

“He was one of those Americans who by the purity and strength of his character, add to the real virtues of the nation as living influences, and as memory for posterity to contemplate.”

Edgar Lee Masters

♪ Aaron Copland, *Fanfare for the Common Man*
(Please hold applause until the end of the program)

♪ Lloyd Pfautsch, *I Hear America Singing*, text by Walt Whitman from the poems “I Hear America Singing,” “Starting from Paumanok,” “These Carols,” and “Walt Whitman.”

I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear.
I hear the sound I love, the sound of the human voice.
I hear all sounds running together, combined, fused or following.
Sounds of the city and out of the city, sounds of the day and of night.
And I will not sing with reference to a day, but I will sing with reference to all days.
These carols sung to cheer my passage through the world I see,
For completion I dedicate to the Invisible World.
I hear America singing!

♪ Paul Dresser, *On the Banks of the Wabash*, newly-commissioned arrangement by R. Ryan Endris (premiere)

♪ Roger Truhart, *The Wabash Cannonball* (Audience sing along!)

From the wide Pacific Ocean to the broad Atlantic shore
She climbs the flowery mountains, over hills and by the shore.
She's as graceful as a comet, smoother than a waterfall,
She's a reg'lar combination, the Wabash Cannonball.

Oh listen to the jingle, the rumble and the roar,
As she glides along the woodland, over hills and by the shore
Hear the mighty rush of the engine, hear the merry hobos squall,
As she glides along the woodland, the Wabash Cannonball.

I have rode the I.C. Limited, also the Royal Blue
Across the Eastern counties on Elkhorn Number Two.
I have rode these highball trains from coast to coast that's all
But I have found no equal to the Wabash Cannon Ball.
.....to the Wabash Cannon Ball.

♪ *Solidarity Forever/John Brown's Body* (Audience sing along!)

When the union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun;
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one,
But the union makes us strong

CHORUS:
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,
For the union makes us strong.

It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;
Dug the mines and built the workshops, endless miles of railroad laid;
Now we stand outcast and starving midst the wonders we have made;
But the union makes us strong.

CHORUS

* * *

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn,
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.
We can break their haughty power, gain our freedom when we learn
That the union makes us strong.

CHORUS

* * *

All the world that's owned by idle drones is ours and ours alone.
We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by stone.
It is ours, not to slave in, but to master and to own.
While the union makes us strong.

CHORUS

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold,
Greater than the might of armies, magnified a thousand-fold.
We can bring to birth a new world from the ashes of the old
For the union makes us strong.

CHORUS

♪ Woody Guthrie, *Bound for Glory*, Vocal arrangement by Jeff Waxman from the musical *Woody Guthrie's American Song*, songs and writings by Woody Guthrie, conceived and adapted by Peter Glazer.

♪ Randall Thompson, *Testament to Freedom* Mvt. I, text by Thomas Jefferson
The God who gave us life gave us liberty at the same time;
The hand of force may destroy but cannot disjoin them.

♪ Stephen Collins Foster, *Hard Times*, arr. Willi Zwodesky

♪ Randall Thompson, *Testament to Freedom*, Mvt. II, text by Thomas Jefferson

We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

* * *

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great... We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor towards us, that His Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, declare that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die free men rather than to live slaves.

♪ Thomas John Williams, *Once to Ev'ry Man and Nation*, text by James Russell Lowell (audience sing along!)

Once to every man and nation,
comes the moment to decide,
in the strife of truth with falsehood,
for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, some great decision,
offering each the bloom or blight,
and the choice goes by forever,
'twixt that darkness and that light.

Then to side with truth is noble,
when we share her wretched crust,
ere her cause bring fame and profit,
and 'tis prosperous to be just;

then it is the brave man chooses
while the coward stands aside,
till the multitude make virtue
of the faith they had denied.

♪ *What a Weapon is the Ballot/What a Friend We Have in Jesus* (audience sing along!)

What a weapon is the ballot, all our wrongs and ills to cure;
When oppression grows so heavy, that we can no more endure.
Oh, what ills we often suffer,
What injustice o'er us rolls,
All because we do not carry ev'ry burden to the polls.

Three cheers for Debs! Three cheers for Hanford!
Our__ standard bearers grand, let
All who freedom's cause hold dearest
On our glorious platform stand; to
All the world proclaim our mission,
Let__ all the people see, to
Work and vote the soci'list party, will bring true liberty!

Voting for Labor/ Marching Through Georgia (audience sing along!)

Dividends have long been paid from labor's weary toil,
To idlers who despise a brother marked with labor's soil;
Soon we'll tell those idlers their own dinner pots to boil,
For Labor is voting for labor!

Hurrah! Hurrah! We'll bring the jubilee!
Hurrah! Hurrah! The workers shall be free!
Life and Love and Truth shall reign instead of property,
For Labor is voting for Labor!

* * *

Yes! And there are Union men, Eugene V. Debs is one!
His genial face is shining like the early morning sun;
In the White House race Eugene will show them how to run,
For Labor is voting for labor!

Hurrah! Hurrah! We'll bring the jubilee!
Hurrah! Hurrah! The workers shall be free!
Life and Love and Truth shall reign instead of property,
For Labor is voting for Labor!

♪ *Hail the Social Revolution/John Brown's Body* (audience sing along!)

We are coming Debs and Harriman, one million voters strong,

We come from shops and mines, from fields and plains with joy and song,
We'll teach the ruling class a point on how to right the wrong
While we are marching on.

Hail the Social Revolution!
Cheer the peaceful Revolution!
Speed the coming Revolution!
The Brotherhood of Man.

* * *

From Lakes to Gulf we'll work and vote for Debs and Harriman,
From East to West, let Labor shout, "We come to free the land!"
Wage slavery must cease and men be free throughout the land,
For we are marching on.

CHORUS

♪ *Once to Ev'ry Man and Nation* reprise

♪ Ballard MacDonald, *Back Home Again In Indiana*, text by James Hanley,
newly-commissioned arrangement by R. Ryan Endris (premiere)

♪ Charles Ives, "Harvest Home," from *Three Harvest Home Chorales*

The harvest dawn is near
The year delays not long
And he who sows with many a tear
Shall reap with many a song.

Sad to his toil he goes,
His seed with weeping leaves,
And he shall come at twilight close
And bring his golden sheaves.

♪ Aaron Copland, *Fanfare for the Common Man* reprise

(Post-concert conviviality details to come)

* * *

Script by Steven Ashby and Alexandra Morphet

Eugene V. DebsJoe Gaines
NarratorSally Noble Hager
Speaker 1, Jenny CurtisCarol Marks
Speaker 2, Rev. Carwardine, Clarence Darrow.....Jack King

Dan Lodge-Rigal.....Guitar
Richard Torstrick.....Fiddle
Hunter Capoccioni.....String Bass

Miranda Richardson, Janis Stockhouse, _____Trumpets
 Kurtis Henderson, Elizabeth Deitemyer, Selena Adams, Danielle Ibrahim...French Horns
 Alex Bedner, Greg Titelbaugh, Jonathan Elmer.....Trombones
 Paul Hartin.....Tuba
 John Valdez.....Timpani
 _____Percussion

Tom Yeiser.....Sound Design
 Bruce Norton.....Poster and Program Cover Design
 Ellen Michel.....Program Layout

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Sources:

Debs, ed. by Ronald Radosh, Great Lives Observed Series
Gentle Rebel, Letters of Eugene V. Debs, ed. By J. Robert Constantine
Eugene V. Debs Speaks, Jean Tussey (editor)
Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist, Nick Salvatore
Harp Song For a Radical, Marguerite Young

Labor's Advocate, Iris Noble

The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs, Ray Ginger

Who Built America, Christopher Clark et al (editors)

Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy, Louise W. Knight

Websites:

Eugene V. Debs Foundation website, www.eugenevdebs.com

Eugene V. Debs Internet Archive, www.marxists.org/archive/debs

Eyewitness to History (www.eyewitnesstohistory.com) Voices of the 20th Century,

Eugene V. Debs, 1904 Presidential Campaign Address

The Illinois Labor History Society, Jennie Curtis, Address to 1894 Convention

of American Railway Union ([speechhttp://www.kentlaw.edu/ilhs/](http://www.kentlaw.edu/ilhs/speechhttp://www.kentlaw.edu/ilhs/jennie.htm)

[jennie.htm](http://www.kentlaw.edu/ilhs/jennie.htm))

A Note About the Language

Many of the texts and speeches included in this program contain language that is sexist or insensitive to modern ears. We decided that changing the direct words of Debs, Lowell, and others to modern inclusive language would not be appropriate in this context. Particularly troubling, in light of his ownership of slaves, is Thomas Jefferson's use of the word in his "Declaration of Causes and Necessity of Taking up Arms" used in *Testament of Freedom*, Mvt. II. In the end, we decided that drawing the connection to Jefferson was important enough to include the movement. Debs repeatedly cited the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution as justifications, and his own concept of "revolution" in many ways mirrored Jefferson's. It is also interesting to note that Jefferson campaigned to eliminate the Sedition Act when he was running for president, a little over 100 years before Debs was arrested and sent to jail for sedition.

Steven Ashby, consultant and scriptwriter

Before joining the IU Division of Labor Studies in 1998, Steven Ashby served as executive director of Northwest Indiana's Calumet Project, a labor-community coalition that advocates for workers' rights. He was an Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers divisional safety steward for four years at American Maize in Hammond. He is a co-author of the forthcoming book *The Staley Workers and the Fight for a New American Labor Movement*. He is also revising his dissertation into book form as *Shattered Dreams: The American Working Class and the Coming of the Cold War*. A recent recipient of the IU Trustees' Excellence in Teaching Award and the Industrial Relations Research Association Excellence in Education Award, Ashby teaches courses on labor history, grievance representation, globalization, union organizing, and labor in film. He received his PhD in U.S. History from the University of Chicago in 1993. In August Steven moves to Chicago to take a new position as an associate professor with the Institute for Labor and Industrial Relations at the University of Illinois.

Joe Gaines, Eugene Debs

Actor Joe Gaines was a founding member of Detour Theatre Company, where he appeared as Big Daddy in *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, in the Beckett Plays, the Pinter Plays, *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead*, *A Doll's House*, *What the Butler Saw* and directed *Buried Child*. Joe has a Master of Fine Arts in Acting from Brandeis University in Boston. While in Boston, he appeared under the direction of Edward Albee in *Malcolm*, and worked with theatre icons Nola Chilton and Ted Kazanoff. He has appeared professionally as an actor in Chicago, Indianapolis, Boston and Washington DC at such theatres as Victory Gardens Theater, Organic Theatre, Chicago Actors Ensemble, Chicago Shakespeare Company and Stormfield Theatre. In Indiana, Joe has appeared with American Cabaret Theatre, Bloomington Playwright's Project, Waldron Arts Center, Oasis Productions, and performed regularly with Phoenix Theatre of Indianapolis. For his portrayal of Barry Klemper in Phoenix Theatre's production of *The Boys Next Door*, Joe was nominated for a Corbin Patrick Award as Best Supporting Actor by the Indianapolis League of Professional Theatres. Film and TV credits include *Rogue Runners*, *Lottie's Quest*, *Pottersville*, *The Replacements* with Keanu Reeves, *Chicago Force*, CNN's *Burden of Proof*, Discovery Channel *Eco-Challenge* and a leading role in the award winning independent film, *Mary/Mary*.

Sally Noble Hager, Narrator (Ellen – I can't make this wierd space go away)

Sally Noble Hager was a member of the Cleveland Playhouse for eight years, and has also performed with the Actor's Theatre of Louisville, Indiana Repertory Theatre, Edyvean Repertory Theatre, Boarshead Theatre in Lansing, Michigan, and the Beef & Boards Theatre in Indianapolis. She toured as Mary Todd Lincoln in a one-woman show, and has also acted in many commercials and industrial films.

R. Ryan Endris, choral arranger

R. Ryan Endris is a *magna cum laude* graduate of Indiana University with a Bachelor's Degree of Music Education and is pursuing his Master's of Music in Choral Conducting from the IU Jacobs School of Music. He is also currently the Artistic Director and Conductor for the Indianapolis Men's Chorus in Indianapolis, Indiana. An alumnus of the Indiana University Singing Hoosiers, he has served on the staff as an arranger, Music Assistant, and Student Conductor. Additionally, Mr. Endris is in demand as an arranger of choral and instrumental music throughout the country.

Voces Novae

Susan Swaney, Artistic Director

Ruth Kapustin, Pianist

Janice Bagwell

Timothy Chenette

Meghan Cook

Sally Gaskill

Brent Gault

John Leonard

Gabriel Lubell
Marie Walker Monts
Greg Moore
Alexandra Morphet
Bruce Norton
Michael Oriatti
Deborah Phelps
Betsy Sabga
Mark Schultz
Susan Sullivan
Maria Izzo Walker
Shari Woodbury

Voces Novae is a Bloomington-based community chamber choir that draws on diverse arts and disciplines in thematic, purposeful programs and projects. The choir meets once a week to rehearse and explore the program topics. Members of Voces Novae are experienced singers whose day jobs are doctor, nurse, parent, fundraiser, administrator, costumer, technical writer, graphic designer, professor, students of astronomy, optometry, and music theory, and others. A majority hold music degrees, and members are active in the artistic life of the Bloomington community.

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The Legacy of Eugene V. Debs by Dr. Steven Ashby

We remember Eugene Victor Debs as one of America's greatest advocates for workers' rights. He devoted his life to the struggle to ensure every worker a safe job, a living wage, an eight-hour workday, and a decent life. Eugene Debs fervently believed that America must live up to its promises declared so eloquently in the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights. American workers, said Debs, could not achieve "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" when the government suppressed workers' rights and favored the interests of big corporations.

We remember Debs as one of labor's – and America's – greatest orators. Long before there were microphones, he thundered his message to huge crowds. Marching his tall, gaunt frame back and forth on the stage, his arm and forefinger slashed through the air as he denounced exploitation and injustice.

We remember Debs as a model of a leader: honest, honorable, and incorruptible. Even those who derided his views hailed his character.

And we remember Debs as America's most prominent socialist. At the heart of Debs' life work was his insistence that society is divided into two classes, working people and the wealthy capitalists; and that society should be run in the interests of the workers, not the bosses.

His is the story of a generation of workers and farmers who believed in the American dream, only to find their hopes trampled by the Industrial Revolution. If Debs had lived just a little longer, he would have seen his life work born fruit in the labor upsurge of the 1930s that won the Wagner Act that gave legal protection to workers seeking to organize a union; the Fair Labor Standards Act that banned child labor and mandated overtime for work over 40 hours a week; and the Social Security Act that declared America would not let its senior citizens die from poverty.

Eugene Debs' legacy surely lies in the tens of thousands of workers who he educated and inspired, and who went on to lead the labor struggles that finally began to bring American labor law in sync with the promise of the American revolution.

“Progress is born of agitation,” declared Debs, and his call to activism is as meaningful today as it was a century ago. For Debs, activism for social justice was a moral imperative. When the judge sentenced him to prison for opposing World War I, he declared:

“Your Honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; and while there is a criminal element I am of it; and while there is a soul in prison, I am not free.”

Paraphrasing Debs, author John Steinbeck put the same sentiments in Tom Joad's mouth in his famous 1939 novel “The Grapes of Wrath”:

“I'll be all around in the dark. I'll be everywhere, wherever you can look. Wherever there's a fight so hungry people can eat, I'll be there. Wherever there's a cop beating up a guy, I'll be there... And when the people are eating the stuff they raise, and living in the houses they build -- I'll be there, too.”

Eugene Debs' legacy remains unfulfilled unless we take up the challenge that he laid before humanity. In this age of a global sweatshop economy, and of a rising income gap and increasing working poverty in America, his words remain timeless:

“We were taught under the old ethic that man's business on this earth was to look out for himself. That was the ethic of the jungle; the ethic of the wild beast. ‘Take care of yourself, no matter what may become of your fellow man.’ Thousands of years ago the question was asked; ‘Am I my brother's keeper?’ That question has never yet been answered in a way that is satisfactory to civilized society. Yes, I am my brother's keeper. I am under a moral obligation to him that is inspired, not by any maudlin sentimentality, but by the higher duty I owe myself. What would you think me if I were capable of seating myself at a table and gorging myself with food and saw about me the children of my fellow beings starving to death?”

MAJOR STRIKES DURING DEBS' LIFETIME

- 1877 National railroad strike involving 100,000 workers, with tens of thousands of others demonstrating support. Federal troops violently suppressed the strike, with over 100 people killed and 1,000 thrown in jail.
- 1881-85 Each year about 150,000 workers engage in over 500 strikes.
- 1886 Across the country tens of thousands of workers join labor rallies, and 350,000 workers participate in 1,500 strikes, demanding the eight-hour workday. A bomb is thrown at a small labor rally in Haymarket Square in Chicago, resulting in massive repression against unions.
- 1892 3,800 steelworkers strike at Homestead, Pennsylvania.
- 1897 150,000 coal miners strike.
- 1894 In solidarity with 5,000 striking workers who built Pullman sleeping cars, 260,000 rail workers in 27 states went on strike. That same year 500,000 other workers struck, including 125,000 mineworkers.
- 1900 127,000 coal miners strike.
- 1902 147,000 coal miners strike.
- 1909 20,000 young women strike the New York City garment industry.
- 1910 60,000 garment workers strike in New York City.
- 1912 20,000 women wage “Bread and Roses” strike against the Lawrence, Massachusetts textile industry.
- 1913-14 10,000 coal workers strike Rockefeller’s Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. In April 1914 the Colorado state militia machine-gunned the strikers, killing 20 including 12 children, in the “Ludlow Massacre.”
- 1919 National strike wave with 4 million workers in 3,500 strikes, including 367,000 steelworkers and 425,000 coal miners. Seattle workers engage in a general (citywide) strike.
- 1920 Murder of Syd Hatfield during Matewan strike leads to armed rebellion by 10,000 West Virginian coal miners in the “Battle of Blair Mountain.”
- 1922 650,000 coal miners strike. 400,000 rail workers strike.

(Ellen – I’d like to put this on the back cover, maybe spread out with bullets of some kind, so all the donors are very happy!):

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