

# The Social Impact of a Classic Novel

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## Abstract

*This study is concerned with the way in which capitalism influenced the living and working conditions of the workers in Chicago's meatpacking plants, which were depicted in the novel *The Jungle* (1906) by Upton Sinclair. Even though advanced methods of production (such as the division of labour) are usually associated with progress, in the novel we see a completely different outlook, in which such methods more closely resemble regression. A great majority of Sinclair's workers were European immigrants who came to America in order to pursue the American Dream. The paper examines the way in which capitalism in the meatpacking industry controlled both the market and the lives of the helpless workers whose fortune was determined by it.*

*Keywords: capitalism, meatpacking industry, socialism, European immigrants, labour abuse*

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The American writer Upton Sinclair was a student of literature when he joined the Socialist Party of America in 1902; he believed that its philosophy was compatible with his Christian faith, marked by its concern for poor people and social equality. The late nineteenth century and early twentieth century is known as the Progressive Era in American history, and various social problems were addressed during this period. Sinclair became one of the leaders of a group of investigative journalists known as the muckrakers.<sup>1</sup> Due to the existence of popular mass-circulation newspapers and magazines, public awareness of these issues was strong. According to the historians Arthur and Lila Weinberg, the muckrakers were the press agents of the Progressive movement; they wrote long, detailed articles which addressed government corruption, poverty, child labour, hazardous working conditions, etc. (Hillstrom 21). They exposed the misdemeanours and felonies of the titans of

several industries and documented many cases in which these industrialists took advantage of American consumers. Their work gave rise to many social and political reforms. Among others, we can list Jacob Riis, who wrote about the living conditions in tenement houses; his observations were published in a work entitled *How the Other Half Lives* (1890). John Spargo wrote about the danger of child labour in America in the novel *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (1906). Rheta Childe Dorr exposed issues affecting women, such as gender and pay discrimination. Another journalist, Ida M. Tarbell, conducted an investigation of the oil industry which was published in *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (1902) (Hillstrom 38–53). As a result, these writers created a new type of American journalism.

Apart from muckraking, there is another phenomenon of American history which stands in the background of Sinclair's story – the Westward movement. Although this movement does not have anything to do with the plot of the novel itself, one might view it as an interesting background which is related to the plot's setting – Chicago. In 1830, prior to the Westward expansion in the 19th century due to which many new states and cities were created, Chicago was not even a town (Miller and Masur). Nonetheless, the Industrial Revolution, capitalism, technology, and a huge influx of immigrants reshaped the country and created Chicago – which became a gateway city connecting farms with the expanding meat industry. Thanks to the establishment of the railroad network, trainloads of cattle, sheep, and pigs were transported to Chicago's prominent meat corporations – Armour, Swift, and Morris – every day (Hillstrom 60); Sinclair called these companies Durham, Brown and Jones. Besides the meatpacking industry, which was considered the greatest aggregation of labour and capital ever gathered in one place (the West Side), other large businesses also became established in Chicago. Foremost among them was the steel industry on the Calumet River, which dominated and stood behind the story of Chicago's South-east Side (Sellers 12). At one point, the Calumet district was the largest steel-producing centre in the world. Prior to the foundation of the steel plants, the attractive surroundings of the Calumet River had been the cradle of the city itself. It was inhabited first by Native Americans, and later by French colonists who were involved in the fur trade (Sellers 3). However, the vast railroad system, with its numerous bridges built across the river in the late 1840s, pushed the borders of Chicago much further. Consequently, steel mills were built on the Southeast Side, producing coke, iron, and other metal products. Canals followed with yet another Chicago industry – shipbuilding – in the 1890 (Sellers 35). Sinclair depicts this shift in American society – a shift which transformed Chicago from a rural and agricultural town into an urban and industrial one.

Sinclair was assigned to his first job as an investigative journalist to write a story about immigrant workers in Chicago's meatpacking industry in 1904. Dressed as one of them, he wandered around the factories to witness the excruciating jobs of the people, and he lived in one of the tenement houses where he listened to their stories. Sinclair exposed the exploitation of the immigrant workforce by the big capitalists and revealed the shocking content of the meat they produced, which contained rat carcasses and toxic chemicals. Sinclair commented: "I wrote with tears and anguish, pouring into the pages all the pain which life had meant to me" (qtd. in Hillstrom 143). Even before Sinclair became a muckraker, he had experienced the contrast between rich and poor while he was a youngster. His family went through a period in which they lacked food, clothing, and shelter. On the other

hand, when he spent time with his maternal relatives, he experienced a dramatic contrast, as his grandparents lived a luxurious life. This profound difference made a strong impression on him, and he developed an interest in social divisions (Hillstrom 143). His own experience of battling cold and poverty was described in three articles for 'The Appeal to Reason', which was a socialist journal; this launched his writing career. He later drew on these articles to write a novel called *The Jungle* (Tavernier-Courbin 250).

The opening of the novel introduces several themes that Sinclair touches upon in the text – such as the different perception of values by Europeans and Americans, as well as the exploitation of innocent people in America and the widespread corruption in society. The novel starts with the scene of a wedding featuring the protagonist Jurgis Rudkus and his soon-to-be wife Ona; both are immigrants from Lithuania. The wedding scene introduces a series of struggles and swindles that the newcomers had to face. In fact, the idea of debt and bills was hanging over the couple even during their wedding ceremony. They had to pay for the hall and church, and on top of that they were cheated by the saloonkeeper who charged them more than they were supposed to pay. It might be argued that the importance of maintaining the Lithuanian traditions did not mean anything for the saloonkeeper, who could have had mercy on them as far as his bill was concerned. One can assume that the wedding ceremony (*veselija*) was probably not of great importance for the Americans, though for the Lithuanians it was an important custom – including traditions such as the requirement that every guest should contribute to the property of the newlyweds. It is suggested in the novel that the American environment was not in favour of that tradition, as the wedding guests lacked money to uphold it. As Morris suggests, the communal obligation which they would have performed in Lithuania was lost in America (57). If Jurgis and Ona had married in Lithuania under the same conditions, there could have been a chance that their fellow citizens would have tried to help them as much as possible, maybe requiring them to pay only a small sum.

The wedding scene is followed by an explanation of why the European people had decided to pursue their quest for a better life in America. They had heard that America was a country where one could easily become rich; in America a man was free, did not have to serve in the army, and was equal to others. All of the above-mentioned facts represented an important pull factor for many Lithuanians, as they were part of tsar's serfdom and thus did not know freedom at all. Most people also left for America due to economic reasons (Eidintas). It is said that between 1899 and 1914 there were 252,594 Lithuanian immigrants in the United States (Selenis). Although Sinclair focuses mainly on European immigrants such as Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, or Lithuanians, one can assume that the workforce also included the low strata of Americans or black people. Even though the immigrants achieved personal freedom in the new continent, they were not free in every aspect. The way they had imagined life in America was far from the reality due to the immense power of big corporations which controlled both the entire market, and indeed the government itself. As a consequence, the immigrants' lives were marked by a struggle for survival in the 'promised' land. Hence, Sinclair attacks the American Dream through the main characters' realization that it is one big lie, as capitalism had not enabled them to improve their 'trapped' situation. The reader can see that they came to the New World with naïve

expectations – and were in fact reduced by utilitarian calculations, as for example in Dickens's *Hard Times*.

As an opponent of the system, Sinclair's novel primarily attacks capitalism. One is able to witness the role of capitalism through the work of big American corporations which Sinclair called The Beef Trust; this corporate milieu is portrayed as an enormous den of iniquity and fraud. While the central characters take a tour of the meatpacking plant, they are provided with a first-hand glimpse of the industry's efficiency. They see a never-ending railroad which brings thousands of cattle, hogs, and sheep every day from the countryside right to the packing houses. Sinclair observes: "[I]t was all so businesslike that one watched it fascinated. It was porkmaking by machinery, porkmaking by applied mathematics" (29). Additionally, division of labour was used in order to achieve business goals. The assembly-line technique was employed in combination with human labour to ensure effective production, and the division of labour created an immense number of different positions – such as knockers, butchers, headsmen, and floormen. Owing to the fact that meat production did not include only the processing factories, other industries also existed to process the inedible waste. Sinclair lists a steam power plant, an electricity plant, a barrel factory, a boiler-repair shop, a soap box factory, and a lard can factory – all forming part of the meat industry. The processing transformed the waste products into valuable commodities including soap, lard, glue, combs, buttons, hairpins, knives and toothbrushes, mouthpieces for pipes, violin strings and gelatin. Sinclair explains in the story that "there was scarcely a thing needed in the business that Durham and Company did not make for themselves" (33). Nonetheless, Sinclair writes that "the Packingtown<sup>2</sup> was really not a number of firms at all, but one great firm" and "every week the managers of it got together and compared notes, and there was one scale for all the workers in the yards and one standard of efficiency. Jurgis was told that they also fixed the price they would pay for beef on the hoof and the price of all dressed meat in the country" (92). As a matter of fact, the companies controlled the American economy as they produced nearly half of all the manufactured products in the country (Tavernier-Courbin 10). Consequently, the big businesses could also use their power to manipulate and influence government officials in e.g. giving approval to rotten meat. Jurgis witnesses beef full of chemicals being mixed with the rest of the good meat, and at the end "being carefully scattered here and there so they could not be identified. When he came home that night he was in a very sombre mood, having begun to see at last how those might be right who had laughed at him for his faith in America" (Sinclair 53).

The situation in Packingtown resembled a jungle, where the bosses were the predators and the workers the prey. In the jungle, animals do not care about others since their only interest is to find food. Even the characters are sometimes described as animals; Ona looked like "some wild beast in a menagerie" (Sinclair 111). Later her appearance is said to be even worse, as Jurgis "caught Ona's eye, and it seemed to him like the eye of a hunted animal" (117). These facts therefore reflect another philosophy which sided with capitalism – social Darwinism. This ideology was used to justify the chasm between the rich and poor by drawing on the idea of the 'survival of the fittest'. It is based on Charles Darwin's work *On the Origin of the Species* (1859), which observes that animals evolve and change over time in order to survive. In other words, it is necessary for animals to adapt to the

conditions they find themselves in, and only the strongest or more competent will survive. Consequently, some people used this theory as a basis for explaining the changes in American society, in which the rich were claimed to be genetically superior to poor people (Tavernier-Courbin 16). Sinclair's jungle is thus an allusion to the fact there is no difference between animals and humans as far as achieving success is concerned.

Furthermore, the bosses used the people to perform work for low wages until they were exhausted, after which the predators essentially spat them out. Initially it appeared that there was enough work for everybody, yet the novel's characters later began to experience exploitation from their employers. One would assume that having a job would make a person secure; however, employees were not always paid in full for their work. Moreover, working hours were organized according to the sizes and times of cattle shipments, which meant that people were called to work every day usually at seven o'clock, but if the cattle were not ready to be slaughtered or some machinery broke down, the workers were forced to wait but were not paid for their time. Additionally, if they worked only forty minutes out of sixty, they would be docked the full hour. To have a job in Packingtown did not always bring a regular income, and this was hard to deal with in a land of high prices. The wage was calculated by the hour, so it sometimes happened that the packers employed some people only for a day or a week. Irregular employment also reduced the cost of production, so the packers had some regular employees who were usually the strongest and most healthy-looking men, but occasional hiring was also widespread. Unfortunately, the workers were trapped because finding a job was a difficult task and they could quickly find themselves living on the street if they decided that they did not like the conditions imposed on them. Sinclair mentions in the novel that there were hundreds and thousands of homeless people on the streets, with hundreds more waiting in front of the factories every morning to ask for work.

What is more, each working environment had its own dangers, e.g. sharp objects, slippery floors, extreme cold and heat. The workers could be infected with tuberculosis, rheumatism or pneumonia, and certain acids they came into contact with could easily damage their hands. Once they were injured it meant one simple thing – they lost their jobs. This also happened to Jurgis one day, which was a prelude to the even darker future that awaited him. As a matter of fact, Phelps comments that meatpacking was “the most dangerous factory job in the country, with workers suffering high rates of laceration and disabling injury”. Regarding women, they were also forced to work from fifteen to sixteen hours a day, and child labour was also common – either by the companies themselves, or in cases when children sold newspapers in order to contribute to the family income. In the case of underage children, the priest often provided false documentation proving their age for a small fee.

As a result, the novel reflects a form of labour akin to contemporary slavery that existed in the late 19th and early 20th century. It also refers back to slavery itself, because the working and living conditions were comparable to that time – or sometimes the circumstances depicted in the novel are even worse. In fact, the U.S. has a history of taking advantage of individuals such as the Native Americans, then African slaves and lastly the immigrants from all around the world. Sinclair even hints at the idea of slavery as he writes: “[T]hey were tied to the great packing machine, and tied to it for life” (85) – and he

continues by writing that “things that were quite unspeakable went on there in the packing houses all the time, and were taken for granted by everybody; only they did not show, as in the old slavery times, because there was no difference in colour between master and slave” (89). Moreover, the financial situation of the protagonist became so desperate that Ona turned to prostitution, while Stanislavas (Ona’s stepbrother) was forced to carry out child labour. As a result, “every week he would carry home three dollars to his family, being his pay at the rate of five cents per hour – just about his proper share of the total earnings of the million and three-quarters of children who are now engaged in earning their living in the United States” (Sinclair 60).

Besides the exploitation at their workplace, the protagonists were also forced to deal with the cruel reality of the streets of Chicago as well as the agonizing housing situation. Owing to the fact that Chicago’s population was growing explosively as a result of the Industrial Revolution, the local authorities were not able to provide adequate services and housing. This situation resulted in poverty and crime. As soon as the Lithuanians arrived in Chicago they were in awe. The city did not resemble anything they had ever seen before. The characters find themselves in an environment that contrasted completely with what was familiar to them. There was a street which was as long as Lithuania itself, framed with lookalike buildings consisting of innumerable windows. The smoke released from countless chimneys made the atmosphere even darker. The landscape was hideous as there were no mountains, valleys or rivers. Sometimes a puddle of green water appeared on the unpaved streets, which served as a swimming pool for the children who played in the mud. They were in the middle of the great meatpacking district which would be their new home – nothing like they knew from their homeland, which was full of greenery, clear water and a peaceful rural environment. While in summer the workers battled unbearable heat and were in danger of catching some disease on the street, the winter time brought temperatures even twenty degrees below zero, causing immense suffering. Apart from the industrial surroundings, other things too were imprinted into the characters’ minds. There was a pungent smell in the air and a sound consisting of ten thousand smaller ones. As they soon found out, it was the result of thousands of swine in the stockyards.

Once the Lithuanians arrived at their temporary home, their shock at their first impression became even more profound. The boarding houses did not look appealing from the outside, and they were no better inside. They were desperately overcrowded, as there were on average thirteen or fourteen tenants in one room, totalling fifty to sixty people to a flat. The only furniture that was provided was a stove, a mattress and some bedding, and it could happen that the ‘bed’ was shared by two men – one used it by day, working at night, while the other was sleeping during the night and working the dayshift. The housing situation in the tenement houses thus forced Jurgis and his family to look for something more decent which they could actually own. And so one day they saw an advertisement which said “Why pay rent? Why not own your own home? We have built thousands of homes which are now occupied by happy families” (Sinclair 37). Consequently, the family decided to ‘buy’ one of these happy homes without putting much thought into it. This was another lie of America – a lie rooted in the pernicious cooperation of the advertisers and the housing agents. First, in reality the house did not look like it did in the picture. It had some unfinished parts which the agent claimed were left undone so the customers could decorate it

according to their own taste. Yet the contract was of much more importance, and the poor immigrants did not understand what it said due to their poor knowledge of the English language. Although they were warned about corruption in the housing business, they did not want to live in the tenement houses so they called a lawyer to help them understand the contract. Unfortunately, even the lawyer was a fraud, as he worked in cooperation with the housing agent so that both of them benefited from the exploitation and misfortune of the European working class. In the end, Jurgis and his family signed a contract which did not make them the real owners of the new house but only tenants. The contract was designed so that they would have to pay the rent for nine years and after that they would actually own the house. Nonetheless, due to additional interest and high prices and low wages in general, it was expected that after some time the tenants would not be able to afford it, and they would have to leave. Consequently the 'new' house would be repainted and sold to other people.

Clearly the working and living conditions were miserable; and the food was no better, as it provided scant nutrition to the already poor workers. Sinclair provides vivid descriptions of bad food, such as beef full of chemicals or from injured cattle being mixed with the rest of the healthy meat; sometimes it was also infected by tuberculosis. Meat on which thousands of rats were crawling, or meat that was lying on the floor in dirt, sawdust, and covered in billions of germs, would be processed as well. In addition, all sorts of chemical substances were used in order to give the meat a different (healthy) colour, flavour or odour; for example, the rotten meat was rubbed in soda to get rid of the smell. Moreover, other products such as tea, coffee, sugar, flour, milk were doctored or watered down, while artificial colours were added to peas or fruit jams. There even existed a poem that was commonly recited after the revelation of the meatpacking scandals: "Mary had a little lamb/And when she saw it sicken/She shipped it off to Packingtown/And now it is labelled chicken" (qtd. in McIntyre 7). At the end, the issue of food became a major topic of interest among the American population, eclipsing their concern over the working and living conditions of the workers. According to Sinclair, he "aimed at the public's heart, and by accident (had) hit it in the stomach" (qtd. in Tavernier-Courbin 250).

The climax comes when Jurgis loses his job and Ona is sexually abused by her boss, later becoming pregnant and dying while delivering the baby. Also Jurgis' father dies due to the unbearable working conditions and a similar fate awaits his son Antanas. Moreover, Maria (Ona's cousin) becomes a prostitute, and Stanislavas is eaten by rats. At the end, the vision of the American Dream has turned into a lost game, and the strong family unit the Lithuanians had at the beginning has been destroyed. They have lost their innocent lives, their home, and their dream of being decent and strong people. The immigrant workers have lost their hope, and the city has become their tomb.

With regard to Sinclair's portrayal of living conditions, he has been criticized for exaggeration, improbable occurrences, and barely believable facts leading to the unfortunate fate of Jurgis and his family. There are generally too many catastrophes which happen to the main characters. Moreover, Sinclair also generalized when describing the conditions of the Packingtown workers, so consequently the credibility of the story is put into question. However, he claimed that "I intended 'The Jungle' to be an exact and faithful picture of conditions as they exist in Packingtown, Chicago. I meant it to be true, not merely in

substance, but in detail, and in the smallest detail. It is as true as it should be if it were not a work of fiction at all, but a study by a sociologist" (Morris 54). Sinclair stated that his intention in writing the novel was to make the U.S. public conscious of the inhuman conditions of the meat industry in which the immigrant labourers were forced to work. Further, he added that "In my effort to get something done I was like an animal in a cage. The bars of this cage were newspapers, which stood between me and the public; and inside the cage I roamed up and down, testing one bar after another, and finding them impossible to break" (qtd. in Morris 63). Additionally, Sinclair commented upon his writing process, stating that while writing the novel his eyes were full of tears due to the anguish and anger he felt about the hostile reality of that time. Although it is a fictional story, he experienced similar pain to the workers in his own life. He too had difficulties paying the mortgage, and his wife Meta experienced gynecological problems similar to those experienced by Ona and other women.

As a result of Sinclair's accusations, President Roosevelt took a concerned interest in the conditions in the meatpacking plants – and in the allegations that the federal inspectors were corrupt. He therefore launched extensive investigations of the factories. The investigations found both good conditions and poor, insanitary conditions; for example, extensive dirt was present in some rooms, but the inspectors claimed they were not as horrific as the author of *The Jungle* had described, and they tried to convince Roosevelt that Sinclair's generalization was unfair. It was said that Sinclair had chosen the worst possible conditions which could have been found and then described them in the novel. Roosevelt nevertheless decided to investigate further, as the results of the inspection were not consistent. Commissioners Charles P. Neill and James B. Reynolds found dirty floors, workbenches and receptacles, unsanitary toilets, and poorly ventilated rooms. Even though they did not mention the presence of rats in the rooms, they hypothesized that chemicals could have been used to process bad meat. In the end there were both defenders and critics of Sinclair; the latter claimed that many journalists or visitors to Packingtown never mentioned any unsanitary conditions. Nonetheless, President Roosevelt took several steps to prevent these conditions from occurring if they were not already present. In the case of *The Jungle*, the investigations resulted in the passage of the Meat Inspection Bill in 1906 and the Pure Food Bill in 1907 (Tavernier-Courbin 254).

Furthermore, there have been arguments claiming that the housing situation in Chicago was not as bad as Sinclair states. Of course one could find a house or flat which did not meet the sanitary requirements, but in general the houses were hardly overcrowded and unacceptable. Others argued against Sinclair by stating that men did not really succumb to drinking in high numbers, and some questioned the fact that Sinclair did not mention any churches or ethnic organizations which worked on behalf of the immigrants. Several such organizations existed, and more importantly they were meeting places and provided people with moral support. Due to the fact that the Lithuanians accentuated a traditional pattern of family life, as is clear from the importance of Jurgis and Ona's wedding at the beginning of the novel, it might seem strange or questionable why they found consolation or advice only in their neighbours (Wade 95–6). Additionally, when the tubercular bacillus was discovered by Dr. Robert Koch in 1882, he was under the impression that it had the same cause for humans as for animals. However, Koch later claimed as a result of his

further studies that human and bovine tuberculosis are caused by different bacilli; Sinclair thus presented inaccurate information regarding the diseased food as well. Nevertheless, the facts that cattle were infected by tuberculosis and food was doctored and coloured were proved to be true, so the situation was serious in any case.

Last but not least, if we return to the political side of the novel, we can consider the claim that Sinclair wrote *The Jungle* as a form of socialist propaganda. Even though the socialist idea is deeply embedded in the story, the labour union which tries to fight the capitalists in the novel (and thus symbolically stands for socialism) is not given as much importance as could have been expected. Sinclair writes that Jurgis and his adult relatives joined the union in order to fight for their rights. However, they did not necessarily understand its purpose owing to their lack of knowledge of the English language. Therefore, Jurgis started to attend evening classes of English, and he started to pay attention to his new country – becoming interested in politics. Unfortunately, he came to the realization that as in Russia, “there were rich men who owned everything; and if one could not find any work, was not the hunger he began to feel the same sort of hunger?” (Sinclair 76). At the end, the organization was not able to protect their jobs. This may suggest that the union was not in fact a very helpful institution. Although Sinclair mentions that the main characters joined the union, this is expressed as part of the plot rather than being Sinclair’s explicit promotion of his socialistic belief. According to Wade, it was never important for Sinclair to mention the labour unions or ethnic religious organizations which were active in Chicago that time (80). In reality, it was proved that most immigrants were not such passive victims of the capitalists as Sinclair portrays them to be, and most of them did not fall into the trap of prostitution or alcoholism. One can suggest that Sinclair aimed to unveil the corruption of capitalism and its practices rather than to promote socialism itself. Yet socialist or not, Jurgis was determined to win the game against capitalism, a determination which is visible through his repetitive proclamation – “I will work harder” (Sinclair 17) – which was borrowed by George Orwell<sup>3</sup> (also a socialist) and used in his novella *Animal Farm*, allegorizing the time of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the Stalinist Era by means of its animal protagonists. This suggests a connection to the title of Sinclair’s work.

To conclude, judging from the arguments presented in the previous paragraphs, the picture of the meatpacking industry in Chicago which Upton Sinclair presented is far from the reality. He was not viewed in a very positive light because of his inaccuracy and generalizations; nevertheless, we can assume that Sinclair’s story is not all one big lie if we consider President Roosevelt’s legislative changes concerning the working conditions in the plants and the content of the food produced there. Further, a strong defender of Sinclair was another significant author, Jack London, who proclaimed: “What *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* did for the black slaves, *The Jungle* has a large chance to do for the white slaves of today” (Elliott 912). Nonetheless, Sinclair’s novel is a work of fiction, not a historical account of the era, so some inaccurate facts are probably inevitable. Chicago’s Union Stock Yards were closed in 1971, yet in reality this was only a change of location. The packers moved their operations to the rural locations in Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas. Nonetheless, one thing did not really change, i.e. the structure of the workforce, which is now dominated by new immigrants from Latin America or Asia. As Phelps argues, if were written today, Jurgis Rudkus would probably be named José Ramirez (12).

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>This term was in fact coined by President Theodor Roosevelt himself in 1906 when he worked in close cooperation with the top journalists of that time in order to enact a series of progressive policies. However, later he rejected the term because he felt that journalists were too focused on exposing the negative stories and did not mention any positive ones (Hillstrom 3-4).

<sup>2</sup>The name ‘Packingtown’ is used by Sinclair to describe the area where the meat packers were situated. In other words, it refers to Chicago’s meatpacking industry itself. Moreover, one can suggest that ‘Packingtown’ has a symbolic meaning as well – to represent the actions of capitalism in the meat industry that time.

<sup>3</sup>George Orwell asserted that he had written his novel *Animal Farm* (1945) in praise of *The Jungle*, as he was a great admirer of Upton Sinclair (Hitchens 176).

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