Joe Hill

1879-1915

Also known as: Joel Emmanuel Haaglung, Joseph Hillstrom, Joseph Hill

WRITINGS BY THE AUTHOR:

BOOKS

- *The Songs of Joe Hill*, edited by Barrie Stavis and Frank Harmon (New York: Oak Publications, 1955).
- *The Complete Joe Hill Songbook*, edited by Enn Kokk, Jacob Branting, and Rune Lindström (Stockholm: Prisma/FIBs Lyrikklubb, 1969).
- *The Activist's Guide to Industrial Action* (Reading, U.K.: Ragged Trousered Philanthropic Press, 1998).

OTHER

- *The Little Red Songbook*, third edition, contributions by Hill (Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1911).
- Joyce L. Kornbluh, ed., *Rebel Voices: An I. W. W. Anthology*, contributions by Hill (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), pp. 127-157.

SELECTED PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS--UNCOLLECTED

- "The People," *Industrial Worker* (6 March 1913).
- "How to Make Work for the Unemployed," *International Socialist Review* (December 1914).

LETTERS

- *The Letters of Joe Hill*, edited by Philip S. Foner (New York: Oak Publications, 1965).

Joe Hill was a labor organizer and songwriter for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and one of the most influential protest artists in American history. A Wobbly, as members of the IWW were nicknamed, he was the most famous and most prolific writer of working-class songs and an archetypal example of a worker using music as an organizing tool. The generations of workers and musicians he inspired and their tribute songs to him hint at the breadth of Hill's influence. His controversial court trial and execution for the crime of murder in 1915 made him an international martyr and legend. While debate still persists among historians as to his guilt, he remains one of the most important protest songwriters in the history of the American labor movement.

It is difficult to accurately reconstruct Hill's life before his incarceration, as he had a taciturn nature and was reluctant to provide facts about his life. In addition, some biographical details have been distorted by myth or propaganda over time. While in prison in 1915 he responded to a friend asking about his life: "Biography you say? No. Let's not spoil good writing paper with such nonsense--only the here and now is of concern to me. I am a 'citizen of the world' and I was born on a planet called the earth. The exact spot where I first saw the light of day is of such slight importance that it deserves no comment--I haven't much to say about myself. Will only say that I have done what little I could to bring

the flag of freedom closer to its goal."

Hill was born Joel Emanuel Hägglund on 7 October 1879 in the family home at 28 Nedra Bergsgatan, Gävle, Sweden. His father, Olaf, and mother, Margareta Katarina, had nine children, six of whom survived to adulthood: Joel (Joe), Ruben, Efraim, Paul, Judith, and Ester. Devoutly religious, the family belonged to the local Bethlehem Church, and religious activities as well as family life involved music and singing. Olaf built a four-octave organ in the home and was an amateur musician. Joel never took formal music lessons but learned to play guitar, accordion, piano, and violin. He often made up teasing song verses about his brothers and sisters.

The family was poor, especially after Olaf, a railroad conductor, died in a work-related accident when Joel was ten years old. Joel began working after his father's death, first in a rope factory and then as a fireman on a steam-powered crane. Both Joel and Paul studied English at the YMCA in their hometown and may have practiced the language while working on ships running between England and Sweden. Around his twelfth birthday, Joel contracted a form of tuberculosis that afflicted his skin and joints. He underwent several skin operations that left his neck and nose scarred.

When Joel's mother died in 1902 from complications with a back ailment, the family dissolved and the family house was sold. Joel and his brother Paul immigrated to the United States via Ellis Island in October 1902. They first lived in the Bowery, on the Lower East Side of New York City, where Joel got a job cleaning spittoons and "rattling the music box" (as he called playing the piano) in a Manhattan saloon. Not much is known about his life during the years 1902 through 1910. He is reported to have moved west through the country, where he stacked wheat, laid pipe, dug copper, and worked on docks and in smelters. In 1905 Joel sent his family in Sweden a Christmas card from Cleveland. In 1906 he witnessed the San Francisco earthquake, about which he wrote a letter to a Gävle newspaper describing the devastation. By the time he ended up in California, he had changed his name to Joseph Hillström and later to the Americanized "Joe Hill." Some historians speculate that he changed his name to elude law-enforcement officials, but there is no evidence that he ever committed any crimes during this period of his life. In interviews, acquaintances of Hill stated that he did not use alcohol or tobacco.

On 27 August 1910 the IWW publication *Industrial Worker* carried a letter signed by Joe Hill (the first documented use of that name) that was written in Portland, Oregon. Hill joined the IWW in 1910 in San Pedro, California, and served as secretary of the San Pedro local. The IWW was formed in Chicago in 1905 by William D. "Big Bill" Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners and others who were dissatisfied with the lack of progress of the craft unions under Samuel Gompers's American Federation of Labor (AFL). The ideology of the IWW combined elements of Marxian and Darwinian thought, and the philosophy of the movement has been called revolutionary syndicalism. In its basic aspects, this philosophy may be defined as a revolutionary struggle of the working class to conduct strikes and other trade-union activities with the eventual goal being the establishment of a trade-union "state" to operate industry and all other social activities. The strategies of the movement ignored the state and the ballot box, instead focusing on direct action in the economic arena. It was opposed to arbitration or collective bargaining and to political affiliation and intervention. The IWW attracted mostly unskilled, uneducated, itinerant workers and immigrants, and its activities were centered in the American West.

The IWW believed strongly in the organizing ability of songs. Folk singer Pete Seeger has called it "the singingest union America ever had." Intellectuals in the movement could labor over the complicated social and economic theories of Karl Marx, but songs were more effective at inspiring the rank and file and moving them to action. The Wobblies sang of their miseries and of the happiness they would have if their movement were successful. Lyrics mocked the values of the bourgeoisie. Songs became the vehicle for conveying the basic sentiments and program of the IWW. They could be heard everywhere--in the workplace, on picket lines, and in jails. The repetition of inspiring words created a fervor almost religious in its intensity and instilled a sense of collective courage in individuals.

The IWW published hundreds of thousands of leaflets, but to many Wobblies the best educational material was printed in *The Little Red Songbook.* The Spokane, Washington, branch of the IWW started the songbook, the first edition of which was published in January 1909. The cover carried the motto "To Fan the Flames of Discontent," and each edition could fit into a workingman's shirt pocket. On the inside cover of each edition was the preamble to the IWW Constitution, which begins with the lines: "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up

the employing class, have all the good things in life." Inside *The Little Red Songbook* were the words to about thirty to fifty songs, usually parodies of well-known melodies--pop songs of the day, hymns, or commonly sung older tunes. The songbook also included stories and poems. A copy of the latest edition was handed out to every new union member. "There are 38 songs in the I.W.W. song book," a Wobbly organizer wrote in 1912, "and out of that number 24 are educational, and I can truthfully say that every one of them is almost a lecture in itself."

Hill's contributions to *The Little Red Songbook* first appeared in 1911, and he soon became a leading contributor. He became popular with his countrymen because of his ability to sing and play the piano and was often invited to their homes to perform Swedish songs. According to Charles Rudberg, a childhood friend who also migrated to the United States, Joe could "sing like an angel, play the violin like a master and write like a fury." Hill wrote one of his first known songs, "Casey Jones--the Union Scab" (1912), while working as a "dock-walloper" (dockworker) in San Pedro.

"Casey Jones--the Union Scab" was printed on colored cards that were sold to assist strikers in raising funds. It was soon sung all over the country as migratory laborers carried it across the land. For thousands of working people, Hill's songs became part of their living experience and struggle for justice. Acquaintances stated that Hill was constantly writing songs and poems (which he referred to as "scribbling"). His first published song, "The Preacher and the Slave," appeared in *The Little Red Songbook* in its third edition in 1911. The song is a parody of the Salvation Army hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye." The song is considered to be Hill's masterpiece and his greatest contribution to the American folk tradition. Twelve years after Hill's death, it was included in author Carl Sandburg's collection *The American Songbag* (1927). Hill's songs in *The Little Red Songbook* describe the struggles of labor against strikebreakers ("Casey Jones--the Union Scab"), the plight of the homeless and unemployed ("The Tramp," 1913), the economic base of prostitution ("The White Slave," 1913), and Salvation Army soup kitchens ("The Preacher and the Slave"). He wrote songs reflecting IWW culture and ideology and sardonic anticapitalist ballads of class antagonism that captured the imagination of a whole generation of workers.

By many accounts Hill traveled to Tijuana, Mexico, in 1911 when the Wobblies rallied around the Magón brothers, who were plotting against the Mexican government. Also in 1911 he worked on a ship that traveled to Hawaii, where he lived in a shack on the beach with a friend and fellow Wobbly, Harry "Mac" McClintock, for a few months. Hill was in Yale, British Columbia, in early 1912 to support an IWW rail strike against the Canadian Northern Railroad; there he wrote the song "Where the Fraser River Flows." During a "free speech fight" in San Diego in 1912, Hill was a speaker at a protest meeting sponsored by the Los Angeles chapter of the AFL. He was reportedly beaten by vigilantes during this conflict and put in jail for vagrancy by the police, who tried to thwart the IWW speakers.

The demand for copies of *The Little Red Songbook* and issues of the *Industrial Worker* that included Hill's songs was great, and the publications often underwent many printings. By 1913 the songbook was being printed in lots of fifty thousand. Hill's songs are full of satire and caustic humor, which distinguishes them from others of the day. He wrote for the worker. Though the songs became popular outside labor circles, Hill's primary intention was for them to be sung in union halls, on the picket line, and in the homes of the working class. Hill's songs were written to recruit, to educate, to unify, to raise money, and to inspire and build morale. They criticize the judicial system, unsafe working conditions, unemployment, war, politicians, capitalists, religion, strikebreakers, and police. Almost all refer to joining the "One Big Union" to overthrow the ruling class and the wage system, and Hill commonly emphasizes that membership in the union can make for a better life.

Hill was also a cartoonist. A 24 April 1913 issue of the *Industrial Worker* carries on its front page a large, three-column cartoon by Hill on the subject of the plight of the migratory worker. That same year he moved to Utah (with Swedish friend Otto Applequist) to work in the Park City mines and participate in the free-speech fights occurring there. He became acquainted with the Swedish community in Murray, Utah, about twelve miles from Salt Lake City, and took a room at the Eselius family boarding house, having met brothers Ed, John, and Frank Eselius during his work days on the West Coast.

While Hill's songs made his name familiar to workers around the country, it is doubtful that he would have achieved legendary status without the events that transpired in the years 1914 and 1915. On 10 January 1914, at around 9:45 P.M., two masked men robbed the Salt Lake City grocery store of former policeman John Morrison, killing Morrison and his seventeen-year-old son, Arling. Another son, thirteen-year-old Merlin, hid in a backroom and escaped injury.

Ninety minutes after the shooting, Hill arrived at the home of a doctor, Frank McHugh, suffering from a bullet wound in his chest. The doctor's home was about six miles from Morrison's store. Hill claimed that he had punched a man in an argument over a woman, and the other man shot him. He stated to McHugh that he was as much to blame as the other fellow and wanted the affair kept quiet. The doctor found that the bullet had traveled all the way through Hill's chest without hitting any vital organs. He dressed the wound and arranged for a friend to drive Hill back to the Eselius boarding house. Hill had a gun when he arrived at McHugh's but discarded it as he was driven back to Murray.

McHugh was away on business on January 11 but then heard of the murders in Salt Lake City and notified authorities that he had treated Hill for a gunshot wound the night of the murders. He told police that he would stop by the Eselius home on 13 January to treat Hill's wounds and then administer morphine so that he would be drugged when they arrived to arrest him. On the appointed day, the police arrived to apprehend Hill, who was lying in bed. As he reached for his pants, Murray Police Chief Fred Peters shot him in the hand and shoulder. A later search revealed that there was no weapon in the room. While in custody the next several days, Hill's condition was critical from his several wounds.

Hill recovered and pleaded not guilty at a preliminary hearing on 22 January. Being unable to afford counsel, he acted as his own attorney and was held in the county jail without bail until the trial began on 17 June. Only his gun wound circumstantially linked him with the murders. The bullet that wounded Hill was never found.

The press printed lurid, inflammatory, prejudiced, and fabricated stories (which could have been read by the jury) about Hill, his songs, and the IWW throughout the trial. Merlin Morrison's accounts of the killings varied greatly in the newspaper reports and court testimonies. There is no evidence that Hill knew John Morrison before the murder, but Hill never provided a concrete alibi for his whereabouts during the crime. He stated that he wanted to protect the unidentified woman's reputation. To add more intrigue to an already perplexing case, Hill's friend Applequist disappeared from Salt Lake City the night of the shooting, never to be heard from again, and a second accomplice in the crime was never charged.

Hill's supporters considered the charges a class-oriented conspiracy to quiet a vocal instrument of the growing union. Although thousands of people had sung his songs, Hill's real fame began in the Utah penitentiary. The publicity of the trial afforded him a stage on which to project his philosophy and enhance his image (and eventual martyrdom). Despite dubious circumstantial evidence, the jury deliberated for only a few hours before finding Hill guilty on 8 July 1914 and sentencing him to die. Given a choice between execution by hanging or shooting, he reportedly said, "I'll take the shooting. I've been shot a couple times before and I think I can take it." The trial and appeals process became a cause célèbre, comparable to that of the case of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti thirteen years later, symbolizing the violent struggle between the forces of capital and workers' unions, and it became a national and international story. As labor groups and other organizations became convinced of Hill's innocence and unfair trial, the interpretation of his case--that of an innocent worker unjustly convicted by capitalist bosses because of his radical activities--became a significant element in his folk-hero image.

Hill's supporters claimed that the business interests of the West, especially the "Copper Bosses" of Utah and the Mormon Church (as part of the state power structure), had conspired to do away with him. There is no direct evidence that this allegation is true, although the climate of opinion in the West was decidedly hostile to the IWW. In the early 1910s local authorities routinely broke up Wobbly street meetings in Salt Lake City and other Utah communities, and the speakers were assaulted and jailed.

While Hill was in prison, his friend Sam Murray wrote to him describing the economic depression in San Francisco in 1914 and asked Hill if he might compose a song about it. Hill replied, "when I make a song I always try to picture things as they really are. Of course a little pepper and salt is allowed in order to bring out the facts more clearly. If you send me that sheet music and give me some of the peculiarities and ridiculous points about conditions in general . . . I'll try to do the best I can." Murray sent Hill the music to the popular tune "It's a Long Way to Tipperary," to which Hill set his lyrics for "It's a Long Way down the Soupline" (1915), a song that soon became known around the country and was effective in raising money for Hill's defense in the appeals process.

On 10 July 1915, the "Joe Hill Defense Fund" issued a leaflet that stated that Hill had done much to solidify the working class: "His songs are sung in the tongues of all nations, wherever workers congregate." Leaflets were

distributed all over the country urging workers to send letters of protest to Utah governor William Spry, to organize protest meetings, to spread publicity, and to send money for Hill's legal expenses.

During his nearly two years in the Sugar House Prison in Salt Lake City, Hill expressed concern that money being used for his defense could be better used to improve the lot of workers. In a 6 August 1915 letter to his friend Elizabeth Gurley Flynn he wrote: "I have no desire to be one of them whatye-call-em martyrs." Hill corresponded regularly with people in the labor movement from prison even though prison officials screened his letters. He mentioned in one of his letters that prison made him a better correspondent. He was able to keep up with current labor struggles and write songs about them. He kept organizing. In fact, Hill wrote some of his finest songs while incarcerated.

While imprisoned, Hill wrote a letter to the editor of *Solidarity* explaining why he wrote songs as organizing tools: "A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read more than once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over; and I maintain that if a person can put a few cold, common sense facts into a song, and dress them up in a cloak of humor to take the dryness off of them, he will succeed in reaching a great number of workers who are too unintelligent or too indifferent to read a pamphlet or an editorial on economic science. There is one thing that is necessary in order to hold the old members and to get the would-be members interested in the class struggle and that is entertainment." Hill's songs were usually set to an already popular folk tune--workers were more easily unified if they were already familiar with the melody. Hill did also compose some original music, however. Most notable among his original scores are "Workers of the World, Awaken!" (circa 1914) and "The Rebel Girl" (1915), which was inspired by his friendship with Flynn, the foremost woman organizer in the IWW, and his desire to include women in the "One Big Union."

As Hill was still a citizen of Sweden, the Swedish government lobbied on his behalf. Swedish minister to the United States W. A. F. Ekengren petitioned President Woodrow Wilson and Governor Spry directly because he believed the evidence against Hill was too weak to justify capital punishment. Thirty thousand Australian workers adopted a resolution calling on Spry to free Hill. Gompers of the AFL and Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs wrote letters asking for clemency, as did Virginia Snow Stephen, daughter of a former Mormon Church president. (Stephen was later fired from her teaching position at the University of Utah for her defense of Hill.) After receiving thousands of letters from around the world supporting Hill, Wilson asked Spry to reconsider the case. Spry, whose alignment with mining interests had led others to call him "the jumping-jack of the copper kings," declared that Hill had received a fair trial and admonished Wilson for interfering in state affairs.

Social activists Jane Addams and Helen Keller also appealed to Wilson for leniency in the Hill case. During the last several days of September 1915, Spry received an average of two hundred letters or telegrams a day demanding a pardon for the songwriter. These letters were sent from around the world, from lawyers and professional men and women as well as working-class citizens and labor activists. Spry also received many threats against his life and threats of violence against public buildings in Utah. Some of these threatening letters were later found to have been written by detective agencies (to create protection work for themselves) and Utah officials (to unite citizens behind the governor).

After appeals, Hill was resentenced two more times and scheduled to die on 19 November 1915. No woman ever came forward to support Hill's alibi, and he never revealed the name of the woman he claimed he was protecting, despite assurances from the court that it would remain a secret. The day before his execution, Hill wrote to Haywood: "I die like a true rebel. Don't waste any time in mourning--organize!" "Don't Mourn--Organize!" is still a rallying cry for unions. Although the famous phrase is widely believed to be Hill's own invention, labor historian Philip S. Foner points out in *The Case of Joe Hill* (1965) that nearly the same statement appears as early as 1912 in an obituary in the *Industrial Worker* for another labor figure: "our duty is not to mourn but to go on where Fellow Worker . . . left off."

Hill was executed by a five-man firing squad on 19 November 1915 at the Utah State Prison. According to some accounts, Hill, after the squad was told to "Ready . . . aim . . . ," shouted "Fire!" himself. The day after his death, a *New York Times* journalist wondered whether his martyrdom might not "make Hillstrom dead much more dangerous to social stability than he was when alive." Following memorial services in Salt Lake City, his body was transferred to Chicago, where on Thanksgiving Day, 23 November, thirty thousand mourners attended his funeral, at which his songs were sung and eulogies were read in nine different languages.

Hill had written Haywood the day before his execution that he "didn't want to be caught dead in Utah." On 1 May 1916 his cremated ashes were scattered in every state (except Utah) and around the world. The ashes had been divided and put into envelopes with his "Last Will" (composed on the eve of his execution) on one side:

My will is easy to decide,

For there is nothing to divide.

My kind don't need to fuss and moan--

"Moss does not cling to a rolling stone."

My body? Ah, If I could choose,

I would to ashes it reduce,

And let the merry breezes blow

My dust to where some flowers grow.

The transcripts from the preliminary hearings of Hill's court case and the bulk of the records of the trial disappeared from the office of the clerk of the District Court of Salt Lake County soon after his execution. Copies that were held in the Chicago office of the IWW were seized by the government in 1917 during raids as part of a crackdown on radical organizations prior to World War I and have also disappeared. A later fire at IWW headquarters destroyed whatever other trial evidence that might have been left.

Though historians disagree about Hill's actual guilt in the case, all scholars concur that his trial was unfair and that he should not have been convicted of a capital crime on the circumstantial evidence that was presented. There is also little doubt that Hill's high-profile membership in the IWW and the inflammatory news articles about Hill and the union influenced the outcome of the trial. Some biographers challenge Hill's status as a labor martyr since "he did not die on worker's business," while others praise him for fighting an unjust court system, standing up for the rights of the accused poor and for the legal supposition that one must be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

In her tribute to Joe Hill as a songwriter, published in the 22 May 1915 issue of *Solidarity*, Flynn wrote:

Joe writes songs that sing, that lilt and laugh and sparkle, that kindle the fires of revolt in the most crushed spirit and quicken the desire for fuller life in the most humble slave. He has put into words the inarticulate craving of "the sailor, and the tailor and the lumberjack" for freedom, nor does he forget "the pretty girls that's making curls." He has expressed the manifold phrases of our propaganda from the gay of Mr. Block and Casey Jones to the grave of "Should a gun I ever shoulder, tis to crush the tyrant's might." He has crystallized the organization's spirit into imperishable forms, songs of the people--folk songs.
The phrase "pie in the sky," which Hill popularized in his song "The Preacher and the Slave," is perhaps his greatest contribution to the American common language.

In contrast to his energizing and provocative labor songs, Hill also composed at least three sentimental love songs that never appeared in *The Little Red Songbook.* These songs are generally considered to be of low quality and, along with four other songs attributed to Hill on the basis of rumors, were never widely known until historians uncovered them. Two of the songs, "Come and Take a Joy-ride in My Aeroplane" and "Oh, Please Let Me Dance This Waltz with You," were found by police in Hill's room when he was arrested.

Many songs have been written about Hill by other songwriters and authors. Woody Guthrie wrote "Joe Hillstrom" (1940s), and Alfred Hayes and Earl Robinson wrote "Joe Hill" (1936), which became a classic among American folk songs. Phil Ochs wrote a song of the same title in 1966, and Si Kahn wrote "Paper Heart" (which recalls the paper

target pinned on Hill's chest when he was executed by firing squad) in 1976. Mark Levy wrote "Joe Hill's Ashes" in 1989. Hill's music influenced both John Lennon and Bob Dylan. Writers Upton Sinclair, Sandburg, and Wallace Stegner referred to Hill in their works. In his play about Hill, "The Man Who Never Died," Barrie Stavis writes: "America is the richer for his having lived in it; and the people of this land are the richer for having fought in defense of his life. As long as there are people in this land of ours who sing, Joe Hill will never die. As long as there are people ready to work, to fight, to risk death for the good of their fellowmen, Joe Hill will never die." Stavis's play was turned into an opera and premiered at the German State Opera on 29 September 1970. Another play, "Salt Lake City Skyline" by Thomas Babe, was produced on Broadway in 1980. Hill has appeared in many other songs, dramas, and fictional works as well. Joan Baez sang Hayes and Robinson's "Joe Hill" at the Woodstock concert in 1969, thus ensuring Hill a place in the counterculture movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

No evidence has ever been found to conclusively establish Hill's guilt or innocence in the Morrison murders. His words continue to inspire political, labor, civil rights, and civil liberties activists. His songs preach hard work, fairness, honesty, and solidarity. Whether guilty or innocent, he became a symbol for the exploited and sufferers of injustice. Stegner stated that "As a legend, he is whole and unambiguous." The controversy over his guilt or innocence continues to fuel the drama of his story. Fellow Wobbly and songwriter Ralph Chaplin maintained that Hill "probably came as close to being the laureate of labor as any poet the working class movement has yet produced," and generations of other folk artists have acknowledged the simple brilliance, intensity, and impact of his compositions.

The IWW formed one of the first social movements in the United States to develop an extensive lore and literature all its own. Wobbly songs provided their most enduring legacy to labor history. Folklorist John Greenway has called the IWW songbook "the first great collection of labor songs ever assembled for utilitarian purposes." The IWW had many fine poets--including Chaplin, Harry McClintock, T-Bone Slim, Richard Brazier, Laura Payne Emerson, William Whalen, Ethel Comer, John E. Nordquist, Pat Brennan, Covington Hall, Charles Ashleigh, and Herbert Tulin--but Joe Hill was foremost among them. His birthplace in Sweden is now the location of a commemorative garden that serves as a memorial to the greatest Wobbly songwriter and poet.

Papers: The two major collections of primary source material on Joe Hill are in the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library, and the Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. Other material can be found in the Wallace Stegner Collection at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace Library at Stanford University, the Woodrow Wilson Papers (Library of Congress), the Utah State Archives and Records Service (Salt Lake City), the J. Willard Marriott Library at the University of Utah (Salt Lake City), and the archives of the Royal Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Stockholm, Sweden).

FURTHER READINGS ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Bibliography:

- Dione Miles, ed., *Something in Common: An IWW Bibliography* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1986).

Biography:

- Gibbs M. Smith, *Joe Hill* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1969).

References:

- Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *I Speak My Own Piece: Autobiography of "The Rebel Girl"* (New York: Masses and Mainstream, 1955).
- Philip S. Foner, *The Case of Joe Hill* (New York: International Publishers, 1965).
- Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* (New York: International Publishers, 1965).
- Wayne Hampton, *Guerrilla Minstrels: John Lennon, Joe Hill, Woody Guthrie, Bob Dylan* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986).
- Vernon H. Jenson, "The Legend of Joe Hill," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 4 (April 1951): 356-366.
- Patrick Renshaw, *The Wobblies: The Story of Syndicalism in the United States* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday,

1967).
- Ingvar Söderström, *Joe Hill: Poet and Agitator* (New York: Swedish Information Service, 1990).
- Wallace Stegner, "Joe Hill: The Wobblies' Troubadour," *New Republic*, 118 (5 January 1948): 20-24.
- John Takman, "Joe Hill's Sister: An Interview," *Masses and Mainstream*, 9 (March 1956): 24-30.
- Fred Thompson, *The I.W.W., Its First Fifty Years, 1905-1955: The History of an Effort to Organize the Working Class* (Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1955).

About this Essay: Ken Kempcke, Montana State University.

Source: *Dictionary of Literary Biography, Volume 303: American Radical and Reform Writers, First Series*. A Bruccoli Clark Layman Book. Edited by Steven Rosendale, Northern Arizona University. Gale, 2004. pp. 210-219.

Source Database: Dictionary of Literary Biography