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LAWCHA
The Labor and Working-Class History Association

UNKOCH MY CAMPUS
2017 PRIZE & AWARD WINNERS
CONFERENCE TRAVEL GRANTS
2016 BIBLIOGRAPHY

BRINGING LABOR HISTORY TO LIFE
INDEPENDENT HISTORIANS COMMITTEE

NEWSLETTER
2017-2018
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A year has passed since the trauma of November 8, 2016 and with each passing day the dismantling of American democracy continues, indeed escalates. Within months we may see the mass deportation of thousands of young people, the destruction of a health care system that protects millions, and the loss of long established union and workplace rights, to mention only a few of the threats.

One thing is clear—resistance matters. The far right agenda has been slowed because of the millions who have taken to the streets, because of brave journalists who are determined to expose the truth, because some judges and state and city officials have said no, and all of that is because Labor and social movements devoted to immigrant rights, women’s rights, and Black Lives Matter have stood strong, fighting back even as the risks escalate.

Our cover article highlights another struggle, the fight to preserve higher education in the face of a devious campaign by the Koch brothers and their agents to buy their way into universities, funding programs and positions devoted to advancing their ideological agendas, paying to influence curricula. The Unkoch My Campus campaign is exposing and challenging this academic crime.

MEMBERS AND FINANCES

LAWCHA next year will celebrate its 20th anniversary, and the organization has never been stronger or more active. Membership for 2017 reached 588 and our bank account is healthy. We used some of our resources ($7,300) to provide travel grants to graduate students attending both the June LAWCHA conference and the October NAHLC conference. Sharing costs with Labor: Studies in Working Class History, we also awarded six travel grants to adjunct status faculty members attending the Seattle conference.

The Scales of Struggle conference was one of the largest we have ever had. More than 500 scholars, students, labor educators, and labor activists attended, participating in more than 100 panels, workshops, films, and performances, along with five plenary sessions, most staying all four days.

The Board of Directors met in Seattle, joined by five new members: Tula Connell, Matt Garcia, Rashana Johnson, Jacob Remes, and Marc S. Rodriguez. Nothing does more to confirm the importance of our organization than the willingness of so many distinguished labor historians to run for office and volunteer their time. There is no other organization quite like LAWCHA. We are a professional society but also an activist organization. We do more than hold an annual conference. We ask members to represent us at AHA, OAH, and other events and conferences. We ask them to contribute to our LaborOnline blog and write op-eds. We ask them to serve on eight LAWCHA committees, and ask them to be politically active on their own campuses and in their communities.

NEW DUES SCALE

You may have noticed one of the recent changes voted by the Board of Directors. Following the advice of the Contingent Faculty Committee, LAWCHA now has a three tier dues schedule:

- Student, Adjunct, Independent Scholar, or Unemployed: $25/year
- Individual: $50/year
- Contributing Member: $85/year (for members who can afford to help support LAWCHA)

COMMITTEE ON INDEPENDENT SCHOLARS

The Board also created an ad hoc committee to represent independent labor historians and report on ways that LAWCHA might support them. Tula Connell and Sonia Hernandez chair the committee. Please see the accompanying article.

Let me end with a word of appreciation for LaborOnline which has proved to be increasingly effective in the last two years. I count close to 100 short articles that have been published under the editorial leadership of Rosemary Feurer and Ryan Poe. Ryan’s colorful designs make this more than a run-of-the-mill blog and articles are reaching important audiences, sometimes through republishing arrangements with Portside, Jacobin, The Conversation, New Republic, etc. Readership tallies above 50,000 have been reported. Have you contributed?
In 2016, members of UnKoch My Campus documented a conference of the Association of Private Enterprise Education (APEE), the Charles Koch Foundation’s network of free-market academics. At the meeting, Koch-funded professors bragged about how Koch and other donors have been able to “take-over” departments, “very rapidly and ramming through” curricular changes, and finding ways to “take” available tenure lines.

Koch officials estimated the capture of at least 225 tenure lines “spread out” at 53 of their multi-million-dollar academic centers, roughly a tenth of the more than 500 campuses Koch has funded.1

Like the $100 billion wealth of Koch Industries, Koch’s academic funding has grown exponentially, totaling at least $144,714,489 between 2005 and 2015. Since 2003, this has been amplified by a rapidly growing network of donors convened through Koch’s secretive biannual seminars.

Detailed in leaked documents and recordings, Koch’s “integrated strategy” helps donors “leverage science and universities” for “policy change” with industrial efficiency and scale. Investments in highly-coordinated networks of academics, think-tanks, and political operatives allow “intellectual raw material” to be refined into “usable form” which is then promoted, lobbied for, and legislated by allied elected officials.

In 2014, a national network of students and alumni from affected campuses launched UnKoch My Campus to reveal and disrupt this strategy. UnKoch helps to expose Koch’s “leverage,” a broad pattern of donor influence overstepping academic freedom, governance, and integrity.

With the help of students and faculty, UnKoch has further documented how donors use highly unusual contracts to create programs (including courses, certificates, minors, majors, extra-curricular programs, etc), positions (tenure/non-tenure professorships, adjunct lecturers, graduate fellows, etc.), and train future operatives. Large pledges are broken into annual “grants,” wherein the donor can approve or reject the renewal of funding for any program/position. Typically, Koch retains the right to withdraw funding based on monitored compliance with its “objectives and purposes” at any time, with as little as fifteen days notice.

The UnKoch campaign website includes an interactive database of 308 colleges and universities that have received Koch brothers funds: unkochmycampus.org
We have seen Koch granted explicit approval power over graduate fellow dissertation topics. Armed with a clear picture of the intent, structure, and function of Koch’s network, campus resistance has grown rapidly. *UnKoch* has worked with whistleblowers, students, faculty, and community members on dozens of campuses.

When administrators at Wake Forest University refused to disclose their agreement for a new multi-million dollar center, *UnKoch* helped provide WFU with context and examples of typical Koch contracts. The faculty senate’s 2017 motion read: “Due to the Charles Koch Foundation’s unprecedented effort and documented strategy to co-opt higher education for its ideological, political and financial ends, the Committee moves that Wake Forest University prohibit all Koch network funding.”

Exposing Koch’s “integrated” network often involves tracing affiliations between academics and political activities. Koch-funded professors at APEE 2016 bragged about the “policy work” coming out of their centers, working with ALEC, and about efforts at Troy University to “bring down the state pension system” in Alabama. In response, tens of thousands of public workers led by the Professional Fire Fighters of Alabama flooded Troy administrators with calls and emails after the APEE recordings were released, leading to a harsh censure of the Koch center. For now, the effort to destroy the state pension system has been blocked.

*UnKoch* also works with chapters of the American Association of University Professors and other faculty organizations to identify institutional vulnerabilities at various universities. Even on campuses claiming to uphold AAUP principles, there is...
often little transparency about the terms and conditions of private donations. Faculty governance bodies need to exercise oversight in determining when grants/gifts violate academic freedom/governance or constitute a conflict of interest.

With the assistance of UnKoch My Campus, such efforts are underway, or have taken place at Florida State University, George Mason University, Western Carolina University, Syracuse University, and John Jay College of Criminal Justice.

Please join our mailing list and reach out directly to get started on your campus. Check our website to see whether Koch has invested in your campus. Contact colleagues if their campuses are Koched. We also appreciate donations from supporters, and rely on them to fund staff who carries out research and organizing efforts. Please consider giving and getting involved.

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i. Detail and documentation for this article can be found at www.unkochmycampus.org. See the following reports: About APEE,”“Primary Sources,”“A Case Study in Academic Crime.”
I have a quirky academic job. Back in 2010, I was on fellowship with one young son and another on the way, when I applied for a tenure track job in the University of Illinois’ School of Labor and Employment Relations (LER). I had a M.S. in Labor Studies from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and was writing a dissertation in the University of Illinois at Chicago’s History program. The job was pretty much a perfect fit. During the interview, I was asked, “Do you feel comfortable teaching in non-traditional settings such as union halls, VFW halls, and other places?” My response, “Of course!” In fact, the thought of getting to teach beyond the Ivory Tower was what drew me to the job in the first place. But I also knew that as a 5’3” mother of two, I would often be the only woman in a classroom of large burly building tradesmen and I would need to hold my own. I think the real question was – “As a woman, can you pull off keeping a large group of rowdy men in order while on their turf?” After seven years on the job, I am proud to say I am pretty darn good at it.

My favorite time of the year is the summer. And, not because I am off for a couple of months, but exactly the opposite. Established on the heels of World War II by a joint commitment of the State of Illinois and the labor movement, LER was founded first and foremost as a labor education program. We have hosted the United Steel Workers (USW) Summer Institute for the past 70 years. In 1947, steelworkers from Indiana and Illinois began moving onto campus during the steamy quiet days of summer to study for a week at a time. I spend four weeks each summer teaching in this program and much of it is spent teaching labor history.

This past summer, my colleague Dan Gilbert and I loaded up our USW students onto a coach bus and headed west to two major labor history sites of struggle – Virden and Mt. Olive, Illinois. These fieldtrips have two significant impacts on me as a scholar-educator. First, the opportunity to spend hours with workers who often know very little about the history of working people in the United States but are living the reality on a daily basis blows my mind. The recognition that their struggles at work and in the community are connected to the struggles of mineworkers in Central Illinois or farmworkers in California or domestic workers in the Deep South sustains me and motivates me to continually find new pedagogical approaches to teaching both traditional undergraduates and adult...
learners. But there is nothing better than taking students to ground zero...

We drove 90 minutes from Champaign to Virden, Illinois last July on a rainy humid day. When we pulled into the town square we were met by historian Rosemary Feurer and a local bookstore owner who is the unofficial historian of Virden and had agreed to tell us the story of the Virden Massacre.

The Battle of Virden, or the Virden Massacre, took place in 1898. Over the previous seven years, the United Mineworkers of America had been traveling from coal town to coal town organizing workers. A year before Virden, the UWM called for a general strike of all coal miners. By the end of 1897, there were over 30,000 union miners in Illinois committed to a militant and aggressive campaign for justice. While wages increased and some safety measures improved, the coal barons continued to pressure miners to work harder for less. In October 1898 workers in Virden went on strike demanding better jobs from the coal barons. In an effort to break the strike, the coal barons hired the Thiel Detective Service to guard a train full of African American miners from the South to work the Illinois mines. The black workers were not told of the strike. Instead, the employers told them that workers had left the mines to join the ranks of the military to fight in the Spanish-American war. On October 12th, a train full of replacement workers rolled into the Virden station.

When the escorted strikebreakers arrived at an armed stockade set up near the train station in Virden around midday on October 12, 1898, a shootout erupted. It last-
ed ten minutes. The company gunmen overpowered the strikers with their modern Winchester rifles; the striking miners returned fire with shotguns and hunting rifles. Twelve men were killed; seven were miners, five were armed guards. Forty strikers were wounded. None of the black strike-breakers were wounded. The National Guard arrived several hours later. The governor’s inaction was ultimately denounced across the country.¹

The Virden Massacre is seen as one of the key turning points in labor history not just for coal miners, but for all workers. The strikers were able to hold off the efforts of the coal barons to break the strike and the public saw the actions of the barons and the state as a violation of democratic process.

An enormous bronze mural stands in the center of the Virden town square. It tells the history of not just Virden, but the Illinois coal mine wars that would last more than a generation. With images of Mother Jones, “General” Alexander Bradley, men, woman, and children of the mining communities, and the National Guard, the memorial is a powerful reminder that workers only improve their employment conditions when they stand up and fight.

Our field trip ended with a short ride to the Union Miners Cemetery, the only union owned cemetery in the nation. It was established in 1899 because the commemorations of the Virden massacre martyrs became too controversial in Virden. A memorial to the fallen workers was built and their bodies were re-interred in the Mt. Olive cemetery. Later, Mother Jones decided to be buried in Mt. Olive, “I hope it will be my consolation when I pass away to feel I sleep under the clay with those brave boys.”¹

For many USW students, these are powerful moments. The realization that blood was spilled on the very spot on which they stand so that they have a chance at a safe, middle-class job is transformative. The opportunity to leave a memento on the grave of Mother Jones and to see the mementos of visitors from around the world connects them to a larger struggle for worker justice.

I wouldn’t trade my quirky job for summers off ever...

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Emily E. LB. Twarog is a tenure track professor at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Her first book, Politics of the Pantry: Housewives, Food, and Consumer Protest in Twentieth Century America is now available from Oxford University Press.


Independent Historians Focus of New LAWCHA Committee

Tula Connell, LAWCHA Board of Directors

Independent labor historian Keri Leigh Merritt considers herself lucky—the first two years after she completed her doctorate at the University of Georgia, a computer glitch at the university library enabled her to continue accessing its holdings. But now, says Merritt:

As I begin research for my second book, I am at a complete loss. I am currently trying to make friends with my undergraduate institution's librarians!

Merritt, author of Masterless Men: Poor Whites and Slavery in the Antebellum South, and co-editor of a collection on southern labor history, is among countless independent scholars throughout the country whose lack of academic affiliation is severely hampering their ability to engage in a historian’s most fundamental work: scholarly research.

As part of a new Ad-hoc Committee on Independent Scholars approved by the LAWCHA Board in June, Merritt and a dozen other LAWCHA members are examining how LAWCHA can address issues specific to independent scholars. The committee will make recommendations on steps the association can take to better enable independent historians to practice their craft as well as fully participate in LAWCHA.

The definition of “independent scholar” is broadly encompassing, and includes adjunct faculty, public historians, and those without institutional affiliation whose primary income does not derive from scholarship.

The National Coalition of Independent Scholars (NCIS) in part defines independent scholars as those who demonstrate critical analysis in their work and pursue and share knowledge “in or across any fields whose credentials and/or activities show professional scholarly involvement and commitment.” Further, independent scholars are those “who do not receive ongoing financial and/or research support for their scholarly activities.”

Although data quantifying independent scholars are not available, the numbers of scholars who choose career paths outside academia, along with those who are part of the “gigification” of the U.S. economy, are rapidly growing. Statistics on contingent faculty show the trend: In 1969, nearly 80 percent of college faculty members were tenure or tenure track. Today, the numbers have essentially flipped, with two-thirds of faculty now non-tenure and half of those working only part-time, often with several different teaching jobs.

Resource access is a key issue. For instance, historians’ most basic tool, JSTOR, is out of reach
UNEQUAL RESEARCH ACCESS EXACERBATES INEQUITY ACROSS THE PROFESSION

The intersection of scholarship and union activism among LAWCHA members is uniquely manifest among members of the Independent Scholars Committee, several of whom have working class origins and began pursuing labor history after, or along with careers as union members and activists.

Committee member and independent historian Jeffrey B. Perry, a 33-year postal mail handler, union steward and activist, holds a Ph.D. in American History from Columbia and M.A. degrees from Rutgers and Columbia universities. Perry is working on the second volume of his biography on African American Socialist Party activist Hubert Harrison for Columbia University Press, along with inventorying the papers of Theodore W. Allen, author of The Invention of the White Race.

Perry cites the record gap between rich and poor, white supremacy, and the domination of ruling class interests as he encourages “people to pay more serious attention to, and be more supportive of, the work of independent scholars,” some of whom are making contributions that “pose important challenges to the dominant ideas and practices that serve ruling class interests.”

As historian Becky Nicolaides says, “The problem of unequal research access is exacerbating larger problems of inequity across the profession, by creating barriers and challenges for historians working outside of well-resourced universities.” In her role as American Historical Association (AHA) Councilor on its Research Division, Nicolaides is spearheading a project to identify independent historians and assess the resources offered them by academic institutions.

Both the AHA and the Organization of American Historians are offering panels by and about independent scholars at their 2018 conferences, and the AHA just concluded a survey among its members to determine how many identify as independent scholars and ascertain their ability to access scholarly resources. LAWCHA's organizational support for social justice and working class issues makes it especially pertinent for the association to address inequities experienced by independent labor historians. LAWCHA's creation of the Ad-hoc Committee on Independent Scholars is a strong first step in taking seriously the need to rectify the increasing disparity between the dwindling ranks of full-time scholars and the increasing numbers of those without full academic association.
CONGRATULATIONS

2017 Prize Winners

Taft Prize

Sex Workers, Psychics, and Numbers Runners
Black Women in New York City’s Underground Economy
by LaShawn Harris
University of Illinois Press, 2016

David Montgomery Award

Deregulating Desire
Flight Attendant Activism, Family Politics, and Workplace Justice
by Ryan Patrick Murphy
Temple University Press, 2016

Herbert G. Gutman Prize for Outstanding Dissertation

James C. Benton
Fraying Fabric
Textile Labor, Trade Politics, and Deindustrialization, 1933-1974
Georgetown University, dissertation directed by Professor Joseph McCartin

Distinguished Service to Labor and Working-Class History

Eileen Boris
A former Board member of LAWCHA and for many years chair of the Program Committee, Eileen Boris holds the Hull Endowed Chair in the Department of Feminist Studies, at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Nelson Lichtenstein
A founding member of the LAWCHA Board of Directors, Nelson Lichtenstein is a Distinguished Professor in the Department of History at UCSB, where he directs the Center for the Study of Work, Labor, and Democracy.

For more information on LAWHCA’s prizes and awards, visit LAWCHA.org/grants-prizes

Left to Right: Julie Greene, Eileen Boris, Nancy MacLean, and Nelson Lichtenstein.
Conference Travel Grants

In 2017, LAWCHA awarded $7200 in conference travel grants to grad students and contingent faculty.

Supporting graduate students has been a key commitment of LAWCHA since its beginning. This year we awarded seventeen competitive travel awards to graduate students to help them present work at LAWCHA affiliated conferences. In 2016, the Board of Directors decided to competitively award a small number of travel grants to faculty with insecure positions. The Editorial Board of *Labor: Studies in Working Class History* offered to share the costs.

**SCALES OF STRUGGLE CONFERENCE**

- Adam Mertz  
  University of Illinois at Chicago
- Amanda Walter  
  Wayne State University
- Amy Zanoni  
  Rutgers University
- Andrew Elrod  
  University of California, Santa Barbara
- Ben Schmack  
  University of Kansas
- Camille Robert  
  Universite du Quebec a Montreal
- Joel Zapata  
  Southern Methodist University
- Jonathan Cortez  
  Brown University
- Jose Villagran  
  University of Texas at Austin

**NALHC 2017**

- Lorenzo Constaguta  
  University of Nottingham
- Morgan Shahan  
  Johns Hopkins University
- Naomi Cahitsky  
  Carleton University
- Sarah Stanford-McIntyre  
  College of William and Mary
- Tiffany Gonzalez  
  Texas A&M University
- Veronique Emond Sioufi  
  Simon Fraser University

**CONTINGENT FACULTY GRANTS**

- Holger Domesler  
  Bard College
- Josiah Rector  
  Wayne State University
- Julia Smith  
  Rutgers University
- Sarah Grunberg  
  Ithaca College
- Steven Parfitt  
  University of Derby
- Thomas Alter  
  Indiana University—Purdue University Fort Wayne
More than 500 scholars, students, and labor activists participated in the Scales of Struggle conference hosted by the Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies at the University of Washington.

Julie Greene (left) chaired the opening plenary on “Mass Incarceration and the Working Class” with Chelsea Nelson, Kelly Lytle Hernandez, and Heather Ann Thompson.

Shel Stromquist and Nikki Mandell co-chaired the program committee that assembled more than 100 panels, plenaries, and performances. “Borders and Coalitions” was a key sub-theme of the conference, represented by more than 20 panels. Program committee member Sonia Hernandez (right) coordinated this section.
LaShawn Harris accepts Taft book award from committee chair Ileen DeVault

Vice President Julie Greene surprises President Jim Gregory with special acknowledgement

The conference featured a sneak preview and a panel discussion of film clips from Oscar nominee Julia Reichert’s documentary project on the 9to5 movement. It drew an audience of nearly 100 including current SEIU Local 925 members who work at the University of Washington. Panelists left to right: Shawn Harris, a leader and activist with SEIU 925; Lane Windham, LAWCHA board member (speaking); Karen Hart, president of SEIU Local 925; Julia Reichert, film maker; Kim Cook, founding president Local 925.

Recent victories by unions and social movements in Seattle (including $15 minimum wage, paid sickness benefits, and a secure scheduling law) were discussed in a key plenary. Left to right are Jeff Johnson, President, Washington State Labor Council, State Senator Rebecca Saldana, Nicole Grant, Executive Director, King County Labor Council, and Nancy MacLean, LAWCHA past president.


Gray, Brenda C. *Black Female Domestics During the Depression in New York City.* Routledge.


Haverty-Stacke, Donna T. *Trotskyists on Trial: Free Speech and Political Persecution Since the Age of FDR.* NYU Press. 2016.


2016 Labor History Bibliography


Mustakeem, Sowande M. *Slavery at Sea: Terror, Sex, and Sickness in the Middle Passage*. University of Illinois Press. 2016.


Slater, Joseph E. *Public Workers: Government Employee Unions, the Law, and the State, 1900-1962*. ILR Press.


