Notes

Chapter 1


2. Earlier in the strike, the sit-downers in the plant had lifted food into the plant through the windows, New York Times, Jan. 4, 1937; E. C. Johnston to Oscar G. Olander, Jan. 5, 1937, Frank Murphy Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan.


4. The evidence is conflicting with regard to almost every aspect of the battle. The accounts of the affair vary, for example, with regard to such matters as the time when the city police arrived on the scene, whether the strikers were actually able to hoist food into the plant by rope, the number of strikers who descended to the main gate to request that food be allowed to enter the plant, the number of pickets outside the plant, the number of police who first appeared before the plant and how many of them were armed with gas equipment, whether the police forced their way into the plant momentarily during the first attack, the number of times the police charged the plant, the time span of the battle, the location of the spectators, the number who were injured, and whom Governor Murphy saw in Flint and the order in which he saw them. I have consulted the following sources, among others, in attempting to reconstruct the events of the battle: “Flint Affair,” La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124; “Statement of the Fight,” undated, ibid.; Harold Cranefield to Robert Wohlfirth, Feb. 10, 1937, ibid.; Affidavit of Genora Johnson, Jan. 26, 1937, Box 126, ibid.; statements by Travis and Reuther, Subcommittee of Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Violations of Free Speech and the Rights of Labor, Hearings Pursuant to S. Res. 266, 75 Cong., 1 Sess. (Washington, 1937), Part 7, pp. 2329–30, 2537–40 (hereafter cited as La Follette Hearings); Johnston to Olander, Jan. 12, 1937, Case File #5977, Michigan State Police Records, Lansing, Michigan; Detroit News, Jan. 12–13, 1937; New York Times, Jan. 12–13, 1937; Flint Journal, Jan. 12–13, 1937; Flint Auto Worker, Jan. 12, 1937; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 125–45; and Albert Maltz, “‘Bodies by Fisher’: An Eyewitness Account . . .,” New Masses, XXII (Jan. 26, 1937), 25–26. I have relied particularly on the detailed account in Cranefield to Wohlfirth, Feb. 10, 1937, which was based on a mass interview with 50 strikers assembled in the refectory of the plant on January 14, and on “Flint Affair,” which was also based on the testimony of eyewitnesses and participants.

5. Cranefield to Wohlfirth, Feb. 10, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124; “Statement of Fight,” ibid.; “Flint Affair,” ibid.; News-Week,
9. Reuther, an eyewitness, claimed that the police actually forced their way into the plant briefly, but this is not substantiated in other accounts. *La Follette Hearings*, Part 7, p. 2539.
10. Cf. *ibid.*; Kraus, *Many and Few*, p. 194; and “Flint Affair,” La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124. The Flint *Journal*, Jan. 12, 1937, whose account of the battle is quite inaccurate at many points, implies that the strikers also used firearms, but this allegation is almost certainly inaccurate. See “Flint Affair.”
11. My account of the number injured is based on Detroit *News*, Jan. 12, 1937.
12. “Statement of Fight,” La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124.
20. Evan J. Parker was the plant manager of both Fisher Body No. 1 and No. 2.
21. There is a copy of the song in the Bud Simons Papers, Labor History Archives.
23. Detroit *News*, Jan. 12, 1937; *Dies Hearings*, II, 1686–87; Bradshaw and Wolcott to Murphy, Jan. 12, 1937, Murphy Papers; “E. Kemp narrative” [Jan. 13, 1937], *ibid.*; Germer Diary, Jan. 12, 1937, Germer Papers. Barringer complained to the Dies Committee that Murphy had spoken to Victor and Roy Reuther and other labor leaders before speaking to
city officials. Newspaper accounts do not include the Reuthers among those who spoke to Murphy, but Roy recalled having talked to the governor in the Durant Hotel that night. Travis and Germer definitely spoke to Murphy after he had conversed with city officials. *Dies Hear-

ings, II*, 1686; Interview with Roy Reuther, July 12, 1966, pp. 31–32; Germer Diary, Jan. 12, 1937, Germer Papers.


29. Johnston to Olander, State Police File #5977.


31. Detroit *News*, Jan. 13, 1937. Will’s account as to the time the police were sent to Fisher No. 2 was supported by a Flint *Journal* reporter who was on duty at police headquarters from 6:00 p.m. on January 11 to 7:00 a.m. on January 12, but union representatives had detected police in the area before 6:00 p.m. Flint *Journal*, Jan. 13, 1937; Cranefield to Wohlforth, Feb. 10, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124.


Chapter II


8. Pound, Turning Wheel, pp. 86, 124–30; Rae, Automobile Manufacturers, pp. 88–89.

9. Rae, Automobile Manufacturers, pp. 89–92; Pound, Turning Wheel, pp. 131–42.


16. Ford shut down from May 31, 1927, when production of the Model T was discontinued, until late 1928, when the Model A was introduced. In 1910 GM accounted for 21.7 percent of the new car output as compared to Ford’s 17.7 percent. Simon N. Whitney, Antitrust Policies: American Experience in Twenty Industries (New York, 1958), I, 468.


21. GM, Reports, 1932, pp. 32, 35; 1936, pp. 13, 45; FTC, Report on Motor Vehicle Industry, pp. 431, 491. GM’s profits before income taxes on its parts and accessories group rose from $10,938,858 in 1932 to $61,465,982 in 1936, and the rate of return on this group increased from 16.33 percent to 70.16 percent during the same period. Ibid., p. 493.

22. “General Motors I,” pp. 41, 140; GM, Reports, 1936, pp. 6–9, 11, 13.
27–28, 45–46, 50; 1937, pp. 44–45; “Why Did the Auto Workers Strike?”
*Social Action*, III (Feb. 15, 1937), 4; Sloan, Jr., *The Worker in General
Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington,
1960), pp. 92, 95; *Ward’s 1939 Automotive Year Book*, pp. 36, 46.

23. GM, Executive Training Program, Section G-5, Management Principles
... [1937], Session 1, p. 1, General Motors Institute, Flint, Michigan
(all of the GM training manuals cited are located in the GM Institute).

24. GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, pp. 1, 7, 16, GM Building, Detroit,
Michigan; Sloan, Jr., *My Years with GM*, p. 405; untitled manuscript
[July 1934], Henry Kraus Papers, Box 2, Labor History Archives, Wayne
State University, Detroit, Michigan; William Ellison Chalmers, “Labor
in the Automobile Industry: A Study of Personnel Policies, Workers
Attitudes, and Attempts at Unionism” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wis-
consin, 1932), p. 175.

committee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations
of Free Speech and the Rights of Labor, Hearings Pursuant to S. Res.
266, 76 Cong., 1 Sess.* (Washington, 1939), Part 45, pp. 16777–17078
(hereafter cited as *La Follette Hearings*); Robert Oranne, *A Century of
Labor-Management Relations at McCormick and International Harvester

[Rodolf], “Industrial History,” p. 503.

1929, p. 23.

p. 23; 1925, p. 12; 1928, p. 21; 1932, p. 15; 1933, p. 22; 1936, pp. 9, 43–44.

mum number of employees to take advantage of the plan in any one


31. [Rodolf], “Industrial History,” pp. 508–16; Robert William Dunn, *Labor
and Automobiles* (New York, 1929), p. 152; Flint *Journal*, Nov. 22,
1954. See the list of IMA officers in *I.M.A. News*, Jan. 28, 1937.

32. Hartley W. Barclay, “We Sat Down with the Strikers and General
Motors,” *Mill and Factory*, XX (Feb. 1937), 51; [Rodolf], “Industrial
History,” p. 516; *Michigan: A Guide to the Wolverine State* (New York,
1941), p. 302. The issues of the *I.M.A. News* indicate the scope of IMA
activities.


35. [Rodolf], “Industrial History,” p. 504; GM, *Reports*, 1932, pp. 15, 20;
1933, p. 36; GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, p. 8; “Why Did the
Auto Workers Strike?” p. 12.

36. See the testimony of Flint GM workers in Hearing on Regularizing
Employment and Otherwise Improving the Conditions of Labor in
the Automobile Industry, Dec. 17–18, 1934, pp. 15–16, 24–25, 31–32, 86,
the National Recovery Administration, Box 7265, Record Group 9, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as NRA).

39. The GM Institute developed out of a night school originally established in Flint by the Industrial Fellowship League. At the time of the sit-down strike, the Institute conducted a foremanship training program for more than 5000 GM foremen and also directed a combined work-study program for young men selected by the manufacturing divisions and company dealers. Flint Journal, Nov. 22, 1954: Barclay, “We Sat Down,” p. 51.
40. Fisher Body Corporation, Department Management [June 29, 1932], unpaginated, GM Institute; GM, Executive Training Program, Section G-2, Employer-Employee Relations, 1934, Session 1, p. 3; Chalmers, “Labor in Automobile Industry,” pp. 70-71, 172. Employment had been centralized in GM plants, but the powers of foremen with regard to hiring and firing remained considerable.
42. Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 33-34, 46, 53-56, 65, 67-68.
47. Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 213-27. For the ALB seniority rules, see ibid., pp. 251-52.
48. Donaldson Brown to Lammot du Pont, Mar. 29, 1934, GM, Labor Relations Diary, Appendix Documents to Accompany Section 1, Doc. 23 (unless otherwise indicated, all appendix documents hereafter cited accompany Section 1).
51. ALB, Fisher Body Hearing, May 1, 1934, pp. 81-82, 84.
52. Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, p. 267.
54. GM, Report, 1934, p. 11; Sloan, Jr., To All Employes . . . , Oct. 12, 1934. Joe Brown Collection, Labor History Archives.
57. La Follette Hearings, Part 6, p. 2035.
59. Ibid., pp. 151, 188-89, 212-13, 268-70, 272.
60. Ibid., pp. 244-50; GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, pp. 42-43, 45.
63. For evidence that Delco-Remy, at least, had resorted to espionage before 1933, see Decisions and Orders of the National Labor Relations Board, XIV (Washington, 1949), 126-27.
64. La Follette Hearings, Part 6, p. 2043.
66. La Follette Report No. 46, Part 3, pp. 16, 24, 27-28; La Follette Hearings, Part 6, pp. 1905-11, 1928; F. F. Corcoran to M. K. Hovey [1936], Kraus Papers, Box 9. Other than "sketchy financial records," the latter item was the only document pertaining to its espionage activities that remained in GM's files.
69. The committee used the word "hooked" to describe the person who was deceived into betraying his friends and was then converted into a professional labor spy.
71. La Follette Hearings, Part 6, p. 2123; La Follette Report No. 46, Part 3, p. 29.
72. La Follette Report No. 46, Part 3, pp. 70-71. The UAW paid-up membership for the automobile industry as a whole did not exceed 32,000 at any time in 1934. Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, p. 220.
73. Anderson testified that he had been "prevailing upon the Fisher Body and the Chevrolet boys to discontinue the service for some months." La Follette Hearings, Part 6, p. 1898.
74. Ibid., pp. 1897-1901, 1922-26; La Follette Report No. 46, Part 3, pp. 15-16; GM, Labor Relations Diary, Appendix Documents to Accompany Section 2, Doc. 82.
76. GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, pp. 21-23; ibid., Appendix Doc. 8.
77. Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, p. 156; GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, p. 22.
78. There are copies of several of the GM employee-association plans in Case 209, NLB Drawer 35; ALB Drawer 406 (the ALB Records are part of the NRA Records); and the Brown Collection.
81. La Follette Hearings, 76 Cong., 1 Sess. (Washington, 1939), Part 45, p. 16958. For a description of the changes made, see Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 284–85.
83. GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, pp. 21, 27, 29; Final Report of the Automobile Labor Board . . . [Aug. 1935], Appendix B; Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 315–17.
84. GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, pp. 29–30; ibid., Appendix Doc. 15; Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 159–61; New York Times, July 29, 1934; La Follette Hearings, Part 45, p. 16911.
85. Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, p. 162.
86. For details of the ALB plan, see ibid., pp. 315–16.
87. Under the ALB plan, unlike the company-union plans, the voter could select whomever he pleased as his representative.
88. GM, Labor Relations Diary, Appendix Doc. 41. For the ALB rules, see Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 333–34.
89. For the AFL criticism of the ALB plan, see Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 319–20.
92. GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, p. 64; La Follette Hearings, Part 45, p. 17085.
98. [Paul Garrett], “The Focal Point of Public Relations” [1936], pp. 2, 4, 17–18, 21, 25–47, 70, 74, Automotive History Collection, Detroit Public Library.
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Chapter III

1. Sidney Fine, *The Automobile under the Blue Eagle* (Ann Arbor, 1963), pp. 12–13, 454–35. For the composition of the population in Detroit and Flint, see Chapter IV.


10. Ed Hall to Henry Kraus, Nov. 5, 1936, Henry Kraus Papers, Box 7, Labor History Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan; Flint *Auto Worker*, Nov. 1936; “Why Did the Auto Workers Strike?” *Social Action, III* (Feb. 15, 1937), 11; *Information Service*, Feb. 6, 1937; demands of various departments [Jan. 19, 1937], Records of UAW Local 121, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Oral History Interview of Jack Palmer, July 23, 1960, p. 9, Michigan Historical Collections (transcripts of all interviews cited are located in the Michigan
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16. Albert Kramer to Roosevelt, Jan. 12, 1937, File 182-2067, Records of the Conciliation Service, Record Group 280, National Archives and Records Service (hereafter Conciliation Service Files will be cited as CS); Henderson Hearing, p. 611.


18. Chalmers, “Labor in Automobile Industry,” p. 143; “Instability of Employment in the Automobile Industry,” Monthly Labor Review, XXVIII (Feb. 1929), 20, 23; Herman Byer and John Anker, “A Review of Factory Labor Turn-Over, 1930 to 1936,” ibid., XLV (July 1937), 157–58; Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of General Motors Corporation Year Ended December 31, 1936, p. 28 (GM annual reports will hereafter be cited as Report); “Why Did the Auto Workers Strike?” p. 12. In 1934 the total layoff rate in all manufacturing was 36.26, as compared to 90.41 in the automobile and body industry and 92.64 in the automobile parts industry. The total separation rates were 49.17, 117.30, and 117.01 respectively. I am not at liberty to reveal the source of my instability figures for GM.

19. Clayton W. Fountain, Union Guy (New York, 1949), pp. 41–42; United Automobile Worker, Nov. 1936; “Why Did the Auto Workers Strike?”
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p. 13; demands of departments [Jan. 19, 1937], Records of UAW Local 121; Reuther interview, pp. 2, 23–24.


23. Barclay memorandum, Murphy Papers; Barclay, “We Sat Down,” pp. 42–43.


31. Palmer interview, pp. 1–2, 5. See also Oral History Interview of Everett Francis, July 6, 1962, pp. 5–6.


33. Ibid., pp. 38–39, 300–301.

34. Ibid., pp. 39, 143, 442.

35. The account of the reasons for the AFL’s failure in the automobile industry is taken from ibid., pp. 142–49, 493–4, 466.
42. Ibid., pp. 214, 220, 230; Mr. Dewey’s memorandum . . . [Mar. 1934], CS 176–139.
43. Oral History Interview of Leonard Woodcock, Apr. 30, 1963, p. 6; Minze to Dillon, Nov. 17, 1934, Automobile Labor Board (ALB) Drawer 3990 (the ALB records are part of the NRA Records); Fine, *Automobile under Blue Eagle*, p. 518. See also Palmer interview, pp. 5–6, and Henderson hearing, p. 536.
45. The Fisher Body No. 1 Local went on strike on May 10, 1934, because of dissatisfaction with production standards and piece rates. The strike agreement did not alter the status of the union in the plant, but the union leadership felt that a victory had been won since the company union was to be excluded from the negotiations with management provided for by the agreement. Fine, *Automobile under Blue Eagle*, pp. 273–74.
46. On this point, see Fine, *Automobile under Blue Eagle*, pp. 368–73.
47. Ibid., pp. 382–84.
51. Ibid., pp. 401–2.
52. Ibid., pp. 293–98, 304–5.
53. See ibid., pp. 301–3.
54. Ibid., pp. 386–87; *United Automobile Worker*, May 1936.
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58. Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 303–4, 306; Minutes of Toledo Progressives Meeting of June 8–9, 1935, Kraus Papers, Box 5.


60. Ibid., p. 305.


64. “The Need of a Progressive Program in the United Automobile Workers Union” [June 1935], Kraus Papers, Box 5; “Statement of the Progressive Delegates to the Convention of the United Automobile Workers Union” [Aug. 1935], ibid., Box 4.


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University, New York, New York; Smith and Frankensteen to Lewis, Nov. 29, 1935, Kraus Papers, Box 4; Germer to Brophy, Jan. 9, 1936, Germer Papers; Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, p. 423. Germer, on December 8, 1935, reported the Detroit strength of the three organizations as between 13,000 and 16,000. Germer to Brophy, Dec. 8, 1935, Germer Papers.


75. Germer to Brophy, Jan. 2, 3, 7, 9, 1936, CIO File (notes on this file in possession of Irving Bernstein); Report of Director, Jan. 9, 1936, Hillman Papers; AFL Executive Council Minutes, Jan. 15–29, 1936, p. 161; Dahlheimer, History of MESA, pp. 34–35.


77. AFL Executive Council Minutes, Jan. 15–29, 1936, p. 164; ibid., May 5–20, 1936, p. 189; New York Times, Jan. 28, 1936; Harry F. Marlett to Frank Morrison, Pattern Makers File, UAW-CIO Archives; Germer Diary, Jan. 28, 1936, Germer Papers; Germer to Brophy, Jan. 28, 1936, Alan Strachan to Germer, Feb. 1, 1935 [1936], ibid. Dillon told Germer that he too was opposed to the Executive Council decision, but he nevertheless moved to put it into effect. See Germer to Brophy, Feb. 18, 1936, CIO File.


80. AFL Executive Council Minutes, May 5–20, 1936, p. 193; Germer Diary,
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81. United Auto Worker, Mar., Apr. 1936; (Toledo) Union Leader, Mar. 20, 1936; New Militant, May 9, 1936.


83. Dillon Report, Apr. 27, 1936, p. 44, Kraus Papers, Box 4; "Roll Call" [Apr. 1936], *ibid.*; AFL Executive Council Minutes, May 5–20, 1936, p. 280; Germer to Brophy, Apr. 15, 1936, CIO File. Each delegate at the convention represented a maximum of 100 paid-up members. In Detroit, in some instances, a single individual, possibly a Communist or a Dillonite, illegally paid a per capita tax on seven members so as to be able to hold a charter and to have a local to represent. Germer Diary, Apr. 14, 1936, Germer Papers; Germer to Brophy, Apr. 15, 1936, CIO File.


85. United Automobile Worker, July 7, 1936; Proceedings of the Second Convention of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America . . . , Apr. 27–May 2, 1936 (n.p., n.d.), pp. 96–98, 137–44; Dahlheimer, *History of MESA*, pp. 96–37; Blackwood, "United Automobile Workers," p. 357. The UAW claimed that the merger with the independents added 25,000 members to the organization, but the New York Times reported that those closest to the "actual situation" in the plants placed the number at not more than 5000. UAW Release, Aug. 28, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 6; New York Times, June 26, 1936.


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interview, p. 11; R. Reuther interview, p. 15; Oral History Interview of
Ted LaDuke, Aug. 5, 1960, p. 16; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 31-32;
90. Germer Diary, Apr. 28, 1936, Germer Papers; Proceedings of Second
Convention, UAW, pp. 157-58.
4, 1936; UAW Release, Aug. 28, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 6; CIO Minutes,
July 2, 1936, Hillman Papers; Report of Director for CIO Meeting,
Nov. 7 and 8, 1936, ibid.
92. Germer Diary, July 24, Sept. 1, Nov. 13, 16, Dec. 5, 1936, Germer Papers;
Martin to Mortimer, Mar. 24, 1936, Martin Papers; Daily Worker, Nov.
24, Dec. 4, 1936.
93. Germer Diary, Oct. 4, 8, Nov. 30, 1936, Germer Papers.
94. Ibid., July 1, Nov. 28, 30, 1936.
95. Ibid., June 17, Sept. 25, Nov. 8, 10, 30, 1936; Germer to Murray, Nov.
30, 1936, Germer to Brophy, Nov. 30, 1936, Germer Papers.
96. United Automobile Worker, July 7, Aug., Oct. 1936; Germer to Brophy,
June 23, 1936, Germer to Henry—, July 22, 1936, Martin to Officers
and Members, July 23, 1936, Germer Papers.
97. United Automobile Worker, Aug. 1936; Flint Weekly Review, Sept. 18,
1936; Martin to Officers and Members, Sept. 16, 1936, Delmond Garst
to Hugh Thompson, Sept. 17, 1936, Hugh Thompson Papers, Labor
History Archives.
98. Edward Levinson, Labor on the March (University Books; New York,
1956), pp. 147-48; United Automobile Worker, Oct. 1936; Kenneth Cole
to Travis, Oct. 22, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8. The details of the agree-
ment are given in United Automobile Worker, Oct. 1936.
American Liberty League (Boston, 1962), pp. 25-26, 59, 63, 207; Sloan,
Jr., to GM Employees, Oct. 15, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8; Martin to
Officers and Members, Nov. 10, 1936, ibid., Box 7; UAW leaflet [Nov.
1936], Brown Collection; Notes on CIO Meeting, Nov. 7 and 8, 1936,
Ellickson Collection; Daily Worker, Nov. 14, 1936.
100. Germer to Brophy, Oct. 18, 1936, CIO File; Brophy, “Struggle for Auto
Union,” pp. 1-2, Brophy Papers; Meeting of General Officers, Nov. 9,
1936, Kraus Papers, Box 6; Martin to Officers and Members, Nov. 10,
1936, ibid.; Martin to Murray, Sept. 30, 1936, Martin to Brophy, Oct. 1,
1936, Auto Workers File, AFL-CIO Archives; United Automobile Worker,
Nov. 1936.
101. United Automobile Worker, Nov. 1936; Union News Service, Nov. 16,
1936; Daily Worker, Nov. 17, 1936.
102. Although the CIO aided with organizers and advice, nearly all of the
$4800 donated to the UAW in December for its strike fund and its
organization fund came from UAW locals. Donations from December 1,
1936 to December 31, 1936, Incl., Kraus Papers, Box 7.
103. Business Week, Dec. 5, 1936, pp. 16, 19; Charles Kramer to Robert
Wohlfarth, Sept. 14, 1936, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 125;
Jerold S. Auerbach, Labor and Liberty: The La Follette Committee and
20, 1936; United Automobile Worker, Nov. 1936; Automotive Industries,
LXXV (Dec. 5, 1936), 765; ibid., Dec. 12, 1936, p. 812; “Settlement of
Chapter IV


901; Lewis, "Politics in Flint," p. 24. There are slight differences in the figures given in the 1930 and 1940 censuses for the components of the Flint population in 1930. I have relied on the 1940 figures.


12. Chafe, "Good Years," pp. 4–8, 13, 28; Flint Journal [Nov. 29, 1932]; Genesee County WRC, Bi-Annual Report; Beynon, "Characteristics of Relief Case Load," p. 3.

13. State EWRC, Industrial Classification of Unemployed and Gainfully Employed Workers (Lansing, 1936), Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, Employment and Unemployment Statistics, First Series, No. Three (Lansing, Dec. 1936), p. 17 (all State EWRC publications hereafter cited are from this series). The EWRC may have underestimated the number of automobile workers in Flint. According to GM, the company's total employment in the city on January 1, 1935, was 30,261. Thomas L. Pond to author, Nov. 18, 1966.


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1938), [156, 158]: Interview with Roy Reuther, July 12, 1966, p. 2 (transcripts of all interviews cited, unless otherwise indicated, are located in the Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan).


26. Senate Subcommittee on Education and Labor, Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor, 76 Cong., 1 Sess., Report No. 6 (Washington, 1939), Part 5, pp. 47, 197, 213; GM, Labor Relations Diary, Appendix Documents to Accompany Section 1, Doc. 51, GM Building, Detroit.

27. Germer Diary, June 6, 1936, Germer Papers; Kraus, Many and Few, p. 28; Mortimer to Travis, Oct. 22, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8.


29. Mortimer Report, pp. 4–5; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 18–20; Mortimer to International Executive Officers, Sept. 27, 1936, Martin Papers, Box 1; Flint Weekly Review, July 17, Aug. 14, 1936; United Automobile Worker, Aug., Sept. 1936; Daily Worker, Nov. 24, 1936; Mortimer to Fellow Workers, Aug. 12, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8; Oral History Interview of Wyndham Mortimer, June 20, 1960, pp. 28–29, 32–33. The initiation and reinstatement fees were reduced from $3 to $1, and the reinstatement fee was counted as dues for the first month of membership.

30. United Automobile Worker, Sept. 1936. Mortimer puts the number of
recipients of the letter at 2000, Kraus at more than 7000. Mortimer Report, p. 5; Kraus, Many and Few, p. 20. The letters were reprinted in the Flint Weekly Review, the organ of the Flint Federation of Labor.


32. See, especially, Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 15–26.

33. The total reinstatement fees and dues for the period July 25–September 11, 1936, amounted to $293 and the total initiation fees to $7. Local 156 Financial Secretary Report, July 25–Sept. 11, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8. See also Daily Worker, Nov. 24, 1936.


35. Mortimer to International Executive Officers, Sept. 27, 1936, Martin Papers, Box 1; Mortimer Report, p. 5.


39. Travis to Germer, Oct. 28, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8; Mortimer Report, p. 5.

40. Flint Journal, Jan. 5, 1937; Travis to Allen, Oct. 7, 1936, Travis to Germer, Oct. 28, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8; Flint Auto Worker, Nov. 1936.


42. “General Motors—Flint,” Nov. 6–7, 1936 (two items), Sen 78A-F9, Box 124, Record Group 46, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as La Follette Committee Papers); Travis to Kramer, Nov. 11, 1936, ibid.; Kramer to Robert Wohlforth, Nov. 8, 1936, ibid., Box 4.

43. Flint Auto Worker, Dec. 30, 1936; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 61–69;
Kramer to Wohlforth, Dec. 11, 1936, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 4.

44. Travis to Kenneth Cole, Oct. 21, 1936, Travis to Mortimer, Oct. 22, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8.

45. Mortimer to Fellow Workers, Nov. 10, 1936, ibid.


47. Travis to Kraus, Oct. 30, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 7; Flint Auto Worker, Nov. 1936; Kraus, Many and Few, p. 42.

48. I have followed the account of the November 13 strike in United Automobile Worker, Nov. 1936. There is a somewhat different version in Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 47–54. See also Interview with Joe Devitt, July 14, 1966, pp. 8–9; and Blackwood, “United Automobile Workers,” pp. 57–58.

49. Daily Worker, Nov. 20, 1936; United Automobile Worker, Nov. 1936; Germer to John Brophy, Nov. 30, 1936, Germer Papers.

50. Flint Auto Worker, Dec. 15, 1936.

51. For the trolley strike, see Flint Auto Worker, Dec. 15, 1936; United Automobile Worker, Dec. 1936; Automotive Industries, LXXV (Dec. 19, 1936), 844; Detroit News, Dec. 8–10, 15–16, 1936; and File 182-2002, Records of the Conciliation Service, Record Group 280, National Archives and Records Service.


55. See Chapter II.

56. Roy Reuther Affidavit [Dec. 1936?], La Follette Committee Papers, Box 186; Kramer to John Abt and Wohlforth [Dec. 1936], ibid., Box 5; 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. (Washington, 1937), Part 7, 2920–22; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 57–60. Kraus has Lenz directing his “vinegar” remark at Travis, a Kraus hero; Kempton (Part of Our Time, p. 263) sees Reuther as the object of the remark and misdates the event. The Reuther affidavit makes it clear that the remark was directed at both Travis and himself.

Chapter V

1. Union representatives at the time of the GM strike used the term “stay-in” strike to describe the type of extended work stoppage in which the
auto workers were engaged and “sit-down” to describe the quickie that did not extend beyond a single shift. The *Monthly Labor Review* distinguished three additional types of sit-downs: a work stoppage by a group of workers that led to a general walkout; a brief sit-down that ended when the employer expelled the workers and closed the plant; and a refusal to work by employees who came to their job at the regular hour and then left the plant after each shift. Flint *Journal*, Jan. 3, 1937. “Review of Strikes in 1936,” *Monthly Labor Review*, XLIV (May 1937), 1233–34.


7. See *Automotive Industries*, LXXIV (Feb. 8, 1936), 172; and *ibid.*, LXXVI
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(Mar. 6, 1937), 381, 407. Automotive Industries described the Firestone strike as "The first modern sitdown strike."


9. Pesotta, Bread upon the Waters, p. 227; United Auto Worker, Apr. 1936; Oral History Interview of Merlin D. Bishop, Mar. 29, 1963, p. 39, Michigan Historical Collections (transcripts of all interviews cited are located in the Michigan Historical Collections).


11. The employers committed themselves to conclude collective-bargaining agreements with their workers, to recognize the right of their workers to join unions without suffering discrimination, and to grant a 7-15 percent wage increase. Provision was made in the Matignon Agreement for the selection of shop stewards in the plants. Ehrmann, French Labor, pp. 42, 284-85.

12. The French government, after first talking of applying the Wagner Act principle of exclusive representation, officially interpreted the law so as to permit plural union representation in a given bargaining unit or area. Lorwin, French Labor Movement, p. 76.


15. The NLRB had ordered a representation election in the plant, but the management had secured an injunction to stave off the vote.

16. For the details of the strike, see Detroit News, Nov. 18-26, 1936; New York Times, Nov. 18-26, 1936; and File 182-1928, Records of the Conciliation Service, Record Group 80, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. (Conciliation Service files will hereafter be cited as CS).

17. There is a copy of the agreement in the Homer Martin Papers, Box 2, Labor History Archives.

18. The local had a paid-up membership of about 3000 at the end of 1936. UAW-CIO Per Capita Tax Report [1937], Henry Kraus Papers, Box 11, Labor History Archives. See also Socialist Call, Dec. 5, 1936.

19. UAW Release, Nov. 24, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 6; Edward C. McDonald
and Robert C. Fox to Hugh L. Kerwin, Nov. 26, 1936; CS 182-1928; Edwin H. Cassels to Frances Perkins, Nov. 28, 1936; Perkins File, Records of the Department of Labor, Record Group 174, National Archives and Records Service; Detroit News, Nov. 19, 1936.
20. Adolph Germer Diary, Nov. 18–25, 1936, Germer Papers; Germer to Philip Murray, Nov. 30, 1936, ibid.
22. United Automobile Worker, Dec. 10, 1936; UAW Releases, Dec. 2, 8, 1936, Records of Local No. 121; Detroit News, Nov. 28–29, 1936; “What We Strike For . . . .”, Kraus Papers, Box 7; Daily Worker, Dec. 23, 1936.
25. Ibid., Dec. 20, 1936.
26. The minimum wage had been 65 cents for men and 58 cents for women.
29. Bishop, “Kelsey-Hayes Sit-In Strike”; Bishop interview, pp. 1–4, 13–22; V. Reuther interview, pp. 8, 12.
30. Frank Winn to Kraus, Dec. 15, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 6; Iron Age, Dec. 31, 1936, p. 41.
32. Socialist Call, Dec. 12, 1936; Workers Age, Jan. 2, 1937; Daily Worker, Dec. 21, 1936.
34. Statement of Mr. Martin . . . ., Sept. 11, 1936, Joe Brown Collection, Labor History Archives; Sidney Fine, The Automobile under the Blue Eagle (Ann Arbor, 1963), pp. 386–87.
36. Flint Auto Worker, Nov. 1936 (Nos. 2 and 3); Travis to Pieper, Nov. 9,
1936, E. P. Geiger to General Officers and Executive Board, UAW, Dec. 16, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8. The Toledo Chevrolet local had previously authorized its executive shop committee to support any or all GM locals and had stated that Martin could call it out on strike at any time. Kansas City said that it was ready to act at the request of the international. St. Louis indicated that it would strike in support of “a national issue.”

37. Pieper to GM Advisory Committee, Nov. 25, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 7; W. P. Allen, Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 23, 1936, ibid.; P. W. Chappell to Kerwin, Dec. 13, 14, 1936, CS 176-2211. The strike demands included straight seniority, a 25 percent reduction in the speed of the line, and exclusive representation. “Demands of Local Union No. 34 . . . ,” Kraus Papers, Box 7. GM insisted that Chevrolet had been closed because of the lack of bodies. Detroit News, Jan. 3, 1937.

38. Pieper to GM Advisory Committee, Nov. 25, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 7.


41. Martin to Travis, Nov. 21, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 6; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 71–72; Germer Diary, Nov. 22, 1936, Germer Papers. Frank Winn informed Walter Galenson in 1938 that Martin had directed him (Winn) to prepare a telegram instructing GM locals to strike. When Winn protested, Martin allegedly said that his purpose was to “‘scare’ GM and he would call off the strikes before the deadline. Winn claims that John L. Lewis himself had to persuade Martin to abandon his plan. Galenson, CIO Challenge to AFL, pp. 152–53. It is possible that Winn is actually referring to the November 21 “stand by” wire.

42. The president of the UAW could approve a strike in an emergency, pending GEB approval, but Martin had not officially sanctioned the strike, and it would be difficult to place the Atlanta strike in the emergency category. Constitution of the . . . United Automobile Workers . . . Completed Sept. 1, 1936, pp. 24–25.

43. Germer to Brophy, Nov. 30, 1936, Germer Papers; Germer Diary, Dec. 23, 1936, ibid.

44. Travis to Joseph Ditzel, Nov. 24, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 8; Germer Diary, Nov. 22, 28–29, Dec. 1, 4, 1936, Germer Papers; Germer to John L. Lewis, Nov. 30, 1936, Germer to Philip Murray, Nov. 30, 1936, ibid.


46. Germer Diary, Nov. 28, 30, 1936, ibid.; Germer to Brophy, Nov. 30, 1936, Germer to Lewis, Nov. 30, 1936, ibid.; Germer to Brophy, Dec. 5, 1936, CIO File; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 73–74; GEB Minutes, Dec. 1–2, 5, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 7.

47. GEB Minutes, Nov. 30, Dec. 4, 1936, Kraus Papers, Box 7; Hall to Anderson, Nov. 30, 1936, ibid.; Germer Diary, Dec. 5, 9, 12, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23, 1936, Germer Papers; Germer to Brophy, Dec. 16, 23, 1936, CIO
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File: Germer Affidavit, Jan. 11, 1937, Sen 78A-Fg, Box 121, Record Group 46, National Archives and Records Service; Chappell to Kerwin, Dec. 13, 16, 18, 1936, CS 176-2211. Germer found it difficult to persuade Martin to come to Atlanta or to remain there when he did come. Germer Diary, Dec. 12, 14, 16, 1936, Germer Papers.


49. Louis Rall, “The Kansas City Strike,” undated, Kraus Papers, Box 10; Knudsen to Martin, Dec. 31, 1936, GM, Labor Relations Diary, Appendix Documents to Accompany Section 1, Doc. 64, GM Building, Detroit; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 74–75; Flint Auto Worker, Jan. 5, 1937; United Automobile Worker, Dec. 1936; Detroit News, Dec. 18, 20, 24, 1936; Daily Worker, Dec. 21, 1936.


54. Martin to Knudsen, Dec. 21, 1936 (wire and letter), GM, Labor Relations Diary, Appendix Doc. 62.


56. For local bargaining at the Fleetwood plant, see Oral History Interview of John W. Anderson, Feb. 17–May 21, 1960, pp. 45–46.


58. Anderson interview, p. 46; Travis interview, p. 16.

59. Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dec. 29, 1936; Stanley and Smoyer, Petition for Temporary Restraining Order, Injunction and Equitable Relief [Feb. 1, 1937], Kraus Papers, Box 10.


61. The per capita dues paid for December indicate a membership of about 800, but 1974 new members were initiated in that month, most of them,
in all probability, toward the end of the month. UAW-CIO Per Capita Tax Report [1937], Kraus Papers, Box 11.


63. Charles K. Beckman, one of the sit-down leaders, still contends, "It was just a spontaneous movement on the part of the workers." Oral History Interview of Charles K. Beckman, July 25, 1961, p. 7. Cf. Foster interview, p. 9.

64. Miley alleges that Mortimer had also been urging a Cleveland strike at this time (Miley interview, p. 22), but Mortimer’s recollections do not seem to confirm this. Mortimer interview, June 20, 1960, pp. 34–35; Mortimer interview, Dec. 9, 1964, p. 1.

65. Germer Diary, Dec. 31, 1936, Germer Papers; Miley interview, pp. 18–22.

66. Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 78–79, 82–85; Mortimer interview, June 20, 1960, pp. 27, 34–35.

67. In the December 9, 1964, interview (p. 8), Mortimer said that he called Travis from Cleveland to ask him to tie up Flint, but it is hard to believe that the two men had not discussed the matter before Mortimer left Flint for Cleveland.


70. Cleveland Plain Dealer, Jan. 1, 1937; Mortimer interview, Dec. 9, 1964, pp. 2–3. Miley says that the strikers evacuated the plant because the leaders were on the inside and the membership on the outside. Miley interview, p. 21.

71. See, for example, New York Times, Dec. 30, 1936; and Daily Worker, Dec. 30, 1936.


77. Minutes of Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, Jan. 17, 1937, Civil Rights Congress of Michigan Papers, Box 1, Labor History
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Archives; Travis interview, pp. 13–15. For other indications of the relationship of the glass strike to the Flint sit-down, see Weinstone, *Great Sit-Down Strike*, p. 21; and Kraus, *Many and Few*, pp. 80–81.

78. Travis interview, pp. 13–14; Mortimer interview, June 20, 1960, p. 36; Anderson interview, p. 46.


87. Mortimer interview, June 20, 1960, p. 35.


90. F. Murphy to George Murphy, July 7, 1934. George Murphy Papers, Michigan Historical Collections; Murphy to Mrs. J. F. Murphy, Dec. 31, 1918, John F. Murphy Papers, *ibid*.

91. See, for example, Detroit *Labor News*, Nov. 28, 1930. Murphy enjoyed a long and warm friendship with Roger Baldwin, Morris L. Ernst, and Arthur Garfield Hays of the American Civil Liberties Union.


94. F. Murphy to G. Murphy, Dec. 7, 1943, G. Murphy Papers; Addresses
Made at . . . the Ascension of the Bench by . . . Frank Murphy, Jan. 2, 1924, F. Murphy Papers.


97. Murphy, “A Mayor’s Interpretation of the Encyclical of Leo XIII, Forty Years After” [Nov. 20, 1932], pp. 1–2, 5, 9–11, Mayor’s Office Records, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, Michigan; Detroit News, Feb. 6, 1933; “Interview” [1937], F. Murphy Papers, Box 143.


100. Address before Detroit Federation of Labor, Apr. [15], 1929, F. Murphy Papers.

101. Draft of address to DFL [Apr. 6, 1932], Mayor’s Office Records; Detroit News, Sept. 8, 26, 1931; Detroit Labor News, Apr. 8, 1932.

102. [Manila Tribune, July 13, 1933], Murphy Scrapbooks; Murphy to John Waslelewski, Feb. 9, 1933, Murphy to N. Robinson, Feb. 2, 1933, Mayor’s Office Records; Detroit News, Jan. 28, Feb. 4, 23, 1933. For an account of the Briggs strike, see Fine, Automobile under Blue Eagle, pp. 27–29.


104. Murphy to L. W. Wickson, Mar. 23, 1933, Murphy to McCluskey, Feb. 3, 1933, Mayor’s Office Records; Detroit News, Jan. 27, Feb. 6, 12, 1933.


106. [Philippine Herald, Sept. 11, 18, 1934], [Manila Bulletin, Sept. 11, 13, 18, 1934], clippings in F. Murphy Papers; Memorandum Order, Sept. 14, 1934, ibid.; C. E. Piatt to Secretary of Interior, Sept. 20, 1934, Teofilo Sison to Murphy, Sept. 20, 1934, ibid.; American Civil Liberties Union to Murphy, Sept. 30, 1934, Murphy to Baldwin, Oct. 2, 1934, Baldwin to Murphy, Nov. 6, 1934, ibid.

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108. Hayden, Stone and Co. to Murphy, Oct. 3, 5, 1936, Eleanor Bungardner to Kemp [Dec. 31, 1936?], F. Murphy Papers; copy of Murphy's 1936 income tax return, ibid.; J. E. Swan to Margaret [Marguerite] Teahan, Dec. 29, 1937, Feb. 16, 1939, Marguerite Murphy Papers, Michigan Historical Collections; New York Times, Jan. 1, 1937. It might appear from the Swan letter to Mrs. Teahan of December 29, 1937, that the GM stock had been transferred to Mrs. Teahan sometime before January 18, 1937, but it is clear from the February 16, 1939, letter that Murphy did not transfer his brokerage account to his sister's name until February 11, 1937, and that, in any event, the transfer was purely nominal. Since the stock was held in the name of the broker, GM was probably unaware of Murphy's investment in the corporation.


Chapter vi

1. The Henry Kraus Papers in the Labor History Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, contain the minutes of many of the strikers' meetings within Fisher Body No. 1. In addition, some of the outsiders who were permitted to enter the occupied plants recorded their impressions of the life of the sit-down strikers. For the sit-down community in the Guide Lamp plant, see Claude E. Hoffman, Sit-Down in Anderson: UAW Local 663, Anderson, Indiana (Detroit, 1968) pp. 38–41.

2. Oral History Interview of Bud Simons, Sept. 6, 1960, pp. 30–31. 35 (transcripts of all interviews cited are located in the Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan); Detroit News, Dec. 31, 1936; Minutes of Fisher Body No. 1 Board Meeting, Jan. 4, 1937, Minutes of Fisher Body No. 1 Strike Committee, Jan. 12, 21, 1937, Minutes of Fisher Body No. 1, Mass Meeting, Jan. 27, 1937, Harry Van Nocker Notebooks, Kraus Papers, Box 9. All minutes cited refer to meetings in the No. 1 plant and are included in these two notebooks.


8. Paul Gallico, “Sit-Down Strike,” Cosmopolitan, CIV (Apr. 1938), [159]; Devitt interview, pp. 11–12; Simons interview, pp. 41–43; Minutes of Executive Board, Jan. 4, 1937; Daily Worker, Jan. 11, 17, 1937; Simons Notebook, Bud Simons Papers, Labor History Archives.

9. See the Van Nocker Notebooks, Kraus Papers, Box 9.


15. Mundale to Travis, undated, Kraus Papers, Box 9.


17. Minutes of Strike Committee, Jan. 19, 1937; Minutes of Mass Meeting, Jan. 27, 1937. Devitt, who was one of the two men assigned to establish the court, could not recall many years later that he had been given this duty and did not believe that the court had played a particularly important role in the plant. Devitt interview, pp. 19–20.


30. There are copies of these and other striker’s verses in the Kraus Papers, Box 9.

31. *Ibid*.


33. See, for example, the account by “An interested observer” [Jan. 12, 1937], Van Nocker Notebook, Kraus Papers, Box 9; *Daily Worker*, Jan. 16, 1937; and Bishop in *United Automobile Worker*, Feb. 25, 1937.


100. Flint Journal, Feb. 12, 1937; New York Times, Feb. 13, 1937. Automotive Industries (LXXVII, 4) reported on July 3, 1937, that an insurance adjuster had guessed that the damage done to auto plants in Michigan during all the auto strikes of the preceding few months was about $200,000.


102. Audrey to Clarence [Feb. 1937], Bess to Erwin [Feb. 1937], Kraus Papers, Box 9. There are copies of a few dozen letters to and from Chevrolet No. 4 strikers in the Kraus Papers. In citing these letters, I have preserved the original spelling and punctuation.


108. Minutes of Strike Committee, Jan. 5, 12, 1937; Minutes of Council, Jan. 10, 23, 1937; Mundale to Travis, undated, Mundale to —, undated, Kraus Papers, Box 9 (I have preserved the original spelling and punctuation); New York Times, Jan. 6, 1937; Gallico, "Sit-Down Strike," pp. [157, 160]; Harold Mulbar to Olander, undated, State Police File #5977.

109. Oral History Interview of Norman Bully, Oct. 12, 1961, pp. 4–5; Case
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interview, p. 6; Oral History Interview of Frank Manfred, June 26, 1960, p. 51; Simons interview, p. 47.

51. Minutes of Special Meeting, Jan. 18, 1937; Lewis to Stay-In Strikers, Jan. 22, 1937, Simons Papers (I have inserted the commas); “Hello, Boys of Fisher Two!” Kraus Papers, Box 9; Flint Journal, Jan. 11, 1937.
52. For evidence of concern about the welfare problem, see, for example, Minutes of Strike Committee, Jan. 21–22, 1937.
53. — to Dear husband and dady [sic], Feb. 10, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9. See also Johnson interview, p. 8.
54. Manfred interview, p. 26; Anderson Auto Workers Daily News, Jan. 9, 1937; Tony Klimes to Emma [Feb. 1937], Art Lowell to Vic et al. [Feb. 1937], Kraus Papers, Box 9; Gallico, “Sit-Down Strike,” p. [159]. See also Detroit News, Jan. 15, 1937; Daily Worker, Jan. 16, 1937; and Devitt interview, p. 20.
56. Interview with Roy Reuther, July 12, 1966, p. 44; Devitt interview, p. 15. “Those fellows down at No. 1 are a lot more radical than we are,” a No. 2 sit-downer told a reporter. New York Times, Jan. 31, 1937.
57. Minutes of Strike Committee, Jan. 4 [?], 20, 1937.
60. See Chapter X.
62. Pesotta, Bread upon the Waters, pp. 248, 250. See the Chevrolet No. 4 letters in Kraus Papers, Box 9.
65. See, for example, Pesotta, Bread upon the Waters, p. 248; and G-2 Journal, Feb. 2, 1937, National Guard Records.

67. On this point, see Oral History Interview of Everett Francis, July 6, 1962, p. 35; Devitt interview, p. 31; Louis Stark, “Sit-Down,” Survey Graphic, XXVI (June 1937), 320; and Seidman, “Sit-Down,” p. 4. For the Italian “occupation strikes,” see Chapter V.


70. Notes prepared for Pontiac auto workers [Jan. 1937], Kraus Papers, Box 10; Anderson Auto Workers Daily News, Jan. 9, 1937; Flint Auto Worker, Jan. 12, 1937; UAW Release, Jan. 20, 1937, Edward Levinson Papers, Box 4, Labor History Archives.


Chapter VII


3. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1937; Detroit News, Jan. 3, 1937. Knudsen made it clear on January 2 that he was willing to negotiate concerning plants that had been evacuated. Ibid. For a critique of GM’s collective-bargaining policy, see Walter Lippmann, in Detroit Free Press, Jan. 7, 1937.


6. UAW Releases, Jan. 7, 16, 1937, Edward Levinson Papers, Box 4, Labor History Archives.


8. See Chapter III.


10. UAW Release, Jan. 6, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; New York Times, Jan. 6, 1937; Decisions and Orders of the National Labor Relations Board, XIV (Washington, 1940), 134; Howard C. Reed to Frank Winn, Jan. 6, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 10.


14. See Chapter X.


17. Flint Journal, Jan. 5, 9, 14, 1937; Cleveland Plain Dealer, Jan. 8, 1937; Ternstedt Employees’ Association to Fellow Worker, Jan. 7, 1937, Cleveland Employees Committee to Our Fellow Workers, undated, To Chevrolet Motor Co., Atlanta Division, Jan. 8, 1937. [Flint] Fisher Body Volunteers to Fellow Employee, Jan. 12, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9;


25. E. C. Johnston to Oscar G. Olander, Jan. 11, 1937, Case File #5977, Michigan State Police Records, Lansing, Michigan; Boyesen to Murphy,
Jan. 14, 1937, Murphy Papers. Johnston observed that Alliance pledges might have been coming in by mail. Boysen was willing to submit his records for investigation. William Eaton to Lawrence A. Lyon, Jan. 23, 1937, State Police File #5977. The UAW opposed a poll of Alliance members on the grounds that it was a coerced membership. Martin to Murphy, Jan. 25, 1937, Murphy Papers.


27. Interview with Robert C. Travis, Dec, 10, 1964, pp. 29-30. See also R. Reuther interview, p. 28.


29. Similar committees were established in such places as Saginaw, Anderson, and Janesville. For Boysen’s post-1937 career, see Flint Journal [Sept. 15, 1957].

30. Kraus sees Barringer as the evil genius behind the Alliance and identifies Boysen as a friend of Barringer. Many and Few, pp. 114-16.


32. Johnston to Olander, Jan. 9, 10, 1937, State Police File #5977; Information Service, Feb. 6, 1937; George W. Shinn to Roosevelt, Jan. 11, 1937, CS 182-2067; Ward Lindsay to La Follette, Jan. 10, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 123.

33. Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 118-19.


39. [L. G. Lenhardt], “It Can Happen Here,” Mar. 9, 1937, Blair Moody Papers, Michigan Historical Collections; Public Relations Planning Committee, Minutes of Meeting . . ., Sept. 25, 1945, and attached documents. Copies of the latter material were generously made available to me by Professor David L. Lewis.

40. For the legal remedies available to GM, see Dean Dinwoodly, in New York Times, Jan. 17, 1937.

41. The full text of the injunction is in the Flint Journal, Jan. 3, 1937.


43. See, for example, Lucille Milner to Gardner Jackson, Jan. 6, 1937, American Civil Liberties Union Archives, Reel 152, Vol. 1047, New York Public Library.
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45. Adolph Germer Diary, Jan. 3, 1937, Adolph Germer Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. Pressman has generally been given credit for having suggested that Black might be a GM stockholder, but I have preferred to rely on Germer’s contemporary account. See Kraus, Many and Few, p. 115; and Interview with Lee Pressman, Nov. 12, 1964, p. 12.


50. La Follette Hearings, Part 6, pp. 1761–68, 2151–52, 2154, 2161–62; Oral History Interview of Harold D. Cranefield, May 17, 1963, p. 20; Cullen to Wohlforth, Jan. 31, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 122; O. H. Walburn to Wohlforth [Feb. 6, 1937], ibid., Box 124; Dubuc file, ibid., Box 127; Lawrence Barker file, ibid. For an espionage report dated Jan. 14, 1937, that was discovered in the Chevrolet No. 4 plant, see Kraus Papers, Box 9.

51. Cullen to Wohlforth, Jan. 31, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 122; La Follette Hearings, Part 6, pp. 1899–1901.

52. See Chapter X.


54. See Chapters VIII and XI.


56. Francis J. Michel Affidavit, Jan. 14, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; Cullen to Wohlforth, Jan. 21, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124; La Follette Hearings, Part 7, p. 2520 (Exhibit 700); Powers Hapgood to
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57. P. Hapgood to M. Hapgood, Jan. 27, 28 [1937], Hapgood Papers; La Follette Hearings, Part 7, pp. 2305-12, 2520-28; Detroit News, Jan. 28, 1937; Robert R. Rissman to Wohlforth, Jan. 29, 1937, Cullen to Wohlforth, Jan. 29, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 122; Flint Auto Worker, Jan. 28, 1937. There are conflicting accounts as to just where the cab was sideswiped and whether it was escorted or unescorted at the time. I have relied primarily on Ditzel’s testimony before the La Follette Committee and the affidavit that he submitted.

58. Flint Auto Worker, Jan. 28, 1937.


Chapter viii


2. Interview with Roy Reuther, July 12, 1966, p. 13 (transcripts of all interviews cited are located in the Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michigan).


4. Lists of strike assignments, Henry Kraus Papers, Box 9, Labor History Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan; [Strike Notes of Lou Scott], ibid.


9. United Automobile Worker, Feb. 25, 1937; Daily Worker, Feb. 14, 1937; Mrs. Violet Baggett, undated MS, Kraus Papers, Box 9; Eva Stone, “When Auto Women Advance,” Women’s Auxiliary Number Ten, Offi-
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15. See United Automobile Worker, Nov. 1936, and Flint Auto Worker, Dec. 1936.

16. The number of persons working for the county relief administration grew from about 60 on January 1 to 137 on January 24. Flint Journal, Jan. 25, 1937.


19. Granger and Klein, Emergency Relief, pp. 126, 134, 138; Detroit News, Feb. 12, Mar. 12, 1937; Flint Journal, Feb. 9, 11, 1937. In March 44,692 persons (11,360 cases) received relief under all programs, but in April the number fell to 10,610 (306 cases). The state, at the time, was paying about 60 percent of the county’s relief costs, but it contributed an additional $250,000 to help defray the relief costs occasioned by the strike. The county relief administration distributed $160,000 in relief in January and $297,000 in February. Granger and Klein, Emergency Relief, pp. 134, 138; Flint Journal, Mar. 8, 1937.

20. “Relief in the Sit-Down Strike,” p. 70.


23. Interview with Ralph Segelman, May 2, 1967 (untranscribed); Rose
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Pesotta, Bread upon the Waters (Edited by John Nicholas Beffel; New York, 1944), pp. 237–38; Vorse, Labor's New Millions, p. 68.


25. Flint Journal, Jan. 30, 1937; Flint Auto Worker, Jan. 31, 1937; “An Appeal to the Citizens of Flint,” undated, Flint Public Library. It is not clear if this is the “Citizens Forum” that Haessler claims was “maneuvered behind the scenes” by the union but was “fronted by a bourgeois committee.” Haessler interview, p. 13.


27. UAW Release, Jan. 8, 1937, Levinson Papers, Box 4; Cleveland Plain Dealer, Jan. 11, 1937; Michigan Christian Advocate, LXIV (Feb. 11, 1937), 6.


34. Johnston to Olander, Jan. 9, 1937, State Police File #5977; Travis interview, pp. 16–17; Genske interview, pp. 5–6; R. Reuther interview, p. 45.

35. Libby-Owens-Ford, which supplied GM with glass, had received an order from Chrysler at the end of November, 1936. Automotive Industries, LXXV (Dec. 5, 1936), 765.

39. Detroit News, Jan. 8, 12, 26–28, 1937; Germer Diary, Jan. 26–27, 1937. Germer Papers; United Automobile Worker, Feb. 25, 1937; Anderson interview, pp. 47–50. On January 19 more than 2000 UAW members and sympathizers picketed the Briggs Meldrum plant in Detroit because of the allegedly discriminatory dismissal of 350 unionists. The pickets were tear gassed by the Detroit police, who were warned by Richard Frankensteen, “If you don’t want another Flint riot, you’d better not try to break up the line.” The next day the Briggs personnel director, after consulting with Ford’s Harry Bennett, agreed to rehire the 350, and the plant was reopened. Detroit News, Jan. 19–20, 1937; United Automobile Worker, Jan. 22, 1937.
40. GM claimed that five workers had been ejected when they attempted to start a sit-down, but the UAW version was that the unionists had attempted to stage a walkout and had been clubbed by city police and company guards. New York Times, Jan. 12, 1937; Flint Journal, Jan. 11, 1937. See also Pontiac notes, Kraus Papers, Box 10.
44. H. W. Denton to Travis, Jan. 12, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9.
45. “Kansas City Strike,” undated, ibid., Box 10; Executive Board to Frank Winn [Feb. 1, 1937], ibid.; United Automobile Worker, Feb. 25, 1937.
47. Employee’s Bargaining Committee to Fellow Worker, undated, Philip G. Phillips to Wohlforth, Feb. 2, 1937. La Follette Committee Papers, Box 123; Black to Dear Sir, Feb. 3, Black to La Follette, Feb. 4, 1937, ibid., Box 121.
49. For differing figures of employment at the two plants, see Decisions and Orders of the National Labor Relations Board, XIV (Washington, 1940), 119; and Writers Program of the Works Projects Administration, Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State (New York, 1941), pp. 329–30.
50. [Paul Garrett], “The Focal Point of Public Relations” [1936], p. 17, Automotive History Collection, Detroit Public Library; [Salyer] Memorandum, Feb. 8, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 125.


54. Robert H. Cowdrill to Wohlforth, Feb. 8, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 122.


57. V. Reuther interview, pp. 17–19.

58. *Decisions and Orders of NLRB*, XIV, 138–42, 155–57; Cowdrill and Watson to Wohlforth, Jan. 29, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 122; “Anderson,” *ibid.*, Box 125, and undated affidavits in *ibid.*


67. This is the thesis that informs Jerold S. Auerbach, *Labor and Liberty: The La Follette Committee and the New Deal* (Indianapolis, 1966).

68. Some ACLU members would have liked the organization to take this position. See, for example, Mary Van Kleck Memorandum to Board of Directors, Jan. 11, 1937, ACLU Archives, Reel 152, Vol. 1047. Miss Van Kleck saw the sit-down as a species of peaceful picketing.


70. The activities of the Conference during the strike are detailed in *Civil Rights Guardian* [Feb. 1937], Brown Collection. See also “Important Call for Emergency Conference” [Jan. 13, 1937], *ibid.*; and Minutes of Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, Jan. 17, 1937, Civil Rights Congress of Michigan Papers, Box 1, Labor History Archives.


(Washington, D.C., 1938), II, 1454, 1494–96, 1551, 1554, 1649, 1689; III, 2020 (hereafter cited as Dies Hearings); Davidow interview, pp. 22–25; Interview with Mortimer, Dec. 9, 1964, p. 27.


83. Latham, Communist Controversy, pp. 109–10, 121; Auerbach, Labor and Liberty, pp. 85, 110, 167–68; Travis interview, pp. 10–12; Travis to Kramer, Nov. 11, 1936, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124; Germer Diary, Jan. 11, 1937, Germer Papers; Detroit News, Jan. 14, 1937.


85. The UAW did apparently file a complaint with the NLRB alleging intimidation of unionists for failure to sign nonunion petitions. Detroit News, Jan. 8, 12, 1937. The NLRB found in August, 1939, that GM and Delco-Remy had been guilty of engaging in unfair labor practices at the Delco-Remy plants during the course of the strike, although Delco-Remy had not been struck. Decisions and Orders of NLRB, XIV, 113–68. For the proposed legislative investigation, see “A concurrent resolution . . .,” undated, Kraus Papers, Box 9.

86. Cullen to Wohlforth, Jan. 21, 1937, Kramer to Travis, Feb. 1, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124; Auerbach, Labor and Liberty, pp. 85, 111–12; Flint Journal, Jan. 5, 1937.

87. Frank H. Bowen to Kraus; Jan. 19, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; affidavits in La Follette Committee Papers, Box 126; Cranefield to Wohlforth, Jan. 20, 1937, Cullen to Wohlforth, Jan. 27, 28, 1937, ibid., Box 122;


92. For the depth of the union’s suspicions, see Kraus to Winn, May 28, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 10; and Kraus, Many and Few, p. 173. Cf. Travis interview, pp. 10-13.


94. The commission on January 18 voted to allow the UAW to solicit contributions for two weeks. Flint Journal, Jan. 19, 1937. See Chapters X, XI.


96. Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 107-8; Germer Diary, Jan. 5, 1937, Germer Papers; Travis interview, pp. 48-49; Devitt interview, pp. 31-32.


99. Cranefield to Wohlfarth, Feb. 10, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124; Cullen to Wohlfarth, Jan. 31, 1937, ibid., Box 122.

100. There is a copy of one of these forms in Kraus Papers, Box 9.

101. Flint Journal, Jan. 11-12, 1937; L. G. Newman to Gorton, Mar. 8, 1937, Phelps Papers; Business Week, Jan. 16, 1937, p. 46; Kraus, Many and Few, p. 171; Flint Chamber of Commerce to Roosevelt, Jan. 12, 1937, File 182-2067, Records of the Conciliation Service, Record Group 280, National Archives and Records Service (Conciliation Service files will hereafter be cited as CS). There are many anti-strike wires from Flint middle-class organizations in ibid.

102. Minutes of Fisher Body No. 1 Strike Committee, Feb. 8, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; R. Reuther interview, p. 39; Oral History Interview of Clayton Johnson, June 1, 1961, p. 9; Kraus, Many and Few, p. 171; Travis interview, p. 17.

103. R. Reuther interview, pp. 40-41; Estimate of the Situation, Feb. [Jan.] 22, 1937, National Guard Records; Mulbar to Lyon, Jan. 23, 1937, State Police File #5977; Nellie to Husband [Feb. 1937]. Audrey to Clarence [Feb. 1937], Kraus Papers, Box 9. There are numerous letters from workers expressing their strike sentiments in Murphy Papers, Boxes 41 and 42, and CS 182-2067.

104. Of Flint's 46,092 church members in 1936, 6027 identified with the Methodist Episcopal church. The Presbyterians, with 2825 members, ranked second among the Protestant denominations. There were 17,604 Roman Catholics in the city. Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies: 1936 (Washington, 1941), I, 70-71.


110. For this and other views critical of the strike, see David Lawrence, in Flint Journal, Jan. 3, 15, 1937; editorials in New York Times, Jan. 2, 4, 19, 1937; views of New York Board of Trade and National Civic Federation, in ibid., Feb. 11, 1937; views of the Most Rev. Michael J. Gallagher, in Flint Journal, Jan. 11, 1937; Literary Digest, CXXIII (Jan. 16, 1937), 6-7; Ward's Automotive Reports Release, Jan. 9, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; Barclay, "We Sat Down," pp. 33, 35; American Machinist, LXXXI (Jan. 13, 1937), 32a; Murphy Papers, Boxes 41 and 42; and CS 182-2067.
Chapter IX


2. Oral History Interview of Len DeCaux, Mar. 11, 18, 1961, pp. 19–20, 24–28 (transcripts of all interviews cited, unless otherwise noted, are located in the Michigan Historical Collections); Brophy, “The Struggle for an Auto Union” (undated MS), pp. 10–11; John Brophy Papers, Catholic University, Washington, D.C.


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Nov. 23, 1959, p. 35; Local 156 Release, Feb. 8, 1937, Joe Brown Collection, Labor History Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.


15. J. Weldon Jones to author, Jan. 29, 1966; Hayden to Frank Parker, Jan. 21, 1937, Joseph R. Hayden Papers, Box 16, Michigan Historical Collections; Hayden to Murphy, Feb. 26, 1937, Murphy Papers.


17. Detroit News, Jan. 5-9, 1937; New York Times, Jan. 5-9, 12, 1937; “Following information from James F. Dewey to Hugh L. Kerwin,” Jan. 7, 1937, File 182-2067-A, Records of the Conciliation Service, Record Group 280, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. (henceforth Conciliation Service files will be designated as CS); Germer Diary, Jan. 6-8, 1937, Germer Papers; draft of agreement, Jan. 7, 1937, Murphy Papers; Knudsen to Murphy, Jan. 8, 1937, ibid. Murphy placed the word “general” after each of the UAW’s proposals on his copy of the union’s January demands.

18. Germer Diary, Jan. 6-7, 1937, Germer Papers; “Following information from Dewey to Kerwin,” Jan. 7, 1937, CS 182-2067-A; New York Times, Jan. 8-10, 1937. See the ink and pencil insertions on the January 7 draft of an agreement in the Murphy Papers.

9, 1937, Edward Levinson Papers, Box 4, Labor History Archives; Germer Diary, Jan. 7–9, 1937, Germer Papers.
20. Germer Diary, Jan. 7–9, 1937, Germer Papers.
24. See, for example, Detroit Saturday Night, Jan. 16, 1937.
33. Frank Martel to Murphy, Apr. 28, 1936, Murphy Papers; Civil Rights Guardian (1937), Brown Collection; Wessels, “Importance #1,” p. 10; Interview with Joseph H. Lewis, Mar. 14, 1968 (untranscribed). Colonel Thomas Colladay of Flint was also senior to Lewis, but Murphy passed him over because of his associations with GM. Ibid.
34. Interview with Philip C. Pack, Sept. 9, 1965, pp. 3, 13–14 (first draft of transcript); Wessels, “Importance #1,” pp. 73–74; Raymond W. Starr to Murphy, Oct. 18, 1939, Murphy Papers; Press information, undated, State Police File #5977.
35. Bersey to Commanding Officer, Jan. 12, 1937, National Guard Records.


50. The small Toledo sit-down was apparently ignored by the negotiators.

51. The Fisher Body No. 1 strike committee was told that there was a separate agreement providing for union inspection of any shipments out of the struck plants for the export trade. Minutes of Fisher Body No. 1 Strike Committee, Jan. 15, 1937; Van Nocker Notebook, Kraus Papers, Box 9.


53. On this point, see Minutes of Fisher Body No. 1 Strike Committee, Jan. 15, 1937, Van Nocker Notebook, Kraus Papers, Box 9.


56. Martin to Board Members et al., Jan. 15, 1937, Levinson Papers, Box 4; Martin, Hall, and Addes to Sit-In Strikers, Jan. 15, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; New York Times, Jan. 16, 1937.


63. Other organizations of loyal employees had previously demanded representation in any conference GM might hold with the UAW. Detroit News, Jan. 11, 1937; Daniel M. Robins to Murphy, Jan. 12, 1937, Murphy Papers.


65. For the varying versions of this episode, see New York Times, Jan. 19, 24, 1937 (statements by Martin); Brophy, Miner's Life, p. 270; Daily Worker, Jan. 19, 1937; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 161-64; and Mortimer interview, pp. 6-7. Mr. Lawrence supplied me with an account of the affair in a letter of May 1, 1967.

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68. New York Times, Jan. 18-19, 1937; Detroit News, Jan. 18, 1937; Flint Journal, Jan. 18, 1937; Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 164-65; UAW Release, Jan. 17, 1937, Levinson Papers, Box 4; GM Release, Jan. 18, 1937, ibid. The UAW rewarded Lawrence for his part in the affair by permitting him to phone the news that the plants would not be evacuated one hour before the union issued a general release to that effect. Lawrence to author, May 1, 1967.
71. Perkins Memorandum to the President, Jan. 19, 1937, President’s Secretary’s File (hereafter cited as PSF), Department of Labor File, Roosevelt Library.
84. Ibid.; Minutes of Cleveland Fisher Body Strike Committee, Jan. 27, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 10.
86. This was the opinion of Lawrence Fisher, judging from what he told


93. This is the estimate of Russell B. Porter, who said that about 2500 people were turned away. If the crowd was as large as Porter indicated, it exceeded the seating capacity of the IMA Auditorium, where the meeting was held. The UAW insisted that only 6000 were present, and it claimed that 2000 of this number were union members. New York Times, Jan. 27-28, 1937.


97. There is a copy of the resolution in the Murphy Papers.


Chapter x


2. See Chapter VI.


5. George Douglas Blackwood ("The United Automobile Workers of America, 1935–51" [Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1951], p. 73n), Irving Howe and B. J. Widick (The UAW and Walter Reuther [New York, 1949], p. 58), and Kempton (Part of Our Time, pp. 285–86) give the principal credit to Reuther. Brophy ("Struggle for Auto Union," p. 17) and Edward Levinson (Labor on the March [University Books; New York, 1950], p. 161) give Travis and Powers Hapgood the major credit (Levinson also includes Kermit Johnson), Mortimer (Interview, p. 11) and Kraus (Many and Few, pp. 189–92) assign the key role to Travis.


8. The three Chevrolet plants formed a more or less equilateral triangle, each one being about 300 yards from the other two.


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12. My account of the Chevrolet No. 9 battle is based on the following: Socialist Call, Feb. 19, 1937; A. Bosschem and James S. Valentine to Lawrence A. Lyon, Feb. 1, 1937, Case File #5977; Michigan State Police Records, Lansing, Michigan; Seaton to Anderson, Feb. 2, 1937, GM Appendix Doc. 71-A; 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. (Washington, 1937). Part 6, pp. 2119–20; Part 7, p. 2541; Travis interview, pp. 42–43; LaDuke interview, pp. 20–22; New York Times, Feb. 2, 1937; Detroit News, Feb. 2–3, 1937; Flint Journal, Feb. 1–2, 1937; UAW Release, Feb. 2, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; P. Hapgood to M. Hapgood, Feb. 2 [1937], P. Hapgood to Mother and Father [Feb. 12, 1937], Hapgood Papers; and Kraus, Many and Few, pp. 200–203, 209–11. There are discrepancies in these accounts regarding the exact time the fighting started in the plant and the exact time the Emergency Brigade and the strike sympathizers arrived outside the plant, the number of unionists involved in the fighting inside the plant, and the role played by the city police and sheriff’s deputies.


17. See Strike Chronology, Feb. 1, 1937, Frank Murphy Papers, Michigan Historical Collections. This invaluable document, which covers the period February 1–8, contains a detailed and yet incomplete record of strike events, and particularly strike negotiations, as seen through Murphy’s eyes.


24. Murphy's reference was to the February 1, 1937, issue of the *New Center News*, a publication that circulated in the area of the GM and Fisher buildings in Detroit and which had asked, “Why not impeach Governor Murphy?” It had offered to circulate the necessary petitions if the answer was affirmative. Plans to circulate petitions were announced in the February 8 issue, *New Center News*, Feb. 1, 1937, Murphy Papers; Detroit *News*, Feb. 8, 1937.


27. Regulation No. 2 issued by the Guard on February 10 (National Guard Records) permitted strikers in the blockaded plants a single visitor from their immediate family between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

28. Opinion of Judge Paul V. Gadola, Feb. 2, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; Sugar to Murphy, Oct. 25, 1938, Murphy Papers; 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), II, 1675–76, 1679; IV, 2677–78 (hereafter cited as *Dies Hearings*); Detroit *News*, Dec. 2, 1938; *New York Times*, Feb. 7, 1937. Sugar contended that he told Gadola only what Murphy had authorized him to say, but Gadola’s recollection was that Sugar and Lee Pressman, after talking to Murphy, claimed that the governor desired a delay. Gadola said that he believed that Murphy was improperly interfering with court processes.


34. See Chapter VI.


42. Brophy Papers.

43. See Davidow interview, p. 3; Pressman interview, p. 16; Mortimer interview, p. 29; and Travis interview, pp. 32–33.

44. There is a copy of the unissued press release in the Murphy Papers.


47. A “huge crowd” but no pickets gathered on the hills overlooking the blockaded Fisher Body No. 2 plant as the zero hour for obedience to the injunction approached. Detroit News, Feb. 4, 1937. There are wide discrepancies in the estimates of the size of the crowd in front of Fisher Body No. 1.
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52. State Police Daily Log, Feb. 3, 1937, State Police File #5977; Flint Journal, Feb. 4, 1937; Local 156 Release, Feb. 6, 1937, Kraus Papers, Box 9; Flint Auto Worker, Feb. 6, 1937; MacDonald interview; Flint Journal, Feb. 5, 1937; Detroit News, Feb. 4, 1937; Strike Chronology, Feb. 3, 1937, Murphy Papers; Dies Hearings, II, 1690–91. The Pinkerton official was in Flint to pay Dubuc. Walburn to Wohlforth [Feb. 6, 1937], La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124.


54. Flint Journal, Feb. 4, 1937; Dies Hearings, II, 1689; Vern C. Snell to Lyon, Feb. 4, 1937, State Police File #5977; [Detroit Legal Record], Apr. 8, 1937; MacDonald interview; Phone call from ... [Wolcott], Oct. 23, 1938, Murphy Papers; Detroit News, Feb. 4, 1937.


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70. Strike Chronology, Feb. 4–5, 1937, Murphy Papers. The Sidney Hillman Papers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, New York, New York, contain an undated, unidentified statement of the union’s minimum demands that may have reached the President on February 4 or 5.
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71. It is possible that GM was willing to accept the proposal for a two-month period. Strike Chronology, Feb. 5, 1937, Murphy Papers.

72. Ibid.

73. Memorandum for the President, Feb. 5, 1937, PSF, Department of Labor File, Roosevelt Library; Memorandum for the President’s Conversation with John Lewis and with Knudsen and Brown [Feb. 5, 1937], ibid. The latter contains Perkins’ handwritten note, “get exclusive agreement for 2 months.” The New York Times of February 7 claimed that the President’s intervention kept GM from quitting the conference.


75. Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL, Feb. 10, 1937, pp. 51–55; Strike Chronology, Feb. 6, 1937, Murphy Papers; Green, J. W. Williams, and Frey to Murphy, Feb. 6, 1937, ibid.


78. Strike Chronology, Feb. 8, 1937, Murphy Papers.

79. Knudsen’s biographer claims that Knudsen told McGrady that he would accept such terms as the President specified but that McIntyre replied that Roosevelt did not wish to do this. Beasley, Knudsen, p. 19.

80. Strike Chronology, Feb. 8, 1937, and pencil notes [Feb. 8, 1937?] attached to copy of same, Murphy Papers.


82. See GM to Murphy, Feb. 9, 1937, Murphy Papers.


84. The deputies Wolcott had in mind were Legionnaires, GM plant police, members of the state’s Sheriffs Association, and members of the special police reserve. Flint Journal, Feb. 5, 1937; New York Times, Feb. 6, 1937.

85. Strike Chronology, Feb. 5, 1937, Murphy Papers; Minutes of a Meeting Held in Flint, May 19, 1938, ibid.; Wolcott to Murphy, Aug. 17, 1938,


88. Interview with Martin Hayden et al., Oct. 6, 1964, p. 45; Walburn to Wohlfirth, Feb. 9, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 124; [L. G. Lenhardt], “It Can Happen Here,” Mar. 9, 1937, Blair Moody Papers, Michigan Historical Collections; Eisenberg, “Government Policy in Sit-down Strikes,” p. 5; Charles R. Walker, “Flint Faces Civil War,” Nation, CXLIV (Feb. 13, 1937), 175. There were at that time at least 125 men in Fisher Body No. 2, 200–300 in Chevrolet No. 4, and several hundred in Fisher Body No. 1. The number in the latter plant could easily have been augmented from the outside since it was not under blockade. New York Times, Feb. 12, 1937.

89. See, for example, Herbert Harris, American Labor (New Haven, 1939), p. 300; James L. Wechsler, Labor Baron: A Portrait of John L. Lewis (New York, 1944), p. 63; Howe and Widick, UAW and Walter Reuther, p. 61; and Levinson, Labor on March, p. 163.

90. Copy of clipping from Port Huron, Michigan, newspaper, Mar. 18, 1937, Murphy Papers; Pepper to Raymond W. Starr, Mar. 22, 1937, Pepper to Murphy, Dec. 23, 1938, Pepper to Kemp, Jan. 12, 1939, ibid.

91. Pepper to Lewis, Feb. 20, 1937, Steck to Lewis, Feb. 5, 1937, Steck Memorandum to Lewis, undated, National Guard Records; Steck to Pepper, Mar. 11, 1937, Samuel D. Pepper Papers, privately held. The Guard did provide for the arming of three two-and-a-half ton trucks on which 37-millimeter gas guns could be mounted to fire gas into Chevrolet No. 4 through the unbarricaded windows more than eight feet above ground.


92. There is an “O.K.L.” written on the plan recommended by Steck.

93. National Guard intelligence made different estimates of the situation from day to day. See G-2 Reports, Feb. 1–2, 1937, and G-2 Journal, Feb. 5, 7, National Guard Records.

94. The Guard chaplain, after visiting the plant on February 5, concluded that the sit-downers would “come out damn quick” if the Guard moved on the plant. One striker wrote his wife that the men had been ordered


96. Minutes of Fisher Body No. 1 Strike Committee, Jan. 25, 1937, and Kraus notes on same, Harry Van Nocker Notebook, Kraus Papers, Box 9; Devitt interview, p. 27. Cf. Travis interview, pp. 40–41.

97. New York Times, Feb. 12, 1937; Murphy to Stuart H. Perry, June 1, 1938, Josiah W. Bailey to Murphy, Dec. 30, 1939, Murphy Papers; Nomination of Murphy, pp. 3–4.


100. Strike Chronology, Feb. 7, 1937, Murphy Papers.


102. Strike Chronology, Feb. 8, 1937, Murphy Papers.

103. Record of Phone Conversation with Murphy, Feb. 9, 1937, National Guard Records.

104. The original of the letter and the several copies of it in the Murphy Papers bear the date February 9 rather than February 8. When the letter was typed, probably on February 8, the space for the day of the month was left blank, and the "g" was later added, presumably to make the date of the letter conform to the date of its presentation to Lewis. When a copy of the letter was first publicly revealed on January 13, 1939 (see below), it bore the date February 8 and the notation that it had been read and delivered at 9:15 p.m. on February 9.

105. Murphy to Lewis and Martin, Feb. 8, 1937, Murphy Papers.


107. Pressman interview, Nov. 12, 1964, p. 32.
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108. Alinsky, *Lewis*, pp. 144–46; UAW, *Proceedings*, 1940, p. 105. Alinsky has Lewis reading the letter, but it was actually read to him. Pressman recalls Lewis’ references to Murphy’s ancestry and the Irish question, but Pressman was not present when Murphy read the letter to Lewis. Pressman interview, Nov. 12, 1964, pp. 26–28.


113. See, for example, G-2 Report, Feb. 10, 1937, National Guard Records.


116. See the draft of a strike agreement dated Feb. 10, 1937, Murphy Papers.

117. See the list of plants in Knudsen to Murphy, Feb. 10, 1937, *ibid.*


122. The original of the agreement is in the Murphy Papers.


125. Knudsen to Martin [Feb. 13, 1937], Levinson Papers, Box 4; Martin
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137. On this point, see GM, Labor Relations Diary, Section 1, pp. 80–81.
138. See, for example, Socialist Call, Feb. 20, 1937; United Automobile Worker, Feb. 13, 1937; Brophy, “Struggle for Auto Union,” p. 23; Brophy Papers; and “After the Motors Strike,” Christian Century, LIV (Feb. 24, 1937), 240.
140. On these points, see draft of Brophy answers, Brophy Papers; William Weinstone, The Great Sit-Down Strike (New York, 1937), pp. 8–15; Daily Worker, Feb. 27, 1937; Kraus, Many and Few, p. 268; Hall interview, p. 25; Oral History Interview of Carl Haessler, Nov. 27, 1959–Oct. 24, 1960, p. 17; Pressman interview, Nov. 12, 1964, p. 43; and Oral History Interview of Larry S. Davidow, July 14, 1960, p. 17.
141. In his autobiography, Martin Dies claims that when Murphy was on the Supreme Court he told Dies, “I am ashamed of my role in the sit-down strikes, but I was under terrific pressure from the President and many of my political friends, and I let them pressure me against my better instincts.” Dies, Martin Dies’ Story (New York, 1968), p. 124. The President and Perkins, the evidence indicates, did not urge Murphy to evict the strikers, but there is no reason to think that this is why Murphy failed to enforce the injunction. In a letter to Liberty Magazine, published in the February 25, 1939, issue, p. 7, Murphy repudiated the contention that his strike policy had been “dictated by Washington. . . . My policy,” he wrote, “was dictated to me by no one.”

Chapter xi

1. Mayor Baldwin claimed that the owner had refused the use of the theater but that someone had picked the locks of the building. Affidavit of Harry R. Baldwin, Feb. 13, 1937, Sen 78A-Fg, Box 125, Record Group 46, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as La Follette Committee Papers). Cf. UAW Release, Feb. 16, 1937, Edward Levinson Papers, Box 4, Labor History Archives, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan; and Oral History Interview of Victor Reuther, Mar. 7, 1963, p. 20 (transcripts of all interviews cited are located in the Michigan Historical Collections, Ann Arbor, Michi-
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gan); and Claude E. Hoffman, Sit-Down in Anderson: UAW Local 663, Anderson, Indiana (Detroit, 1968), pp. 60–61.
3. Ibid.
4. The account of the February 11 meeting is based on the following:
6. Cowdrill to Wohlforth, Feb. 14, 1937, La Follette Committee Papers, Box 126; Andrew Nichols Affidavit, with Cowdrill to Wohlforth, Feb. 18, 1937, ibid., Box 125; typescripts [Feb. 15, 18, 1937], Mary Heaton Vorse Papers, Labor History Archives.
8. According to one source (“Anderson,” ibid., Box 125), the person was none other than Dunn, but this seems incorrect.


32. Flint Journal, Mar. 11-12, 1937.
33. There is a copy of the agreement in the Murphy Papers. The negotiations can be followed in the Flint Journal, especially Feb. 20, 26, Mar. 3, 5, 10, 1937.
35. United Automobile Worker, Mar. 20, 1937.
38. GM Executive Training Program, Section G-6, Labor Policies and Procedures [1937], Session 1, pp. 1, 3-4; Session 2, p. 4. GM Institute; Harbison and Dubin, Patterns, pp. 23-25. GM, on March 25, 1937, issued a revision of its August, 1934, statement to incorporate the changes resulting from the February 11 and March 12 agreements. There is a copy of the revision (General Motors Labor Policies and Procedures) in the Kraus Papers, Box 16.
41. UAW Release, Feb. 16, 1937, Levinson Papers, Box 4; Flint Auto Worker, Mar. 26, 1937; Genske interview, pp. 8-9; Anderson interview,


44. On the Chrysler strike, see Doris McLaughlin, “The Chrysler Strike of 1937” (MS, 1963), in my possession; and Galenson, CIO Challenge to AFL, pp. 148–49.


46. The Lovestoneites were followers of Jay Lovestone, who had been expelled from the leadership of the Communist party in 1929 for “right wing deviationism.” A few of them had established close relations with Martin. See Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, The UAW and Walter Reuther (New York, 1949), p. 71.

47. For an account of the fortunes of the UAW following the GM sit-down, see Galenson, CIO Challenge to AFL, pp. 148–92.


54. Detroit News, Mar. 21, 1937; Hadley Cantril, ed., Public Opinion, 1935–1946 (Princeton, 1951), p. 816. 73 percent of the farmers, 71 percent of the small-town voters, and 80 percent of the Republicans wanted to see laws passed against the sit-downs (March 21 poll). 74 percent of the farmers thought that force should be used to eject sit-downers (July 4 poll). 65 percent of the city voters, 62 percent of the young voters and
the Democrats, and 47 percent of the relievers favored laws proscribing
the sit-down (March 21 poll). 62 percent of city people, 64 percent of the
young voters, and 43 percent of the people on relief thought that the
state should use force against sit-downers (July 4 poll). Ibid. Cantril
incorrectly assigns a July 4 date to the first of the two polls.

55. Ibid., p. 817. Seven governors specifically condemned the sit-down strike
tactic in 1937, and four states in that year enacted statutes directed against
it. Ten states had enacted laws against the sit-down by the end of 1947.
Walter L. Eisenberg, “Government Policy in Sitdown Strikes” (Ph.D.


57. Stephen K. Bailey, Congress Makes a Law: The Story behind the Employ-

58. Congressional Record, 75 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 245–47, 324–26, 601, 818–19,
826–27.

59. Jerold S. Auerbach, Labor and Liberty: The La Follette Committee and

60. Cong. Record, 75 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 1623, 1632.

61. Ibid., pp. 2337, 2472, 2476–78, 2521–22, 2642, 2794, 2921–30, 2943, 3038,
3043–44; J. Joseph Hutchnacher, Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise

62. Vandenberg to Frank Knox, Apr. 2, 1937, Arthur H. Vandenberg Papers,
William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Vandenberg Scrap-
books, Apr. 2, 1937 entry, ibid.; James T. Patterson, Congressional Con-
Record, 75 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 3017, 3022–24.

Patterson, Congressional Conservatism, pp. 136–38.

64. Patterson, Congressional Conservatism, pp. 167–68; Cong. Record, 75
Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 2665, 3113–14, 3301. See also Martin Dies, Martin

...” Common Sense, VI (June 1937), 9; Murphy, “The Shaping of
Labor Policy,” Survey Graphic, XXVI (Aug. 1937), 411; Murphy, “Indus-
trial Peace,” Christian Front, II (Nov. 1937), 156–58; Selected Ad-
dresses of Frank Murphy ... January 1, 1937, to September 30, 1938
(Lansing, 1938), pp. 8–9, 13–14, 20–25, 47–50; State of Michigan, Legis-
lature of 1937–38, Regular Session, House Bills, House Bill No. 571,
University of Michigan Law Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

66. Murphy statement [Mar. 13, 1937], Murphy Papers; Statement by Gov-
ernor Murphy, Mar. 17, 1937, ibid.; Germer Diary, Mar. 12, 1937,
Adolph Germer Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

67. New York Times, Mar. 21, 26, 1937; [Adrian Daily Telegram], Apr. 20,
1938, clipping in Murphy Papers; Stuart H. Perry to Murphy, May 18,
1938, ibid. See also Dr. Carl D. Brooks to Murphy, July 19, 1937, Clare
E. Hoffman to Murphy, Nov. 26, 1937, ibid.; and Time, XXIX (Mar. 29,
1937), 12.

68. Detroit News, Feb. 6, 1937.

69. Homer Martin was to have testified on October 21, but he begged off
and did not testify until December 1, 1938. Dies Hearings, II, 1639; IV,
2675–2727.


73. Murphy address, Nov. 2, 1938, Murphy Papers.

74. See the numerous post-mortem letters in Official File 300, Box 105, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.

75. Murphy to James A. Farley, Nov. 23, 1938, Dec. 7, 1938, Murphy to Mrs. James Crowley, Nov. 29, 1939, Murphy Papers; John P. White, \textit{Michigan Votes: Election Statistics, 1928–1956} (Ann Arbor, 1958), pp. 17, 51, 39–40, 47. In Genesee County, the principal scene of the GM strike, Murphy’s percentage of the vote fell from 59.9 in 1936 to 49.3 in 1938, but in Wayne County, where there had been an epidemic of sit-downs, the Murphy vote fell only from 59.3 to 58.1 percent. \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 40, 47.


80. Travis to Kraus [Mar. 1937], Kraus Papers, Box 10.

81. On the leadership and the rank-and-file of the civil-rights movement, see Louis E. Lomax, \textit{The Negro Revolt} (Signet Book; New York, 1963), passim.

