

CHAPTER 14

The Progressive Era

CHAPTER PREVIEW

TERMS

ethnic, prejudice, recruit, Jim Crow laws, NAACP, temperance, prohibition, referendum, draft, general strike, common law, scrip, evict, martial law, guerrilla warfare, ultimatum, collective bargaining

PEOPLE

John R. Clifford, Booker T. Washington, George Atkinson, Andrew Summers Rowan, French Ensor Chadwick, John L. Hines, Mason M. Patrick, Julian L. Latimer, Newton D. Baker, John B. Payne, Mother Jones

PLACES

Spelter, Elkhorn, Talcott, South Charleston, Belle, Nitro, Monongah, Cabin Creek, Holly Grove



The Progressive Era, which lasted from 1890 to 1920, was a time of social unrest. Changes in immigration resulted in increased discrimination toward certain ethnic groups. (**Ethnic** refers to a group of people who have common history, language, and customs.) Social reformers campaigned against a variety of cultural issues, including prison conditions, child labor, and alcoholic beverages.

The Progressive Era also included two wars and a number of political changes. The wars brought territorial change, while other political changes more directly affected American citizens. Two constitutional amendments passed during this time changed the way we elect U.S. senators and the way we are taxed. Two other amendments controlled our use of alcohol and gave women the right to vote.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States had become the world's leading industrial nation, providing over one-third of the world's manufactured goods. At the same time, however, great wealth became concentrated in the hands of a few business leaders. While some became rich, others sank into poverty. The gap between the rich and the poor became a matter of concern. Reformers highlighted problems, which resulted in laws to protect workers and eliminate corruption in government.

Below: Child labor became an issue during the Progressive Era. In 1908, these young boys were leaving the Monongah Glass Works plant in Fairmont at 5:00 p.m. In that year, the glass plant produced 144,000 individual pieces every 24 hours.





SIGNS of the TIMES

HISTORY

The first skyscraper in New York was the 21-story Flatiron Building, finished in 1902. The *Titanic* sank on its maiden voyage in 1912.

ECONOMICS

The average salary in 1910 was \$750 a year. In 1902, sugar cost \$0.04 a pound, eggs were \$0.14 a dozen, and coffee was \$0.55 a pound. A wood-and-coal stove cost less than \$15.00. Sears offered a 100-piece set of china for under \$6.00.

GOVERNMENT

The government worked to give citizens more voice. The *initiative* gave the people the power to propose legislation and have the people or legislators vote on it. The *referendum* gave the people the power to approve or reject legislative acts. The *recall* gave the people the power to force public officials at the local and state levels out of office.

In 1896, Christopher H. Payne from Fayette County became the first black elected to the House of Delegates.

GEOGRAPHY

As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Cuba also came under the protection of the United States for a time.

EVERYDAY LIFE

Population: The population of West Virginia in 1900 was 959,800; by 1910, it was 1,221,119; by 1920, it had increased to 1,463,701.

Fashions: Lightweight, cotton knit shirts became popular for men. Women wore corsets and narrow skirts. Skirts grew shorter to allow women to step into trolleys and automobiles.

Science/Technology: The Ford Motor Company perfected the assembly line.

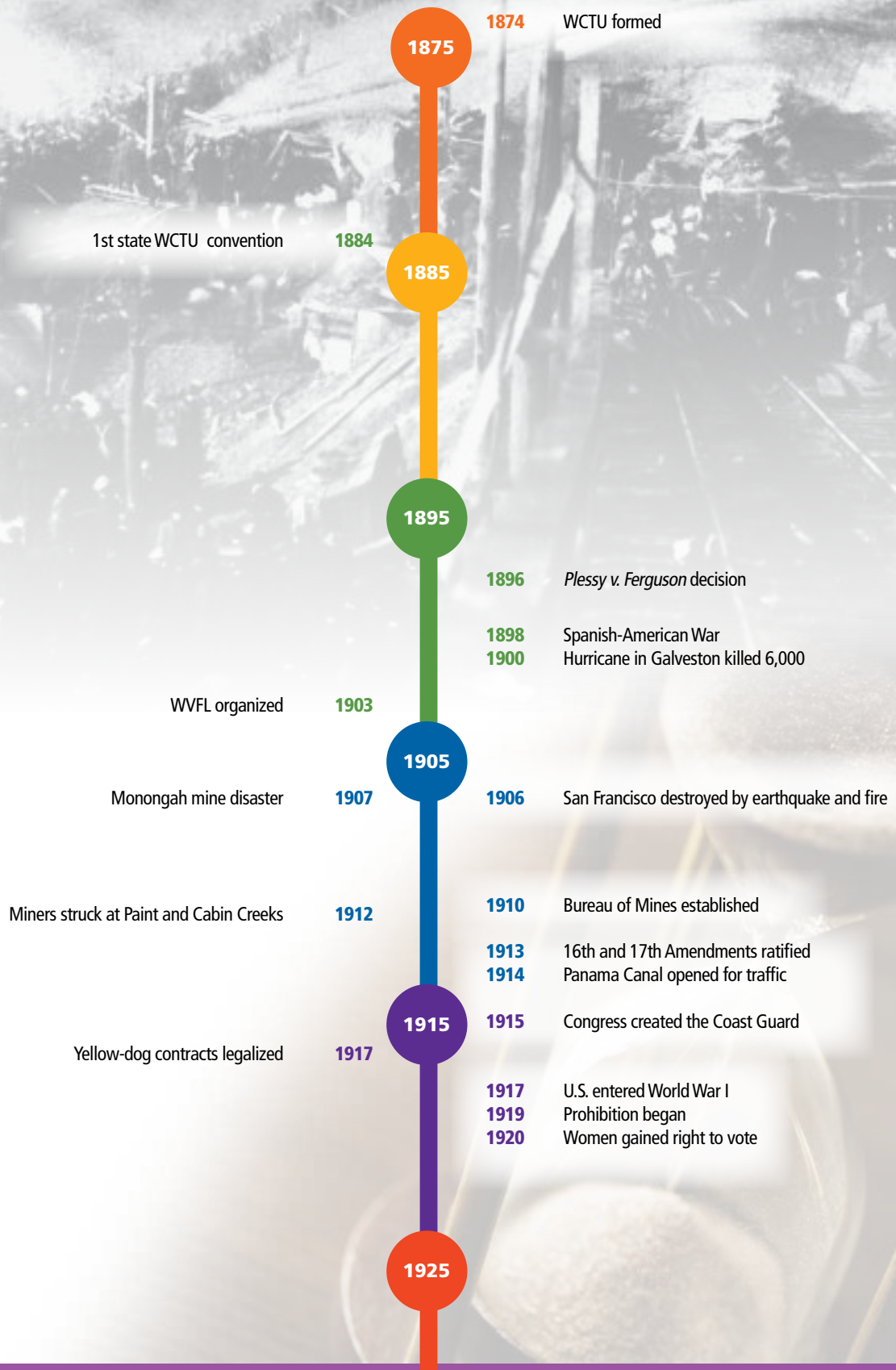
Recreation: Favorite toys of the period included erector sets, Tinkertoys, Lincoln logs, teddy bears, and Ouija boards. Dance crazes included the foxtrot and the tango.

Music: Hit songs included "Bill Bailey, Won't You Please Come Home?," "Danny Boy," "In the Good Old Summertime," "Lift Every Voice and Sing," "Waiting for the Robert E. Lee," and "I'll Walk Alone."

Literature: Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle* about the meatpacking industry. Jack London published *White Fang* and *Martin Eden*. L. Frank Baum wrote *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*. Edgar Rice Burroughs wrote *Tarzan of the Apes*.

Figure 14.1

Timeline: 1874 – 1920



Using Context Clues

DEFINING THE SKILL

In order to understand a reading passage, you should know the meanings of all the words in the passage. Occasionally, you might find a word whose meaning is unfamiliar. What do you do when that happens? Some students ignore the word and continue reading; others look up the definition in a dictionary.

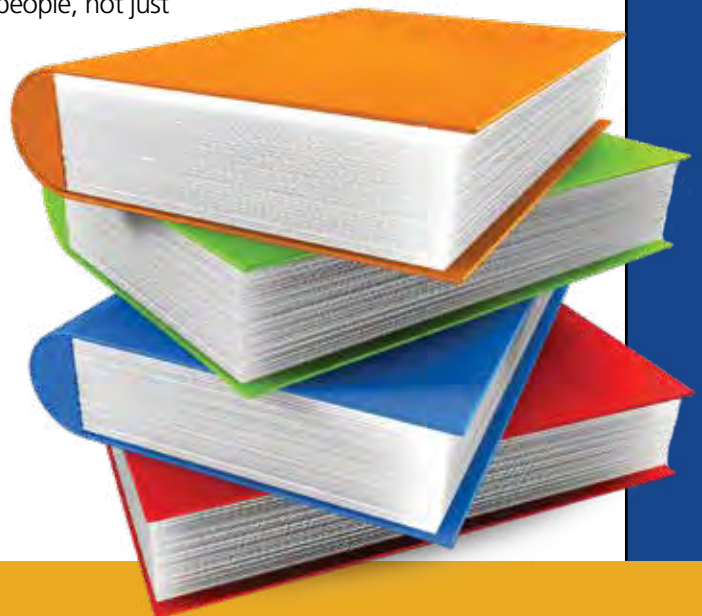
While looking up definitions of unfamiliar words is a good idea, it is time-consuming and, sometimes, impossible. Using *context clues* within a reading is a better and more efficient way to determine the meaning of unfamiliar words. A context clue is a word (or words) that come before or after the unfamiliar word. Context clues include

- examples that may be preceded by cue words, e.g., *such as*, *like*, or *including*. Examples may be set apart by colons, dashes, or parentheses.
- synonyms and definitions. Sometimes an author will include a synonym (a word with the same meaning) for the unfamiliar word. At other times, the unfamiliar word will actually be defined.
- antonyms, which are words that are the opposite of the unfamiliar word.

PRACTICING THE SKILL

Read the following sentences found in this chapter and identify what clues (examples, synonyms, antonyms, definitions) help you to define the words in bold.

1. Other **industries**, including steel, glass, oil and gas, and nonfuel minerals, also grew after the war.
2. Jim Crow laws were passed to establish "**separate-but-equal**" facilities (such as separate restrooms, water fountains, railroad cars, waiting rooms, lodging facilities, dining areas, and schools) for whites and for blacks.
3. Companies were building larger and larger factories and becoming **mechanized** (replacing craftsmen with machines that required little skill to operate).
4. Two **armed groups**—the company guards and the miners—faced each other on Paint and Cabin Creeks.
5. Some workers voted for the **Socialist Party**, which wanted government to take control of industries and operate them in ways that would benefit all people, not just the owners.
6. The campaign spread to other communities, and, within two months, twenty states had become **dry** (alcohol-free) without any laws being passed.



SECTION 1

Cultural Change

As you read, look for

- differences between early and later immigrants;
- reasons for immigration in the late 1800s;
- ethnic groups that migrated to West Virginia in the late 1800s;
- how Jim Crow laws segregated African Americans;
- the reasons for and the result of *Plessy v. Ferguson*;
- the difference between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois;
- the importance of the Niagara Movement;
- terms: **prejudice**, **recruit**, **Jim Crow laws**, **NAACP**.

Immigration has caused confrontations throughout history. When the first Europeans arrived in western Virginia in the 1600s and 1700s, there were conflicts with the Native Americans who were already established in the area. The greatest conflicts between newcomers and established settlers, however, occurred in the late 1800s when new immigrants brought a different look to society. The confrontations that occurred during that time resulted in discrimination and **prejudice** (an irrational hostility toward a person, a group, or a race) against various ethnic groups.

Immigration Changes Society

The new immigrants spoke a variety of languages and followed different religions. It was during this time, for example, that the Catholic Church grew in the state. A number of people who had lived in the area for some time did not appreciate the newcomers. In fact, some charged



Above: Many immigrants arrived through Ellis Island in New York City and traveled to West Virginia.

The Influence of Spanish Immigrants on West Virginia

There were two separate periods of Spanish immigration to West Virginia in the early 20th century. The first group, who came from Andalucía, Asturias, and Galicia to work in the state's coal mines, lived somewhere else in the United States before coming to West Virginia. As early as 1908, there were 7 immigrants from Spain working in the coal mines in Raleigh County. By 1921, that number had grown to 2,212.

Boardinghouses were common in coal camps, and Spaniards often ran them. Most of the men who came from Spain were single or came without their wives if they were married. A coal camp house, often called a Spanish clubhouse, was home to fourteen



to sixteen workers. Each boardinghouse often housed a specific ethnic group, although some had mixed groups that included Italians, Greeks, or Hungarians. Many adult immigrants did not learn English since Spanish was often the only language spoken at home.

Spaniards brought their food to West Virginia when they came. Besides preparing daily dishes, they preserved two traditional customs. One was making wine in the fall. The other was *matanza*, which refers to the killing of large numbers of animals (or people). For the Spaniards in West Virginia, *matanza* was the time to butcher hogs, make sausage, and have a fiesta. Everyone came to help one another kill the hogs and make chorizo, a sausage native to Spain.

In 1938, a group of Spaniards formed the Ateneo Español to promote and preserve their Spanish culture. The next year, they bought their own building in downtown Beckley to provide a place for Spaniards who lived and worked in Raleigh, Wyoming, Fayette, Mercer, Summers, and Boone Counties to come together for fun and fellowship.

The second group of Spanish immigrants mostly came directly from Asturias to West Virginia to work in the zinc smelters in central West Virginia. By 1915, 1,500 Asturians depended on the zinc mill of the Grasselli Chemical Company for their livelihood. The workers mostly lived in company towns, like Spelter, Anmoore, and Moundsville, which were built by the chemical and mining companies near the factories. Each town had low-rent housing, a storehouse, a school, and a church. These Asturians spoke Spanish and ate a mixture of beans and chorizo. The families enjoyed picnics where there was good food (sausages, pies, and potato omelets) and the music of bagpipes.

Over time, the descendants of these Spanish workers gradually moved out of West Virginia. As their population dwindled and as they married non-Spaniards, much of the culture of this immigrant group has been lost.

Below: Vertical furnaces for smelting zinc were used in the plant built by the Grasselli Chemical Company in 1910. Production there ceased in 1960, and the factory was demolished and capped in 2002-2003.



something extra!

Nearly 12 million immigrants entered the United States between 1870 and 1900.



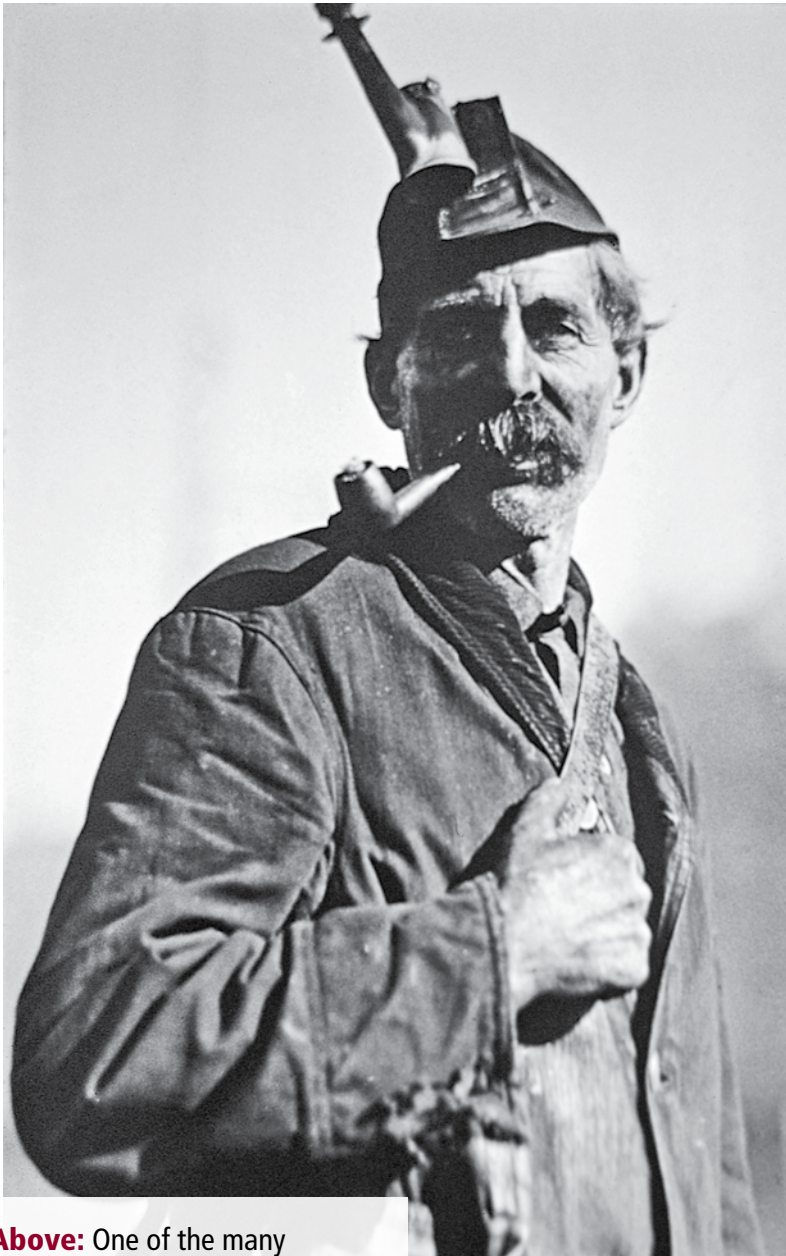
the customs and traditions that the immigrants brought undermined the societal values that were already established. Because of this, steps were taken to separate the newcomers from the mainstream society. This resulted in discriminatory practices.

The ethnic makeup of West Virginia remained primarily northern European until 1880. The 1870 census showed that 17,000 of the state's population of 442,014 were from foreign countries. Sixty percent of those immigrants were from Germany and Switzerland; 30 percent were from Ireland; and 10 percent were from England, Scotland, Belgium, France, Denmark, or Sweden.

After 1880, however, the ethnicity (the ethnic composition) of the state changed, mainly because of changes in industry. Industries, including coal, steel, glass, oil and gas, and nonfuel minerals, grew after the Civil War.

Most of the immigrants who arrived in the United States after the Civil War were from countries in southern and eastern Europe. Those workers found their way to West Virginia to work in the growing industries. Some coal companies even hired representatives to meet the ships and lure the immigrants to the Mountain State with offers of jobs. Other companies actually **recruited** (hired; secured the services of) workers with special skills to come to West Virginia. A zinc-smelting company in Clarksburg recruited zinc workers from Galicia, a province in northern Spain. The tiny Spanish-speaking community of Spelter in Harrison County was named for the zinc company that operated in the area.

By 1912, there were 9,700 Italians in the state. By 1920, that number had grown to 14,000. Other ethnic groups included workers from Hungary, Poland, Austria, Russia, and a number of Slavic countries. Immigrants from those countries who came to the United States to mine coal built an interesting landmark in McDowell County to preserve their heritage. Around 1912, immigrants from eastern Europe joined together to establish St. Mary's Orthodox Church in Elkhorn. The architecture of the church is quite different from that of the more traditional churches found in West Virginia.



Above: One of the many immigrants who came to work in the West Virginia coal mines.

Another ethnic group—African Americans—increased in West Virginia during the industrial period. Many former slaves came to the state after the Civil War to work in the developing and expanding industries. An estimated 1,000 blacks helped dig the C&O Railroad tunnel at Talcott. The expanding railroads opened up more coal mines, creating even more jobs for African Americans. The Norfolk and Western Railroad opened up similar job opportunities for blacks in southwestern West Virginia. McDowell County, which had no black residents in 1860, had 15,000 black residents by 1910. The African American population in West Virginia was 40,000 in 1910.

Separating the Races

During the late 1800s and early 1900s, the concept of white supremacy was popular. During Reconstruction, most whites and many African Americans accepted racial segregation as a natural way of life officially protected by **Jim Crow laws**. Jim Crow laws were passed to establish “separate-but-equal” facilities (such as separate restrooms, water fountains, railroad cars, waiting rooms, lodging facilities, dining areas, and schools) for whites and for blacks. Although facilities for African Americans were separate, they were rarely equal to those of whites. African Americans protested the Jim Crow laws in public meetings throughout the nation.

West Virginia did not pass the harsh laws that were found in other states. The restrictive laws passed in West Virginia focused on schools

Below: Jim Crow laws governed the everyday activities of southern blacks, including separate water fountains for blacks and for whites.



Below: J. R. Clifford was West Virginia's first African American attorney and was honored on a Civil Rights Pioneers postage stamp.



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extra!

When he died in 1933, John R. Clifford was buried in Mt. Hope Cemetery in Martinsburg. In 1954, he was reburied in Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia.

for black children and the segregation of vital statistics records. In 1865, a school segregation act declared that at least thirty black children were needed to establish a separate school. Districts with fewer than thirty black students allowed the local school board to decide how to educate black students. In 1873, the number of black children needed for a separate school was changed from thirty to “greater than fifteen.” Another statute passed in 1873 declared that the vital records (of marriages, births, and deaths) of blacks be kept in separate books.

Plessy v. Ferguson

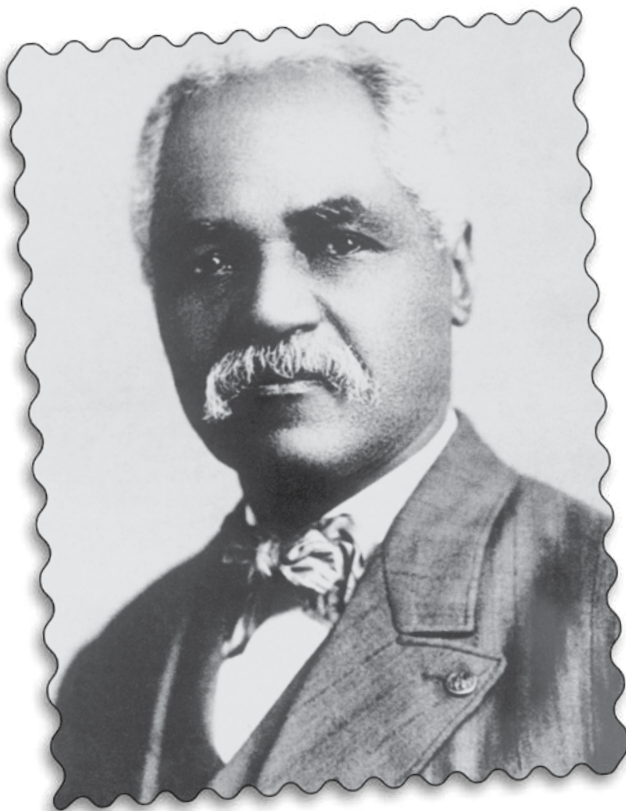
A U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, however, opened the door for even more Jim Crow laws. In actual practice, the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* made segregation the law of the land until 1954.

In 1892, Homer Plessy bought a train ticket from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana. Because he was seven-eighths white and one-eighth black, he took a seat in the “whites only” car. When he refused to move, he was arrested under the Jim Crow Car Act of 1890, which required separate-but-equal accommodations for whites and blacks on railroad cars.

Plessy staged the incident to test the constitutionality of the 1890 law. In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court heard the case and, by a 7-1 vote, upheld the law. A southerner, Justice John Marshall Harlan, cast the single dissenting vote. Harlan argued: “Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law.” The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision gave states the right to control social discrimination and to promote segregation of the races.

In the same year that *Plessy v. Ferguson* was decided, John R. Clifford, West Virginia's first black lawyer, filed the first legal challenge to segregated schools in West Virginia. Clifford represented a black parent from Mingo County who, because there was no school for black students in his rural community, asked that his children be allowed to attend a local white school. He lost the case in *Martin v. Board of Education*, and, as a result, the concept of segregated schools was upheld. However, in 1898, Clifford won a civil rights case when he argued successfully before the West Virginia supreme court that a black teacher in Tucker County, Mrs. Carrie Williams, was not treated equally when she was paid to teach black students five months a year

while her white colleagues were paid to teach white students eight months. The state supreme court ruled that the pay and school terms must be the same for blacks and for whites.



Different Points of View

As the gap between blacks and whites continued to grow, George T. Winston, president of the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, wrote,

The two races are drifting apart. They were closer together in slavery than they have been since. Old time sympathies, friendships, and affections created by two centuries of slavery are rapidly passing away. A single generation of freedom has about destroyed them. Unless a change is made, coming generations will be separated by active hatred and hostility.

By 1905, Booker T. Washington, who was born a slave in Virginia and who lived and worked in the coal mines and saltworks around Malden, West Virginia, became a national spokesperson for race relations. Washington, who was educated at Hampton College in Virginia and later established Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, emphasized vocational education, cultivation of good work habits and morals, and cooperation with whites in a segregated society. He did not promote the mixing of the races socially but believed they should work together for the common good. Washington favored educational and economic advancement for blacks, but he believed civil rights and social equality were less important. He said, “In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”

Below: Booker T. Washington rose from slavery to become a national spokesperson for race relations. He learned to read while living in Malden.





Not all blacks agreed with Booker T. Washington's point of view on race relations. One man, W. E. B. Du Bois, offered another approach, based on the principles of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal." Du Bois favored a vigorous protest against all racial injustice. Out of his differences with Booker T. Washington, Du Bois became the leader of a group that, in 1905, became known as the "Niagara Movement." The Niagara Movement took its name from the town in Canada where Du Bois and his followers issued a declaration, calling for civil liberties, an end to discrimination, and the recognition of human brotherhood. The second meeting of the Niagara Movement, and the first meeting of the organization on United States soil, took place on the campus of Storer College at Harpers Ferry. John R. Clifford was instrumental in bringing the meeting to West Virginia.

In 1909, Du Bois founded the **NAACP** (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), whose membership included blacks and liberal whites. From its beginning, the purpose of the NAACP was to ensure the constitutional rights of African Americans.

Reviewing the Section

Reviewing the Content

1. What nationalities came to West Virginia after 1880?
2. Why did most of the immigrants come after 1880?
3. What were Jim Crow laws?

Using the Content

Do you agree or disagree with the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*? Write a persuasive essay stating your point of view.

Extending the Literacy Skill

List three examples of sentences with context clues in this section that helped you better understand the information presented.

Above: W. E. B. Du Bois founded the Niagara Movement, which promoted full civil rights for all African Americans.

Focus on Technology

LEARNING SKILL: COLLABORATION, COMPROMISE

Form a group of four to five classmates and work collaboratively, making compromises when necessary, to complete a team assignment.

TECHNOLOGY TOOL: SEARCH ENGINE, WORD PROCESSING SOFTWARE

Use advanced features and utilities in word processing software (e.g., bullets, numbering, tables, thesaurus, and toolbars) to complete a project.

Many technological advancements were made during this era. Go to www.enchantedlearning.com/inventors/. Click on the dates 1851-1900 and 1901-1950, and find ten inventions from 1870 to 1920. As part of a group of four to five, share your individual findings and choose ten inventions that the group agrees are the best examples of technological advancements. Finally, prepare a chart using word processing software. The chart should include the following information: the name of the invention, the name of the inventor, the date of the invention, and a brief description of the invention.



Politics and War

As you read, look for

- causes and results of the Spanish-American War;
- the role of West Virginians in the Spanish-American War;
- provisions of the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th Amendments;
- causes and results of World War I;
- the role of West Virginians in World War I;
- terms: **temperance**, **prohibition**, **referendum**, **draft**.

The Progressive Era was a time of political reform. Reformers wanted to outlaw alcohol, extend voting rights to women, and give voters more influence in government. To this end, the U.S. Congress passed a number of laws and four constitutional amendments to bring about some of these reforms.

While progressives worked to accomplish those reforms, the United States found itself involved in two wars. The Spanish-American War and World War I gave the United States a larger presence in the world and broadened the vision of West Virginians who served their country during these encounters.

Spanish-American War

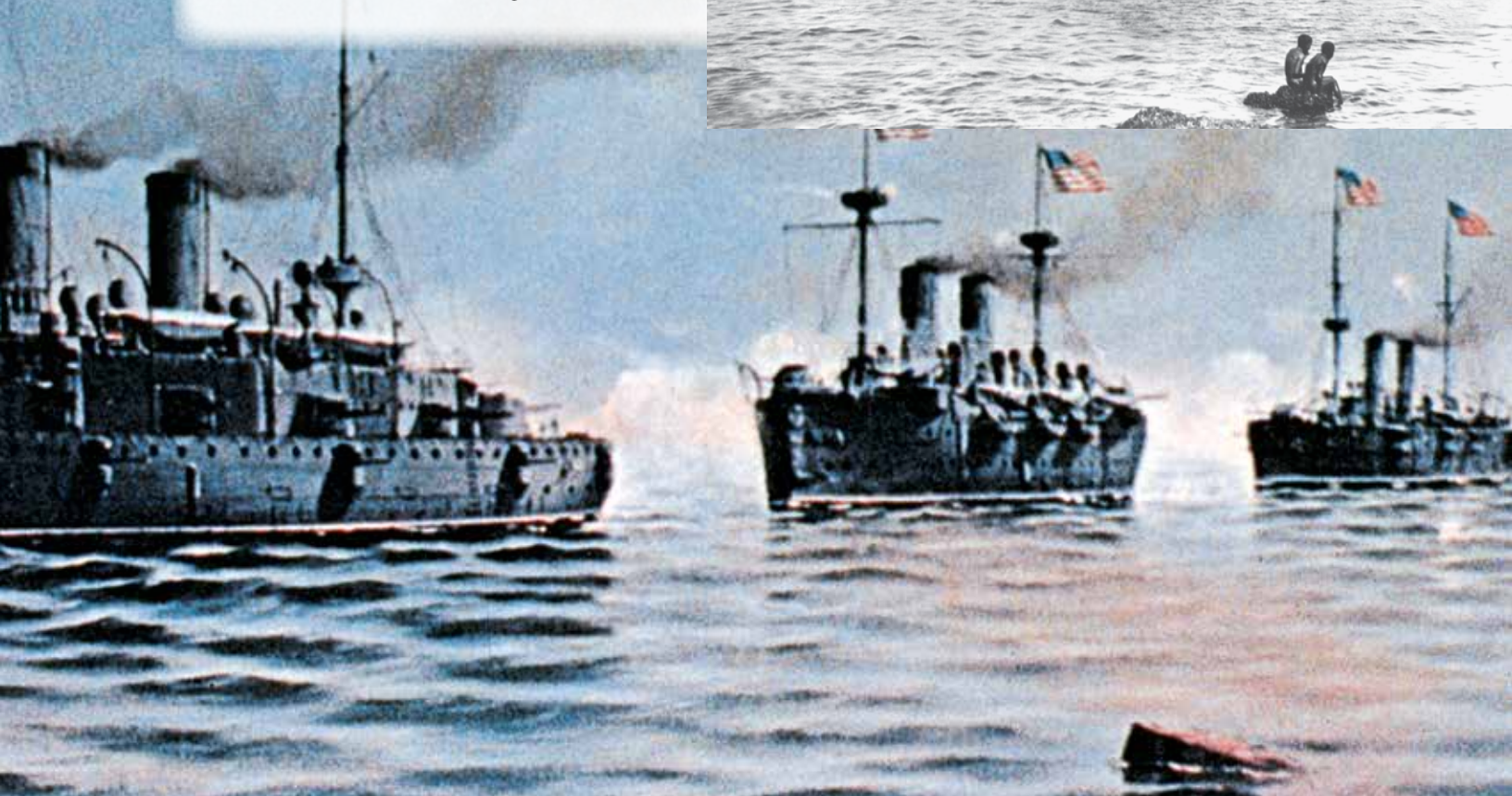
Just as the Hatfield-McCoy Feud came to an end, the United States found itself involved in an international conflict—the Spanish-American War. The war, which was a result of incidents in Cuba, began in 1898 and lasted only three months. At the time, Cuban patriots were fighting a guerrilla war for independence from Spain. Many Americans were concerned with the way Spanish authorities were treating the Cuban people. Other Americans were interested in the events in Cuba because they had investments in Cuban sugar plantations. The Cuban revolution threatened those investments.

The government sent the U.S. battleship *Maine* to Cuba to protect American citizens and investments. On the night of February 15, 1898, the *Maine* mysteriously blew up in Havana harbor. The explosion killed 266 American sailors and injured another 99. Shortly after the sinking of the battleship, the U.S. government declared war on Spain. President William McKinley asked for 125,000 volunteers. More than five times that many—some 750,000—answered the president’s call. “Remember the *Maine*!” became a familiar battle cry.

The response from West Virginia was equally impressive. President McKinley asked for two regiments from West Virginia, but more Mountaineers volunteered than could be taken. Governor George Atkinson decided to select the volunteers from the state’s National Guard. Before the war ended, two regiments and four companies formed in West Virginia, and some 3,000 West Virginians saw action.

A West Virginian, Andrew Summers Rowan of Monroe County, gained fame during the Spanish-American War. He was chosen by President McKinley to take a message to General Calixto García, the leader of the revolt in Cuba. The problem was that García was in the interior forests of the island, and there was no easy way to communicate with him. Elbert Hubbard wrote of the dangers Rowan faced in carrying out his mission in his book entitled *A Message to García*. Of Rowan, Hubbard wrote, “There is a man whose form should be cast in deathless bronze and the statue placed in every college of the land.”

Below: The battleship *Maine* was sent to Cuba to protect American citizens and investments. On February 15, 1898, the ship mysteriously blew up. **Bottom:** Early in the morning of May 1, 1898, Commodore George Dewey led a force of eight gunboats into Manila Bay in the Philippines. Dewey’s forces soundly defeated the Spanish navy in the battle that followed.



Bottom: The Sixteenth Amendment, approving a graduated income tax, was ratified on February 8, 1913.

Another distinguished West Virginian who served his country during the war with Spain was Captain French Ensor Chadwick of Morgantown. Captain Chadwick commanded the battleship *New York* and participated in the blockade of Havana harbor and the destruction of the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera off Santiago.

After the war ended with an American victory, many West Virginians continued to serve in the military in Cuba or the Philippines, which the United States gained control of after the war. Additionally, a number of West Virginia teachers were sent to the islands to organize schools and help in establishing a stable government.

Constitutional Amendments

During the Progressive Era, Congress passed several constitutional amendments that reflected social, economic, and political issues of the time. Specifically, the Sixteenth Amendment implemented an income tax; the Seventeenth Amendment provided for the direct election of United States senators; the Eighteenth Amendment prohibited the sale of alcohol; and the Nineteenth Amendment gave women suffrage.

According to the United States Constitution, a proposed amendment has to be ratified by three-fourths of the states for it to become law. In the early 1900s, the United States was made up of forty-eight states. Therefore, the approval of thirty-six states was needed before each of the amendments could become law.

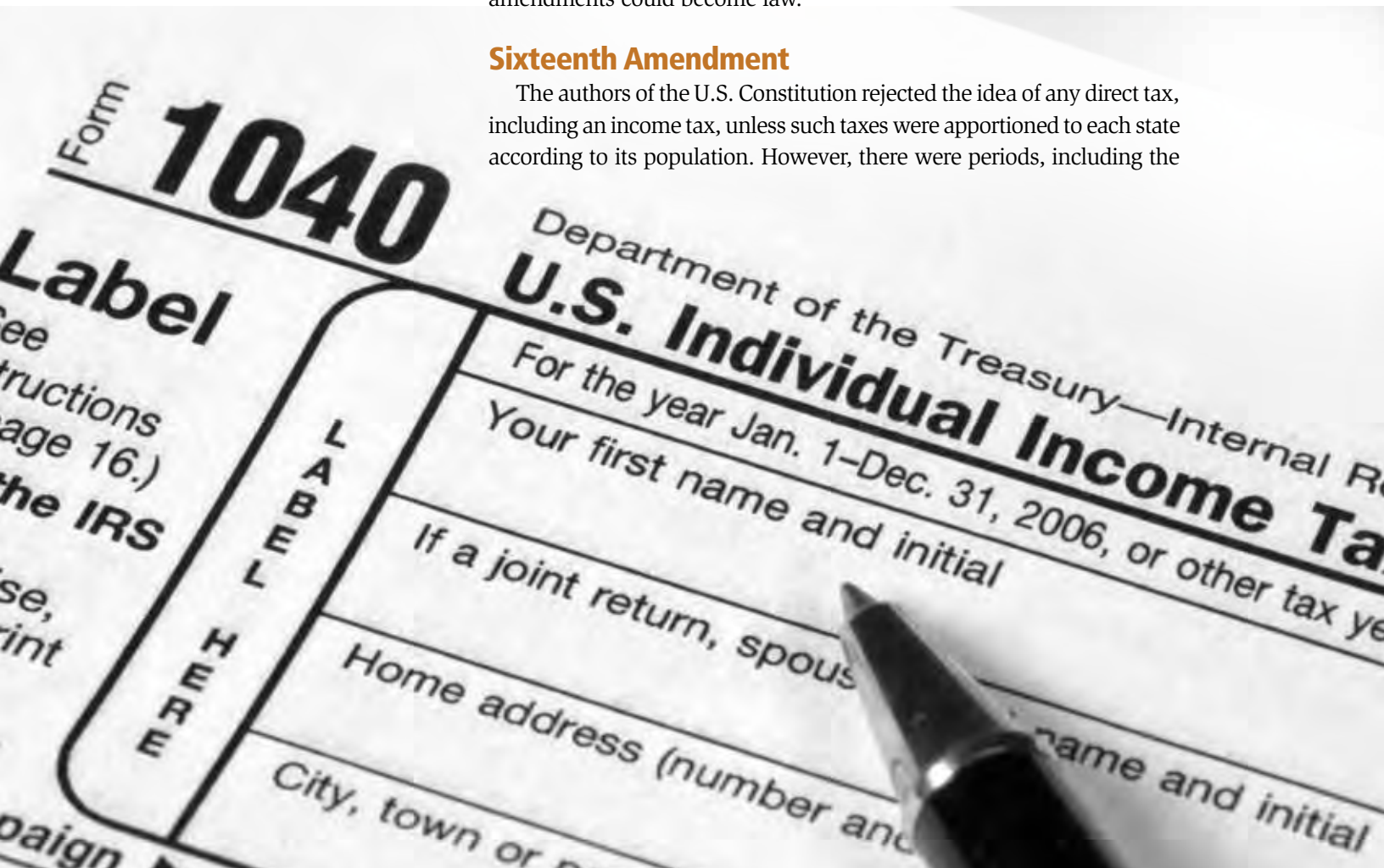
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Then Rear Admiral French Ensor Chadwick served as president of the Naval War College from 1900 to 1903.

Sixteenth Amendment

The authors of the U.S. Constitution rejected the idea of any direct tax, including an income tax, unless such taxes were apportioned to each state according to its population. However, there were periods, including the



Civil War era, when an income tax was allowed. Any time there was an income tax, the tax was the same for all taxpayers.

In 1887, the Socialist Labor Party called for a graduated income tax. A resolution calling for a graduated income tax was passed by Congress on July 12, 1909. This resolution officially became the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution when New Mexico became the thirty-sixth state to ratify it on February 8, 1913. After the amendment was ratified, however, its legality was questioned in thirteen states, including West Virginia.

The question of legality was based on a provision in the West Virginia constitution that required a bill to be read three times, on different days, before it could be voted upon. This requirement was intended to allow a “cooling-off period” before making a vote final. Additionally, the provision allowed members who were absent one day to have time to become more familiar with a bill under consideration. The West Virginia Legislature did not follow this provision when it voted on the resolution.

The State of West Virginia did, however, certify its vote as legal and binding when it sent the results to the U.S. Secretary of State Philander C. Knox. Knox was authorized to certify the passage of amendments to the Constitution. He certified West Virginia’s vote as being in favor of the amendment based on the official documentation he received. As a result, West Virginia became the thirty-fifth state to ratify the amendment, approving it on January 31, 1913.

There have been many challenges to the legality of the Sixteenth Amendment since its ratification, mainly because of the questions of whether certain states legally ratified it. These challenges have come as a result of attempts to declare the federal income tax null and void, which would mean citizens would no longer have to pay federal income tax. The courts have always rejected the legal challenges based on their argument that Secretary of State Knox legally certified the ratification results based on official documentation he received.



Seventeenth Amendment

When the delegates wrote the U.S. Constitution, they debated whether members of Congress should be elected by the people or by state legislatures. To satisfy differences of opinion and to maintain a balance of power in the national lawmaking body, the delegates solved the dilemma through compromise. The compromise resulted in members of the House of Representatives being elected directly by the people and members of the Senate being chosen by state legislatures.

This method of electing members of Congress lasted for more than one hundred years. During the Progressive Era, however, reformers wanted to address corruption in government and to give the people more control over their government. To this end, a group of reformers called for the direct election of senators.

Above: U.S. Secretary of State Philander C. Knox certified the votes and approved the controversial amendment.

Below: Frances Willard led the Women’s Christian Temperance Union. **Bottom:** Women of the WCTU at a meeting. **Opposite Page, Top:** Carrie Nation raided saloons with a hatchet, breaking bottles of alcohol as she went. **Opposite Page, Bottom:** Anti-Saloon League members.



The Seventeenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution was proposed on May 12, 1912. Some believe that it was proposed to influence some states to vote for the Sixteenth Amendment, which was unpopular in a number of states. On February 4, 1913, West Virginia became the thirteenth state to ratify the amendment. On April 8, 1913, Connecticut became the thirty-sixth state to ratify it, giving it the necessary votes to become law.

Eighteenth Amendment

As early as the colonial period, groups tried to end the production and use of alcoholic beverages. Years later, in 1873, some women in Hillsboro, Ohio, heard a lecture about the ill effects of the use of alcohol and began a crusade to close the town’s saloons. The campaign spread to other communities, and, within two months, twenty states had become *dry* (alcohol-free) without any laws being passed.

In November 1874, women from seventeen states gathered in Cleveland, Ohio, and formed a permanent organization against the use of alcoholic beverages. The organization was called the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Led by Frances Willard, the WCTU grew rapidly. Women in Wheeling were apparently the first in West Virginia to formally organize a group in support of **temperance** (moderation or abstinence from the consumption of alcohol). The Ladies Temperance Union was listed in the Wheeling city directory in 1877. Three years later, a Ladies Temperance Band was listed.

West Virginia’s WCTU began when representatives from nine West Virginia and Maryland cities attended an 1883 interstate convention held in Mountain Lake, Maryland. The state’s first local union was organized later that year by Frances Willard and Jennie Smith. The organization held its first state convention in 1884 in Parkersburg. To show their opposition to alcohol, the ladies who attended the convention marched

down Market Street, stopping periodically to “pray for those engaged in the liquor traffic.”

One of the most colorful people in the national temperance movement was Carrie Nation. On June 7, 1900, the six-foot-tall woman entered Dobson’s Saloon in Kiowa, Kansas. Armed with rocks, she took careful aim at the bottles behind the bar. Within minutes, the floor was covered with broken glass. Looking at the speechless bar owner, Nation is reported to have said, “Now, Mr. Dobson, I have finished! God be with you.” She walked out of the bar and, with a buggy load of rocks, went down the street and wrecked two other saloons. Mrs. Nation demanded that the sheriff arrest her, but the shocked lawman just asked her to leave town quickly.



As president of her local WCTU, Nation then started a series of raids on saloons in Topeka and Wichita. For those, she carried a hatchet in one hand and a Bible in the other. Her “hatchetations” continued in other parts of Kansas and in such cities as New York, Washington, and San Francisco. Nation was arrested more than thirty times. She raised money to pay her fines by making speeches and selling tiny silver hatchets as souvenirs.

Pressure for **prohibition** (the complete banning of alcohol) began building in West Virginia. The WVVWCTU agreed to cooperate with the Anti-Saloon League, which had been formed in 1883, to introduce a bill in the state Legislature to ban the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. The Legislature rejected statewide prohibition, but it agreed to allow each county to decide whether to ban liquor. By 1910, thirty-seven of the state’s fifty-five counties were dry.

Two years later, on November 5, 1912, West Virginia became a completely dry state when its citizens ratified a prohibition amendment to the state constitution by 92,342 votes. According to an article in the *New York Times*, the amendment caused 1,200 saloons to close and cost the state \$1,250,000 a year in lost revenue from business license renewals. In Wheeling alone, an estimated 800-900 men lost their jobs as a result of the law.

On December 18, 1917, Congress proposed to make prohibition a national law with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. On January 9, 1919, West Virginia became the twenty-first state to ratify the amendment. The thirty-sixth state, Wyoming, approved the amendment on January 16, 1919, enabling the proposed amendment to become law. Prohibition remained the law of the land for fourteen years.



something
extra!



In 1933, prohibition was repealed (done away with) when the Twenty-First Amendment was passed. It is the only amendment passed for the sole purpose of repealing an earlier amendment.



Top: A political cartoon showing “a woman’s place was in the home.” **Below:** Lucretia Mott (middle) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (bottom) led the early women’s rights movement.



Nineteenth Amendment

In the late 1700s and early 1800s, there was little difference between the roles of men and women. Women who moved west with their families were equal pioneers with their husbands. In the industrialized North, factory jobs and teaching positions were filled by both men and women. However, by 1820, “a woman’s place was in the home.” Married women had few chances to earn money, and what they had was controlled by their husbands. There was little hope that a woman could be a political or business leader.

In July 1848, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and three other women met at the Stanton home in Seneca Falls, New York, and decided to get others involved in the cause of women’s rights. On July 19, more than three hundred people, including black publisher Frederick Douglass, gathered in the Seneca Falls Methodist Church. The group talked about a variety of subjects including property rights, divorce laws, and voting rights. As word of the convention spread, thousands of women joined the movement to demand that the right to vote be given to women and blacks.

The suffragettes (women who fought for women’s right to vote) believed they were getting somewhere when, in 1869, the Territory of Wyoming gave women the right to vote. When the territory applied for statehood, some congressmen asked them to change the suffrage law. Wyoming leaders wired their answer, “We will remain out of the Union

100 years rather than come in without the women.” In 1890, Wyoming became the first “women’s suffrage state.” By 1900, women could also vote in Utah, Colorado, and Idaho.

The original constitution of the State of Virginia allowed only white men who owned property to vote. The property qualification was dropped in the revised 1850 constitution. When West Virginia became a state in 1863, its constitution provided for the same voting privileges as Virginia’s. The Fifteenth Amendment, ratified in 1870, had given black men the right to vote, but did nothing for women.

Some historians contend that West Virginia had two suffrage movements. The first is usually dated from the formation of the West Virginia Equal Suffrage Association (WVESA) in Grafton in 1895. This organization combined nine smaller clubs into one statewide group. However, seven of the nine clubs were dissolved within the first year of its operation. During the same period of time, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union also supported giving women the right to vote. The WCTU believed women would elect more virtuous public officials and vote to ban the sale and manufacture of alcohol.

The second suffrage movement began around 1905. Ten years later, suffragettes convinced the West Virginia Legislature to permit a **referendum** (a process whereby the people are permitted to vote on legislation) on women’s right to vote. In November 1916, the all-male electorate (voters) rejected women’s suffrage. During World War I, many suffragettes became actively involved in supporting the war effort. They believed their efforts would be rewarded by giving them the right to vote. On June 4, 1919, some seven months after the end of World War I, the Nineteenth Amendment was proposed in the United States Congress.

In February 1920, the West Virginia Legislature met in special session to consider the proposed amendment. On March 3, the House of Delegates voted to approve the amendment. On March 10, the state Senate, by a vote of 15 to 14, made West Virginia the thirty-fourth state to ratify the amendment. The Nineteenth Amendment became law on August 24, 1920, when Tennessee became the thirty-sixth state to ratify it. Women cast their first votes in the national elections of November 1920.

Below: Women gained the right to vote when the Nineteenth Amendment became law in 1920.



Below: Much of the fighting in World War I was done in the trenches using machine guns.

something extra!



Charlotte Miller Heilman of Fayetteville served as a Red Cross nurse in Italy during World War I. Ernest Hemingway was one of her patients. The nurse in Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, Miss Gage, is patterned after Heilman.

World War I

In 1914, war broke out in Europe. The *Central Powers*, which included Austria-Hungary and Germany, were opposed by the more than twenty nations of the *Allied Powers*. The United States tried to remain neutral. However, on April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany after German submarines sank American ships on the high seas.

Governor John J. Cornwell called the Legislature into special session in May 1917 to address the problems created by the war. The Legislature created an Executive Council of Defense and adopted the motto "Help West Virginia Feed Herself." Children formed farming and canning clubs; farmers were encouraged to plant larger crops. Everyone was asked to practice thrift and conservation. The Legislature even passed a law that made idleness a crime. All men who were able were required to work at least thirty-six hours a week.

At the beginning of the war, West Virginia's two regiments of National Guard infantry were called to duty. All men between eighteen and forty-five registered for the **draft** (compulsory enrollment for military service). In the second call-up of people during the war, West Virginia had a greater percentage of men registered and found physically fit than any other state in the nation. In all, it is estimated that 58,053 West Virginians served in



Frank Woodruff Buckles: America's Last World War I Veteran

Frank Buckles was born in Bethany, Missouri, on February 1, 1901, and was sixteen years old when the United States entered World War I. Buckles immediately knew that he wanted to enlist in the military, but only those twenty-one years and older were eligible to serve. He went to several recruitment centers for various branches of the armed forces and lied about his age in an effort to be accepted. Each time he was rejected. Finally, he told a recruiter that he was from Missouri and that the state did not keep birth records. As a result, he could not produce proof of his age. Either the recruiter believed him, felt sorry for him, or did not care because he was accepted into the United States Marines. He was dismissed by the Marines, however, because of his weight. Determined not to give up, he then enlisted in the United States Army.

Buckles was sent to England aboard the RMS *Carpathia*, the ship that had rescued survivors of the *Titanic*. He requested combat service and wanted to be sent to France. Because he was told that the fastest way to get to France was to become an ambulance driver, that is the job he pursued. After the war ended, he delivered German POWs back to their homeland.

In 1920, Buckles was discharged with the rank of corporal. For the next twenty years, he worked as a merchant seaman for steamship lines in Europe, South America, and the Orient.

In 1941, Frank was in the Philippines when the Japanese invaded the islands prior to the U.S. entry into World War II. He was taken prisoner and spent three and one-half years at Los Baños, a camp for 2,000 civilians.

After World War II, Buckles returned to the United States and married a California girl, Audrey Mayo. In 1954, the couple settled down on a cattle farm in the northeastern corner of West Virginia, near Charles Town. When Frank was in England, he discovered that his ancestor, Robert Buckles, had settled in western Virginia as early as 1732. Frank and Audrey decided to restore the eighteenth-century ancestral home. Audrey died in 1999. Frank died on February 27, 2011. He was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia.





the military between April 6, 1917, and November 11, 1918. Of that number, 759 were killed in action or died of wounds they received on the battlefield. Another 2,548 were wounded.

A number of West Virginians served their country well during the war. General John L. Hines of White Sulphur Springs was promoted faster than any other soldier. He became a major general and then the chief of staff of the United States Army. Major Mason M. Patrick of Lewisburg became a major general and the first chief of the Army Air Service. Captain Julian L. Latimer of Shepherdstown was the commander of the battleship *Rhode Island* and was promoted to the rank of rear admiral.

Two West Virginians served in President Woodrow Wilson's cabinet during the war. Newton D. Baker of Martinsburg was secretary of war, and John B. Payne from Pruntytown was secretary of the interior. Payne also oversaw the railroad system to ensure that war supplies were delivered to shipping ports.

The war brought tremendous growth to West Virginia cities. Besides the factories that already existed, the federal government built an armor plate factory in South Charleston. A new factory at Belle used coal to produce ammonia; salt brine was used to manufacture chlorine at another plant. Secretary of War Baker chose an area near the Kanawha-Putnam County border as the site for a large munitions powder plant, and thus the town of Nitro was born.



Top: Newton D. Baker of Martinsburg was secretary of war during World War I.

Right: The DuPont plant at Belle used coal to produce ammonia during the war.

Left: This B&O Railroad roundhouse is located in Martinsburg.



Its protected location in the mountains, the railroads and highways that connected it to eastern centers, and its abundance of natural resources (coal, natural gas, oil, and salt) helped the Kanawha Valley become important in the production of war materials. Clarksburg, in the Appalachian coalfields, also grew rapidly during the war. Coal, coke, natural gas, and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad contributed to the industrial growth of the region.

Reviewing the Section

Reviewing the Content

1. How did West Virginians contribute to the Spanish-American War?
2. Where was West Virginia's WCTU organized?
3. Who were the suffragettes?

Using the Content

Write a newspaper article describing one of the events discussed in Section 2. Be sure you use the five W's (who, what, where, when, and why) when giving information in your article.

Extending the Literacy Skill

Find the four vocabulary words—temperance, prohibition, referendum, draft—in the reading material. Read the definitions of these words in the context of the narrative. Then, taking out the text-supplied definitions, rewrite the four sentences in your own words.

Nitro: A Living War Memorial



The city of Nitro has an interesting name and an interesting history. When the United States entered World War I, there was a shortage of gunpowder. To address the problem, the federal government decided to build three factories to produce the needed explosives. The government looked for locations that were relatively secure from attack and had a rail system to enable easy shipment of supplies and finished products. One site that was chosen was little more than a muddy field along the Kanawha River, about fourteen miles from Charleston. The other two sites were Nashville, Tennessee, and Louisville, Kentucky. Eventually, only the West Virginia and Tennessee factories were built. In West Virginia, the government-owned land was named Nitro, from nitrocellulose, an ingredient used in the manufacture of gunpowder. In Nitro, a factory capable of producing 700,000 pounds of gunpowder a day and a town to support it were built in eleven months.

On December 23, 1917, construction began on 27 barracks, each with the capacity to house 200 men. When the town was under construction, thousands of transient workers and permanent residents, representing 41 different nationalities, came to Nitro from every state in the nation. While it was under federal control, Nitro had a hotel, theater, public school system, shopping center, and hospital. It also had a

veterinarian department located near barns that housed some 2,500 draft horses and 500 riding horses. In addition to barracks for workers, there were around 1,000 family bungalows (houses). The town had three baseball teams (separate teams for soldiers, whites, and blacks). Under the control of the federal government, Nitro was one of the best-protected towns in the United States.

When World War I ended on November 11, 1918, less than a year after construction in Nitro began, Explosives Plant C was already in production, and the town—with a population of around 24,000—was 90 percent



Erecting bungalows on 35th Street. In less than four months 1,724 houses were put up at an average rate of 18 per day





completed. Within two weeks after the war ended, some 12,000 people left town, and the production of gunpowder stopped. By January 15, 1919, the government declared the Nitro project surplus property and began disposing of it. On November 3, 1919, the Charleston Industrial Corporation paid \$8,551,000 for Nitro's industrial and residential facilities. During the transition from government to private control, many of the remaining residents took the opportunity to purchase their previously rented houses. Attracted by the industrial sites with new buildings, machinery, electric power, water, and steam, several new industries located in Nitro during this time.

The city prides itself of its connection to World War I and its desire to celebrate and honor all veterans. In 1982, the city was officially recognized as a "Living Memorial to World War I" with the dedication of a war memorial near its City Park. There is also a war monument in front of City Hall. On Bank Street, a circle of eleven United States flags are lowered at sunset on the day before Veterans Day and raised at sunrise on Veterans Day.

Since 2017, when Nitro celebrated its centennial (100th birthday), the city has added new memorials. The city adopted the doughboy (the name for a World War I soldier) as a symbol of its heritage. Since 2017, the doughboy is on street signs through town. A doughboy also greets travelers as they drive across the bridge between Nitro and St. Albans. The Living Memorial Park, which opened during the centennial celebration, has a doughboy statue, a fountain, stage, and mural, and 300 pavers with the names of veterans. The city has many community events throughout the year. The Boomtown Bash is a popular celebration held in September, and the Horse Parade (held in May) has grown since its beginning in 2017.

If you want to learn more about Nitro and its history, a visit to the World War I Museum is a must! The museum has pictures, uniforms, weapons, and memorabilia from various military engagements. Although the focus of the museum is the military, it also has a wonderful space devoted to the history of Nitro High School, which also celebrated its centennial in 2017.



The Labor Movement in the Early 1900s


As you read, look for

- reasons for the difficulty in organizing miners throughout West Virginia;
- the role of Mary Jones in mining disputes;
- the establishment of the WVFL;
- examples of unsafe working conditions in the mines;
- reasons for the 1912 strike;
- examples of violence associated with mining strikes;
- labor during and after World War I;
- terms: **general strike, common law, scrip, evict, martial law, guerrilla warfare, ultimatum, collective bargaining.**

The new century brought dramatic changes for West Virginia's workers. In urban areas, new industries brought new job opportunities as companies moved to the Mountain State to take advantage of the newly discovered natural resources. In places like Clarksburg and Fairmont, where oil and natural gas were found, steel- and glass-making factories appeared. Wheeling and Huntington were adding industries, and, on the Kanawha River, the chemical industry was emerging. Statewide, the construction industry was booming.

But with this growth came certain problems. In the early 1900s, unskilled employees in factories and manufacturing plants earned 10 cents an hour and worked 12-hour days. Many of these workers were children. Across the nation, weekly pay was less than \$10. Workers could hardly provide for their families and had little hope of things getting better.

Similar conditions existed in West Virginia's coal mines. Miners endured unsafe working conditions and worked long hours with little pay. During the Progressive Era, reformers called for changes to make workplaces safer and give workers higher wages and shorter workdays. This resulted in the growth of labor unions, in numbers and power.



Above: Large numbers of children worked in factories during the Progressive Era.

Growth of the United Mine Workers

In 1902, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) took a major step forward for all unions. Early mining strikes were usually local, directed against just one company. Because many workers lived in isolated towns that were controlled by coal companies, expanding union membership throughout the whole state was very difficult. Organizing was also difficult because some miners simply opposed unionization. For some, belonging to a union provided an opportunity to fight for legal and economic gains; other workers feared that joining a union would lead to their being blacklisted.

The UMWA, however, was committed to carrying out its plan to organize the state. As a result, the union called for a **general strike** (one involving all unionized mines) to bring about union recognition in the Pittsburgh Bed, Allegheny/Kanawha, and New River/Pocahontas fields. During this strike, Mary Harris “Mother” Jones, called “the miners’ angel,” made the first of many appearances in the coalfields to help organize the miners. Her presence proved to be a powerful weapon against the mine owners.

Mary Harris Jones was born in Cork, Ireland. She was a teacher in Michigan and Tennessee and later operated a dressmaking shop in Chicago. When her husband and children died from yellow fever, she decided to dedicate her life to the labor movement. She first became a member of the UMWA in 1891.

Mother Jones was an excellent public speaker who was devoted to helping the miners win their war against the companies. When confronted with a strikebreaker or judge, she could control the situation with her quick, witty, and sometimes profane answers. Mother Jones was often the target of company injunctions, which she usually defied. On one occasion, she even spent time in jail for her union activities.

In the Pittsburgh Bed fields, injunctions stopped the miners’ efforts; as a result, only about 25 percent of the miners in the state actually went on strike in 1902. Although the strike was not successful statewide, the UMWA did obtain contracts in some areas that led to ten years of labor peace. Union efforts, for example, led to a new contract in the Kanawha fields. Because of this success, coal operators intensified their efforts against the unions. Coal owners used an old **common law** provision (an

Below: Mary Harris Jones was known affectionately as “Mother” and “the miners’ angel.”



something
extra!



Mary Jones may have been given the name “Mother” because she was like a stern and loving parent who stood beside the miners and suffered for their cause.

Below: Private guards were hired to prevent trespassing and protect the coal operators' property.

unwritten law based on earlier court decisions) to take away the miners' right to organize. The operators also hired private, armed guards in increasing numbers and paid off deputy sheriffs.

The West Virginia Federation of Labor

Some local labor groups believed the state's workers needed a greater political voice. To this end, a group of people met in Huntington in February 1903 and organized the West Virginia Federation of Labor (WVFL), which represented fifty-seven different crafts, including the United Mine Workers of America. By 1906, the WVFL had sixty-five locals and a total membership of 6,000. The WVFL pushed for laws to protect workers' rights, to provide compensation for workers injured on the job, and to stop the use of children in factories. Within a decade, the WVFL became an important force in the state's politics.

The effectiveness of the WVFL, however, was tied to the success of the United Mine Workers. Miners continued to protest against the companies' use of private guards and the dangerous and poor working conditions they had to endure. The practice of using private guards was so common that Governor William Dawson referred to them in his message to the Legislature in 1907. Although he noted that guards were used to protect property and prevent trespassing, he also acknowledged, "Many outrages have been committed by these guards, many of whom appear to be vicious and dare-devil men who seem to add to their viciousness by bull-dozing and terrorizing people."



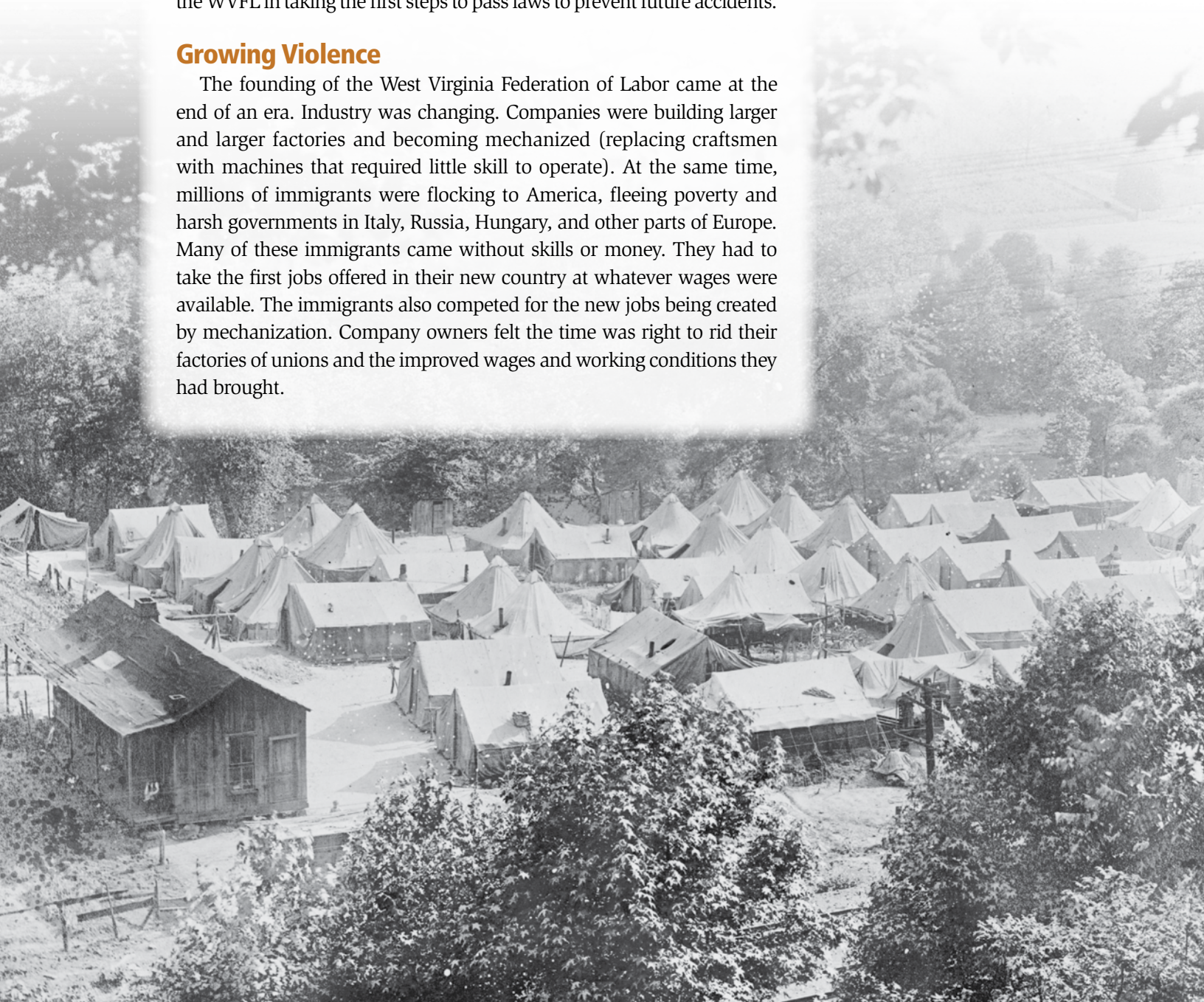
Little attention was paid to the dangers of the mines, including the explosions and roof falls that were common causes of death and injury. Then, in December 1907, West Virginia was the scene of one of the worst disasters in coal mining history. At Monongah, in Marion County, 361 men were killed in an explosion. Because of the lack of employee records and the fact that miners' sons often helped load coal, some historians believe that perhaps as many as 500 miners died in the explosion.

The Monongah disaster is important in mining history because it led to the first calls for federal safety regulations in the mines. In 1910, the U.S. Congress created the Bureau of Mines to improve health and safety in the industry. However, because the Bureau was not given the power to inspect and close mines, it really did little but collect statistics. During the decade following the disaster at Monongah, the UMWA joined with the WVFL in taking the first steps to pass laws to prevent future accidents.

Growing Violence

The founding of the West Virginia Federation of Labor came at the end of an era. Industry was changing. Companies were building larger and larger factories and becoming mechanized (replacing craftsmen with machines that required little skill to operate). At the same time, millions of immigrants were flocking to America, fleeing poverty and harsh governments in Italy, Russia, Hungary, and other parts of Europe. Many of these immigrants came without skills or money. They had to take the first jobs offered in their new country at whatever wages were available. The immigrants also competed for the new jobs being created by mechanization. Company owners felt the time was right to rid their factories of unions and the improved wages and working conditions they had brought.

Below: When miners from Cabin Creek were evicted from their housing, they set up temporary tent colonies like the one at Holly Grove on Paint Creek.



something extra!



Each coal company issued its own scrip, which was usually only accepted at the company store.

For a decade after the United Mine Workers organized the mines along the Kanawha River in 1902, there was labor peace. But in April 1912, coal companies on Paint Creek in Kanawha County refused to renew the 1902 union contract. As a result, the miners went on strike to ask for a nine-hour workday and to be paid in U.S. currency rather than company **scrip** (tokens or paper certificates used instead of money). The companies, in turn, **evicted** (forced out) the striking miners and their families from the company houses. Miners from Cabin Creek, who joined the strike, were also evicted from company housing. The evictions led the miners and their families to set up temporary tent colonies along roads and at Holly Grove on Paint Creek.

The mining companies, worried about their property, hired a number of mine guards from the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency. Two armed groups—the company guards and the miners—faced each other on Paint and Cabin Creeks. The fragile peace between the two groups ended on July 25, 1912, when a confrontation took place at Mucklow (now Gallagher) on Paint Creek. Before the day ended, hundreds, and possibly thousands, of shots were fired; twelve miners and four guards were dead.

The fighting continued off and on until September 2. Governor William Glasscock reacted by declaring **martial law** (using military forces to keep order when civilian authority breaks down). At least 1,200 members of the state militia arrived and imposed curfews, took guns away from miners, and outlawed union meetings. The militia also helped the companies evict strikers from company housing and protected scabs who were arriving on special trains paid for by the companies. Miners arrested by the militia were tried, not by a judge and jury but by a military commission. Hundreds of miners were sentenced to jail.



Right: The Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency enforced public law in the coalfields at the direction of the coal operators.



As the strike dragged on into 1913, the miners resorted to a type of **guerrilla warfare** (harassment or attacks by small, independent groups). Mother Jones returned to the coalfields and encouraged the miners to fight back against the guards and to defy martial law.

In early February, the miners attacked three coal camps to prevent scabs from working in the mines. One company worker was killed and several were wounded. The sheriff, his posse, and the guards tracked the miners back to the tent city at Holly Grove. Then, on February 7, Baldwin-Felts guards, Kanawha County Sheriff Bonner Hill, and coal operator Quinn Morton rode an armored train, known as the *Bull Moose Special*, toward the miners' camp. As the train approached Holly Grove, gunfire erupted. One man was killed and up to sixteen other persons were wounded. Each side accused the other of firing first, but no one was ever brought to trial. On February 12, Mother Jones, even though she was perhaps 83 years of age and ill, was placed under house arrest in Pratt and charged with conspiracy to commit murder. A new military court tried her, along with more than twenty others. Those who were convicted received sentences of ten to twenty years in prison.

Papers across the United States carried news of the mine wars. Many who read the stories were appalled by the events. A senator from Indiana sponsored a resolution in Congress calling for an investigation into the use of armed guards and military tribunals.

On March 4, 1913, before the violence ended, William Glasscock's term as governor ended. Henry Hatfield succeeded Glasscock and inherited the responsibility for ending the strike. Governor Hatfield attempted to end the violence by reducing the long jail terms set by the military commissions, including that of Mother Jones. To settle the strike, he also gave both the coal companies and the union an **ultimatum** (a final statement of terms offered by one party to another with the threat of force if the offer is not accepted). The threat brought the strikers and companies together and, on May 1, 1913, they finally reached an agreement. Under its terms, the miners would work nine-hour days and be paid twice a month. They were also allowed to shop at noncompany stores and have a check weighman on hand if they so desired to verify the amount of coal they mined.

Above: When the armored train known as the *Bull Moose Special* rode into the miners' camp, gunfire broke out, killing one man and wounding sixteen.

World War I Brings Peace to the Mines

Other unions in West Virginia faced difficult struggles to hold onto their members. In the steel industry, the skilled workers and their unions had disappeared. In the glass industry, machines had replaced most craftsmen.

In mechanized factories, it was difficult to convince workers to join unions despite their harsh working conditions. No laws protected a worker's right to join a union, and the new machines made it easy for companies to train new workers if their employees went on strike.

In 1907, the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company in Benwood, Marshall County, got an injunction to keep the UMWA from interfering with the operation of the company's mines. A circuit court judge in Moundsville set a precedent by supporting the right of coal companies to ban their employees' participation in organizing activities. The UMWA appealed the injunction. Ten years later, in December 1917, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the

Hitchman decision and, in so doing, legalized yellow-dog contracts.

Because of such opposition to unions, some workers looked for radical (extreme) alternatives. In the Clarksburg, Star City, and Kanawha County coalfields, many workers decided to become actively involved in politics as a way of having their voice heard. Some workers voted for the Socialist Party, which wanted government to take control of industries and operate them in ways that would benefit all people, not just the owners. Some workers joined the Industrial Workers of the World, which hoped to convince all industrial wage earners to take over the factories in which they worked and run them for their own benefit.

World War I resulted in a different relationship between government and labor. The government wanted to maintain labor peace so as not to disrupt the war efforts. To that end, the government decided that one of the best ways to maintain peace was to encourage **collective bargaining** (a process where unions and companies negotiate with each other for wages and working conditions). With this government support, the labor movement grew rapidly during the war. Workers, in companies that had once fought unions, now joined unions and won benefits, including an eight-hour workday, job security, and the right to fair and equal treatment. These unions also included women and minorities.



something
extra!

Trade union membership almost doubled from 1915 to 1920.

Above: Coal companies sometimes got injunctions to keep unions from interfering with mine operations.

Labor Unions after World War I

During World War I, both the coal companies and the miners concentrated on meeting the increasing demands for fuel. When the war ended, however, business owners decided they could increase profits by eliminating collective bargaining. In industries throughout the country, employers refused to renew union contracts. In the glass industry, West Virginia businesses finally got rid of the craft union rules. Railroad workers fought a long, costly strike that almost destroyed their unions.

The course of world events made it difficult for workers to keep their unions intact. A revolution in Russia and uprisings in Germany and Italy frightened Americans who remembered that some workers had been linked to socialism and other radical groups before the war. When unions made up of steelworkers, meatpackers, and even police went on strike in 1919 to defend the rights they had won during the war, businessmen predicted that a revolution was coming. In an effort to control fear and possible violence, the West Virginia government passed laws that limited the freedom of unions. The government also established the state police. Then, when steelworkers tried to form a union in the northern panhandle, the governor ordered the police to chase all union organizers into Ohio.



Reviewing the Section

Reviewing the Content

1. Why was it difficult to organize state workers into unions in West Virginia?
2. Where was the WVFL organized? What reforms did the WVFL support?
3. Why was there labor peace during World War I?

Using the Content

Write a letter to the owner of a coal company in West Virginia during the Progressive Era. List and prioritize problems that exist in the mines and propose solutions for each.

Extending the Literacy Skill

On page 544, read the last paragraph on the page. Identify what context clues tell you about the benefits unions secured for their workers.

Above: Members of a steelworkers' union meet before preparing to strike.

Chapter Summary

Section 1: Cultural Change

- After 1880, most immigrants to West Virginia came from southern and eastern Europe. The state's African American population increased as well.
- Jim Crow segregation laws called for separate restrooms, water fountains, railroad cars, waiting rooms, lodging facilities, dining areas, and schools.
- *Plessy v. Ferguson* made segregation the law of the land.
- John R. Clifford, West Virginia's first black lawyer, argued cases involving segregated schools and equal pay before the state supreme court.
- Booker T. Washington promoted educational and economic development for blacks but downplayed civil rights and social equality.
- W. E. B. Du Bois supported protest against all racial injustice. A member of the Niagara Movement, he was one of the founders of the NAACP.

Section 2: Politics and War

- The Spanish-American War began when the U.S. battleship *Maine* was blown up in Havana, Cuba. Some 3,000 West Virginians fought in that war.
- The four Progressive Era constitutional amendments were the 16th (income tax), 17th (direct election of U.S. senators), 18th (prohibition), and 19th (women's suffrage).
- World War I began in Europe in 1914. The United States became involved in 1917. An estimated 58,053 West Virginians served in the war, with 759 killed and another 2,548 wounded.
- West Virginians John J. Hines (U.S. Army chief of staff), Mason M. Patrick (first Army Air Service chief) and Julian L. Latimer (commander of the battleship *Rhode Island*) were leaders in World War I.
- West Virginians Newton D. Baker (secretary of war) and John B. Payne (secretary of the interior) served in President Wilson's World War I cabinet.

- During the war, the federal government built an armor plate factory at South Charleston, an ammonia factory at Belle, and a munitions powder plant at Nitro.

Section 3: The Labor Movement in the Early 1900s

- In 1902, the UMW called a general strike to gain more recognition for unions.
- Mary Harris "Mother" Jones was called "the miners' angel."
- The West Virginia Federation of Labor (WVFL), established in Huntington in 1903, pushed for laws to protect workers' rights, provide compensation for injured workers, and stop child labor.
- The Monongah disaster led to the creation of the Bureau of Mines to improve miners' health and safety.
- In 1912, miners went on strike, asking for a nine-hour day and payment in U.S. currency, not scrip. When violence erupted, Governor Glasscock declared martial law and called out the state militia. Glasscock's successor Henry Hatfield ended the strike with an ultimatum that brought the sides together to reach an agreement.
- In 1907, the Hitchman Coal and Coke Company got an injunction to keep the UMWA from interfering with its operations. By upholding the decision, the U.S. Supreme Court legalized yellow-dog contracts.
- The U.S. government encouraged collective bargaining during World War I to aid the war effort. After the war, companies did away with collective bargaining and moved to limit the freedom of unions.

The Progressive Era

Chapter Review

Recalling the Facts 

1. What law did Homer Plessy violate?
2. What did John R. Clifford do?
3. What caused the Spanish-American War?
4. What is temperance?
5. Who was Carrie Nation?
6. Who was West Virginia's governor during World War I?
7. What changes occurred in West Virginia as a result of World War I?
8. What role did Mother Jones play in labor unrest?
9. Why did unions oppose the use of private guards by the coal companies?
10. Why did miners go on strike in 1912? How was the 1912 strike brought to an end?

Learning Skill 

1. Compare and contrast the immigrants who came to West Virginia after 1880 with those who came before that time.
2. If you lived at the turn of the century, would you have favored the ideas of Booker T. Washington or W. E. B. Du Bois? Give reasons for your position.
3. Do you think the Sixteenth Amendment is legal? Why or why not?
4. Should United States senators be elected directly by the people or by their state legislatures? Give reasons for your answer.
5. Which war—the Spanish-American or World War I—had the greatest effect on West Virginia and the world? Give reasons for your choice.
6. What role did unions play in the labor movement during the Progressive Era?

7. How was the power of unions weakened after World War I?

Community Connection 

Interview an older family member or neighbor to determine if they have a relative who served in World War I. If so, ask them to share any stories they might have heard about the soldier's service. Share any information, including pictures, you receive with members of the class.

Literacy Skill 

1. Identify the key areas of disagreement between W. E. B. Du Bois and Booker T. Washington. Then write a script for a brief scene depicting a private conversation between the two men that will reveal both their philosophies. Role-play the scene for the class.
2. Propaganda (ideas, facts, or rumors spread to help a cause or to hurt an opposing cause) is sometimes used to sway public opinion. Advertisers use propaganda to sell their products, and writers sometimes use propaganda to gain support for their position. Write a newspaper ad about one of the topics in this chapter. Include propaganda in the ad.

Technology Tool 

1. Use a search engine to access information about one of the events in the chapter. Share the additional information you find with your classmates.
2. Use a search engine to find the music and lyrics of the song "Over There" from the World War I era. Listen to the lyrics and compare the message the words convey to feelings about war and patriotism today.