

Grade Level

5

Class Periods

2

Goals/Objectives/Student Outcomes:

Students will:

- Gain an awareness of the history of American labor and Iowa's role in that history.
- Recognize various symbols and images that represent workers.
- Identify job opportunities available to Iowa women.
- Use the hands-on activities to experience various job skills.

Materials:

1. Magazines
2. Scissors and tape
3. *The Goldfinch* articles and worksheets
4. Newspapers

Background:

How workers view themselves and how others view them reflects both the changing relationships among workers and the changing attitudes of their observers.

Artists, advertisers, publishers and politicians often have depicted "labor" as a distinct group of people. To promote their own interests in the workplace and the community, workers formed organizations. Many workers, proud of their accomplishments, had their portraits painted. These portraits often depicted the workers with their tools and work clothes. This illustrated their status in the community, and expressed the prevailing sentiment that the future of the United States depended on its workers.

The development of photography allowed more people to have their portraits done. By the end of the 19th century, more workers chose to be photographed with their families instead of their tools. This underscored the declining status of the worker in a society where status was based on wealth rather than an occupation.

Popular images have influenced the way Americans view labor. Early artisans adopted symbols used by European craft guilds to show commitment to their craft. The artisans of the late 1700s were

represented by leather aprons, a symbol of skill and respect. After the Civil War, groups like the Knights of Labor organized industrial workers. By the late 19th century, workers were depicted as victims of industrialization, wearing overalls and mechanic's hats. By 1900 trade unions often used a picture of two hands clasped in a hand-shake to represent solidarity. Some unions held radical views and called for a restructuring of society. An arm and hammer often symbolized these groups.

Sometimes portrayals of workers were negative, showing labor unions and workers as obstacles to progress. Immigrant, African-American, and women workers were sometimes depicted as unflattering stereotypes. In the 20th century, the factory worker—or the "working stiff"—became the image for labor.

To encourage productivity and loyalty during World War II, posters emphasized workers' strength. Later, artists used the symbols of the construction worker and the hard hat to represent labor. Today, labor symbols and advertising show that unions are for everyone, regardless of race or gender.

Unions have been successful in Iowa from the mid-19th century to the present. John L. Lewis, a man from the Iowa coal fields, was an important national labor figure from 1920 to 1960, when he was president of the United Mine Workers of America. He also founded the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

As Iowa's industrial base expanded in the 1930s and 1940s, laws affecting workers were passed at the state and federal levels. After the passage of the Wagner Act in 1935, unions gained the right to bargain collectively. In 1947, when the Iowa legislature was enacting a "a right to work" law, thousands of workers took a "holiday" to protest at the state capitol.

By 1900 increasing numbers of women were seeking employment outside the home. Many of these women were young and single. They discovered that some jobs, considered inappropriate for women, were unavailable to them. Women most frequently found jobs in industries making garments, candy, buttons, and mattresses. Others worked as clerks in shops and offices. Women were often hired because employers could pay them lower wages and because women were less likely to unionize.

It was commonly thought that women did not need to earn higher wages because they could be supported by husbands and fathers. In reality, many women supported their families, sometimes all by themselves. Women often became clerical and community workers.

Iowans found work in a variety of businesses and industries. Certain jobs, such as coal mining, were dangerous. Sometimes it took a disaster, like the one at the Lost Creek Mine, to improve safety measures. Railroad workers were among the first to organize unions in Iowa. A long tradition of book, magazine, newspaper, and calendar publishing in the state created jobs in the printing trades. Workers such as carpenters in the building trades constructed buildings, bridges, and other structures around the state.

Vocabulary

Some of the terms below were coined in the 19th century when men were by far the predominant trade workers. The following vocabulary therefore reflects this male bias.

Apprentice: A person learning a trade or occupation.

Artisan: A person manually skilled in making a particular product.

Brotherhood: All members of a specific profession or trade; an association of people united for a common purpose.

Capitalist economy: An economic system in which individuals or companies, rather than government, own most factories and businesses, and laborers produce products for a wage.

Guild: A medieval association of artisans.

Journeyman: One who has served an apprenticeship and is a qualified worker in another's employ.

Labor: Workers, the laboring class; the trade union movement.

Master: A worker qualified to teach apprentices and to carry on his or her craft independently.

Solidarity: A union of interests, purposes, or sympathies among members of a group.

Strike: To cease working to obtain specific conditions from an employer.

Stereotype: An image or idea that is considered typical of a group, but may not be true of individuals in the group.

Trade: Occupation, especially one requiring skilled labor; craft.

Trade union: A labor union or an association of trade workers to promote and protect the rights of their members.

Procedure:

1. Ask students to read introductory material from *The Goldfinch*.
2. When people introduce themselves to others they often began by describing what they do for a living. This indicates that for many people, their job is an important part of their identity, like their name. Ask students how this compares to past attitudes about work. Encourage students to ask their parents or some other adults to describe themselves to you as though you were meeting for the first time. Ask students to see or they include information about their work.
3. Have students interview parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents about the jobs they have held. Students can bring their findings to class and with their classmates develop a master chart of years and occupations. Have students study the chart to see if they can draw any conclusions about labor from the chart.
4. Make a book of images that represent labor. Students can do their own illustrations based on what images they can find in newspapers and magazines. Use the bibliography of resources to think of more ideas. What symbols could be used to represent workers in the 1990s?

5. Some Iowa industries have experienced strikes, plant closings, and layoffs. You can read about these events in newspapers. Check your local library for microfilmed newspapers for the years 1935 to 1940 to see if your area was affected by a strike. Discuss the following questions with students: Why were the workers on strike? What were their needs? How did the company owners respond to those needs? How did the strike end?

Assessment of Outcomes:

Complete interviews with parents and grandparents and develop a master chart of occupations. Have students hypothesize why certain occupations are mentioned and others are not. Help them compare and contrast occupations in past time periods with today's occupations. Have them extrapolate from their observations and project what occupations will exist and what labor unions will be like in the next century.

Extensions and Adaptations:

Have students perform the play "STRIKE!" from "Labor in Iowa," *The Goldfinch* 10 (February 1989): 10.

Have students research labor issues in their county or community. Look on the reference shelf in your library for the *Directory of Iowa Manufacturers*. Ask who is the biggest employer in your community. What would happen if the plant was closed? If workers could not find other jobs, discuss what impact this would have on other businesses in the community.

Resources:

"Early Manufacturing." *The Goldfinch* 2 (November 1980). (SHSI)

George Gerson Korson. *John L. Lewis, Young Militant Labor Leader*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970. (Children's book) 200 pp. illus. (SHSI)

"Labor in Iowa." *The Goldfinch* 10 (February 1989). (SHSI)

"Working Women in Iowa." *The Goldfinch* 8 (November 1986). (SHSI)

Harry Booth. "You Got to Go Ahead and Get Killed: Lost Creek Remembered." *The Palimpsest* 71 (Fall 1990): 118-125. (SHSI, PL)

Merle Davis. "Horror at Lost Creek: A 1902 Coal Mine Disaster." *The Palimpsest* 71 (Fall 1990): 98-117. (SHSI, PL)

Mary Allison Farley. "Iowa Women in the Workplace." *The Palimpsest* 67 (January/February 1986): 2-16, 21-27. (SHSI, PL)

Dorothy Schwieder. *Black Diamonds: Life and Work in Iowa's Coal Mining Communities, 1895-1925*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1983. 203 pp. (SHSI, PL)

"Perspectives on Sioux City." *The Annals of Iowa* 50 (Fall 1989/ Winter 1990). (SHSI, PL).

H. Shelton Stromquist. *A Generation of Boomers: The Pattern of Railroad Labor Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987. (SHSI)

The Last Pony Mine. (16mm film) Iowa State University, 1971. 23 min. (Area Education Agency, State Library)

Yesterday and Today: *The Labor Movement in Iowa*. (16mm film) 1978. 23 min. (State Library)

Voices From the Past

WHY DO PEOPLE join unions? How do unions work? How do they assist employees? How do unions help communities? The Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO conducted one thousand interviews with Iowa workers to find the answers. The following excerpts are from the Iowa Labor Oral History Project and are used with the kind permission of Mark L. Smith, Secretary-Treasurer, Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO.

The following excerpt is from an interview with a Keokuk worker. Why was a union formed at his company?

“When we formed a union in the 1930s, the things we were looking for were better working conditions and better wages. That’s what caused us to organize. We had no fringe benefits. We had no vacation pay.

“I remember one time I got laid off, and I had more seniority than my father. But the company would keep him working during the slack periods, and I’d be laid off. It happened throughout the plant. If management liked the color of your hair, you got to work. If you were a good friend of the boss, you could work.”

What do you think caused this former worker at a chair factory to join a union?

“I was a teenager, and they was paying me thirty cents an hour. The older people that was doing the same job was getting thirty-five. The



Maytag washing machines had a seamless washtub which made them popular. This photograph of a Maytag employee was taken in 1938. The same year a strike was called at the Newton plant. The Iowa National Guard was called out for the strike.

fellow that I worked for was a life-long resident of Burlington and a striker that went on strike in 1922 at the railroad shops. He raised so much trouble with the company for taking advantage of a kid that they did raise me to thirty-five cents an hour. They was only giving me thirty because I was single and a teenager. . . .”

An industrial worker from a Quad Cities plant joined a union in 1940. Why did he join?

“Well, working conditions were mighty bad. Things weren’t clean—restrooms, machinery, work areas were in bad shape. Lighting was bad.

There was no heat. . . . It was terrible working there. That's one of the first things the union got. We got the union in and the first thing we did was clean the shop up."

How did this Waterloo woman and other employees of a large department store form a union?

"We organized very hush-hush. We started probably around July 1959. One of the girls contacted a man from [a retail department store union] in Cedar Rapids, and he helped us get organized. He talked to us away from the store, and then we met in one of the hotels near the store, and that's where our group organized. Most of our husbands were union members, and this, of course, spurred us on. We had backing from them. . . .

"We asked the company to let the union in. Of course, they tried to keep us from getting the union. They tried to discourage us in every way, shape and form. They threatened us that we'd lose our jobs and things like that. We finally had the election, and we won, and there was no way they could keep the union out. The vote for the union was overwhelming. It covered the girls that worked in the coffee shop and the tea room, as well as those of us that worked in the store.

"When we finally got organized enough, we presented a list of demands. We were asking for a forty-hour work week, with time-and-a-half over forty hours. A dollar an hour was what we were asking for in wages. And we wanted some sort of insurance benefit."

A union member from Waterloo recounts some

of the ways unions have helped to improve the quality of life. What are they?

"... Our educational system is a great beneficiary of the labor movement because we insisted that education be made available for all kids. [Unions] took the kids out of the shops. The child labor laws are really an outgrowth of the labor movement.

"Without the labor movement negotiating for better wages and working conditions . . . two-thirds of the people . . . wouldn't have all the conveniences they've got now. They wouldn't



Everyone in a family is affected when workers strike. In the 1961 strike against the Sioux City Dressed Beef Company, kids and parents alike picketed the company.



Workers don't sit around when their union goes on strike. Like these 1961 Sioux City strikers, some people picket, wear sandwich boards, and talk to others in order for the strike to work.

have bathrooms in their homes, electricity . . . or refrigerators. . . .

"The American people are much healthier now than when I was a kid. Our unions cleaned up these plants [that is, those that sweated labor from children and were dirty, ugly, unsanitary and unsafe workplaces.] They've cleaned up the mills and garment shops.

"Food stamps are a result of the labor

movement demanding that hungry people be fed. Because of the labor movement, working people can afford health insurance, life insurance, home insurance. My dad didn't even know what the word 'insurance' meant. There wasn't such a thing for the poor farmer or working man when he died in the early 1930s. . . ."

Many union members sponsor a wide variety of activities to improve community life. A union member from Burlington describes some of her local union's community work:

"We sponsor Little League ball teams, both a boys' and a girls'. We sponsor a few bowling leagues for both men and women. . . . Right now, the Women's Committee of our local is in the process of setting up a scholarship program at the local community college for any young person who wants to learn more about the labor movement. . . ."

A Cedar Rapids woman tells about the community activities of her local union. Are unions in your area involved in community activities? If so, what?

"Our people become involved in all sorts of community affairs. We have people who are involved in the Kinship Program. That's a program sort of like the Big Brother and Big Sister programs, where you take a child or young person under your wing, and you donate some of your time to helping the child. You can take the child to your home or take her/him out to places and be friends with her/him."



Coal Mine Map

This is a historical map showing the Consolidation Coal Company mines in southeastern Iowa. It shows railroad lines, political boundaries (such as county lines), and some towns that no longer exist. Answer the questions below by filling in the blanks.

1. Find Buxton on the map. What county is it in?

2. Consolidation Coal Company towns were located near mines and railroad tracks. Which three towns were owned by the company?

3. Why are the coal mining towns by railroads?

4. What political boundaries does the Des Moines River pass through?

5. What direction would you travel from Buxton to Haydock?

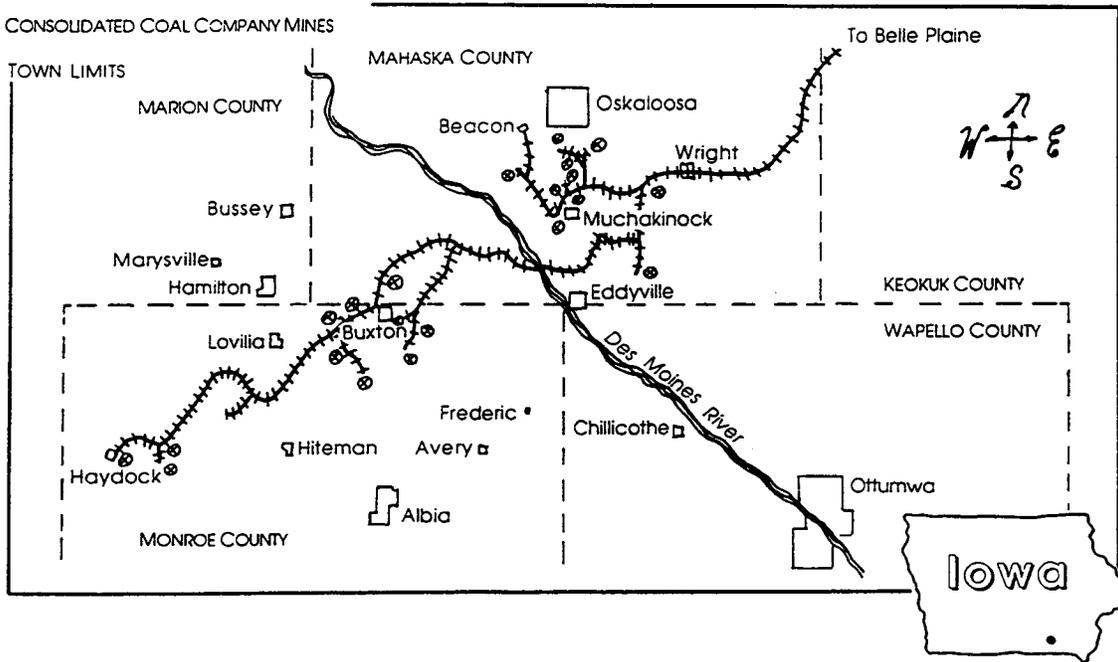
KEY: MAP CHALLENGE: Look at a current Iowa map. Which towns on the *Goldfinch* map still exist today?

--- COUNTY LINES

++++ CHICAGO AND NORTHWESTERN RAILROAD

⊙ CONSOLIDATED COAL COMPANY MINES

□ TOWN LIMITS



Map by Shelly Clink

Children at Work

by Chris Annicella

The horrors of working conditions for children were exposed in this poem called "Nursery Rhymes." It was first published in about 1911 in the newspaper, *The Progressive Woman*. Many young people in the United States and in Iowa worked long hours in dark factories, on cold streets, and in dangerous mines. At the time some employers said, "Why hire a man for a dollar when you get a kid for a dime?"

In the late 19th century many people thought that **idleness** (not working) was not good for children. If children were not in school, they should be at work. Iowa children worked in coal mines, button and candy-making factories, laundries, department stores, and other types of shops. Boys sold newspapers on the streets of Des Moines and other cities. Girls worked as **domestic servants**—washing, cleaning, cooking, and caring for children. Both boys and girls worked endless hours on Iowa farms.

Laws to protect

States were slow to adopt laws to protect children from injury and unhealthy working conditions. Iowa passed its first child labor law in 1874. It stated that no females, and no males under 10 years of age were allowed to work in mines. The 1902 Factory Act prohibited any person under 16 and all females under 18 from cleaning machinery while it was in motion. But the law still allowed children to work if they signed a paper that said employers were not responsible if the children were hurt.

Gradually more protective laws were passed. By 1915 a child labor law was passed prohibiting

employment for children under 14 in amusement places. Kids under 16 could not work in mines, bowling alleys, or at dangerous occupations. Some children in Iowa were not allowed to skip school because they had to go to work. Yet children working in agriculture and in street trades—such as selling newspapers—were not protected by these laws.

Working on the farm

In the late 19th century many children who lived on farms were kept out of school during the spring and fall to help plant and harvest crops. Farmers thought child labor was an economic necessity. They believed they needed the extra hands to help with the work.

Farmers who could afford to employ extra labor often hired boys and girls to help with the farm and domestic chores. For \$1.50 per week hired girls cooked meals, cleaned houses, washed clothes, and took care of children. Hired boys helped to build fences, care for livestock, plant, cultivate, and harvest crops, and "do the chores."

Many laws protecting children have been passed since the days when Iowa children worked 10 hours a day, six days a week in dangerous jobs. But even today Iowa kids working on farms and in other jobs sometimes face dangers just as youngsters did one hundred years ago. Almost every week an Iowa child is seriously injured in an agricultural accident. For information on safety for children working on farms, send a self-addressed, stamped, business-size envelope to: Farm Safety for Just Kids, Route 3, Box 73, Earlham, IA 50072.



Strike!

A Play to Read or Perform

By Katharyn Bine Brosseau

Cast:

Narrators A-E

*Isaac "Red" Oransky, 16

*Louis Lazarus, 14

*John Ronsky, 15

*Robbie Clayman, 13

} newsboys

*William Byrnes, a manager for the *Daily News*

*Lafayette Young, a manager for the *Capital*

Anna Oransky, Red's mother

Abby Oransky, 17

Jenny Oransky, 12

} Red's sisters

Sarah Marsden, a customer

Clara Tupper, 12, Jenny's friend

Police

Note: The words in italics and parentheses (*like this*) tell the actors what they should be doing as they speak lines or what tone of voice they should use.

The characters with * by their names are real. We don't know exactly what they said, but the events were taken from newspaper accounts.

Props:

table

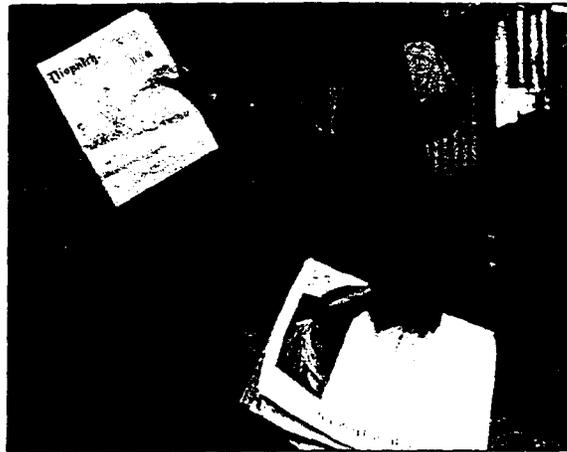
6 chairs

newspapers

watermelon or orange rinds

whistle

a few pennies



Foster Collection, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City

EXTRA! EXTRA! Read all about it! Newsboys on strike! Why do people **strike** (stop working at their jobs)? One reason—they think employers are unfair. In 1898 Des Moines newsboys went on strike because they wanted to make more money. At that time people bought their newspapers from children.

The *Capital* and the *Daily News* were two Des Moines afternoon newspapers. To sell these newspapers, the boys first had to buy them. If they sold 100 copies of the *Capital*, they made one dollar. If they sold 100 copies of the *Daily News*, they made 40 cents. Read the play to find out why the newsboys went on strike.

ACT ONE

Narrator A: It is August 8, 1898. Lafayette Young of the *Capital* sits around a table with the newsboys. He has just told the newsboys that if they wish to sell the *Capital*, they cannot sell any other afternoon newspaper.

Robbie Clayman: Mr. Young, does this mean if I take your dime, I can't sell the *Daily News* anymore?

Lafayette Young: No, Robbie. You can sell whatever morning paper you want, but I'm

offering you an extra dime per week to sell only the *Capital* in the afternoon.

Robbie (*shakes his head*): Mr. Young, I can't do that. I sell both papers!

Young: No dime for you then, Robbie. (*He looks at Red Oransky.*)

Red (*stands up and puts on his cap*): Nobody buys your rag! Newsboys know better than to sell it. You can keep your stinking dimes!

Narrator A: The boys throw the dimes back at Young, who hides his head in his arms.

Young (*looks up*): You'll pay for this, Red!

ACT TWO

Narrator B: Out on the street, the boys gather in a circle.

Louis Lazarus: What are we going to do now?

Red: Don't worry. Young won't sell his own papers. He needs us more than we need him.

John Ronsky: Let's ask the *Daily News* if they will lower our price for their paper!

Robbie: Yeah! We could tell them we will boycott (*or won't sell*) the *Capital* if the *Daily News* drops the price to us!

Narrator B: The next day, Red talks to the *Daily*

Newsboys gathered in front of the Iowa City Citizen. This photograph was made from a film shot about 1923.



STRIKE OF NEWSBOYS CONTINUES

"Red" Oransky Announces That a Point Has Been Gained and Expects a Victory.

The newsboys continued their boycott of the *Daily News* yesterday in their effort to secure a reduction of the wholesale price of the paper to half a cent a copy. No concessions were secured and the boys came pretty near holding their own.

Yesterday morning the *News* issued an extra containing a report of the battle between American and Spanish troops on Manila bay. The paper was sold to the newsboys at half a cent a copy, and they circulated it, but were told that the price of the regular editions would not be reduced to them. They refused to take out copies of the noon edition and continued their organization to dissuade others from buying or selling the paper. The boys stood to-

Another *Des Moines* newspaper published an article about the strike

News newsboy manager William Byrnes.

William Byrnes: I'm sorry Red. The paper cannot drop its prices for you boys.

The boys are pretty upset. They won't like this. We might just quit selling your rag.

Byrnes (*looking worried*): I wouldn't do that if I were you. . .

Narrator B: Out on the street, the boys gather.

John: Let's just quit selling the papers! We'll go out on a strike!

Robbie: If I don't sell the *Daily News*, how will my little sister get shoes for school?

Louis: I'm worried about what Ma will say when she finds out that I can't help pay for food.

Red: We can't sell the *Daily News*. If we give in too soon, Byrnes is going to think that we ain't got backbone! He might even try to up our prices. If that happens, we'll be worse off than where we started.

ACT THREE

Narrator C: Later that night the newsboys sit at tables in an alley by the *Daily News* and eat watermelon.

Louis (*whispers*): My pa says I've got to sell newspapers.

John: But Louis, you can't sell papers until the strike is over.

Louis (*shows his full bag of papers to John*): I've bought the papers already. I'm going out tonight to sell them.

John (*loudly*): Oh, no you're not! We've got to stick together, you traitor—you scab!

Narrator C: The two boys wrestle. Copies of the paper fly around the alley. The other boys jump up.

Robbie: Get them!

Narrator C: Louis heaves a watermelon rind at John but hits a table. The other boys aim rinds at Louis. John hangs onto Louis, who is trying to reach the end of the alley.

Louis: Let me go! I've got to sell my papers! Help!

Robbie: John, duck. I'm going to get him. (*Robbie aims another rind at Louis but hits John*).

Narrator C: The boys hear whistles. Police try to break up the fight. It ends in a pulpy mess. The police jail John and Louis for starting it.

ACT FOUR

Narrator D: Red finally gets home that evening after the fight.

Jenny Oransky: Reddy! You smell like a watermelon!

Anna Oransky (*screeches*): Isaac Oransky! What in the world? You look. . .

Narrator D: Anna, Abby, Jenny, and Clara

begin to laugh. Watermelon rinds stick to Red's clothing and hair.

Red (*quietly*): Sorry, Ma. I tried to clean it off.

Narrator D: Red explains about the fight.

Jenny: It must be fun to be a newsboy! I'd like to work outside!

Anna: Jenny, you are too young to work on the street. I know you'd like to make money. Red makes more money than your sister. And he gets out in the fresh air. Abby has to work in that old factory ten hours every day. When she comes home, she looks like she's been in a pigpen!

Abby: It's not fair! I should make more money.

Clara: Maybe we should ask the boss for a raise.

It's dangerous to oil working machines. It's so noisy and dirty. You can hardly breathe in there. We don't even earn enough to make it worthwhile. I don't know what to do.

Abby: If we had enough money, we could quit. We could tell the boss just what we wanted. We could ask for a raise. He'd have to give it to us.

Clara: But the bosses would hire other people to do our jobs, and probably pay them more than they paid us! The boss says a lot of people want to work in the factory. He says people come looking for jobs every day.

Anna: We couldn't make ends meet if Abby didn't work at all. (*She sighs.*) Isaac, wash that stuff off and go to bed.

ACT FIVE

Narrator E: On another hot day, the newsboys are selling another local morning newspaper, the *Leader*. One of Red's customers comes up. . .

Red: Hi, Sarah. The paper has a story about our strike.

Sarah: I'll take one. (*She pays Red and reads aloud the story about the strike.*) "Well, well, well; the *Daily News*, *Daily News* we will not sell, sell, sell. . ."

Red: We can't make a living wage selling their rag!

Sarah: That's for sure! Good luck!

Narrator E: Sarah waves and walks away. John walks up.

Red: Hey, I thought you were in jail? How did you get out?

John: Mr. Byrnes of the *Daily News* bailed Louis and me out.

Red: But we're striking against the *News*!

John: It was that or rot in jail.

Red: Maybe Byrnes is an okay fellow after all. I'll try talking to him again.

Narrator E: Red and the other newsboys talk with Byrnes again. Byrnes says that the day's extra edition will be sold to them at a half-cent. But he still demands that the newsboys pay full price for the regular edition. The boys decide to sell the extra, but refuse to sell the regular edition. They hope one more day of the strike will bring them victory!

Write Your Own Ending

The Goldfinch wants to know how you would end the story. None of the newspapers explained how the strike was resolved. Write your ending. Here are some ideas to include:

- did the boys win the strike?
- did Abby and her coworkers go on strike?
- did Jenny grow up to work in a factory or as a newspaper carrier?
- did Red work for a newspaper someday? 

Dubuque's Working Women

JOHANNA BUSHMAN, 14, began working at the Bradley Bros. Cigar Factory in Dubuque in 1906. By the time Johanna was 18, she worked more than 50 hours a week. Johanna rolled cheap cigars with other young women. She lived at home and gave most of her three dollars in pay to her mother each week.

Johanna was like other Dubuque and Iowa women who were **gainfully employed** (working for an employer and receiving cash wages). Around the turn of the century, most people thought women should be at home taking care of families. If women worked, many people thought it should not interfere with home life. In reality, many young women helped to support themselves and their families. Some other women worked because they enjoyed the money, the friendships, or the work itself.

Employers had many reasons for hiring women. Women were less likely than men to join unions. (Even though women clothing workers in Dubuque joined the Knights of Labor in the late 19th century.) Women were paid less than men, because of the "**family wage concept.**" Employers felt that because men should support families, men should receive higher wages.

These rare photographs show Dubuque women at work at the beginning of the 20th century. How do these work conditions compare to work today?

At right, women worked at the McFadden Coffee and Spice Company in Dubuque in 1912. What do you think they are doing? Far right, these young women worked with butter boxes at the Meadow Gold—Beatrice Creamery.

