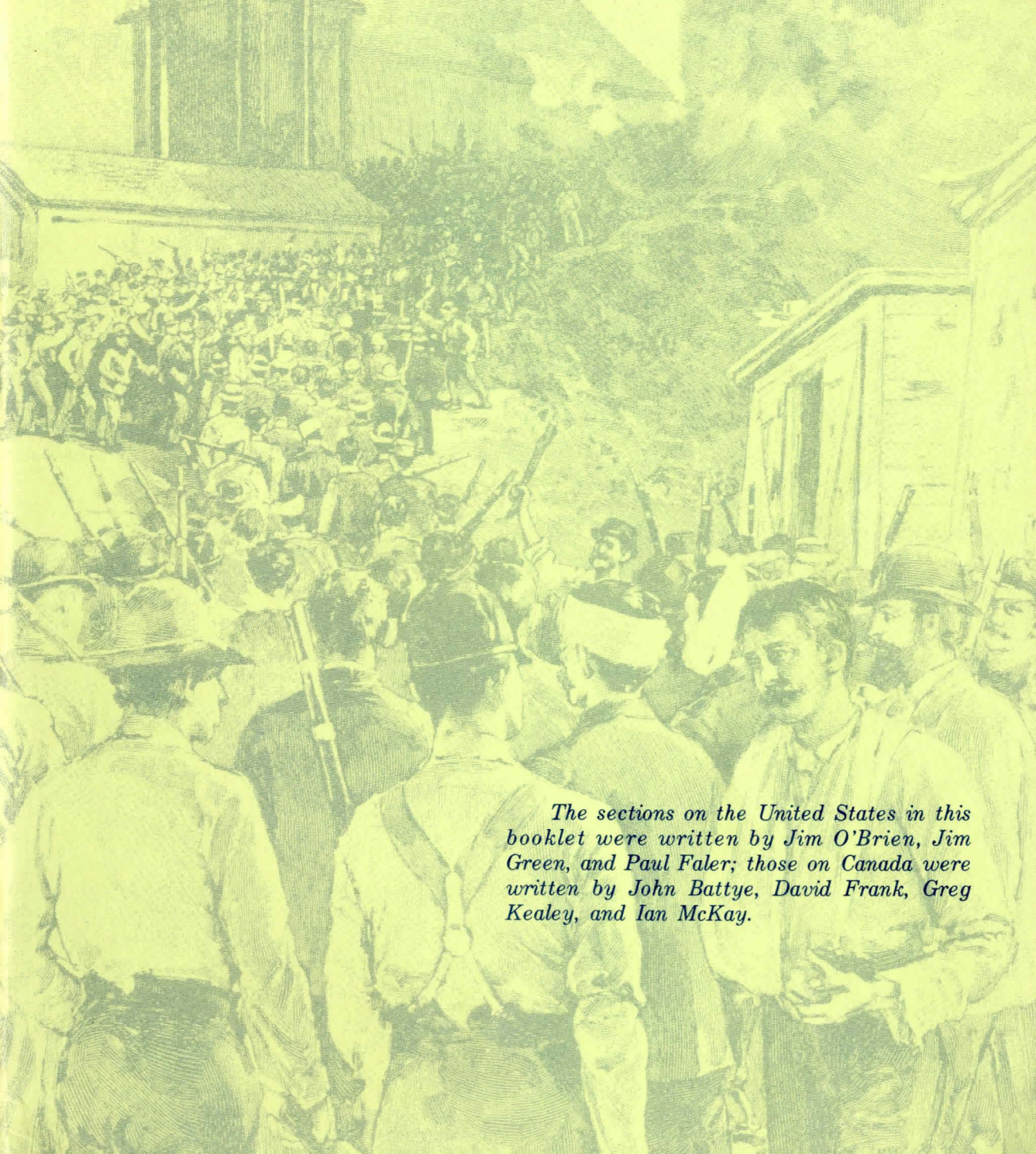


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# A GUIDE TO WORKING CLASS HISTORY

Second Edition



*The sections on the United States in this booklet were written by Jim O'Brien, Jim Green, and Paul Faler; those on Canada were written by John Battye, David Frank, Greg Kealey, and Ian McKay.*

**New England Free Press & New Hogtown Press**

# Introduction

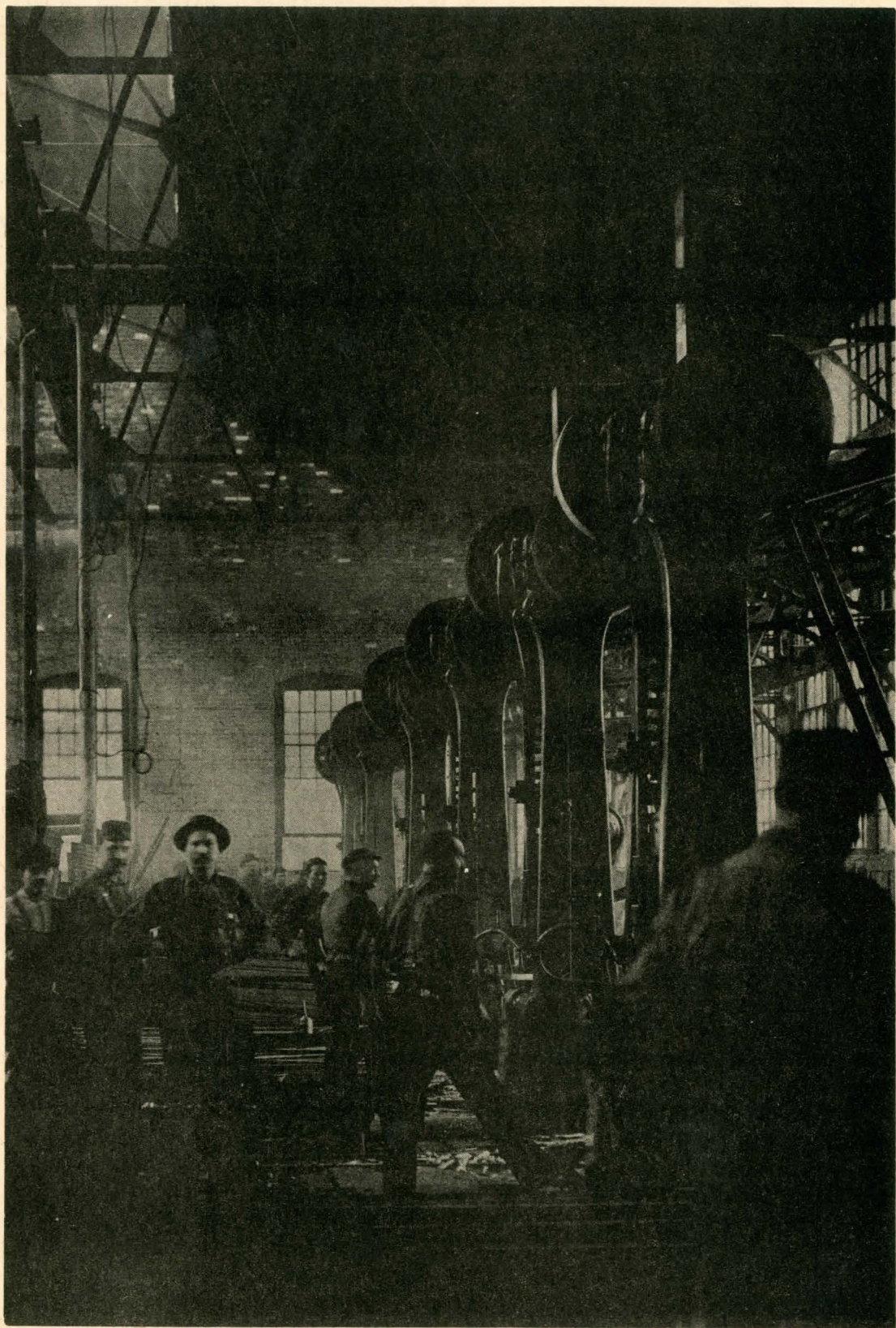
This is a guide to resources about the history of working people in North America. The bulk of it is about the United States, but the final section is on Canada; it was compiled separately by four Canadian historians. We hope that the booklet will be helpful to a wide range of individual readers as well as to teachers and study groups and perhaps also to librarians. It is not a comprehensive bibliography. Instead we have tried to highlight the best available sources — books, films, and records which are lively and interesting and which convey an accurate sense of working class history. We have given short descriptions of these materials in order to point out some of their strengths and weaknesses.

Since this is a selective listing of sources, some readers may feel that we have placed too little emphasis on the history of labor unions and on the lives of prominent union leaders. We believe that too many historians have focussed on unions and their officers at the expense of describing the experiences of the rank-and-file members of the unions. In any case, during most of American history the great majority of workers have not belonged to unions at all. For similar reasons, we have paid little attention to the internal histories of radical political parties which have attempted to speak for the working class but at most times (in the U.S. at least) have not actually been very influential.

In both the U.S. and Canadian sections, the booklet emphasizes sources which are readily available. Unless otherwise noted, every book listed is currently in print and is in paperback. But with even paperbacks becoming more and more expensive, we realize that most readers will not have easy access to these materials except through libraries. In our opinion these materials ought to be on the shelves of every public library. There is no reason why libraries should neglect the history of ordinary people while featuring endless biographies of "great statesmen" and novels about the upper classes. If your public or school library does not contain some of these materials that look interesting to you, then it should be asked to purchase them.

We have tried to be non-partisan in our selection of sources, but our own politics will probably be clear in the annotations. We are independent socialists who believe that working people can and should have a predominant role in the governing of society — a role which they do not have either under corporate capitalism or in societies in which an elite governs in the name of "the working class."

This second edition of the booklet includes some new materials as well as incorporating several revisions suggested by friends after reading the original edition. We are eager to receive further criticisms and suggestions, since we hope to revise the booklet again at some point in the future.



# I. The U.S.: General Sources

It would be nice if we could single out one book and say, This gives the whole story in a nutshell. But there is no book that really fits that description. None of the overall surveys of American labor history, for example, has a satisfactory coverage of women. Probably the best starting point for people who do not already have some familiarity with American working class history is not a general survey, but one of the more popularized topical books which are described in this guide. These might include *Bread and Roses* by Milton Meltzer (described in Section III), *What Have Women Done?* (Section I-B), the *Underhanded History of the U.S.A.* (Section I-A), Jeremy Brecher's *Strike!* (Section II) Julius Lester's *To Be a Slave* (Section II), and Alice and Staughton Lynd's *Rank and File* (Section V). Other starting points are also possible: you can pick them out by reading the individual descriptions in this and the following parts of the booklet.

In compiling the U.S. sections of this guide we have been aided by a number of friends who gave us valuable advice and led us to a number of books, movies, and records which we had not previously known about. We are especially grateful to Gordon Smith, Elsa Rassbach, Stanley Aronowitz, Len Calabrese, Marian Leighton, Margery Davies, Stan Weir, and Susan Reverby.

## A. Overall Surveys

Joseph Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (1959, Free Press-Macmillan,\* 491 pages, \$3.50). A competent, comprehensive one-volume text, the best academic survey of labor history. Less readable than the histories by Brooks and Boyer and Morais, but with greater detail on the pre-Civil War period. It has the most sympathetic evaluation of the "pure and simple" trade unionism that American unions have followed.

Thomas Brooks, *Toil and Trouble* (1964, Dell, 402 pages, \$2.65). A concise history of the labor movement, from colonial times to the present. There is a strong emphasis on organized labor, particularly modern trade unions. Material on the period before the 1890's is thin. Nearly a third of the book deals with the years since World War II, with considerable emphasis on the issues of race, politics and automation. Brooks is a labor journalist of liberal reformist bias who is concerned mainly with contemporary trade union policy.

Leon Litwack, ed., *The American Labor Movement* (1962, Prentice-Hall, 176 pages, \$1.95). Single-volume documentary histories covering the full sweep of labor history are rare. This is the best of the few available, though in need of revision. It covers the period

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\* Throughout this booklet, the name of the publisher is in each case the publisher of the paperback edition. If a particular book is only in hardback, we specify that fact in the citation.

from the 1870's to the late 1950's. It consists mostly of first-hand accounts of important events or issues, with personal testimony from workers, selections from state labor reports, legislative hearings, and newspapers.

Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais, *Labor's Untold Story* (1955, United Electrical Workers, 402 pages, \$3.95). A well-written and engaging history of the American labor movement from the Civil War to about 1950. Major emphasis is on facets of history which conservatives leave "untold": dramatic strikes and class warfare, the role of radicals and militants, the unfinished struggle for full equality and social justice. Its deficiencies are ones common to most radical histories: a tendency to dwell on dramatic episodes of strife; overemphasis on the enlightened nature of the proletariat; an exaggeration of the role of some radicals and a distortion of the role of others.

M. B. Schnapper, *American Labor: A Pictorial Social History* (1972, Public Affairs Press hardback, 574 pages, \$15.00). Although it is very weak on the period since the 1930s and skimpy on black wage-earners throughout, this is still the best labor history "picture book" and well worth looking through. It is expensive for individuals but every library should get a copy.

Nick Thorkelson and Jim O'Brien, *Underhanded History of the U.S.A.* (1973, New England Free Press, 64 pages, color, \$1.00). A cartoon-history with an emphasis on class conflict. It is a useful introduction especially for younger readers who have had little more than a standard textbook view, though it does not treat any topic in depth.

Herbert Gutman and Gregory Kealey, *Many Pasts: Readings in American Social History, 1600 to the Present* (two volumes; 1973, Prentice-Hall, 469 and 514 pages, \$5.95 each volume). The finest collection of essays on working people in America, especially workers neglected by traditional labor historians who are concerned mainly with organized wage earners. Sections on blacks and immigrants are especially good. Although overpriced, these volumes include nearly 50 selections of the best and most important recent essays in labor and social history. Many of the pieces are from journals and monographs that the average reader might find hard to obtain.

## B. Topical Surveys

Jeremy Brecher, *Strike! The True History of Mass Insurgence in the U.S. from 1877 to the Present* (1972, Fawcett, 416 pages, \$1.75). A provocative history of the major mass strikes of the past century, including the 1877 railroad strikes, the 1886 eight-hour day strikes, Homestead, Pullman, and the national strike waves of 1919, 1934, 1936-37, and 1946. A popular, not a scholarly history, Brecher's book limits itself to the high points of class struggle, but it tells an exciting story which reveals a tremendous amount of rank-and-file insurgency.

*What Have Women Done?* (1974, United Front Press, 58 pages, \$2.00). A photohistory of women workers in the U.S., with emphasis on strikes and unionization. It is especially strong in its coverage of blacks and other racial minorities.

Staughton Lynd, ed., *American Labor Radicalism* (1973, Wiley, 215 pages, \$4.95). A helpful collection of short, readable articles by and about working-class radicals in the 20th century. Of special importance are the selections on the sit-down strikes of 1936-37, Mark Naison's essay on the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, Matthew Ward on the United Auto Workers, Harvey Swados on "The Myth of the Happy Worker" in the 1950's, and Stan Weir on "Rank-and-File Labor Rebellions" of the 1960's.

Harold Baron, *The Demand for Black Labor: Historical Notes on the Political Economy of Racism* (1971, New England Free Press, 46 pages, 75 cents). A sweeping survey of the role of blacks in the American economy over the past three centuries, the best overview of the subject. Baron shows that blacks were almost universally excluded from non-agricultural jobs for the first half-century after the Civil War, and that even in the modern era employers have put black workers in a category separate from white workers.

Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973* (1974, Praeger hardback, 489 pages, \$15.00). An eye-opening history of American trade unionism from the standpoint of how unions have related to blacks. Foner's detailed study shows that unions in industries such as railroading, metal working, and construction have functioned in part as job cartels aimed at creating and preserving a monopoly of jobs for white workers. The book also shows instances of black-white unity, and credits the industrial-union upsurge of the 1930's with a partial breakthrough against racism, but the overall picture is one of black perseverance and white resistance.

Julius Jacobsen, ed., *The Negro and the American Labor Movement* (1968, Anchor, 412 pages, \$1.95). An anthology of articles on black workers and trade unions of mixed quality. Herbert Gutman's article on blacks and the United Mine Workers before 1900 is revealing though it ends before the time when the union's leadership pushed racist positions. Contemporary essays by Herbert Hill, Sid Peck and Harold Baron are also important for understanding the recent history of blacks in unions.

Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, *Readings on La Raza* (1974, Hill & Wang, 277 pages, \$3.50). A reader on Chicano history that contains first-rate articles on the history of Mexican workers in the U.S. in the 20th century. The most important contributions include reports on early migrant workers in the Southwest and industrial workers in Detroit and Chicago, several articles by Carey McWilliams, and reports on the United Farm Workers.

*No More Moanin': Voices of Southern Struggle* (special issue of *Southern Exposure* magazine, Winter 1974, 225 pages, \$2.75). A beautifully illustrated anthology of historical articles and oral histories about southern working class struggle highlighted by first-rate interviews with participants in the Gastonia textile strike of 1929, East Arkansas sharecropping organizing in the 1930's, and the Atlanta auto sit-down strike of 1936. An eclectic but exciting volume.

Ann D. Gordon, Mari Jo Buhle, and Nancy E. Schrom, *Women in American Society: An Historical Contribution* (1971, *Radical America*, 71 pages, 50 cents). This is difficult reading, especially the first section on historical methodology, but it does a very good job of

putting women's history in a social-class perspective and showing how the position of women has changed under the impact of industrialization. It has been widely used in women's studies courses.

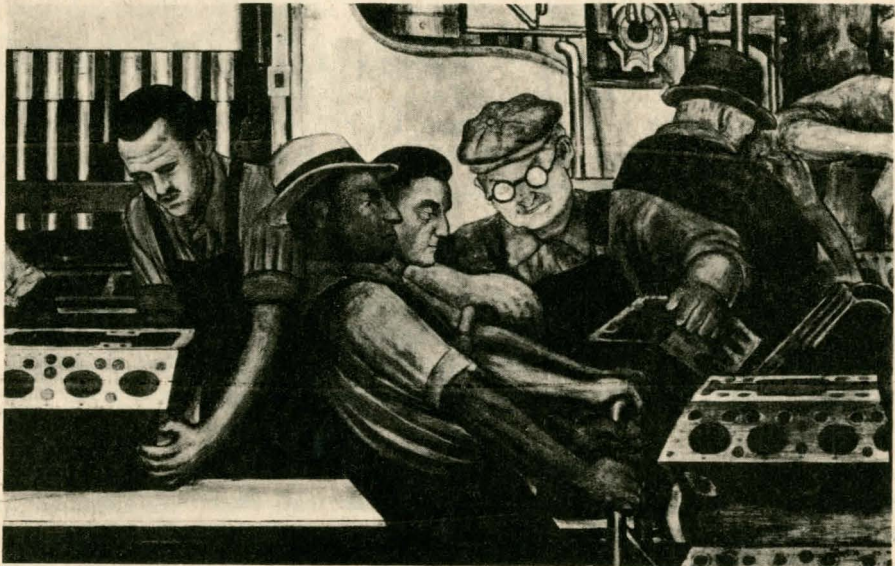
Robert W. Smuts, *Women and Work in America* (1959, Schocken, 181 pages, \$2.75). A lightweight but interesting book showing the extent to which women's wage-labor, and public attitudes toward it, have changed since the turn of the 20th century. It does not really analyze why these changes took place — nor even *how* they took place, since it more or less skips over the intervening decades — but within its somewhat limited scope it is a very perceptive and readable introduction to the subject.

*The Inheritance* (1964, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, 55 minutes, black and white, rental \$7.50 from AFL-CIO). The best documentary film on the American labor movement, with major portions given to the Amalgamated's own history. Footage consists of still shots for the pre-1920's era and film clips thereafter. The narration, the dubbed dramatic exchanges, and the songs are well done. Basically a success story of Jewish clothing workers, with general labor history added. No material on black workers, though there are clips of the early civil rights movement.

### C. Song Collections

Pete Seeger, *American Industrial Ballads* (Folkways Records #FH 5251, \$4.50). A fine album of about two dozen songs, mostly from cotton mill workers and coal miners. Common themes are hard times, suffering, repression and resistance.

Almanac Singers, *Talking Union* (Folkways Records, #FH 5285, \$4.50). Best available collection of labor songs and anthems, primarily from the 20th century. Includes "Solidarity Forever," "Union Maid," "Hold the Fort," and "Which Side Are You On."



Section of Diego Rivera mural in Detroit Institute of Arts

Mike Seeger, *Tipple, Loom, and Rail* (1965, Folkways Records #FH 5273, \$4.50). An unusual group of sixteen songs from southern industrial settings, including several songs from railroading, coal mining, and textile mill work.

*Come All Ye Coal Miners* (Rounder Records #4005, \$4.00). A collection of songs about coal miners by various mine workers and their families, largely from the Appalachian region. Includes singing and commentary by Nimrod Workman and Sarah Ogan Gunning, the radical songwriter.

Alan Lomax, Woody Guthrie, and Pete Seeger, eds., *Hard Hitting Songs for Hard-Hit People* (1967, Oak, temporarily out of print). If you can find this one in a library it's well worth looking for. With over 200 songs ranging from old Populist and IWW tunes, Okie and coal miner ballads to CIO fight songs, this collection is a gold mine of working class music.

### Supplementary Sources

Elizabeth Faulkner Baker, *Technology and Women's Work* (1964, Columbia Univ., hardback) is valuable in showing how women's economic role has changed under the impact of technology. She also surveys the current state of organization among women workers. *Black Women in White America*, edited by Gerda Lerner (1973, Vintage) is a good collection which has a lot of material relevant to working class history. Two books recently reprinted in hardback by Arno Press, Edith Abbott's *Women in Industry* (1936) and Helen L. Sumner's *History of Women in Industry in the United States* (1910) are still-valuable historical accounts of the movement of women from home to the factory.

Melech Epstein's *Jewish Labor in the U.S.A., 1882-1952* (two volumes, 1950, 1953, published in one volume by Ktav, hardback) is a popularly written history of Jewish trade unionism, especially good on the period before World War I. The Wei Min She Labor Committee has published a photo-history of *Chinese Working People in America* (United Front Press) which is probably the best short introduction to the topic.

It is unfortunate that very few good surveys of workers in particular industries are available. Of those in print, the best ones are probably Joel Seidman's *The Needle Trades* (1942, Johnson hardback) and McAlister Coleman's *Men and Coal* (1943, Arno hardback). A number of good industry surveys that were written in the 1930s and '40s are now out of print. These include *Labor Unionism in American Agriculture* by Stuart Jamieson (1945, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture/Bulletin No. 836) and a series of useful books put out by International Publishers, including *Labor and Automobiles* by Robert W. Dunn (1929) and *Labor and Textiles* by Dunn and Jack Hardy (1931), among others.

Although there is not a great deal of outstanding material on strategies for labor, several books provide some interesting perspectives on trade unionism, radical politics, and class consciousness. Selig Perlman's influential *Theory of the Labor Movement* (1928, Arno hardback) is the most elaborate justification for the job-conscious "business unionism" of mainstream American unions. *Debs* edited by Ronald Radosh (1971, Prentice-Hall) contains some important speeches and articles by the Socialist Party leader who consistently attacked the AFL approach to organization for over three decades. David Saposs's well-written *Left Wing Unionism* (1926, Russell hardback) analyzes the attempts by radicals to win over or to displace existing trade unions. Essays by one of the leading participants in this effort, William Z. Foster, are collected in *American Trade Unionism* (1947, International). Also from a left-wing perspective, but far more skeptical of the potentiality of trade unions is Stanley Aronowitz's *False Promises*, described in Section V of this booklet.



## II. The U.S.: To the Civil War

Esther Forbes, *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In* (1942, Houghton-Mifflin, 510 pages, \$3.95). A solid yet easy to read account of life in Revolutionary Boston, rich in valuable information on social history that academic historians usually ignore — housing, the work routine, family life, popular customs and folk lore, class differences. Although a master craftsman who later became a manufacturer, Revere was nonetheless an artisan much like thousands of others in the colonial city. Politically he and his fellow mechanics were an important link between the upper class revolutionary leaders and the anonymous lower classes whose collective strength won the war for American independence and for republicanism.

Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets" (1968, Bobbs-Merrill reprint H-43, 36 pages, 80 cents). A pioneering and influential case study of the role of the "inarticulate" lower class in history. Lemisch helps to identify the composition of that much maligned but potent force called "the mob" by showing the part that seamen, along with other workers, played in physically expelling British authority from America.

David Montgomery, "Working Classes in the Pre-Industrial American City" (1968, Bobbs-Merrill reprint #H-447, 20 pages, 60 cents). An extremely concise yet penetrating description of the size, composition and condition of the wage-earning population of four coastal American cities between 1790 and 1830. This brief but sweeping survey provides an invaluable picture of wage-earners on the eve of the industrial revolution.

Gerda Lerner, "The Lady and the Mill Girl: Changes in the Status of Women in the Age of Jackson" (1969, Bobbs-Merrill reprint #H-433, 11 pages, 60 cents). An excellent essay on the changing status of women from the colonial period to the 1840's. This well-written article shows how traditional women's work, especially midwifery and shop-keeping were restricted, and why teaching and nursing were expanded. It also shows how industrialization separated women more than ever into two classes, the "mill girls" and the "ladies." A fine introduction to the role of women in the industrial revolution.

Norman Ware, *The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860* (1924, Quadrangle, 259 pages, \$2.65). Easily the best account of the early industrial revolution. Wonderful descriptions and incisive observations on the decline of the skilled artisan, the coming of the first factories and the controversy they sparked, the formation of early unions, and the birth of movements for socialism and land reform. Ware's study is unrivalled; it is essential for an understanding of 19th century American history.

Julius Lester, *To Be a Slave* (1968, Dell, 158 pages, 75 cents). A wonderful little book for the general reader. A view of slavery through the eyes of the slaves themselves. It consists

of excerpts from thousands of pages of personal testimony from slaves interviewed either by abolitionists during the 19th century or by writers of the Works Progress Administration during the 1930s. Introduced with Lester's pungent comments and by Tom Feelings' striking illustrations, these slave narratives give eloquent descriptions of their work, food, housing, masters, religion, beatings, resistance and freedom.

Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (1956, Vintage, 436 pages, \$1.95). A well written volume on slavery that contains useful chapters on working conditions, discipline, and resistance to forced labor. Although Stampp's liberalism or "neo-abolitionism" creates more of a moralistic than a materialistic interpretation of slavery, this book is a useful introduction because of the bulk of important information it provides.

W.E.B. DuBois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935, Antheneum, 746 pages, \$4.95). A magnificent book which ranges across the whole Civil War era and portrays vividly the class and racial forces at work. For present-day readers the first five chapters (going through the Civil War) and the fourteenth (giving DuBois's analysis of why Reconstruction was abandoned) are the most important. The in-between chapters, with details on Reconstruction itself, are also good — though they are less important now than in the 1930s, when they challenged the racist view of Reconstruction that was then current among white historians. The New England Free Press has a pamphlet, "Back Toward Slavery" (51 pages, 40 cents) consisting of excerpts from the book.



## Supplementary Sources

Basil Davidson's well-written *Atlantic Slave Trade* (originally published as *Black Mother*; 1961, Atlantic Little Brown) is primarily a study of the slave trade in relation to African history, but it also provides a background for understanding slavery in the Americas. Marvin Harris, *Patterns of Race in the Americas* (1964, Norton pb) is a materialist interpretation of the development of different patterns of race relations in North and South America, based on an analysis of divergent labor systems. Robert Starobin, *Industrial Slavery in the Old South* (1970, Oxford Univ. Press) provides a different perspective on slave labor in the U.S. by describing the conditions of the 5% of the slaves who worked in industry rather than agriculture. George Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community* (1972, Greenwood) uses narratives collected from ex-slaves in the 1930s to argue that the creation of an autonomous and distinct black culture was one form of continual resistance to the master class.

On the colonial period, Richard B. Morris, *Government and Labor in Early America* (1946, Octagon), gives encyclopedic coverage to the complex labor regulations governing artisans, indentured servants and other workers in the thirteen colonies. Abbott E. Smith, *Colonists in Bondage* (1947, Norton) is the best study of the white indentured servants, while Carl Bridenbaugh's *The Colonial Craftsman* (1950, Univ. of Chicago) describes the main occupations of white skilled artisans.

Alice Clark's *The Life of Working Women in the Seventeenth Century* (1919, Kelley hardback) is very good for those interested in the British background to the place of women in the colonies.

Rowland Berthoff's *British Immigrants in Industrial America* (1952, Russell hardback) is a scholarly study of an important but easily overlooked immigrant group. Oscar Handlin's *Boston's Immigrants*, despite its faults, is the best account of Irish Catholic immigrants confronting Yankee Protestants in the mid-19th century. Spokesmen for the early American labor movement are the subjects of Edward Pessen's sympathetic assessment of *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: Labor Leaders of the Early American Labor Movement* (1967, State Univ. of New York Press).

### III. The U.S.: 1865-1930

Milton Meltzer, *Bread — and Roses: The Struggle of American Labor, 1865-1915* (1967, Vintage Sundial, 231 pages, \$1.50). A very good, well-illustrated history with excerpts from contemporary documents. It is aimed at high school readers but not limited to them. If it were not limited in the time period it covers, it would be far and away the best introductory survey of America labor history.

C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (1951, Louisiana State U. Press, 516 pages, \$4.25). An important survey of southern history that includes chapters on workers, industrialization and the colonial economy as well as extensive information on Populism and racism.

Henry David, *History of the Haymarket Affair* (1936, Collier, 448 pages, \$1.95). The best account of this famous episode, in which eight anarchists were convicted on skimpy evidence of setting off a bomb which killed eight Chicago policemen in 1886. The bombing came during a strong nationwide effort to shorten the working day to eight hours, and the hysteria which followed the bombing helped to break the back of the eight-hour movement. David does a good job, both of narrating the Haymarket bombing and trial and of sketching the social and political setting in which these events took place.

David Brody, *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era* (1960, Harper, 303 pages, \$2.25). The first six chapters of this book provide a concise and well-integrated view of a major American industry and its work force in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Brody emphasizes the features of plant and community life which enabled the steel owners to divide the workers and stave off unionization.

Philip S. Foner, *The Policies and Practices of the A.F. of L., 1900-1909* (Vol. III of *A History of the Labor Movement in the U.S.* (1964, International, 438 pages, \$3.65). A trenchant critique of the racist, sexist, conservative practices of American Federation of Labor craft unions by a leading Old Left historian. A detailed monograph which does not make for easy reading and limits itself to institutional union history, this third volume of Foner's labor history provides important information about the negative influence of AFL craft unionism on class consciousness.

Louis Adamic, *Dynamite* (1931, Chelsea House, 495 pages, \$2.45). A vivid, sometimes overdrawn picture of labor-management violence from the 1870's through the 1920's. It is especially valuable for its depiction of the violence which the AFL's "respectable" building trades unions resorted to when under pressure from employers. Judged by their actions rather than their rhetoric, AFL unions were far more violent than the Industrial Workers of the World.

Margaret Byington, *Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town* (1910, Univ. Center for International Studies, 292 pages, \$2.50). This well-illustrated book was originally part of a multi-volume study of workers and industry in the Pittsburgh area sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation. It gives a wealth of detail about the family and community life of the largely Slavic working class people of Homestead in the years after the great 1892 strike. By taking the vantage point of women as household managers, it shows a lot about working class women's unpaid work.

Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle* (1906, Airmont, 317 pages, 60 cents). A muckraking novel of exploitation, corruption and heartless cruelty in the meatpacking plants of Chicago at the turn of the century. The protagonist is a Lithuanian immigrant who suffers nearly every conceivable injustice spawned by a vicious system that makes society a jungle of predators. The novel also exposed to middle class eyes some of the peculiar ingredients that packers put into meat products.

William Tuttle, "Labor Conflict and Racial Violence: Black Workers in Chicago, 1894-1919" (1969, Bobbs-Merrill reprint #BC-302, 23 pages, 40 cents). An important analysis of race relations among Chicago's black and immigrant workers which demonstrates how exclusionary trade unions and segregated housing patterns helped create racial tensions. Most significantly, Tuttle's well-documented article shows that labor competition between black and white workers led directly to the disastrous Chicago "race riot" of 1919.

Mary Jones, *Autobiography of Mother Jones* (1925, C.H. Kerr, 242 pages, \$3.50). Mother Jones, who was in her nineties but still active at the time this book was written, was a legendary figure in American labor history. A resourceful organizer and ever-popular speaker, she helped lead countless strikes, especially of coal miners. It is hard to know how to evaluate this book, which recounts some of her experiences in the early 20th century. It is very unreliable as to details; on the other hand, it makes for easy reading and gives a stark, basically true picture of class hatred and recurrent violence in the coal fields.



Samuel Gompers of the AFL



Mother Jones with Terence Powderly, former head of the Knights of Labor.

Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (1969, Quadrangle, 484 pages, \$4.95). A long but comprehensive history of the Wobblies. Especially good on the IWW's origins in western working class struggles, notably in the metal mines. Also helpful on Wobbly ideology, which stressed direct control of production by workers.

Joyce Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology* (1964, Univ. of Michigan, 419 pages, \$4.95). A very enjoyable, richly illustrated introduction to the Industrial Workers of the World. It combines songs, poems, cartoons, newspaper articles, leaflets, and reminiscences to give the freewheeling flavor of the Wobblies. The editor's introductions, while not very analytical, do a good job of providing historical background. The book focuses almost entirely on the period between the IWW's founding in 1905 and its almost-complete suppression during World War I and the postwar Red Scare.

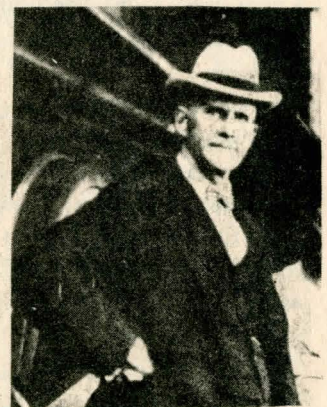
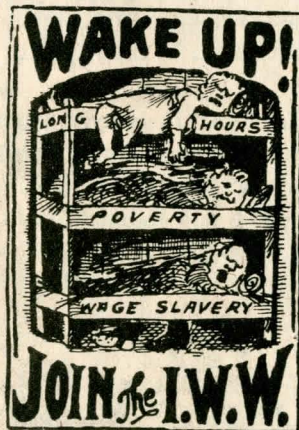
*Haywire Mac* (Folkways Records #5272, \$4.00). A collection of IWW songs including "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum" and "Casey Jones," sung (along with other labor tunes) in a somewhat disappointing fashion by Harry McClintock, a colorful old IWW member.

Ray Ginger, *Eugene V. Debs*, (originally published as *The Bending Cross*; 1949, Collier, 510 pages, \$1.95). The only major biography of the great Socialist Party leader. A rather uncritical but excellently written study of Debs' life. It also provides useful background material on labor radicalism in the 1890's and Socialist Party activity in the early 20th century. Ginger definitely captures the excitement of Debsian socialism, which was the largest mass-based movement of its kind in U.S. history.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *Rebel Girl: An Autobiography of My First Life, 1906-1926* (1966, International, 335 pages, \$3.95). Probably the best written by a female labor organizer. Flynn was involved in most of the IWW's major struggles before and during World War I, including the textile strikes at Lawrence, Mass., and Paterson, N.J. The book ends with the tragic story of World War I repression and the Sacco-Vanzetti persecution, before Flynn became a major figure in the Communist Party.



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn



Eugene V. Debs

William Z. Foster, *Pages from a Worker's Life* (1939, International, 316 pages, \$2.65). An uneven but often very rich set of reminiscences of working class life in the early 20th century by the man who led the 1919 steel strike and later became a top figure in the Communist Party. The early parts, especially a moving description of what it meant to "ride the rails," are the best. This book is much more personal and less didactic than Foster's other autobiography, *From Bryan to Stalin*.

James T. Farrell, *Studs Lonigan* (3 vols., 1935, Avon, \$1.25 each vol.). An absorbing novel about an Irish-American working class youth growing up in Chicago in the first quarter of the 20th century. It says a lot about ethnic and racial attitudes, encounters with radicals, the discovery of sex, views toward women, and the cult of masculinity. But it is also a story of bleak emptiness, frustration and anxiety.

Agnes Smedley, *Daughter of Earth* (1929, Feminist Press, 429 pages, \$3.00). Agnes Smedley is best known for her reportorial books about the Chinese Revolution, but this book is an autobiographical novel about the first three decades of her life. She grew up in a mining region of Colorado, and the extreme poverty and emotional violence she experienced in her family gave her a vaguely socialist and a strongly feminist viewpoint. The book is remarkable for the candor and sensitivity with which it traces the roots of her bitterness — a bitterness which is joined with a perpetual hope for something better.

Dorothy Richardson, *The Long Day: The Story of a New York Working Girl* (1905, reprinted in *Women at Work*, ed. William L. O'Neill, Quadrangle, 360 pages, \$3.95). Very little is known about the author, and it is not clear to what extent this book is fictionalized, but that doesn't necessarily matter. The book is useful for the picture it gives of life among low-paid women factory workers around the turn of the century. The author's own viewpoint wanders back and forth between warm understanding and haughty condescension.

Mike Gold, *Jews Without Money* (1930, Avon, 245 pages, 95 cents). This entertaining and revealing novel describes life and labor among Jewish working people on New York's Lower East Side. The book is good fiction, with human touch that flows out of Gold's rich recollections of his own childhood in the "ghetto."

Leon Stein, *The Triangle Fire* (1962, Lippincott, temporarily out of print). Written by a staff member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire of 1911, which killed 146 workers. The victims, nearly all of them young Jewish and Italian women, had been working under conditions that made their shop an obvious fire trap, yet which the owners had done nothing to correct. It is an exceptionally well written book, good for readers from junior high school on up.

Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933* (1966, Houghton Mifflin, 577 pages, \$2.95). A readable and insightful book. The first three chapters, which give a good overview of workers and management in the 1920's are especially worthwhile.

Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown* (1929, Harvest, 550 pages, \$3.85). A sociological study of a small city (Muncie, Ind.) and how it changed from the 1890's to the 1920's under the impact of industrialization. The first two sections, on work and the family, are a gold mine of insights on the ways in which the growth of industry and the factory system affected the lives of ordinary Americans. The rest of the book treats specialized areas of civic life and is of less general interest.

Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (1942, Yale Univ., 334 pages, \$3.95). A community study of religion and class consciousness that has important implications beyond the confines of the North Carolina textile mill town where the violent strike occurred in 1929. Pope is a conservative whose analysis of the strike is rather biased, but he is also a sensitive sociologist who provides some fascinating information on the class-conscious qualities of revivalist religion among southern poor whites.

Stanley B. Mathewson, *Restriction of Output Among Unorganized Workers* (1931, Southern Illinois Univ., 212 pages, \$2.45). In this reprint, Mathewson's own book is all but buried in a sea of forewords, introductions, afterwords, conclusions, etc. by his fellow "industrial relations" experts. If you can find it, though (pages 15-160), Mathewson's study is a fascinating compilation of anecdotes about ways which workers (even without unions) found to frustrate the demands of management for higher output. It is by all odds the best source on pre-union forms of resistance among American workers.



Russian steelworkers, Pennsylvania, 1909



## Supplementary Sources

David Montgomery's *Beyond Equality: American Labor and Radical Reconstruction, 1868-1872* (1967, Vintage) is essential for understanding the role of workers in both the formation and the destruction of the Radical Republican coalition that shaped government policy in the crucial era following the Civil War. Stephan Thernstrom's *Poverty and Progress* (1964, Atheneum) is an important and influential study that utilizes statistical evidence on social mobility to explain the lack of class consciousness among unskilled laborers in Newburyport, Massachusetts, in the years 1850-1880. Leon Stein and Philip Taft have assembled an excellent collection of pamphlets written by 19th century labor radicals and reformers in their *Labor Politics* (1971, Arno hardback, 2 vols.). Herbert Gutman's essay "The Worker's Search for Power," in H. Wayne Morgan's, *The Gilded Age* (1963, Syracuse Univ. Press) illustrates the community basis for much of the resistance to industrial capitalism in the 1870's.

Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (1959, New Viewpoints, Watts) is loaded with graphic information on the remarkable railroad strikes that swept across the U.S., killing over 100 persons and revealing the national dimensions of the emerging class conflict. Almont Lindsey's *The Pullman Strike* (1942, University of Chicago) is a detailed but well-written study of the clash between the Debs-led American Railway Union and the railroad operators backed by Federal troops. The great Homestead steel strike of 1892 is the subject of Leon Wolff's *Lockout* (1963, out of print), an exciting, popularly written narrative. Donald L. McMurry's *Coxey's Army: A Study of the Industrial Army Movement of 1894* (1929, Univ. of Wash. hardback) is a wonderful account of the various armies of unemployed workers that marched on Washington during the 1890's seeking public works.

Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (1971, Univ. of Calif. hardback), is a demanding but illuminating study of how demagogic union leaders and politicians used racism. Victor Greene's study of *The Slavic Community on Strike: Immigrant Labor in Pennsylvania Anthracite* (1968, Univ. of Notre Dame hardback), convincingly challenges the belief that Slavs retarded unionization in the coal fields in the late 19th century. Leon Stein and Philip Taft are the editors of *Workers Speak: Self-Portraits* (1971, Arno hardback), a wide ranging collection of brief autobiographies by working people originally published as magazine articles during 1902-6. Elizabeth B. Butler's *Women and the Trades, Pittsburgh, 1907-08* (1969, Arno hardback), is a revealing study of women's work in many industries around Pittsburgh, originally published in 1909. Selig Perlman and Philip Taft's *History of Labor in the U.S., 1896-1932* (1935, Kelley hardback) is a solid, well-researched survey of the labor movement written from a standpoint sympathetic to AFL "business unionism." More critical is Bernard Mandel's *Samuel Gompers: A Biography* (1963, Kent State Univ. hardback), a very long and iconoclastic account of the career of the man who dominated the AFL from 1886 to 1924.

Several Arno reprints, all in hardback, provide useful background on women wage-earners during this period. These include John B. Andrews and W.D.P. Bliss, *History of Women in Trade Union* (1911) and Alice Henry's subsequent *Women and the Labor Movement* (1923) as well as several more specific accounts. Lucy Maynard Salmon's *Domestic Service* (1897) analyzes the life of household servants while Carroll D. Wright studied the occupations and income of one city's working women in *The Working Girls of Boston* (1889). Grace Hourwich and Gladys Palmer, eds., *I am a Woman Worker: A Scrapbook of Autobiographies* (1936) is a collection of accounts by working women who attended various labor education schools.

David J. Saposs's *Left Wing Unionism: A Study of Radical Politics and Tactics* (1926, Russell hardback) is a detached but valuable analysis of radicals working in trade unions. William D. Haywood's *Autobiography of Big Bill Haywood* (1929, International), is a rather wooden account of the Industrial Workers of the World by the most famous Wobbly leader of them all. The later chapters, probably ghost written, are not very interesting. Better in many ways is Ralph Chaplin's *Wobbly* (1948, DeCapo hardback), a readable autobiography of the IWW poet and songwriter, author of labor's anthem, "Solidarity Forever." His early chapters give a good picture of the social background of working class militancy in the early 20th century. Barrie Stavis and Frank Harmon have assembled the *Songs of Joe Hill* (1973, Quick Fox). A detailed study of government repression against workers is the subject of William Preston Jr.'s *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (1963, Harper).

Harvey O'Connor's *Revolution in Seattle* (1964, out of print), is an exciting account of the Seattle general strike of 1919 by a labor journalist who was a participant and acute observer. A good account of an important strike is David Brody's *Labor in Crisis: The Steel Strike of 1919* (1965, Lippincott). Paul S. Taylor's *Mexican Labor in the United States* (1930, Arno hardback), is a good starting point for anyone interested in Chicano workers. Vol. I includes studies of agricultural workers in the Southwest during the 1920s and Vol. II deals with Mexican steel workers in Chicago.

Milton Nadworny's *Scientific Management and the Unions, 1900-1932* (1955, out of print), is a scholarly history of labor's resistance to the implementation of Frederick Taylor's time and motion studies. Robert Ozanne's detailed account of *A Century of Labor Management Relations at McCormick and International Harvester* (1967, Univ. of Wis. hardback), based on the company's own records reveals the various tactics a firm used to resist unions.

John Laslett's *Labor and the Left: A Study of Socialist and Radical Influences in the American Labor Movement, 1881-1924* (1970, Basic Books hardback), is a comprehensive study of socialist leadership in six important unions, but provides little information on rank-and-file socialist workers. James Weinstein examines the Socialist party in his account of *The Decline of American Socialism, 1912-1925* (1967, Vintage). To explain socialism's decline, Paul Buhle stresses the party's failure to recruit unskilled immigrants, in his "Debsian Socialism and the 'New Immigrant' Worker," in William L. O'Neill, ed., *Insights and Parallels* (1973, Burgess, pages 249-77). Oscar Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken* (1940, Greenwood hardback) is the delightful autobiography of a dedicated humorist and labor journalist who organized throughout the Midwest for the Socialist Party. Bruce Stave, ed., *Socialism and the Cities* (1975, Kennikat hardback) contains a number of interesting new essays on the Socialist Party's working class support in various cities.



Gastonia, N.C. textile strikers, 1929

## IV. The U.S.: The 1930s

Milton Meltzer, *Brother Can You Spare a Dime* (1969, Vintage Sundial, 181 pages, \$1.50). An interesting social history of the U.S. in the early years of the Great Depression (up to the election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932) written especially for high school readers.

Studs Terkel, *Hard Times: An Oral History of the Great Depression* (1970, Avon, 533 pages, \$1.50). A lengthy but excellent collection of personal reminiscences of the 1930's by scores of Americans from diverse backgrounds. Most of those interviewed are working class people; others are businessmen, politicians, and professionals. Terkel allows his subjects complete freedom to recount what they remember best from the 1930's. Thus the brief selections are personal, often distinctive, yet rich in detail. Especially good are the recollections of Jose Yglesias, growing up in Tampa among Cuban cigar makers, and E.D. Nixon, a sleeping car porter from Alabama who later played a key role in the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott.

Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step* (1964, Pathfinder, 538 pages, \$3.95). A hard-hitting account of the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) by the labor editor of the Socialist Workers Party newspaper *The Militant*. Preis's emphasis on the rank-and-file nature of the 1934 strikes and the sit-downs of 1936-37 is an important antidote to the traditional heroization of CIO leaders. Preis also writes an excellent critique of the CIO bureaucracy in the late '30's and the 1940's.

Saul Alinsky, *John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography* (1949, Vintage, 390 pages, \$2.45). The best available account of the life of America's most powerful trade union leader. Traces Lewis's dictatorship of the United Mine Workers from the 1920's on and his leadership in the CIO organizing drives of the 1930's. Although it is not quite as critical as the subtitle implies, this biography does show that Lewis's emergence as a militant leader in the '30's was a response to activity by the rank-and-file, rather than a cause of that activity.

Len DeCaux, *Labor Radical: From the Wobblies to CIO* (1970, Beacon, 557 pages, \$4.45). Autobiography of a British immigrant who became involved in American working class movements in the 1920's and was publicity director of the CIO until forced out in the anti-radical purges that followed World War II. He provides shrewd and memorable pictures of the CIO leaders, especially John L. Lewis. His description of the role of the Communist Party and its allies within the CIO is uncritical and not very helpful.

Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion* (1972, Pathfinder, 190 pages, \$2.45). A well-written, detailed account of the Minneapolis general strike of 1934 by an insurgent Teamster leader who helped to precipitate the conflict. Although it is inferior to Charles Walker's

*American City* (see below) in describing the larger aspects of the class war, this short account does provide fascinating information about tactics which Dobbs and his Trotskyist comrades used to mobilize for this urban warfare.

Harvey Swados, ed., *The American Writer and the Great Depression* (1966, Bobbs-Merrill, 521 pages, \$3.50). Superb collection of some of the best writings of social protest and realistic expose from the 1930s. An anthology of short stories, poems, and excerpted novels by such writers as John Steinbeck, Erskine Caldwell, James Agee, Louis Adamic, Nelson Algren, Richard Wright, and Thomas Wolfe.

Jack Conroy, *The Disinherited* (1934, Hill & Wang, 310 pages, \$2.45). One of the best "proletarian novels" of the '30's, Conroy's autobiographical book takes its protagonist through the Missouri coal mines and a series of jobs including one in a steel mill and another in a rubber plant, with good descriptions of the work process. Conroy, who wrote much like Jack London, was widely acclaimed in Left literary circles even though his novel does not ring with the notes of social protest.

John Steinbeck, *In Dubious Battle* (1936, Bantam, 250 pages, \$1.25). An often exciting book about a strike of migrant agricultural workers in California in the 1930's. The main characters are two Communist organizers helping to lead the strike and a sympathetic doctor (perhaps representing Steinbeck) who sees the whole episode as part of the eternal order of things.



Washington, D.C. "bonus marchers," 1932

John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939, Bantam, 502 pages, \$1.50). One of the greatest novels written about poor working people in the U.S. Steinbeck's odyssey of the Joad family traces these "Okies" after they are "tractored out" of their small farm and forced out through the "dust bowl" to southern California in the '30's. The book deals slightly with working conditions among migrants, but it is mainly the story of a working class family struggling for survival. A very moving novel.

Woody Guthrie, *Bound for Glory* (Folkways Records, #FA 2481, \$4.50). A dozen or so of his songs, including "This Land Is Your Land," "Pastures of Plenty," "Reuben James," and "Do Re Mi."

New Lost City Ramblers, *Songs from the Depression* (1959, Folkways Records, \$4.50). A number of fine topical songs from the 1930's in old-time style, including "No Depression in Heaven," "Tell Me How Can a Poor Man Stand Such Times and Live," "Death of the Blue Eagle," and "Keep Moving" among others.

*Negro Songs of Protest* (Rounder Records #4004, \$4.00). An unusual album of black work songs and hollers collected by Larry Gellert among the workers in labor camps and convict work gangs from the Carolinas and Georgia during the 1930's.



Southern Tenant Farmers Union convention

*Southern Exposure*

Hosea Hudson, *Black Worker in the Deep South* (1972, International, 130 pages, \$1.95). A short but exciting autobiography of a black Communist Party organizer who started out as a Georgia sharecropper and became a Birmingham steel worker. A bit sketchy on details but it gives a real flavor of southern working class struggles in the '30's

Woody Guthrie, *Bound for Glory* (1943, Signet, 320 pages, \$1.25). Autobiography of the great troubador and folk singer. Reveals a man of wit, humor and warmth. Born and reared in the little Oklahoma oil boom town of Okemah, and victim of great family tragedy, Woodrow Wilson Guthrie became an itinerant laborer, song writer and musician who worked and sang for his bread in the labor camps of the West and the saloons of industrial cities.

Tillie Olsen, *Yonnonidio* (1974, Dell, 158 pages, \$1.25). A lost manuscript from the 1930s, recently pieced together by the author and published for the first time, this is a moving account of a midwestern family's desperate struggle for survival. Driven by circumstances from the minefields of Wyoming to a farm in South Dakota and finally to a filthy meat-packing town, the Turner family survives nervous breakdown, alcoholism, family strife, and sickness.

Mario Puzo, *The Fortunate Pilgrim* (1965, Lancer, 288 pages, \$1.25). By the author of *The Godfather*, but a far different book. It is about a working class Italian family in New York in the 1920's and '30s. The 'fortunate pilgrim' is the mother, Lucia Santa, who is at the center of the story as she holds the family together despite the father's mental illness. The book starts slowly but gradually ensnares the reader's interest.

William F. Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (1943, Univ. of Chicago, 364 pages, \$3.45). A study of Boston's North End in the late 1930's, based on the author's hanging out with 'corner boys' - young men of the second generation of Italian immigrant families. It is an entirely male-oriented book, but gives an interesting view of street life, including a fascinating chapter on the numbers racket as a community institution.

*Modern Times* (1936, written and directed by Charlie Chaplin, feature length). Chaplin's classic comedy about working in a factory. Not a political film in the sense that many moviemakers strived for in this period, but it offers a radical satire of the factory system that is unmatched in any art form.

*Native Land* (1942, written and directed by Leo Hurwitz and Paul Strand, black and white, 85 minutes, distributed in 16 mm. by Impact Films). A technically superb film narrated by Paul Robeson which recreates episodes of repression from testimony taken by the LaFollette Committee of 1938, including a depiction of the Memorial Day Massacre.

*Sit Down* (1967, United Auto Workers, 25 minutes, black and white, rental \$7.50). Produced by the United Auto Workers to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the 1937 sit-down strikes, this short documentary includes the best footage of sit-down action available. Although UAW vice-president Doug Fraser's wooden commentary seems to consign the sit-down tactic to a bygone era, the city-by-city review of the factory occupations of 1937 is nevertheless an inspirational thing to watch. The background music by Earl Robinson is great.

*United Action Means Victory* (1940, United Auto Workers, 34 minutes, black and white, rental \$10.00). An exciting documentary which depicts the 1939 strike of tool and die makers at General Motors. Excellent footage by an amateur worker-photographer on picketing, strike support, flying squadrons, and workers inside the plants. Aside from a few corny dramatizations and some patronizing comments about women, this film is quite good, especially in showing the rank-and-file militancy of the UAW in its early years.

### Supplementary Sources

Irving Bernstein's 900-page *The Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker, 1933-1941* (1970, Houghton Mifflin) is the main overview of the period, but it focuses mainly on trade union leaders and on legislation, and is not as valuable as his *Lean Years* about the 1920s. E. Wright Bakke, *Citizens Without Work* (1940, Archon hardback) is the best study of the impact of unemployment in the Depression, based on interviews with the unemployed.

Ruth McKenney, *Industrial Valley* (1939, Greenwood hardback) is a popularized account of the growth of a working class movement in Akron, Ohio, by the author of *My Sister Eileen*. Charles R. Walker's *American City* (1937, Arno hardback) is a fascinating account of the militant teamsters strike in Minneapolis in 1934, with historical background. More of an academic study but still interesting is Barbara Newell's *Chicago and the Labor Movement: Metropolitan Unionism in the 1930s* (1961, Univ. of Illinois hardback), which focuses on the economic structure of different industries to explain why some were unionized and others were not.

Sidney Fine, *Sit Down: The General Motors Strike of 1936-37* (1969, Univ. of Michigan hardback) is the most thorough account of the dramatic sit-down strikes by auto workers. Matthew Josephson *Sidney Hillman* (1952, out of print), is a nicely written biography of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' leader who was a key figure in the CIO. Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions* (1939, McGrath hardback) describes the way in which the new CIO unions, which aimed to organize all workers in a particular industry, affected black workers. Clinton Golden and Harold Ruttenberg, *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy* (1942, DaCapo hardback) is a glowing account of CIO unionism in the steel industry; it includes a surprisingly frank description of how the steel union's leadership dealt with rank and file leaders who resisted compromise in the late 1930's.

Theodore Rosengarten, *All God's Dangers: The Life of Nate Shaw* (1974, Knopf hardback) is a moving autobiography of a militant black tenant farmer who joined the Alabama Sharecroppers Union in the 1930s. Donald Grubbs, *Cry from the Cotton: The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union and the New Deal* (1971, Univ. of North Carolina hardback) unfairly denies socialist influence in the STFU, but does offer a good account of one of the most successful inter-racial organizing efforts in the 1930's.

Nathan Glazer's *The Social Basis of American Communism* (1961, out of print) is an excellent class and ethnic breakdown of Communist Party membership from 1919 to around 1950, with special attention to the party's greatest period of influence in the 1930s.



## V. The U.S.: Recent and Current History

Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (1974, Monthly Review, 465 pages, \$12.50). A new book which richly deserves the wide praise it has gotten. Braverman traces changes in the work process and shows how clerical as well as blue-collar jobs have been progressively reorganized so as to require less skill (and permit less self-direction) on the part of the workers. (hardback)

Staughton Lynd, 'A History of the Steelworkers Union' (1973, New England Free Press, 12 pages, \$.20). A clearly written radical history of the United Steelworkers of America, the largest union in the AFL-CIO. Basing his account largely on interviews with long-time members of the union, Lynd focuses particularly on the charge that decision-making, ever since the union's inception four decades ago, has been out of the control of the membership.

Harriet Arnow, *The Dollmaker* (1954, Avon, 608 pages, \$1.50). The moving story of a Kentucky hill family which is drawn to industrial Detroit during World War II by the father's restlessness with rural life. Through the eyes of the mother, Gertie Nevels, we get a glimpse of the human costs involved in leaving the land to become part of a society based on wage-labor and purchasing. Aside from being an interesting and often gripping novel, it may shed more light on the meaning of industrialization than any other American book.

Paul Romano, *Life in the Factory* (1948, New England Free Press, 42 pages, \$.40). This pamphlet, first published in the late '40s, is based on the author's experience in a variety of factory jobs. It is rich in anecdotes and insights on the nature of the work and on workers' attitudes.

Alice and Staughton Lynd, eds., *Rank and File: Personal Histories by Working Class Organizers* (1973, Beacon, 296 pages, \$2.95). Undoubtedly the best collection of oral histories with working people thus far assembled. The Lynds' interviews reveal a great deal about the dynamics of working class militancy since the 1920s. These well-edited 'personal histories' with 22 militants from various backgrounds make an excellent introduction to the study of militant struggles against union bureaucrats and capitalist bosses alike.

Daniel Bell, 'The Subversion of Collective Bargaining: Labor in the 1950s' (1960, New England Free Press, 18 pages, 20 cents). This pamphlet uses the 1959 steel strike to illustrate the weakness of unions in the postwar period. The key factor is the ability of huge corporations to raise prices almost at will. In union negotiations, these companies are able to offer wage increases (which they can recoup through higher prices) and in return can force the unions to agree to an expansion of management control over work rules.

*Salt of the Earth* (written by Michael Wilson, directed by Herbert Biberman, 90 minutes, black and white, distributed by Audio Brandon and by Community Films). Suppressed as a Communist film in the '50s, rediscovered by the Left in the '60s and more recently by the women's movement, this very moving film tells the story of a strike in a New Mexico mining town involving Anglo and Chicano workers and their wives. The movie begins as a story of solidarity among the miners, but moves rapidly to a confrontation between men and women over female participation on the picket line. The conclusion of the story shows it to be as much a feminist film as it is a socialist film.

Joan London and Henry Anderson, *So Shall Ye Reap* (1971, Apollo, 235 pages, \$2.45). The best book on "the long effort of agricultural workers in California to organize themselves." A popularly written history of the farm workers' union movement from the early efforts of the 1920's to the United Farm Workers campaigns of the 1960s.

*Why We Boycott* (United Farm Workers Union, 20 minutes, black and white). A brief, powerfully emotive documentary film of the UFW strikes in California during 1973. Especially dramatic and unforgettable is footage on picketline encounters between farm workers and their antagonists — Teamster-hired toughs and county deputies. An excellent introduction for those wanting to know what's going on in California.



C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (1951, Oxford Univ. Press, 378 pages, \$2.95). A pessimistic but important study of the replacement of the 'old middle class' (independent farmers, small businessmen) with white collar employees dependent on corporations or the government for wages and salaries. Mills calls them 'the new little people, the unwilling vanguard of modern society.' Although the book reflects the quiescence of the 1950s in its pessimism about their potential for revolt, it still stands as the best single piece of writing about white collar workers in the U.S.

Mirra Komarovsky, *Blue Collar Marriage* (1962, Vintage, 397 pages, \$1.95). A detailed, in-depth study of about fifty white, Protestant working class families in a northern city during the 1950s. Information was gathered from lengthy interviews with couples. It explores such areas as child rearing, sexual practices, friendships, division of responsibilities in the home, decision making, and tensions that strain the marriage. It attempts where possible to compare working class families with upper and middle class.

Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (1962, Free Press-Macmillan, 350 pages, \$2.95). A rich study of working class Italians in Boston's old West End during the 1950s which describes their localistic community consciousness and traces their failure to resist the 'urban renewal' which destroyed their neighborhood in 1959. Unlike most sociologists, Gans recognizes the importance of class as well as ethnicity and religion in shaping the consciousness of immigrant workers. Although he uses some jargon, Gans has written an engaging book about the 'group consciousness' of urban ethnic workers.

Elliott Liebow, *Tally's Corner: A Study of Street Corner Men* (1967, Little-Brown, 256 pages, \$2.75). A report by a white participant-observer who lived among irregularly employed black men in the Washington, D.C. ghetto in the early '60s. This is a well written book, free from sociological jargon, which helps to explain how unemployment, under-employment, and lousy jobs affect the personal and family lives of black men. An important document in refuting the racist claims of Edward Banfield and other social scientists who blame black 'culture' for the problems of the ghetto.

Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (1968, Dell, 384 pages, \$1.25). This autobiography of a young black woman who was around 27 when the book was written shows a great deal about life among poor black working people in the Deep South in the postwar era. It also shows how the author, like many others of her generation, came to risk her life in rebelling against the racial status quo.

*Nothing But a Man* (directed by Michael Roemer, 92 minutes, black and white, distributed by Audio Brandon). One of the best films made about southern blacks in the '60s or perhaps ever. The story of a black worker in Birmingham struggling to get a job in the racist job market and to keep his wife from bearing the brunt of his alienation. Lead roles are played powerfully by Abbey Lincoln as a teacher and Ivan Dixon as a railroad worker. Supported by a driving Motown soundtrack. A unique film.

*I Am Somebody* (1970, produced by the American Foundation on Nonviolence, 28 minutes, color, rental \$3.00 from the AFL-CIO). A documentary, reported to be quite good, on a long strike of black hospital workers in Charleston, S.C., seeking union recognition.

The carry-over of militancy from the civil rights movement to labor struggles is made clear in the film.

*Finally Got the News* (1971, 55 minutes, color or black and white, distributed by Tri-continental). A well made film about the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, a group which organized in Detroit, mainly in the auto plants, in the late '60s and early '70s. Despite the fact that the League has now disbanded, the film is still valuable as a portrait of black factory workers and one form their rebellion has taken.

William Serrin, *The Company and the Union* (1973, Vintage paperback, 354 pages, \$1.95). A readable, gossipy book by a Detroit Free Press reporter. Serrin's account centers on the 1970 auto negotiations and strike against General Motors, with numerous flashbacks for historical background. He shows that the bargaining process has largely become ritualized, and that leaders of both the United Auto Workers and GM recognize a close and mutually convenient relationship. Although Serrin's own viewpoint is not always clear, what bothers him most is that neither the company nor the union leadership has any incentive to deal with the maddening conditions of work in the auto plants.

Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare* (1971, Vintage, 346 pages, \$2.45). A provocative analysis of how the unemployed have created threats which forced the government to provide various forms of relief. There is some material on the origins of the English poor laws and the demonstrations of U.S. unemployed in the late 19th century. There is also some sketchy analysis of the Communist-led Unemployed Councils of the early 1930s, but the most important sections of this book are devoted to the effects of urban 'disorder' and welfare rights organization in the 1960s.

Joseph Howell, *Hard Living on Clay Street* (1973, Anchor, 382 pages, \$2.95). An excellent first-hand account of 'hard living' white working people in the Washington, D.C. area by a scholar of discerning eye and trusting manner who lived among them for about a year in the early 1970s. Howell reveals a sharp cleavage among manual workers - hard living versus settled living - that students of the working class either misunderstand or overlook. The characteristics of hard living are family instability, adultery, drinking problems, impulsive behavior, irregular employment, and a Devil-may-care attitude toward life. Especially valuable to anyone interested in community organizing.

Studs Terkel, *Working* (1974, Avon, 589 pages, \$2.25). Although Terkel's remarkable range of interviews with working people deal more with personal dissatisfaction than with collective struggle at the workplace, they are well worth reading, and constitute a striking documentation of alienation in many modern occupations, blue-collar and white-collar. Of particular value are the interviews with women workers, notably the waitress and the receptionist, and the section on people who produce, sell and drive autos and trucks.

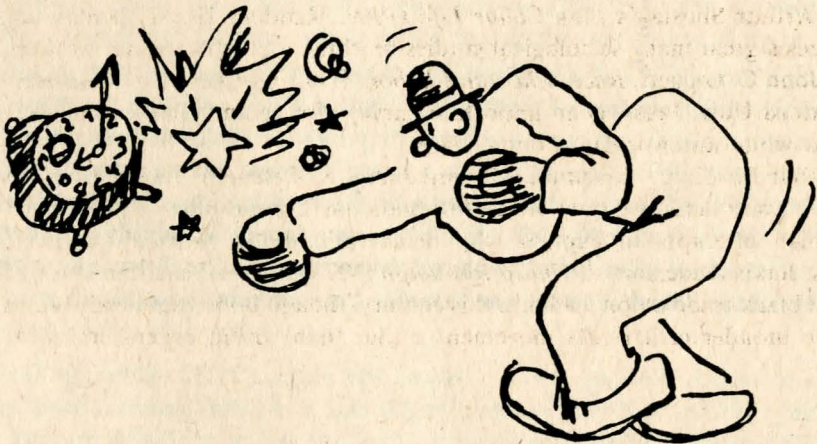
Kathy Kahn, *Hillbilly Women* (1972, Avon, 149 pages, \$1.25). A hard-hitting series of interviews with Appalachian working-class women who describe a series of struggles in which they were involved ranging from the Harlan County mine wars of the early 1930's to

the black lung agitation and the Blue Ridge strike of clothing workers in recent times. It is an excellent counter-point to Studs Terkel's interviews which describe workers' alienation but not their collective response to oppression.

Elinor Langer, 'Women of the Telephone Company' (1970, New England Free Press, 25 cents). The author worked for a time in a business office of the New York Telephone Company. She describes in careful detail the fragmentation and incessant supervision of the work performed by the women employees there. This essay is also reprinted along with Dorothy Richardson's *The Long Day*, in O'Neill, ed., *Women at Work* (see above).

Stanley Aronowitz, *False Promises: The Shaping of American Working Class Consciousness* (1973, McGraw-Hill, 465 pages, \$3.95). A somewhat ill-organized book, but one that is full of insights. Aronowitz tries to get at the cultural as well as the political aspects of class consciousness. He examines movies, songs, childhood games, the impact of succeeding waves of immigration, and a great number of other factors. In part through an interesting account of his own experiences as a trade-union activist in the 1950s, he paints a highly negative picture of the radical potential of unions.

Bill Watson, 'Counter-Planning on the Shop Floor' (1971, New England Free Press, 10 pages, 15 cents). A personal account of experience in an auto factory, showing a high degree of collectivity among the workers. Watson describes especially their effort to sabotage production of a model they considered badly engineered.



PUNCHIN' TH' CLOCK

by Woody Guthrie

## Supplementary Sources

Joel Seidman, *American Labor from Defense to Reconversion* (1953, out of print) is a thorough study of federal labor policies during World War II. Not much else has been written on labor during the war. Matthew Ward's gripping autobiography *Indignant Heart* (1954) gives a good picture of a Detroit auto plant during the war but it is also out of print. Ward's book portrays a militant black man who grew up in the rural South and moved first to Memphis and then to Detroit. The second section of William Chafe's *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1970* (1972, Oxford Univ. Press) is the best source presently available on the influx of women into industry during the war.

Robert Blauner, *Alienation and Freedom: The Factory Worker and His Industry* (1964, Univ. of Chicago) is probably the best sociological study of work in the U.S. It explains how alienation is related to technology and the division of labor in four industries. Charles R. Walker and Robert H. Guest, *The Man on the Assembly Line* (1952, out of print) is a detailed study of the auto industry. Also about auto workers is Eli Chinoy's *Auto-workers and the American Dream* (1955, Beacon), an interesting analysis of the workers' limited hopes of getting out of the factory. Alvin W. Gouldner's *Wildcat Strike* (1954, Harper) is a case study of a wildcat, but is rendered almost unreadable by the author's use of sociological jargon.

Bennett M. Berger's *Working Class Suburb* (1960, Univ. of California Press), is the best study of the effect of suburbanization on working class consciousness; in this case study Berger found that the effect was small. Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb, *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (1972, Vintage) uses interviews to analyze the ways in which a competitive and class-structured society affects the psychological well-being of blue collar workers. Arthur Shostak's *Blue Collar Life* (1969, Random House) brings together and summarizes a great many sociological studies of white, male, blue collar workers and their families. John C. Leggett, *Race, Class and Labor: Working-Class Consciousness in Detroit* (1968, Oxford Univ. Press) is an important survey of race and class consciousness among black and white autoworkers around 1960.

Seymour M. Lipset, Martin Trow, and James S. Coleman, *Union Democracy* (1956, Anchor) is a very detailed study of the International Typographers Union Local 6 in New York, which attempts to explain why democratic union practices flourish in some situations. Jervis Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph* (1973, Harvest) is a fine study of the most important black trade union leader in this century, though it focuses mostly on his activities within the broader civil rights movement rather than within organized labor.



Western Federation of Miners strike, South Porcupine, Ont.  
(Photo from Rev. W.L.L. Lawrence Collection, Archives of Ontario)

## VI. Canada

Here is a short, selective guide to Canadian working class history. We think the readings listed here give you the best basic introduction to the topic possible in a short list of readily available, inexpensive items. The writers, from trade unionists to professors, have various persuasions and varying merits, which we have tried to outline. We have also included one record and three films about Canadian workers. Among the readings we have included a number of what historians call 'primary' sources: collections of documents, contemporary accounts and testimony, memoirs, which help correct the limited focus of much writing about the Canadian working class. The writing of Canadian working class history has tended to focus on trade unions, labour politics, and important strikes; disappointingly little has been written about women workers, unorganized workers, and the daily life of Canadian workers.

Many of the themes in these readings are common ones in North American working class history, but the history of Canadian workers is different in several ways. Today two-thirds of organized Canadian workers belong to United States 'international' unions, and conflict between Canadian unions and American unions has caused recurrent disputes over the amount of independence Canadian unions should have. Close links between the labour movement and social democratic politics have provided the basis for a third party tradition in Canada. Also, the most militant labour movement in North America today is found in Quebec, and its evolution should be of particular interest to students of working class history.

Charles Lipton, *The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959* (revised edition, 1973, New Canada Press, 384 pages, \$3.95). The only general survey of Canadian labour history in print. A former Communist Party and union organizer, Lipton in this edition puts particular stress on the damage done to the Canadian labour movement by American 'international' unions. Unfortunately the book focusses too much on the institutional history of unions and is poorly written.

Paul Phillips, *No Power Greater: A Century of Labour in British Columbia* (1967, Canadian Dimension, 189 pages, \$1.50). A survey of trade union growth and labour politics among the often militant and radical workers of British Columbia. Published by the B.C. federation of labour, but much better than most "official" trade union histories.



Stuart Jamieson, *Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-1966* (1968, New Hogtown Press, 542 pages, \$5.50). Primarily a study of strikes and written for the federal government, this is still the best general treatment of the 20th century Canadian labour movement. Jamieson corrects the view that Canadian workers have been passive, pliable, and nonviolent, and shows that Canada has a record of labour unrest second only to that of the U.S. Both the state and employers are revealed as frequent users of armed force. Required reading.

Lorne Brown, 'Breaking Down Myths of Peace and Harmony in Canadian Labour History' (1973, Canadian Dimension, 27 pages, 65 cents). A summary and discussion of Jamieson's *Times of Trouble*. Also contains interviews with Fred Tipping, a member of the Winnipeg General Strike Committee of 1919, and with Fred Lange, an eyewitness to the events of Bloody Saturday during the Winnipeg strike.

Steven Langdon, *The Emergence of the Canadian Working Class Movement, 1845-1875* (1975, New Hogtown Press, 32 pages, \$1.00). An important and useful introduction to the labour history of central Canada, showing the beginnings of an organized labour movement and the awakening of working class consciousness. It also sketches the growth of industrial capitalism in this part of the country and the employers' response to the emerging working class movement.

*Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1940* (1974, Canadian Women's Educational Press, 405 pages, \$6.00). The first serious effort to discuss the role of women workers in Canadian history. Includes essays on prostitutes, domestic servants, garment workers, teachers and nurses, trade unions and politics. A useful introduction and a research guide invite others to continue the work started here.

Michael Cross, ed. *The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century* (1974, Oxford Univ. Press, 316 pages, \$6.95). An imaginative and well-organized collection of documents dealing with many dimensions of working class life and work. Separate chapters examine preindustrial work, factory work, living conditions, social institutions, trade unionism.

Greg Kealey, ed. *Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital* (1973, Univ. of Toronto, 463 pages, \$6.50). An abridged version of the 5,000-odd pages of evidence gathered by the Commission in 1889. Sheds light on the problems of industrialism in Canada and presents the workers' own descriptions of their lives. A good introduction explains the political importance of the report.

David Bercuson, *Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike* (1974, McGill-Queens University, 227 pages, \$5.00). A detailed, well-written study of the Winnipeg general strike, placing the events of 1919 in the framework of industrial and working class developments in Winnipeg since the turn of the century.

John Marlyn, *Under the Ribs of Death* (1963, McClelland and Stewart, 220 pages, \$1.95). A fine novel about Winnipeg's North End through the eyes of a working class child. This book gives an idea of the social background to the 1919 Winnipeg general strike.

Robert Babcock, *Gompers in Canada: A Study in American Continentalism Before the First World War* (1974, Univ. of Toronto, \$4.95). An excellent study of the role of the AFL in Canada from its origins to 1914. Includes a close study of the background to the Trades and Labour Congress decision in 1902 to expell unions considered dual to AFL affiliates. Based on detailed research, Babcock's analysis is an important contribution to the study of the role of international unions in Canada.

Greg Kealey, *Working Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century* (1975, New Hogtown Press, 30 pages, 75 cents). A brief but intersting essay on working class Toronto; it covers the sweating system, diet, housing, factory conditions, women workers.

Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (1974, McClelland and Stewart, 187 pages, \$3.95). A detailed study of wage-earners in Montreal which builds on the findings of H.B. Ames, *The City Below the Hill* (1897). Copp shows that the living conditions of workers improved only slightly during this period. Attempts some comparison of Montreal and Toronto conditions. Flawed by its view of workers as passive victims.



On to Ottawa trek, 1935

Ronald Liversedge, *Recollections of the On to Ottawa Trek* (1973, McClelland and Stewart, 330 pages, \$4.50). An eloquent and moving memoir of unemployed organizing in British Columbia in the 1930s and of the epic 1935 On to Ottawa trek, brutally halted by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Regina. Written by a Communist participant. Editor Victor Hoar has included a thorough collection of related documents. An impressive book.

Irene Baird, *Waste Heritage* (1939, Macmillan, 329 pages, \$3.95). This novel, acclaimed as a classic when it was first published, remains a powerful account of the 1930s, focussing on the single unemployed men of Vancouver.

Irving Abella, *Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour: The CIO, the Communist Party, and the Canadian Congress of Labour, 1935-1956* (1972, Univ. of Toronto, 256 pages, \$4.50). A detailed narrative of the organizational fights precipitated by the establishment of CIO industrial unions in Canada. Abella shows that these unions were built by Canadians, but that the CIO was actively hostile to the hopes of Canadian trade unionists for an autonomous labour movement in Canada. Abella also points out the pioneer role of Communists in organizing industrial workers and deals with their expulsion from the labour movement, but he fails to prove his contention that they formed an important internal threat to the Canadian labour movement.

Edmund W. Bradwin, *The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada, 1903-1914* (1972, Univ. of Toronto, 249 pages, \$3.50). Reprint of a Columbia University thesis of 1922. Describes northern camps of workers, particularly railway builders' camps, with useful information on ethnic groups and the contract system. A proponent of adult education, Bradwin said his purpose was to create future Lincolns, not Lenins.

Norman Penner, ed., *Winnipeg 1919: The Strikers' Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike* (1973, James Lewis and Samuel, 294 pages, \$2.95). The best place to start reading about the most famous Canadian strike. This is a reprint of a pamphlet published by the Winnipeg Defence Committee in 1920, and it vividly recreates the events of 1919. Contains 40 remarkable pictures of the strike, a good introduction, and an important courtroom speech by one of the strike leaders.

Irving Abella, ed., *On Strike: Six Key Labour Struggles in Canada, 1919-1949* (1974, James Lewis and Samuel, 196 pages, \$4.95). Blow-by-blow accounts of the Winnipeg General Strike (1919) and the Asbestos Strike (1949), as well as studies of strikes of coal miners in the west (Estevan 1931) and autoworkers in Ontario (General Motors 1937, Ford 1945). The accounts of Winnipeg, Estevan and Ford are the strongest.

*The People's History of Cape Breton* (1971, Box 1282, Halifax North Postal Station, Halifax, N.S., 48 pages, 25 cents). A lively, popular outline of some of the more dramatic strikes in Cape Breton, mainly during the 1920s. A coal and steel area in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton has a long history of violent conflict between capital and labour. The writers stress the collusion of courts, governments and corporations, the courage and resourcefulness of local workers, and the record of betrayal established by the United Mine Workers of America. By no means an in-depth analysis, the pamphlet is a useful map to an unexplored area of Canadian labour history.

Michiel Horn, ed., *The Dirty Thirties: Canadians in the Great Depression* (1972, Copp Clark, 728 pages, \$5.95). A lively anthology of documents, newspaper articles, excerpts from books and essays, recreating the world of the 1930s in Canada. Good regional balance, emphasis on unemployment and deprivation, relief disputes, and the search for solutions to the crisis.

Pierre Elliott Trudeau, ed., *The Asbestos Strike* (1974, James Lewis and Samuel, 382 pages, \$5.95). First published in 1956 as a study of the Asbestos, Quebec strike of 1949, a watershed event in Quebec labour history. Includes essays on the state of Quebec in 1949, the history of the asbestos industry and trade unionism in it, a chronology of the strike, a study of church attitudes, press coverage, the responses of the labour movement and the courts.

Pierre Vallieres, *The White Niggers of America: The Precocious Autobiography of a Quebec "Terrorist"* (1971, Monthly Review Press, McClelland and Stewart, 288 pages, \$2.95). This book, written in a New York jail, includes a valuable account of growing up in working class Montreal. It shows vividly the effects of poverty and the conservative role of the church.

Nick Auf der Maur and Robert Chodos, eds., *Quebec: A Chronicle 1968-1972* (1972, James Lewis and Samuel, 166 pages, \$1.95). Major recent developments in Quebec through the reportage of the Canadian newsmagazine, *Last Post*. Colourful and well-written coverage of labour militancy, the use of the War Measures Act in 1970, and the 1972 general strike by the three major labour federations. Includes a postscript written by the presidents of the three federations.

*Quebec Labour: The Confederation of National Trade Unions Yesterday and Today* (1972, Black Rose Books, 215 pages, \$2.95). English version of the important 1972 Confederation of National Trades Unions document, *Let Us Rely Only On Our Own Means*, a popular analysis of Quebec economy and society, with an appeal for radical working class politics. The CNTU is a labour federation including the most independent Canadian unions representing Quebec workers. The book includes a strong introduction providing historical background and a critique of the main document.

*Our Schools Serve the Ruling Class: Manifesto of the Quebec Teachers' Corporation, 1972* (1973, New Hogtown Press, 32 pages, 45 cents). A radical critique of Quebec society and the role of education under capitalism, prepared by the Quebec teachers' union. Includes recommendations for strategy.

Leo A. Johnson, *Poverty in Wealth: The Capitalist Labour Market and Income Distribution in Canada* (1974, New Hogtown Press, 35 pages, 75 cents). A statistical study that shows an ever-widening gap between rich and poor in Canada and traces it to the functioning of the capitalist job market.

The Travellers. *A Century of Song: The Travellers Salute Canada's Working People* (1967, Arc Sound LP A261). Fourteen cuts by the popular Canadian folksingers. Includes standard labour songs ('Hold the Fort,' 'Solidarity Forever' in French and English), some little-known classics ('Song of the Estevan Miners,' 'Yahie Miners,' Joe Hill's 'Where the Fraser River Flows'), and some contemporary material ('La chanson du speed-up,' 'Tilco Song').

*Going Down the Road* (1970, Donald Shebib, distributed by New Cinema Enterprises). An excellent colour feature film chronicling the trials and tribulations of two young Maritime workers in Toronto. The emigration of working class youth from the Atlantic provinces to the 'Boston States' and 'Upper Canada' is an important continuing theme in Canadian working class history.

*The Rowdyman*, Peter Carter, 1972. (Crawley Films, 409 King St., West Toronto, Ont.) Colour feature film starring Gordon Pinsent in his own comic and tragic portrait of a working class Newfoundlander who stays home instead of 'going down the road'.

*The Back-Breaking Leaf* (1960, Terence Macartney-Filgate, 30 minutes, black and white, distributed by National Film Board). Transient tobacco pickers in southern Ontario talk about their lives and their work in this National Film Board documentary.

### Supplementary Sources

Readers seeking an overview of significant periods and themes in Canadian history might turn to Stanley Ryerson's *Unequal Union: Confederation and the Roots of Conflict in the Canadas, 1815-1873* (1968, Progress Books and International Publishers) and to Gary Teeple, ed., *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada* (1972, Univ. of Toronto). Leandre Bergeron's *The History of Quebec — A Patriote's Handbook* (1971, New Canada Press) is a best-selling, popular left-wing outline of the oppression of Quebec by the French, English and American empires

A brief survey of Canadian working class history is Jack Scott, *Sweat and Struggle: Working Class Struggles in Canada, Vol. I, 1789-1899* (1974, New Hogtown Press), which is strongest on 19th century developments in British Columbia. Russell Hann, *Farmers Confront Industrialism: Some Historical Perspectives on Ontario Agrarian Movements* (1975 revised edition, New Hogtown Press) depicts the agrarian critique of industrial capitalism in the late 19th century. An interesting but inadequate oral history of the 1930's is provided by Barry Broadfoot's *Ten Lost Years, 1929-1939: Memories of Canadians Who Survived the Depression* (1973, Doubleday, hardback).

Working class politics has received much attention in Canadian historical writing. The early years are described in copious detail in Martin Robin, *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, 1880-1930* (1968, Queens Univ. Industrial Relations Centre). The Communist Party of Canada can be studied through the writings of its long-time general secretary, Tim Buck, in *Our Fight for Canada* (1959, Progress Books) and in the autobiographies of two leaders: A.E. Smith, *All My Life* (1949), and Tom McEwen, *The Forge Glows Red* (1974). The best place to start a study of the social democratic experience in Canada is with Michael Cross, ed., *The Decline and Fall of a Good Idea: CCF-NDP Manifestoes, 1932-1969* (1974, New Hogtown Press), which provides the major party documents from the founding of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation to the most recent controversies within the New Democratic Party. Kenneth McNaught's *A Prophet in Politics* (1967, Univ. of Toronto) is an interesting biography of CCF founder J.S. Woodsworth, and Walter Young's *The Anatomy of a Party: The National CCF, 1932-1961* (Univ. of Toronto) provides a narrative history of the party from birth to death.

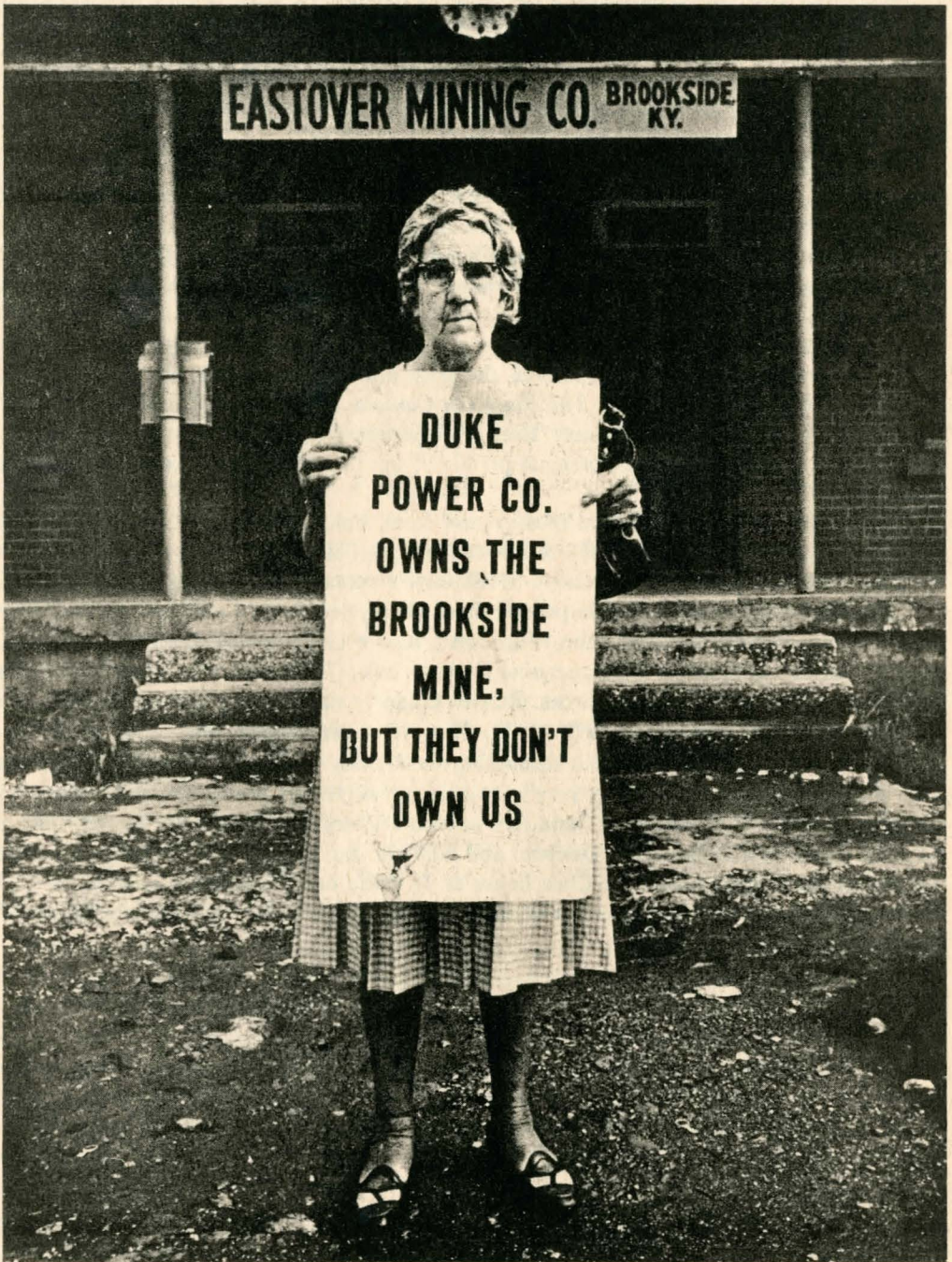
Excellent studies of working class history in Quebec have started to appear recently. Two collections of essays — Noel Belanger et al., *Les Travailleurs Quebecois 1851-1896* (1973, Univ. du Quebec) and Fernand Harvey, ed., *Aspects Historiques du Mouvement Ouvrier au Quebec* (1973, Editions Fides) are probably the best place to begin. Daniel Drache, ed., *Quebec—Only the Beginning: The Manifestoes of the Common Front* (1972, New Press) provides the reader with more documents from the Quebec general strike of 1972. A special issue of *Radical America* (Sept.-Oct. 1972) also contains useful information on recent Quebec labour history.

Women's history in Canada is only beginning to be written, but interested readers might start with the Corrective Collective's picture-story album *Never Done* (1974, Canadian Women's Educational Press) which deals mainly with women's work. An excellent bibliographic essay is Veronica Strong-Boag, "Cousin Cinderella: A Guide to Historical Literature Pertaining to Canadian Women" in Marylee Stephenson, ed., *Women in Canada* (1973, New Press).

There are two useful studies of the history of Black Canadians. A broad historical survey, with treatment of the church, politics, the press and trade unions in the Black community, is provided by Robin Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (1971, McGill-Queen's University Press hardback). Frances Henry, *Forgotten Canadians: The Blacks of Nova Scotia* (1973, Longman) is a sociological profile of the important black community in one province.

Aside from the novels by John Marlyn and Irene Baird described earlier, another excellent novel is Dyson Carter's *Fatherless Sons*, (1955, out of print). It gives a good picture of working class life and trade unionism in Ontario's nickel mining region in the 1940's.

Finally, for those who wish to pursue more deeply topics in Canadian working class history there are two bibliographies of interest. Andre LeBlanc and James Thwaites, *Le Monde Ouvrier au Quebec: Bibliographie Retrospective* (1973, Univ. du Quebec) includes 2,927 items, mostly secondary sources. Russell Hann et al., *Primary Sources in Canadian Working Class History, 1860-1930* (1973, New Hogtown Press) lists 3,347 items and includes an important introduction discussing the writing of Canadian working class history. You may also be interested to receive two free newsletters. *Canadian Labour History* is available from the Committee on Canadian Labour History (A.E. LeBlanc, Vanier College, 821 Ste. Croix Blvd., Montréal, Quebec) and *Histoire des Travailleurs Quebecois* is the bulletin of the Regroupement de Chercheurs en Histoire des Travailleurs Quebecois (M.J. Thwaites, Departement des Lettres et sciences humaines, Universite de Quebec, Rimouski, Quebec).



## PUBLISHERS AND DISTRIBUTORS

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- AFL-CIO**, AFL-CIO Education Dept., 815 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006  
**Airmont**, Associated Booksellers, 147 McKinley Ave., Garden City, NY 11530  
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**Monthly Review Press**, 62 W. 14th St., New York, NY 10011  
**New England Free Press**, 60 Union Square, Somerville, Mass. 02143  
**Oxford**, Oxford Univ. Press, 1600 Pollitt Dr., Fairlawn, NJ 07410  
**Pathfinder**, Pathfinder Press Inc., 873 Broadway, New York, NY 10003  
**Praeger**, Frederick Praeger, Inc., 111 Fourth Ave., New York, NY 10003  
**Prentice-Hall**, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632  
**Public Affairs Press**, 419 New Jersey Ave., Washington, DC 20003  
**Quadrangle**, World Pub. Co., 2231 W. 110th St., Cleveland, Ohio 44102  
**Radical America**, Box B, N. Cambridge, Mass. 02140  
**Rounder Records**, 186 Willow Ave., Somerville, Mass. 02144



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Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213  
**Vintage**, Random House Order Dept., Westminster, Md. 21157  
**Wiley**, John Wiley & Sons, 605 Third Ave., New York, NY 10016  
**Yale Univ. Press**, 92A Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 06520

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**Canadian Dimension**, P.O. Box 1413, Winnipeg, Manitoba  
**Canadian Women's Educational Press**, 280 Bloor St. W., Suite 305, Toronto, Ont.  
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**New Canada Press**, Box 6106, Terminal A., Toronto, Ont.  
**New Cinema Enterprises**, 25 Britain St. W., Toronto, Ont.  
**New Hogtown Press**, 12 Hart House Circle, Univ. of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.  
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Homestead Strike, 1892

