

Bibliographical Note

No attempt has been made in the pages that follow to list all the works that have already been mentioned in the footnotes. Comment has been reserved for unpublished and published materials that were of particular value and interest for this study.

Manuscript Sources

The Henry Kraus Papers are the most important of several manuscript collections pertaining to the GM strike in the Labor History Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. The collection contains invaluable information on the UAW before, during, and after the GM strike and on the strike itself both inside and outside the plants in Flint, Anderson, and elsewhere. It is the most important manuscript source for the UAW in Flint during the strike era and for the Mortimer-Travis wing of the organization. The Bud Simons Papers contain several items pertaining to the Flint sit-down not found in the Kraus Papers. There is material relating to the strike in Anderson in the Victor Reuther Papers, the Cecil C. Roeder Papers, the Hugh Thompson Papers, and the Opel Young Papers. The Mary Heaton Vorse Papers, a disappointing collection, include a few items on the Anderson strike as well as some personality sketches of UAW principals. The Civil Rights Congress of Michigan Papers contain the minutes of the January 17, 1937, meeting of the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, which was addressed by several strike leaders.

There are copies of the press releases issued by GM and the UAW during the strike in the Edward Levinson Papers. The Homer Martin Papers are especially valuable for the history of the UAW before the strike, but there is, unfortunately, a gap in the correspondence for the period October, 1936–May, 1937. There are a few relevant items in the Edward A. Wiecek Papers but nothing of consequence in the Carl Haessler or Fred C. Pieper Papers. There is a considerable variety of unpublished and published material pertaining to the sit-down in the Joe Brown Collection, located like all the above in the Labor History Archives. Both the Brown Collection and the Kraus Papers include nearly complete sets of *Punch Press*, the bulletin of the Flint strikers.

The Frank Murphy Papers, in the Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan, are the single most valuable source for Governor Murphy's role in the strike and for the strike negotiations as a whole. The Murphy Papers also contain a large number of letters to the governor indicative of citizen reaction to the strike. The Records of the Michigan Military Establishment Relating to the Flint Sit-Down Strike, 1937, a microfilm copy of which is in the Michigan Historical Collections, are not only indispensable for an understanding of the role of the National Guard in the strike but also include considerable information on striker and company activity in Flint. The reaction to the strike of members of the Methodist Episcopal church in Michigan in general and in Flint in particular is revealed in the William H. Phelps Papers. The Edward D. Black Papers contain a few items relative to Judge

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Black and his ill-fated injunction. The Blair Moody Papers, also in the Michigan Historical Collections, include a highly interesting analysis of strike events by L. G. Lenhardt, Detroit's commissioner of the Department of Public Works.

There is a brief account of the strike in General Motors, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, and some pertinent documents among the Appendix Documents to Accompany Section 1, located in the General Motors Building in Detroit. The Mayor's Office Records in the Burton Historical Collection of the Detroit Public Library include material on Murphy's policy during the 1933 Briggs strike and on other aspects of his mayoralty not found in the Murphy Papers in Ann Arbor. The Samuel D. Pepper Papers, in the custody of Winston Wessels, supplement the National Guard Records for the strike period. The role of the state police in the strike and the reports of its investigators on strike events in Flint are contained in Case File #5977, Michigan State Police Records, Lansing, Michigan, which I examined on microfilm. There are a few unique strike items in the Flint Public Library.

The CIO's relations with the UAW from the late fall of 1935 to the end of the strike are revealed in the Adolph Germer Papers, in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. The correspondence in the Germer Papers is spotty, but the Germer Diary, which contains daily entries for the entire period, is an exceedingly valuable source, particularly for the background of the strike. The State Historical Society also possesses the records for the strike period of the Janesville Chevrolet local of the UAW, which I examined on microfilm. The Powers Hapgood Papers, in the Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, contain several interesting letters about the strike written by Hapgood during his service in Flint.

There are a few sit-down items, particularly relating to the strike negotiations, in the Official File, the President's Personal File, and the President's Secretary's File in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. The Katherine Pollak Ellickson CIO Collection, available on microfilm at the Roosevelt Library, consists of the working files for the period November 15, 1935–December, 1937, of the assistant to John Brophy and includes the most complete set of CIO minutes available for the first eighteen months of the organization's history. The civil-liberties issues raised by the GM sit-down are reflected in the American Civil Liberties Union Archives, a microfilm copy of which is located in the New York Public Library. The Norman Thomas Papers, also in the New York Public Library, illuminate the Socialist interest in the strike and contain an interesting analysis of the dispute by Frank N. Trager, the Socialist party's National Labor and Organization Secretary.

The La Follette Committee Papers (Sen 78A-Fg), in Record Group 46, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., are a mine of information on GM labor practices, especially in Flint and Anderson, and make crystal clear the links between committee investigators and the UAW both before and during the strike. The Records of the Conciliation Service (Record Group 280), also in the National Archives, contain files on the sit-downs preceding the GM strike and on the GM strike itself and also include hundreds of telegrams and letters to President Roosevelt from interested citizens indicating their reaction to the GM sit-down. When peace terms were arranged, Conciliator James F. Dewey promised to write "a full and com-

plete statement" regarding the GM strike upon his return to Washington, but if he composed such an account, it has disappeared from the files.

The most interesting among several items relevant to the GM strike in the John Brophy Papers, in the Catholic University, Washington, D.C., is an account of the dispute and its background composed by Brophy as a chapter of a book on which he was working. The John P. Frey Papers, in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., document Frey's opposition to the UAW's demand that it be accepted as the exclusive bargaining agency for GM workers. The William Green Letterbooks, the Auto Workers File, and the CIO National Unions File, all available on film in the AFL-CIO Archives in Washington, D.C., contain only scattered items pertaining to the strike. The minutes of the meetings of the Executive Council of the AFL, which I examined on film, are the best source for the Federation's intervention in the strike. The report made by Frey at the February 10 session of the Executive Council is of special significance in this regard.

The Sidney Hillman Papers, in the New York office of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, contain several items bearing on the relationship of the CIO to the UAW and the GM strike, including the minutes of CIO meetings in 1935 and 1936. There is a collection of CIO Papers in the Catholic University, and the main body of CIO Papers is in the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University, but I could not locate the principal CIO files for the strike period, once housed in the AFL-CIO Building. Professor Irving Bernstein, however, permitted me to examine his notes on this file, which serves as a valuable supplement to the Germer Papers.

Interviews

About one-third of the 127 oral history interviews resulting from the UAW Oral History Project of the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Michigan and Wayne State University, transcripts of which are located in both the Michigan Historical Collections and the Labor History Archives, contain information pertinent to the GM sit-down. The interviews with Bud Simons, Wyndham Mortimer, Paul Miley, Norman Bully, Victor Reuther, and Merlin D. Bishop are of special interest. The Reminiscences of Lee Pressman, John Brophy, and Nicholas Kelley, all located in the Oral History Research Office of Columbia University, include information on various aspects of the strike. In addition to the above, I interviewed Robert Travis, Roy Reuther, Joe Devitt, Dr. Ralph Segalman, Wyndham Mortimer, Lee Pressman, Larry Davidow, Norman H. Hill, Mrs. Fielding H. Yost, Martin Hayden, Irene Murphy, Joseph H. Lewis, Philip C. Pack, and Colin MacDonald. Frances Perkins, Roy Reuther, Jay J. Green, Carl Haessler, Fred C. Pieper, William H. Lawrence, Maurice Wyss and Thomas L. Pond of the public relations staff of GM, and Margaret Pakney of the Flint Chamber of Commerce responded by letter to my questions concerning the strike.

Periodicals and Newspapers

The UAW version of the background of the strike and of strike events can be gleaned from the files of the *Flint Auto Worker*, the *United Auto Worker* (Cleveland, 1935-36), the *United Automobile Worker*, the *Anderson Auto Workers Daily News*, the *Union News Service* (the CIO's organ), and the *Flint*

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Weekly Review (the organ of the Flint Federation of Labor). The *I.M.A. News* faithfully mirrored the GM position in the strike. The intense Communist interest in the strike is evidenced in the extensive coverage the strike received in the *Daily Worker*, which had excellent contacts with some of the strike leaders. The *New Masses* featured several articles on the strike, and William Z. Foster and William Weinstone commented on the sit-down in the *Communist*. The Lovestoneite journal, *Workers Age*, and the organ of the Socialist party, the *Socialist Call*, contain several important articles on the strike and its background.

As one of the major news events of the era, the GM sit-down was the subject of a good deal of attention in the periodicals of the time. *Business Week*, *Iron Age*, *Automotive Industries*, *Nation*, *New Republic*, *Christian Century*, *Literary Digest*, *Time*, *News-Week*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Harper's* all have noteworthy material on the strike. In addition to the numerous articles in these periodicals, a variety of pieces in other journals are important for one or another aspect of the strike. Statistical information concerning the sit-downs is contained in "Review of Strikes in 1936," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLIV (May 1937), 1221-35, and "Number of Sit-Down Strikes in 1937," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLVII (August 1938), 360-62. Working conditions in GM plants and the attitudes of GM workers are explored in Hartley W. Barclay, "We Sat Down with the Strikers and General Motors," *Mill and Factory*, XX (February 1937), 33-60; "Why Did the Auto Workers Strike?" *Social Action*, II (February 15, 1937), 3-22; and Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, *Information Service*, February 6, 1937. The first of these articles is an expanded version of a memorandum that Barclay prepared for GM's Harry W. Anderson, a copy of which is in the Murphy Papers.

The relief problem in Flint is considered in "Relief in the Sit-Down Strike," *Survey*, LXXIII (March 1937). Erdmann D. Beynon provides data on the Southern laborer in Flint in "The Southern White Laborer Migrates to Michigan," *American Sociological Review*, III (June 1938), 333-43. The "sociology" of the sit-down is explored in Melvin J. Vincent, "The Sit-Down Strike," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXI (July-August 1937), 524-33. Henry Traxler, the Janesville city manager, comments on the Janesville strike in "I Went through a Strike," *Public Management*, XIX (April 1937), 99-103.

The *New York Times* is the most valuable newspaper source for the GM sit-down. Russell B. Porter, who was on the scene in Flint, and Louis Stark, who covered the negotiations, both contributed many excellent articles on the strike. There is a wealth of information on the dispute in both the *Detroit News* and the *Flint Journal*. The former was reasonably objective in its treatment of strike news, but the *Flint Journal* tended to see strike events through GM's eyes. A large number of additional newspapers are represented in the clippings on the strike included in Vol. XII of the Frank Murphy Scrapbooks in the Michigan Historical Collections.

Published and Unpublished Government Documents

The Flint Fisher Body No. 1 strike of 1930 is the subject of testimony in House Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States, *Investigation of Communist Propaganda, Hearings Pursuant to H.*

Res. 220, 71 Cong., 2 Sess. (Washington, 1930), Part IV, Volume I. The Communist role in the sit-down strikes in Michigan is exaggerated in House Special Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States, Hearings Pursuant to H. Res. 282*, 75 Cong., 3 Sess. (Washington, 1938), 4 vols. The testimony of John Barringer and Judge Paul V. Gadola in the hearings helps to explain the part that they played in the Flint strike. GM's labor practices and particularly its use of espionage are explored in Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor, Hearings Pursuant to S. Res. 266*, 75 Cong., 1 Sess., Parts 5-7 (Washington, 1937), 76 Cong., 1 Sess., Part 45 (Washington, 1939); Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, 75 Cong., 2 Sess., *Report No. 46*, Part 3 (Washington, 1937); and, to a much lesser extent, in Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, 76 Cong., 1 Sess., *Senate Report No. 6*, Part 3 (Washington, 1939). GM profit figures and an account of the growth of the corporation are included in Federal Trade Commission, *Report on Motor Vehicle Industry*, 76 Cong., 1 Sess., *House Doc. No. 468* (Washington, 1939).

The Automobile Manufacturers Association presented its version of the sit-down strikes in Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *National Labor Relations Act and Proposed Amendments, Hearings on S.1000 . . .*, 76 Cong., 1 Sess. (Washington, 1939), Part 13, pp. 2445-87 (reprinted by the AMA in pamphlet form with the title *Sit-Down*). Murphy defended his role in the strike in Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Nomination of Frank Murphy*, 76 Cong., 1 Sess. (Washington, 1939). Aspects of the strike in Anderson are dealt with in *Decisions and Orders of the National Labor Relations Board*, XIV (Washington, 1940), 113-68.

The relief and welfare problem in Flint and Genesee County as the result of the depression and the GM sit-down is set forth in the three Annual Reports of the Flint Public Welfare Board for the period May 1, 1933-June 30, 1936; the Bi-Annual Report and the Second Annual Report (Neighbors on Relief) of the Genesee County Welfare Relief Commission, covering the period November 1, 1933-June 30, 1936; and in the following three reports of the State Emergency Welfare Relief Commission: William Haber and Paul L. Stanchfield, *Unemployment and Relief in Michigan* (Lansing, 1935); Haber and Stanchfield, *Unemployment, Relief and Economic Security* (Lansing, 1936); and George F. Granger and Lawrence R. Klein, *Emergency Relief in Michigan, 1933-1939* (Lansing, 1939).

There is a great deal of valuable statistical information on Flint's labor force in general and its automobile workers in particular in State Emergency Welfare Relief Commission, *Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, Employment and Unemployment Statistics*, First Series, *Numbers 1-9* (Lansing, 1936-37). The decisions taken by the Flint City Commission during the strike period but not the substance of its debates can be followed in *Flint City Commission Proceedings*, V (April 6, 1936-July 2, 1937).

Miscellaneous Unpublished Sources

GM explained its industrial-relations policy to its supervisory personnel before, during, and after the strike in the materials prepared for its executive

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training program, copies of which are available in the General Motors Institute in Flint. [Paul Garrett], "The Focal Point of Public Relations" [1936], a copy of which is located in the Automotive History Collection of the Detroit Public Library, explains how GM's public relations could be made to serve the corporation's industrial-relations goals.

Industrial relations in the automobile industry before the sit-down are the subject of two first-rate studies by William Ellison Chalmers, "Labor in the Automobile Industry: A Study of Personnel Policies, Workers Attitudes, and Attempts at Unionism" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1932), and "Collective Bargaining in the Automobile Industry" [1935], a copy of which is in the Littauer Industrial Relations Library of Harvard University. George Douglas Blackwood, "The United Automobile Workers of America, 1935-51" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1951), includes a chapter on the sit-down strike; and Jack William Skeels, "The Development of Political Stability within the United Auto Workers Union" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1957), is concerned with the problem of factionalism in the UAW. The reaction of the various branches of the federal, state, and local governments to the sit-down strikes is described in Walter L. Eisenberg, "Government Policy in Sitdown Strikes" (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1959). There is a brief account of John Brophy's role in the GM strike in M. Camilla Mullan, "John Brophy: Labor Leader and Reformer: The CIO Years" (Ph.D. thesis, Catholic University, 1966).

There are valuable studies of the composition of Flint's population and of the city's housing and health problems in the 1930's in Flint Institute of Research and Planning, *Compiled Studies* [1936-1938]. Erdmann D. Beynon, "Characteristics of the Relief Case Load in Genesee County, Michigan" (Flint, 1940), provides important demographic data not elsewhere available. William H. Chafe, "The Good Years: The Great Depression in Flint" (MS, 1967), copy in my possession, stresses the innovative effects of the depression in Flint. The history of GM in Flint is traced in [Frank Rodolf], "An Industrial History of Flint" (MS, *Flint Journal*, 1949), an interesting but undocumented study. Pierce F. Lewis, "Geography in the Politics of Flint" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1958), relates voting behavior to residential patterns; and Harold F. Sylvester, "City Management: The Flint Experiment, 1930-1937" (Ph.D. thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1938), focuses on the turbulent early history of the city-manager plan in Flint. Winston Wessels, "Importance #1: The Michigan National Guard and the 1937 Flint Sit-Down Strike" (MS, 1963), in my possession, evaluates the role of the National Guard in Flint.

Miscellaneous Published Sources

The most valuable and most detailed published account of the strike is Henry Kraus, *The Many and the Few: A Chronicle of the Dynamic Auto Workers* (Los Angeles, 1947). Kraus, a participant in the strike as editor of the *Flint Auto Worker*, recaptures the atmosphere of the sit-down in Flint, but his predilections have unduly colored some of his judgments, and his recounting of strike events is not always accurate. The book is undocumented, although, as the Kraus Papers indicate, the author did a considerable amount of research on some aspects of the strike. *The Many and the Few* is at its best in dealing with the ebb and flow of the battle in Flint, at its weakest in dealing with strike negotiations.

Thomas A. Karman, "The Flint Sit-Down Strike," *Michigan History*, XLVI (June 1962), 97-125; (September 1962), 223-50, is a superficial account of the strike in Flint based almost entirely on the *Flint Journal* and the *Grand Rapids Press*. Paul Gallico's novelette, "Sit-Down Strike," *Cosmopolitan*, CIV (April 1938), [155-80], although a work of fiction, contains some shrewd insights into the Flint sit-down based on the author's own observations in the city during the strike. William Weinstone, *The Great Sit-Down Strike* (New York, 1937), is an analysis of the strike by the Michigan secretary of the Communist party, who was in touch with events in Flint. Joel Seidman's "Sit-Down" (New York, 1937), published for the Educational Department of the UAW, has a brief account of the Flint strike and of the history of the sit-down tactic.

There are two lively chapters on the sit-down era in Edward Levinson, *Labor on the March* (University Books; New York, 1956), written from a UAW and CIO point of view. Walter Galenson has a fine chapter on the UAW from 1935 to 1941 in *The CIO Challenge to the AFL: A History of the American Labor Movement, 1935-1941* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), but his account of the GM strike is unexceptional. There is a sympathetic chapter on the UAW in the 1930's in Herbert Harris, *American Labor* (New Haven, 1939), an evaluation of some of the strike leaders in Benjamin Stolberg, *The Story of the CIO* (New York, 1938), and some brief comments on the strike in Sidney Lens, *Left, Right and Center: Conflicting Forces in American Labor* (Hinsdale, Ill., 1949). David Brody's chapter, "The Emergence of Mass-Production Unionism," in John Braeman et al., eds., *Change and Continuity in Twentieth-Century America* (Harper Colophon Books; New York, 1966), helps to explain the unionization of the automobile and other mass-production industries in the 1930's. Sidney Fine, *The Automobile under the Blue Eagle* (Ann Arbor, 1963), is concerned with industrial relations in the automobile industry from 1933 to 1935.

The Italian occupation strikes of 1919-1920 are described and analyzed in Daniel L. Horowitz, *The Italian Labor Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), and Maurice F. Neufeld, *Italy . . . The Italian Labor Movement in Its Political, Social, and Economic Setting from 1800 to 1960* (Ithaca, 1961). Salomon Schwarz, "Les Occupations d'Usines en France de Mai et Juin 1936," *International Review for Social History*, II (1937), 50-104; Henry W. Ehrmann, *French Labor from Popular Front to Liberation* (New York, 1947); Val R. Lorwin, *The French Labor Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954); and Joel Colton, *Léon Blum* (New York, 1966), are basic for an understanding of the course of the sit-down strikes in France in 1936. The Goodyear strike of 1936 is treated in Ruth McKenney, *Industrial Valley* (New York, 1939), and Harold Selig Roberts, *The Rubber Workers* (New York, 1944), but neither account is entirely satisfactory.

Some of the participants in the GM sit-down strike published descriptions of the affair. Rose Pesotta, *Bread upon the Waters* (Edited by John Nicholas Beffel; New York, 1944), includes a chapter on the Goodyear strike and another on the Flint sit-down, written by a CIO organizer who took part in both strikes. The writer Mary Heaton Vorse recorded her impressions of what she saw in Flint in *Labor's New Millions* (New York, 1938). Some of John Brophy's recollections of the strike are included in *A Miner's Life* (Edited and supplemented by John O. P. Hall, Madison, 1966). In a *Report* (August 23, 1937) to the second annual convention of the UAW,

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Wyndham Mortimer provided an account of his organizing efforts in Flint and of the origins of the strike in Cleveland and Flint; and John L. Lewis reported briefly on his part in the strike in *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, 1940* (n.p., n.d.). Claude E. Hoffman, who was one of the sit-downers in the Guide Lamp plant, provides an account of the strike in Anderson in *Sit-Down in Anderson: UAW Local 663, Anderson, Indiana* (Detroit, 1968).

Donaldson Brown comments briefly on the strike negotiations in *Some Reminiscences of an Industrialist* (n.p., 1957). There is a good deal of information on the history and policies of GM but very little on the sit-down in Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., *My Years with General Motors* (Edited by John McDonald with Catharine Stevens; Garden City, New York, 1964). *The Story of the General Motors Strike* (New York, 1937), is Sloan's report on the strike to GM's stockholders. Sloan is treated in an interesting and sympathetic manner in "Alfred P. Sloan Jr.: Chairman," *Fortune*, XVII (April 1938), 73-77+. Frances Perkins in *The Roosevelt I Knew* (Harper Colophon Books; New York, 1964), comments briefly on President Roosevelt's and her own part in the strike negotiations.

In his biography *John L. Lewis* (New York, 1939), Saul Alinsky describes Lewis' role in the strike, primarily on the basis of interviews with the CIO leader and Pressman, but the account is a mixture of fact and fiction. There is a far briefer and less dramatic version of Lewis and the sit-down in James Wechsler, *Labor Baron: A Portrait of John L. Lewis* (New York, 1944). Murray Kempton's *Part of Our Time* (New York, 1955), has an interesting chapter on the Reuther brothers, and there is a brief treatment of the sit-down in Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* (New York, 1949).

Norman Beasley's *Knudsen* (New York, 1947), is an undocumented biography that must be used with great caution. There is an interesting "profile" of Knudsen, written by Matthew Josephson in the *New Yorker*, XVII (March 8, 1941), 22-26+; (March 15, 1941), 26-30+; (March 22, 1941), 24-28+. Josephson also deals with Sidney Hillman's behind-the-scenes part in the strike in *Sidney Hillman* (Garden City, New York, 1952). J. Woodford Howard, Jr.'s article "Frank Murphy and the Sit-Down Strikes of 1937," *Labor History*, I (Spring, 1960), 103-40, deals sympathetically with the key public official involved in the GM and the later sit-downs in Michigan. Howard's thoughtful biography of Murphy, *Mr. Justice Murphy: A Political Biography* (Princeton, 1968), contains an account of the strike that is marred by several factual errors and incorrectly concludes that John L. Lewis and Murphy were referring to different meetings in their clashing versions of the famous confrontation between the two men on February 9, 1937. There is a thinly researched chapter on the GM strike in Richard D. Lunt's biography of Murphy to 1940, *The High Ministry of Government: The Political Career of Frank Murphy* (Detroit, 1965). Sidney Fine, "The General Motors Sit-Down Strike: A Re-examination," *American Historical Review*, LXX (April 1965), 691-713, which focuses on the strike negotiations, was the first treatment of the strike based, among other sources, on the Murphy Papers.

The best general histories of the automobile industry are John B. Rae, *American Automobile Manufacturers: The First Forty Years* (Philadelphia,

1959), and the same author's *The American Automobile* (Chicago, 1965). The standard but somewhat superficial history of GM before the New Deal is Arthur Pound, *The Turning Wheel: The Story of General Motors through Twenty-Five Years, 1908-1933* (Garden City, New York, 1934). There is an interesting and revealing analysis of the corporation in a four-part series in *Fortune*: "General Motors I," XVIII (December 1938), 41-47+; "General Motors II: Chevrolet," XIX (January 1939), 37-46+; "General Motors III: Sales," XIX (February 1939), 71-78+; "General Motors IV: A Unit of Society," XIX (March 1939), 45-52+. There is considerable information on GM and its divisions in the *Flint Journal*, July 9, 1936 (Progress Edition), November 22, 1954 (Souvenir Edition), and September 4, 1955 (Centennial Edition). The *Annual Reports* of the corporation are valuable for the statistics that they contain and for information on GM's program of welfare capitalism in the 1920's and 1930's. The best account of Sloan's plan of organization for GM is contained in Alfred M. Chandler, Jr., *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962). Frederick H. Harbison and Robert Dubin, *Patterns of Union-Management Relations* (Chicago, 1947), indicates the long-range effects of the sit-down on the "pattern" of GM-UAW relations. The activities of the Special Conference Committee are briefly considered in Robert Ozanne, *A Century of Labor-Management Relations at McCormick and International Harvester* (Madison, 1967).

There is, lamentably, no adequate published or unpublished history of Flint. Carl Crow's *The City of Flint Grows Up* (New York, 1945), is primarily concerned with the Buick Division, which financed the book's publication. Aspects of the history of the city are described superficially in the three special issues of the *Flint Journal* noted above. Flint ("Micmac") at the outset of the depression of 1929 and following is the setting for the major portion of Catharine Brody's novel, *Nobody Starves* (London, 1932), which includes some observations on the life of the auto worker in a company town.

William H. McPherson, *Labor Relations in the Automobile Industry* (Washington, 1940), and McPherson and Anthony Luchek, "Automobiles," in Twentieth Century Fund, *How Collective Bargaining Works* (New York, 1942), are mainly concerned with collective-bargaining issues in the automobile industry but also provide some information on the structure of the industry and the development of automobile unionism. Robert Blauner, *Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry* (Chicago, 1964), is concerned, inter alia, with the alienation of the assembly-line worker in the automobile industry. Clayton W. Fountain, *Union Guy* (New York, 1946), includes comments on working conditions in the automobile industry in the 1930's by a one-time GM worker. Several of the chapters in Arthur Kornhauser *et al.*, eds., *Industrial Conflict* (New York, 1954), and George W. Hartmann and Theodore Newcomb, eds., *Industrial Conflict: A Psychological Interpretation* (New York, 1939), provide perspectives for the evaluation of the GM strike. The results of public-opinion polls on the sit-down strikes are summarized in Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935-1946* (Princeton, 1951). The concept of "creative disorder" is developed in Arthur I. Waskow, *From Race Riot to Sit-In, 1919 and the 1960's* (Anchor Books; New York, 1966).

The La Follette Committee's support of the UAW before, during, and

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after the strike is revealed in Jerold S. Auerbach's excellent study, *Labor and Liberty: The La Follette Committee and the New Deal* (Indianapolis, 1966). There is some material on the Dies Committee's investigation of the sit-down in August Raymond Ogden's *The Dies Committee: A Study of the Special House Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, 1938-1943* (Washington, 1943), and in Walter Goodman, *The Committee* (New York, 1968); and Dies himself reports an alleged confession of error by Murphy in *Martin Dies' Story* (New York, 1963). The Congressional reaction to the sit-down is considered in the context of growing conservative opposition to the New Deal in James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933-1939* (Lexington, 1967). Bascom N. Timmons, in *Garner of Texas* (New York, 1948), notes Garner's opposition to the sit-down tactic but seems unaware of the vice-president's initial approval of Murphy's role in the GM strike.