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Prior to the second wave of feminism, to mention "women" and "labor" in the same breath often conjured images of childbirth, an event that long circumscribed the reigning cultural view of woman's prescribed domestic care-taking roles. Paid labor, by contrast, commonly evoked masculine public sphere associations, impressions magnified by adding the word "unions." And in conspicuous ways, both public employment and the militant coerciveness of common labor union practices initiated in the industrial labor movement violated the cardinal virtues of domesticity and submissiveness prescribed for True Women since the onset of the Industrial Revolution.[1] So, too, the raw bawdiness of some mining camps and factory towns seemed at the farthest remove from genteel Womanhood's remaining tenets of purity and piety.

Yet in recent years scholars not only have begun documenting the broad scope of women's long history as wage-earners but also unearthing their pivotal presence as active rank-and-file union members and highly influential champions of the workers' cause. In fact, prior to the Civil War roughly half of all women actually performed paid labor in some form, through piecework, as domestics, or in stints in various burgeoning industries.[2] In the early textile mills, women workers outnumbered men two to one, and by midcentury women composed a quarter of all factory employees generally.[3] Swelling the percentages of female industrial workers were largely invisible "permanent part-timers," including women who often substituted temporarily for others during emergencies to safeguard their positions.[4]

Despite widespread participation by women in the paid workforce, various factors rendered unionization of female employees particularly challenging. Because some younger, single women viewed employment as a temporary hiatus before

marriage, they opted to forego what they perceived as the "unsexing" political dimension of union membership.[5] Many working wives and mothers, on the other hand, lacked both the energy and time for union meetings and job actions given the demands of performing essentially two full-time shifts: ten- or twelve-hour days on factory floors plus a full slate of household and child-rearing chores. The markedly lower wage-scales of women also handicapped both single women and female heads of households as prospective dues-paying union members. And even if such difficulties were surmounted, female workers still faced explicit exclusion from the vast majority of male-dominated unions in mixed-sex industries. Thus it is not surprising that women made up only between 3 percent to 5 percent of union membership around the turn of the century.[6]

The distinctive culture of women also contributed to a paradox regarding their labor activity: although vastly underrepresented in sheer numbers as union members, many women nonetheless often met or even eclipsed their male counterparts as labor radicals. Beyond transferring their domestic skills to paid professions such as garment making, the earliest women workers also brought into the workplace their expectations for control, creativity, and communal care cultivated in their work in the home. Moreover, with the escalation of feudal-like practices in early industry—including speedups, wage cuts to below-subsistence levels, and the proliferation of job-site health hazards—women confronted the mounting threats to the physical survival of their families with protective maternal ferocity. Similar to politicized mothers in other reform campaigns,[7] women labor activists vehemently asserted their "right" as caretakers to adequate food, shelter, and safety for children and other dependents. Beyond catalyzing women and galvanizing their resolve, the pronounced relational emphasis of traditionally female care-giving roles also led women to embrace an enlarged view of the "collective" and its interests beyond what many unions conceived and operationalized. As a result, women often made more thoroughgoing demands on employers, forced earlier governmental involvement and reforms, enjoyed greater success in forging solidarity both among workers of diverse backgrounds and with community members, capitulated and compromised less readily, and frequently employed more extreme tactics. As early as the 1840s, women were at the forefront of labor militancy in the United States,[8] and this radical streak figured prominently in key labor struggles well into the next century.[9] Emblematic are the massive walkouts by textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, in 1882 and 1912. Largely conducted by women, these strikes were among the most militant in labor history.

Many of the industrial labor movement's most devoted and radical voices were women. Some translated, wrote, or edited Socialist or Marxist publications. Florence Kelley issued the first English translation of Frederick Engels's *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, and Meta Stein Lilienthal translated a second version of August Bebel's *Women Under Socialism*. Charlotte Perkins Gilman authored *Women and Economics* and published the magazine the *Forerunner*. Popular pamphlets such as *Shop Talks on Economics*, *From Fireside to Factory*, and *A Woman of the Future* all were penned by a woman's hand. Editors of Socialist newspapers included Kate Richards O'Hare of the *National Rip-Saw*, Ida Crouch-Hazlett of the *Montana News*, Lena Morris of both the Alaska *Labor News* and the Seattle *Daily Call*, Mary Marcy of the *International Socialist News*, and Josephine Conger-Kaneko of the *Socialist Woman*.[10]

Other women were among the movement's most tireless, courageous, and compelling labor agitators. Scores of women gave countless stirring speeches, constantly courted danger and imprisonment, engineered dramatic and coercive tactics—such as parades, strikes, boycotts, sitdowns, or sabotage—and otherwise helped to mobilize the movement's constituency. Included among them are Kate Richards O'Hare, Mary Halley, Annie Welsenback, Leonora O'Reilly, Clara Lemlich, Jeannie Bateman, Pauline Newman, Josephine Lis, Ella Reeve Bloor, Sarah Bagley, Rose Pastor Stokes,

Mary Skubitz, Leonora Barry, Bessie Hillman, Rose Pesotta, and Dorothy Bellanca. Some, such as Fannie Sellins, were killed for their efforts.[11]

Two women in particular, Mary Harris "Mother" Jones and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, earned stature as labor movement legends. Jones persists as an icon for contemporary champions of progressive causes.[12] Separated in age by nearly six decades, both gained reputations for their "leather-lunged" and militant oratory, their disarming fearlessness, and their uncanny talent for captivating the minds and hearts of audiences regardless of sex or ethnicity. Some observers have linked the pair through what Marx termed "the feminine ferment" of the movement. "The fiery example of Mother Jones had one conspicuous follower," notes Lloyd Morris, "Elizabeth Gurley Flynn."[13]

To some degree, Jones and Flynn are anomalous as women labor movement leaders. Unlike the short-lived careers or sporadic involvement of many female labor activists, both women committed half a century of their lives fully to their political causes.[14] Although many female labor advocates divided their time among an array of causes, Jones and Flynn remained relatively focused on economic reforms. Both have escaped the historical "invisibility" of many other key female agitators, each gaining a notoriety that has generated biographies;[15] anthologies of their speeches, writings, or correspondence;[16] and autobiographies.[17] Their public renown no doubt resulted not merely from their extraordinary rhetorical talents and effectiveness but also from their unconventional affiliations with more recognized male-exclusive or male-dominated unions and labor causes.

Remarkably enough, the closest and the most famous of Jones's many alliances was with the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), which hired her as a paid organizer sometime in the 1880s when its locals closed membership and even meetings to women. Despite initial male hostility, her ability to persuade impoverished coal miners to risk starvation, imprisonment, and even death to join the union became unrivaled in the movement's history.[18]

Flynn gained prominence fighting in the Industrial Workers of the World's (IWW) free speech battles in the Northwest and upper Midwest, participating in various labor strikes throughout the country during the first three decades of the century, and by defending indicted unionists and other political dissenters, such as those opposed to the entry of the United States into World War I. During her ten-year stint as an IWW or Wobbly "jawsmith," she earned star billing as "the ablest speaker on the IWW platform,"[19] an open-door organization nonetheless so dominated by men that Wobbly songwriter Joe Hill once characterized it as "a kind of one-legged freakish animal of a union."[20] For several of her final years, Flynn was embroiled in various challenges to the right to membership in the Communist Party of the United States, an organization that elected her its first female chair.

Although the longevity of their vocations, their celebrity, and certain of their political alliances were somewhat atypical of female labor reformers, their radicalism and the contours of their pronounced militancy were not. In many respects, the rhetorical and philosophical approaches of these two women reflect key influences of female culture that have been hallmarks of women's labor union involvement. Thus, despite their distinctly different persuasive styles and the alternate paths of their respective careers, Jones and Flynn are useful case studies to explore the assorted ways women *as women* helped to shape the rhetorical and radical texture of the industrial labor movement. The purpose of this essay is to place Jones and Flynn within the philosophical, strategic, and militant tradition of radical female labor union activists, many of whom drew upon female experiences as both a motivation for their activism and also a tactical resource.

In what follows, I first provide a brief overview of the activities of women as labor unionists. I next discuss certain similarities and differences between Jones and Flynn in terms of their life experiences, philosophies, and rhetorical styles.

The bulk of the essay then treats salient ways in which Jones and Flynn reflect key dimensions of radical labor unionism by females: their approach to political activism and reform; their demands to broaden the labor agenda beyond the "bread" of wages to include various workplace "roses;" their commitment to an expansive, inclusive solidarity; and their reliance on maternal and other female experiences and strategies as both catalyzing and informing their militancy.

Because Jones's career centered solely on union organizing, the texts analyzed here primarily are the surviving complete speeches given extemporaneously at public organizing meetings of coal miners and national and international labor union conventions between 1901 and 1922. Augmenting these texts is testimony given during congressional hearings into mining conditions in 1914, her 1926 autobiography, extended fragments of public speeches reported in various newspapers, and select interviews, all of which provide further glimpses into Jones's motivations and philosophy. From Flynn's debut as a teenage labor activist in 1906 until her death in 1964, she was prolific as both a speaker and writer in various labor-related causes. Some of Flynn's numerous speeches and writings have been anthologized, although a much more extensive body of rhetorical documents are housed at the Tamiment Library in New York City. The texts examined for this analysis include complete transcripts and detailed outlines of speeches, radio addresses, essays and columns in various outlets such as the Communist newspaper the *Daily Worker*; statements surrounding her expulsion from the board of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) in 1940 and during her 1953 trial and conviction for violating the Smith Act, which criminalized Communist Party membership; her public speaking teaching notes; and two books—her autobiography, the first edition of which chronicled her career from 1906 to 1926, and her account of her imprisonment at Alderson penitentiary.

Women as Labor Radicals

Although cultural distinctions between home and work had constrained most women as paid employees and potential unionists, many nonetheless readily rejected the private/public boundaries as artificial. Almost from the outset of their involvement with labor, women used their domestic experiences, sensibilities, and obligations to expand the parameters of union philosophy, objectives, and strategies. The "bread and roses" campaigns of women that began as early as the 1820s, for example, often made more far-reaching claims on employers than male unions had considered or dared by broadening the critique of capitalist development beyond the "bread" of wage disputes to include expectations for the "roses" of autonomy, human justice, and personal dignity, qualities many women perceived they had enjoyed and fostered as homemakers and mothers. Translated into concrete demands, these "roses" included employee input into factory operating procedures and policies and workers' rights to adequate sanitation, a safe workplace, decent housing, child care, and even time "which belongs to us."[21] As Alice Kessler-Harris explains, "In contrast to the perceptions of skilled male workers, dignity [for women workers] involved not so much the practice of one's craft, as the capacity to retain one's sense of place while earning a living."[22] Illustrative is the first known "turnout" by women workers in 1827 in Paterson, New Jersey, a strike spontaneously precipitated by management's arbitrary change in the lunch hour. Although some credit this early desire for self-sovereignty and self-respect to the Yankee heritage of the first female millworkers,[23] the yearning for such "roses" endured among women workers long after immigrants dominated the ranks of factory operatives. As one woman union member put the matter decades later when discussing her organizing

impulse, "There must be something more than the economic issue[;] there must be idealism."[24]

Although female workers first organized around such "self-love" issues, they soon became catalyzed as well by "other-love," a concern for individuals and for families increasingly jeopardized by a rapid mix of declining wages, accelerating work quotas, rising costs, and mounting occupational hazards. Actuated by what Carol Gilligan and Sara Ruddick term an "ethic of care" and "maternal thinking," respectively,[25] women rapidly ensconced themselves as the radical standard bearers of labor-related issues in multiple respects:[26] women pioneered various labor reforms; preached and practiced a more inclusive brand of solidarity; and routinely employed an array of militant, coercive tactics. Following a series of defeats in one-on-one confrontations with industry, women began courting the outside political power of city councils and state legislatures.[27] By the end of the 1840s, the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association had impelled the first governmental investigation into oppressive labor conditions and had engineered the first state laws in the nation limiting daily hours an employer could demand of males or females;[28] later women activists also played pivotal roles in the passage of legislated reforms such as factory inspections and child labor laws.[29] This sense of obligation for the safeguarding of others persists as a key mobilizing force for women involved with labor issues and continues, at times, to exact unprecedented results. In 1982, for example, 20,000 Chinese women garment workers, galvanized by their duties as mothers and family breadwinners, defied potent "old world" cultural prescriptions for female docility and took to the streets in the largest labor strike in the history of New York's Chinatown.[30]

Moreover, given what Ardis Cameron describes as "women's belief in the public nature of individual misfortune,"[31] sympathy emerges as a salient and persistent theme in their conceptions of labor solidarity. Although, by definition, unionism trumpets the collective, women were more likely to strike spontaneously over mistreatment of other workers,[32] to reject settlement offers that failed to accommodate all workers equitably, to guarantee that "everyone" or "no one" be arrested on picket lines,[33] and to form powerful empathetic alliances with individuals of differing ethnic backgrounds, occupations, personal circumstance, or even class standing.[34] More than a quarter of the female activists in the vast 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike, for example, were housewives of various nationalities and social stations rather than mill employees.[35] This sympathetic impulse also emerges in the résumés of many labor activists who frequently divided their energies among union struggles, relief work, defending the rights of the accused and convicted, battling discrimination against blacks and ethnic groups, and woman suffrage.[36]

Additionally, given the inclination of women socialized into maternal roles to view issues of survival as more important than arbitrary "rules" and laws,[37] women often responded to the physical threats inherent in capitalist malfeasance with a pronounced militancy sometimes surpassing their male counterparts. During the 1912 Lawrence strike, for example, the audacious public spectacles and guerrilla tactics of female factory operatives and housewives brandishing red pepper, scalding water, rocks, and razors prompted one mill official to dub them "[r]adicals of the worst sort," an assessment echoed by local media, who concluded the defiance and fierceness of women rendered them "worse than the men."[38] Far from unusual, the highly aggressive texture of the Lawrence uprising mirrors numerous historical episodes in which threats to the survival of literal and fictive kin tapped into a deep reservoir of female militancy. Flour riots by housewives in the 1830s, immigrant food strikes in the early twentieth century, and nationwide meat boycotts before and after World War II are salient examples.[39] Although such protective fury was and is by no means unique to women, many nonetheless often proved to be more willing and earlier militants. In 1902, for example, Orthodox Jewish women mocked the

initial reluctance of men to join them in looting overpriced kosher butcher shops, dousing the purloined meat with kerosene, and burning it in public demonstrations.[40] Similarly, contrary to conventional wisdom, women in the Lawrence strike were far from puppets of the controversial IWW, labor's most radical wing; rather, as Cameron argues, women proved markedly more militant than Wobbly official Bill Haywood and the organization's other male leaders, who "frequently found themselves pressing strikers to curb their emotions, to practice nonviolence, and . . . to accept [an early] settlement, an act that infuriated large segments of the [majority female-inhabited] neighborhoods, especially its most militant women."[41] In 1881 Knights of Labor leader Terence Powderly applauded the combative grit of the female Knights, concluding they ranked as the "best men in the Order."[42]

Not all male unionists, however, were as enamored as Powderly of the tenacity and belligerence of women comrades, especially their propensity as institutional mavericks. The president of the union of boot and shoe workers lamented the uncompromising inclination of the female rank and file to "hold out to the bitter end." Indeed, in 1899 women cigar makers stood fast while male unionists abandoned the strike. A decade later, some 20,000 New York female shirtwaist makers walked out in defiance of male union leaders who feared retaliatory job dismissal.[43] Similarly, in 1912 the willfulness and recalcitrance of Lawrence women initially both unsettled and frustrated Wobbly leaders brought in to govern the massive walkout of 25,000 workers. In the end, the IWW adapted to the informal organizational structure favored and practiced by the female rank and file and who, Haywood eventually conceded years later, "won the strike."[44]

This clear interface between domestic care-taking practices and philosophies and the public militancy of radical labor unionism is acknowledged in the maternal sobriquets attached to women labor agitators such as Ella Reeve "Mother" Bloor, Leonora "Mother" O'Reilly, Mary "Mother" Skubitz, and, the most notable, Mary Harris "Mother" Jones. Even the young and sensual beauty Flynn, sometimes called "Girlie" by her early male Wobbly comrades,[45] in time became characterized periodically as "Mother Flynn."[46] More than a mere strategy to bolster the ethos of such women leaders, motherhood as the chief principle and practice of female domestic culture thoroughly infused female approaches to the labor movement, both constraining and catalyzing women to act, influencing their specific demands on management and government, informing their conceptions of solidarity and methods of mobilization, and fueling their militancy.

Biographical, Thematic, and Stylistic Comparisons and Contrasts

Illuminating the rhetorical careers of Mary Harris "Mother" Jones and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as well as placing both women within the larger militant tradition of female unionists requires exploring the life experiences that catapulted them into labor activism and influenced their respective philosophies and rhetorical styles. Although the approaches of both women to their missions reflect key characteristics of radical female unionists generally, Jones and Flynn were not replicas of each other or their militant sisters. Even so, an examination of their personal experiences, guiding principles, and strategic choices can shed light not only on each one's unique contribution to the industrial labor movement but also on significant commonalities they share with other female labor union radicals.

Mere acquaintances, Jones and Flynn lived lives ideologically parallel in certain respects; in other important ways, however, their personal, political, and rhetorical histories followed nearly polar paths.[47] Although both typically spoke

extemporaneously several times a day,[48] Jones, a former schoolteacher with diploma and debate credentials, preferred a loose, inductive storytelling style she enlivened with dramatic visual stunts, exchanges with audience members, caustic wit, mild profanity, and creative ad hominem attacks. Denouncing enemies of labor in the coarse vernacular of "blood-sucking pirates," capitalist "parasites," and "corrupt, rotten, decayed piece[s] of humanity,"[49] she also occasionally berated male coal miners with withering indictments of their cowardice, arguing in a 1903 speech near Toledo that "the bullets which should be sent into your own measly, miserable dirty carcasses, shoot down innocent men [instead]."[50] In ironic contrast, Flynn, a high school dropout, often argued with a seasoned debater's deductive precision, a skill that reflected her early desire to be a constitutional lawyer and one well suited to and continually honed in the legal defense work that became her "specialty."[51] Indeed, in her later years as a public-speaking instructor, she warned against insulting and alienating audiences by the kind of vulgar language that had become a Jones trademark.[52] Moreover, although Jones believed in the force of written arguments, even helping to launch the most well known Socialist newspaper, the *Appeal to Reason* in 1895,[53] she only rarely plied her rhetorical trade in such media. Flynn, however, frequently augmented her frequent speaking with essays in an array of political organs including *Solidarity*, *New Masses*, and *International Socialist Review*; was an early editor of the *Industrial Worker*;[54] and during the last twenty-six years of her life contributed multiple weekly columns to the Communist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*.[55]

Similarly, whereas Jones would answer only to "Mother," the most salient of her strategic personae, Flynn bristled at this maternal tag.[56] In some measure, this difference may have been rooted in their diverse experiences with domesticity. For Jones, labor agitation filled a void left by the deaths of her unionist husband and four children to yellow fever in her middle years; in contrast, Flynn gave her first major speech at the age of fifteen and later sacrificed her marriage, other romantic liaisons, and the rearing of her only surviving child to career commitments.[57]

To some extent, they likewise differed in certain of their political loyalties and philosophies and approaches to institutions. An incorrigible renegade, Jones abandoned the IWW only six months after signing its manifesto and also split bitterly from the Socialist Party, the forerunner of which she helped found more than a decade earlier.[58] Conversely, Flynn devoted a full decade of her life to the Wobblies, and earned leadership roles in various political organizations including the International Labor Defense Union Fund, the ACLU, and the American Communist Party, which elected her its first female chair. The pair also diverged on crucial issues such as the importation and unionization of Chinese laborers and the United States' entry into World War I.

The two also parted company on certain means to induce capitalist capitulation. At least once, Jones's "bloody shirt" rhetoric moved beyond the figurative, igniting violence as the frenzied crowd waved the blood-soaked bits of a wounded mine-guard's coat she tossed them.[59] Yet, at the same time, she roundly criticized worker sabotage as a self-defeating coercive tool. Preserving rather than destroying machinery and mineshafts protected the workers' self- interests, she argued in a West Virginia speech in 1912, given that factories and mines are "our property. It is inside where our jobs are."[60] For her part, Flynn harbored more aversion to violence, a reluctance other radicals occasionally criticized.[61] Still, she never completely repudiated her infamous 1917 speech and essay defending and advocating worker sabotage, remaining philosophically conflicted throughout her lifetime over the method's ethics and efficacy.[62]

Nonetheless, the two agitators shared several personal, rhetorical, and political affinities. Each descended from Irish rebel stock and ended their lives on soil outside their native countries on the eve of pivotal U.S. ideological change. The eldest

child of poor tenant farmers active in and exiled during the Irish Revolution, Jones was born around 1830 in Cork, Ireland, and died in Maryland in 1930 just prior to sweeping New Deal economic reforms. A Concord, New Hampshire, native, Flynn was born in 1890 to a "shanty Irish" socialist father and "lace curtain Irish" feminist mother and died during her second political pilgrimage to the Soviet Union in 1964 just as U.S. political winds regarding race and gender began their dramatic shift. Both also came of age in poverty, buried all of their children prematurely, and lost intimates to revolutionary violence.[63]

Their most conspicuous and significant commonality, however, was unwavering and undiluted devotion to the class struggle. For both women, this commitment not only dominated virtually every aspect of their lives for more than fifty years, but their thorough conflation of the personal and political was mirrored in their ideology and their rhetoric. In Jones's case, coal camps and factory towns literally became her "home" and "family," leading the peripatetic agitator purportedly to quip to a Congressman during hearings on Mexico in 1910, "My address is like my shoes. It travels with me."[64] For her part, Flynn refused to allow even pregnancy to slow an exhausting speaking schedule that she once estimated resulted in some 10,000 speeches in her lifetime.[65] And like many of their militant labor sisters, each also was galvanized by the intensely human dimension of their crusade. "I spoke at the funerals of men and women shot down on the picket line," Flynn wrote in notes for her autobiography, "and the iron entered my soul."[66] In Jones's case, preservative maternal love catalyzed her and grounded her philosophy, as suggested in her poignant and poetic recollections in her autobiography of the massive 1919 steel strike:

> Human flesh, warm and soft and capable of being wounded, went naked up against steel; steel that is cold as old stars, and harder than death and incapable of pain. Bayonets and guns and steel rails and battleships, bombs and bullets are made of steel. And only babies are made of flesh. More babies to grow up and work in steel, to hurl themselves against the bayonets, to know the tempered resistance of steel.[67]

Hence, both women also had little tolerance for theoretical political abstractions that ignored the particulars of personal circumstance, and Jones's interactive, narrative, and highly intimate rhetoric, in particular, was devoid of intellectual analyses. In an oblique critique of IWW leadership in a 1914 public speech in Seattle, Jones remarked, "I have no patience with those idealists and visionaries who preach fine spun theories and cry down everybody but themselves. Let us keep our feet on the ground."[68] Although certain of Flynn's early speeches bordered on the esoteric, she nonetheless recognized the centrality of actual people in any political principle. Responding to critics within New York City's circle of intellectual radicals concerning her handling of the Paterson, New Jersey, silk strike, Flynn argued in a 1914 speech before the New York Civic Club Forum that theories must be applied "as the people, the industry, the time, and the place indicate," concluding that astute agitators "realize that we are dealing with human beings and not with chemicals."[69] Similarly, in a speech published in *Political Affairs* during the last year of her life, the labor union veteran couched her disagreements with other Communist officials this way: "I may not have the clearest conception of Marxism, but as I learned it *from experience in movements of the masses* . . . it was based on class struggle, on the conception of organizing the workers, as the basic power in the progressive movement."[70]

The pair's unflagging allegiance to the class struggle also led each of them to controversial tactics and associations, which landed both behind bars many times. Beyond her numerous incarcerations for violating court injunctions, Jones spent several months in a West Virginia military prison following her murder conspiracy

conviction; Flynn's ten experiences with the corrections system included a two-year term in the Alderson penitentiary for violating the Smith Act.

Moreover, the careers of both women reveal pronounced streaks of willful political and institutional autonomy, a trait male labor union officials often criticized in female unionists in general. Although Jones and Flynn at times openly embraced alternative political parties–Socialist, and Socialist and Communist, respectively–each periodically and concurrently supported traditional party platforms or candidates. Likewise, both women occasionally fired harsh broadsides against union officials for corruption or cowardice, and their penchant for insubordination and political independence prompted their ouster from various organizations. On at least two occasions, Jones's notoriously stormy formal association with the UMWA crumbled under the weight of officials' frustration with the maverick, and in 1911 the Socialist Party reportedly expelled her for publicly accusing the national secretary of dishonesty.[71] Similarly, the IWW terminated Flynn in 1916 for defying the directives of Wobbly leader Bill Haywood.[72] Most ironic, in 1940 Flynn staunchly refused to resign from the ACLU because of her Communist membership, leading her fellow board members to vote her removal from the free-speech organization she had cofounded two decades earlier.[73]

Finally, in some measure, the philosophies, behaviors, and strategies of both women reflect their experiences and sensibilities as women, especially working-class women, pledged to economic reforms. Given the loss of their own children, both keenly empathized with maternal concern for the physical survival of children across circumstances. In a 1915 interview recounting the treatment of imprisoned unionists, herself included, Jones described the maternal experiences and anguish that propelled mothers such as herself to sacrifice their own interests for a labor "family": "I remember it was raining," she recalled.

> Rain never means green grass to me; it always means wet babies and pneumonia. And then, again, I remember how they drove the boys out of their cells in to snow without their clothes at the point of the guns. . . . [B]ut worst of all, I had to watch [their mothers] that stayed behind. . . . [O]utside [my cell] Mary was calling to me, "Did you see my Johnny?" and I stood there and I knew that children are a terrible thing to have, but a more terrible thing to lose.[74]

The death of Flynn's last son as a young adult in 1940 likewise caused her to "feel deep sympathy now for mothers in wartime, who must part with sons; whose nights are anguished with uncertainty and whose days are dimmed with anxiety and fear."[75] Even decades earlier, she understood that the factors that drove women to "be the most militant or most conservative element in a strike" were often rooted in the same maternal impulse.[76] Given that "all the instincts of maternity are aroused to protect her little ones," she wrote in an essay in 1911, women often "exhibit exceptional courage" in their demands for food and safety or, conversely, adamantly resist job actions that threaten to compound economic hardships on their families.[77]

Despite their sensibilities to the peculiar experiences of females, economic reform was the foremost priority of both Jones and Flynn, leading each to exhibit ambivalence about the intersection of female political equality and labor union issues. On the one hand, Jones firmly believed that the moral tenor of genuine "maternal thinking" and an "ethic of care" held promise to transfigure the political public sphere. Yet she also was deeply disaffected by the woman suffrage movement's class stratification; appeared to resent the time, money, and energy that it and other crusades siphoned away from labor politics; was bitterly disappointed that Colorado women who had won the vote in 1893 had not used it to better conditions of workers in their state; and possessed deeply conflicted faith in the

ballot to effect radical reform or to provide immediate relief to threatened families. While Flynn, who had won her first grammar school medal arguing for woman suffrage, continually conceded the ballot was a fundamental right of citizenship, her public comments during her Wobbly years even further developed some of Jones's reservations. In a detailed outline for a 1909 speech devoted entirely to the suffrage question, Flynn echoed Jones's views and presented a litany of reasons why working women, who were more sorely in need of a revised economic system, should not agitate for suffrage.[78] Emblematic of conflicts between her egalitarian principles and her abiding economic concerns was her adamant opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Although Flynn generally favored women's political equality and even advocated military conscription for women, she feared the ERA would invalidate protective legislation for female employees and laws requiring males to compensate current or former wives for the wageless work of mothering.[79]

Despite certain and expected idiosyncrasies, much of the militant texture of their agitation nonetheless bore significant likenesses to the efforts of the other and also of their radical working-class labor sisters. Both fought ferociously for "roses" as well as "bread"; defined "family" as a kinship of class and class consciousness unrestricted by gender, ethnicity, race, or occupation; and generally favored relational integrity, loyalty, and power over institutional authority. At times, both women championed, used, and cooperated with traditional political processes and players to accomplish their ends just as many of their foremothers effectively had done; but like many other women in labor, they also resorted to militant, coercive tactics when argument failed. Obviously, some members of both sexes in the labor organizations and political parties with which they affiliated also exhibited certain of these traits. Even so, key aspects of both women's labor agitation appear nonetheless "gendered," influenced in their direction, emphasis, and form by experiences common to female culture.

Political Activity and Pioneering Reforms

The lengthy careers of both Jones and Flynn mirror key philosophies and tactics that were and continue to be salient aspects of labor union activity by women. Similar to many other female labor reformers, each operated both within and outside of conventional political systems; framed the labor question more broadly than mere wage disputes; viewed labor as an inclusive, extended "family" linked by common class interests rather than specific occupation, gender, or race; and drew upon skills, strategies, and philosophies rooted and cultivated in domestic life experiences.

Just as early women labor sympathizers appealed to government as a means to achieve labor reforms, both Flynn and Jones believed the battle for labor had to be fought on various fronts, including the traditional political system. In fact, Flynn often noted that she greatly admired pioneers such as Sarah Bagley, president of the Lowell Association, who spearheaded both the first governmental labor investigations and the first state law limiting work hours.[80] Despite her typically negative stance on woman suffrage, Jones argued to a UMWA gathering in Columbus, Ohio, in 1911, "We must realize that the woman is the foundation of the government; that no government is greater or ever can be greater than its women." She also noted the significance of maternal influences in political affairs.[81] Although neither Jones nor Flynn regarded the ballot or political lobbying as sufficient, each nonetheless keenly appreciated the potential leverage of the franchise, law, and legislation in effecting long-term changes in industrial conditions.

Flynn, in particular, grew increasingly committed to inserting labor issues into elections and other political processes, particularly after women had gained

the vote. Following the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, she vigorously courted women as a political bloc, arguing in a radio address in Newark, New Jersey, in the 1940s, "Intensive election activity can be the medium for women to best further their special interests as women," especially as connected to their roles as paid and unpaid laborers.[82] During her Communist years, she campaigned strenuously against the ERA and for various political hopefuls, including President Franklin Roosevelt, and many of her radio addresses and columns during this period reflected a deep-seated concern with political process and political efficacy. For example, a decade and a half before the explosive "Freedom Summers," in a 1947 radio address in Washington, Pennsylvania, Flynn lamented poll taxes and literacy tests that effectively denied southern blacks, among the nation's most impoverished, a right of citizenship inscribed in law.[83] Moreover, like Jones, Flynn was keenly aware of the power of the courts to enforce, ignore, or strike down hard-won rights and labor-related reforms; thus she kept a watchful eye on judicial appointments, testifying in Congress, for example, against the confirmation of Tom Clark to the Supreme Court. His nomination, she declared in a 1949 document, was "an affront on specific counts to the Negro people, the labor movement, and to all Americans who stand by the Bill of Rights."[84] In more general terms, she tirelessly worked to mobilize and influence voters—especially women—on a myriad of issues and candidates, occasionally taking radio listeners down the names on a ballot one by one. Flynn even launched two unsuccessful bids for political office in New York, following in the footsteps of numerous female labor radicals whose involvement in conventional political activities she applauded in several essays and columns.[85]

While equally spirited, Jones's political approach was sometimes less orthodox. In 1903 she orchestrated a dramatic parade of impoverished and disfigured mill children across three states to pressure President Theodore Roosevelt for child labor reform. To a great extent, Kate Richards O'Hare modeled the 1922 Children's Crusade to see President Harding on Jones's effort; O'Hare's march from St. Louis to Washington, D.C., showcased families of less well known political dissidents still imprisoned after World War I, and she termed these walking dependents and loved ones "living petitions."[86] Between 1907 and 1910, Jones engineered a telegram and petition-writing campaign to state and federal officials demanding new trials for Mexican revolutionaries imprisoned and convicted in Arizona, and she later was a key witness in the ensuing congressional inquiry.[87] Forever pledged to the power of the personal, she routinely requested and gained individual audiences with governors, members of Congress, and every president but Theodore Roosevelt. In 1915 Flynn copied this tactic, winning a meeting with President Wilson in a failed effort to stay the execution of Wobbly songwriter Joe Hill.[88]

Jones also preached and practiced more standard political actions. She pushed for and testified in multiple labor-related congressional investigations, attended roll-call votes in Congress on labor legislation, occasionally campaigned for political aspirants she deemed labor-worthy, and often advised and reported to union audiences on pending legislation, political candidates, or voting records of elected officials. Possibly because she had no vote, Jones frequently chastised male audiences for foolishly squandering their precious franchise, as illustrated in a speech to the Central Federated Union in New York City in 1904: "If a mule had a ballot, he would exercise more sense in voting than you do," she exclaimed.[89] And these critiques sometimes contained nods to female political savvy, leaving her genuine attitude toward woman suffrage open to dispute as suggested in a speech before the Central Labor Council in Cincinnati in 1902:

> Men will work together, will go to jail together, will defend each other, will trust each other, will support each other. Why is it that they cannot stand

together at the ballot box? No bayonet, no injunction can interfere there. You pay Senators, Governors, Legislators, and then beg on your knees for them to pass a bill in labor's protection. You will never solve the problem until you let in the women.[90]

Like other women labor activists, their efforts were occasionally successful. Flynn's 1909 essays in the *Industrial Worker* exposing sexual fraternization between prostitutes and male prison guards in Spokane, Washington, for example, led city officials to pass legislation for women prison matrons.[91] Most notable, perhaps, was Flynn's role as a pioneer in legal defense. Beyond developing the Workers Defense Union, the first united front defense group in the movement, she co-founded the ACLU, an organization whose expansive work continues to cross various political and class boundaries. Although Jones's 1903 Children's March failed to persuade Roosevelt even to grant the agitator a personal hearing, the public outcry engendered by the spectacle ushered in child labor protections in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey.[92] In various ways, their key roles in organizing workers and in gaining acceptance in male-dominated institutions contributed to reshaping the lives of all working-class, men, women, and children.

Fighting for "Roses" as well as "Bread"

In the tradition of their radical foremothers, Flynn and Jones conceived of labor concerns as an inescapable conflation of "bread" and "roses". Indeed, in the minds of both women, the aptness of the "slavery" analogy they employed to describe the conditions of their unskilled constituencies lay both in inadequate compensation and in oppressive practices that denied workers key prerogatives of citizenship, ordinary experiences of self-governance, and some semblance of control over their destiny. The great horror of racial slavery, after all, rested as much if not more in physical violence and the denial of human liberty and dignity as it did in the hardships occasioned by the bare minimum of food, shelter, and clothing. Similarly, in the case of coal miners in particular, "industrial slavery" resulted from a mix of starvation-level "scrip" wages; paternalistic control of overpriced but substandard housing, medical care, and company stores; a litany of special assessments for tools and materials; speedups such as "cribbing";[93] and physical and psychological intimidation. Union sympathizers were usually terminated and blacklisted, frequently beaten, and sometimes even murdered.[94]

As a result of such feudal-like conditions, the UMWA often demanded improved sanitation in company housing, the end to blacklisting of unionists, and rights of all miners to free speech and assembly, to cash wages, and to choice in trading outside of company-owned stores.[95] To Jones, the significance of ending the "pluck-me stores" and "soup-ticket" system lay not merely in increasing miners' purchasing power but in allowing the self-governance necessary for "self-respect."[96] Absent such experiences, workers, she often said, were reduced to mere "brutes" and "mules." Comments from a 1915 speech at Cooper Union in New York City typify her conflation of "bread" and "roses" concerns:

> For ten years the C.F. & I and the rest of them have starved and hammered down my boys out there. They have lived like dogs. The companies haven't only underpaid them, but they have taken away the little they got through company stores, and company saloons. My boys and their families had no more rights in Colorado than animals. . . . [W]hen they tried to help themselves they were blacklisted and beaten or shot down.[97]

Jones's commitment to "roses" sometimes overreached the standard union line, and she frequently justified her position on grounds of familial experiences and obligations and personal enrichment and dignity. Unlike most unions' official posture on reducing ten- and twelve-hour workdays to a standard eight, she sometimes advocated a six-hour maximum and occasionally even four,[98] echoing the claims of other female labor radicals to the right to time "which belonged to us."[99] Shorter workdays, she claimed, freed workers to enjoy their families and nurture children, allowed them to read and "study our affairs,"[100] and granted them "the privilege of seeing the color of their children's eyes by the light of the sun."[101] So, too, she took particular offense at company practices that withheld from miners, unlike other rent-paying citizens, sovereignty in the privacy of their own homes. Coal companies, invoking their authority as private owners of industry-held housing, routinely evicted families who harbored union sympathizers or leaders such as Jones. Such actions, she told West Virginia coal miners in 1912, effectively denied them the taken-for-granted "right to invite who you please to your table."[102]

Flynn, like Jones and many of her sister radicals, believed that "economic freedom is not an all inclusive term [but] presupposes *political and social* freedom," sentiments expressed in handwritten speaking notes dating from the earliest years of her career.[103] As such, she and Socialist women such as Margaret Higgins Sanger expanded "bread" and "roses" concerns to include access to birth control. Because smaller families reduced the supply of workers and spread parental wages across fewer family members, limiting procreation was a "proletarian necessity" and therefore germane to the labor movement. According to a 1915 handwritten speech, a "birth strike," Flynn believed, was "woman's strongest protest." But beyond this bread-and-butter component, voluntary motherhood granted women personal autonomy, "the right to choose life in all phases," "to say 'I am the master of my fate.'" Moreover, such freedoms strengthened the family generally: children in smaller families benefited from more parental time and affection, and the elimination of the fear of pregnancy reduced marital friction over sexual relations.[104] This more radical and thoroughgoing vision is explicit in Flynn's 1916 response to the often tepid support, indifference, or resistance to birth control by male comrades (including Flynn's lover, Carlo Tresca). Published in the first women's edition of *Solidarity*, the essay argues:

> Masculine opposition [to birth control] is theoretical, not practical, since few can understand the hopeless, hapless lot of involuntary maternity. . . . Our men should realize that the large family system rivets the chains of slavery upon labor more securely . . . I am besieged by women for information on the subject and avenues of assault upon the [illegal] system, yet whenever the subject is selected by a local it is always amazing how few I.W.W. members bring their women folk to the meeting. *It is time they realized that the I.W.W. stands for a larger program than mere wages and shorter hours and the industrial freedom we all [are] awakening to will be the foundation upon which a different world for man and woman will be reared.*[105]

Jones's views on contraception were not clearly articulated, although she occasionally argued, as she did at a UMWA convention in 1909, that if women such as herself were in Congress, they "would tell Teddy [Roosevelt] to shut his mouth, not [to] be lecturing women about race suicide."[106] Her frequent ridicule of the president's preoccupation with race suicide no doubt lay partly in its inherent anti-immigrant and class and race prejudice. But comments in a 1912 speech in West Virginia also suggest some sympathy with Flynn's perspective about the oppression large families visited on women: "Teddy, the monkey-chaser . . . was blowing his

skull off his carcass about race suicide. God Almighty, bring him down [to] the C&O [in West Virginia] and he will never say another word about race suicide. The whole population seems to be made up of 'kids.' Every woman has three babies in her arms and nine on the floor. So you will see there is no danger of race suicide."[107]

Beyond the issue of birth control, Flynn, like many other of her labor foremothers, sisters, and descendants, viewed other aspects of "home" and "work" as largely inseparable. Following in the path of Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Flynn advocated child-care programs for working women and various maternity provisions throughout her life.[108] Indeed, the need for working women to reconcile domestic duties with their economic familial obligations has a long and continuing tradition of radicalizing women, as illustrated more recently by female Chinese textile workers whose hard-fought campaign for industry day care in the 1970s preceded their later massive walkout.[109] Flynn likewise acknowledged the economic value of women's work in the home long before second-wave feminists made such claims commonplace. "Housework is far more useful than lots of jobs for which good money is paid under capitalism," she wrote in a 1941 essay. "To free the individual mother from a twenty-four-hour job, and put it on a professional basis, to have collective nurseries . . . is a belated recognition of just how socially necessary and useful is all the work she has performed so long and laboriously."[110]

Both Flynn and Jones vigorously defended the rights to due process and freedom of speech and assembly for all citizens as "ideals," "roses" central to labor's economic struggle for "bread." Nearly all of Jones's surviving speeches contain tales of her defying injunctions against organizing efforts and the punishments she incurred and reminders to audiences of the First Amendment rights they possess. In a 1912 public organizing speech on the capitol steps of Charleston, West Virginia, she argued that "a state of industrial peonage" exists when corporations are allowed to "beat, abuse, maim and hold up citizens without process of law, deny freedom of speech, a provision granted by the Constitution, deny the citizens the right to assemble in a peaceable manner for the purpose of discussing questions in which they are concerned."[111] Such issues, as much or more than any others, consumed Flynn's time and energies throughout her entire career, beginning with her IWW apprenticeship in the twenty-six free speech battles between 1909 and 1916; covering her years defending imprisoned war dissidents, labor leaders, and other purportedly "undesirable" elements; and peaking in trials of Communists, herself included, during the 1940s and 1950s. At no time was Flynn's trademark irony more apt than in her statements challenging her ouster from the board of the ACLU in 1940 for her political beliefs: "If this trial occurred elsewhere it would be a case for the ACLU to defend!"[112] Similarly, during her Smith Act trial in 1952 and 1953 in New York City, Flynn dryly noted the hypocrisy of President Truman, who had ordered her political arrest: "The President of the United States said the other day at the ceremonies dedicating the new Archives Building where the Bill of Rights is now on public view: 'It is the only document of its kind in the whole world that protects a citizen against his Government.' That protection should be our shield against prosecutions such as this."[113]

Many male-dominated labor unions embraced free speech to refute charges of radicalism, but they nonetheless often viewed women who exercised such public rights for themselves, even on labor's behalf, as militants. Thus, for women such as the 900 textile strikers in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1862, merely asserting publicly "their need of protecting our rights and privileges as free born women and *our interests as working women*" compounded the radical dimension of this labor action.[114] In Jones's view, not only the Constitution but also women's experiences and duties as wives and mothers afforded them the "right" to speak publicly. In her earliest preserved complete speech at a UMWA convention in Indianapolis in 1902, for example, she countered common objections by her male audiences to

women ascending the platform by connecting that public duty with experiences in the home:

> My friends, it is often asked, "Why should a woman be out talking about miners' affairs?" Why shouldn't she? Who has a better right? Has she not given you birth? Has she not raised you and cared for you? Has she not struggled along for you? Does she not today, when you come home covered with corporation soot, have hot water and soap and towels ready for you? Does she not have your supper ready for you, and your clean clothing ready for you? She doesn't own you though, the corporations own you, and she knows that well.[115]

Expanding Solidarity

Although all labor unions preached worker solidarity, Flynn and Jones embraced a more expansive view of the collective than the bulk of their male comrades. Their continual emphasis on relational integrity and responsibility not only reflected a striking and recurrent theme in female labor union activity but also more generally reflected what some theorists see as a common characteristic of female culture. Carol Gilligan, Ann Wilson Schaef, and Nancy Chodorow, for example, argue that developing and maintaining relationships are central to many substantial female experiences and thus define a large part of identity for them, especially for mothers.[116] Although such a focus would seem to be a self-evident priority for any organization self-described as a "union," Jones constantly battled territorial attitudes of union officials and rank-and-file members who sought to exclude women, Latino and black workers, and certain trades both from the larger movement and from specific local and national organizations, and who sometimes criticized her work with other "competing" union organizations. "I am accused of helping the Western Federation of Miners," she said in a Colorado speech in 1903, "as if that were a crime, by one of the National board members. I plead guilty. I know of no East or West, North nor South when it comes to my class fighting the battle for justice."[117] In a 1909 speech at the UMWA national convention in Indianapolis, Jones contrasted her view of labor as an extended, inclusive, and cooperative labor "family" with her male audience's more exclusionary, competitive outlook:

> Some of the delegates took exception to what I said here the other day, [when] I said that Joplin [Missouri] belongs to the Western Federation of Miners. There must be no line drawn. Whenever you organize a man bring him into the United Mine Workers, bring him into the Western Federation of Miners, bring him into the Carpenters' Union–bring him into any union. Whenever you do that you have taken one away from the common enemy and joined him with you to fight the common enemy. . . . I try to bring the farmers with us also, because the stronger we grow numerically the weaker the other fellow grows. I have got no pet organization. Wherever labor is in a struggle with the enemy, the name of the organization cuts no figure with me.[118]

Jones's comments illustrate traits both Patricia Hill Collins and Ardis Cameron attribute to "othermothers" in oppressed black or working- class communities where survival depends on developing a "family" structure constituted from all manner of "fictive kin."[119] Such women treat biologically unrelated individuals as if they were blood children, aunts, grandparents, or other family members, rejecting separateness, individual difference, or individual interest as bases for community organization or for personal self-actualization. Individuals become bound, not by

bloodlines, but by shared goals, mutual interests in, and common threats to group survival. As a symbolic union "othermother," "Mother" Jones recognized only the separation between her extended working family and their "common enemy" and explicitly refused to privilege her UMWA "bloodlines" by regarding her own UMWA "boys" and "children" as "pets."

Much of Jones's and Flynn's rhetoric contained properties that Elizabeth Stone contends are common to talk in natural families:[120] defining membership in the labor "family"; outlining its relationship to the larger world; and providing "ground rules" for its duties and its preservation, including the expectation that individual interests be subordinated to the needs of the group. Between them, this labor "family" defined only by class extended beyond all unions to include housewives, prostitutes, farmers, child laborers, Mexican revolutionaries, Japanese revolutionaries, Southern blacks living under Jim Crow laws, prisoners, and occasionally even militia and guards hired to police workers. "I don't want one single man in the State militia hurt," Jones warned West Virginia miners in 1912. "[There] are many workingmen in the militia."[121] Although Jones was not entirely devoid of the racism plaguing mining and factory towns and impeding solidarity efforts, she claimed, "The iron heel feels the same to all flesh. Hunger and suffering and the cause of your children bind more closely than a common tongue."[122] She often framed her vigorous resistance to importing Chinese labor as opposing exploitation of hungry men willing to work, as she said to a UMWA gathering in 1911, "for eight cents and ten cents a day."[123] Indeed, Jones urged UMWA delegates in Indianapolis in 1909 to notify the Japanese consul formally of their defense of "twenty-one brave [Japanese] men [scheduled] to go to the scaffold [in their homeland] . . . for a principle in which they believe, the principle of right and justice."[124] So, too, she viewed the defense of imprisoned "brother" Mexican revolutionaries as a "grave and mighty question" with "importance to the labor movement," compelling her strenuous work on their behalf.[125]

Although the IWW and the Communist Party publicly were less parochial than the UMWA and other national unions about membership, Flynn nonetheless often alluded to discrepancies between their theories of inclusiveness and their actual practice. A 1916 essay in *Solidarity*, "Problems Organizing Women," which invokes a familial metaphor, illustrates:

> Women and foreigners have been step-sisters and [step-]brothers in the AFL. The IWW must be capable, large-spirited, all-inclusive. . . . If women are to be active, however, their ability should not be disparaged. I know a local where members forbid their wives speaking to an IWW woman "because they get queer ideas!" I heard a member forbid his wife, who had worked nine hours in a mill, from coming to the meeting "because she'd do better to clean the house." When I suggested an able woman as secretary of a local, several men said, "Oh, that's a man's job!"[126]

The familial emphasis on deferring self-interest to the larger group welfare underlay both Jones's and Flynn's appeals to the working class in World War I and World War II, respectively. Each advocated temporarily setting aside individual discomforts and struggles to present a united front in fighting the common international enemy. "We are in a war today, and the nation is facing a crisis," Jones told miners in Indianapolis in 1918, "and you must not look at it with indifference. . . . What we must do is to settle down to one thing—no more strikes in the mines, not a single strike. Let us keep to one strike, a strike to strike the Kaiser off the throne."[127] In 1943, Flynn likewise reminded Communist women who "selfish[ly]" left their wartime factory jobs to be near stationed husbands that "we have duties and responsibilities, to set an example of how women should behave in wartime, no matter how hard it is to do.

We talk considerably about 'our vanguard role.' This is it. . . . We are at war. We must strain every effort to win the war [against fascism]."[128]

Although individual interests become subordinated to larger group interests in a familial perspective, the welfare of jeopardized individuals does not. Thus both women, particularly Jones, decried the abuses of child labor. "Fifty years ago," Jones said in 1903 in Brooklyn during her march of the mill children, "there was a cry against slavery, and the men of the North gave up their lives to stop the selling of black children on the block. To-day the white child is sold for $2 a week, and even by his parents, to the manufacturer."[129] Similarly, Flynn framed child labor as "a relic of barbarism,"[130] detailing the respective physical and moral degeneracy such widespread practices engendered in exploited children and exploitive adults. Because Jones viewed labor as a family particularly responsible to its most vulnerable, she continually found herself at odds with locals and union officials who advocated separate local settlements in strike actions, thereby "betray[ing]" often weaker "brothers," as she said in Colorado on 1903 during a particularly contentious and bitter episode.[131] During this Colorado strike, UMWA president John Mitchell advised miners in northern fields to reach a settlement that excluded the fewer, more isolated, and largely immigrant locals in the southern fields. Also alarmed by Mitchell's increasing conservativeness and coziness with corporations as a member of the controversial National Civic Federation—a group of labor leaders and business top-executives convened under the guise of ameliorating labor disputes—Jones encouraged miners to defy Mitchell's directive, igniting a feud that festered for years. At a 1911 UMWA convention in Columbus, Ohio, suggestions for dual organizations in the state prompted Jones to revisit the conflict. Her scathing comments not only reject separateness as a familial principle but also allude to Mitchell's collusion and the extremely self-interested histories of the proposal's backers. The passage thus treats several of the class family's black sheep she often excoriates: compromised or corrupt union officials, self-absorbed or cowardly rank-and-file unionists, and inhuman "scabs."

> When I heard those fellows talking about a dual organization here on this floor I was disgusted—it was enough to make a dog sick! Let me tell you that *the only real dual organization there is in the country is the Civic Federation* and the gang of robbers on Wall Street. . . . I happened to be in the central [Colorado] field a long time ago, before those fellows who are blowing off hot air here were in the union—they were scabbing. I am glad you are in the union [now], however. I know how a scab is made up. One time there was an old barrel up near heaven, and . . . God Almighty said, "What is that stuff that smells so?" He was told it was some rotten chemical down there in a barrel and was asked what could be done with it. He said, "Spill it on a lot of bad clay and maybe you can turn out a scab." . . . [O]nce in a while we get hold of one of [those scabs] and lick him."[132]

Flynn likewise saw the protecting the interests of all as not merely pragmatic but moral. In reflections on the Paterson, New Jersey, textile strike, she describes to a New York audience in 1914 how even the willingness of the local strike committee to consider a shop-by-shop settlement encouraged management and "broke the solidarity" of workers, which ultimately lost the strike.[133] So, too, she sometimes sharply pointed out ways in which labor union leaders, called in to manage the spontaneous solidarity occasioned in female workers' walkouts, often squelched the female impulses for the larger collective. Reflecting in 1911 on various East Coast textile strikes, she wrote:

> A spontaneous revolt, a light with glowing enthusiasm and ardor that kept thousands of underfed and thinly clad girls on the picket line, should be productive of

> more than a "contract." Contracts binding dressmakers in one union, cloak makers in another, shirtwaist makers in another, and so on . . . contracts arranging separate wage scales, hours, dates of expiration, etc., mean no more spontaneous rebellions on the East Side of New York. Now union leaders arbitrate . . . [with a] new concept of "victory," and if you dare to strike under the contract you will be fired from both shop and union for violation of it. [134]

For Flynn, the ethical aspects of caring eclipsed the practical. For example, the IWW's slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all" notwithstanding, the IWW and the Communist Party frequently resisted Flynn's efforts to defend accused or imprisoned members, arguing such efforts depleted economic resources and distracted the organizations. In a 1950 speech entitled "The Political Significance of Defense Work," which she gave at a Communist Party convention in New York City, Flynn reminded her comrades of the many celebrated and more anonymous lives defense work had saved, thus concluding, "To work for [defense] is not a diversion or a demotion." Moreover, she explicitly rejected the individualist paradigm for the relational familial model, "We must reject any go-it-alone attitude. Attacks on us are attacks on all progressive peace-loving Americans."[135] A speech given two years earlier in a similar venue, following the arrest of twelve Communist leaders, acknowledges both apathy and open resistance to such a perspective by her Communist contemporaries and her former Wobbly comrades:

> I was frankly surprised that so few [previous] speakers dealt with [the twelve's] defense. This is our Party. These are our leaders. No one else will defend them unless we do . . . I re-emphasize what [others] said about the danger of submerging our Party in defense. Comrade Foster has repeatedly warned us, this was one of the large contributing factors to the collapse of the I.W.W. . . . But, camrades [*sic*], this does not mean that we, as a Communist Party . . . forget it. . . . [W]e [cannot] abandon our comrades who fall in the line of [the] march or who are captured by the enemy. No—we must fight every inch of the way–not only for our leaders, [but also] for any other member. . . . In their successful fight—we and the entire working class win.[136]

Like Jones, Flynn had little tolerance for anyone who betrayed the working-class family, whether they were strikebreakers, union leaders, or other union members. In her description of early free speech battles in Montana, she notes with alarm that Carpenters' Union and Clerks' Union jury members voted to convict their working-class IWW brothers.[137] And although her critiques of "scabs" and corrupt union officials fell somewhat short of the picturesque name-calling of Jones's diatribes, she gave nothing away to her acid-tongued elder in conviction. Equally enraged by Mitchell's selling-out of the at-risk southern Colorado miners, for example, she describes labor leaders consorting with the National Civic Federation as "'yellow' . . . Janus-faced double-deal[ers]" who "have constructed an engine with themselves at the throttle, that they may turn on just enough steam to command attention but never enough to smash either their own graft or the bulwark of capitalism." In the undated, handwritten document, she asks, "Is it not strange Mr. Mitchell sports a $5,000 diamond presented by the mine owners?" and "Do you want failure? Trust your fate to a labor leader whose mind, soul, and body belongs to your employers?"[138]

Although both women preached inclusiveness and criticized officials guided by their own personal advantage, neither woman rejected hierarchy out of hand. Similar to talk in natural families, Jones's union rhetoric always favored certain behaviors—those she regarded as fostering the union family—and certain individuals, namely herself. Mothering is far from a democratic process,[139] and in

Jones's case it occasionally became authoritarian. Because internecine squabbling weakened solidarity and subsequent power in defeating the enemy, the self-styled matriarch of labor often treated malcontents as miscreant children, even forcing feuding national officials to shake hands publicly at the 1916 UMWA convention in Indianapolis so as not to "give [the owners] the satisfaction of seeing you have a row."[140] At times she pulled maternal rank to silence debates and democratic procedures she deemed unproductive: "Mother don't permit the contrary [vote]" she told West Virginia miners in 1912.[141] Flynn was less far less dictatorial, but she, too, appreciated the need for pecking orders in labor's "family." At times, including in her autobiography, she expressed concerns over the excessive "rank-and-filism" of the IWW, impulsiveness by the less experienced in labor battles that sometimes led to self-defeating behaviors.[142]

Maternal Strategies and Female Militance

In important and clearly identifiable respects, many of the strategies, militant and otherwise, that Flynn and Jones employed as organizers and strike leaders reflect key influences of female culture. Given the collective identity and interests inherent in a "familial" perspective on labor, any individual resources become joint or "family" property, an orientation Jones and other female unionists clearly embraced. Jones repeatedly demanded that male unions dip into their treasuries to assist their "brother" revolutionaries in Mexico, their "sisters" striking in mills or breweries, or even other miners in different locals. At a 1916 UMWA convention in Indianapolis, she responded to bickering over the parceling out of expenditures with the reminder of "familial" class identity and duty, "[Y]ou haven't got one dollar in your treasury that belongs to Illinois. It belongs to the miners of this country; every dollar of it belongs to the working men, whether they are miners, steel workers, or train men. That money belongs to *us*, the working class, and we are going to use it to clean hell out of the robbing class."[143] Similarly, in the massive 1912 Lawrence strike in which Flynn participated as a key leader, women of various occupations and ethnic backgrounds pooled food, clothing, money, and domestic chores such as child care, laundry, and cooking to sustain both individual strikers and the larger cause. Such efforts, however, were but exaggerated forms of existing networks and practices these women had developed to survive in an oppressive environment on a daily basis. As Cameron explains:

> [N]eighbors and kin converted the familiar and the routine into powerful weapons of protest and resistance. . . . An outgrowth of traditions of female reciprocity and mutual exchange, female networks were especially effective [in the strike] . . . for they accentuated the interconnectedness of individual lives in ways unavailable to unions or political parties. Based on relationships rather than memberships, female networks spun alliances that also breached the divide that otherwise might have separated workers from nonworkers, store owners from strikers, and shopkeepers from consumers. Cross-ethnic cooperation between women in the grocery stores, the streets, the children's boarding houses, at courtyard festivals, and in the swapping of food . . . combined with a rich associational life to concretize solidarity and forge a unity of purpose.[144]

For many of these women, Cameron continues, actions such as sharing picket duty, employing subversion or solidarity to guard each other from solitary arrest, and using interpersonal techniques and appeals to pressure recalcitrant neighbors, grocers, landlords, and merchants grew out of attitudes and skills acquired

in their daily lives that were often beyond the view and sometimes the approval of their male family members. In important respects, factory towns like Lawrence, Lowell, and Paterson mirrored key features of female culture in mining communities, camps that anthropologist Jane Nash refers to as the "affair of the tribe" given the dependency on reciprocity and cooperation for day-to-day survival.[145] And to varying degrees, both Jones and Flynn appreciated, promoted, and used persuasive properties from this intimate, relationally oriented female sphere. In the midst of wholesale roundups of Communists, Flynn often reminded comrades during party conventions of the potency of interpersonal connections, arguing in 1948, for example, that victories over suppression of individual human rights "are won outside not inside of courts. . . . Go to the trade unions, locals, knock on doors, [hold] street meetings. . . . Let us popularize our leaders . . . who, when they walk down the street are greeted by workers by their first names."[146]

To an even greater degree than Flynn, Jones appreciated the allure of intimate, human contact, not simply in converting and empowering oppressed workers suffering from low self-esteem but also in gaining sympathy from shopkeepers, politicians, militia, and occasionally even enemy forces such as John D. Rockefeller Jr. As "Mother," she always spoke directly to her "boys," often calling audience members by their given names. In so doing, she provided audiences hungry for emotional attention the opportunity to feel noticed and cared for as individuals. And time and again, she told tales of winning over hungry strikebreakers, lonely or exhausted jailers, struggling merchants, or even the powerful by various acts of motherly kindness. Comments before West Virginia miners in 1912 illustrate Jones's articulation of her faith in the power of intimate compassion, specific calls for audience emulation of this strategy, and evidence of its persuasiveness both on an individual in a tale and on audience members themselves:

> I am going some day [soon] to take dinner with [the militia], and I will convert the whole bunch to my philosophy. . . . I want to tell you another thing. These little two-by-four clerks in the Company stores, they sell you five beans for a nickel, sometimes three beans for a nickel. I want to tell you, be civil to those. Don't say anything. . . . A fellow met me on the street one day—he had asked half a dozen people for a drink. He said, "Give me ten cents, I want a drink." I said, "Here is fifty cents, get a couple of good drinks." I said, "You haven't had anything to eat, here is fifty cents, go get a bed and supper." . . . Eight years afterwards that man came up to me on the train and said "I believe your name is Mother Jones." I said, "Yes, sir, it is. What about it?" He said, "I want to grasp your hand, I would have died that night but for you, I am in business, I am worth over seven hundred thousand dollars today," said he, and he handed me money for the Mexican refugees. . . . Stand by the militia, stand by the boys. Don't allow no [hired] guards to attack them. (Cries of, "That is right." "That is right."). Stand shoulder to shoulder with them .[147]

Jones's rhetoric also exhibited key types of communication forms that women socialized into mothering roles have favored to connect to their offspring emotionally, foster desired behaviors, and encourage them to reason independently and to forge links between their lives and the surrounding world. For example, like many mothers who use linguistic mergers (for example, "*I* want *us* to finish *our* vegetables so *you* will grow bigger"), Jones frequently blended her voice with those of her listeners to create identification and induce miners to act, as illustrated in a UMWA district meeting in Pittsburg, Kansas, in 1914: "*I* will give them a fight to the finish and all *we* have to do is to quit being moral cowards, rise up like men and let the world know that *you* are citizens of a great nation and *you* are going to make it great."[148]

Moreover, Jones's rhetoric often contained "scaffolds," highly structured language routines involving repetition and imitation whereby caregivers assist children in "reaching" beyond their present cognitive capacity.[149] Because her coal-mining audiences had been denied ordinary personal choices necessary to cultivate mature decision making, her use of scaffolds, such as simulated dialogue and what Deborah Tannen terms "constructed dialogue,"[150] were critical tools by which cognitive dialectical processes could be modeled and miners' crippling dependency checked. Her use of simulated dialogue in Joplin, Missouri, in 1915 illustrates this process: "Don't blame the mine owners. I'd skin you, too, . . . if you'd let me. They combine, don't they? Sure. Why? Because they realize that as individuals they could not do anything."[151] Even Jones's often harsh criticism of her audiences reflects practices used by some mothers in oppressive circumstances to cultivate "essential survival skills" in their young, including learning self-defense, self-control, awareness of when and how to speak up, and the strength to fight if necessary.[152] The transfer of such private-sphere communication skills into the public domain contributes to a rhetorical style that Karlyn Kohrs Campbell terms "feminine," and that she argues is particularly well suited for audiences inexperienced in public deliberation.[153]

Beyond her use of question-answer patterns and her movement among narrative voices, Jones also relied heavily upon other "feminine style" features to create identification with, stimulate personal judgment in, and model behavior for her audiences: personal experience, personal testimony, and enactment; inductive reasoning based upon series of examples; and fictional or real-life stories that encouraged audiences to draw comparisons between their individual circumstances and the larger external world. Like wisewomen known in many primitive and advanced cultures as "mothers" and "grandmothers," she appreciated the force of intellectual engagement required of legends, fables, parables, and myths that contain implied rather than explicit morals.[154] In the vast bulk of her stories, she used reported dialogue between a protagonist and an adversary, a thematic motif Stone contends typifies stories told in any family struggling with some sort of essential survival. "Whatever or whoever the enemy," Stone writes, "the family stories offer an approach to survival . . . [with] application beyond the particular dramatic moment."[155] In Jones's mind, survival hinged on audiences using their wits. In fact, in the coda to one parable she told in 1920 about a small boy who had used his "gray matter" to unmask an authority figure's dubious claims, she explicitly acknowledges to her Williamsburg, West Virginia, audience that her maternal goal was facilitating her audience's intellectual independence, a trait all mothers encourage: "I wouldn't free you tomorrow if I could. You would go begging. My patriotism is for this country to give to the nation in the day to come highly developed human citizens, men and women."[156]

Although Flynn's more deductive and far less intimate rhetorical style could not be characterized as "feminine," in her later life she nonetheless developed a keen appreciation for the use of biblical parables, cultural stories, personal examples, and other "humanized" comparisons to challenge powerful premises and practices that oppressed the underclass and various political dissidents. In her 1953 summation at her own trial in New York City for violating the Smith Act, for example, she used the following story to debunk legal charges that Communist membership in itself constituted a government conspiracy:

> I don't know if you recall a poem by Rudyard Kipling in Tomlinson. He died in London and he went to the gates of Heaven, and he was asked by St. Peter what were his qualifications for admission, and the aristocratic British clubman replied: "This I read in a book," he said. "And this was told me. And this I heard that another man thought of a Prince of Muscovy." But St. Peter wrathfully replied, "Ye have read. Ye have heard. Ye have seen," he said, "and the tale is yet to run. By the fate of the body that once ye had—give the answer—what have

ye done?" That is the question, the real question, ladies and gentlemen—not what we [Communists] read in a book or what the Government read out of a book, not what somebody heard or made up or said in Oshkosh or St. Louis or Kalamazoo or someplace else, but what have we done? That is the question that the Government's attorney has failed to answer.[157]

Similarly, to point out the logic in her rejection of an offer by the trial judge of exile to the Communist Soviet Union rather than imprisonment, she employed the following religious analogy: "The point is that we do not want to leave our country. It is like the proposition made to Christians who believe in Heaven. 'Well, do you want to go there right away?' Certainly no one of them would want to answer yes to that question although their belief in Heaven would be great."[158]

The pair's extraordinary effectiveness also lay in the fact that the two women shared an acute understanding of familial pressures and personal fears that often inhibited organizing efforts or kept even committed members isolated. Because mobilization depends as much on favorable interpersonal contact as on a remote and abstract ideological appeal,[159] both strove to make union promises to protect, sustain, and improve the physical existence of workers immediate and real, even after they pledged union allegiance. "These men [coal miners] are aggravated to death at times," Jones explained in congressional testimony in 1914, "and it takes someone who understands the psychology of this great movement we are in to take care of them when they are annoyed and robbed and plundered and shot."[160] Thus, as "mother," she fed them, nursed them, as well as their sick wives and children, and confronted any enemy who threatened their safety. For her part, Flynn's exhausting crusades to save individuals such as Hill, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, and Tom Mooney and Warren Billings led her benefactors to worry occasionally for her health. As chair of the defense committee for the first eleven Smith Act victims, Flynn set up numerous committees to raise funds from, involve, and gain support from the public as well as maintain key social bonds with the indicted. One technique occasioning the most resistance from male party members was the committee for families created to provide funds to send the children of defendants to camp, to underwrite family visits to imprisoned family members, and to purchase birthday and Christmas gifts for the accused to reduce their sense of personal separation.[161] Like Jones, Flynn also often spoke and wrote of the "psychology" of organizing and of strikes, noting, in 1916, for example, that the IWW "must . . . adapt our propaganda to the special needs of women," which "[S]ome of our male [IWW] members are prone to underestimate." One result of this failure to adjust, she confessed years later in her autobiography, was that most Wobblies "were wonderful agitators but poor union organizers."[162] In her 1914 speech about the Paterson, New Jersey, textile strike, for example, she explained the rationale for planned Sunday activities for strikers, the bulk of whom were women:

> Monday is the day that a break comes in every strike. . . . If you can bring the people safely over Monday they usually go along for the rest of the week. If on Sunday, however, you let those people stay at home, sit down at the table where there isn't very much food, see the feet of the children with shoes getting thin, and the bodies of the children where the clothes are getting ragged, they begin to . . . lose that spirit of the mass and the realization that all are suffering as they are suffering. . . . You have to keep them busy every day of the week, and particularly on Sunday, in order to keep that spirit. . . . That's why the IWW has these great mass meetings, women's meetings, children's meetings.[163]

Because the psychological factors peculiar to women included male resistance to female attendance and talk in meetings, Flynn and Haywood held special sessions

in Lawrence for women and for children to remove certain psychic barriers to female participation.[164] In addition, Flynn, Sanger, and local female leaders sought to quell maternal fears for children by organizing a series of "children's exoduses" in which huge numbers of Lawrence's working-class community's young would be evacuated to the homes of strike sympathizers throughout the country.

The violence this "children's exodus" provoked from authorities who beat women, some of them pregnant, as they attempted to place children on trains helps to explain the militancy of these Lawrence women and many other female labor activists throughout history. As mothers in myth, slave mothers, and even animal mothers evidence, maternal love entails the fierce protection of offspring often at any cost, and this need for maternal protectiveness is most pronounced when oppressive practices, such as those common in early industry, threaten the physical and psychological survival of children and other intimates. In Lawrence, for example, the coupling of speedups and deep wage cuts eventually catalyzed women who already had been struggling to feed dependents. Several women, in fact, termed the uprising as "the strike for three loaves," the exact material price of the wages they had been shorted.[165] Not surprisingly, both Flynn and Jones occasionally framed militant preservative impulses in primal imagery. In an early handwritten outline for a speech entitled "Jungle Law," presumably given around 1908, Flynn defined this tenet as "might behind right," arguing that all animals, including humans, always struggle for "self-preservation" and species "preservation" and "against those who would thwart these two instincts."[166] In another outline for a speech about women's political activities to be given a few months later, she supported her claim that female political "Methods [are] always militant" with a maternal illustration: "witness [the] kidnapping [of a] child for [the] mother which law declared belonged to [the] father"[167] Similarly, Jones bowed only to the tenets of maternal law, a code she viewed as natural, governing all species, and encompassing fierce resistance as well as tender nurturing. "The brute mother," she said in 1913, "suckles and preserves her young at the cost of her own life, if need be."[168]

Militant tactics practiced by women in textile strikes in Paterson and Lawrence bore many resemblances to maneuvers sometimes championed by Flynn and Jones in these and other labor battles. In the 1912 Lawrence strike and its 1882 predecessor, women protected each other from individual arrest in various ways: creating confusion over the instigator of an action; linking arms in huge long queues to prevent individuals from being torn from the group; and ensuring mass rather than individual arrest. Most controversial was that women engaged in rampant sabotage, slashed tires, brandished red pepper, scalding water, rocks, and clubs, stripped and struck male police officers in public, accosted strikebreakers, and "marked" unsympathetic homes, businesses, and individuals, even hanging photographs of turncoats in public places. As Cameron writes, "For those [women] whose primary concern was familial survival and welfare, issues of the shop floor were difficult to separate from home and neighborhood."[169]

At least early in her career Flynn also advocated and defended worker sabotage in various forms: slowing down the rate of work; following time-consuming regulations faithfully; alerting customers to inferior food and textile products; immobilizing machinery; spoiling goods; and deliberately confusing consumers' orders. Among her various justifications for these coercive practices was the argument that spoiling already tainted or inferior goods was an ethical, responsible action taken in the public's best interests: "Any exposure of adulteration or over-adulteration that makes the product unconsumable [*sic*] is a lot more beneficial to the consumer than to have it tinctured or doctored so that you can use it but so that it is destructive to your physical condition at the same time," she wrote in an infamous essay published by the IWW in 1917.[170] Her larger relational concern, however, lay with workers rather than the general public, and ensuring their survival eclipsed for her more

pedestrian legal prohibitions and "finespun moral objections."[171] Using an ethical lens Gilligan argues is common for women, Flynn wrote that if workers believe that sabotage is necessary for their survival, "that in itself makes sabotage moral. And for us to talk about the morality of sabotage would be as absurd as to discuss . . . the morality of the class struggle itself."[172] Even though Flynn preferred nonviolent methods, she argued that "Everybody believes in violence for self-defense." And at times, she conceded, "violence is of course a necessity and one would be stupid to say that either in Michigan or West Virginia or Colorado the miners do not have the right to take their guns and defend their wives and their babies and themselves."[173]

For Jones, the domestic world of the family provided both the resources and rationale for militant actions. She often explicitly coached striking wives to arm themselves with mops, brooms, red pepper, and hatpins to deter strikebreakers, to clang pots and pans to spook mine shaft mules, and, when arrested, to sing loudly and ensure crying babies to preclude their jailor's sleep. Like Flynn, Jones also advocated industry-wide as well as more local boycotts of products and merchants. Repeatedly, harm to families, and especially to children, provided the warrant for the violence she occasionally advocated. A 1915 speech at the Labor Temple in Pittsburg, Kansas, illustrates a grim litany of slaughter that drove her and some other radical mothers to militant conclusions and bloodletting ends:

> Over in West Virginia they murdered the babies before they were born; they hired gunmen and they kicked the babies to death before they were born—the gunmen did.
>
> In Colorado they burned them to death in the holes into which they ran to save themselves. They threw oil on them to be sure that they were murdered; babies were murdered; women were murdered; women, when their sides were burned off, and their arms, they were carried to the morgue, and gave birth to the coming generation when they were two days dead. . . . Buy guns, yes. And I will borrow or steal it to buy guns for my boys, and I will not only do that, but I will make them use them . . . [because the operator] hires murderers [and] pays them with the money I ought to feed my children with.[174]

Such passages illustrate why mothering often assumes a militant face, a fierce other side to the warm and gentle nurturing of dominant maternal images. Given the embattled conditions in which Jones and other working-class women often operated, motherhood not only included the nurturing of children but also pronounced resistance against the forces that threatened them, thereby necessarily broadening the maternal "ethic of care" beyond its genteel moorings to include aggressive confrontation and occasional bodily risk. Both Jones and Flynn firmly believed in peaceful measures if they were viable. Indeed, Flynn's aversion to violence and war compelled her ardent opposition to nuclear proliferation in her later years. Yet as working-class women in a time when industrial peonage was both commonplace and tolerated, they both understood and embodied what Ruddick terms the paradox of maternal thinking. Although maternal thinking is conducive and committed to a "politics of peace," its protective maternal goal frequently and inescapably renders it "militaristic." "The sturdiest suspicion of violence," she writes, "is of no avail to threatened peoples who do not have alternative nonviolent ways of protecting what they love."[175]

In sum, Flynn's and Jones's continual campaigns for both "bread" and "roses" bear significant resemblances to radical women labor activists generally. Like their pioneering sisters, they worked within and outside of traditional political processes, conceived of labor as a "family" bound by class, and relied heavily on skills, methods, and philosophies acquired in the experiences of domestic life. Moreover, in so doing, they and other female labor radicals debunked received wisdom that

conflated the domestic and the docile or that perceived of nurturing and militancy as antithetical qualities. Although these militantly maternal traits at times brought them into conflict with their predominately male comrades, the careers of both women illustrate the ways in which such skills and strategies could be adapted to audiences regardless of gender.

Foreshadowing "The Personal is Political"

Like the labor movement itself, female participation in it was and is not monolithic. Obviously, many early women workers eschewed labor activity due to personal or family disapproval, discouragement or exclusion by male-dominated labor unions, fear, and sheer fatigue. Nor did all female labor activists, including radicals like Jones and Flynn, conform completely in philosophy, political methods, and rhetorical form and style. Still, despite undeniable differences, these two women provide a glimpse into the catalyzing forces, general outlook, and strategic choices that generated what Helen Marot termed in 1910 "a trade union truism, that 'women make the best strikers.'" Although women were more reluctant unionists, she writes, "when they reach the point of striking they give themselves as fully and as instinctively to the cause as they give themselves in their personal relationships."[176] In fact, as Cameron points out, the radical tenor of female labor activity led mill owners to view conventional trade unionism as a more moderate and acceptable alternative to the more unorthodox "bread and roses" campaigns undertaken largely by women.[177] In far-reaching ways, Flynn, Jones, and other radical women in the movement embraced and embodied the belief that the "personal is the political" long before second-wave feminists ensconced the controversial slogan in the public imagination. At the same time that all these women were politically and culturally constrained by divisions between public and private, they at once privatized the public and publicized the private, ultimately rejecting boundaries between the domestic sphere of familial interaction, experiences, and obligations and the public In this regard, radical women in the U.S. labor movement have not been unique. Women in various countries and in a myriad of causes, both progressive and conservative, have shifted the sensitivities and strategies acquired in or associated with the home into public campaigns. As Alexis Jetter, Annelise Orleck, and Diana Taylor point out in the introduction to their edited volume, *The Politics of Motherhood*, maternity in particular has proven itself to be both a potent catalyst and an effective tactic for politicized women across the globe, both for mothers and childless women. "Some sincerely believed," they write, "that motherhood conferred upon them special insights and responsibilities to solve the problems plaguing their families and communities." Others, however, used motherhood to ennoble their political cause and bolster themselves, "aware that speaking out as mothers would give them more credibility in sexist societies than they would have as individual women."[178]

To differing degrees, both Jones and Flynn conflate these philosophical and tactical patterns. The protective maternal zeal they displayed in their battle for "bread" was genuine, even though both clearly recognized ways in which maternal appeals made that struggle more sympathetic and palatable. Although Jones's appropriation of and appeals to motherhood are the most salient, motherhood was a common topic for Flynn even at the outset of her career.

At the same time, however, although both women and many other radical labor women clearly demonstrated the self-sacrifice typically associated with idealized "good" mothers, they likewise exhibited healthy concern for the "roses" of personal autonomy, not only for other members of their extended working family but also for themselves. No slaves to convention or decorum, radical women in the

labor movement proclaimed their desire and asserted their rights in to determine directions of their lives. Hence, in various ways most seemed to concur with a teenage Flynn, who declared in public appearances as early as 1909, it is "free mothers [who] will have free children."[179]

Notes

1. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820–1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1966): 151–74.
2. Ardis Cameron, *Radicals of the Worst Sort: Laboring Women in Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1860–1912* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955), xii.
3. Rosalyn Baxandall, Linda Gordon, and Susan Reverby, eds., *America's Working Women: A Documentary History–1600 to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 41; Cameron, *Radicals*, xiii.
4. Cameron, *Radicals*, 43.
5. Françoise Basche, "Introductory Essay," in *The Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker*, by Theresa S. Malkiel, ed. Francoise Basche (1910; reprint, Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, Cornell University, 1990), 19.
6. Basche, "Introductory Essay," 19; Ronald L. Filippelli, *Labor in the USA: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 97.
7. Alexis Jetter, Annelise Orleck, and Diana Taylor, eds., *The Politics of Motherhood: Activist Voices from Left to Right* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997), 87.
8. Baxandall, Gordon, and Reverby, *America's Working Women*, 66.
9. Filippelli, *Labor in the USA*, 97–98.
10. Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall, *Words on Fire: The Life and Writings of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 169–74.
11. Sellins, an organizer for coal miners, was murdered during strike violence. According to Flynn, Stokes died from complications following a clubbing during a demonstration, although her interpretation is open to question. See Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 179. Women strikers occasionally were killed in strike violence, such as the killing of Annie LoPizzo during the 1912 Lawrence, Massachusetts, uprising, an incident that led to the arrest of IWW leaders Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, even though neither man had been on the scene at the time of the shooting. See Helen C. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and the American Left* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1995), 28.
12. Jones's stature as an icon of progressive causes is most salient in the use of her name for the left-leaning magazine *Mother Jones*, which includes a photo and short biography of her on its contents page.
13. Lloyd Morris, *From Postscript to Yesterday* (New York: Random House, 1947), Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Papers, Tamiment Library, New York University, n.p. Flynn's papers contain early essays, speeches, speech outlines, and teaching notes, in addition to news clippings, diary entries, and personal memorabilia. Many early speeches, essays, and speech outlines are handwritten, and only in some cases do the title, date, and page numbers, if any, appear to have been supplied by Flynn. Certain dates apparently supplied by archivists are approximate, and a few seem to be incorrect given the content of the speech. Typed addresses by Flynn are also heavily edited in her hand, and several do not include page numbers. I have not added page numbers to these materials. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, includes a number of Flynn's speeches and essays, although a number of speeches, in particular, have been heavily edited. In some cases, particularly when the original is in poor condition, I refer to Baxandall.
14. Flynn's career began in 1906 when she delivered her first major speech at the age of fifteen and ended with her death in 1964, although she spent nearly a decade convalescing during the 1920s and 1930s. The exact beginning of Jones's speaking career is unknown, occurring sometime between 1871 and the late 1880s. Although Jones's advanced age slowed down her speaking during the last decade of her life, she remained involved with labor until her death in 1930. For the most thorough biographies of Flynn and Jones, respectively, see Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, and Dale Fetherling, *Mother Jones, the Miners' Angel: A Portrait* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974).

15. See, for example, Linda Atkinson, *Mother Jones, the Most Dangerous Woman in America* (New York: Crown, 1978); Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*; Fetherling, *Mother Jones*; Priscilla Long, *Mother Jones, Woman Organizer* (Cambridge, Mass.: Red Sun Press, 1976); Irving Werstein, *Labor's Defiant Lady: The Story of Mother Jones* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1969).
16. See, for example, Baxandall, *Words on Fire*; Philip S. Foner, ed., *Mother Jones Speaks: Collected Speeches and Writings* (New York: Monad Press, 1983); Edward M. Steel, *The Correspondence of Mother Jones* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985); and Edward M. Steel, ed., *The Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988). Steel's anthology of Jones's speeches contains only complete texts; Foner's volume also includes some lengthy fragments of her speeches reported in newspapers and magazines.
17. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *I Speak My Own Piece: Autobiography of "The Rebel Girl,"* rev. ed. (New York: International Press, 1973); Mary Harris Jones, *The Autobiography of Mother Jones*, ed. Mary Field Parton, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Charles Kerr, 1980).
18. Eugene V. Debs, "To the Rescue of Mother Jones!" *Appeal to Reason*, 3 May 1913, 1.
19. Qtd. in Audrey Perryman Olmstead, "Agitator on the Left: The Speechmaking of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, 1904–1964" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1971), 68.
20. Qtd. in Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 65.
21. Cameron, *Radicals*, 3.
22. Alice Kessler-Harris, "Problems of Coalition-Building: Women and Trade Unions in the 1920s," in *Women, Work, and Protest: A Century of U.S. Women's Labor History*, ed. Ruth Milkman (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 114.
23. Baxandall, Gordon, and Reverby, *America's Working Women*, 41.
24. Qtd. in Kessler-Harris, "Problems of Coalition-Building," 119.
25. Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Sara Ruddick, *Maternal Thinking: Towards a Politics of Peace* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1989).
26. Baxandall, Gordon, and Reverby, *America's Working Women*, 66.
27. Filippelli, *Labor in the USA*, 47.
28. John Andrews and W. D. P. Bliss, *History of Women in Trade Unions*, vol. 10 of *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), rpt. excerpts in Baxandall, Gordon, and Reverby, *America's Working Women*, 64; Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 168.
29. Filippelli, *Labor in the USA*, 81.
30. Xialon Boa, "Chinese Mothers in New York City's New Sweatshops," in Jetter, Orleck, and Taylor, *Politics of Motherhood*, 128.
31. Cameron, *Radicals*, 113.
32. Ibid., 112; Mary Frederickson, "'I Know Which Side I'm On': Southern Women in the Labor Movement in the Twentieth Century," in *Women, Work, and Protest: A Century of US Women's Labor History*, ed. Ruth Milkman (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985), 164–66.
33. Cameron, *Radicals*, 139, 161.
34. Basche, "Introductory Essay," 222–23.
35. Cameron, *Radicals*, 55.
36. Anna Whitney, for example, was second vice president of the National Equal Suffrage Association, an executive committee member of the NAACP, and a former social worker and relief worker who later was indicted for membership in the Communist Party. Kate Richards O'Hare was a social worker, Socialist editor, prison reform activist, suffrage campaigner, labor advocate, and antiwar dissident whose imprisonment for her criticism of World War I led to her campaign for amnesty for other dissenters.
37. Gilligan, *Different Voice*, 44, 74–76.
38. Cameron, *Radicals*, 134.
39. Ibid., 111; Jetter, Orleck, and Taylor, *Politics of Motherhood*, 87.
40. Baxandall, Gordon, and Reverby, *America's Working Women*, 184–85.
41. Cameron, *Radicals*, 135.
42. Filippelli, *Labor in the USA*, 81.
43. Ibid., 97–98.
44. Cameron, *Radicals*, 126, 135.
45. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 17.
46. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 69.

47. For a more thorough discussion of each woman's personal and professional histories, see Mari Boor Tonn, "Mary Harris 'Mother' Jones (1830?–1930), 'Mother' and Messiah to Industrial Labor," in *Women Public Speakers in the United States, 1800–1925: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook*, ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993), 229–41; and Mari Boor Tonn and Mark S. Kuhn, "Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (1890–1964), Advocate Who Merged Feminism and Radical Labor Organizing," in Campbell, *Women Public Speakers*, 221–37.
48. Jones always spoke extemporaneously, occasionally even constructing her text based upon topics initiated by audience members or other kinds of comments and responses from listeners. See Mari Boor Tonn and Mark S. Kuhn, "Co-constructed Oratory: Speaker-Audience Interaction in the Labor Union Rhetoric of Mary Harris 'Mother' Jones," *Text and Performance Quarterly* 13 (1993): 1–18. Flynn occasionally spoke from complete prepared texts, most often during radio broadcasts, or from detailed outlines. She claims, however, that of the estimated 10,000 speeches she gave throughout her lifetime, most were delivered without the luxury of notes. See, "Hoarse," *New Yorker*, 26 October 1946, 23.
49. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 63, 102.
50. "Mother Jones Fiery," *Toledo Bee*, 24 March 1903.
51. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 23; Flynn, *I Speak My Own Piece*, 109.
52. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Public Speaking Notes," holograph, in Flynn Papers.
53. Fetherling, *Mother Jones*, 23–24.
54. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 23.
55. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 47.
56. Ibid., 58.
57. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 283.
58. Fetherling, *Mother Jones*, 23–24, 76–78; Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 283; Steel, *Correspondence of Mother Jones*, xxix.
59. Howard B. Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1969), 29.
60. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 204.
61. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "The Truth about the Paterson Strike," 31 January 1914, New York Civic Club Forum, New York City, in Flynn Papers.
62. Mari Boor Tonn, "Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's *Sabotage:* 'Scene' as Both Controlling and Catalyzing 'Acts,'" *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 1 (1995): 59–75; Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 56.
63. Jones's paternal grandfather was hanged for insurgency in the Irish Rebellion, whereas Flynn's lover, Tresca, was assassinated, most likely by agents of Mussolini.
64. Jones, *Autobiography*, 136.
65. Flynn, *I Speak My Own Piece*, 98; "Hoarse," 23.
66. Qtd. in Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 123.
67. Jones, *Autobiography*, 224. For an analysis of the ways in which Jones's philosophy and discursive and non-discursive practices reflect primary maternal aims, see Mari Boor Tonn, "Militant Motherhood: Labor's Mary Harris 'Mother' Jones," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 82 (1996): 1–21.
68. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 249.
69. Flynn, "Paterson Strike," 72.
70. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Speech by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *Political Affairs*, 615, in Flynn papers, emphasis added.
71. Steel, *Correspondence of Mother Jones*, xxix.
72. Flynn, *I Speak My Own Piece*, 208; Olmstead, "Agitator," 72–75.
73. For a detailed account of this incident, see Corliss Lamont, ed., *The Trial of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn by the American Civil Liberties Union* (New York: Horizon, 1968).
74. Jones made this statement during an interview included in Djuna Barnes, *Interviews*, ed. Alyce Barry (Washington, D.C.: Sun and Moon Press, 1985), 101–2. Barnes's interview with Jones occurred on 7 February 1915.
75. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 157.
76. Ibid., 108.
77. Ibid., 94.
78. The extensively detailed handwritten outline for this speech is located in Flynn's papers and bears only the title and date, apparently supplied by the archivist, "Women–This was 1909."
79. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 215–17; Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 176, 181–84.
80. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 168.
81. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 45.

82. This untitled radio address was given in Newark, New Jersey, and dated as 1 November 1948, apparently by an archivist. Content in the speech, however, suggests an earlier date, most likely 1944.
83. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Radio Address," August or September 1947, Washington, Pa., in Flynn Papers; Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 221.
84. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Opposition to the Confirmation of Tom Clark as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court," 10 August 1949, in Flynn Papers.
85. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 170–71, 290.
86. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 176.
87. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 138.
88. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 63.
89. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 110.
90. Ibid., 92.
91. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 24.
92. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 283.
93. Because many coal miners initially were paid on a per-wagon basis, some employers instituted "cribbing," a practice in which the sides of coal wagons were greatly extended, resulting in substantially more mined coal for the same paid wage. Other companies achieved similar results less flagrantly by fixing weight scales or incorrectly logging work credits.
94. See, for example, Lee, *Bloodletting in Appalachia*; Herman R. Lantz, with J. S. McCrary, *People of Coal Town* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958); and Fred Mooney, *Struggles in the Coal Fields: The Autobiography of Fred Mooney* (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library, 1967). Mooney was a UMWA organizer who often worked closely with Jones.
95. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 155.
96. Ibid., 77, 92, 296.
97. Ibid., 266.
98. Ibid., 126, 203, 215.
99. Cameron, *Iron in Her Soul*, 3.
100. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 170, 215.
101. Jones, *Autobiography*, 231.
102. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 210.
103. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Early Notes," holograph, 1907 or 1908, in Flynn Papers, emphasis added.
104. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Small Families—a Proletarian Necessity," holograph, 1915, in Flynn Papers.
105. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Problems Organizing Women," holograph, 1916, in Flynn Papers, emphasis added.
106. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 126.
107. Ibid., 197.
108. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 169.
109. Bao, "Chinese Mothers."
110. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 225.
111. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 89.
112. Qtd. in Lamont, *Trial of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn*, 99.
113. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Summation in the Smith Act Trial," 6 January 1953, in Flynn Papers.
114. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 169.
115. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 6.
116. This premise runs throughout Gilligan, *Different Voice*; Ann Wilson Schaef, *Women's Reality: An Emerging Female System in a White Male Society* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981); and Nancy Chodorow, *The Reproduction of Mothering: Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).
117. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 106.
118. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 33.
119. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Criticism: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 129–31; Cameron, *Radicals*, 39, 45, 108–10.
120. This premise runs throughout Elizabeth Stone, *Black Sheep and Kissing Cousins: How Our Family Stories Shape Us* (New York: Times Books, 1978).
121. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 164.
122. Ibid., 106.

123. Ibid., 142.
124. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 34.
125. Ibid., 48.
126. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 136–38.
127. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 294–95.
128. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 198–99.
129. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 102.
130. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 108.
131. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 106.
132. Ibid., 142, emphasis added.
133. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 120–21.
134. Ibid., 95.
135. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "The Political Significance of Defense Work," Communist Party Convention, New York City, 1950, in Flynn Papers, 8, 14.
136. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "On Arrests and Indictments," 6 August 1948, in Flynn Papers.
137. This three-page untitled and undated handwritten text is in Flynn Papers.
138. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Evaluation of Labor Leaders," holograph, n.d., in Flynn Papers.
139. Ruddick, *Maternal Thinking*, 72–73.
140. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 170.
141. Ibid., 105.
142. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 33, 35.
143. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 168, emphasis added.
144. Cameron, *Radicals*, 126.
145. Qtd. in Cameron, *Radicals*, 112.
146. Flynn, "Arrests and Indictments," 3.
147. Foner, *Mother Jones Speaks*, 175, 188–90.
148. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 146, emphasis added.
149. Jerome Bruner, "The Ontogenesis of Speech Acts," *Journal of Child Language* 2 (1975): 1–19; Elinor Ochs, "From Feelings to Grammar: A Samoan Case Study" in *Language Socialization Across Cultures*, ed. Bambi B. Schieffelin and Elinor Ochs (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5–6.
150. Deborah Tannen, *Talking Voices* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 98–133.
151. "Mother Jones at Jop[l]in," *Workers' Chronicle* (Pittsburg, Ks.), 17 September 1915, 5.
152. Peggy Miller, "Teasing as Language Socialization and Verbal Play in a White Working-Class Community," in Schieffelin and Ochs, *Language Socialization*, 199–200, 205, 210.
153. See, for example, Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric of Women's Liberation: An Oxymoron," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 59 (1973): 73–86; Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Femininity and Feminism: To Be or Not to Be a Woman," *Communication Quarterly* 31 (1983): 101–8; and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, *Man Cannot Speak for Her: A Critical Study of Early Feminist Rhetoric*, vol. 1 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989).
154. See, for example, Northrop Frye, *The Critical Path: An Essay on the Social Context of Literary Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973), 37–38; Robert Briffault, *The Mothers*, abbrev. ed. G. R. Taylor (New York: MacMillan, 1959), 275; and Aida Hurtado, "Relating to Privilege: Seduction and Rejection in the Subordination of White Women and Women of Color," *Signs* 14 (1989): 848.
155. Stone, *Black Sheep and Kissing Cousins*, 136.
156. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 220.
157. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Summation at the Smith Act Trial" in Flynn papers.
158. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Statement at the Smith Act Trial," in *We Shall Be Heard: Women Speakers in America*, ed. Patricia Scileppi Kennedy and Gloria Hartmann O'Shields (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1983), 243.
159. See, for example, James F. Walsh Jr., "An Approach to Dyadic Communication in Historical Social Movements: Dyadic Communication in Maoist Insurgent Mobilization," *Communication Monographs* 53 (1983): 1–15; and James F. Walsh Jr., "Paying Attention to Channels: Differential Images of Recruitment for Students for a Democratic Society, 1960–1965," *Communication Studies* 44 (1993): 71–86.
160. *Conditions in the Coal Mines of Colorado*, U.S. Cong. House, Subcommittee of the Committee on Mines and Mining, 63rd Cong., 2nd sess., H. Res. 387 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914), 2927.
161. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 57.

162. Flynn, *I Speak My Own Piece*, 138.
163. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 117.
164. Camp, *Iron in Her Soul*, 29.
165. Cameron, *Radicals*, 151.
166. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Jungle Law," holograph, approximately 1908, in Flynn Papers.
167. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, "Woman," holograph, 1909, in Flynn Papers, 4.
168. "Mother Jones, Mild Mannered, Talks Sociology," *New York Times*, 1 June 1913.
169. Cameron, *Radicals*, 163.
170. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *Sabotage: The Conscious Withdrawal of the Workers' Industrial Efficiency* (Cleveland: IWW Publishing Bureau, 1917), Wayne State University Industrial Workers of the World Collection, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Box 171, 13. Also in Flynn Papers.
171. Flynn, *Sabotage*, 9.
172. Ibid., 3.
173. Baxandall, *Words on Fire*, 115–16.
174. Steel, *Speeches and Writings of Mother Jones*, 164.
175. Ruddick, *Maternal Thinking*, 139.
176. Helen Marot, "A Woman's Strike—An Appreciation of the Shirtwaist Makers of New York," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science of the City of New York* 1 (October 1910), reprinted excerpts in Baxandall, Gordon, and Reverby, *America's Working Women*, 190.
177. Cameron, *Radicals*, 169.
178. Jetter, Orleck, and Taylor, *Politics of Motherhood*, 4.
179. Flynn, "Woman," Flynn Papers, 12.