

PRODUCTION BACKGROUND:

THE KILLING FLOOR (1984) was the "pilot production" for a proposed ten-part PBS series of original dramatic films on the little-known history of American workers:

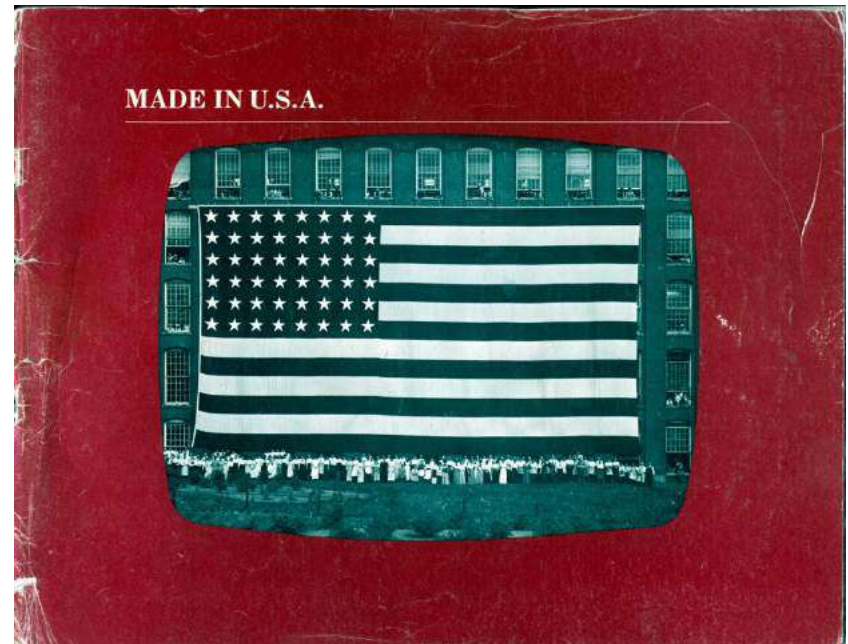
MADE IN U.S.A. HERE is the complete series proposal published by WGBH, the Boston public television station, in 1980. (See p. 4 ff.) >>>>



Photo ca. 1978: Elsa Rassbach and playwright Ron Milner visit a meatpacking plant.

History of the MADE IN U.S.A. Series

Independent filmmaker Elsa Rassbach developed the first treatment for the series, which she proposed to WGBH in 1973. The idea initially met with enthusiasm in part because labor unions had played a key role in building Congressional support for enactment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act in 1965 and the Public Broadcasting Act in 1967.



Just as I got right at the gate, six or seven or eight Polacks grabbed a colored fellow out there and carried him on the wagon, and said, "You son of a bitch, you will join the union!"

***-- Testimony of Joe Hodges,
black stockyard worker, 1919**

It seems as though they bring a bunch of colored men from Texas here to Chicago in order to break the power of the union...They are not only making agitators on that floor, but they are making them all over Chicago. Supposing race trouble starts, I am a colored man, and I love my family tree, and I ain't going to stand for no white man to come imposing on my color.

***--Testimony of Frank Custer,
black stockyard worker and shop steward, 1919**

*Source: U.S. Department of Labor Hearing: "Violation of Agreement by Employees", Hon. Samuel Alschuler, Arbitrator, June 20, 1919

WGBH invited Rassbach to work on the team that developed the PBS NOVA Series beginning in 1973 and encouraged her to simultaneously develop a proposal for the labor history series for the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

Beginning in 1975, NEH provided significant development financing that enabled Rassbach, who was named by WGBH as the Series Producer, to work with leading historians and screenwriters to prepare treatments and screenplays for the proposed series. The ten dramatic stories that were to be told were selected from hundreds of interesting events in U.S. labor history in consultation with the historians.

WGBH and other major public broadcasting stations were in negotiation with the AFL-CIO entertainment unions but had not yet entered into binding collective bargaining agreements, so no Writers Guild (WGA) screenwriters could be engaged by WGBH. Therefore, at the suggestion of NEH, Rassbach in 1977 founded an independent non-profit corporation, Public Forum Productions, Ltd., that signed agreements with the entertainment industry unions. NEH then provided a new, even more generous, development grant to Rassbach's company, which in 1979 entered into a co-production agreement with WGBH with Rassbach as Executive Producer of the Series. She then wrote and designed the attached proposal.

As a member of the Writers Guild of America (WGA), Rassbach wrote all the original stories for the screenplays based on archival materials (such as newspapers, trials, government hearings, personal letters, oral histories) that she found with the assistance of historians. She engaged different WGA screenwriters to write the different screenplays. For THE KILLING FLOOR, Rassbach first engaged the African American playwright Ron Milner and later worked for several years with the Obie and Tony Award-winning African-

American playwright and screenwriter Leslie Lee, who wrote the final screenplay.

Late in 1979, WGBH and Public Forum Productions, Ltd. submitted a production proposal to NEH with brief stories and historical essays for all ten films in the series. In addition, three full-length screenplays with production plans and budgets based on detailed location scouting were submitted to NEH:

- LOWELL FEVER, a film about young New England farm girls working in the textile mills in Lowell, Mass. in the 1840s, who created a feminist movement, accompanied by a literary journal, and also the first U.S. industrial labor organization;
 - McLUCKIE'S LUCK, a film about the mayor of Homestead, Penn., who was a leader in the steelworkers' union and faced a lockout by Andrew Carnegie, backed by U.S. Federal troops; and
 - THE KILLING FLOOR, a story of an African-American migrant to Chicago from the Deep South (Frank Custer), who worked on "the killing floor" of a giant slaughterhouse and who became a union activist in the face of mounting racial tensions in the Stockyards and in Chicago.
- (See page 31 of the MADE IN U.S.A. proposal.)

In late 1979, a production proposal was submitted to NEH, but NEH indicated that it could not be approved and financed unless assurances could be made by WGBH that significant private-sector financing would be obtained. However, WGBH had been unsuccessful in winning the support of the usual corporate co-sponsors of their programs. WGBH had also been unsuccessful in convincing PBS to allow labor unions to provide the necessary private-sector financing for the series.

Therefore, WGBH encouraged Rassbach to bring this issue to the attention of the *New York Times*, which on February 13, 1980, published an article by their leading media journalist, Les

Brown, with the title "PBS Bars Unions From Financing Labor Series." This became a national news story that was taken up by other newspapers such as the *Boston Globe*. These newspapers also published "Letters to the Editor" from the presidents of leading U.S. historians' organizations.

Shortly after the *New York Times* article appeared, NEH offered partial production financing for THE KILLING FLOOR. Over the next two years, further financing was obtained from foundations, more than 40 unions, two corporations and through a licensing agreement from the new PBS *American Playhouse Series*. Public Forum Productions entered into a co-production agreement with KERA-TV, the Dallas public television station to deliver to American Playhouse.

Significant additional financing was made available via special waiver agreements with the WGA, the Screen Actors Guild (SAG) and the Teamsters, whose members deferred half of their normal union minimum wages under the public television production contracts. Although the Directors Guild (DGA) did not provide the waiver, DGA members were allowed to donate half their wages to the production. Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union also provided assistance by training the actors how to work on the killing floor and "cut meat."

In January 1983, Rassbach was finally able to set up the production's location offices in Chicago. There she met with several African-American directors and selected Bill Duke to direct the film. Principal photography took place in June 1983, working with local production crews and the Chicago Director of Photography Bill Birch, Production Designer Maher Ahmad, and many talented Chicago actors. Lead roles were also cast in New York and Los Angeles. Post-production took place in New York, working with the pioneering African-American

Editor, John Carter, and Composer/Conductor Elizabeth Swados.

Upon the critical success and the many festival awards and appearances for THE KILLING FLOOR in 1984/1985, NEH provided production financing for the film about the young farm girls working in Lowell to Rassbach's new non-profit firm, Made in U.S.A. Productions, Inc. Founded in 1986, the new firm later acquired the rights to THE KILLING FLOOR and all the film projects of the MADE IN U.S.A. series from Public Forum Productions, Ltd.

The Lowell film was to be directed by Rassbach, who had written the full screenplay under a new working title, "LOST EDEN". In addition to production financing from NEH, the film won support from foundations and unions, including new special waiver agreements with the entertainment industry unions.

However, following the election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980 and his naming of Lynn Cheney, the wife of Dick Cheney, as Chairperson of the NEH in 1986, the prospects of obtaining production support for the MADE IN U.S.A. series, or any of its films, were greatly diminished. *American Playhouse* did not provide financing for the film about the Lowell girls, and thus the film did not have a PBS platform for broadcast. In the later 1990s, Ms. Rassbach was able to relaunch LOST EDEN as an independent feature film in Germany with development assistance from Filmstiftung NRW, a major German public film financing foundation. However, the German co-production company, part of the Kirch Media Group, declared bankruptcy in 2002. (All rights in the Lowell project remain with Made in U.S.A. Productions.)

In the U.S. media landscape, the stories of American workers of all ethnicities and genders remain largely "untold."

MADE IN U.S.A.



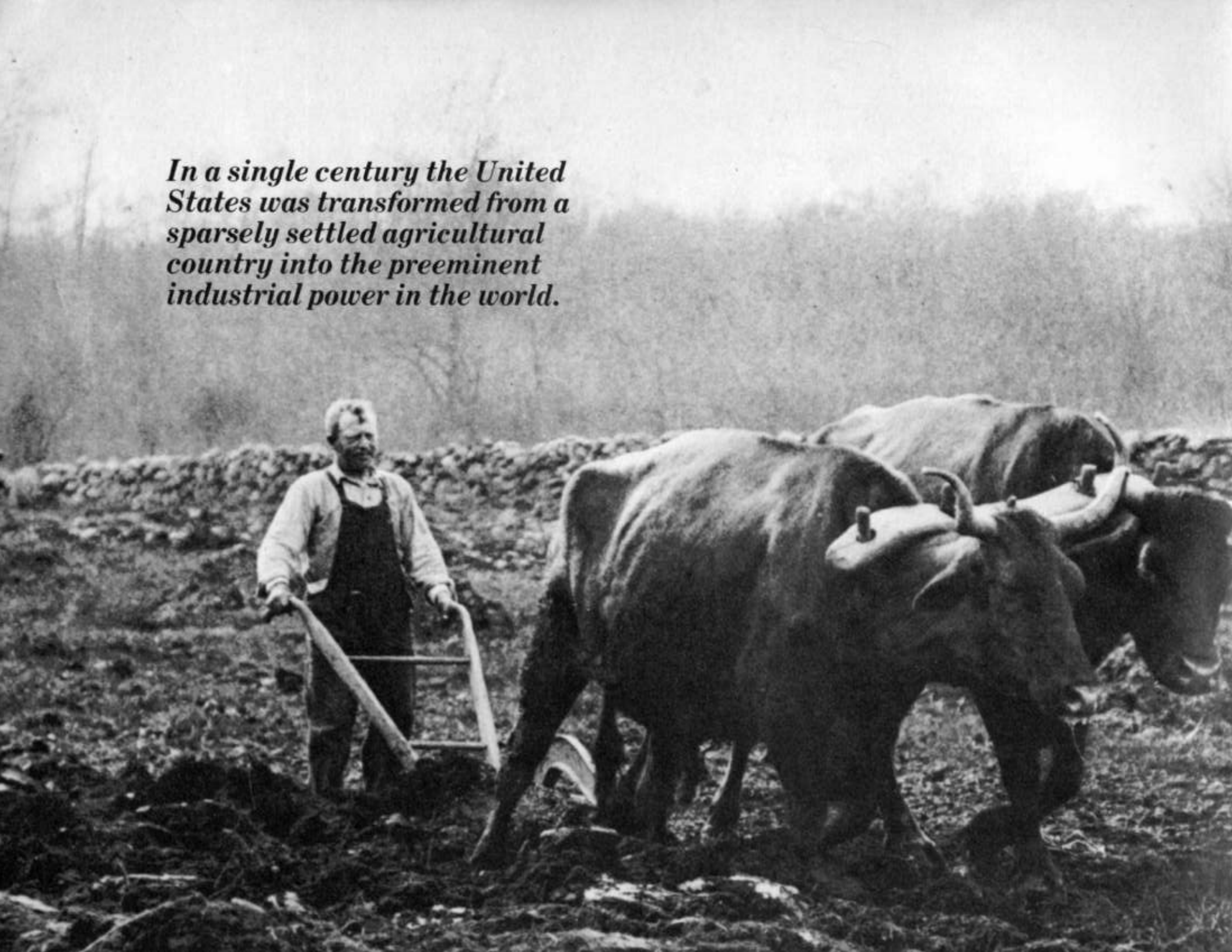


MADE IN U.S.A.

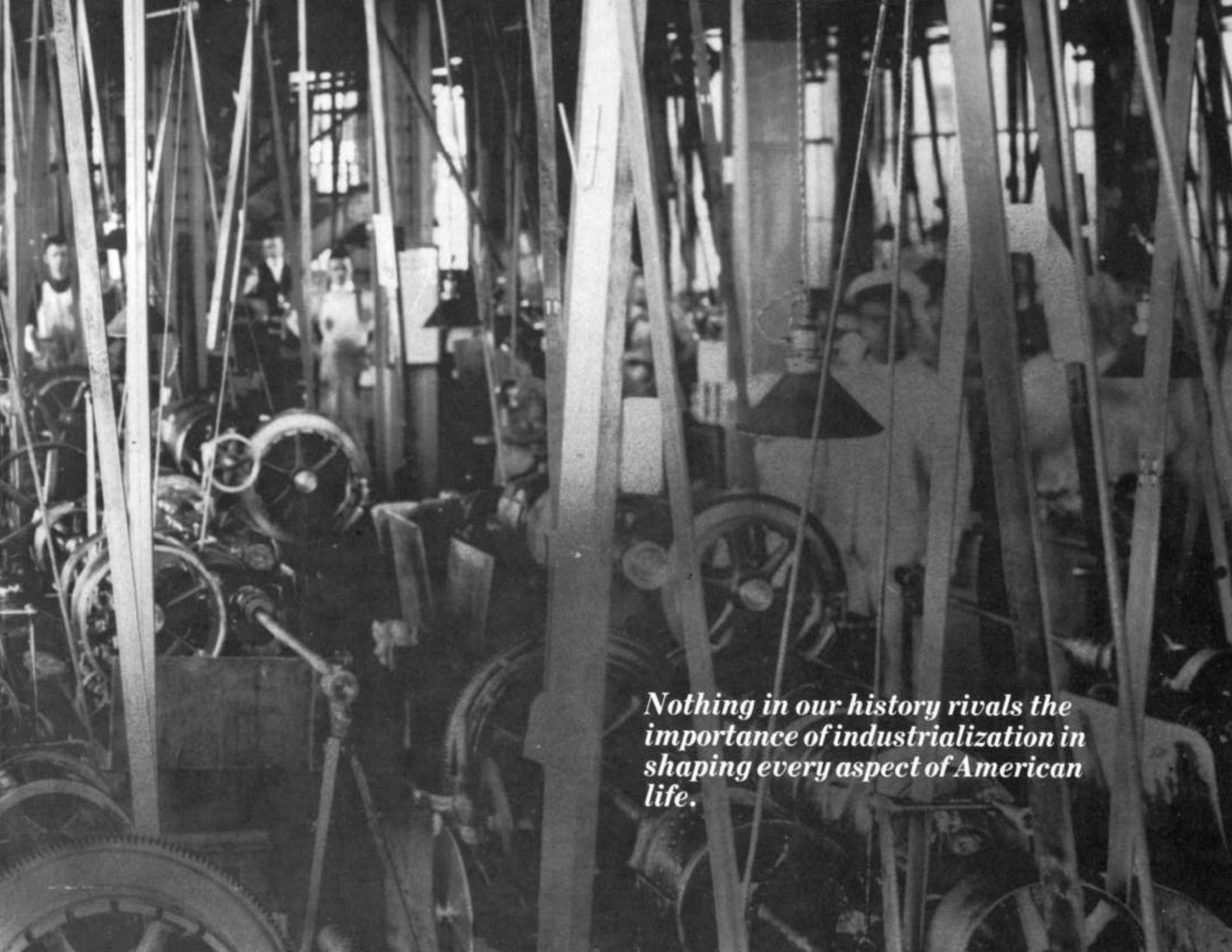
The Untold Story of Workers in America

A Series of Movies for Television

In a single century the United States was transformed from a sparsely settled agricultural country into the preeminent industrial power in the world.

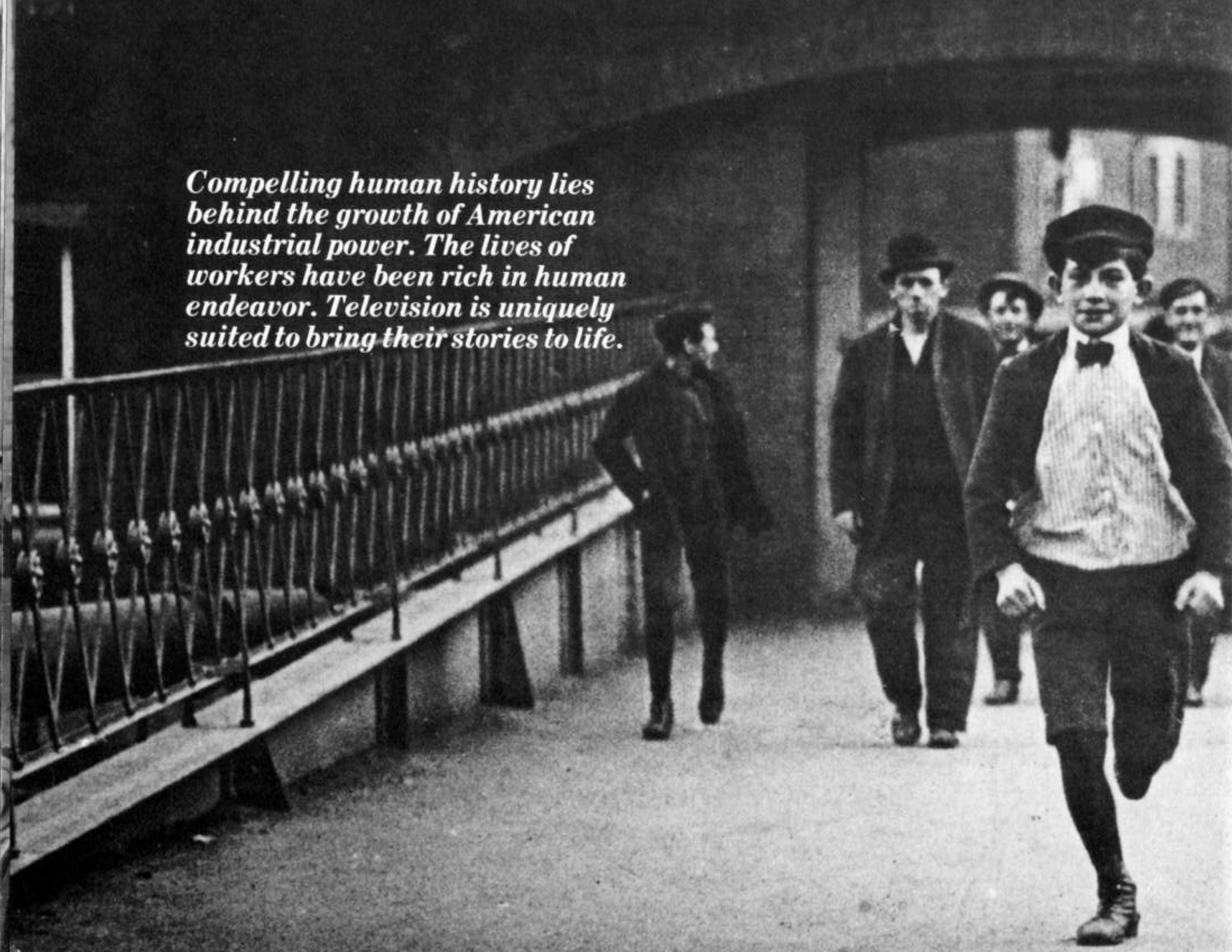






Nothing in our history rivals the importance of industrialization in shaping every aspect of American life.

Compelling human history lies behind the growth of American industrial power. The lives of workers have been rich in human endeavor. Television is uniquely suited to bring their stories to life.







The Proposal

This is a proposal for the first television series ever to examine the history of workers in America. Research and development for this landmark project have been made possible by grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the David Dubinsky Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

MADE IN U.S.A. will consist of ten feature-length television movies about American working people. Taking place in the years 1835-1945, the series will recreate their lives at critical and dramatic points in American industrial history.

MADE IN U.S.A. is a joint venture of WGBH and Public Forum Productions, Ltd. The series will draw upon the talents of exceptional writers, directors, producers, and performers from the worlds of theater, public television, and commercial film.

MADE IN U.S.A. will be offered to the Public Broadcasting System and distributed internationally. Educators will find it useful in a number of contexts.

MADE IN U.S.A. will explore a central, yet much neglected, aspect of the American experience. It will illuminate many of today's conflicts and challenges. Above all, it will entertain, surprise, and engage a wide and diverse audience through compelling original dramas based on the lives of ordinary—and extraordinary—people.

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Public Forum Productions, Ltd. 1979

◀
*West Coast dry dock workers at a win-the-war
rally, 1944
Photographer unknown
Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs
Wayne State University*

Table of Contents

Introduction	13
The Episodes	
<i>Lowell Fever</i>	17
<i>The Tenth Ward Hotel</i>	19
<i>The Noble Knights of Richmond</i>	21
<i>McLuckie's Luck</i>	23
<i>The Wabash Moses</i>	25
<i>Shirtwaist Revolt</i>	27
<i>Rockefeller Meets the Public</i>	29
<i>The Killing Floor</i>	31
<i>Forty-Four Days at Flint</i>	33
<i>The Last Harvest</i>	35
The Scope of the Series	37
Editorial Approach	39
Format	40
Personnel	42
Educational Uses	48
Advisors	50
Radio Uses	52
PBS	54
WGBH Boston	54
Program Funding	56

Introduction

MADE IN U.S.A. will explore a central, yet much neglected, aspect of the American experience.

In a single century the United States was transformed from a sparsely settled agricultural country into the preeminent industrial power in the world. Nothing in our history rivals the importance of industrialization in shaping every aspect of American life.

History has largely ignored the millions who worked in the mills, workshops, and factories; yet their labor built America and helped create the highest standard of living the world has ever known. The workers who thus transformed America were in the process themselves transformed in every aspect of their lives. They, too, were "*MADE IN U.S.A.*" This is a heritage shared by most Americans, either directly or through parents or grandparents. Yet not only the details, but even the landmarks of the history of work, workers, and their organizations remain obscure to most Americans.

Television has reinforced this state of ignorance. Historical dramas have focused mostly on the lives of kings, presidents, generals, and other famous people. Workers' lives have seldom been explored. The HEW report *Work in America* noted about the mass media in 1973: "Today there is virtually no accurate dramatic representation of men and women in working-class occupations." We have seen few improvements since that report.

MADE IN U.S.A. will illuminate many of today's conflicts and challenges.

The history of workers is entwined with almost every aspect of our national experience: immigration; the move to the cities; the transformation of family life, work, and leisure; changing race relations; and the evolution of civil liberties. Americans are still defining and redefining their response to political, social, economic, and cultural issues that have their origin in the great epoch of industrialization.

A hundred years ago, like today, many Americans had deep misgivings about "progress." Yet as a nation we chose to accept risk and to face the conflict and confusion of industrialization. Over the years, business leaders and workers—sometimes in cooperation, sometimes in conflict—created an economic system envied by the rest of the world. Out of the process of economic growth, with all its pain and strife, there emerged a political consensus that valued a democratic and open society. *MADE IN U.S.A.* will show how we coped with change, how we reinterpreted and strengthened ideas of justice and democracy in a period of vast technological and social transformation.

Today our country's vitality is still bound up with its productive economy and its democratic institutions. We are economically strong because of the contributions of this nation's workers and of its corporate and business leaders. We continue to flourish under a democratic consensus. In the 1980s and '90s the American economy will be increasingly challenged. Competition from abroad, environmental concerns, shrinking resources, and changing attitudes will put pressure on our ability to maintain our leadership. An appreciation of an earlier, equally challenging period holds lessons for our future. As we decide where we are going, it will become more and more important to understand where we have been.

MADE IN U.S.A. will entertain, surprise, and engage a wide and diverse audience through compelling original dramas.

History is human experience. People hunger for a history they can believe in and understand—not just names and dates, but the stories of individuals who faced crisis and change. Television dramas based on human history—programs like *Roots* and *Holocaust*, *Miss Jane Pittman* and *Eleanor and Franklin*—have broken all records for ratings and popular acclaim.

Compelling human history lies behind the growth of American industrial power. The lives of workers have been rich in human endeavor—full of excitement, contradiction, pain, and humor. Television is uniquely suited to bring their stories to life.

MADE IN U.S.A. starts in the 1830s when young girls from New England first begin to leave the farms, attracted by an amazing new phenomenon: factory work. The process of migration from country to city has begun. We see it culminate one hundred years later in the final program of the series: in the 1930s, southern tenant farmers are dispossessed—in part by factory-made agricultural machinery—and they drift into the northern cities, completing the urbanization of American life.

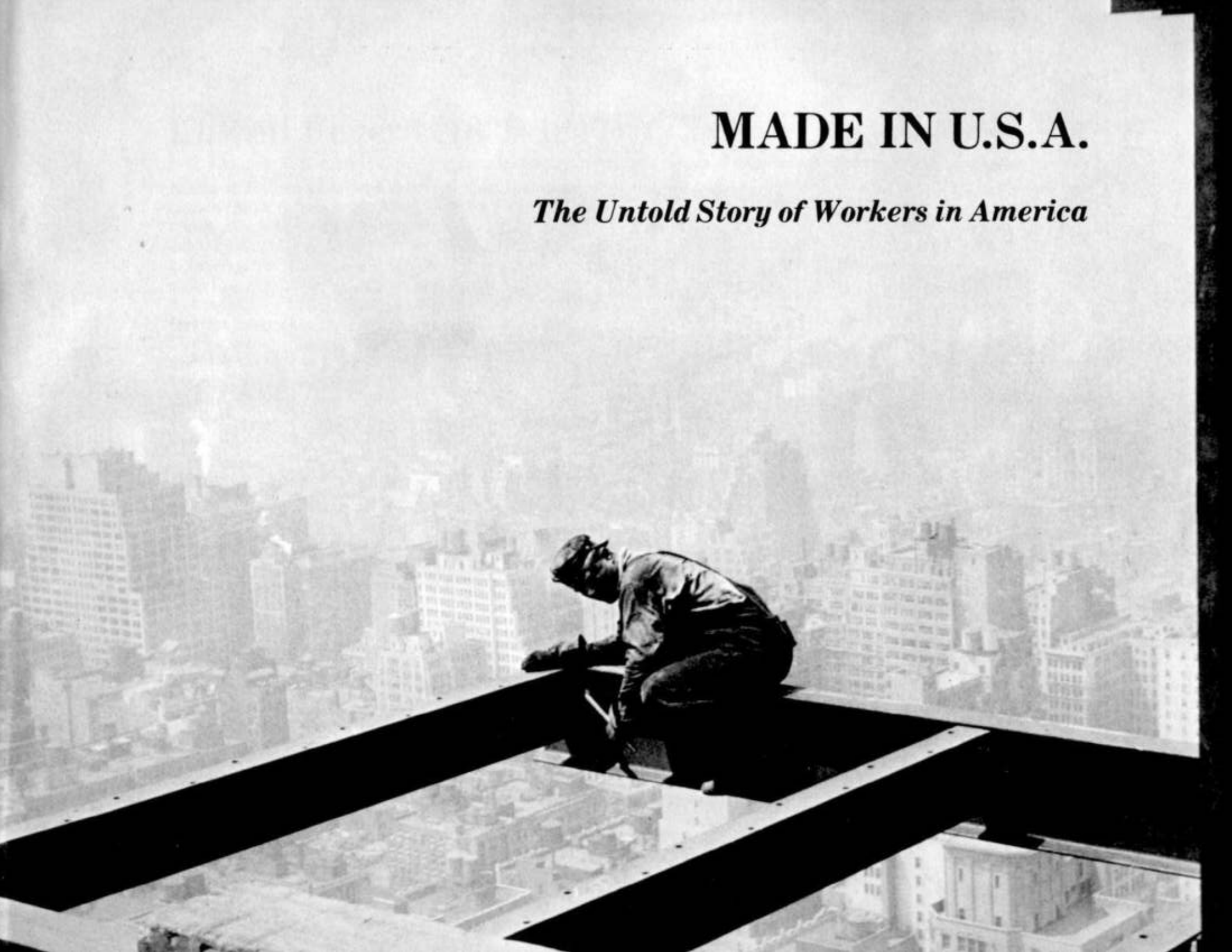
In the intervening programs, we will see people continually on the move. Rural Americans bound for workshops and factories are joined by a growing influx of European artisans and peasants. In 1877, we meet a German cigarmaker in New York; in 1892, a Scottish steelworker and a Slovak peasant, working in a Pennsylvania steel mill; in 1909, Italian and Jewish women garment workers; in 1914, Greek and Slav coal miners in Colorado, who only the year before had fought on opposite sides in the Balkan War; in 1918, black migrants and Polish immigrants side by side in the Chicago meat-packing industry; in the Depression years, a white laborer from the rural South, working in a Detroit auto plant. Caught up in economic forces that change their lives, both in the factory and in the community, these men and women create ideas, movements, and organizations which in turn influence the course of American history.

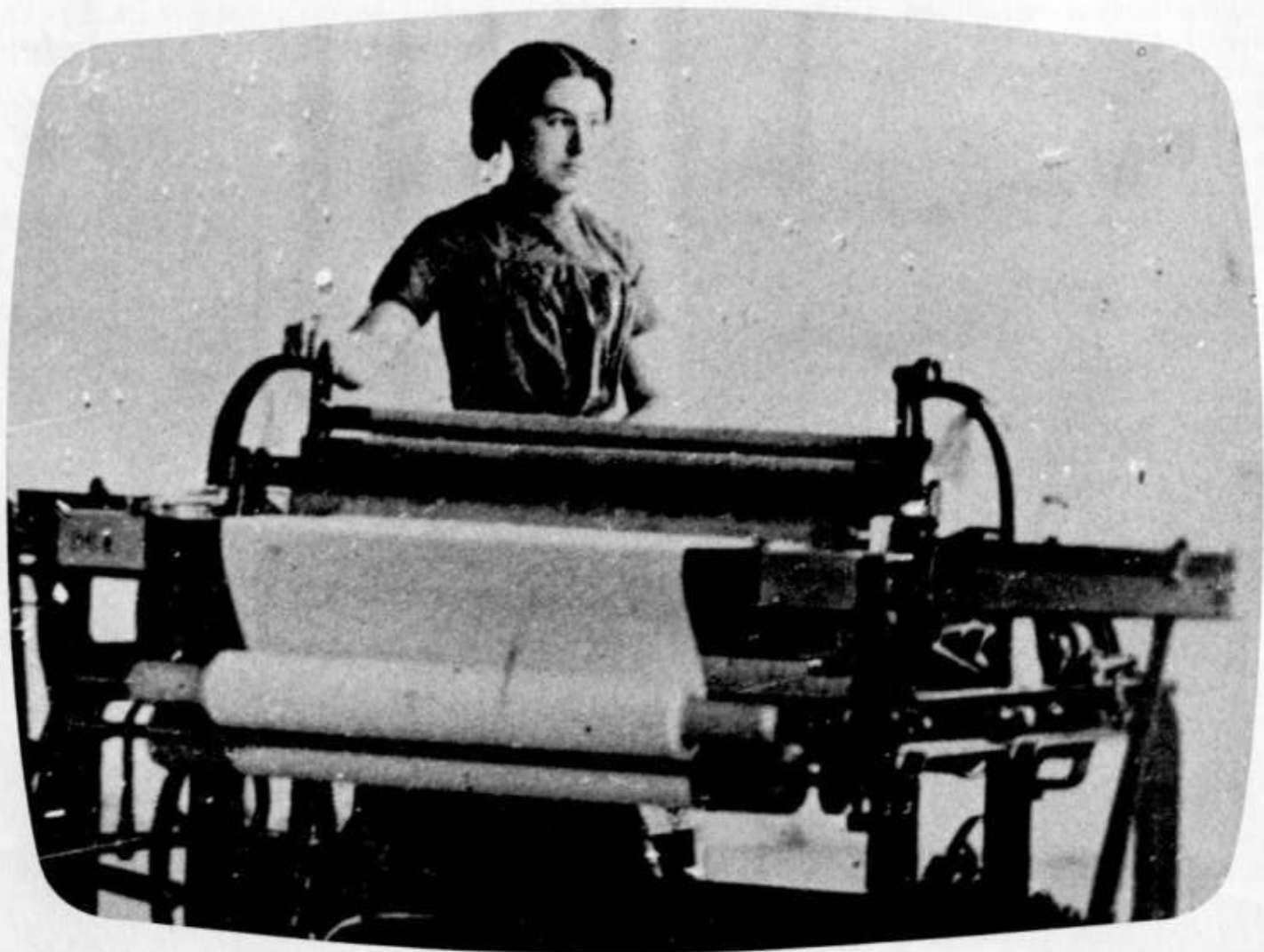
MADE IN U.S.A. is based on actual persons and events. Working people have left few historical records. Research for the series has thus required extensive detective work. For more than three years, the project staff collaborated with some of America's most eminent scholars and archivists. We pored over newspaper stories, hearings, court records, oral histories, and letters to uncover the personal, human experiences of American working people. We allowed ourselves to be surprised by what we found, to be led down paths we had not anticipated. We allowed content to shape form. These are not stories about what workers might have been or should have been. To the best of our ability, these programs will reflect authentic experiences of workers in America.

►
*Constructing the Empire State Building,
New York City, 1930*
Lewis Hine
International Museum of Photography
George Eastman House

MADE IN U.S.A.

The Untold Story of Workers in America





*Woman at loom, daguerreotype, late 1840s
Photographer unknown
Merrimack Valley Textile Museum*

Lowell Fever* (1835-1847)

At fifteen, Nathania Harriet Kilburn sets off on the journey from her family's farm in Boscawen, New Hampshire, for the textile mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, America's largest industrial complex. Smitten by "Lowell Fever," Nathania sees in factory work her chance for a taste of independence from a strict Calvinist father and tedious farm chores. To her, Lowell means spending money and city clothes, new friends and eminent visitors like Davy Crockett, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Dickens, and Horace Mann. The country girls who work the huge mills are cared for in strictly supervised boarding houses as in "a philanthropic manufacturing college." Like most of them, Nathania plans to be in Lowell for a few years only; then she will return to marry her "intended," Benjamin.

Nathania sees in all this 'a glimpse of something grand'....

The new surroundings confront Nathania with a stimulating but perplexing array of new experiences. Twenty bells a day regulate all comings and goings. The machines seem "alive," and Nathania is teased for her rustic country ways. She is befriended by Sarah Bagley, a spunky comedienne, and Harriet Farley, a painfully refined minister's daughter. They are part of the group that creates *The Lowell Offering*, the first literary journal in America written and edited entirely by women—and this despite fourteen-hour work days ruled by an incessant factory bell. The journal is their proof that "factory girls are as good as anybody."

Nathania sees in all this "a glimpse of something grand." Each summer she journeys back to the family farm to help with the harvest. But she begins to doubt her future

*When I set out for Lowell,
Some factory for to find,
I left my native country,
And all my friends behind.
But now I am in Lowell,
And summon'd by the bell,
I think less of the factory
Than of my native dell.
I do not like my overseer,
I do not mean to stay.
I mean to hire a Depot boy
To carry me away.*

"The Lowell Factory Girl,"
popular song

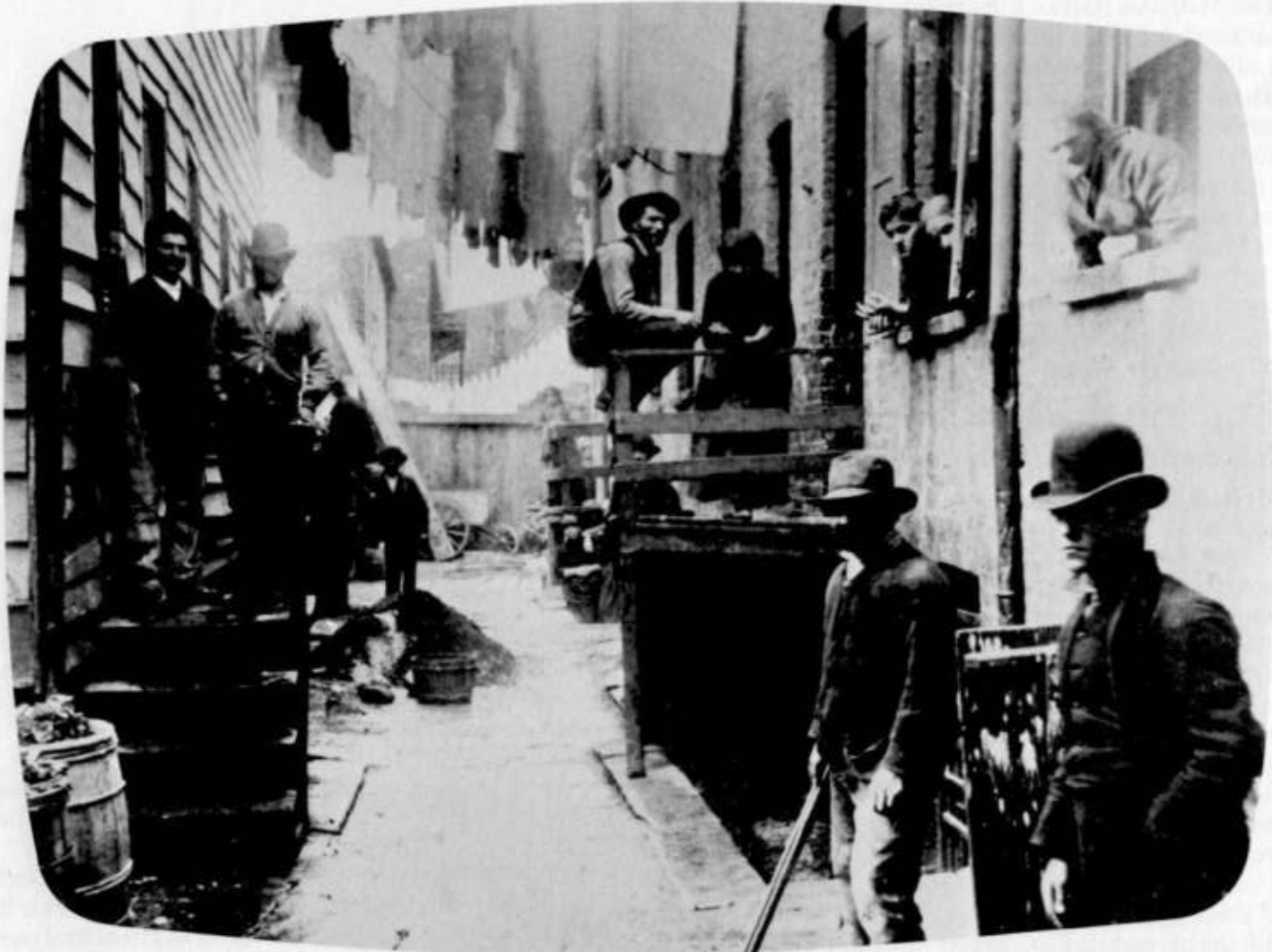
happiness as a farmer's dutiful wife. At a critical moment, she rejects Benjamin and vows never to marry.

The pace at Lowell proves difficult to maintain.

Harriet Farley leaves the mill for a full-time literary career. Sarah Bagley leads a daring petition campaign to establish a ten-hour work day, so that the women need not "live but to work and work but to live." Nathania, too, is drawn into the fledgling labor movement. When the petition fails, the promise Lowell once held is tarnished in her eyes. The vision of an "uplifting" factory life gives way to the view of industrial work as degraded and degrading. The young women of New England gradually leave the mills, to be replaced by famine-stricken Irish.

Nathania returns to Boscawen. At twenty-seven she is a proud New England "old maid." Her choices have been her own.

Like all the major characters in the series, Nathania Harriet Kilburn was an actual person. The record of her life has been retrieved from company archives and from local records in Boscawen, New Hampshire.



*New York street, 1888
Jacob A. Riis
Jacob A. Riis Collection
Museum of the City of New York*

The Tenth Ward Hotel (1870-1883)

At the age of twenty, Samuel Gompers is already married and the father of two. A Dutch-Jewish immigrant and skilled cigarmaker, he spends his days attired in a suit, deftly rolling stogies while singing, talking, or listening to his fellow cigarmakers read poetry, news, or philosophy aloud. "I loved the freedom of that work," Gompers later recalled. But this way of life is threatened by immigrant Bohemian peasant families, who, living in company-owned tenements, begin making cigars more cheaply with the help of a simple cigar mold.

P. J. and Sam embark on an odyssey....

Gompers' sense of a deepening social crisis is shared by his new friend, an eighteen-year-old Irishman named Peter J. McGuire. A loquacious, hard-drinking carpenter's apprentice, "P.J." is a bachelor who rebels against his Catholic upbringing to frequent the *salons* of New York's radical free thinkers. P.J. and Sam embark on an odyssey through the colorful and turbulent netherworld of New York in search of an answer to "the social question." They discover the Tenth Ward Hotel, a secret gathering place of European political refugees—communards, anarchists, and reformers—and they join a group called the Ten Philosophers. Sam learns German in order to understand them. He grows close to the energetic German cigarmaker, Adolph Strasser, an accomplished disciple of socialist philosophy.

The 1873 depression lends urgency to the discussions at the Tenth Ward Hotel. Calling for complete and immediate social justice, McGuire leads a broad movement of New York's unemployed. It ends in the Tompkins Square Riot, with McGuire branded a "communist" and hounded by police. After a

New York was vividly cosmopolitan with depths in its life that few understood. There were soldiers from the red-shirted army of Garibaldi; German "forty-eighters"; English Chartists, men of big souls and high principles; the carbonari of Italy; the home-rulers of Ireland; revolutionaries from Denmark, Austria, Russia. They were men of imagination, courage, ideals.... The brilliant color of their thoughts came as a hope-filled alluring light on the gray misery of the New York industrial sky. Their talk stirred me deeply.... No idea, no suggestion was denied consideration. We were groping for principles with which to lay a foundation.

Samuel Gompers
Seventy Years of Life and Labor

dispute with Gompers, who agrees with his goals but questions his methods, McGuire sets out across America to agitate for a "workingmen's party."

In New York, Gompers joins Strasser in organizing the Bohemian tenement-house cigar workers. Their success in this venture leads, ironically, to a terrible defeat: in 1877, the Bohemians flock to the tiny cigarmakers union, but the union does not have the resources to sustain so many in a strike. The Bohemians are evicted, and some die of hunger or exposure. Gompers himself is blacklisted. With a sixth child on the way, he renounces the labor movement for a time.

An exhausted McGuire rejoins Gompers and Strasser in New York. Now ten years older, the three focus their energies on a more feasible task: organizing the disciplined, financially stable, exclusive craft unions which will form the backbone of the enduring American Federation of Labor. This new pragmatic strategy is at once a heritage and a rejection of the radical debate at the Tenth Ward Hotel. "We have no ultimate ends," states Strasser in 1883, "We fight only for immediate objects—objects that can be realized in a few years."

The Tenth Ward Hotel (1870-1883)



*Tobacco factory hands
Richmond, Virginia, 1880s
Photographer unknown
Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia*

The Noble Knights of Richmond (1884-1887)

In Richmond, Virginia, a leading city of the “New South,” former slave Joseph Brown Johnson is the successful proprietor of a barbershop. There, tobacco workers and ministers, granite-cutters and businessmen from the black community come to hear the latest news. In 1884, the big news is the Holy and Noble Order of the Knights of Labor. Combining secret rituals with appeals for a “cooperative commonwealth”—open to all save bankers, lawyers, or liquor dealers—the Knights emerge in the 1880s as a broad-based movement advocating social equality. The Knights touch more lives in the nineteenth century than any voluntary organization except churches. Johnson asks to join. He is sworn to secrecy and made an organizer.

Johnson aims to see that blacks are included on the job....

A lavish new city hall is scheduled for construction in Richmond. The Knights want it to be built with local labor, local materials, and under union contracts. And Johnson aims to see that blacks are included on the job. He finds a sometime ally in William Mullen, a white printer and persuasive, warm-hearted Methodist, the chief organizer of Richmond’s white Knights. The two journey together to Canada to the Knights of Labor Convention in 1885, where Johnson is the focus of attention as the only black delegate. Terence Powderly, Grand Master Workman, pledges that the Order stands for the equality of blacks and will organize workers, sharecroppers, and tenant farmers throughout the South.

By spring 1885, fully two-thirds of Richmond’s workers—both blacks and whites—have joined the Knights. A Knight-backed labor reform slate of men of both races bids for political power. The Knights promise to build the new city hall

From what I see in newspapers I desire to exchange ideas with you on the subject of labor. I hope you will not be like a gentleman was in New York a few years ago and think because I live in the South that I am not a human or entitled to enquire of a man living north about anything....The poorest and Blackest man in this country that make cotton for his living has as much at stake in this government of ours as the finest mechanic in the United States....

Southern farm laborer to
Terence Powderly, Grand Master
Workman of the Knights of Labor, 1886

with local labor—including ex-convict black granite-cutters organized by Johnson. The slate wins a landslide victory when it draws the black community away from the party of Lincoln.

After this success, Richmond is chosen as the site for the Knights’ Convention in 1886. The Convention is well attended. When an integrated group of New York Knights challenges the Richmond “social code” with a sit-in during a performance of *Hamlet* at the Mozart Academy, the Convention becomes a tense testing ground for social equality of blacks in the labor movement and throughout the nation.

In the wake of this event, the fragile coalition built by Johnson and Mullen begins to fall apart. Blacks are excluded from the jobs on the new city hall—even by white Knights. Mullen and Johnson watch as the cornerstone is laid by a coalition which includes the Law and Order League, anti-labor politicians, and all-white craft unions. It is the cornerstone for a “New South” in which such small, exclusively white craft unions are the only established labor organizations. As southern whites drift away from the Knights, blacks continue to join the hopelessly weakened organization. To them it is the first to have acted on the promise of full social equality in the South.

The Noble Knights of Richmond (1884-1887)



*Iron and steel workers, Pennsylvania, 1891
Photographer unknown
Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh*

McLuckie's Luck* (1890-1893)

Early in 1892, Carnegie, Phipps and Company chairman Henry Clay Frick writes to Andrew Carnegie complaining, "The mills have never been able to turn out the product they should owing to being held back by the Amalgamated men." But it is a shock to the elite, skilled steelworkers of Homestead, Pennsylvania, when the company summarily breaks off contract negotiations and locks them out.

Steelworker "Honest John" McLuckie, a genial Scottish immigrant in the prime of life, is the Democratic Mayor of Homestead as well as a union leader. It is up to Mayor McLuckie to preserve law and order. His three-man police force is to keep strangers and strikebreakers out of town. To help him, deputies from among the skilled union men form a para-military organization, led by Hugh O'Donnell, a twenty-three-year-old charismatic Irishman.

The union men, known as "high-priced men," are confident of victory. They believe their skills to be indispensable. As members of the strongest craft union in the American Federation of Labor, they are accustomed to the protection of elaborate union work rules and to a large degree of autonomy in their work. They consider themselves a different species from the mass of non-union laborers from American and European farms—the lifters and haulers—who work under their direction.

It is up to Mayor McLuckie to preserve law and order....

An invading army of Pinkerton guards tries to take the mill. The Pinkertons are defeated in a pitched battle, disarmed, beaten by furious townspeople, and shipped out of Homestead.

Initially, public opinion seems to side with the locked-out men. "Plucky" Mayor McLuckie works day and night to preserve the good image of the town. Nevertheless, the state

Burgess McLuckie, who, with Hugh O'Donnell, is one of the leaders of the Homestead strikers, was seen late tonight and was asked: "How do you regard the latest news—the calling of the militia?"

"That is right in our line. It suits us first rate."

"How will the militia be received?"

"With open arms."

"There will be no hostility?"

"None whatsoever.... Our fight was against the Pinkertons—against invasion of our homes by an armed, illegal and disreputable private army."

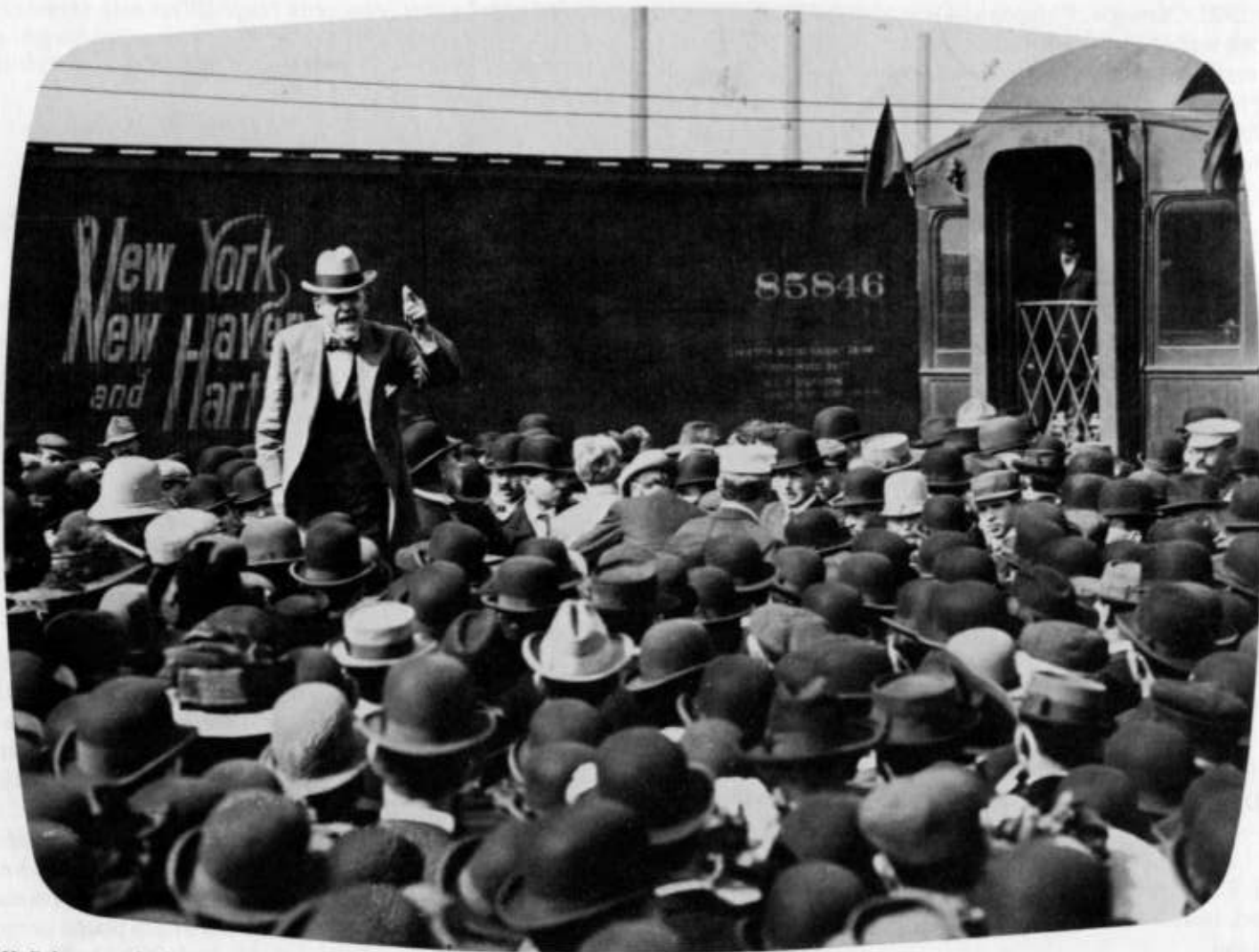
Pittsburgh Post, July 11, 1892

militia intervenes. The Mayor welcomes this legitimate authority with a brass band—only to be rebuffed as a man now outside the law. Public opinion shifts against the steelworkers when an outsider, Russian anarchist Alexander Berkman, makes a sensational attempt to assassinate Frick. Berkman draws unanimous condemnation from the skilled men, but McLuckie, O'Donnell, and other strike leaders are themselves repeatedly arrested and charged with murder and treason. They put up their homes for bail and place their hopes in a Congressional inquiry.

O'Donnell's attempts to get the Republican Party to intervene fail. After a few months, smoke billows from the mill—now operated by newly trained steelworkers. The union men drift away, and McLuckie leaves town to escape being arrested again. Years later, he shows up down-and-out in Mexico.

The union never recovers, and events at Homestead set a national precedent. The "high-priced men" have lost control of the work place, opening the way for the advancement and training of the unskilled workers within plants using new, rationalized mass production methods. It is the beginning of the non-union era.

* Draft script available.



*Eugene V. Debs campaigning
Photographer unknown
Brown Brothers*

The Wabash Moses (1893-1895)

Eugene V. Debs spends his youth as a delivery boy for a grocery store in a railroad town in Indiana, works briefly as a locomotive fireman, and then takes a job with the union. As a young man Debs is deeply opposed to “strikes, anarchy, and revolution.” “I had heard but little of socialism,” he later recalled, “and what little I did know was not calculated to impress me in its favor.”

The early 1890s find Debs—still a resident of Terre Haute, Indiana—a middle-aged officer of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. Determined to put a stop to the rivalry and exclusiveness of the railroad brotherhoods, he decides to organize all the railroad workers of America into one big union—an industrial union. The new organization is an innovation: while the brotherhoods each allow only those of a particular skill to join, the American Railroad Union (ARU) admits anyone who works on a railroad, skilled or unskilled.

Debs is overruled and finds himself leading ‘The Debs Rebellion’....

Railroad workers all over the Middle West and West flock to the ARU. Among the new members are the residents of the model company town of Pullman, Illinois, who build and service the opulent railroad sleeping cars. When George Pullman cuts their wages without lowering their rents, the Pullman workers strike. ARU members urge a sympathetic nationwide boycott. Debs fears that the still fragile organization cannot sustain the undertaking, and he opposes it. He throws all his shrewdness, eloquence, and influence into battle against headlong action. But Debs is overruled and finds himself leading “The Debs Rebellion.”

Too long have the workers of the world waited for some Moses to lead them out of bondage. He has not come; he never will come. I would not lead you out if I could; for, if you could be led out, you could be led back again.

Eugene V. Debs

All trains west of Chicago come to a halt in the most effective railroad strike the nation has yet seen. The federal government intervenes and issues a blanket injunction. Armed force gets the U.S. mail moving again, but violence erupts all over the West and Middle West. Debs speaks for a sizeable group when he telegraphs the President: “A deep-seated conviction is fast becoming prevalent that this government is soon to be declared a military despotism.” “We have been brought to the ragged edge of anarchy,” replies a government official.

Debs is arrested and jailed for six months. If, in the popular imagination, Homestead was “labor’s Gethsemane,” the Pullman conflict takes on the dimensions of a symbolic crusade, with Debs the martyr and potential saviour of a fallen people. Sympathizers compare him to Leonidas at Thermopylae, Tell at Altorf, Warren at Bunker Hill, Garibaldi at Marsala, Jackson at New Orleans, and even to Jesus.

In jail Debs sees the place where the Haymarket anarchists were hung a few years earlier. His numerous visitors include the German socialist, Victor Berger, who influences him deeply. “Baptized,” as Debs puts it, “in the roar of conflict,” he abandons a lifetime of conservatism: if strikes cannot be won against the government, labor must attain political power. Debs emerges from prison the messiah of a growing mass radical workers’ movement. He founds the Socialist Party of America, running as its candidate for President four times, and is a founder of the Industrial Workers of the World.



*Mary Dreier and secretary at shirtwaist strikers'
headquarters, New York, 1909
Photographer unknown
Museum of the City of New York*

Shirtwaist Revolt (1905-1911)

As children, Rose Schneiderman and Clara Lemlich each come from a Russian *shtetl* to New York's Lower East Side. By 1905 they are teenagers making women's ready-to-wear clothes. A reserved and intellectual girl, Clara wants to become a doctor but must work to contribute to the family income. At home, she debates with her father the pros and cons of the political revolt going on in Russia. Rose must work because the death of her father left the family without support. Her mother will hear nothing of politics and hopes Rose will soon be married.

In 1909, sixteen-year-old Clara takes the initiative in organizing the unskilled Jewish and Italian women at Leiserson's, where she works, and at the nearby Triangle Shirtwaist Company. It is decided that only the women will picket: no one would beat them up. But paid thugs and prostitutes attack the frail picket line, and Clara is singled out. She has to be hospitalized.

Rose believes the unskilled women are too poor and disorganized to win alone. She hopes for aid from the Women's Trade Union League, an organization of suffragists, society women, and reformers. When one wealthy League member, Mary Dreier, is arrested on the picket line at Triangle, the news brings support from other influentials like J.P. Morgan's maverick daughter Anne and members of the "Mink Brigade."

'If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise!'

Leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) seem to hesitate to expand the struggle. During a meeting of garment workers, the fiery Clara

I simply can't get over the way little Raya Goldovsky jumped on a chair and suddenly, without a minute's notice, stopped the electricity. I must say, it's nothing but her bravery that took us all. Why, we were simply stunned. And Mr. Rayman, too, was taken off his feet. Before you could say "Jack Robinson" we all rose, slopped on our duds and marched down the stairs, shouting, yelling, and giggling about our walkout, as they called it.... Us girls are the pioneer fighters for women's rights, for them rich women don't do much except talk a lot, while us girls show in reality how women can stand up for their rights.

Theresa Malkiel
Diary of a Shirtwaist Striker

gets up. Unknown to her co-workers, she is by now a secret member of the executive board of Local 25, ILGWU. "You all know me," she begins in Yiddish, and then calls for a general strike. An enthusiastic audience is soon taking the old Jewish oath, "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise."

In the "uprising of the 20,000," the striking women are arrested like common criminals and thrown in jail with prostitutes. Bail is provided by suffragists and wealthy sympathizers. The strike establishes the ILGWU as a strong union, the first to successfully organize women on a large-scale basis. But in the end, the Triangle Company still has not signed.

Two years later, a fire begins at Triangle. 146 people, mostly Jewish and Italian women, are killed. The ensuing public outcry leads to government investigations and new safety legislation. Surviving these events, Rose and Clara continue to wrestle with loyalties to competing priorities—feminism, trade unionism, and socialism—and come to different conclusions.



*State militia, Ludlow, Colorado, 1914
Photographer unknown
Life of the Western Coal Miner Project
University of Colorado at Boulder*

Rockefeller Meets the Public (1913-1915)

In 1913, miners of twenty-two nationalities strike the Rockefeller-controlled Colorado Fuel and Iron Company for recognition of the United Mine Workers as their union. Evicted from their company-owned dwellings, they take refuge in a tent colony near Ludlow, Colorado. When the tent colony is overrun and burned down by the state militia, a number of women and children are killed. Outraged miners begin a vengeful rampage throughout the state.

In its main outlines, this conflict repeats a long-established pattern of violence. But the public response to the Ludlow Massacre is new: it is sympathetic to the miners. This is the Progressive Era.

In New York City, angry pickets surround the home and offices of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., a gentle, religious man who has just become head of the family enterprises. But much of public opinion does not hold the young Rockefeller responsible. Even some of the miners say he has not been informed of day-to-day matters in his growing conglomerate.

Mother Jones risks her reputation as a militant....

The controversy soon finds a forum in federal hearings headed by Frank Walsh, a maverick pro-labor populist. Among the onlookers is eighty-five-year-old Mother Jones, intransigent agitator and living symbol of violent industrial clashes. Mother Jones was at Ludlow. She is now convinced by Rockefeller's testimony that he is not to blame. When Rockefeller expresses deep regret and promises action to prevent further violence, she is moved. He is "like a son," she says. The young Rockefeller announces a new "Colorado Plan," and Mother Jones risks her reputation as a militant to urge the miners to accept it.

"Is you Mistah Rockefeller? Now is that so. An' you here shakin' hands with a black boy like me! I'se a most faithful employee for you-all, Sir! An' I wants to know, Sir, when I'se goin' to get in on the pension list?"

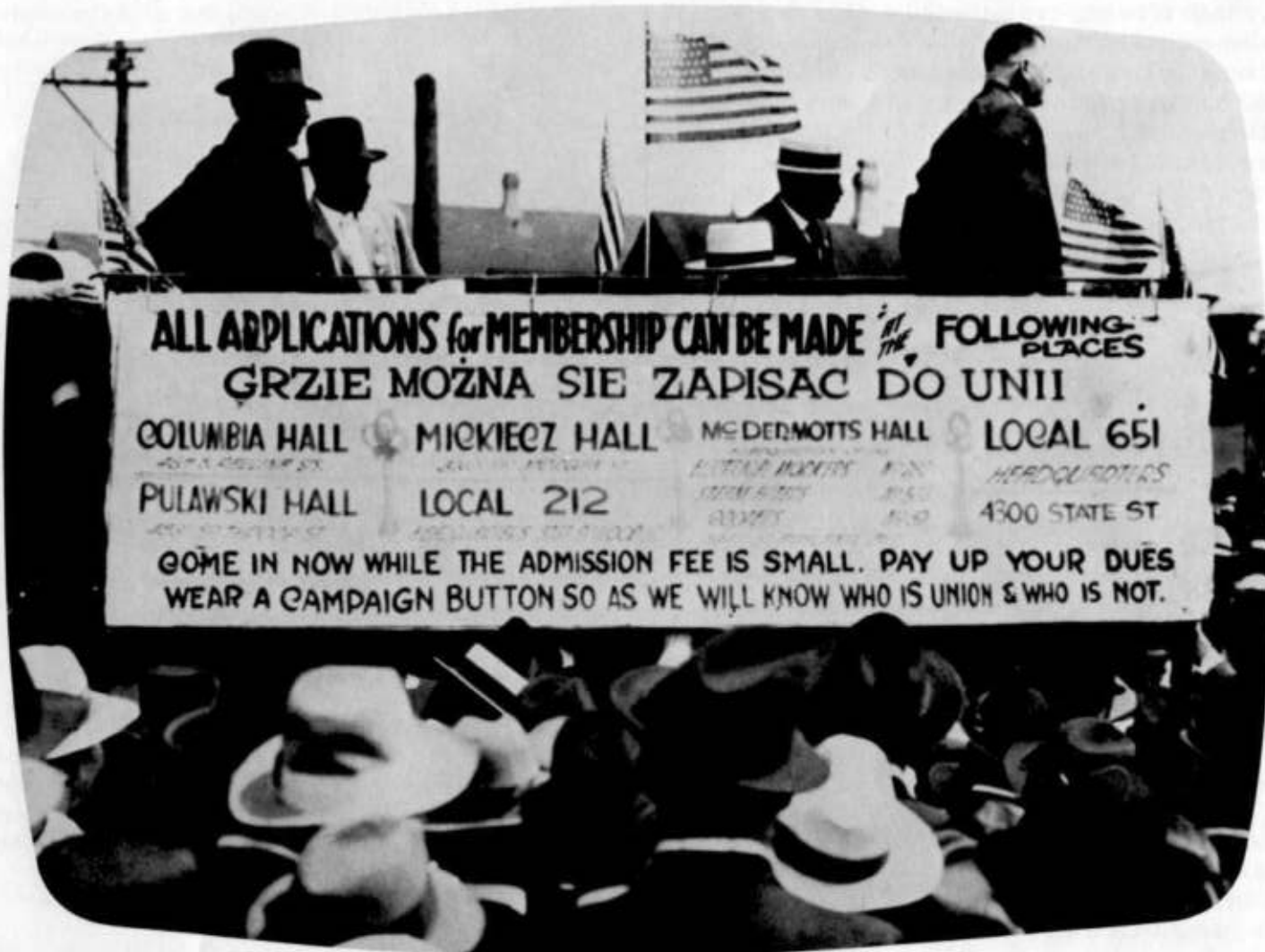
*"Well, I'm not on the pension list myself yet, William."
"Yes, but you-all ain't doin' no laborious labor."*

William Hood, black miner, and
John D. Rockefeller, Jr., from
a news article, 1915

The Colorado Plan does not recognize the need for independent unions, but it does provide employee representation and a grievance procedure. To popularize it, Rockefeller begins a public relations tour of the coal fields. He shakes hands with the miners, plays with their children, and dances with their wives at social gatherings. Most of the miners accept the Colorado Plan.

These events usher in a new "human relations" approach to industrial conflict. Adopted by much of American management, the new approach recognizes the need for some form of industrial democracy.

Frank Walsh, however, is not convinced. In a dramatic moment, he presents the Federal Commission with personal letters of Rockefeller indicating that the young heir had been aware of the policies and actions of his subordinates after all. In his final report to the Commission, Walsh rejects the Colorado Plan. He believes independent unions to be essential to a functioning democracy and stresses the need for legal protection of the right to organize. This view will gain acceptance during the New Deal.



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 WEAR A CAMPAIGN BUTTON SO AS WE WILL KNOW WHO IS UNION & WHO IS NOT.**

*Packinghouse workers at a rally, Chicago, Illinois, 1919
 Photographer unknown
 Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America*

The Killing Floor* (1916-1921)

When Frank Custer steps off the train from Mississippi, he is grasping hard at an address scrawled on a piece of worn paper. It is obvious to everyone that he is fresh off the farm. Custer is part of the Great Migration of black sharecroppers who escape the South to enter Chicago's sprawling multi-ethnic meat-packing industry in the economic boom of World War I. He begins as a rumpsplitter's helper on the killing floor—to the slogan "Meat Will Win the War"—amid a confusing babble of Polish, Lithuanian, Italian, and German.

Heavy trusts neither the whites who run the union nor the whites who run the stockyards....

"Heavy" Williams, a big, garrulous, likeable black lay preacher and blues singer from Texas, fills Custer in: the union wants to take advantage of wartime demand to get a contract. There are now so many blacks working in the stockyards that the union is trying to organize them, along with the whites. Heavy trusts neither the whites who run the union nor the whites who run the stockyards, but since it is the latter who give out the jobs, he sides with management against the union.

Custer breaks with Heavy after meeting Robert Bedford, a northern-born black and a union organizer. Custer becomes the exception to the rule: a southern black who places his hopes with the union.

The war ends and the pressures of recession mount. In the stockyards, the white workers become ever more insistent that the blacks join the union. The majority of southern blacks side with Heavy and refuse to join. By now a shop steward, Custer becomes Heavy's bitter adversary. Among the men, who work all day on the killing floor with sharp knives, the threat of violence mounts.

Just as I got right at the gate, six or seven or eight Polacks grabbed a colored fellow out there and carried him on the wagon, and said, "You son of a bitch, you will join the union."

Testimony of Joe Hodges,
black stockyard worker, 1919

It seems as though they bring a bunch of colored men from Texas here to Chicago in order to break the power of the union.... They are not only making agitators on that floor, but they are making them all over Chicago. Supposing race trouble starts.... I am a colored man, and love my family tree, and I ain't going to stand for no white man to come imposing on my color.

Testimony of Frank Custer,
black stockyard worker and
shop steward, 1919

Bloodshed does erupt, but in the streets of Chicago, in the Race Riot of 1919. The black workers stay home for several days, and the stockyards remain calm except for one incident. But when the blacks return, it is under armed guard. The riot has put a temporary end to the hope of building an interracial union.

Custer is torn between his loyalty to the white-dominated union and his emerging race pride. Bedford is disillusioned; he renounces the union and joins the emerging back-to-Africa movement. Heavy becomes the local leader of an all-black union which is willing to "work for less" and guarantees no strikes.

Blacklisted, Custer wanders the streets for months without a job. But he refuses to return to the South. In 1921, he re-enters the meatpacking industry as a member of Heavy's "union." Yet his belief in an interracial union has not died and will be fulfilled in the 1930s. Custer is a man ahead of his time.

* Draft script available.



*Chevrolet plant, St. Louis, Missouri, 1937
Photographer unknown
Wide World Photos*

Forty-Four Days at Flint (1934-1937)

By the early 1930s, modern auto factories are a triumph of the rationalization of production which took shape in the non-union era. Fixed to their job stations, the workers labor under unremitting pressure, each repeating a single task in the implacable movement of the assembly line. The most decisive labor conflict of the twentieth century is in part a response to this kind of work. It brings the assembly lines to an abrupt halt.

The Depression, followed by favorable legislation under the New Deal, has created a new mood in the labor movement. Led by John L. Lewis, the newly formed Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO) breaks from the AFL. Backed by the CIO, the United Auto Workers (UAW) aims for a national contract with General Motors. Organizing work by Wyndham Mortimer, Robert Travis, the Reuther brothers, and others goes slowly but brings in the more militant workers in many plants. A daring move is in the offing: a series of coordinated sit-down strikes.

Someone throws open a window with the shout, 'Hooray, she's ours!'

The strike begins on December 26, 1936, with a sit-down in a Cleveland plant. Four days later, the company begins removal of important dies from Fisher Body Plant #1 in Flint, Michigan, the heart of its production. In response, a group of secret union members enters #1 and shuts down the line. Someone throws open a window with the shout, "Hooray, she's ours!" Occupation of Plant #9 follows.

National Guard troops soon surround the town of Flint. Sleeping in half-completed cars on an eerily silent assembly line, the auto workers inside the plants create their own police department and jazz bands. They are fed by their

There it is, twelve o'clock, whistles, cheers, 1937. Peace on earth. Why must men in the world's most perfect democracy have to take such steps to survive?

Striker at Fisher Body #1
in a diary entry of January 1, 1937

It was like we was soldiers holding the fort. It was like war. I remember as a kid in school readin' about Davy Crockett and the last stand at the Alamo. You know, Mister, that's how I felt. Yes sir, Chevy #4 was my Alamo!

Sit-downer from Chevy #4, 1937

wives out of a giant strike kitchen. Outside, the Women's Emergency Brigade keeps police and vigilantes at a distance. Wearing red berets and carrying two-by-fours, many of the women feel "awfully small against all those police."

Michigan Governor Frank Murphy, a New Deal Democrat, is torn. Though he is personally sympathetic to the strikers, it is his responsibility to uphold property rights. For weeks he seeks a peaceful settlement. The forty-second day of the strike, he finally confronts CIO President John L. Lewis with news that the troops will enter the plants the next day and clear the strikers out. When the theatrical Lewis says he'll be the first to die, Murphy backs down. Two days later, General Motors settles. It is the first big CIO victory.

Within the next few months UAW membership quadruples. Millions of people eventually join the CIO. But though the Flint strikers gain union recognition, they have mixed feelings about the outcome. A striker recalls thinking: "As the exhilaration of our first union victory wore off, the gang was occupied with thoughts of leaving the silent factory, which for days had been our home. What will it be like to go home—and to come back again tomorrow with motors running and the long-silenced machines roaring again? But that is for the future."



Sharecropper family, Alabama, 1937
Dorothea Lange
Library of Congress

The Last Harvest (1935-1945)

During the 1920s, Will and Hattie Loomis, black farmers from Missouri, manage to raise themselves out of sharecropping to the relative affluence of tenant farming. However tenuous their link to the land, they believe it to be the essential ingredient in the birthright of dignity and independence they wish to pass on to their six children.

By the 1930s, their hold on the land is being severed. New Deal cotton subsidies encourage growers throughout the South to plow their crops under. Land owners rid themselves of tenants to avoid sharing subsidies for cotton not grown. The subsidies provide the cash necessary to buy machines that make the labor of sharecroppers and tenant farmers obsolete. With growing apprehension, Will and Hattie Loomis watch the invasion of the countryside by the new factory-made machines. For millions like them, the New Deal becomes the "Raw Deal." In 1938, they face eviction.

With growing apprehension, Will and Hattie Loomis watch the invasion of the countryside by the new factory-made machines....

With the slogan "Land for the Landless," the Reverend O. W. Whitfield convinces Will and Hattie to join the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union (STFU). An interracial organization, the STFU provides the framework in which the Loomises first interact with whites as equals. In a strategy reminiscent of slavery days, meetings are called together by a secret signal, the singing of the spiritual "Steal Away to Jesus." The gatherings are disguised as church meetings.

If we are going to starve, let's starve out there where people can see us....Moses escaped at the Red Sea from old Boss Pharaoh's riding bosses in their chariots. We also must make an exodus. It's history repeatin' itself in 1939.

Reverend O. W. Whitfield,
Missouri organizer for the
Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, 1939

Reverend Whitfield reasons that since hundreds of families face eviction, a public and united action could help awaken state and federal officials to their plight. On January 10, 1939, Will and Hattie Loomis and their children join five hundred black and white families who camp out with all their possessions in freezing weather along Highway 61, the main road between St. Louis and Memphis. In the evenings, they pray and sing spirituals; then they sleep on the ground.

This spirited demonstration immediately wins a large share of sympathy from the American public. But the public interest is shortlived. Within a month, the Loomises and the others are herded from the high, well-drained roadside onto less conspicuous, small, wet plots of land. The government agrees to build housing for the demonstrators, but the process of their dispossession has already begun. Part of the last migration of American rural people to the industrial centers, the Loomises move on to St. Louis and the North.

By the time the Loomises arrive, the American economy has entered a new phase. Entry-level employment in basic industry, which attracted both American and foreign-born migrants, is no longer widely available. Hattie finds employment as a domestic, but except for a brief stint of work during World War II, Will is continually frustrated in his search for a job.



"Contradiction," 1940
Margaret Bourke-White
Life

The Scope of the Series

Each of these television movies will focus on a specific event. Each will be dramatically self-sufficient. But the full impact of the series will be cumulative. Before it is over, *MADE IN U.S.A.* will portray experiences and contributions of workers in a number of times and places—men, women, and children of a variety of occupations and ethnic backgrounds.

We have selected those unusual moments in history when the actual lives of individuals capture major historical developments. While each of the characters is an individual personality, his or her experience is expressive of the larger historical process. Each drama will turn on what was essential to that process. As event gives rise to event, each program will contribute to the overall structure of the series. Each will illuminate an important aspect of the shape of the present.

We'll observe the destruction of skilled craft unions and the failure of workers' attempts to build a labor party. We'll look in on conflicts within the labor movement and between union members and the many workers not in unions. We'll watch as industrialization brings together or divides people: blacks and whites, women and men, immigrants and native Americans. We'll see the labor movement emerge—after many trials—as a distinct and vital force in American life.

We'll experience wrenching national controversies over the nature and possibility of democracy in a highly centralized industrial economy. We'll see the promise of Jeffersonian democracy—based on the independence of farmers and artisans—fade under the impact of industrialization. We'll see a new democratic ideal, "industrial democracy," begin to take shape.

We'll watch industrial growth change family and community life. We'll see it spark a transformation of American culture, creating new tastes in music, art, leisure, and popular entertainment.

Above all, we'll meet people, people caught up in the creative and destructive vigor of a dynamic economy, people who are transformed by and transform their world.

Editorial Approach

...to choose incidents and situations from common life...to throw over them a certain coloring of imagination whereby ordinary things should be presented to the mind in an unusual aspect...and above all, to make these incidents and situations interesting by tracing in them truly, though not ostentatiously, the primary laws of our nature....

William Wordsworth
*Preface to the Second
Edition of Lyrical Ballads, 1800*

"The workers are not bugs to be examined under the lenses of a microscope by intellectuals on a sociological slumming tour.

Samuel Gompers

We are guided by the best in the great tradition of realist drama. For the renowned Swedish dramatist August Strindberg, this meant a concern for essential conflicts and underlying truths—not a mania to reproduce everything, “even the speck of dust on the lens of the camera.” While our extensive research permits us to dress the programs in authentic detail, the greater part of our research effort has gone into discovering those underlying truths.

We are not satisfied with creating a merely plausible “backdrop of history.” We want to portray workers as people who, like all human beings, have contradictory motives, and who, as historical actors, have faced difficult, controversial political and moral choices. Our aim is to foster an imaginative grasp of their experience in its complexity, while maintaining the highest standards of historical accuracy.

Format

We plan to combine the techniques of the film documentarian, the television news reporter, and the feature filmmaker. Productions like Peter Watkins' *Battle of Culloden* (BBC), Ken Russell's *Isadora* (BBC), Gilo Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers*, Roberto Rossellini's television dramas, the Taviani Brothers' *Padre Padrone*, and the WGBH NOVA productions "Strange Sleep" and "The Woman Rebel" provide successful examples of a documentary approach to historical drama.

One of the early popular successes of historical drama for television, the *You Are There* series, had roots not in soap opera (like much contemporary historical costume drama), but in television news reporting. While the style of that series is now out of date, one quality that made it so attractive to viewers—the fullest possible exploitation of the sense of immediacy unique to television—is not.

Locations:

We will film the programs at preserved historic locations, such as Pullman, Illinois; Harrisville, New Hampshire; and Cornwall, Pennsylvania—sometimes on the very sites at which the original events occurred—as well as in functioning, historically authentic work places. Capturing the complex beauty of America's industrial landscape will be an important goal.

Cast:

We will engage the best professional acting talent available for important roles. We expect to type-cast local residents for many secondary roles. Type-casting is sometimes valuable in creating an authentic picture of a particular community and has been essential to the success of many films about workers' lives, such as Vittorio de Sica's *Bicycle Thief*.

Graphics:

We plan to use period illustrations, among other sources, for historical research into costumes, styles, and environments. We may also occasionally incorporate them into the programs—not as "stills" but as an integral part of the drama. For example, in the program on the Homestead steel strike, a newspaper illustrator is part of the story.

Music:

We will draw extensively on the musical heritage of American working people—the folk and religious songs and music which were part of the living culture of ethnic communities, the songs about work and working, and the songs of the labor movement itself. We plan to touch on how America's musical heritage was transformed and shaped by industrialization. For instance, the program on the migration of blacks to Chicago shows rural blues becoming urban blues.

Host:

We are exploring the possibility of a host for the entire series. The host could also serve as narrator, but on-camera appearances would be limited to the introduction and conclusion of each program. We plan to audition several historians and journalists for the role of host. We may also consider possible hosts with experience in media. Among the latter who have expressed interest in the series are Studs Terkel, Chicago radio personality and author of *Division Street: America, Hard Times, and Working*; and Carroll O'Connor, who is best known as "Archie Bunker."



Personnel

The development of MADE IN U.S.A. has taken place over several years. To date a proposal, research for the ten episodes, three scripts, budgets, and production plans have been prepared under the direction of Ms. Elsa Rassbach.

Executive Producer

Elsa Rassbach

Elsa Rassbach joined the staff of WGBH in Boston in 1973 as a member of the team which created the *NOVA* series. Her credits on that series include writing, directing, and casting for the dramatic recreations "Strange Sleep" and "The Woman Rebel." A resident of West Berlin for a number of years, Ms. Rassbach participated in the renaissance which has recently brought West German filmmakers international acclaim; she scripted, directed, or was cinematographer for a number of award-winning films. Previously she completed interdisciplinary doctoral work in the fields of comparative religion, philosophy, and history. In 1977, Ms. Rassbach organized Public Forum Productions, Ltd., which is creating a number of television projects.

Ms. Rassbach conceived *MADE IN U.S.A.* and has written the stories for the series to date. It is expected that she will continue to write stories for and possibly direct episodes of the series.

Scripts, production plans, and budgets have been prepared for three programs: "Lowell Fever," "McLuckie's Luck," and "The Killing Floor." The following persons have collaborated in this work and may be called upon for additional work on these or other programs:

Anna Marie Barlow

Anna Marie Barlow completed a draft script of "Lowell Fever" for *MADE IN U.S.A.* Her historical drama on the Civil War, "Glory Hallelujah!" was produced for *Theater in America*, and she adapted Truman Capote's *Other Voices, Other Rooms* for the stage. She has written extensively for television, was story consultant for *Executive Suite*, and wrote the television features *It's a Great Big Chancy World* and *Checking Out At Thirteen*.

Francis Gladstone

Francis Gladstone has worked as Writer/Producer/Director for the BBC *Horizon* series and for the WGBH *NOVA* series, for which his credits include "Across the Silence Barrier," "Hitler's Secret Weapon," and "The Road to Happiness." He recently completed a draft script of "McLuckie's Luck" for *MADE IN U.S.A.*

Ron Milner

Ron Milner has written many short stories which have appeared in such

collections as *Best Short Stories by Negro Writers* and *Black Short Stories*. His plays include *What the Wine Sellers Buy* and *Who's Got His Own*; he has written a number of screenplays and recently completed a draft script of "The Killing Floor" for *MADE IN U.S.A.*

George Manasse

George Manasse is a Production Manager/Producer with an extensive background in feature film production. He was the Associate Producer for *The Bell Jar* and Production Manager for *Greetings, Oysters Are In Season*, and *Double Barrelled Detective Story*. He produced *Blue Sunshine, Squirm, Blade*, and *Who Killed Mary*. He was Associate Producer/Production Manager for *Slow Dancing in the Big City, Jump, The Wild Party*, and *Joe*. Mr. Manasse has been in charge of preparing production plans and budgets for *MADE IN U.S.A.*

A Production Advisory Committee has assisted Ms. Rassbach in preparation and planning for the series. Its members have included the eminent filmmakers, producers, and media experts Erik Barnouw, Robert Geller, Isaac Kleinerman, and Willard Van Dyke.

▶
Labor agency, New York, 1910
Lewis Hine
International Museum of Photography
George Eastman House

INTERNATIONAL LABOR AGENCY 355

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 COAL MINES
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 100 PER CENT
 100 PER CENT

We will draw upon the talent of the best available artists from the worlds of theater, public television, and commercial film to complete the series. Although no firm commitments have been made, the following directors, writers, and producers, among others, have expressed an interest in the project:

Directors:

Herbert Danska

Directed *Nobody Ever Died of Old Age; Right On!; Sweet Love/Bitter; It Won't Rub Off, Baby;* and *The Gift*. Produced, wrote, and directed *The Street Kids, Spiritualism NYC, Loving It Or Leaving It, The Harlem Two-Eight,* and *Old Is Somebody Else*.

William Jersey

Directed *The Other Side of Victory*. Produced and directed "The Kennedys" for *Six American Families, A Time for Burning, Cowboy, Manhattan Battleground* (NBC), and *The Industrial Revolution* (CBS). Nominated for an Emmy.

Jeremy Paul Kagan

Directed *Heroes* and *The Big Six*. Wrote and directed *Katherine: Portrait of a Revolutionary* and *The Love Song of Charles Seberman*; directed *My Dad Lives in a Downtown Hotel, Unwed Father, Judge Dee* and episodes of

Nichols, Colombo and *The Bold Ones*. Also directed numerous animated and documentary shorts including *What Did You Think of the Movie?*

Stan Lathan

Directed "The Trial of the Moke" for *Theater in America* and "Almost a Man" for *The American Short Story* as well as *Sixth Period, Wolf Trap, Apollo, Alvin Ailey: Memories and Visions,* segments of *VD Blues,* and *The Flip Wilson Special*.

Ralph Nelson

Directed *A Hero Ain't Nothin' But a Sandwich, Embryo, The Wilby Conspiracy, The Wrath of God, Soldier Blue, ...tick...tick...tick, Charly, Lilies of the Field* (Oscar nomination), *Counterpoint, Requiem for a Heavyweight, Father Goose, Once a Thief, and Soldier in the Rain*. Also directed, for *Playhouse Ninety*, "Requiem for a Heavyweight" (Emmy) and "The Man in the Funny Suit."

Joan Micklin Silver

Directed *Hester Street, Between The Lines,* and *Chilly Scenes of Winter* (working title). Directed numerous shorts including *The Immigrant Experience* and "Bernice Bobs Her Hair" for *The American Short Story*. Produced *On the Yard*.

Peter Werner

Directed *Battered* (NBC) and *The Old School Yard*. Wrote and directed *In the Region of Ice* (Academy Award).

Directed two hour-long, award-winning documentaries: *Frances Flaherty: Hidden and Seeking* and *Findhorn*.

Robert Young

Directed the feature films *Short Eyes* and *Rich Kids*. Wrote, directed, and was cinematographer for "Alambrista" of the *KCET Visions* series (Cannes Award).

Co-producer and cinematographer for *Nothing But a Man*. Directed for NBC *White Papers*, including "Sit In," "Anatomy of a Hospital," and "Angola: Journey to War."

►
*Constructing the Empire State Building
New York City, 1930
Lewis Hine
International Museum of Photography
George Eastman House*



Writers:**Conrad Bromberg**

Author of the *Visions* script, "Two Brothers," and of the play *Dream of a Blacklisted Actor*. Wrote *Siege* (CBS) and *Uranium Ship* (NBC).

Ed Bullins

Plays include *The Pig Pen*, *Night of the Beast*, *The Corner*, and *The Helper*. Won the Obie Award as Distinguished Playwright of the Year.

Thomas Cole

Author of *Medal of Honor Rag*. Wrote film scripts *Joseph's Move*, *The World of Emily Dickenson*, and *Stavrogin* (with Irwin Kershner).

Rosalyn Drexler

Wrote sections of *The Lily Tomlin Show* and "Your Most Humble and Obedient Servant, Eliza Jones" for *The Stanton Project*. Novels include *To Smithereens*, *One or Another*, and *I Am the Beautiful Stranger*. Won Obie Award for *The Writers Opera*.

David Edgar

His television credits include *I Know What I Meant*, based on the Nixon White House tapes. For the stage he has written *Death Story*, *Dick Deferred Destiny* and *The Jail Diary of Albie Sacks*. Playwright-in-Residence of the Manhattan Theater Club.

Charles Fuller

Author of *The Brownsville Raid* and *My Kind of Woman* (CBS).

Joseph Hurley

Television scripts include *Mr. Dickens of London*, *The Sense of Wonder*, and *The World of Mark Twain*. Contributed to *Discovery* and *That Was the Week That Was*. Co-wrote the feature historical screenplay, *Damien*.

Corrine Jacker

Extensive writing for the CTW *Best of Families* series and *The Adams Chronicles*. Received Obies for her plays *Harry Outside* and *Bits and Pieces* as well as the Cine Golden Eagle for *Virginia Woolf: The Moment Whole*.

Leslie Lee

Plays include *First Breeze of Summer*, *Killing Time*, and *Shadows*. Wrote "Almost a Man" for *The American Short Story*.

Loring Mandel

Numerous television scripts and plays, including *Sandburg's Lincoln*, *The Lemon Eaters*, *Advise and Consent*, *Benjamin Franklin*, and *Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night*.

Producers:**Michael Hausman**

Produced Robert Young's *Rich Kids* for Robert Altman as well as "Alambrista"

and "The Gardener's Son" for the KCET *Visions* series. Also produced *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden*, with Anthony Page directing, and *Mickey and Nicky* for Elaine May. Assistant Director for *Hair* and Head of Production for *Saturday Night Fever*. Associate Producer/ Production Manager on *The Heartbreak Kid*, also by Elaine May, and on *Taking Off*, directed by Milos Forman.

Elaine Sperber

Associate Producer/Production Manager of *A Good Dissonance Like a Man*. Production Manager for *The Next Step* and *Pity the Poor Soldier*, directed by William Jersey. Associate Producer of "The Scenic Route," "The White Heron," and "Bernice Bobs Her Hair" for *The American Short Story*.

Walker Stuart

Writer/Director/Producer of numerous documentary and dramatic films. Produced the feature film *Short Eyes*, written by Miguel Pinero and directed by Robert Young. Produced *Malatesta's Carnival*, *ABC Election 1974*, and *That's Me*. Directed *Hemingway's Spain*, *The Pursuit of Excellence*, *To Save a Soldier*, *Marathon*, and *Missionary*. Writer/Director/Producer of *Sing Out New Praises*.



Educational Uses

The industrial relations system in the United States is unique. It has been shaped by our own political, cultural, economic, and industrial history. Capturing essential elements of this uniqueness through historical episodes gives the series great educational power.

E. Robert Livernash
Harvard University
Graduate School
of Business Administration

MADE IN U.S.A. will assist in the development of a more balanced perspective on American life and values as taught in schools and colleges. Educational institutions have for the most part relegated labor history to specialists. The few courses available have overwhelmingly stressed the history of institutions or have incorporated labor history superficially into general survey courses. Recently, scholars have turned to a comprehensive approach towards labor history, combining cultural, economic, and social factors in their analyses. Yet no sound, unified interdisciplinary curriculum is currently available to students.

In the course of preparing the television series, the staff and consultants of *MADE IN U.S.A.* have synthesized much of the best of traditional and recent scholarship in the field. We plan to use this research to develop supporting educational materials for the series.

The format of *MADE IN U.S.A.* permits flexible adaptation of individual programs or of the series as a whole to a variety of educational contexts. Two major approaches have been suggested for the college level:

- a series of ten individual study units, each one based on a single episode of the series. These would be used primarily in the framework of general American studies and in courses like urban development, women's studies, Afro-American studies, ethnic studies, sociology, or economics.
- a complete telecourse on American labor and social history, for use in junior and community colleges and in many four-year colleges.

In addition, *MADE IN U.S.A.* may be used in high schools and by interested business and labor groups.

Among the themes which might serve as the building blocks for a curriculum are the following:

1

The impact of industrialization on the lives of ordinary Americans.

What changes in their personal and work lives did industrialization and urbanization impose on people? What were the experiences of immigrant and native American artisans, farmers, and peasants who were transformed into industrial workers? In what ways were the experiences of various ethnic groups in this process similar and in what ways different? How were the relationships of men and women, parents and children altered? What were the consequences for traditional religious and cultural values?

2

The emergence of the labor movement as a distinct and vital force in American life.

What forms of organization have workers developed? Why did trade unionism become the dominant form of workers' organization in America? What was the fate of other workers' movements—producers' cooperatives, anarchism, socialism, and syndicalism? Why did no labor party develop? What roles did political ideals and traditional religious and cultural values play in the emergence of the labor movement? What were the contributions of specific ethnic groups, minorities, and women? What factors have determined whether workers responded individually or collectively to changing conditions?

3

The experience of workers as citizens in the face of industrial conflict.

What conceptions have workers had of themselves and their role as citizens? How have the middle classes, the upper classes, and farmers responded to the emerging industrial work force? What was the dream and what the reality of mobility? What were the causes of industrial violence, and what has been its effect on our institutions? What role has government played in industrial conflict: how has it defined the rights of employers, employees, and the public? In what ways has industrial conflict spawned competing interpretations of the democratic ideal?

4

The creation of new patterns of culture in the context of dynamic industrial growth.

What effect did industrialization have on fundamental attitudes towards work and leisure? How did the growing availability of mass-produced consumer goods affect the structure of working-class social life in the family and in the community? What was the impact of new techniques of merchandising and advertising on traditional working-class culture? How did diverse immigrant culture mores contribute to and merge with the American cultural tradition?

As an educational endeavor, *MADE IN U.S.A.* has the support of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the University and College Labor Education Association, and the American Federation of Teachers, among others. Through these and other organizations, *MADE IN U.S.A.* will make the exciting new research in the fields of labor and social history available to large numbers of students.

Advisors

Over the past ten years, historians have begun to rewrite workers' history "from the bottom up" through painstaking research in local archives and other littleknown sources. These efforts are part of the rediscovery of the complexity of the American past. Our own extensive detective work has rested upon this new research.

We have relied upon a Humanities Advisory Committee to provide overall guidance in selection and research of episodes. Composed of scholars representing a broad spectrum of viewpoints and areas of concentration, this group could become an important resource in the development of educational uses for the series.

David Brody

David Brody is currently Professor of History at the University of California at Davis and a member of the Executive Board of the Organization of American Historians. He is the author of *Steelworkers in America*, *The Butcher Workmen*, *Labor in Crisis*, and *Industrial America in the Twentieth Century*, as well as articles published in a number of collections. A member of the Board of Editors of the journal *Labor History*, he was editor of *The American Labor Movement* (1971) and of several volumes of *Twentieth Century America*.

His forthcoming book is entitled *Workers in Industrial America: Essays on the Twentieth Century Struggle*.

Professor Brody has directed two National Endowment for the Humanities seminars for labor leaders.

John Bracey

Professor of Afro-American Studies, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; co-author of *Black Nationalism in America* and of the *Exploration in the Black Experience* series.

Thomas Cochran

Benjamin Franklin Professor of History, Emeritus, University of Pennsylvania; author of *The American Business System*, *Social Change in Industrial Society*, *200 Years of American Business*, and numerous other works on American business.

David Demarest

Professor of English, Carnegie-Mellon University; co-editor of a reprint series of industrial novels for the University of Pittsburgh Press, and author of numerous articles on the history of American literature.

Thomas Dublin

Assistant Professor of History, University of California, San Diego; author of several articles on women, work, and community in Lowell, Massachusetts.

Melvyn Dubofsky

Professor of History, SUNY, Binghamton; author of *When Workers Organize: New York City in the Progressive Era*, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World*, and co-author of a recent biography of John L. Lewis.

Sidney Fine

Professor of History, University of Michigan; author of *Sit Down: The General Motors Strike of 1936-37*, *Automobile Under the Blue Eagle*, *Laissez-Faire and the General Welfare State* and *Frank Murphy: The Detroit Years*.

Eric Foner

Professor of History, City College of New York, and the Graduate Center, City University of New York; author of *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men* and of *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America*; editor of *America's Black Past* and consulting editor of the Hill and Wang series on American radicalism.

Archie Green

Coordinator of the annual Smithsonian National Folklife Festival, specialist in folklore and musicology, and author of *Only a Miner*.

Carol Groneman

Executive Director, New York Council for the Humanities, and author of several articles on women's ethnic history.

Alice Kessler-Harris

Co-Director, Center for the Study of Work and Leisure, Hofstra University, and author of several articles on women's history.

Alice Hoffman

Associate Professor of Labor Studies, Pennsylvania State University; Coordinator, The Pennsylvania State University Oral History Project; author of numerous articles on oral history in America.

Arthur O. Lewis

Professor of English, Pennsylvania State University; editor of *Of Men and Machines*, *Utopian Literature*, and *America's Utopias*.

Richard B. Morris

Gouverneur Morris Professor of History, Emeritus, Columbia University; author of *Government and Labor in Early America* and editor of *The Encyclopedia of American History*.

Mark Naison

Assistant Professor of Afro-American Studies, Fordham University; author of numerous articles on Afro-American and labor history; expert on the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and on sports in working-class life.

James P. Shenton

Professor of History, Columbia University; author of *Robert John Walker: A Politician from Jackson to Lincoln* and *Reconstruction South* as well as several articles on Father Coughlin; editor of *Free Enterprise Forever: Scientific American in the Nineteenth Century*.

Warren Susman

Professor of History, Rutgers University; editor of *Culture and Commitment* and author of numerous articles on American cultural history.

Alan Trachtenberg

Professor of American Studies and English, Yale University; author of *Brooklyn Bridge: Fact and Symbol* and of numerous articles on American cultural history.

William Tuttle

Professor of History, University of Kansas; author of *Race Riot: Chicago in the Red Summer of 1919* and of numerous articles on black workers in the labor movement.

In addition to the scholars named above, Philip Taft, distinguished labor historian, was a member of the Humanities Advisory Committee until his death in 1977 and contributed in important ways to the shaping of the series. Leon Stein, renowned labor educator, was a member of the Committee until 1978, when he was asked by the President of the United States to serve on the National Council of the National Endowment for the Humanities

Radio Uses

The uses of radio programming coordinated with a major television project are several: to explore areas not suitable or simply not presented in the television version (historical contexts, expert and lay discussion, material of related interest from literature, letters, diaries, music, etc.); to reach audiences with special needs or interests; to make further use of research and production materials that are particularly effective as audio.

The Scarlet Letter, produced by WGBH, is an example of media differentiation:

- the television project focused its attention exclusively on dramatic visualization and was captioned for the hearing-impaired;
- the radio project presented documentaries about the book, using the extensive research done for television as well as original commentaries, interviews, music, and readings;
- the text of the novel itself was recorded word for word in a dramatic reading, both as supplement to the television experience and as a complementary experience for blind audiences;
- extensive print materials were distributed to realize the educational opportunities of the entire project.

MADE IN U.S.A. will cooperate with WGBH's Radio Department in drawing up a specific proposal for radio uses of the series.



PBS

As a top executive of one of the nation's largest companies put it recently: "We are just amazed at how much Public Television has accomplished. We consider it one of the most hopeful developments in the nation today and we are committed to its support indefinitely."

The Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) is unique in the world. Starting over 20 years ago, public broadcasters have forged a system that has emerged as one of America's most vital cultural and informational assets.

Here are a few of PBS' accomplishments:

- PBS has more stations—280—than any other network in the world, more than ABC, CBS, or NBC.
- Some 89%—over 65,000,000—of the nation's television homes are within range of a public television station.
- Most recent figures show that 66% of all the nation's television households are now watching PBS. The average household in this group viewed public television for nine hours in March 1978.
- PBS—distributed programs are viewed in 74% of all television households with income over \$20,000; 75% of all households in which the head is a college graduate; and 72% of households headed

by a professional, an owner, or a manager. PBS programs also reach substantial numbers of viewers in households of every educational, employment, and income level.

- Public television enjoys rising support from every sector of the American economy—from corporations, foundations, governments (federal, state, and local), and most impressive of all, from more than 2,000,000 viewing families, who contribute voluntarily more than \$50 million each year to keep this extraordinary service alive and growing. For example, during just one program—*The Upstairs Downstairs Farewell* on May 1, 1977—more than \$1,700,000 in contributions were received from thousands of viewers throughout the country.
- Most of the programs distributed by PBS are produced by its member stations—especially those like WGBH Boston which are based in major metropolitan areas. PBS itself, unlike its commercial network counterparts, produces no programming but serves instead solely as the network distributor and as the national representative of its member stations.

WGBH Boston

When PBS airs the salutation "WGBH Boston Presents....," viewers look for a program of high quality and special flair. They find it in such diverse WGBH presentations as:

Evening at Symphony
Masterpiece Theatre
NOVA
The Ascent of Man
Evening at Pops
WORLD
In Search of the Real America
ZOOM
The Advocates
Arabs and Israelis
Religious America
The French Chef
Drum Corps International
War and Peace
Grand Prix Tennis
The Romagnolis' Table
An Evening of Championship Skating
REBOP
Crockett's Victory Garden
Something Personal
The Scarlet Letter
Off Your Duff
Julia Child & Company
Christmas Heritage
Einstein's Universe
New Year's at Pops
Dying

The WGBH name is honored and respected. A name that represents standards of excellence and innovation for public television programming, it is seen frequently on prime time programming offered nationwide by PBS—in recent seasons fully one third of the total. Added to that is our considerable contribution to other parts of the PBS schedule: children's programming, sports, and specials.

Such quality has been recognized by the many awards given to WGBH—among them:

The "Emmy"—26 in all—from the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences—for such programming as:

1977 ZOOM

1977 *Upstairs Downstairs*

1977 *A Woman's Special: Rape*

1977 *Piccadilly Circus*

1976 *Seiji Ozawa*

1976 *Upstairs Downstairs*

1976 *Notorious Woman*

1975 *Upstairs Downstairs*

1975 ZOOM

1974 *Upstairs Downstairs*

1974 ZOOM

1973 *The Advocates*

1972 *Elizabeth R*

1970 *The First Churchills*

1966 *The French Chef*

1965 *The French Chef*

Peabody Award (10):

1977 *Upstairs Downstairs*

1975 NOVA

1970 *Evening at Pops*

1969 *The Advocates*

1966 *Changing World: South African Essay*

1965 *The French Chef*

Prix Italia Honorable:

1975 NOVA: *The Plutonium Connection*

Achievement in Children's

Television—ACT:

1978 *The Spider's Web*

1977 ZOOM

1977 REBOP

1976 *The Spider's Web*

The "Oscar" (from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences):

1963 *Robert Frost: A Lover's Quarrel with the World*

The Association of Trial Lawyers of America:

1976 *The Edelin Conviction*

American Bar Association:

1976 *The Edelin Conviction*

1973 *The Advocates*

1972 *The Advocates*

American Film Festival (14):

1978 NOVA

1977 NOVA

1977 *Dying*

1976 *A Women's Place is in the House: A Portrait of Elaine Noble*

1976 *Next Door*

1970 *Multiply and Subdue the Earth*

New York American Film Festival:

1976 *Next Door*

Tuck Award:

1977 *There's No Business Like Big Business*

DuPont-Columbia School of Journalism:

1978 *Banned in Chelsea*

1978 NOVA

1978 WORLD

1976 NOVA

1975 *Arabs and Israelis*

1964 *Louis Lyons*

Ohio State Awards (29):

1979 WORLD

1979 *Massachusetts Poetry Series*

1979 *The Spider's Web*

1977 NOVA

Program Funding

Programs produced by WGBH have been supported by underwriting grants from such corporations and foundations as:

Mobil Corporation
Polaroid Corporation
Exxon Corporation
McDonald's Corporation
The Ford Foundation
Raytheon Company
The E. F. Hutton Group
General Mills, Inc.
General Foods Corporation
Bethlehem Steel Corporation
The Arthur Vining Davis Foundations
Champion Spark Plug Company
Tupperware Home Parties, Inc.
American Telephone and Telegraph Company
Mitchell Energy & Development Corporation
Coca-Cola Company
Owens-Illinois
Martin Marietta Corporation
The Pfizer Foundation, Inc.
American Airlines, Inc.
Fieldcrest Mills
Blue Cross/Blue Shield
John M. Olin Foundation, Inc.
3M Company
TRW Inc.

International Business Machines Corporation
The J.M. Foundation
Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, Inc.
Aetna Life and Casualty Corporation
Champion International Corporation
The M.L. Annenberg Foundation
Standard Brands, Inc.
Bache Halsey Stuart Shields, Inc.
Scaife Family Charitable Trusts
Thomas J. Lipton, Inc.
Lilly Endowment, Inc.
Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
Alexander & Alexander Services, Inc.
Cullinane Corporation
Sun Company, Inc.
SCM Corporation
International Paper Copy Company Foundation
The Charles E. Merrill Trust
The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation
Employers Insurance of Wausau
Almaden Vineyards, Inc.
Funds to produce television's national programs come from seven sources:
• The Corporation for Public Broadcasting (funded by Congress)
• Grants from business corporations—called "underwriting."
• Grants from foundations.
• Co-productions with foreign broadcasters.

- The advance sale of distribution rights.
- The stations themselves through a process called the PBS Station Program Cooperative (SPC).
- Federal agency grants and contracts.

Photos

Front Cover
World's largest American flag, Amoskeag Mills, Manchester, New Hampshire, 1914.
Photographer unknown
Manchester New Hampshire Historic Association

Inside Front Cover-1
Cotton mill spinners, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1910.
Lewis Hine
Library of Congress

Page 2
Spring plowing, New England, 1899.
George Tingley
Library of Congress

Page 4
National Cash Register Company, Detroit, Michigan, 1902.
Detroit Photographic Company
Library of Congress

Page 6
Leaving the Amoskeag Mills, Manchester, New Hampshire, 1908.
Lewis Hine
Library of Congress

▶
Leaving the factory, 1910
Lewis Hine
Private Collection



