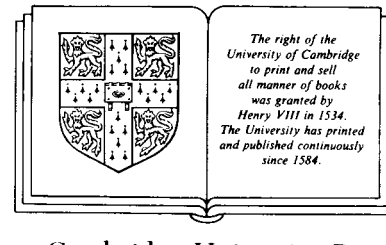
Alice Henry: *THE POWER OF PEN AND VOICE*

The Life of an Australian-American Labor Reformer

DIANE KIRKBY

Department of History
La Trobe University, Melbourne



Cambridge University Press

Cambridge
New York Port Chester Melbourne Sydney

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK
40 West 20th Street, New York NY 10011–4211, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa

http://www.cambridge.org

First published 1991
First paperback edition 2002

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

National Library of Australia Cataloguing in Publication data
Kirkby, Diane.
Alice Henry: The power of pen and voice: The life of an
Australian-American labor reformer.
Bibliography.
Includes index.
ISBN 0 521 39102 4
1. Henry, Alice, 1857–1943. 2. Trade-unions – Australia
– Biography. 3. Women in trade-unions – Australia –
History. 4. Trade-unions – United States – Biography.
5. Women in trade-unions – United States – History. I. Title.
331.88092

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Kirkby, Diane Elizabeth.
Alice Henry: The power of pen and voice: The life of an Australian-American
labor reformer / Diane Kirkby.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0 521 39102 4
1. Henry, Alice. 1857–1943. 2. Women in trade-unions –United States –
Biography. 3. Feminists – United States – Biography. I. Title.
HD6079.2.U5K57 1991
331.4'78'092–dc20
[B] 90-44367

ISBN 0 521 39102 4 hardback
ISBN 0 521 52324 9 paperback

Contents

Illustrations

Following page 118

Introduction

This is the story of a woman's life. It cannot be a biography in the usual sense of that word because Alice Henry left no personal documents. It has had to be reconstructed from her published works, a schematic collection of memoirs put together in the closing years of her life, and whatever other sources could be found to fill out the context (not always satisfactorily) in which she lived and worked. Some readers may find it irritating that so many questions must remain unanswered, yet I believe the story—however unfinished—to be worth telling. Many women do not leave records, particularly about their private lives. Yet to hold that their stories are not worth knowing is to accept definitions of historical worthiness which are out of sympathy with a feminist endeavor. I believed the challenge of writing this book to be both an historical and a political one.

This is not an heroic tale. Alice Henry led no great armies, she achieved no great fame, she left no enduring legend. Her name has not become a household word. Her story is not the material of which history used to be written and academic careers made. But she is also not one of the inarticulate silent masses of the 'new' social history whose individual circumstances cannot ever be known. Alice Henry belonged to the professional literate middle class. She left written records which help reconstruct her life, she achieved some public recognition which illuminates her personal activities, she accomplished her

goals in the public arena. Her story, though not held up as exemplary, is nevertheless a salutary one. She was born a female, to educated, middle-class, impecunious parents, and her choices in life were immediately circumscribed. She was the offspring of immigrants in an alien physical environment and her senses were immediately aroused to conflicts and contradictions, harmony and discord.

What she then did with her life, how she moved in the times in which she lived, is in some ways unique and particular. Rather than confine herself to the constraints of domesticity and respectable femininity, she courageously chose a course that brought her more public attention than most women receive. But in many ways her path was representative of the chances available to single, intelligent, educated middle-class women in the decades spanning the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, and she never lost sight of herself as part of a larger community of women. Her goals were personal but her struggle was collective. The historical significance of Alice Henry is that she belonged to a generation of women who reached maturity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and turned their professional skills towards directing social change for a collective good.[1]

The economic changes of the nineteenth century, which transformed the nature and scale of work and increased the availability of education, subsequently led women to seek a more active participation in public affairs. Following the acceptable avenues of charity and reform, women attempted to carve out new economic and political roles for themselves wherein they could exercise some power in effecting social change.[2] At the turn of the century, when a new, educated, professional middle class took the lead in directing social change, women were a significant force in the movement.[3] The campaign for women's industrial legislation, in which Alice Henry was so active, was part of this movement.[4] Progressive women reformers recognized the extent of the economic changes of the late nineteenth century, perceived the direction economic growth would take in the twentieth century, and sought to structure that world in a new harmonious way wherein the rights of individuals, particularly the right of women to political and economic independence, were secured through collective action and efficient state instrumentalities. They had much in common with those Socialist women in America, of whom Mari Jo Buhle has said, 'they demonstrated that the prospect for a new civilization rested upon broader principles than class struggle,' and they dreamt of 'bringing into existence a cooperative and egalitarian social order.'[5]

Progressive reform is often discussed as a uniquely American phenomenon: 'the response to industrialism' by a group of humanitarian

reformers who sought to ameliorate the evils they saw in the slums and tenements of America's major industrial cities. In this school of thought, the displaced, old-stock middle class, reacting to the transition of America from a group of island rural communities to a mass, urban, heterogeneous society, sought to improve health and housing, reform corrupt governments, Americanize the immigrants, and hence salvage nineteenth-century psychic and spiritual values of small-town, pre-industrial America, through a Protestant reform crusade.[6]

This study of Alice Henry challenges the interpretation of progressivism as a uniquely American, humanitarian, or religious crusade. Alice Henry was born and raised in the Australian colonies where industrialization had barely begun at the end of the nineteenth century. But her reform experiences there developed in her an internationalism on women's issues and labor reform which found a place for her in the reform labor circles of England, Germany and the United States.[7]

That Alice Henry was involved with progressive reform for twenty years before she arrived in America indicates that progressivism was neither unique to America, nor simply a humanitarian response to mass immigration, rapid urbanization, or the ugliness of industrial chimney stacks.[8] As David Montgomery points out, 'the first quarter of the twentieth century ... was ... the epoch in which scientific management and assembly line production came to characterize industrial work in all the most advanced capitalist countries.' Millions of workers in those countries developed a solution which they fought to obtain—the alternative of placing factories under the collective control of their operatives, clerks and technicians. Some businessmen turned to welfare schemes known collectively as 'welfare capitalism;'[9] intellectuals and reformers developed another—third-party intervention. Thus progressivism is more aptly seen as a movement to increase the role of the state.[10] As such it was a direct result of the maturation of industrialization in the most advanced capitalist countries. In theoretical terms it was a period when the previous facilitating role of the state in directing the economy gave way to the supportive role from which the present corporate economy evolved.[11] The internationalism of the movement reflects the growing interdependence of national economies on world markets and the internationalism of financial capitalism.

Although American progressivism did not aspire to the national reformism of the New Deal, American progressive reformers sought a standardized system of government regulation within a federal government structure to stabilize economic growth and maintain international parity in productivity.[12] 'The search for order,' as American

progressivism has been characterized, has to be seen in this context of international economic competition.[13] This point is strengthened further when comparison is made with the economic growth and increased role the state played in Germany and England in the same period.[14] Similarly, Australian progressivism is best understood when discussed in terms of Australia's political and economic position as a colony of England, a status that was forcibly brought home to it during the 1930s depression.[15]

Alice Henry and her colleagues were particularly concerned with the labor movement and reforming relations between management and worker. Few American reform historians have discussed the labor reform aspects of the progressive movement, and labor historians generally have focused their attention on organized labor and trade-union activity, rather than connect the activities and concerns of the social reformers with the changing nature of industrial relations.[16] The maturation of industrial capitalism brought the rise of corporations and the solidification of a permanent industrial working class, and these factors generated conflicts in America in the last two decades of the nineteenth century which compelled a generation of concerned social investigators to look more closely at the relationship between labor and capital.[17] Following the teachings of the German political economists, American economists and sociologists began to think more critically of the free-market system.[18] There developed a recognition of the need for business stability and industrial harmony, and consequently a greater role for the state in industrial relations.[19] Accepting Richard Ely's dictum that industrial harmony could be achieved through the instrumentalities of church, state and individual, 'in the light of true science,' social investigators and labor economists set about gathering facts and information on the nature of work, the scale and intensity of work, and the social dimensions of the workplace.[20] These experts, hoping to realize their goal of rationally directing social change, attempted, through statistical enquiry, to identify the nature and scope of the new industrial order, and to establish a new political concept of 'industrial democracy.'[21]

Sociological investigation as a tool of social change was not a new development at the turn of the century.[22] Sociological investigation in relation to the workplace, however, was very much a result of the ramifications of mature industrialism. In England it led to the development of Fabian Socialism, in America to a more inchoate progressive labor reform movement.[23] The work of official bureaus of labor investigation, and the establishment of social reform settlements in the midst of industrial depression, enabled the new middle-class

professionals to develop skills in social investigation and to publish their findings.[24] Their investigations revealed dangerous and squalid working conditions and people powerless to effect changes on their own. Progressive labor reformers were concerned at the growing power of unregulated corporations, the alienation of factory operatives, and the exploitative and dehumanizing nature of much factory work because of technological innovation; they saw a need for the regulation of industry through government instrumentalities, and they developed theories to ameliorate conflict and establish systems for resolving desputes. 'The degradation of work,' as Harry Braverman has described it, did not threaten the middle class simply because of its potential for generating revolutionary violence. Corporate growth and the subdivision of labor processes depersonalized employer–worker relations for both manual and clerical workers.[25] And, as David Montgomery has explained, 'no one knew better than the workers themselves that they needed a much better standard of living ... that only hard work and sound productive organization could produce such improvement, and that inefficiency and waste were built into the very fiber of the economic system.'[26] The new middle class thus saw a common ground with wage earners, and they joined forces with that group of wage earners who sought to fight industrial capitalism by giving workers greater political control over the conditions under which they contracted their labor.

Herbert Gutman has written that 'the modern "welfare state" was not just the child of concerned and sensitive early twentieth century upper- and middle-class critics of industrial capitalism,' but was the product of groundwork laid a generation earlier by working-class leaders who had 'arranged a marriage between the industrial city's workers and immigrants and their political representatives.'[27] The work of Alice Henry and the National Women's Trade Union League has to be seen as part of this continuum of evolution in industrial capitalism and the way women acted to assert their own political goals. The increasing participation of women in the paid labor force, and the undermining of skilled and autonomous labor, converged in the early decades of the twentieth century with an inheritance of labor reformism which antedated the American Civil War.[28] Armed with new tools, professional organizations, and scientific methods, the new middle class of experts combined in the progressive period with labor reformers to bring rationality, efficiency, professionalism, and stability to the economic and social order, not to reimpose old values but to modernize old methods and rationalize industrial relations. A new system of industrial relations—of labor supply and wage determination—was to be part of this new order. Hence, in the

decades after 1900, the United States experimented with factory legislation, industrial tribunals, investigating commissions, and arbitration boards. And the Australasian colonies, which seemed most innovative and successful in the field, naturally attracted a lot of attention.

Alice Henry belonged to 'that Australian generation that did so much to make Australia important to ... the world,' through their legislative implementation of the most progressive reform ideas.[29] 'I think there are no two countries in the world that have so much in common or can be of so much use to each other as America and Australia,' Alice Henry told American readers, 'because they have a common origin and are facing many of the same problems ... the experience of one should be of great value to the other.'[30] Alice Henry is an excellent lens through which to view the American labor reform movement at the turn of the century. In many ways her life encapsulates the several dimensions of progressivism. 'There could probably be no more authoritative spokeswoman for the millions of her sex industrially employed in the U.S.,' the New York *Evening World* once claimed.[31] 'I can think of no other Australian woman of your generation who has more of importance to tell,' American literary critic, Carnegie Fellow, and author, C. Hartley Grattan, wrote to her in 1939.[32]

Alice Henry's significance is not that she was a leader, or a particularly prominent individual, but that her aspirations, concerns, and values were representative of a generation of women who reached maturity at a time of great economic change. As Mari Jo Buhle has so persuasively demonstrated, these women drew on a tradition of sisterhood which had been nurtured by a separate female culture and years of political activism.[33] Progressivism was not only a woman's movement, but the two were inextricably intertwined. Some historians, in attempting to explicate the relationship between progressive reform and the advancement of a woman's movement, have looked at settlement house reformers. Others have concentrated their attention on the suffrage struggle.[34] But the relationship between progressivism and women's involvement in social investigation and reform was more than an attempt to obtain political enfranchisement, as Alice Henry's work and writings show.

Structured by class interests compounded by ethnic and gender differences, the progressive labor reform movement was an uneasy coalition of feminists and male unionists, charity workers and labor economists, unorganized wage-earners, muckraking journalists and professional social investigators. The National Women's Trade Union League incorporated them all. Alice Henry, articulate and outspoken publicist for the League, was perceptive about the economic changes

which were occurring, and perspicacious about the implications these had for workers generally and women in particular. Alice Henry's public activities to effect social change thus reveal much about the changing face of America in the early years of the twentieth century, and the women and men of the new middle class, who allied themselves with the forces of labor and sought, through collective action, to direct and control the new industrial order.[35] The significance of one woman's role in that movement reveals the internationalism of turn-of-the-century feminism and its intricate connection to progressivism.

At the time of Alice's death, Frances Perkins, Secretary for Labor in Franklin Roosevelt's administration, wrote to the Australian Minister in Washington that the news brought not only the very real sense of the loss of a friend but, as well, the 'sense of great gratitude for all the help that this Australian woman has given us in the United States.' Perkins said that Alice had always used her talent in ways to improve working conditions for women in the industrial labor force for, when little had been known about the physical conditions of women's work, she had brought together in readily available form all knowledge on the subject, and they owed her a very great debt. She was 'a devoted friend of the Women's Trade Union League,' and Perkins may also have said, all working women.[36]

Aside from an early work by a League member and a recently published study of Margaret Dreier Robins, to date the WTUL organization has been the subject of only one book-length study.[37] Nancy Schrom Dye has looked at the vicissitudes of cross-class co-operation in her study of the New York branch of the WTUL, *As Equals and as Sisters: Feminism, the Labor Movement, and the Women's Trade Union League of New York* (Columbia, Mo. 1980). Dye argues that the New York League's disillusionment with organized labor, and its failure to integrate women into male-dominated unions, led to the League's transformation from a labor organization into a social reform organization pressing for women's demands: that is, suffrage and protective legislation. By examining the National organization through the work of Alice Henry, I have found that the National WTUL was always a woman's reform organization and the campaign for woman suffrage and protective labor legislation was integral to its progressive feminist labor policy.

Alice Henry faced certain challenges and made her choices. We can admire her for her courage, we can respect her for her vision and achievements, we can be proud of her tenacity, we can laugh at her eccentricities, and we can love her for the way she cared so passionately, and fought so hard, for women. But this is not a reason to put her on a pedestal. What angered her, angers us. The solutions she devised may

not be ours, but her legacy is that she perceived a great wrong was being done to women—to her as a woman—and in her own way, she never stopped fighting against it.

Piecing her story together has been a highly personal endeavor for me. I came upon Alice Henry while searching for a topic for my doctoral dissertation. My curiosity was aroused while reading Beverley Kingston's *My Wife, My Daughter and Poor Mary Anne* (Melbourne, 1975) and I sought to know more of this Australian woman who had, as I had done, gone to America to advance her career prospects. The task was not made easy by the lack of personal papers and the scattering of correspondence and published works across the libraries of two continents. As I trekked across America and around Australia, using her unfinished 'Memoirs' as my compass, and collecting isolated snippets from unlikely places, I gradually pieced together an impression of the person she seemed to be. With the doctoral dissertation completed I then set out to write a full biography. As I organized my disjointed scraps of information I unfolded a narrative of resourcefulness and courage and I uncovered a personality that was generous, steadfast, gentle and endearing.

Over the years I have worked on her story I have come to know Alice Henry as a friend. In compiling this account and discharging it to the world, I unashamedly feel a sense of loss. It would be selfish of me to keep her to myself, yet I will miss her and the private adventure writing her biography has been for me. I believe feminist biography to be about friendship.[38] It is the knowledge I have gained through that friendship that I now offer up as Alice Henry's story.

A NOTE ON METHOD

Feminist scholarship, as sociologist Hilary Graham has pointed out, is committed to 'shattering the silence of women'—to exposing how the female subject sees herself and her world.[39] Similarly Jean Bethke Elshtain has argued for the articulation of 'the bases and steps in the creation of female identity', for incorporating 'the self-understanding of the female subject as an essential feature of [scholarly] explanation.' She urges the rejection of scholarship which imposes on women views formed 'in advance of probing the [female] subject's self-understanding.'[40] This feminist concern with ensuring that women's perception of themselves be given centrality in scholarship about women—with subjectivity in research—makes biography an excellent vehicle for feminist, woman-centred, research because it has, as one

feminist scholar has argued, 'the potential for situating subjectivity in society.'[41]

'Women's lives ... lying "hidden from history" conform to different [patterns] from those assumed' in many research methods, and their activities and relationships will thus be lost unless space is made available for women's own subjective place in history.[42] Sheila Rowbotham's advice that those concerned with women's experience 'must listen carefully to the language of silence' because silence is a way women often communicate with each other,[43] has particular relevance for the biography of a subject who left no diary and as few personal records as Alice Henry did. Any methodology that does not allow for women's perceptions and ways of communicating cannot successfully capture women's experience of the world. Alice Henry's silence on her private life is very much part of this story, and I have, wherever possible, allowed her words to speak for themselves.

Biography, according to many of its practitioners, demands emotional involvement with its subject as well as evaluation of that subject. This makes it particularly appropriate for a feminist scholarship which holds that 'understanding comes from immersion, from empathy, involvement and commitment.'[44] Feminism is by definition concerned with the interplay between the personal and the political, the public and the private, the centrality of gender to social analysis, and the placement of woman-as-subject into research. This makes the focus on individual women who have broken out of the prescribed private realm of existence an effective way of gaining insight into that dichotomy between public and private. Biography has always had a particular attraction for historians interested in individual people who have played a significant part in bringing about major events. Feminist biography is not the life and times of great persons (usually men) who have achieved, through great events, public renown. Rather, it is a connection to the highly personal, and a way of breaking down the artificial dichotomy between public and private which is implicit in much traditional scholarship. For feminism an understanding of the personal or private realm of an individual's experience, male or female, is as necessary to historical knowledge as is the public dimension.

Biography, by centring on individual motivation, self-perception, gendered identity and action, can go a long way towards capturing women's experience on its own terms and thereby 'shattering the silence' of women. It is not implicitly a 'search for heroines' or the commandeering of exemplary notable female figures for the halls of historical honor.[45] Rather, the search for typicality, for the

commonplace in women's experience, generates a preoccupation with the circumstances of one individual's existence.

Women's historians have rejected old ways of periodizing history. For them biography has the added attraction of providing a chronology divided up not by great military or political events, but by the contours of life's experience, frequently private, occasionally public, and always from a woman's perspective of what is important. In keeping with this concern to seek periodic divisions not shaped by masculine historical experience, and to allow the female subject to speak for herself, this book is divided chronologically according to the unfolding of Alice Henry's life rather than around world events. Thus, too, I have dwelt at length on Alice Henry's decline into old age and death. Ageing has not been a popular subject for historical analysis. Too often biographers have focused only on public achievement and dismissed the ageing process in a line or two at the end of the book. To grow old and frail and thereby lose one's mental and physical capacities is arguably as important in individual experience as is the development and exercise of those talents in the public arena. Similarly, no effort has been made to assess the worth of Alice Henry's achievements or to evaluate her life in terms of 'success' or 'failure.' Her story speaks for itself: its integrity does not depend on others' assessment of what constitutes 'success' or 'merit.'

From Alice Henry's story, unique and prominent as it may be in many respects, we can learn about less prominent women of her generation. From them we can learn more about ourselves, and our world and the possibilities of social change. That is the promise, and the excitement, of feminist history.

NOTES

1. John McClymer, *War and Welfare: Social Engineering in America 1890-1925* (Westport, Conn., 1980); James Gilbert, *Designing the Industrial State: the Intellectual Pursuit of Collectivism in America 1880-1940* (Chicago, 1972); see also Allen Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: the Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914* (NY, 1967).

2. Ronald Walters, *American Reformers 1815-1860* (NY, 1978); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: a Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn., 1973) is one example of how women carved out public careers for themselves; so too is Mary Earhart, *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics* (Chicago, 1944); Gerda Lerner, *The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina* (NY, 1967); Allen Davis, *American Heroine: the Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (NY,

1973); Jill Conway, 'Jane Addams: an American Heroine,' in Robert Lifton, *The Woman in America* (Boston, 1965) 247-66; see also June Sochen, *Movers and Shakers* (Chicago, 1973); Allen Rosenberg Wolfe, 'Women, consumerism and the National Consumers' League in the Progressive era 1900-1923,' *Labor History*, 16 (Summer 1975) 378-92; David Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control 1868-1900* (Westport, Conn., 1973); Barbara Kraft, 'Peacemaking in the Progressive era: a prestigious and proper calling,' *Maryland Historian*, 1 (1970) 121-44; Roy Lubove, *The Professional Altruist: the Emergence of Social Work as a Career 1880-1930* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) and Frank Dekker Watson, *The Charity Organization Movement in the United States* (NY, 1922) both describe this process without ever specifically connecting the professionalization of philanthropy with the woman movement; see also, Burton Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: the Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (NY, 1980).

3. C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: the American Middle Classes* (NY, 1951) is responsible for the concept of a 'new' middle class who knew something compared to the 'old' middle class who owned something; the theory of economic and social disequilibrium is Neil Smelzer's, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago, 1959); see also Bledstein, *Culture of professionalism*.

4. Jacob Lieberman, The Women's Hours and Wages Movement, Ph.D., Columbia University, 1971; Philip Taft, *The A.F. of L. in the Time of Gompers* (NY, 1970); Elizabeth Baker, *Protective Labor Legislation* (NY, 1925); Elizabeth Brandeis, 'Labor Legislation,' vol.4 of John R. Commons, *A History of Labor in the United States 1896-1932*, (NY, 1935); see also Blanche Cook, ed., *Crystal Eastman on Women and Revolution* (NY, 1978) 154 et seq.; Anne Corinne Hill, 'Protection of women workers and the courts,' *Feminist Studies*, 5 (Summer 1979) 246-73; Judith Baer, *Chains of Protection* (Westport, Conn., 1978) 4-5.

5. Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism 1870-1920* (Urbana, Ill. 1981) xvii.

6. Samuel Hays, *The Response to Industrialism 1885-1914* (Chicago, 1957); Samuel Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Otis Graham, *The Great Campaigns: Reform and War in America 1900-1928* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1971); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1963); Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City 1890-1917* (Pittsburgh, 1962); Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana, Ill., 1963); even Robert Wiebe, whose *The Search for Order 1877-1920* (NY, 1967) presaged the new structural approach to progressivism clings to a 'moral disintegration' interpretation; Henry May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (N.Y., 1963).

7. For German interest in the Australian labor reform experiments, see Jurgen Tampke, '"Pace setter or quiet backwater?"—German literature on

Australia's labour movement and social policies 1890-1914,' *Labour History*, 36 (May 1979) 3-17.

8. Use of the concept of 'progressivism' to describe the Australian reform movement of the 1890s-1910s is a practice only of recent scholarship; see for example Michael Roe, 'The establishment of the Australian Department of Health,' *Historical Studies*, 17 (October 1976) 176-92; Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives* (St Lucia, Qld 1984).

9. David Montgomery, *Workers Control in America* (NY, 1979) 3-4; Stuart Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism 1880-1940* (Chicago, 1970).

10. William Graebner, 'Federalism in the Progressive era: a structural interpretation of reform,' *Journal of American History*, 64 (June 1977) 331-57; Gabriel Kolko, *The Triumph of Conservatism* (Chicago, 1963) suggests this thesis but does not place American progressivism in an international comparison; modernization theory is suggested by the historians of the organizational synthesis, see Louis Galambos, 'The emerging organizational synthesis in modern American history,' *Business History Review*, 44 (Autumn 1970) 279-90.

11. J.T. Winkler, 'The corporate economy: theory and administration,' in R. Scase, ed., *Industrial Society: Class, Cleavage and Control* (London, 1977) 43-57.

12. William Graebner, *Coal-mining Safety in the Progressive Period: the Political Economy of Reform* (Lexington, Ky, 1976) esp. 174-5. This is not to suggest agreement with Kolko's statement that 'Progressivism was the victory of big businesses in achieving the rationalization of the economy that only the federal government could provide,' *Triumph of conservatism*, 284. Kolko's thesis more starkly differentiates business interests and labor interests than my interpretation and he ascribes an 'innocence,' p. 286, to social reformers which I believe underestimates their goals.

13. This is Robert Wiebe's phrase; A.G. Kenwood and A.L. Lougheed, *The Growth of the International Economy 1820-1960* (London, 1971) 90 et seq.; Walter Kendall, *The Labour Movement in Europe* (London, 1975); certainly Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Industrial Democracy*, 2 vols (London, 1897) saw their labor reform ideology as a response to developments in international trade.

14. See for example Eric Hobsbawm, 'Trends in the British labour movement since 1850,' in *Labouring Men* (London, 1964) 316-43; J.R. Hay, *The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms, 1906-1914* (London, 1975); Kendall, *Labor Movement in Europe*; Hugh G. Aitken, ed., *The State and Economic Growth* (NY, 1959).

15. As does David Clark, 'Australia: victim or partner of British imperialism?,' in E. Wheelwright and K. Buckley, eds., *Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism*, vol. 1 (Sydney, 1975) 47-71.

16. This is an oversimplification of the state of scholarship in the field. Although it is true of the standard histories of John Commons, *A History of Labor in the United States*, 4 vols (NY, 1918-35), Philip Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, 5 vols. (NY, 1947-65), and Philip Taft, *Organized Labor*, (NY, 1964) David Brody's *Steelworkers in America: the Non-Union Era* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960) is an excellent study of the movement towards reforming industrial relations in the steel industry and he refers to the work of the Pittsburgh Survey investigators, p. 159. More recent scholarship in American labor history, e.g. Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture and Society in Industrialising America* (NY 1977) and Montgomery, *Workers control in America*, concentrates on working-class consciousness or rank-and-file militancy which supports my thesis of a changing industrial relations system but does not make the specific connection with the social reform movement; an exception is James Gilbert's *Work Without Salvation: America's Intellectuals and Industrial Alienation 1880-1910* (Baltimore, 1977); Gerald Grob, *Workers and Utopia: A Study of Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement 1865-1900* (Evanston, Ill., 1960) discusses labor reformism but stops at 1900; Bruno Ramirez, *When Workers Fight: the Politics of Industrial Relations in the Progressive Era, 1898-1916* (Westport, Conn., 1978) is another example; Brandes, *Welfare capitalism*, discusses attempts at the modernization of industrial relations; Bari Watkins, The Professors and the Unions: American academic social theory and labor reform 1883-1915, Ph.D., Yale, 1976 is a thesis which stops short of connecting the labor reformism of Ely, Commons and Ross with progressivism; David Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (NY, 1977) discusses the way the new professional class of engineers developed modern management techniques but he does not tie his work into mainstream progressive historiography; similarly William Graebner, *Coal-mining safety* is an excellent study of labor reform but is confined to a particular industry.

17. Mark Perlman, *Labor Union Theories in America* (Evanston, Ill., 1958); William Akin, 'Arbitration and labor conflict: the middle class panacea, 1886-1900,' *The Historian*, 29 (August 1967) 565-83.

18. Sidney Fine, *Laissez-Faire and the General-Welfare State* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1959).

19. Alfred Chandler, *The Visible Hand: the Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); Richard Hyman, 'The institutionalisation of industrial conflict,' chapter 4 of *Strikes* (London, 1972) discusses the legitimation of trade union activity through legislation in the early twentieth century as part of the management of discontent.

20. Richard Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (NY, 1886); Lieberman, The women's hours and wages movement; Gilbert, *Designing the industrial state*; Gilbert, *Work without salvation*; Perlman, *Labor union theories*; McClymer, *War and welfare*; Wolfe, Women, consumerism and the NCL; Thomas Kerr, 'The N.Y.