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Navigating Body, Class, and Disability in the Life of Agnes Burns Wieck

Caroline Waldron Merithew¹

IN A 1929 LETTER OF CONGRATULATION to Mary and Powers Hapgood on the birth of their new baby girl, Agnes Burns Wieck² moved quickly from gushing— “How I’d love to see her!”—to a personal reflection on the trials of childbirth. “What I experienced in a perfectly normal delivery,” she wrote, “was indescribable agony.” Wieck was bewildered by the medical practices Mary Hapgood had experienced: “We never heard of such a delivery, do you mean that the two assistants worked with their hands to push the baby down?” she asked. Burns Wieck’s questions revealed curiosity about the female body as well as advice for her friend: “I am wondering if a part of your trouble [*sic*] were due to the bones not giving,” she wrote. “[B]ut in your case, it would seem not to have been that”—a conclusion she made from observing that Hapgood was rather big. This letter illustrates how Burns Wieck puzzled over what she experienced as the impairing impact of childbirth and the notion of female normality. Burns Wieck’s missive to her friends also included news about the Industrial Workers of the World and the Communist Party fights taking place in local miners’ organizing campaigns where she lived. She was decidedly less confounded about these intraunion battles than she was about maternal labour and delivery.³

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Ascribing “normal” to herself—as she referred to her experience with childbirth—was something new for Burns Wieck. Tracing how she came to such an appraisal, and what it reveals about her shifting subjectivity, is a central part of this article. So too is the use of social biography and microhistory to underscore the ways working-class female disability functioned in the “able-bodied” structure of capitalism and patriarchy. The story also reveals much about how and why disclosing, rejecting, and embracing material (or corporeal) otherness became an important part of Burns Wieck’s life. Disability has diverse meanings and medical, chronological, and environmental realities that are based in historical and social conditions affected by time and place. For Burns Wieck, a working-class woman living in the early-twentieth-century capitalist United States, many conditions debilitated her and many contemporaries perceived her as disabled. Why and how did Agnes Burns Wieck adapt to these perceptions?

The concerns expressed in Burns Wieck’s letter to Hapgood typify many of the issues that occupied her during the course of her life. She, like many Americans in the early twentieth century, thought that there were economic disparities as well as great cultural divisions between the working and middle classes in a capitalist system. Burns Wieck worried about how nature and environment shaped physical and emotional existence for her as a woman and as a worker.⁴ A question she asked about childbirth in her letter—“Why, oh why, can’t they find some way to humanize that experience?”—is one that she might have equally applied to the problems I focus on in this piece. Though she would not have articulated them in the ways I do here, other issues were clearly on her mind: How did working-class and middle-class differences manifest themselves corporeally? What accounted for these differences and how were they cultivated and understood? How did class mark Burns Wieck’s body and mind? I argue that it was only when she came into contact with the middle-class and elite women working in the Women’s Trade Union League who witnessed the signs of her physical and emotional illnesses that she began to come to terms with her disabilities, even finding liberation in divulging information about them. She quickly became aware,

however, that disclosing how poverty afflicted her could actually alienate her newfound friends. So Burns Wieck chose instead to conceal the weaknesses of class by highlighting the more acceptable weaknesses of gender.



Photograph of Agnes Burns Wieck in WTUL's Life and Labor (October 1915), 159. Courtesy of Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College.

Why Agnes Burns Wieck?

Agnes Burns Wieck (1892-1966) was a teacher, journalist, and labour organizer. Born Agnes Burns in the southern Illinois coal town of Sandoval, she was one of seven children in a trade union family whose roots were in the Midwest's German and Irish communities.

She distinguished herself academically in school and was the first daughter of a coal miner to attend Southern Illinois Normal University, earning a teaching certificate at age sixteen. Burns Wieck taught for five years before deciding that this profession was not for her. The conditions under which she worked were no doubt a factor: she taught forty to fifty children in a class, found her colleagues unsupportive, and found her students uninterested in learning anything beyond the traditional “three Rs.” She had hoped to go beyond this to teach about the social and economic conditions of oppression. In 1915, the decade-old Women’s Trade Union League (WTUL) recognized her potential as a working-class woman who had both intellectual and practical gifts to bring to the League and its new labour education program in Chicago. She stayed with the WTUL until 1921, when she moved back to coal town life after marrying Edward Wieck, a miner. While she lived in Southern Illinois, she bore and mothered a son, David Thoreau, wrote for the newspaper the *Illinois Miner*, and spearheaded the drive to organize coal miners’ wives—a decade-long struggle. After moving to New York City with her family in the mid-1930s, she continued to be active in the labour movement and wrote for *The Woman Today*.⁵

I became interested in Agnes Burns Wieck first not as a biographical subject, but simply because she left records, records which are held at Wayne State University’s Walter P. Reuther Library. I thought that Burns Wieck’s material might tell me something about others like her, if I read her papers as representative of a population of non-waged working-class women who lived outside of cities—a group about whom the bulk of women’s labour history is written, since there are relatively large collections of sources available. As a subject, she also offers insight into the history of the mineral industrial heartland that held an important place in American imperial and economic expansion in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. The collection at the Reuther Library hinted at other places where I might find Agnes Burns Wieck. These included the Socialist Party and the Women’s Trade Union League collections on microfilm, the Powers Hapgood papers at the Lilly Library (Indiana Uni-

versity), the John H. Walker papers (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign), the David Thoreau Wieck papers at Tamiment Library (New York University) and sundry other locations that included material by or about Burns Wieck.

Finding her in multiple places is how Agnes Burns Wieck became my subject. What makes her important to women's history as told through, and about, the body is the way in which the archival records show her depicted as a corporeal "other" by those who might be called—in Rosemarie Garland Thomson's phrase—"benevolent maternalists."⁶ The writings also show how Burns Wieck as "other" responded to these constructions by "volunteering"—in Nancy Hirschman's conceptualization—to reveal or hide certain aspects of herself. I underscore the variety of archives because finding material on Burns Wieck in multiple sources enabled me to observe how she was seen by others, to reflect on the reciprocal gaze. My work is grounded in an analysis which uses what I can from postmodern and Marxist feminist and disability theory. Postmodern theory postulates chronological fields of knowledge which challenge a sense of linear reality in the way people understood their lives. I use the analytical idea of chronological fields to help explain how Agnes Burns Wieck lived and out of what memories and experiences she fabricated the issues that concerned her. I also am attached to the more materialist sensibility that Marxist feminism offers. It is important to recognize that when people whom Burns Wieck knew died of hunger or were shot to death, neither their corpses nor the anger and sadness she expressed for the losses were "performances," though, to be sure, the rituals the community went through to mark their living and dying were indeed constructed traditions deeply rooted in the working class. I find useful the way literary critic John Mowitt describes the interplay between narrative and non-narrative analysis which blends postmodern and Marxist theory:

The distinction between historicism and historical materialism Walter Benjamin once invited us to draw requires us to turn our attention away from the past 'as it really was,' and toward a temporal expanse comprising memories flashing

up, as in protest, against the oblivion to which the historical victors are on the verge of consigning them.⁷

To find Agnes Burns Wieck as she really was is almost impossible, but to attend to her story is a necessary act. Burns Wieck, in common with other disabled subjects, tried to push back the victors who held power in the structures of domination that continued to exploit.

Systems of capitalism and patriarchy have been central concerns for women's labour historians from the inception of the field. Focusing on Burns Wieck helps formulate the intersections between the new labour history's earlier sensibility about physical labour and class consciousness and a more recent course that working class historiography has taken to invoke the body as a "useful category of historical analysis."⁸ Herbert Gutman's point a half a century ago still has meaning today—that when "the imperial boundaries ... that have fixed the territory open to American labor historians for explorations," are "closed off" we prohibit an entry point to issues that mattered to common people who were on the margins of the great sweep of industrialization.⁹ Anthropologist Rebecca Lester's dichotomy that there exists "simultaneously material (flesh and bone)" bodies and bodies as "constructed in and through social and political discourse" is also helpful to my thinking.¹⁰ To Lester's paradigm of the material and linguistic body, we might add a third category that others have termed both the lived body and the corporeal body.¹¹ I am particularly alert to the need to incorporate the lived/corporeal body because Burns Wieck and other working-class women are not only "subjects ... produced ... [as a result] of alien, coercive forces." Rather, their bodies were "internally lived, experienced, and acted upon" by themselves and their contemporaries, as historian Kathleen Canning has written.¹²

My analysis draws on recent discussions in women's and labour history that view the body as a possible avenue for integrating materialism and linguistic analysis to bring into focus female subjects as "classed" and to think about class as a constructed disability. To be sure, there are problems with this. First and foremost is the possibility

that using disability to understand class might seem to eschew the new labour history's entire framework and its project of divulging the ways working class men and women celebrated, built, and thrived in a culture of their own making. I am putting those important findings and the historical contexts they are based on in a different light through feminist and disability discourse. The language of and about the body has been at the crux of women's history for decades. In the late 1970s and 1980s, scholars expanded the Marxist historians' tendency to focus heavily on economics and underscored other types of material reality.¹³ In the 1990s, with the turn toward linguistic analysis, there was a reemphasis on the notion of "the body." Canning argues that, while this investment in body as language was the result of a Foucauldian model, it also is a product of archival research. Canning writes:

Sources that chart the discursive construction of male and female bodies at the level of state, church, social reform, science, medicine, or law are much more readily accessible than those that might offer insights into the body as a site of experience, memory or subjectivity.¹⁴

Ava Baron and Eileen Boris would agree. They call for an "embodied working-class history" and suggest three approaches: "[A]s discourse and representation, as a technology of power or site of regulation/discipline, and as corporeal or material presence."¹⁵ Here, my analysis focuses on the corporeal awareness of working class bodies but not their regulation per se—though this is implicit. For example, in the United States, Burns Wieck was a coal woman, but because women's bodies were judged by legal codes and social practices as not eligible for mining, women like her did other types of work, primarily in their homes.¹⁶

Agnes Burns Wieck and the Training School for Active Workers

When Agnes Burns Wieck was twenty-two years old, she was tired and sick—a condition which did not set her apart from many of her working-class kin but merely made her one of those who experienced

the “different degrees of losing” under industrial capitalism. Such a condition is one of the ways mining communities and their environment made “conditionally invisible” the disabilities caused by pollution, poverty, and inequality.¹⁷ By the time she was ten, she had already faced upheaval and personal tragedy. In that first decade of her childhood, she had had six different homes because her father, Patrick, was constantly searching for work. The family was involved with the seminal 1897 bituminous mine workers strike that shut down the coal industry in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, but ultimately won recognition for the United Mine Workers of America.¹⁸ Despite the victory, the strike took a toll on the family’s health. Both Agnes and her mother, Florence, came down with scarlet fever around that time. Mag Burns, Agnes’s sister, remembered the fever being so bad that Agnes “pulled all [her] hair out and tore up a watch chain.” Her mother never fully recovered and contracted tuberculosis, which was the cause of her death.¹⁹ By that time, the family was in the southern tip of Illinois’s mining district, Little Egypt. In her mother’s absence, Agnes took on the female labour required for family survival, including caring for two younger brothers.

When she became a teacher, Agnes Burns Wieck was often disillusioned by what she described as the rigid structure that was removed from the educational needs of workers—especially from the learning that might have helped them understand, and challenge, capitalism. Public school teachers were just beginning to organize themselves into unions in Chicago and other cities in the early part of the twentieth century, but their work had not reached the more rural areas of the state. Comparing her experiences with those of her friend Lillian Herstein, one of the founders of the Chicago Teachers Union, Agnes Burns Wieck later wrote, “How much different life might have been for me had I known ... a Lillian Herstein in those years when I was growing into womanhood, groping for light and knowledge, struggling to look beyond the horizon of my little world of mining towns, mines, mining life.”²⁰

In 1915, Burns Wieck earned a scholarship to the Women's Trade Union League's (WTUL) new Training School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement (TSAW) in Chicago. The opportunity to leave the tiresome and strenuous life in southern Illinois was a gift to her. At TSAW, Burns Wieck met a cohort of women who were becoming some of the most influential people in the labour movement, including Margaret Dreier Robins, Elisabeth Christman, Agnes Nestor, Lillian Herstein, Mary Anderson, and others.

Burns Wieck tried hard to fit into the WTUL world. The skills she had honed as a child and young adult—scrimping and scavenging, reusing and going without—were things that appealed to the middle class leaders who invited her to join TSAW, because they championed them as reflections of strength. The three years of work she put in at the Women's Trade Union League between 1915 and 1918 helped Burns Wieck become a steadfast organizer. What she learned in those years was fundamental to her involvement in helping to found the Women's Auxiliary of the Progressive Miners of America (WAPM) in the early 1930s. By the time she left the WTUL, Burns Wieck had become a gifted speechmaker, drawing on both research and personal experience to address audiences small and large. "Agnes Burns needs no lessons in public speaking," wrote Margaret Dreier Robins to a WTUL friend.²¹ She could sway a crowd to act, to picket, to strike, to ask for higher wages and better working conditions—in short, to demand some ownership over society, whether the right to strike or the right to vote. Outwardly, and in public, she seemed confident in her role as agitator and organizer, and she was always certain about whom and what to blame for workers' afflictions. Her memories of her mother were filled with stories about class oppression and union power. Burns Wieck's diary recalled this aspect of her mother's life: "The union demanded no sacrifice too great for her. She saw the United Mine Workers of America come into existence—she cherished this union as something sacred.... Behind the men who won that great strike [for UMWA recognition] stood an army of such women."²² Lessons about class were the first ones that Florence Burns taught her daughter, yet she died before Agnes

reached adolescence. In the lexicon of feminist simultaneity, class came before gender for this mother. That helps to explain how Burns Wieck coped with things she learned at the School for Active Workers.

Agnes Burns Wieck was apt, however, to hide many of her private conditions and her convictions about capitalism during her time at TSAW. The doubts she harboured while in Chicago came out later in her life as well and are exemplified in the letter she penned to the Hapgoods about childbirth. She was less sure about whom to scapegoat when she turned from class analysis to the difficulties of delivering a baby and the “problem” of maternity she faced. “Why, oh why, can’t they find some way to humanize that experience! I really wanted at least two children but having gone through that terrible ordeal, in the most competent hands, I can never get up my courage for a second experience.”²³ For Burns Wieck, her body and her politics were salient and connected parts of her life. Talking about each was worthwhile and revealing about how she saw the world as well as how she navigated her class position with those from the middle and upper classes. Throughout her life, Burns Wieck privileged economics over male domination to explain oppression. But because she felt the impact of class domination as a woman, she tended to splice descriptions about capitalism (which she often named) and patriarchy (which she never named) to come to terms with the institutions that debilitated her.²⁴

Within a few months of her arrival in Chicago, Agnes Burns Wieck began to define herself—the body she had and the mind she made—against the many women she came into contact with who were so like (and yet so unlike) herself. Burns Wieck’s practice of seeing herself as the working-class “female other” illustrates what sociologist Julie Bettie found in her work on Chicanos: “Girls do not define themselves only in relation to boys.” Bettie cites the work of Norma Alarcón, who argues, “one can become a woman in relationship to other women.”²⁵ The white middle-class female norm was the identity that, for Burns Wieck, highlighted her own working-class otherness, an otherness that manifested itself both physically and

emotionally. This privileged identity was the one around which she understood the nature of her place, making it clear that she was both disadvantaged and disabled (or perhaps “less than able”). “All women are seen as deviant, but some more so than others,” scholar Rosemarie Garland Thomson argues.²⁶ Like many of those in the multifaceted disability rights community in the late-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries decades later, Burns Wieck embraced and found meaning in the disfiguring aspects of her life—sometimes. At other times, she tried to make these attributes (and herself) invisible.

When she first came into contact with the white middle-class and elite women she encountered as a TSAW student, Agnes Burns Wieck found refuge in the charity and goodwill of her new mentors and friends. She even accepted their understanding that she was a victim. With the label, however, she felt the need to subsume her class identity into a gendered one that was based on the normative trope of “woman”—white without race, Protestant without religion, and bourgeois without class standing. Many women living in the early-twentieth-century United States, and certainly the WTUL women, accepted the notion of women’s difference and this was theorized in the ideology of maternalism—that is, that women’s activism was rooted in their motherhood (real and potential). Historian Linda Gordon theorized that a fundamental condition in which maternalism worked was that women were both rooted in the society that oppressed them and used the very spaces created by patriarchy to undermine the male structures of power and authority.²⁷ Maternalists, who made large political gains during the Progressive Era, believed that women could be “conditionally disabled” by one of the “female maladies” without undermining their force. “Conditional disability” thus became a temporarily empowering concept for Burns Wieck, because it meant that she could be closer to the standard of woman espoused by TSAW.²⁸

When Burns Wieck arrived in Chicago, WTUL leaders were excited to see her, but after spending a few days with her they were uncertain if she was ready for such a vocation because she seemed a bit of a “misfit in terms of demeanor and personality.”²⁹ Burns Wieck

was one of TSAW's first students and the only one voted a scholarship in 1915.³⁰

Based on the English Workers' Educational Association model, TSAW was the first labour school of this sort in the United States, and operated for a dozen years, from 1914 to 1926. The League's leaders had pushed for the labour education initiative at the 1913 Biennial Convention held in St. Louis: "If we are to serve our time as we ought to serve it," Mary Robins had argued, "representing as we do the hope and aspirations of the great women's working group of America ... we have to make possible an equipment [*sic*] to train and send forth women organizers."³¹ Delegates agreed and unanimously approved the recommendation as well as the appointment of an Education Committee of seven, headed by Mary Anderson and Amy Walker, who secured the support of the country's unions and Central Labor Organizations. In Chicago, TSAW's headquarters, faculty and administrators from the University of Chicago and Northwestern University helped with programming. All of the forty-four students who came to the school were supported by their union locals. The impact TSAW had on the labour movement was significant: seventy-eight percent of its students went on to work with and organize seventeen different trades, including Barbers, Beer Bottlers, Boot and Shoe Workers, Candy Workers, Cork and Seal Operatives, Culinary Workers, Electrical Workers, Flower and Feather Workers, Garment Workers, Glove Workers, Journeymen Tailors, Leather Workers, Post Office Clerks, Retail Clerks, Textile Workers, Telephone Operators, Printers, and Miners. At the 1926 League convention, WTUL delegates voted to close the school and move worker education out of the national office and into local chapters. Financial and political tensions pressured the convention to do so.³²

For the decade that it was open, TSAW not only trained workers but prompted others to adopt the approach. Bryn Mawr, University of Wisconsin, Columbia, and the Southern Summer School all looked to the WTUL's Education Department for help. The Training School model moved worker education beyond vocational industrial training and part-time evening classes to a more academic context

that educated the mind as well as the body. TSAW students were in school full-time for six months to a year. Initially, the first part of the curriculum put students in college classrooms, required them to attend public lectures, and gave special tutorials in public speaking. At university, they focused on labour law, labour history, and economics. They audited classes at Northwestern, which meant that they did not have to take exams and did not earn university credit toward a degree. (None of the students actually tried to pursue that option.) “They were treated as regular members of the class and were even asked to contribute their experiences in the practical field of labor,” said one report. The University of Chicago was less flexible in giving TSAW students “the same privileges.” At the University of Chicago (UC), where Burns Wieck did her coursework, students had to enroll for courses for credit which required them to pay tuition. Though the first two students who took the UC route competed “creditably with the other thirty odd members of the class,” the administration refused to allow them to apply for scholarships. Women in the Women’s Trade Union League’s Education Department continued to challenge this and enlisted the help of Sophia Breckenridge. Breckenridge, who was Dean of Women at Chicago at the time, was close to the League’s middle-class leadership—both as a personal friend and insofar as she shared similar ideas—but despite her efforts she could not get the university president Harry Pratt Judson to change the policy. The WTUL kept trying and reported, “Having demonstrated that Trade Union girls can compete successfully with those of academic training and are entitled to the privileges of the university ... the matter is worthy of another effort.”³³ Agnes Burns Wieck’s intellectual work was one of the ways they tried to prove this point.

The first part of the coursework was both tough and liberating for students who had been trained outside of the academy. They experienced, perhaps for the first time, physical play—as college students at the time would also have done—through the recreational facilities and swimming pool at Chicago’s School of Civics and Philanthropy. The next part of TSAW’s curriculum—the field work with unions—was more familiar, and the students drew on their lifetime

experiences to succeed. The TSAW students' comfort with this work on their "home turf" convinced the coordinators to reverse the sequence of the two halves of the curriculum. In TSAW's later years, students first did organizer training and then moved into the academic setting to analyze this experiential learning in the field.³⁴ By 1923, and perhaps as a result of the issues that came up with Agnes Burns Wieck, students who came to the school were required to "be in good physical health" and were required to take classes in "physical culture and recreation."³⁵

The way in which Burns Wieck was viewed by those she met while at TSAW, and the distinct ways that her coworkers, friends, and mentors described her in public versus private discourse, reveals something of the relationship between middle-class and working-class women. And, in addition, it offers a more nuanced view of Thomson's ideas of how benevolent maternalists constructed disabled figures.³⁶ In part, the relationship between Burns Wieck and the WTUL reveals an ideological shift that took place in the Progressive era in which social reformers became more and more influenced by notions of efficiency and social science (as well as pseudoscientific practices, such as eugenics). While the rhetoric that Thomson analyzes is part of the mid-to-late-nineteenth-century literary aesthetic that still had hints of romanticism, TSAW was part of a different moment in the Progressive era. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, notions about education were changing, particularly in regard to whom, how, and why to educate, and this change reflected the blurring of the body/mind dichotomy that had shaped gender and class identities in the early twentieth century. Historians have recognized the political implications of this shift for decades. Mary Beard, Paula Baker, Seth Koven, Sonya Michel, and others, have documented how maternalist mentality and practice enabled women to have more power in the public (male) sphere while retaining the virtues of the private (female) sphere in which many women in the WTUL leadership were steeped.³⁷ The experiences students had at TSAW changed their lives, in part because they experienced the shift from accepting motherhood as private power, to motherhood (or its

possibility) as a means for empowering women in public. For Burns Wieck, being accepted into the school actually saved her from a debilitating condition.

Burns Wieck's arrival in Chicago in poor physical health had a profound effect on her and on the WTUL staff. Both were compelled to deal with the crisis of what they later discovered was acute appendicitis, a condition made worse by the anxiety Burns Wieck felt about paying for medical care her family could not afford. The emergency quickly changed the nature of what had begun as a bureaucratic relationship to one of emotional and economic dependency.

While Burns Wieck was sentimentalized as a victim in private correspondence between WTUL staff, she was not objectified as such in public. When Olive Sullivan wrote to Margaret Dreier Robins about Burns Wieck, she expressed concern for the new pupil: "She was the most exhausted human being I ever did see when she arrived here." Emma Steghagen agreed: "I hope she [Dr. Hedger] will be able to tone her up."³⁸ All students were monitored during the two-month probationary period, but it seems that the WTUL workers watched Burns Wieck more closely than her peers, and for a longer period, because of her poor health. They disagreed about what they saw. Burns Wieck was physically well enough to return to her studies after weeks of recovery from an appendectomy, but there remained some question about her mental health. Sullivan reported that "Agnes Burns is here but my she looks ready to drop to pieces. She is so keyed up that she is at high pitch all the time. She really will have to calm down and take life a little more normally." A few weeks later, Sullivan was less concerned:

As for Agnes Burns, you need have no worry about her. The child was never happier in her life. She simply cannot get over the fact that she is being cared for and that she does not have to give either the arrangements or the expense a thought.³⁹

The report also noted that her father might be remarrying, and thus she would have "no home obligation."⁴⁰ No longer did she need to

decide about the sacrifices she should and would make for those she left at home so that she could come to TSAW. Margaret Dreier Robins, WTUL president, also saw great improvement and justified extending Burns Wieck's scholarship by emphasizing her strong personal qualities. She reported:

We also voted to extend the scholarship of Agnes Burns of Murphysboro, Illinois, daughter and sister of miners.... Agnes Burns is now better than she has ever been in her life. She is a very remarkably gifted young Irish woman with a mind alert and hungry for knowledge. After she had recovered from her illness we gave her a scholarship at the University of Chicago and she is there studying 'Industrial Organization' under Prof. Leon Carroll Marshall. I wish you might see the eagerness with which she is studying and the steady influence this study has on her mind.⁴¹

Despite the hopeful evaluations, WTUL staff was incorrect in assessing her well-being in early 1916. Within a month of Dreier's report, Burns Wieck was again having health problems.

One of the effects of the TSAW program on Agnes Burns Wieck's personality seems to have been an understanding—even an identification—of herself as sick. In his memoir of his mother, David Wieck repeatedly writes about his memory of her “chronically sub-par health,” and speculates on whether she had had a nervous breakdown in 1915.⁴² Wieck notes that she was “always a ‘nervous’ person, easily startled, hyper-alert, hypersensitive to physical stimuli, needing to be constantly active.”⁴³ These are the things that Sullivan had seen when Burns Wieck arrived at the Chicago office “keyed up.”

Burns Wieck publicly identified herself as ill in March 1916, when she went to Springfield from Chicago to address the Annual Conference of the United Mine Workers of America, District 12 (Illinois). This event was four months after her surgery, and her appearance before the union meeting was almost like a visit home. The intimate tone of her address reflected her comfort with the venue and the sense of being among friends and kin after being away from them

for almost a half a year. Nonetheless, she was speaking in public and, given her personality, it is natural to assume that she felt a certain anxiety about being there. The essence of Burns Wieck's introductory remarks concerned her feelings about being at home and being ill. She let herself express these things to men who were familiar with her in a way that the women in the WTUL were not. "It is awfully hard for a woman to sit still and not be able to open her mouth," she pointed out:

In Chicago I was told the condition of my health was such that I might break down if I came. I said it would break my heart if I did not come.... I came here yesterday afternoon thinking I would have a chance to speak ... and then that man Frick kept on reading resolution after resolution and I didn't get a chance. Now, that man Frick is terribly interested in me—he's an undertaker—so I am not going to die.⁴⁴

The audience responded to the last line as a joke, but Burns Wieck might also have been reassuring herself that, despite defying her doctor's advice, she knew how to take care of her sick self. The WTUL's health committee thought otherwise and required Burns Wieck to take the rest of the summer off for "a vacation"—a concept that was completely alien to her.

By the late Progressive Era, the nervous condition called neurasthenia was a familiar and readily understood diagnosis among the western European and American bourgeoisie. The label was applied to a range of symptoms, encompassing "just about everything," as Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Ray Porter put it.⁴⁵ Physicians attributed nervousness, exhaustion, lack of appetite, depression, problems with self-control, and over-excitement to neurasthenia, and generally agreed that this condition emanated from a single cause: the problem of modern urban life.⁴⁶ Women like those involved in the WTUL had read about people who had suffered from neurasthenia—in Charlotte Perkins Gilman's *The Yellow Wallpaper* and Jane Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull-House*—and may have had friends or family who had been diagnosed with the illness, and may even have consulted Fannie

Farmer's *Food and Cookery for the Sick and Convalescent* as a guide for care.⁴⁷ Burns Wieck subsumed herself in resting. And, with her new insights from Chicago, she rested assured that she was like other women who had experienced nervous exhaustion. Her doctors and nurses probably followed the medical approach that was advised for neurasthenic women by S. Wier Mitchell in his 1900 book *Fat and Blood*, which advised constant feeding, massage, and isolation. In an undated letter, Burns Wieck's friend Stella Franklin wrote from England "I was glad to hear of your gain in weight and I hope you have kept up the good state."⁴⁸

She did so for four years, trying to use, but also to escape, her former life. She knew that the coal mining conditions of economic want and employment insecurity in which she grew up shaped the very way she understood the academic and practical lessons she was getting at TSAW, but still tried to distance herself from the past in her new environment. Once Burns Wieck returned home, her sister, Amelia Cobb, reminded her in a letter about how the WTUL opportunities had changed her:

And after you started organizing the women down there, it seemed like you wanted to get out of our house forever and never get back. When you went away to Chicago and all over the country you never did want to settle down back home again. You hated the towns down there—I know you did. You wouldn't stay only long enough for a visit and I know you was [*sic*] mighty glad when your train pulled out and you got away from it all again.⁴⁹

Initially, Burns Wieck thought of the TSAW program as more of a calling than an escape. About leaving teaching, she wrote:

I cannot feel that I have lost any of the value of the teaching profession nor have I sacrificed any of its possibilities. Many there are to teach in that great institution, the public school, but to some of us it is given to teaching in this equally great institution, the school of industrial democracy."⁵⁰

The WTUL's doctor's decision to force Burns Wieck to take a vacation changed this. She began to see how her experiences away from coal mining life should and could be reincorporated with all she was learning from TSAW.

There are only three letters I have found from the three-month period in which Burns Wieck was away from the TSAW program. These she penned to John H. Walker, who was an active United Mine Worker organizer, socialist, and, in 1916, the president of the Illinois Federation of Labor. These letters, coupled with what her son is able to read into them in light of what he knew about the context of his mother's life, offer important insights. But it seems to me that there might have been more letters, and what I have begun to think of as these missing sources invite conjecture, however problematic that may be. I can think of a few explanations for the dearth of information. The correspondence could have been lost. Documents could have been destroyed. The paltry amount of correspondence in Agnes Burns Wieck's collection at the Reuther Library for this period prompted me to write to her daughter-in-law, Diva Wieck, who cared for her in later life and who was one of her only surviving relatives when I started this project. Diva Wieck explained, "By the time Agnes came to live with us she had 'culled' her letters and diaries. Why I do not know."⁵¹ Finally, there simply may not have been any other letters. But all of this is speculation.⁵² The fact that Agnes Burns Wieck would correspond with an old male friend—rather than the many new female friends she was making, who were helping her to pay for her care—could suggest something about her sense of class and discomfort with where she was. "The labor movement has brought me all the friends I count worthwhile," she wrote in her diary after she had left the TSAW program.⁵³

In June, during her rest period, Burns Wieck wrote to Walker from her Fennville, Michigan, rest home that she did not "believe in vacations for the mind." She had become "restless," because she thought she "could use this time and at the same time gain health" by helping others less fortunate than herself. She was thinking specifically of going to Colorado, where the mine owners still refused to

recognize the UMWA, and where miners' families were still recovering from the Ludlow massacre. "I could see health and something more—the opportunity to give opportunities (such as I have had) to those yet denied them." She was struck by the class disparities and the lack of understanding between the haves and have-nots:

My physical environment is conducive to restfulness and growth but my mental environment is such that forever places the class-conscious person on the defensive. The aspirations and ambitions of the would-be capitalists! But I came here to rest and I refuse even to defend my class at this time. I have not hesitated to answer direct questions and as one lady put it, they are anxious to get the 'anarchist started' – but *she won't start*. These and their kind have cheated our kind out of vacations and most every other good thing and I am determined they shall not cheat me out of this one.⁵⁴

It is unlikely that she would have written such a letter to Margaret Dreier Robins, whom she had only known for a few months and upon whom she was completely dependent financially for her care.

Burns Wieck began to accept herself as a sick woman and considered the causes of her compromised health. Was being sick more a product of her environment (the capitalist country in which she lived) or of her nature? Perhaps the remedy for people like herself could be found in propping up their self-esteem, their sense of their worth as part of the working class:

If we could have our boys and girls educated (as boys and girls) instead of such organizations as Boy Scouts, etc., the task might show some sign of solution.... Our boys and girls need to read more of 'Our History' instead of the history as it has been written.

She was longing to feel strong and empowered. Her friends had found answers in the Bible—"but I can't see it there. And I can't see their God"—or in the ideas of Charlotte Perkins Gilman. She began thinking about political and industrial democracy for women but that seemed too far off. She answered Walker, who had asked her what

she thought of him as head of the American Federation of Labor, with a question of her own as well as a comment reflecting self-doubt and the reality of her position as a working-class woman without a union card or the right to vote. “[W]hat have I said that is worth that much of your time? As you say, I can’t vote anyway nor can I help in any way.”⁵⁵

This new understanding that her personal condition went beyond herself and was connected to larger issues of women’s oppression was a turning point for Agnes Burns Wieck. She asked staff members at TSAW and the League to avoid spending all their energy on paid labourers in urban centres. “Women in the isolated mining camp or small industrial communities were a large and important part in the development of an industrial democracy,” she wrote. Leaders began to “see the women of whom I spoke and . . . could see them in the future, intelligently active in labor affairs.”⁵⁶ The change in attitude—the recognition that non-wage-earning working-class women outside of cities were vital for the labour movement—was not only a result of her theoretical articulations. It was also shaped by the work she did in 1916 while accompanying Mary Anderson to Rosiclare, Illinois, where coal miners were on strike for union recognition.⁵⁷

Agnes Burns Wieck was willing to give and take from the League, and carved out a place for herself after she finished recuperating from surgery and the physical and mental exhaustion for which she was being treated during her “vacation.” From 1917 to 1920, she worked as a WTUL organizer in campaigns for waged and unwaged women, which took her to Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago, and included struggles for union recognition in the garment trades and for telephone operators. She also became part of the last stage of the American women’s suffrage campaign, which culminated in the nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote.

Though Burns Wieck had found a place for herself in the WTUL, her illness, with its roots in social, environmental, and physical conditions, seems to have pushed to the surface latent philosophical and practical disagreements in TSAW about who belonged. While individual WTUL members, especially Robins, felt a profound sym-

pathy for her, they feared that unhealthy students might have a bad influence on the community they were trying to create as well as the type of women they hoped to mold. After all, TSAW was not a charity institution, and it could not afford for its small staff to arrange the same kind of medical care or scholarship money for every intellectually sharp but unhealthy girl who wanted to participate. Indeed, the Health Committee costs for the year June 1915 - June 1916, the year Burns Wieck required the most care, was approximately \$650.⁵⁸ In light of the challenges of caring for Burns Wieck, and the changing attitudes about female physicality that occurred at the end of the Progressive era, the TSAW organization reformulated its criteria for pupils suitable for the program. A good mind *and* a healthy body were essential. By 1920, advertisements for the Training School made clear that “The student is supposed to arrive in good physical condition; this is most important as the work is too heavy for a person who is either ill or in poor general health. For the student in the school a physician is furnished in emergency.”⁵⁹ TSAW was doing triage and justified this by highlighting its mission to help workers win victories over unfair capitalist practices. Though many in the WTUL were concerned about society’s lack of attention to the most injured of capitalism’s victims—what John Kasson later identified as the price that workers’ bodies pay as men and women come to terms with their “emotional and psychological” subordination by taking it out on their own or others’ bodies—this was not the school’s domain.⁶⁰

TSAW did, however, feel a responsibility to keep its students healthy once they arrived, because sound bodies made for sound minds. Staff saw to providing “nourishing food and the essentials of a comfortable environment,” and made sure that there was time in the weekly schedule for “regular gymnasium, regular recreation and play,” as the 1917 Associate Director’s report stated.⁶¹ There was a physician on staff, and physical education—as part of the curriculum—became of more vital concern for TSAW over time.⁶² In 1920, Alice Henry, Secretary of the Education Department, made this clear: “There is one subject, so to say, not included in the curriculum as laid

out for my guidance, and that is regular physical exercise of some kind," she wrote.

All schools and colleges make some supervised physical exercise, such as gymnastics, swimming or basketball, compulsory upon all their students and trainees, as an essential to enable them to get the full benefit of their time of training.

Henry proposed that TSAW arrange such a program for its students through the YWCA's Physical Education School.⁶³

Burns Wieck took in, used, and rejected the lexicon of healthy bodies of her middle-class teachers and formulated her own paradigm which required a reformulation of the triage mentality of helping the most needy first. Unlike TSAW staff, when Burns Wieck finally went back to the coal communities, she was more inclined to begin her work with the most troubled victims of capitalism, because these were the people who were most badly off. She did not make the decision to return home quickly or easily, however. As she told Dreier Robins in a letter in 1916, "And, oh, how much strength is needed for that work. And no, I can never forget them. They are pulling at my heart strings always."⁶⁴ To go back home meant leaving the steam-heated flats, the indoor toilets, and "absolute comfort and freedom," that she experienced as part of her life at TSAW, an environment in which she and other students wanted to linger after they matriculated.⁶⁵

Burns Wieck returned to her roots intellectually before she did so physically. Once she became conscious of how deep-seated her mining identity was, and how it differed from middle-class and other working women's identities, she tried to understand why this was so. She started with what she knew, the United Mine Workers of America. Her mother had been a part of the Virden strike in 1897 and 1898. Florence Burns had helped secure food from local farmers for the strikers, and brought her daughter with her to help. In one of the 1916 letters to John Walker, Agnes Burns Wieck asked, "Tell me something of the Virden riot. Am I to be at Mount Olive [the ceme-

tery where those who were killed in the 1897-1898 strike for UMWA recognition were buried] October 12?”⁶⁶ A year later, she wrote to Stella Miles Franklin, who was on the editorial staff of the WTUL’s publication, *Life and Labor*, about the idea of writing a biography of Mother Jones. Jones, a militant labour organizer, had become a hero to workers in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries because of her courageous confrontation of armed company guards, the state, and all who held power.⁶⁷ Franklin endorsed the idea, but felt that Burns Wieck’s enthusiasm needed to be guided. “I tell you what, you get Miss Henry to help you with it,” she wrote.

That’s a New Year idea that has taken me and I send it on. One of you should balance the other. Miss Henry is a dabster [*sic*] for references and raking up information ... and knows how to make a thing academically convincing and you would supply the fire and vim.”⁶⁸

Franklin’s choice of words suggests a different class sensibility from that of Burns Wieck. Franklin had reframed what had earlier been described as Burns Wieck’s “high pitch” into the more euphemistic “fire and vim.”

The biography was never written. Burns Wieck continued her WTUL work instead, and began doing freelance journalism. Because she did clerical work as part of these duties, she was now eligible to join the Stenographers’ and Typewriters’ Union, the only one to which she officially belonged as a member. She met Edward Wieck, and had a long, on-again off-again romance with him, starting sometime around 1917. She married him in 1921, and, in the early 1920s, the couple moved to Bellville, Illinois. She became a mother and tried to balance maternal responsibilities with paid labour as one of the editors and writers of the *Illinois Miner*.

“What Was Health if Only Used for This?”⁶⁹

Historians such as Daniel Bender and Kathleen Canning have used the depictions of workers’ bodies to assess the ways labourers lived and the mythical imagining of the working class. Images were cre-

ated by union members, journalists, middle-class reformers, and government employees that employed the body for distinct reasons and to differing ends. Elizabeth Faue's ground-breaking *Community of Suffering and Struggle* shows how the iconography of masculinity during the 1934 Minneapolis truckers' strike erased women as agents of change even while female participants protested this ghettoization. In *Sweated Work, Weak Bodies*, Daniel Bender has shown how unions and inspectors imagined enfeebled workers. These groups echoed each other's arguments, but attributed the causes of the weakness they perceived to different conditions. For workers, the degeneracy of the sweatshop was evidence of capitalism's immorality, but for inspectors it was the racial depravity of an immigrant workforce that undermined the possibility of a moral capitalism in the shops.⁷⁰ The contradictory evidence of 1930s artwork done by the Works Progress (later Work Projects) Administration, the Farm Security Administration, and others, including realist-school photographs, provides clues about the representation of the corporeal. As Linda Gordon points out in her biography of Dorothea Lange, "[B]y showing her subjects as worthier than their conditions, she simultaneously asserted that great democracy was possible."⁷¹ Photographer Esther Bubley, also working during the Depression, watched for something else in her views of working class women, argues Jacqueline Ellis: "systematic marginalization from an American society defined from a middle-class point of view."⁷² Susan Glenn argues that renderings of women in the twentieth century did not always present them as pathological, weak, and vulnerable and suggests a more historical process of change over time.⁷³

This juxtaposition of common female labour tropes—perhaps the two most paradoxical being the one able-bodied subject and the other disabled object—have been an inherent part of studies about coal miners and their families from the early twentieth to the beginning of the twenty-first centuries.⁷⁴ Agnes Burns Wieck and others thought about the ways their bodies conformed to and rebelled against the constant cooking, cleaning, childrearing, mending, and caretaking, penny-pinching, worrying, and hard existence they lived.

At times, they felt as strong as their husbands, fathers, and brothers who blasted, picked, shovelled, and moved coal from the earth. In the early 1930s, those women working in the Progressive Miners' Auxiliary invoked the spirit of "that old warrior" Mother Jones.⁷⁵ But on a day-to-day basis, they forgot about being warriors: "There is much talk these days of the rights of women," Agnes Burns Wieck wrote in the early 1920s. "I myself am quite an ardent advocate of women's rights, but are these miners' wives who are keeping boarders, taking in washing, and doing other people's dirty work, enjoying any 'rights?'"⁷⁶ Between the time she penned the letter to John Walker during her 1916 "vacation" and this thought, Burns Wieck could have (and probably did) cast a vote for a candidate running for elected office. She did not, however, have the industrial democratic rights she referred to four years earlier, nor did she have any say in coal mining unionism that had a great impact on her life.⁷⁷

When Agnes Burns Wieck began to write for the *Illinois Miner* in the 1920s, she began to explore industrial democracy more fully and publicly. Some of her columns for the paper, including "When We Have Time to Think" and "For Our Women," were published under the pseudonym "Mrs. Lotta Work." She believed that women, especially mothers, showed the most promise for creating healthier conditions for workers and their families, which suggests that she continued to be tied to the maternalist framework that she had learned, experienced, and refashioned during her twenties at TSAW.

Burns Wieck's *Illinois Miner* columns struck a tone between advice columnist, comrade, and the benevolent maternalist described by Thomson, and hinted at her continuing search for a place of power for herself and a way to balance gender, class, and even advocacy for the disabled. Her topics often included women's bodies and family health. Working-class housewives coped with growing, hungry, and needy children as well as their own lack of sleep. To these regular worries were added anxieties about the amount of work their husbands were getting in the mines and the problems of both capitalism and the union. (Over time the United Mine Workers, the Progressive

Miners, the I.W.W., and the National Miners Union represented miners in the field and vied for dominance.)

The “social body,” what is often termed the moral economy of workers, connected working-class women and men psychically with that “ancient bargaining position” that confronted all labourers under industrial capitalism, and distinguished them from those in the middle and upper classes. The moral economy linked working-class individuals culturally as well as economically. Burns Wieck grappled with the crisscrossing bonds that she knew existed between “coal town people” like herself and the socially constructed gender bonds she had begun to experience at TSAW and during her years with the WTUL. Burns Wieck, like other working-class men and women, believed, as Sara Horrell, David Meredith, and Deborah Oxley have written about nineteenth-century British workers, that, in a working-class family, one had “moral rights and responsibilities readily recognized by all.” “Explicit bargaining, cultural assumptions, acts of parental sacrifice, of a wife to a husband, the generosity of a child to their widowed mother, as well as acts of greed and selfishness, all played their part in shaping nineteenth-century bodies, health, aging, and inequality.”⁷⁸ Burns Wieck felt these obligations, but layered on top of them were those encounters she had had as the recipient of homosocial gendered care—for example, the League’s assumption of her medical bills in the early months in Chicago and the staff’s kind words and emotional support.

People who lived in coal towns, regardless of gender, felt “hunger gnawing” equally, thought Burns Wieck. For example, when men and women went on protest marches, such as those she had led during the 1930s Progressive Miners of America fights, male and female bodies bore the hardship in the same ways. “Their bodies [became] numb with cold,” and “the smoke of oil stoves” which had kept men and women warm “blackened” their faces equally.⁷⁹ Because they were human beings, they had a right to the benefits of this earth. “We agree on one thing,” Burns Wieck argued, “and that is that we are entitled to a good living out of this world. Not merely an existence but comfort and happiness, that’s what we’re striving for.”⁸⁰

The fact was that working class men and women had more in common with each other than women from different classes did—something Burns Wieck came to understand during the “vacation” TSAW doctors had prescribed for her recuperation during her first few months in Chicago. Different ideas about body image were part of this gulf in understanding. Agnes Burns Wieck was interested to hear in a letter from her WTUL friend Elizabeth Christman about how she felt as her body reached “that most coveted slenderness” that was so popular in the Jazz Age, but she could not ascribe the same meaning to weight loss. She knew too many people who looked like her brother—“a walking skeleton.”⁸¹

It is probable that Burns Wieck thought about her body in a different way than Christman might have because of the different technologies available to different classes. When she moved from an urban environment to the rural industrial heartland, she no longer had access to conveniences such as running water and indoor plumbing. She also might have been thinking about female beauty and image in a way distinct from Christman’s at the chronological cusp of the mass consumer age. Burns Wieck evidently worried about her ability to control and care for herself physically and emotionally when she considered the realities of bearing and raising children in a mining environment, as the letter to Mary Hapgood quoted at the beginning of this paper suggests. She wanted multiple children but was, her son reported, “fearful of childbirth—with reason, given her chronic not-good health, chronic over-extension of herself, and ... palpitations and shortness of breath.”⁸² She worried about others who might have difficulty with labour and delivery, as she had had. She wrote of watching a neighbour and wondering about her condition: “Mrs. Stevenson was up this afternoon. She is expecting a baby next month, her third child.... She has told me how terrible an experience childbirth has been for her.”⁸³ Two days after her thirty-first birthday, on the anniversary of her mother’s death, Agnes Burns Wieck reflected on the hardships coal mining women faced:

As I look back upon her life I ask myself, how did she bear her cross! She had never known anything but hard work and hard living and then that horrible, hideous death! At fourteen a wife. Nine times a mother. Dead at thirty-nine.⁸⁴

It makes sense, then, that her sister Amelia might have hidden from Agnes the fact of another pregnancy and the hardships she had suffered. “I have sure been a misery to myself for the last nine months but I staid with it,” Amelia wrote. “The reason I didn’t tell you before it happened was because I hated it myself so bad I didn’t want you to worry about it.” “Are you surprised?” Amelia asked her sister, and then joked, “You can imagine I didn’t want her but now I wouldn’t trade her off, well, for your David [Agnes’s son].”⁸⁵ In a subsequent letter, Amelia continued the conversation:

Yes Sis, seven kids don’t give a woman much chance for anything else but I believe if I had to have one every 10 or 11 months or even 18 months like some women, I’d take the shortest way out. Life isn’t worth living at the best for poor people but some has it even worse than others.”⁸⁶

Burns Wieck now agreed that birth control was a working class issue, an idea that she had not endorsed earlier in life:

I have about come to the conclusion that Harriet Reid was right when she used to tell me that this problem supersedes all others in importance. ‘What salvation can the labor movement bring women,’ she would ask me, ‘when they find themselves in a whirlpool of poverty and degradation, continually pulling others in?’⁸⁷

The exchange between sisters, and Amelia’s reflections on the burden imposed by short intervals between the births of children, anticipates Betty Friedan’s later observations about time fragmentation in *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan, and other second wave feminists, were in some ways far removed from the experiences of Burns Wieck and her sister—they were grounded in the middle class of the 1950s rather than the working class of the 1920s—but they made similar

claims. Being mothers at home with young children meant that women never had long uninterrupted periods of time for themselves to accomplish what they imagined—to think, to engage in projects that required sustained concentration, to plan ahead.⁸⁸

For Agnes Burns Wieck, the idea of having children and caring for them was not the problem. What was difficult was household management *in toto*. I interpret the passages in Burns Wieck's letters to the Hapgoods and to Amelia as indications of this, her mindfulness of the working-class balancing act women in coal mining communities had to perform. "Great days are ahead of you, bringing up that little girl!," she wrote to Mary Hapgood. "Perplexities enough but oh, the joy of it all!"⁸⁹ But being a mother and homemaker were adjustments to make. While the "old fire still burns within me," Burns Wieck wrote in her diary, "I know I must give myself almost wholly to my baby." Her sister Amelia told Agnes that Mayme, their other, older sister, "is right, you have become just like the rest of us, you are settled forever." Burns Wieck embraced this settling: "I am glad that married life has set me down into this day to day existence of other women." Yet she couldn't complete the thought without a reference to "the future into which I am always projecting myself." She could not now see herself as the mother to many children, as she had once had envisioned. Of her son, she wrote, "the baby... I want...above everything else," even as she noted that she and her husband Ed "won't stay settled always."⁹⁰ On David's first birthday, Burns Wieck wrote, "At times I wonder if I shall ever want to do anything else once I have the opportunity to teach this boy."⁹¹ In another diary entry she wrote that she "admired the spirit of restlessness and dissatisfaction in Mrs. Davison [a neighbour], though she knows not what she wants."⁹² Restlessness was connected to the uncertainties Burns Wieck faced and tugged at her emotions.

Both maternity and motherhood were difficult for Agnes Burns Wieck. Each were physically and emotionally challenging, and she reflected on the way she and others faced these things. About Mrs. Stevenson, she wrote, "I never let her know how concerned I am about her.... [C]ourage will carry her a long way during those terrible

hours” during delivery.⁹³ How could women keep their families and themselves healthy enough to carry on? Burns Wieck noted in her diary her agreement with her sister Mayme’s words: “There’s nothing in raising children nowadays, all hard work, worry, heartaches.... In spite of all you do, they’re apt to fill your life with misery when they’re grown up.”⁹⁴ “I haven’t made any entries in my diary for a week,” Burns Wieck recorded on another occasion. “David has been sick and I thought of nothing else.”⁹⁵ In these difficult circumstances, Burns Wieck formulated a class analysis. Women in coal mining families faced environmental and economic circumstances which shaped, and distinguished, their bodies and minds and separated them from more privileged middle- and upper-class women. Burns Wieck used the example of a British member of the upper class, Lady Cynthia Mosley, to explicate her points on working- and middle-class bodies. Lady Cynthia Mosley was the granddaughter of an American family, the Leiters, which owned a good portion of the coal mining fields of southern Illinois. This coal mining connection was the only thing they had in common, Burns Wieck argued. In an open letter published in the *Illinois Miner* in 1925, Burns Wieck admonished Lady Mosley:

You say you have two little children and that you know how you would feel if you couldn’t get enough food or proper clothing for them or had not a roof over their heads—that is one reason why you believe in Socialism.... I am sure that you have surrounded these children of yours with the happiest of influences, as it should be every mother’s privilege to do. But we children whose fathers were producing coal did not play in lovely gardens. We could not even imagine what the seashore is like. The nearby ponds were polluted with the refuse from the mine. We roamed among weeds and tin cans and slack piles...[as did children] in the Leiter camp.⁹⁶

These were the conditions that had produced Burns Wieck’s sick disabled working-class body. She had put her faith in the WTUL while at TSAW and after to heal her when she was a young woman in her

twenties. In her thirties, she was no longer convinced of the total power of the organization's service. The WTUL "is regrettably out of touch with the vast army of housewives of our nation," she argued. Though all women needed to organize, it was crucial for housewives to recognize the distinctions between their experiences—that is, to highlight the different concerns that occupied waged versus unwaged working-class women, differences between working-class and middle-class women, and also what they had in common with paid labouring females.⁹⁷

Burns Wieck did pass on to her readers in the *Illinois Miner* some advice that she had drawn from her days with the middle-class maternalists— especially those lessons derived from a scientific approach to mothering. In "More About Teeth," Burns Wieck wrote: "Parents of the well-to-do class take their children regularly to the dentist" because germs "loafing around in our bodies" could cause harm. While there was something to the notion that beauty was in the eyes of the beholder, the fact of the matter was, she explained, that you owed it to your children to prevent them from having decaying teeth for a better future. "Don't you know people who might be very attractive if it were not for 'those awful [decayed] teeth?' And who likes to catch the odor that comes from decayed teeth?"⁹⁸ Was this something she had experienced while in Chicago? Was it more than medical advice she was giving—a lesson in cultural capitalism? Health advice continued in "A Regular Nursing Time." Burns Wieck strongly urged her readers to listen to doctors, and relayed the newest medical ideas to them on the understanding that they would not have had the opportunity to get access to proper care in their communities. Included in this was the idea that negative emotions could affect "mother's milk" and "make sick" babies.

The working-class home, Burns Wieck thought, could and should be different from the middle-class home. Fathers needed to take part in the work of the private sphere:

Don't think that all the lecturing is to the mother—the father comes in for some good advice, too.... You old-fashioned

mothers made slaves of yourselves for your husbands and your children and did they think any more of you?

Burns Wieck's husband Ed did housework. He "was down in the yard hanging up the washing" on the twenty-first of December, and, a week later when wash day came again, and "Ed was rubbing away and I was busy with David Thoreau."⁹⁹ Her husband was the "housekeeper" when Agnes hurt her hand.¹⁰⁰ The couple together took their baby, David, to his first doctor's visit: "Well, we are mighty glad to have our David well. This was his first illness."¹⁰¹ Burns Wieck felt certain about how to care for the bodies of children within and outside the home, whether the children were those of the middle or working class, or of waged or unwaged labourers.¹⁰² Burns Wieck might be seen as a working-class equivalent to Thomson's maternal benefactress. In her later life, she began to construct herself—in her columnist persona of Mrs. Lotta Work and elsewhere—as both victim and saviour, the latter persona fitting well with Thomson's conception of the middle-class benefactress. Thomson writes: "Though she is embraced, the disabled figure is above all what the maternal benefactress refuses to become."¹⁰³ Burns Wieck ran away from her disabling conditions again, escaping the coal towns that made her sick, when she left Illinois for the last time and moved to New York City where her husband was hired by the Russell Sage Foundation.

What is clear is that Agnes Burns Wieck's body and mind continued to burden her even as she advocated with and for the downtrodden. But her subjectivity (as well as her surroundings) had changed when she left Illinois. From the Progressive era through the 1930s, Burns Wieck increasingly envisioned herself someplace else, whether that was outside the home or in a setting where better working conditions were available. Reflecting on a life filled with the drudge work of housewifery, being removed from the political struggle that animated her, she wrote: "I won't, I won't, I won't settle down to this."¹⁰⁴ Yet as she grew older, Agnes Burns Wieck became more and more concerned about her physical health and the toll that a life as an activist would take on her body and mind. And, while with

WTUL friends she might have done well at hiding her sense of class (which was constructed as a disability) under the cloak of her femaleness, in point of fact, she never stopped blaming capitalism and the way the system had wreaked havoc on her body and the bodies of the working class, in general.

Conclusion

The record that Agnes Burns Wieck left about her life allows us to trace a distinct working class disability standpoint. It is useful to juxtapose the construction of material bodies against working-class male and middle-class female forms. To do so calls into question assumptions of privilege and identity that are cast in dualistic modes of thinking—for example, mind/body, nature/environment. How did these dualisms shift in the early part of the twentieth century for workers and those who viewed them as “others?” While gender and class categorizations changed throughout the twentieth century, the mind/body distinction which was so much embedded in inequalities of modern capitalist states was more fixed in the middle and upper classes. Thus, we might posit that the philosophical domination of the Western canon which elevates the masculine mind over the feminine body does not fully take into account the problem of class. For workers, masculine and feminine bodies—though different and treated as unequal within their own communities—did not function in the same dualistic paradigm. Baron and Boris write, “Only some men possessed minds in the representational economy of Western class society; other men—manual laborers, service workers, and racial or ethnic ‘others’—became both more body than mind, like women, and hypermasculinized as all body.”¹⁰⁵ While making more masculine the male body, the merging of mind and body opened up another possibility for women. If the body was both feminine and masculine, the mind could be as well. When and how did working-class women imagine their bodies as similar to bourgeois minds and bodies? And why did Burns Wieck (at times) view such connections as a betrayal of the class consciousness that was so central to her thinking about the world and understanding of herself?

Notes

- ¹ I would like to thank Alison Parker, Nancy Hirschmann, Linda Gordon, and Naomi Rogers for their comments and constructive critiques of this article. Thanks also to all the contributors to this special issue of JHB for the intellectual camaraderie.
- ² For the sake of consistency, we will refer to the subject as Agnes Burns Wieck throughout the article. She is referred to in this way in archival holdings, although she was born Agnes Burns, and known as Agnes Wieck after her marriage.
- ³ Letter from Agnes Burns Wieck to Mary and Powers Hapgood, 1929 (no day or month), Hapgood Manuscript Collection, Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington [hereafter Hapgood MSS].
- ⁴ Daniel E. Bender, *Sweated Work, Weak Bodies: Anti-Sweatshop Campaigns and Languages of Labor* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 15, 42-43; Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women* (New York: South End Press, 1988), 183; Gwendolyn Mink, "The Lady and the Tramp: Gender, Race and the Origins of the American Welfare State," in *Women, the State, and Welfare* ed. Linda Gordon (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 104-105.
- ⁵ David Thoreau Wieck, *Woman from Spillertown* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), 28-35, 68, 76, 183; Eileen Boris and Annelise Orleck, "Feminism and the Labor Movement: A Century of Collaboration and Conflict," *New Labor Forum*, Winter 2011, Vol. 20, Issue 1, 34-35.
- ⁶ Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 17 and ch. 4.
- ⁷ John Mowitt, "Breaking up Fanon's Voice," in *Frantz Fanon: Critical Perspectives* ed. Anthony C. Alessandrini (New York: Routledge, 1999), 91.
- ⁸ Ava Baron and Eileen Boris, "'The Body' at Work: How Useful a Historical Concept?" *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 4, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 23-43. See also Valerie Burton's response to Baron and Boris, "A Seafaring Historian's Commentary on 'The Body' as a Useful Category for Working-Class History," 55-59. It is especially provocative in its portrayal of the body as a mainstay in British labour history as early as the 1970s.
- ⁹ Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *American Historical Review* 78, no. 3 (June 1973): 535.
- ¹⁰ Rebecca J. Lester, *Jesus in Our Wombs: Embodying Modernity in a Mexican Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 37.
- ¹¹ Ava Baron and Eileen Boris, "'The Body' at Work," 26.
- ¹² Kathleen Canning, *Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 179.

- ¹³ For an early discussion of sex and class, see Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex* (London: The Women's Press, 1979), ch. 1.
- ¹⁴ Kathleen Canning, *Gender History*, 173.
- ¹⁵ Baron and Boris, 26.
- ¹⁶ Carletta Savage, "Re-gendering Coal: Female Miners and Male Supervisors" *Appalachian Journal* 27, no. 3 (Spring 2000): 232, 234.
- ¹⁷ Sara Horrell, David Meredith, and Deborah Oxley, "Measuring Misery: Body Mass, Ageing and Gender Inequality in Victorian London," *Explorations in Economic History* 46 (2009) 116. The authors of this article are particularly good at balancing quantitative data about physical wellbeing and emotional motivation.
- ¹⁸ J.E. George, "The Coal Miners' Strike of 1897," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 12, no. 2 (January 1898): 186.
- ¹⁹ Agnes Burns Wieck Collection, Diary entry Saturday, January 6, (no year, but probably 1923), Box 2, Folder 2-22, Walter P. Reuther Archives, Wayne State University. (Hereafter ABW Collection); David Thoreau Wieck, 18-19.
- ²⁰ ABW Collection, Diary entry Thursday, 28 December, no year, Box 2, Folder 2-22.
- ²¹ Letter from Margaret Dreier Robins to Bertha (no last name), 20 July 1915, Margaret Drier Robins Papers, Papers of the Women's Trade Union League and Its Principal Leaders, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, microfilm edition, Collection 1, reel 23, frame 661. (Hereafter National WTUL Papers).
- ²² Diary entry, Saturday, 6 January, no year, 172, ABW Collection.
- ²³ Letter from Agnes Burns Wieck to Mary and Powers Hapgood, 1929 (no day or month), Hapgood MSS.
- ²⁴ For a larger discussion of patriarchy and labeling, see Linda Gordon and Allen Hunger, "Not All Male Dominance is Patriarchal," *Radical History Review*, Issue 71 (Spring 1998): 71-83.
- ²⁵ Julie Bettie, "Women without Class: *Chicas, Cholas*, Trash, and the Presence/Absence of Class Identity," *Signs* 26, no. 1(2000), 14. See Norma Alarcón, "The Theoretical Subject(s) of *This Bridge Called My Back* and Anglo-American Feminism," *Anzaldúa*, 1990, 256-369.
- ²⁶ Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, 28.
- ²⁷ Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 55.
- ²⁸ Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, ch 2.
- ²⁹ On the idea of misfit and material feminism, see Rosemarie Garland Thomson, "Misfits: A Material Feminist Disability Concept" *Hypatia* 26, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 591-609.

- ³⁰ Letter to Emma Steghagen, Director of the School for Active Workers in the Labor Movement,” n.d., National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 206.
- ³¹ Alice Henry, “Educational Work of the National Women’s Trade Union League,” 1922, National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 151. The quotation is repeated in many places. It must come from a press release.
- ³² “Excerpt from history of the National Women’s Trade Union League of American, Machinists Bldg., Washington, DC,” National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame, 186.
- ³³ Report to Miss Emma Stehagan, n.d., National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 208.
- ³⁴ Letter from Elisabeth Christman to the Members of the Executive Board, 15 April 1926, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 376 and “Actual Field Work, First Three Months,” 1926, National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 405.
- ³⁵ “Training School of the National Women’s Trade Union League of America,” in *Life and Labor*, National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 336 and Alice Henry, “Educational Work of the National Women’s Trade Union League,” 1922, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 151.
- ³⁶ Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, 82.
- ³⁷ Mary Beard, *Women’s Work in Municipalities* (New York: Arno Press, 1915); Paula Baker, “The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society 1780-1920,” *American Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (June 1984): 631, 641-42; Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, ed., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (New York: Routledge, 1993).
- ³⁸ Letters from Olive Sullivan (first quotation) and Emma Steghagen (second quotation) to Margaret Dreier Robins, 13 October 1915 and 29 October 1915, , Collection 1 reel 23, frames 782 and 807, Robins Papers.
- ³⁹ Letter from Olive Sullivan to Margaret Dreier Robins, 3 November 1915, National WTUL Papers, Collection 1, reel 23, frame 814.
- ⁴⁰ Letter from Olive Sullivan to Margaret Dreier Robins, November 1915, National WTUL Papers, Collection 1, reel 23, frame 814.
- ⁴¹ Letter from Margaret Dreier Robins to Mrs. Straight, 15 February 1916, National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 199.
- ⁴² David Wieck, 25, 52.
- ⁴³ David Wieck, 52. See also quote on 31.
- ⁴⁴ *Twenty-Sixth Annual, First Biennial Conference United Mine Workers of America, District 12, 1916* (Peoria, IL: The District, 1916), 317. (This is also quoted by David Wieck, 42.)
- ⁴⁵ Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra and Ray Porter, ed. *Cultures of Neurasthenia from Beard to the First World War* (New York: Rodopi, 2001), 20.

- ⁴⁶ Ibid, 20-22.
- ⁴⁷ Tom Lutz, *American Nervousness, 1903: An Anecdotal History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 221-243.
- ⁴⁸ S. Weir Mitchell, M.D. *Fat and Blood: An Essay on the Treatment of Certain Forms of Neurasthenia and Hysteria* (London: J.B Lippincott, Co., 1900); letter from Stella Franklin to Agnes Burns, January 1917, ABW Collection, Box 1, Folder 1, On Mitchel's cure, see also Lisa Appignanesi, *Mad, Bad, and Sad: A History of Women and the Mind Doctors from 1800 to the Present* (London: Virago Press, 2008), 120-121.
- ⁴⁹ Diary, 28 November, 122-123 (pages not in order), ABW Collection.
- ⁵⁰ Agnes Burns, "At the League's Training School," in *Life and Labor*, March 1916, 39.
- ⁵¹ Letter from Diva Wieck to author, 1 August 2005, personal correspondence in author's possession. See also Estelle Freedman, "The Burning of Letters Continues: Elusive Identities and the Historical Construction of Sexualities," *Journal of Women's History* 9, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 200.
- ⁵² On the nature and use of historical speculation, see, Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Harvard: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 146.
- ⁵³ ABW Diary, Thursday 28 December, no year, ABW Collection.
- ⁵⁴ Agnes Burns to John H. Walker, 4 August 1916, quoted in David Wieck citing John H. Walker Collection.
- ⁵⁵ Burns to Walker, quoted in David Wieck, 48-50.
- ⁵⁶ Agnes Burns, "At the League's Training School," in *Life and Labor*, March 1916, 39.
- ⁵⁷ Mary Anderson, *Woman at Work* excerpts, 36 and 57, ABW Collection, Box 1, Folder 1.
- ⁵⁸ Report for June 1915-June 1916, Health Committee, National WTUL Papers, Collection 7, Reel 1.
- ⁵⁹ Quotation from "Training for Labor Organizers," March 1920, National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 143. In 1923, the League reiterated these criteria, frame 156. These compare to the 1917 Correspondence Course pamphlet which has no mention of health, frame 139.
- ⁶⁰ John F. Kasson, "Follow the Bodies: Commentary on 'The Body' as a Useful Category for Working-Class History," *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas* 4, no2 (Summer 2007): 45.
- ⁶¹ Associate Director's Report, 1917, 6 & 10, National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frames 210 and 214.
- ⁶² A decade later there was new interest (in the US and European fascist regimes) in the relationship between girls, sport, and physical education of which the WTUL's discussions might be an early piece. See, for example, Inbal Ofer, "Am I that Body? Sección Femenina de la Fet and the Struggle for the Institu-

- tion of Physical Education and Competitive Sports for Women in Franco's Spain, *Journal of Social History* (Summer 2006): 989-1010.
- ⁶³ Report of the Secretary of the Educational Dept, 25 October 1920, National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 304.
- ⁶⁴ Letter from Agnes Burns to Margaret Dreier Robins, 6 October 1916, Robins Papers, Collection 1, reel 24, frame 230.
- ⁶⁵ Associate Director Report, June 1917, p10, National WTUL Papers, Collection 2, reel 1, frame 214.
- ⁶⁶ Letter from Agnes Burns to John Walker, 9 June 1916, Box 1, Folder 9, John H. Walker Papers, Illinois History Survey, University of Illinois, and Urbana-Champaign.
- ⁶⁷ Elliott Gorn, *The Most Dangerous Woman in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), Introduction.
- ⁶⁸ Letter from Stella Franklin to Agnes Burns, January 1917, Box 1, Folder 1-1, ABW Collection.
- ⁶⁹ Diary Tuesday 28 November, no year, 122, Box 2, Folder 2-22, ABW Collection.
- ⁷⁰ Elizabeth Faue, *Community of Suffering and Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), ch 3; Daniel E. Bender, *Sweated Work*, 5, 7, 11, 49, 59.
- ⁷¹ Linda Gordon, *Dorothea Lange: A Life Beyond Limits* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), xiv.
- ⁷² Jacqueline Ellis, "Revolutionary Spaces: Photographs of Working-class Women by Esther Bubley, 1940-1943," *Feminist Review* No. 53 (Summer 1996): 74.
- ⁷³ Susan A. Glen, "Reflections on 'The Body' in Labor History," *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas* 4, no. 2 (Summer 2007): 52.
- ⁷⁴ For two examples from the early-twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries, respectively, see Edith Wyatt, "Heroes of the Cherry Mine Disaster," *McClure's Magazine* 34 (March 1910) and Kevin Chappell, "The Coal Miners Wife," *Ebony* 65 (July 2010): 92-97.
- ⁷⁵ *First Annual Report of the Illinois Women's Auxiliary Progressive Miners of America*, 29.
- ⁷⁶ Agnes Burns Wieck, "Women's Bureau Uncovers Sorry facts in the Life of American Coal Mining Towns," *Illinois Miner*, n.d., Box 1, Folder 1-3, "Lotta Work," ABW Collection.
- ⁷⁷ There were two unions she fought with and for during this period in Illinois, the UMWA and the PMA.
- ⁷⁸ Horrell, Meredith, and Oxley, "Measuring Misery," 115-116.
- ⁷⁹ *First Annual Report of the Illinois Women's Auxiliary Progressive Miners of America*, 29 ("little men"), 9, 12.

- ⁸⁰ Mrs. Lotta Work, "When We Have Time to Think: The Principle of Brotherhood," *Illinois Miner*, n.d., Box 1, Folder 1-3, "Lotta Work," ABW Collection.
- ⁸¹ Letter from Elisabeth Christman to Agnes Burns Wieck, 16 March 1927, Box 1, Folder 1-1, and Diary entry, 8 December, no year, 128, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁸² David Wieck, 76. This must be a recollection from conversations as he does not provide a source as he usually does.
- ⁸³ Diary, 25 November, no year, 110, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁸⁴ Diary, 4 January and 6 January 1923, 170, Box 2, Folder 2-2, and next page (no page number on photocopy), ABW Collection.
- ⁸⁵ Diary, 13 October in which she includes Amelia's letter, 1 November 1922, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁸⁶ Diary, 8 December, in which she includes Amelia's letter of 28 November 1922, 128, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁸⁷ Diary, 24 December, no year, 148, Box Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁸⁸ Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell Publishers), 1964. The repercussions of this connect with historiography dealing with class and chronology. See Dorothy Sue Cobble, *The Other Women's Movement: Workplace Justice and Social Rights in Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Daniel Horowitz, "Rethinking Betty Friedan and the Feminine Mystique: Labor Union Radicalism and Feminism in Cold War America," *American Quarterly* 48, no. 1 (March 1996): 1-42.
- ⁸⁹ Agnes Burns Wieck to Mary and Powers Hapgood, 1929 (no day or month), Hapgood MSS.
- ⁹⁰ Diary, 28 November, no year, 123, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection. The letter from Amelia is quoted in the diary.
- ⁹¹ Diary, 13 December no year, 135, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁹² Diary, 21 December, no year, 147 (?), Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁹³ Diary, 25 November, no year, 110, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁹⁴ Diary, 13 December, no year, 135, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁹⁵ Diary, 11 February, no year, 203, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ⁹⁶ Agnes Burns Wieck, "A Miner's Wife Writes Letter to Lady Mosley Relating Leiter Story," *Illinois Miner*, n.d. 10 October 1925 [both are written on the document] Box 1, Folder 1-3, "Lotta Work," ABW Collection.
- ⁹⁷ Agnes Burns Wieck, "Labor Women of Great Britain Gather in an Inspiring Conference," *Illinois Miner*, n.d. 25 July 1926 [both are written on the document] Box 1, Folder 1-3, "Lotta Work," ABW Collection.
- ⁹⁸ Agnes Burns Wieck, "Mother and Child," VIII. "More About Teeth," *Illinois Miner*, n.d., Box 1, Folder 1-3, "Lotta Work," ABW Collection.

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- ⁹⁹ Diary, 21 and 28 December, no year, 145 and 152, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ¹⁰⁰ Diary, n.d. (lines before 16 September 1923 entry), Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ¹⁰¹ Diary, 11 February, no year, 203, Box 2, Folder 2-2, ABW Collection.
- ¹⁰² “Mother and Child,” X. “A Regular Nursing Time.” On parks and recreational facilities that create healthy bodies, see Mrs. Lotta Work, “When We have Time to Think: Better Communities,” *Illinois Miner*, n.d., Box 1, Folder 1-3, “Lotta Work.” ABW Collection.
- ¹⁰³ Thomson, *Extraordinary Bodies*, 102.
- ¹⁰⁴ Diary, 122, no year, Box 2, Folder 2-22, ABW Collection.
- ¹⁰⁵ Baron and Boris, 24.