1.

The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States....

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:--
"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section. 2.

The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments,

upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section. 3.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section. 4.

The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Source: "Constitution of the United States - Official." *Archvies.gov*. National Archives and Records Administration. Web. 29 Oct. 2010.

<http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html

Appendix C

President George Washington's First State of the Union

State of the Union Address

George Washington

January 8, 1790

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

I embrace with great satisfaction the opportunity which now presents itself of congratulating you on the present favorable prospects of our public affairs. The recent accession of the important state of north Carolina to the Constitution of the United States (of which official information has been received), the rising credit and respectability of our country, the general and increasing good will toward the government of the Union, and the concord, peace, and plenty with which we are blessed are circumstances auspicious in an eminent degree to our national prosperity....

Among the many interesting objects which will engage your attention that of providing for the common defense will merit particular regard. To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace....

The proper establishment of the troops which may be deemed indispensable will be entitled to mature consideration. In the arrangements which may be made respecting it it will be of importance to conciliate the comfortable support of the officers and soldiers with a due regard to economy....

The interests of the United States require that our intercourse with other nations should be facilitated by such provisions as will enable me to fulfill my duty in that respect in the manner which circumstances may render most conducive to the public good, and to this end that the compensation to be made to the persons who may be employed should, according to the nature of their appointments, be defined by law, and a competent fund designated for defraying the expenses incident to the conduct of foreign affairs.

Various considerations also render it expedient that the terms on which foreigners may be admitted to the rights of citizens should be speedily ascertained by a uniform rule of naturalization.

Uniformity in the currency, weights, and measures of the United States is an object of great importance, and will, I am persuaded, be duly attended to.

The advancement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures by all proper means will not, I trust, need recommendation; but I can not forbear intimating to you the expediency of giving effectual encouragement as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad as

to the exertions of skill and genius in producing them at home, and of facilitating the intercourse between the distant parts of our country by a due attention to the post-office and post-roads.

Nor am I less persuaded that you will agree with me in opinion that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in which the measures of government receive their impressions so immediately from the sense of the community as in ours it is proportionably essential....

I have directed the proper officers to lay before you, respectively, such papers and estimates as regard the affairs particularly recommended to your consideration, and necessary to convey to you that information of the state of the Union which it is my duty to afford.

The welfare of our country is the great object to which our cares and efforts ought to be directed, and I shall derive great satisfaction from a cooperation with you in the pleasing though arduous task of insuring to our fellow citizens the blessings which they have a right to expect from a free, efficient, and equal government.

Source: Washington, George. "George Washington's First State of the Union Address - US Government Info/Resources." *U.S. Government Info*. Web. 15 Oct. 2010.

<<http://usgovinfo.about.com/library/blfirstsou.htm>>.

Appendix D

President John Adams' First State of the Union

State of the Union Address

John Adams

October 11, 1800

Gentlemen of the Senate and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

Immediately after the adjournment of Congress at their last session in Philadelphia I gave directions, in compliance with the laws, for the removal of the public offices, records, and property. These directions have been executed, and the public officers have since resided and conducted the ordinary business of the Government in this place...

In compliance with a law of the last session of Congress, the officers and soldiers of the temporary army have been discharged...

A treaty of amity and commerce with the King of Prussia has been concluded and ratified. The ratifications have been exchanged, and I have directed the treaty to be promulgated by proclamation.

The difficulties which suspended the execution of the 6th article of our treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation with Great Britain have not yet been removed. The negotiation on this subject is still depending. As it must be for the interest and honor of both nations to adjust this difference with good faith, I indulge confidently the expectation that the sincere endeavors of the Government of the United States to bring it to an amicable termination will not be disappointed....

While our vast extent of sea coast, the commercial and agriculture habits of our people, the great capital they will continue to trust on the ocean, suggest the system of defense which will be most beneficial to ourselves, our distance from Europe and our resources for maritime strength will enable us to employ it with effect. Seasonable and systematic arrangements, so far as our resources will justify, for a navy adapted to defensive war, and which may in case of necessity be quickly brought into use, seem to be as much recommended by a wise and true economy as by a just regard for our future tranquillity, for the safety of our shores, and for the protection of our property committed to the ocean.

The present Navy of the United States, called suddenly into existence by a great national exigency, has raised us in our own esteem, and by the protection afforded to our commerce has effected to the extent of our expectations the objects for which it was created.

In connection with a navy ought to be contemplated the fortification of some of our principal sea ports and harbors....It is for Congress to determine whether additional appropriations shall be made in order to render competent to the intended purposes the fortifications which have been

commenced.

The manufacture of arms within the United States still invites the attention of the National Legislature. At a considerable expense to the public this manufacture has been brought to such a state of maturity as, with continued encouragement, will supersede the necessity of future importations from foreign countries.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I shall direct the estimates of the appropriations necessary for the ensuing year, together with an account of the public revenue and expenditure to a late period, to be laid before you. I observe with much satisfaction that the product of the revenue during the present year has been more considerable than during any former equal period....

Source: Adams, John. "State of the Union Address by John Adams.

"TeachingAmericanHistory.org. Teaching American History Organization. Web. 15 Oct. 2010.

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?documentprint=1204>

Appendix E

State of the Union Address

Thomas Jefferson
November 8, 1804

The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

To a people, fellow citizens, who sincerely desire the happiness and prosperity of other nations; to those who justly calculate that their own well-being is advanced by that of the nations with which they have intercourse, it will be a satisfaction to observe that the war which was lighted up in Europe a little before our last meeting has not yet extended its flames to other nations, nor been marked by the calamities which sometimes stain the foot—steps of war....

While noticing the irregularities committed on the ocean by others, those on our own part should not be omitted nor left unprovided for. Complaints have been received that persons residing within the United States have taken on themselves to arm merchant vessels and to force a commerce into certain ports and countries in defiance of the laws of those countries. That individuals should undertake to wage private war, independently of the authority of their country, can not be permitted in a well-ordered society. Its tendency to produce aggression on the laws and rights of other nations and to endanger the peace of our own is so obvious that I doubt not you will adopt measures for restraining it effectually in future....

I have the satisfaction to inform you that the objections which had been urged by that Government against the validity of our title to the country of Louisiana have been withdrawn, its exact limits, however, remaining still to be settled between us....

In pursuance of the act providing for the temporary government of Louisiana, the necessary officers for the Territory of Orleans were appointed in due time to commence the exercise of their functions on the first day of October. The distance, however, of some of them and indispensable previous arrangements may have retarded its commencement in some of its parts. The form of government thus provided having been considered but as temporary, and open to such future improvements as further information of the circumstances of our brethren there might suggest, it will of course be subject to your consideration....

With the Indian tribes established within our newly acquired limits, I have deemed it necessary to open conferences for the purpose of establishing a good understanding and neighborly relations between us. So far as we have yet learned, we have reason to believe that their dispositions are generally favorable and friendly; and with these dispositions on their part, we have in our own hands means which can not fail us for preserving their peace and friendship...

The act of Congress of February 28th, 1803, for building and employing a number of gun boats, is now in a course of execution to the extent there provided for....

No circumstance has arisen since your last session which calls for any augmentation of our

regular military force. Should any improvement occur in the militia system, that will be always seasonable.

Accounts of the receipts and expenditures of the last year, with estimates for the ensuing one, will as usual be laid before you.

The state of our finances continues to fulfill our expectations....

It is also ascertained that the revenue accrued during the last year exceeds that of the preceding, and the probable receipts of the ensuing year may safely be relied on as sufficient, with the sum already in the Treasury, to meet all the current demands of the year....

These, fellow citizens, are the principal matters which I have thought it necessary at this time to communicate for your consideration and attention. Some others will be laid before you in the course of the session; but in the discharge of the great duties confided to you by our country you will take a broader view of the field of legislation.

TH. JEFFERSON

Source: Jefferson, Thomas. "State of the Union Address by Thomas Jefferson."

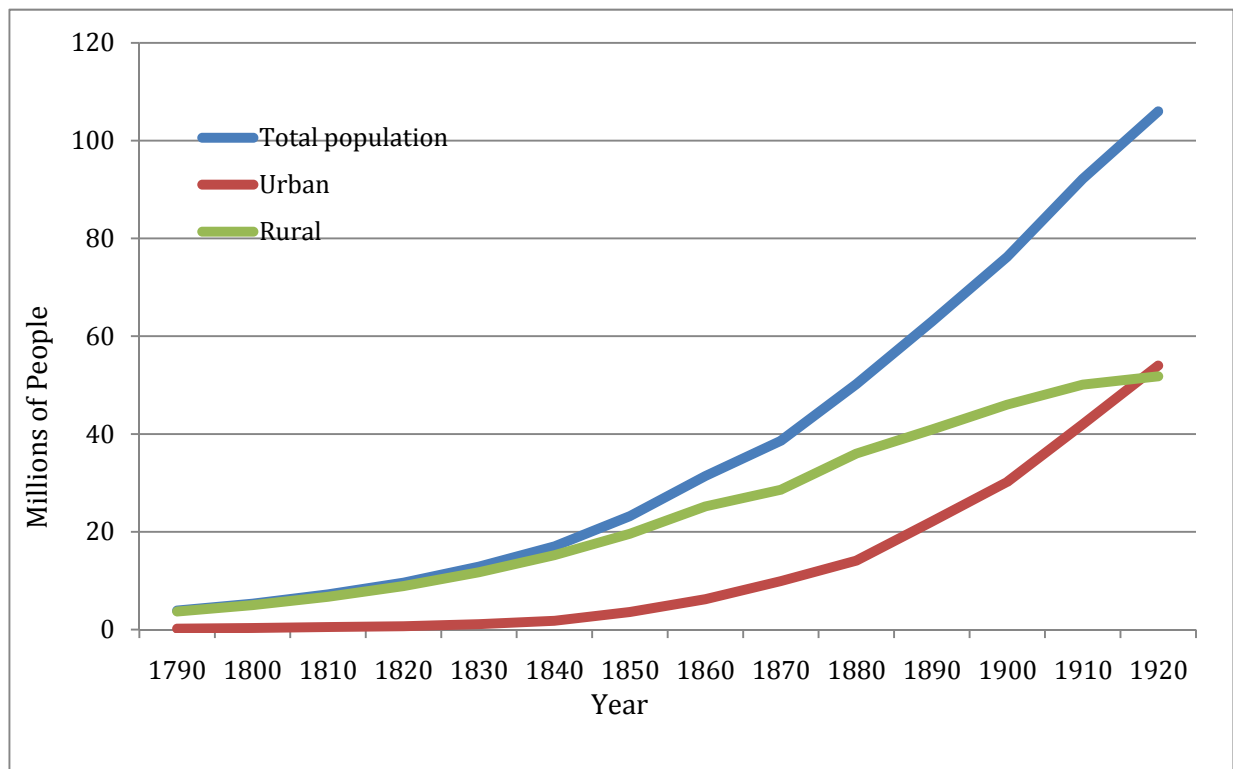
TeachingAmericanHistory.org. Teaching American History Organization. Web. 15 Oct. 2010.

<http://www.teachingamericanhistory.org/library/index.asp?document=1207>

Appendix F

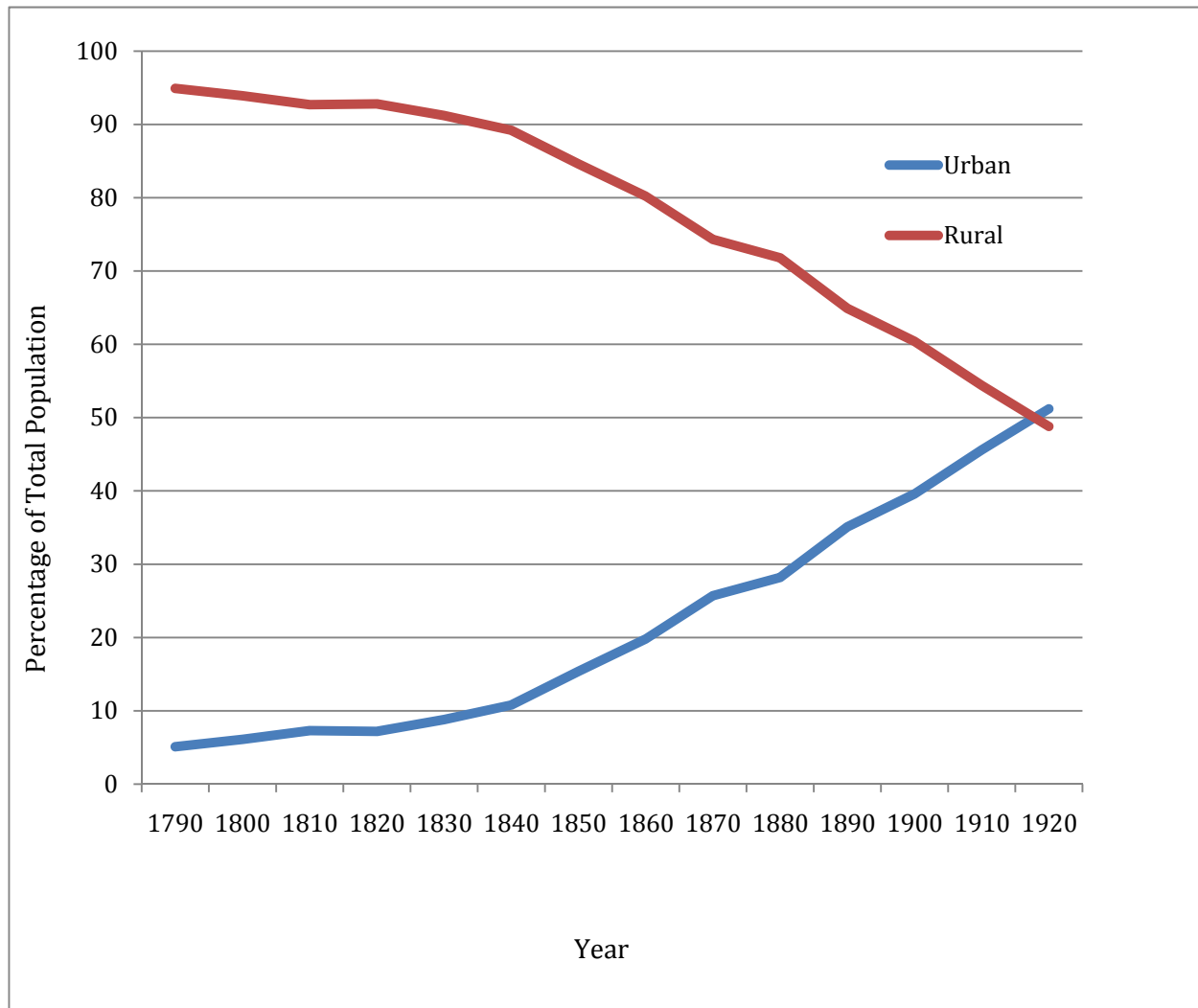
Population Trends, 1790-1920

Population Growth from 1790-1920



(continued)

Urban versus Rural as Percentage of Total Population

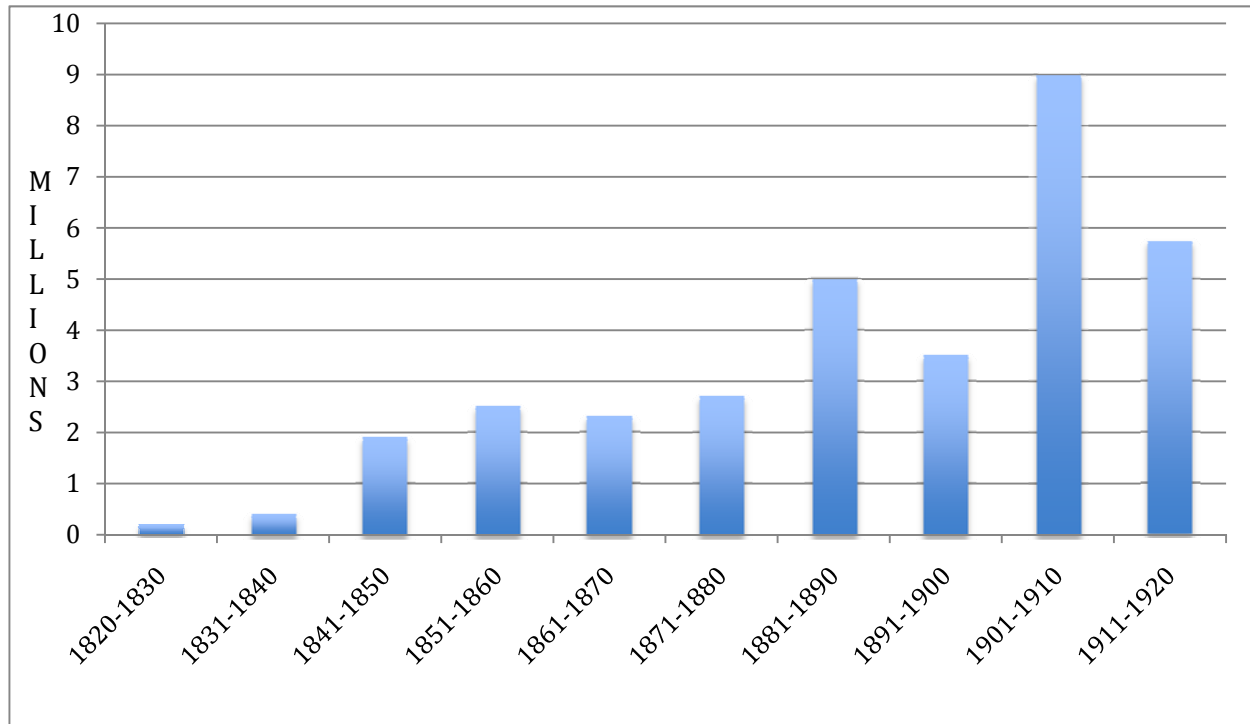


Source: "Selected Historical Decennial Census Population and Housing Counts." *Census Bureau Home Page*. United States Census Bureau. Web. 29 Oct. 2010.

<<http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/hiscendata.html>>

Appendix G

Immigration Statistics from 1820-1920



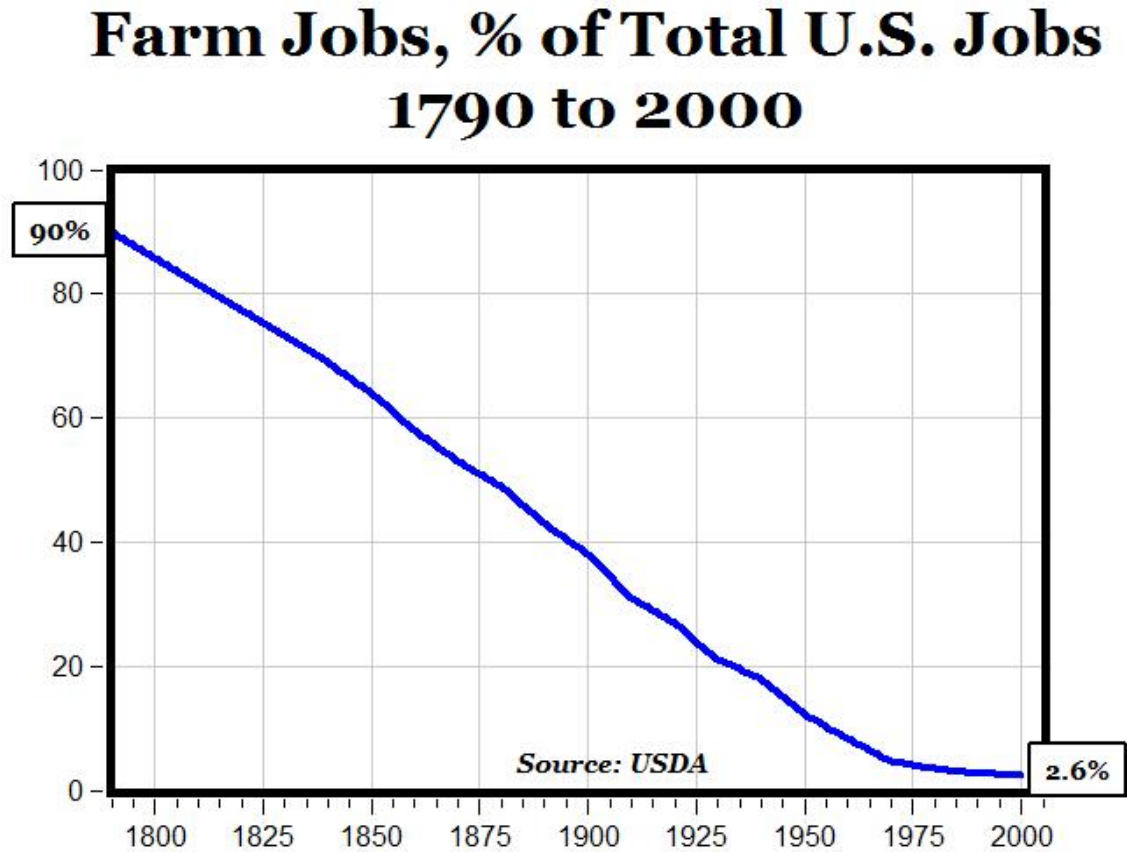
Source: "U.S. Population and Immigration Data, Projections and Graphs." *CAIR Colorado*

Alliance for Immigration Reform. CAIR. Web. 29 Oct. 2010.

<http://www.cairco.org/data/data_us.html>

Appendix H

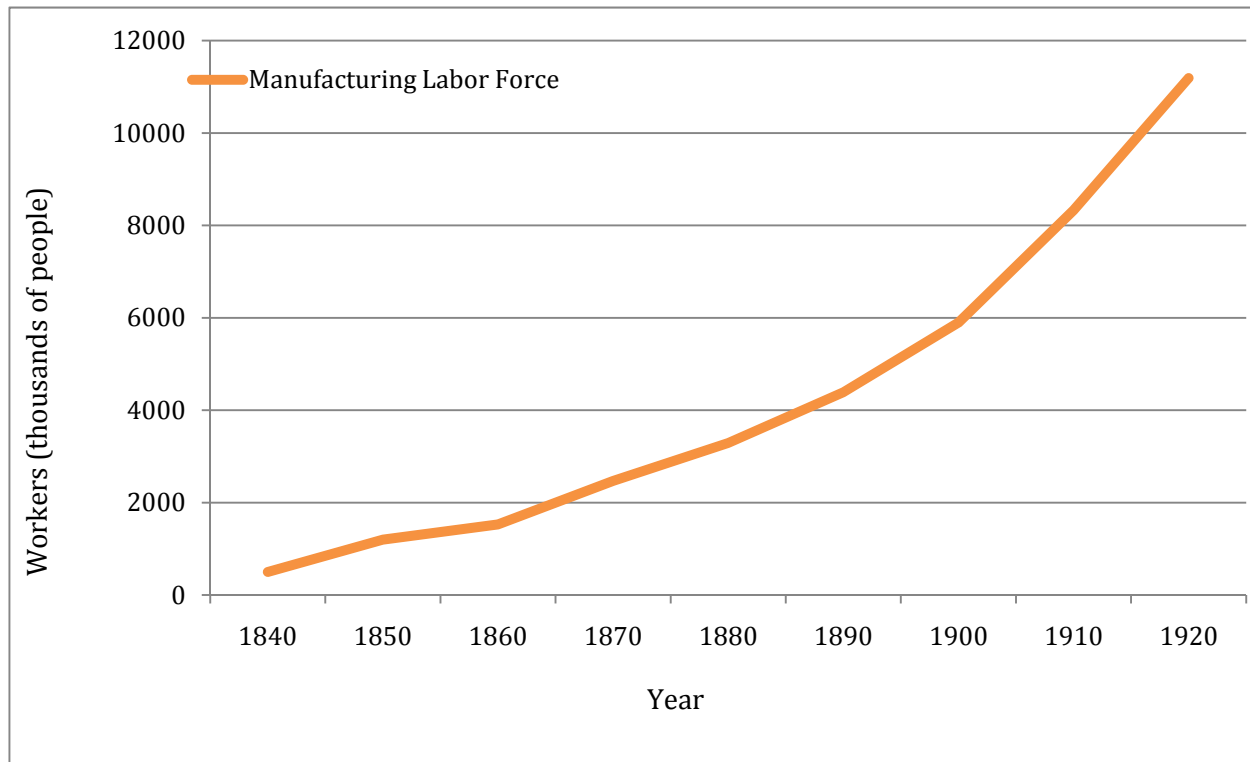
Farm Jobs as a Percentage of Total U.S. Jobs, 1790-2000



Source: Perry, Mark J. "Increased Worker Productivity Has Destroyed Millions of Jobs, and We Should Be Grateful." *Increased Worker Productivity Has Destroyed Millions of Jobs, and We Should Be Grateful*. Web. 23 Nov. 2010. <<http://mjerry.blogspot.com/2010/07/increased-worker-productivity-has.html>>

Appendix I

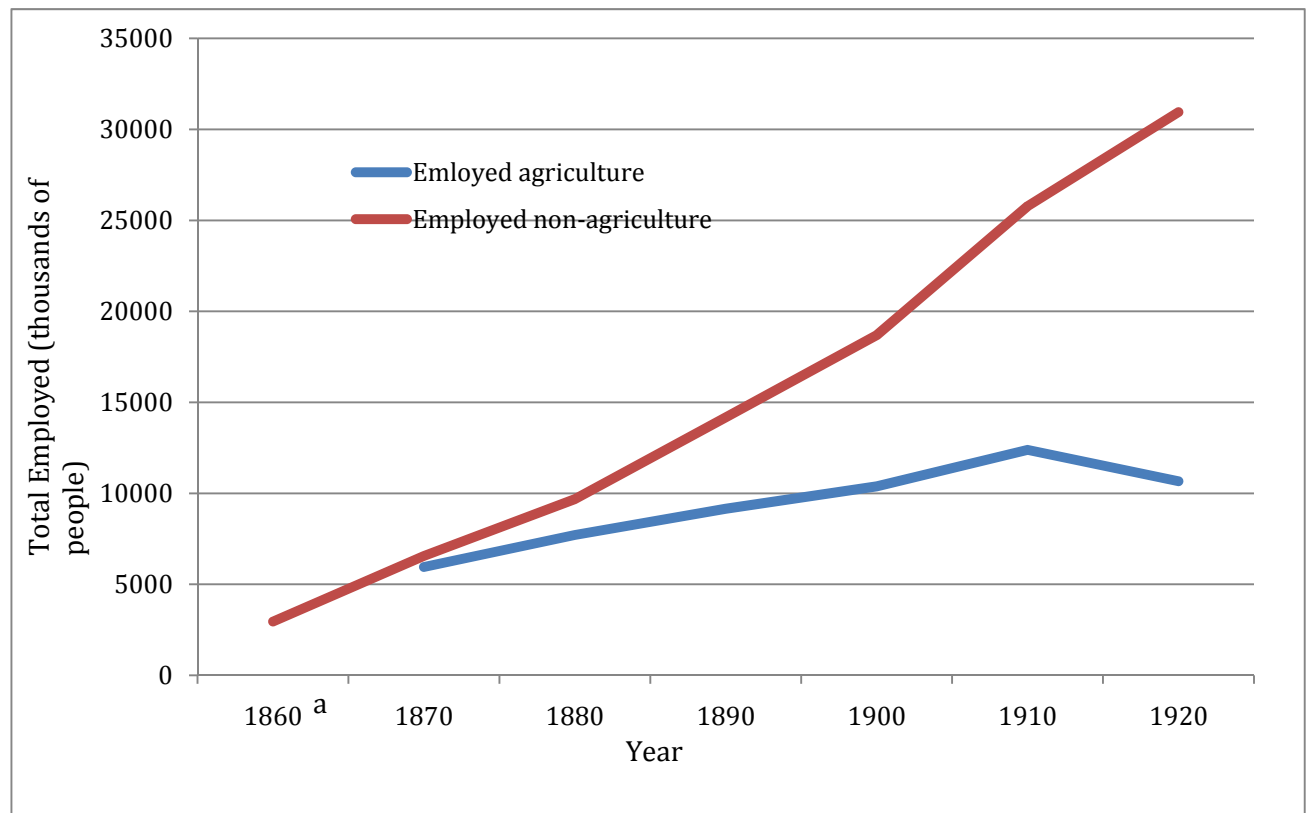
Growth of Manufacturing Labor Force, 1840-1920



Source: Kurian, George Thomas, and Barbara A. Chernow. *Datapedia of the United States: American History in Numbers*. 4th ed. Lanham, MD: Bernan, 2007. Print.

Appendix J

Labor Force: Agriculture Versus Non-agriculture, 1860-1920

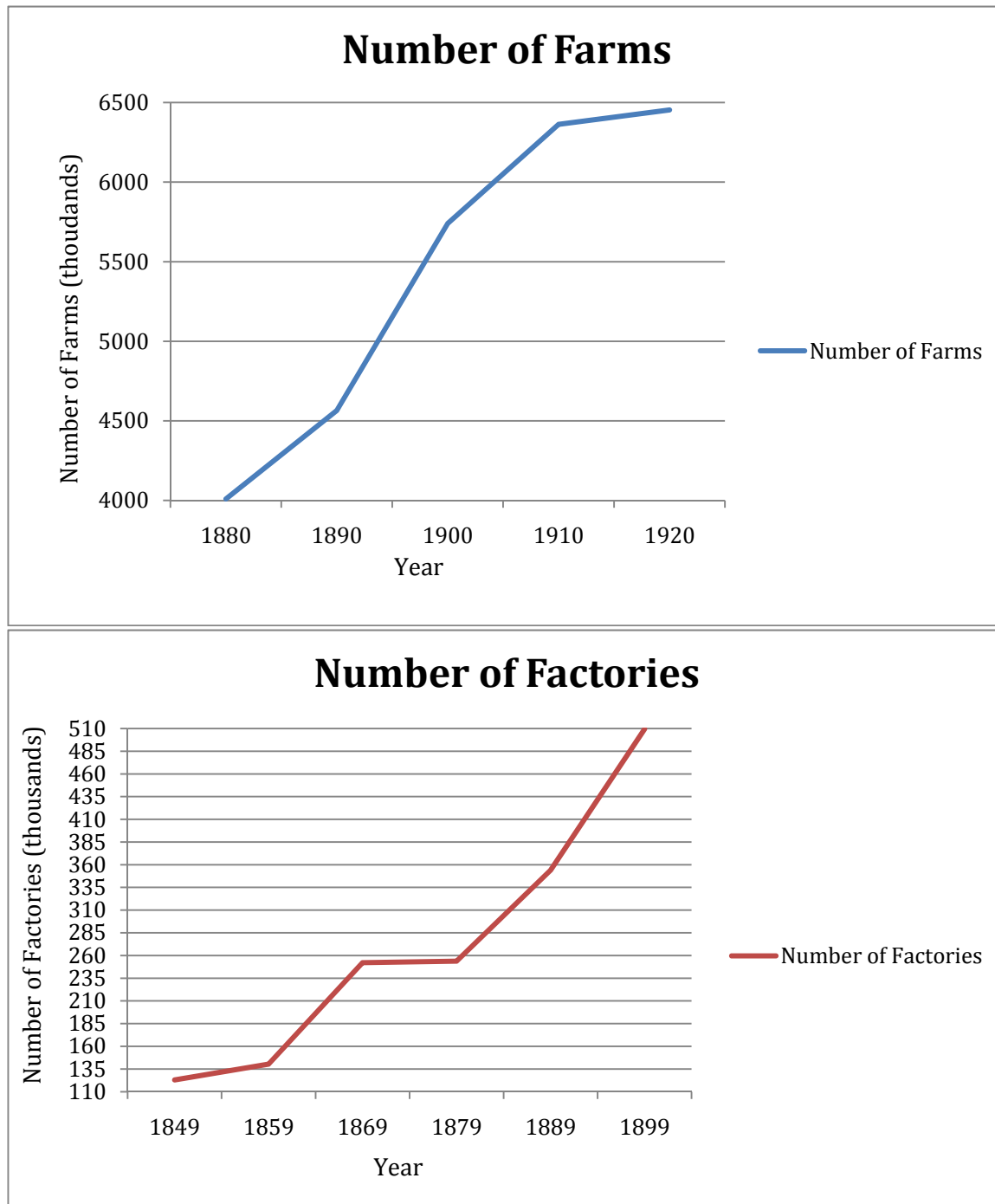


(a: Data unavailable for *Employed-Agriculture*)

Source: Kurian, George Thomas, and Barbara A. Chernow. *Datapedia of the United States: American History in Numbers*. 4th ed. Lanham, MD: Bernan, 2007. Print.

Appendix K

Rate of Growth: Farms vs. Factories

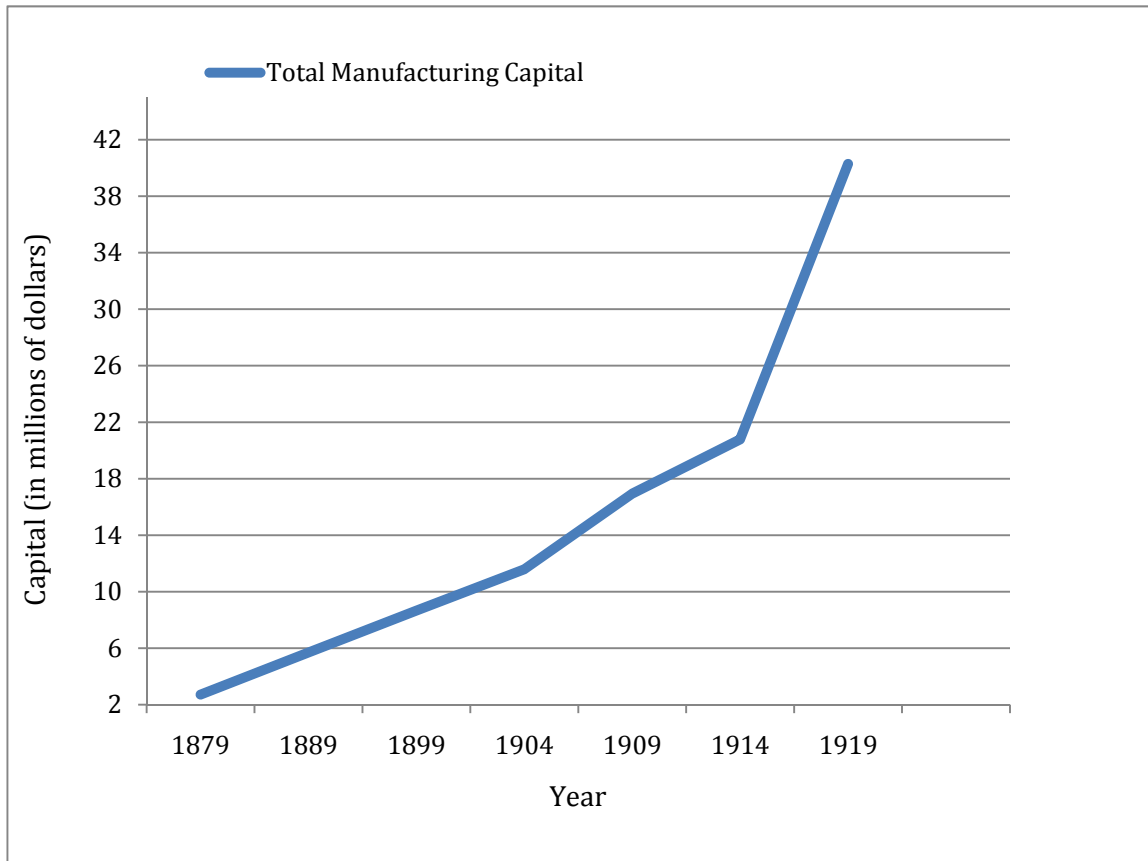


Source: Kurian, George Thomas, and Barbara A. Chernow. *Datapedia of the United States:*

American History in Numbers. 4th ed. Lanham, MD: Bernan, 2007. Print.

Appendix L

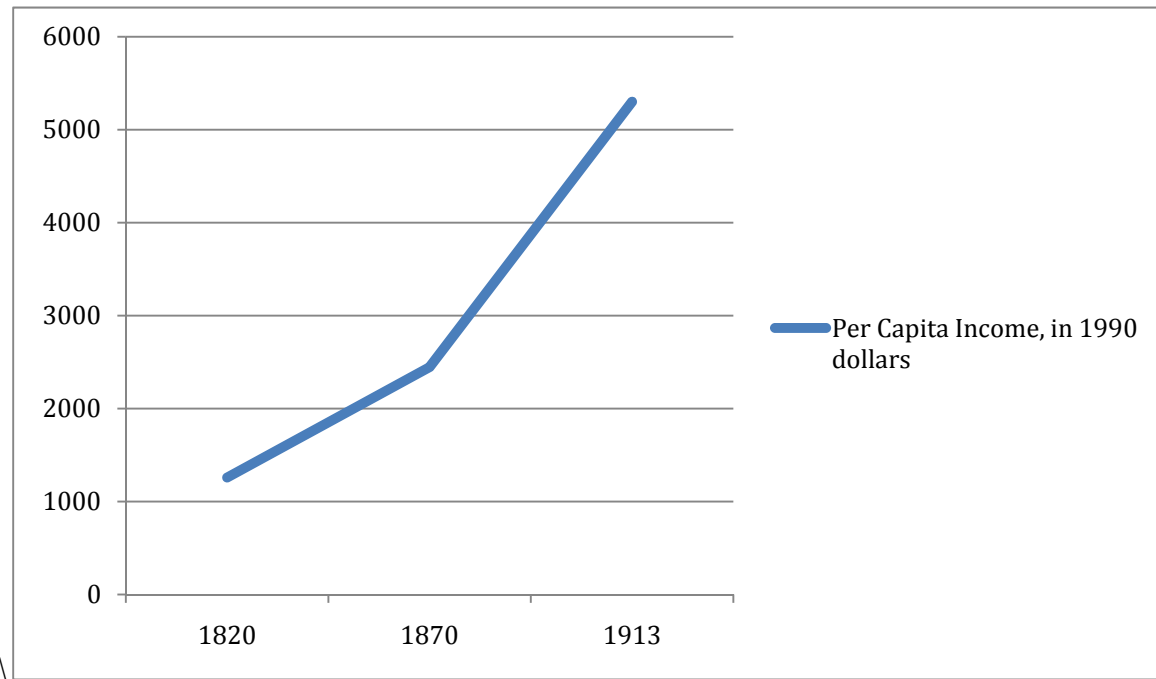
Capital in Manufacturing Industries (in 1929 Dollars)



Source: United States. U.S. Department of Commerce and Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*. By Rogers C.B. Morton, James L. Pate, and Vincent P. Barabba. Vol. 2. Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census, 1975. Print: 684. Bicentennial Edition.

Appendix M

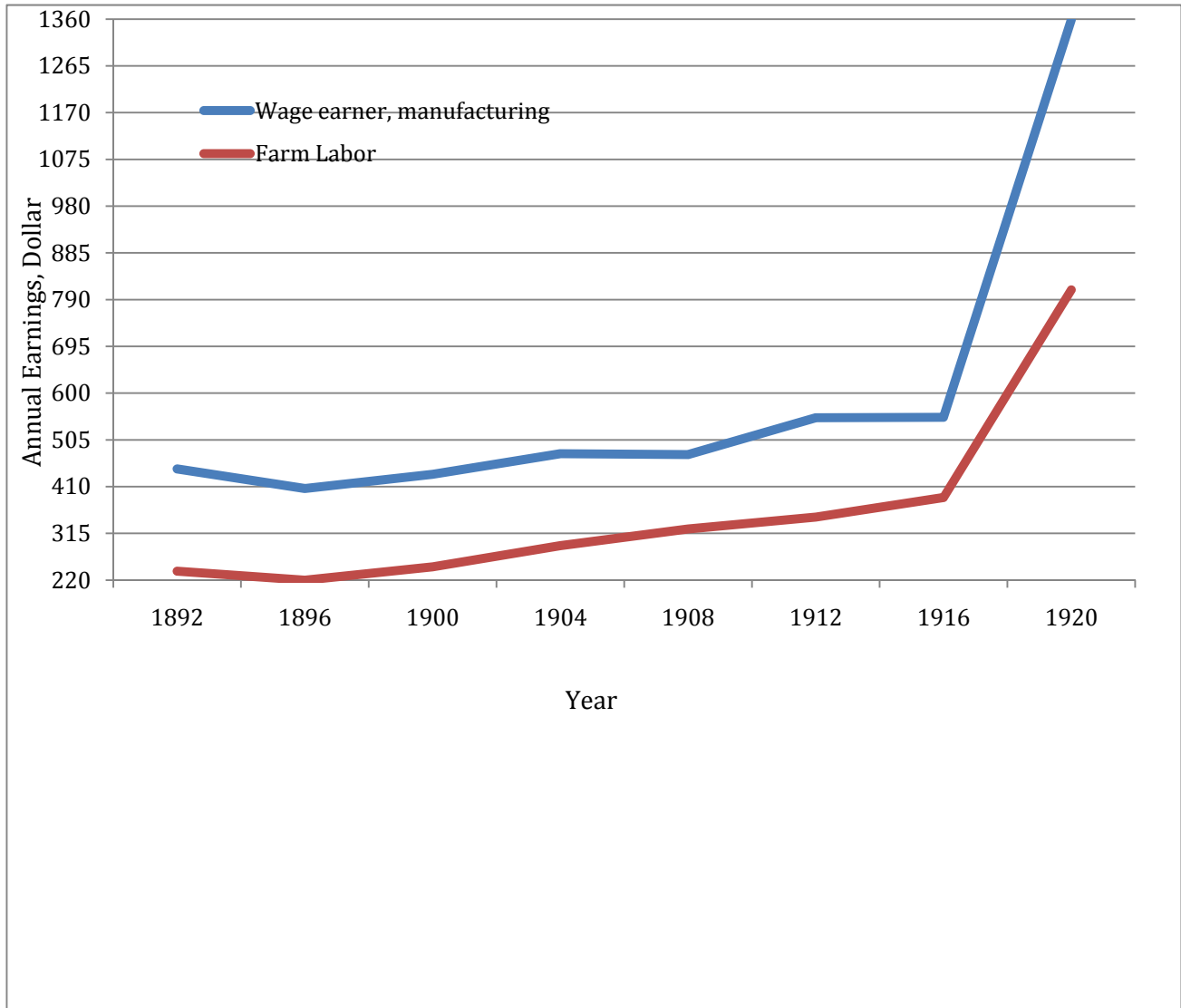
Increase in Per Capita Income, 1820-1913



Source: Steckel, Richard H. "A History of the Standard of Living in the United States | Economic History Services." *EH.Net / Economic History Services*. Ohio State University, 2001. Web. 02 Dec. 2010. <<http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/steckel.standard.living.us>>.

Appendix N

Annual Average Earning: Wage Earner Compared to Farmer, 1892-1920



Source: United States. U.S. Department of Commerce and Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*. By Rogers C.B. Morton, James L. Pate, and Vincent P. Barabba. Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census, 1975.

Print: 168. Bicentennial Edition.

Appendix O

Fertility and Mortality in the United States, 1800-1920

Approx. Date	Birthrate ^a		Child-Woman Ratio ^b		Total Fertility Rate ^c		Life Expectancy ^d		Infant Mortality Rate ^e	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
1800	55.0		1342		7.04					
1810	54.3		1358		6.92					
1820	52.8		1295	1191	6.73					
1830	51.4		1145	1220	6.55					
1840	48.3		1085	1154	6.14					
1850	43.3	58.6	892	1087	5.42	7.90	39.5	23.0	216.8	340.0
1860	41.4	55.0	905	1072	5.21	7.58	43.6		181.3	
1870	38.3	55.4	814	997	4.55	7.69	45.2		175.5	
1880	35.2	51.9	780	1090	4.24	7.26	40.5		214.8	
1890	31.5	48.1	685	930	3.87	6.56	46.8		150.7	
1900	30.1	44.4	666	845	3.56	5.61	51.8	41.8	110.8	170.3
1910	29.2	38.5	631	736	3.42	4.61	54.6	46.8	96.5	142.6
1920	26.9	35.0	604	608	3.17	3.64	57.4	47.0	82.1	131.7

^a Births per 1000 population per annum.

^b Children aged 0-4 per 1000 women aged 20-44. Taken from U.S. Bureau of the Census, (1975), Series 67-68 for 1800-1970. For the black population 1820-1840, W.S. Thompson and P.K. Whelpton, Population Trends in the United States (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933), Table 74, adjusted upward 47% for relative under-numeration of black children aged 0-4 for the censuses of 1820-1840.

^c Total number of births per woman if she experienced the current period age-specific fertility rates throughout her life.

^d Expectation of life at birth for both sexes combined.

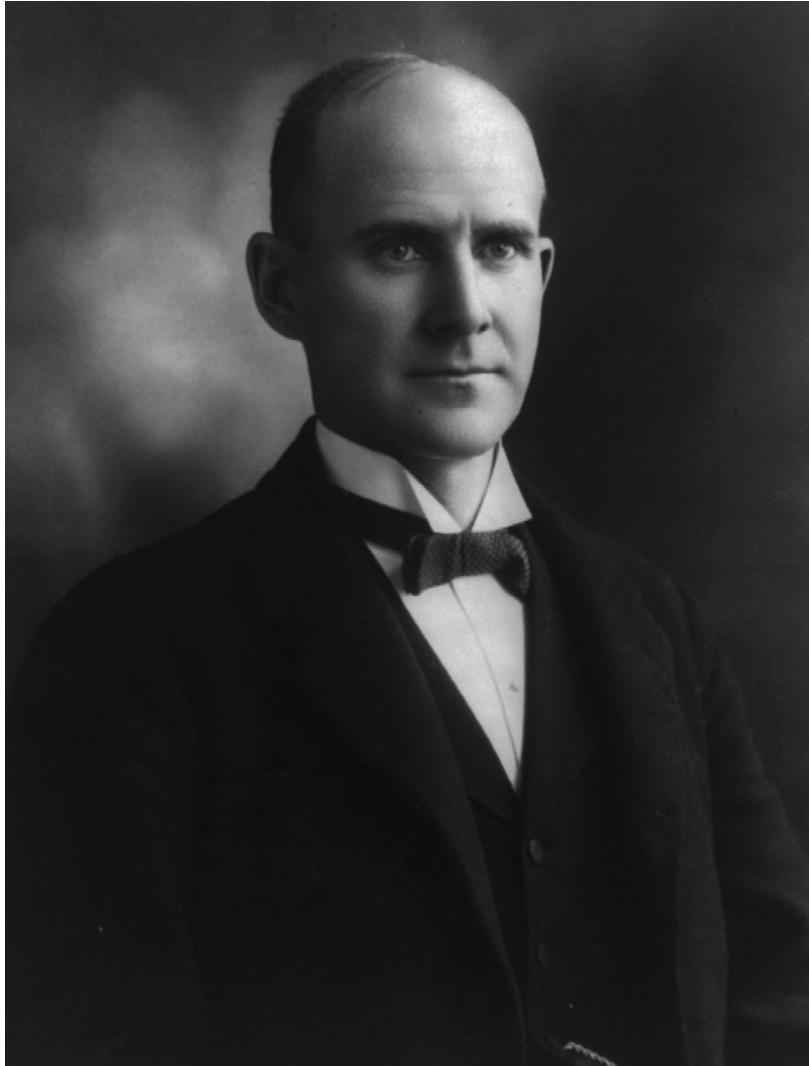
^e Infant deaths per 1000 live births per annum.

Source: "Fertility and Mortality in the United States." *EH.Net* / *Economic History Services*. Web.

23 Nov. 2010. <<http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/haines.demography>>.

Appendix P

Photograph and Biography of Eugene V. Debs



Eugene V. Debs (1855-1926) was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, where he went to work for the railroad at the age of fifteen. In time he rose through the ranks of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen to become national secretary and editor of the union's newspaper. He helped to form the (industrial) American Railway Union and became its president in 1893. Although he had thought the Pullman Strike of 1894 unwise, he supported it and so was included in the injunction order issued by the federal district court. Disobeying it, he was held in contempt of court and sent to prison, where the chance to read and reflect of his experiences led to his becoming a socialist. He was a founding leader first of the Social Democratic Party (1897) and then of the Socialist Party (1900). Always an advocate of industrial unionism, he supported the 1905 formation of the International Workers of the World (IWW), though not all of the tactics subsequently employed in its name. He was the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party five

times, receiving nearly a million votes in both the 1912 and 1920 elections (during the second of which he was serving a ten-year sentence in prison for seditious speech). Thoroughly American and always militant, Debs stands as one of the foremost spokespersons for socialism and the working class generally...

Source: Dolbeare, Kenneth M., Michael S. Cummings, comp. and ed. *American Political Thought*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2010. Print.

Appendix Q

Excerpts from Debs' "Revolutionary Unionism" Speech, 1905

The unity of labor, economic and political, upon the basis of the class struggle, is at this time the supreme need of the working class. The prevailing lack of unity implies lack of class consciousness; that is to say, enlightened self-interest; and this can, must and will be overcome by revolutionary education and organization. Experience, long, painful and dearly bought, has taught some of us that craft division is fatal to class unity. To accomplish its mission the working class must be united. They must act together; they must assert their combined power, and when they do this upon the basis of the class struggle, then and then only will they break the fetters of wage slavery.

We are engaged today in a class war; and why? For the simple reason that in the evolution of the capitalist system in which we live, society has been mainly divided into two economic classes—a small class of capitalists who own the tools with which work is done and wealth is produced, and a great mass of workers who are compelled to use those tools. Between these two classes there is an irrepressible economic conflict. Unfortunately for himself, the workingman does not yet understand the nature of the conflict, and for this reason has hitherto failed to accomplish any effective unity of his class.

It is true that workers in the various departments of industrial activity have organized trade unions. It is also true that in this capacity they have from time to time asserted such power as this form of organization has conferred upon them. It is equally true that mere craft unionism, no matter how well it may be organized, is in the present highly developed capitalist system utterly unable to successfully cope with the capitalist class. The old craft union has done its work and belongs to the past. Labor unionism, like everything else, must recognize and bow to the inexorable law of evolution.

The craft union says that the worker shall receive a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. What is a fair day's pay for a fair day's work? Ask the capitalist and he will give you his idea about it. Ask the worker and, if he is intelligent, he will tell you that a fair day's pay for a fair day's work is all the workingman produces.

While the craft unionist still talks about a fair day's pay for a fair day's work, implying that the economic interests of the capitalist and the worker can be harmonized upon a basis of equal justice to both, the Industrial Worker says, "I want all I produce by my labor."

If the worker is not entitled to all he produces, then what share is anybody else entitled to?

Does the worker today receive all he produces? Does he receive anything like a fair share of the product of his labor? Will any trade-unionist of the old school make any such claim, and if he is bold enough to make it, can he verify it?

The student of this question knows that, as a matter of fact, in the capitalist system in which we live today the worker who produces all wealth receives but enough of his product to keep him in working and producing order. His wage, in the aggregate, is fixed by his living necessities. It suffices, upon the average, to maintain him according to the prevailing standard of living and to enable him to reproduce himself in the form of labor power. He receives, as a matter of fact, but about 17 per cent of what his labor produces...

The evolution is not yet complete.

By virtue of his private ownership of the social tool—made and used by the co-operative labor of the working class—the employer has the economic power to appropriate to himself, as a capitalist, what is produced by the social labor of the working class. This accounts for the fact that the capitalist becomes fabulously rich, lives in a palace where there is music and singing and dancing, and where there is the luxury of all climes, while the workingmen who do the work and produce the wealth and endure the privations and make the sacrifices of health and limb and life, remain in a wretched state of poverty and dependence.

The exploiting capitalist is the economic master and the political ruler in capitalist society, and as such holds the exploited wage worker in utter contempt.

No master ever had any respect for his slave, and no slave ever had, or ever could have, any real love for his master....

There are those wage workers who feel their economic dependence, who know that the capitalist for whom they work is the owner of their job, and therefore the master of their fate, who are still vainly seeking by individual effort and through waning craft unions to harmonize the conflicting interests of the exploiting capitalist and the exploited wage slave. They are engaged in a vain and hopeless task. They are wasting time and energy worthy of a

better cause. These interests never can and never will be harmonized permanently, and when they are adjusted even temporarily, it is always at the expense of the working class.

It is no part of the mission of this revolutionary working class union to conciliate the capitalist class. We are organized to fight that class, and we want that class to distinctly understand it. And they do understand it, and in time the working class will also understand it; and then the capitalist class will have reason to understand it better still. Their newspapers understand it so well even now that they have not a single favorable comment to make upon it...

President Roosevelt would have you believe that there are no classes in the United States. He was made president by the votes of the working class. Did you ever know of his stopping over night in the home of a workingman? Is it by mere chance that he is always sheltered beneath the hospitable roof of some plutocrat? Not long ago he made a visit here and he gave a committee representing the workers about fifteen minutes of his precious time, just time enough to rebuke them with the intimation that organized labor consisted of a set of law-breakers, and then he gave fifteen hours to the plutocrats of Chicago, being wined and dined by them to prove that there are no classes in the United States, and that you, horny handed veteran, with your wage of \$1.50 a day, with six children to support on that, are in the same class with John D. Rockefeller! Your misfortune is that you do not know you are in the same class. But on election day it dawns upon you and you prove it by voting the same ticket.

Since you have looked yourself over thoroughly, you realize by this time that, as a workingman, you have been supporting, through your craft unions and through your ballots, a social system that is the negation of your manhood.

The capitalist for whom you work doesn't have to go out and look for you; you have to look for him, and you belong to him just as completely as if he had a title to your body; as if you were his chattel slave.

He doesn't own you under law, but he does under the fact.

Why? Because he owns the tool with which you work, and you have got to have access to that tool if you work; and if you want to live you have got to work. If you don't work you don't eat; and so, scourged by hunger pangs, you look about for that tool and you locate it, and you soon discover that between yourself, a workingman, and that tool that is an essential part of yourself in industry, there stands the capitalist who owns it. He is your boss; he owns your job, takes your product and controls your destiny. Before you can touch that tool to earn a dime you must petition the owner of it to allow you to use it, in consideration of your giving to him all you produce with it, except just enough to keep you alive and in working order.

Observe that you are displaced by the surplus product of your own labor; that what you produce is of more value under capitalism than you who produce it; that the commodity which is the result of your labor is of greater value under capitalism than your own life. You consist of palpitating flesh; you have wants. You have necessities. You cannot satisfy them, and you suffer. But the product of your labor, the property of the capitalist, that is sacred; that must be protected at all hazards. After you have been displaced by the surplus product of your labor and you have been idle long enough, you become restive and you begin to speak out, and you become a menace. The unrest culminates in trouble. The capitalist presses a button and the police are called into action. Then the capitalist presses button No. 2 and injunctions are issued by the judges, the judicial allies and servants of the capitalist class. Then button No. 3 is pressed and the state troops fall into line; and if this is not sufficient button No. 4 is pressed and the regular soldiers come marching to the scene. That is what President Roosevelt meant when he said that back of the mayor is the governor, back of the governor the President; or, to use his own words, back of the city, the state and back of the state the nation—the capitalist nation....

In this barbarous competitive struggle in which we are engaged, the workers, the millions, are fighting each other to sell themselves into slavery; the middle class are fighting each other to other to get enough trade to keep soul and body together, and the professional class are fighting each other like savages for practice. And this is called civilization! What a mockery! What a sham! There is no real civilization in the capitalist system.

Today there is nothing so easily produced as wealth. The whole earth consists of raw materials; and in every breath of nature, in sunshine, and in shower, hidden everywhere, are the subtle forces that may, by the touch of the hand of labor, be set into operation to transmute these raw materials into wealth, the finished products, in all their multiplied forms and in opulent abundance for all. The merest child can press a button that will set in operation a forest of machinery and produce wealth enough for a community.

Whatever may be said of the ignorant, barbarous past, there is no excuse for poverty today. And yet it is the scourge of the race. It is the Nemesis of capitalist civilization. Ten millions, one-eighth of our whole population, are in a state of chronic poverty. Three millions of these have been sunk to unresisting pauperism. The whole working class is in a sadly dependent state, and even the most favored wage-worker is left suspended by a single thread. He does not know what hour a machine may be invented to make his trade useless, displace him and throw him into the increasing army of the unemployed....

The workingman today does not understand his industrial relation to his fellow-workers. He has never been correlated with others in the same industry. He has mechanically done his part. He has simply been a cog, with little reference to, or knowledge of, the rest of the cogs. Now, we teach him to hold up his head and look over the whole mechanism. If he is employed in a certain plant, as an Industrial Unionist, his eyes are opened. He takes a survey of the entire productive mechanism, and he understands his part in it, and his relation to every other worker in that industry. The very instant he does that he is buoyed by a fresh hope and thrilled with a new aspiration. He becomes a larger man. He begins to feel like a collective son of toil.

Then he and his fellows study to fit themselves to take control of this productive mechanism when it shall be transferred from the idle capitalist to the workers to whom it rightfully belongs.

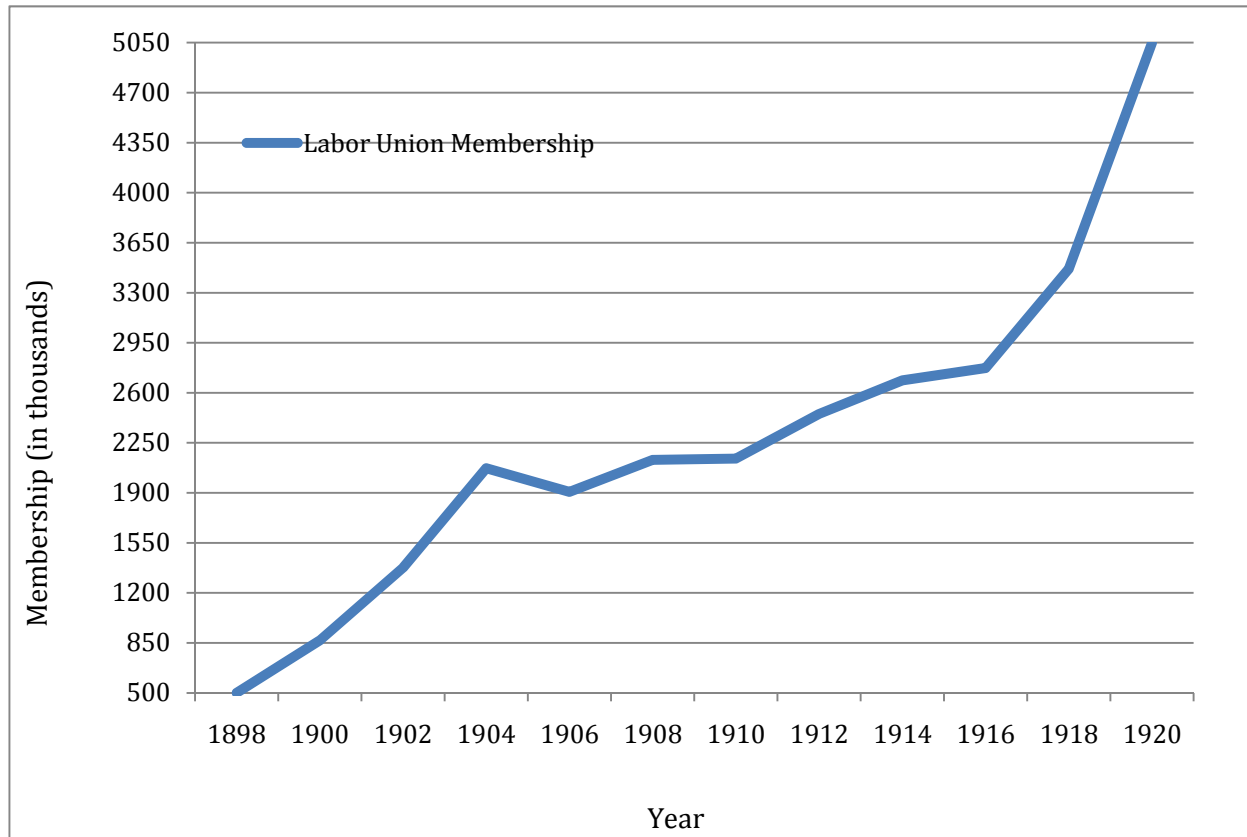
In every mill and every factory, every mine and every quarry, every railroad and every shop, everywhere, the workers, enlightened, understanding their self-interest, are correlating themselves in the industrial and economic mechanism. They are developing their industrial consciousness, their economic and political power; and when the revolution comes, they will be prepared to take possession and assume control of every industry. With the education they will have received in the Industrial Workers they will be drilled and disciplined, trained and fitted for Industrial Mastery and Social Freedom.

Source: Debs, Eugene V. "Revolutionary Unionism." Ed. and comp. Dolbeare, Kenneth M.,

Michael S. Cummings. *American Political Thought*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2010. Print.

Appendix R

Labor Union Membership, 1898-1920



Source: United States. U.S. Department of Commerce and Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970*. By Rogers C.B. Morton, James L. Pate, and Vincent P. Barabba. Vol.1&2. Washington, D.C.: United States Bureau of the Census, 1975. Print: 178. Bicentennial Edition.

Appendix S
Major Labor Unions of the Late 19th-Early 20th Centuries

Union Name and Leader, Founded	Goals	Effects
National Labor Union, William H. Sylvis. 1866	Emphasized efforts to establish eight-hour day for industrial laborers.	In 1871, NLU founded the National Labor Reform Party. It was one of the first national labor unions.
The Knights of Labor, Uriah Stephens. 1869	Sought to recruit both skilled and unskilled workers. Called for eight-hour day, equal pay for men and women, an end to contract labor by prisoners, and the abolition of child labor. Favored passed of an income tax, issuance of paper money, abolition of national banking system, and prohibition.	Although Knights of Labor discouraged use of strikes, by the mid 1880s strikes help Knights make their greatest gains in membership. In 1884, Knights organized a strike against Union Pacific Railroad. Railroad recognized new shopworkers' union, which affiliated with Knights of Labor. As a result of strikes, membership increased from 100,000-700,000. Set union standards for recognizing skilled and unskilled laborers, and for workplace equality for men and women
American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers. 1886 (official)	Higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Wanted to organize skilled workers who possessed more bargaining power than unskilled, since unskilled could be easily replaced. Formed official alliances with the Democratic party in 1907.	Became one of the largest unions in the country. By 1902, AFL had over one million members. By 1914, membership exceeded 2 million. As of 2010, the AFL is still one of the largest unions in the country.
Industrial Workers of the World, 1905	Founded by a convention of 200 socialist, anarchists, and communists in 1905, the goal of IWW was to "promote worker solidarity in the revolutionary struggle to overthrow the employing class". Opposed capitalism, and favored a communist world order.	The only American union (besides the Knights of Labor) to welcome all workers including women, immigrants, and African Americans into the same organization. It was rejected by most politicians at the time, and by the Great Depression had seriously lost its influence. It has regained some strength since, most notably organizing the Starbucks Worker's Union in 2007.

Sources: Vault, Birdsall S. *American History since 1865*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989. Print.;

"History and Mission." *Industrial Workers of the World* Web. 29 Oct. 2010.

Appendix T
Chart of Major Union Strikes Post-Civil War

Name of Riot, Year & Details	Effects	Unions
<u>Railroad Strike of 1877:</u> <i>Wage cuts led to strikes affecting four major railroads. As tensions increased, acts of violence occurred in the Pittsburgh area, as well as other locations across the Mid-Atlantic.</i>	Governor of Pennsylvania sent state militia. Violence increased, leading a number of deaths. President Rutherford B. Hayes sent army troops to Pittsburgh, collapsing the strike after 45 days of death and violence.	Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, Workingmen's Party (a Socialist Party affiliate)
<u>The Haymarket Riot, 1886:</u> <i>Labor unrest as workers pushed for the adoption of the eight-hour day. Especially tense in Chicago, where labor unions called a strike against McCormick Harvester Co. A demonstration protesting police brutality turned into a labor union riot. Anarchist bomb kills 7 policemen, wounding 67. Police fired into crowd, killing four.</i>	Led to a wave of antilabor and antiradical hysteria, especially through middle-upper class America. Eight anarchists were charged with responsibility for the policemen's deaths, since they had incited the violence. All eight were found guilty, and four were hung.	International Working People's Association
<u>The Homestead Strike, 1892:</u> <i>3,800 union members went on strike at Andrew Carnegie's Homestead Plant in Pennsylvania, protesting against wage cuts and bad working conditions. Three hundred Pinkerton detectives were bought in. In the ensuing violence, seven detectives and nine workers were killed.</i>	There was considerable sympathy for the strikers; however, the strike failed completely. Union activity in the steel industry did not resume for a number of years.	Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.
<u>The Pullman Strike, 1894</u> <i>The Panic of 1893 led to a new depression and more wage cuts, leading to more strikes. Wage cuts and an unwilling to reduce rent for company-owned houses led workers at George Pullman's Chicago railroad company to strike. American Railway Union members refused to work unless the company agreed to arbitration. When the company refused, they went on strike.</i>	Nearly all of the workers on railroad lines west of Chicago went on strike. The Railroad Manager's Association appealed to the federal government. They convinced President Cleveland that troops should be used to stop the strike, since it disturbed delivery of mail. Attorney General Olney received injunction under Sherman Anti-trust Act against the union—this was the first time an injunction had been used to stop a labor dispute. Cleveland intervened with 2,000 troops, breaking the strike. Failure of strike weakened the America labor movement. ARU leader Eugene Debs. Was imprisoned for defying injunction.	American Railway Union, led by Eugene Debs. As a result of the strike, Debs became a national figure and became the leader of the American socialist movement, running for President as the Socialist party's candidate on five occasions.

Sources: Howells, W. D. "The Great Railroad Strike." *Harper's Ferry* 21 Apr. 1888. Web.

<http://www.catskillarchive.com/rrextra/sk881.html>; Viault, Birdsall S. *American History Since*

1865. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1989. Print.

Appendix U

Images of Labor Union Strikes

Railroad Strike of 1877, Engraving, Photograph

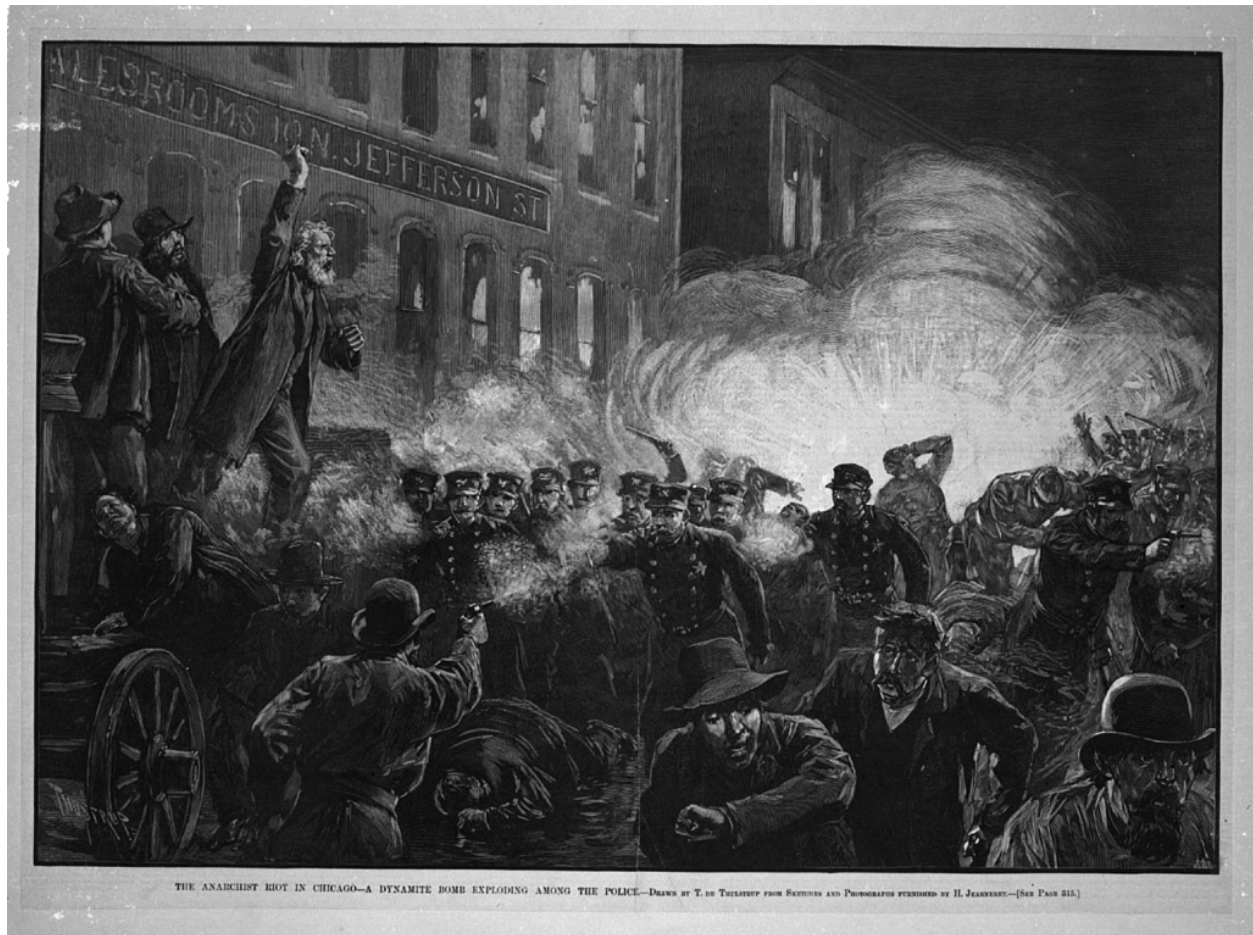




Sources: Howells, W. D. "The Great Railroad Strike." *Harper's Ferry* 21 Apr. 1888. Web.

<http://www.catskillarchive.com/rrextra/sk881.html>

1886 Engraving of the Haymarket Riot; Haymarket Rally Advertisement



Attention Workingmen!

GREAT
MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

AT THE
HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest
atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our
fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Achtung, Arbeiter!

Große

Massen-Versammlung

Heute Abend, 7½ Uhr, auf dem

**Heumarkt, Randolph-Straße, zwischen
Desplaines u. Halsted-Str.**

✓ Gute Redner werden den neuesten Schurkenstreich der Polizei,
indem sie gestern Nachmittag unsere Brüder erschoss, geißeln.

✚ **Arbeiter, bewaffnet Euch und erscheint massenhaft!**

Das Executiv-Comite.

Source: "Chicago Historical Society - The Haymarket Digital Collection." *Chicago History*

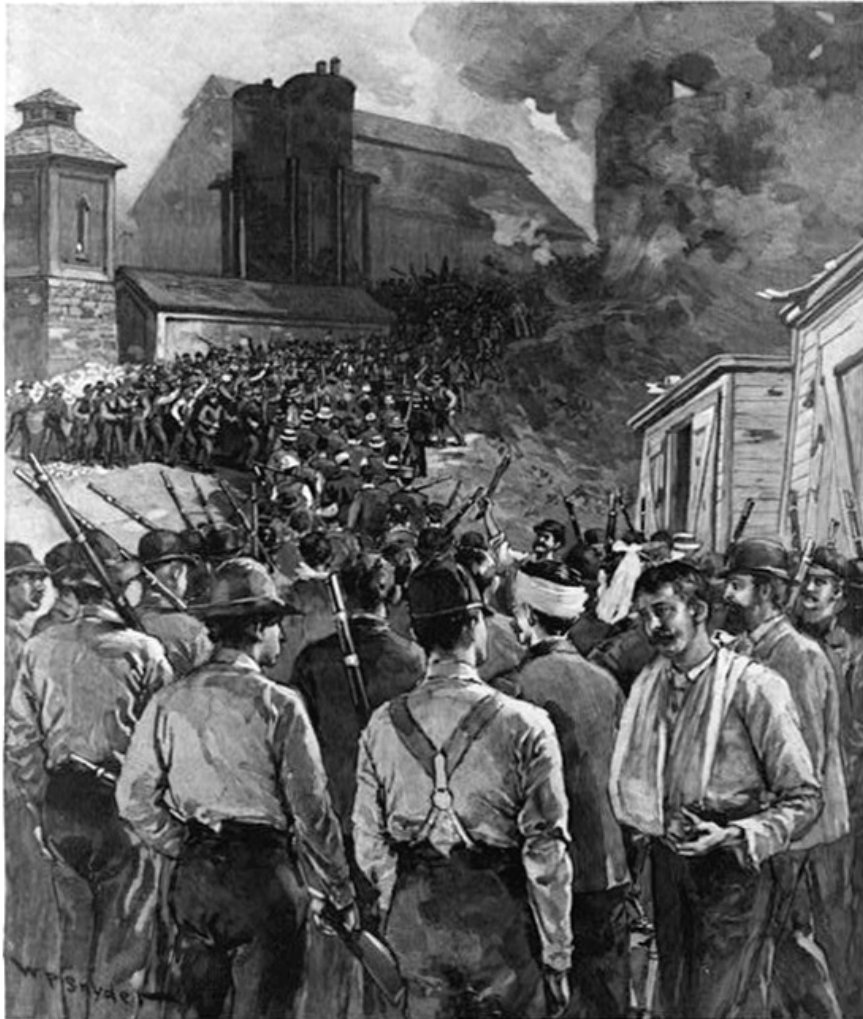
Museum. Harper's Weekly. Web. 22 Oct. 2010. <<http://www.chicagohs.org/hadc/>>.

Homestead Strike Illustration

HARPER'S WEEKLY

JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION

Vol. 33 (1) No. 106
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1902
TEN CENTS A COPY.
FOUR DOLLARS A YEAR



THE HOMESTEAD RIOT.—DRAWN BY W. P. SUTHER AFTER A PHOTOGRAPH BY DARR, PITTSBURGH.—[SEE PAGE 676.]
THE FEDERATION MEN LEAVING THE BARRICADE AFTER THE SURRENDER.

Source: "Homestead Strike." Cartoon. *Jennings US History*. Harper's Weekly. Web. 23 Nov. 2010. <<http://jenningsushistory.edublogs.org/2008/10/10/strike/>>.

Pullman Strike Illustration



Source: "Pullman Strike, The." *Illinois Periodicals Online at Northern Illinois University - (Main Page)*. Northern Illinois University. Web. 23 Nov. 2010.
<<http://www.lib.niu.edu/1994/ihy941208.html>>.

Appendix V

Preamble of the Declaration of Independence

When in the Course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world...

Source: *Declaration of Independence*. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records

Administration, 1992. Print.