

Chapter 12

More Strange Red Destinies

Other Massachusetts' Party members who faced imprisonment during the 1950s had different postwar lives than the Fletchers. They all suffered more and remained closer to the Party, although two eventually became more like modern left-leaning liberals than traditional Communists.

Otis Hood: Secret Work, Anxiety, Trials, Pain

By 1943, Massachusetts' Party leader Otis Hood ¹ had put-aside his sculpturing, was a full-time Party employee and the father of a one-year-old. Frances, his pianist wife, was giving a few private lessons and, infrequently, piano classes at Boston's Party-sponsored Sam Adams School. Both were busy with Party activities including Otis' running for state and local offices and Frances heading the Party's West End Club that Margot Clark once directed. The couple were public advocates of all the Party's domestic and foreign policies and supported strikes by the areas' left-wing unions. They were so involved and important the FBI placed a listening device in their home and installed a phone tap. ²

The Hoods weren't rich but were not poverty-stricken. Otis's Party salary was that of a schoolteacher, but that was not enough to buy a house. Worse, the Hoods faced a financial crisis in late 1945 when the five-month pregnant Frances' spine problem worsened. She was placed in an iron frame, was told to have an operation as soon as her child was born, and was advised to expect to wear a body cast for weeks. With that, Otis decided to reduce his Party work and sought an additional job. He found one, but not as an artistic sculptor. He became a department store window decorator specializing in making display mannequins. Otis kept that job for a

decade while doing some independent sculpting, but he did not significantly further reduce his Party commitments. After her recovery Frances resumed her Party work and part-time teaching. Both Otis and Frances publicly approved latest Soviet actions, including the purges in the Eastern Bloc, and they ran a formal school on Marxist theory in their home while accepting the ambiguities and contradictions in postwar Party policies. While they followed Foster's calls to return to a militant, independent, and revolutionary stance they pushed for many domestic political reforms and sought alliances that would have been tagged as "social-fascism" during the Third Period because they might delay the onset of the people's revolution.

At least Otis continued with secret Party activities, including gathering information, even blueprints, from his colonizers in defense factories. He also set-up the safe-house systems for Party members who might need to go "underground." Otis and Frances were involved enough for the FBI to keep them on detention and key-figures lists, partly because both were publicly rebellious. When called-on by the defense attorneys to testify at the Foley Square trial of the national Party leaders to help refute Herbert Philbrick's charges the Party supported armed revolutions, they defied the prosecuting attorneys by refusing to answer significant questions.³ In Boston, Otis was so aggressive about his beliefs he was expelled from the plasterers' union while Frances made enemies within the local Parent Teachers Association.

Such defiance was not the result of new financial security. It had taken some time for Otis and Frances to save enough to afford a down-payment on one-half of an older duplex home in Roxbury, the working-class Boston district where so many other Party members settled. The mid-1948 purchase was Otis' first home and came when he was old, forty-eight.⁴ The Fayston Street house also served as a haven for distressed Party members, including Sidney Lipshires, Anne Hale, and Peggy Schirmer.⁵ Otis' finances improved over the next six years and he and

Frances were able to purchase a fixer-upper summer cottage. Then, in 1960, they bought a run-down farm in rural Holbrook twenty miles from Boston. Otis commuted to Boston for his work for near fifteen years— always in an old car. The substantial \$63,000 (2022 dollars) down payment on the farm likely came from Frances' family's estate.

The reasons for the Hoods becoming rural were tied to the stressful 1950s. They sought tranquility. Both Otis and Frances had become nervous and fearful as they were moving into their first home in Roxbury as the United States government began prosecuting Communists under the Smith Act.⁶ First brought to trial were twelve national leaders who were arrested in 1948. After a near year-long raucous trial and demonstrations, they were convicted in 1949 but allowed their freedom while the decisions were appealed. As they waited, the Party decided that if the appeals were denied four of the defendant would forfeit bail and go into hiding, ensuring continuity in leadership. When the appeals were denied in 1951 and the men fled, the Party's newest front organization for raising legal and bail funds, the Civil Rights Congress, nearly went bankrupt. As a result, the Party found it difficult to gain financial support for other cases. It appeared that future defendants would be left on-their-own.

Well before then, the Party had decided to prepare for waves of state-level prosecutions. To preserve the Party's structure each state organization was ordered to devise a plan for an underground. All the proposals involved great personal sacrifices. To avoid arrest, selected leaders were to leave their homes, family, and jobs and live under aliases, travelling from one safe-house to another. Each state was expected to devise ways to secretly communicate with and finance them and, if possible, support their families. The drive for underground systems intensified as individual states began enforcing their old sedition laws and passing new anti-Communist measures. Massachusetts launched its latest anti-Communist legal campaign in 1950,

passing new laws in 1951. The state quickly charged Dirk Struik, Martha Fletcher, and others with conspiracy.

Otis Hood had been asked to become one of Massachusetts' underground. In 1948 he made a fateful decision, one that displeased the Party and put him in danger of arrest. He argued against having the underground system and warned he would refuse to leave his family if the Massachusetts Party established one. Despite that, the Party went ahead and Otis felt obliged to help set-up a system. In 1950, the Party ordered a core group to "disappear" if prosecutions seemed imminent. Those who responded included Daniel Schirmer, Sidney Lipshires, and Anne Burlak. Three other of Otis and Margot Clark's supervisors who had been candidates for going underground had been reassigned to new areas for their safety. Manny Blum and Fanny Hartman, after her recovery from a serious illness that almost took her foot, were sent to Indiana for union organizing. Manny Blum soon felt he was too vulnerable even in the Mid-West and went underground for years.⁷ Philip Frankfeld was assigned to Baltimore, Maryland, also for initiatives to organize steel workers. Frankfeld stayed in the open leading to his being convicted under the Smith Act in 1951. Imprisoned and beaten, he nearly lost his eyesight while in jail. Fanny Hartman, his ex-wife, also stayed above ground but was luckier. She soon married Joe Norrick, an old-time mid-West steel union and Party leader. Although active, Fanny was never arrested, possibly because she had so many serious illnesses. Despite their sacrifices, Fanny, Blum, and Frankfeld remained Party faithful's throughout their lives.

The Massachusetts Arrest

Otis Hood stayed in the open but was not as lucky as Fanny. Preparing for other possible Smith Act indictments (there would be 128 second level federal ones across the nation) the FBI followed Otis and put him under technical surveillance (more phone taps, room bugs).

However, it was Massachusetts, not the federal government that made the first move against him. In 1954, although the Party's state membership had declined to less than five hundred and *Daily Worker* subscriptions were half what they had been a few years before, the state raided the Party's Boston office and Otis' home. Then, seven leaders, including Otis, were indicted. Otis was arrested under Massachusetts's law—and quickly fired from his job! ⁸

The Party had little help to give, it had an empty treasury. Somehow, Otis found bail money and ACLU's attorneys aided him. The local Party raised enough money to pay him as an organizer for a few months as he awaited trial, but that and unemployment insurance payments hardly covered the family's needs. Only a bit of free-lance sculpting work, such as crafting the heads of fifty science leaders for MIT's halls saved the family's finances. In addition to Otis' financial worries were the emotional consequences for the family of Otis' possible long-term imprisonment. Frances became deeply worried, developing a nervous shake, even a tick. Otis also showed the strain, constantly smoking.

Otis continued with his Party duties but voiced bitterness about the lack of support for him and his family, and about the Party's focusing on the Soviet Union's needs rather than America's. He hinted he might leave the Party to become a Socialist or a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the FBI received hints Otis was alienated enough to become an informant. But Otis stayed-on as a faithful Party man, despite the 1956 revelations of Stalin's brutalities.

Unexpectedly, there was some good news: Massachusetts' anti-Communist law was declared un-Constitutional, and Otis found a new full-time job with another Boston display company. Then, almost immediately, he and the family faced another crisis. The Federal government arrested him on a Smith Act charge. Bail money was found but Otis was temporarily

fired from his new job. Frances had another round of nervous problems and Otis again complained about lack of support from the Party, hinting he might join a campaign to reform it and again make it a popular organization. That threat worried New York's headquarters. It sent a representative to visit Otis to quell such talk.

Fortunately, a trial was avoided when Supreme Court rulings made the Smith Act impossible to enforce.⁹ As well, Otis was soon rehired for full-time work. Frances resumed private teaching and became part of her suburban community. Otis, despite health issues, continued his Party efforts and claimed that much of the evidence of Stalin's excesses had been planted by Western intelligence agents. He was the chairman of the region's Party and hosted fund-raising and recruiting picnics at his farm although there were less than one-hundred members by the mid-1960s. He had to fight a 1964 Federal charge that he had not registered as a foreign agent but he continued to stand with the old Party during the era of the New Left, even condemning it and the New Communists for their violent actions. He never could not understand why the Party was failing to attract the young. He retired from his job in 1971 just as the Party declared he was too old for major work. He died at his farm, still a true Party man in 1983.

Anne Burlak, the Truly Devoted

Anne Burlak's background fit the stereotype of an early radical Communist.¹⁰ Her Russian speaking family left the Ukraine for Pennsylvania in 1908. Harry Burlak, Annes father, found work in the huge Bethlehem steel mill as a laborer, then as a carman. He and Nelli, Anne's mother, began a large family. Anne came in 1911. Although unskilled, Harry and Nellie were able to buy a small home but Harry came to America with a political attitude and always felt exploited. He was soon involved in union organizing, then the Communist Party. Typical for

the era, Anne left school after the ninth grade to work in the local mills where her mother soon joined her. After meeting Ella Bloor, Anne joined the Young Communist League and began working as a labor organizer. As a feisty seventeen-year-old the Party knew she would be remarkably effective with the young women working in mills in New England and the South. She was asked to be a founding member of the Party influenced National Textile Workers Union (NTWU). By 1928, Anne's life was consumed by union and Party work. She was hired as a full-time union organizer, soon becoming NTWU's lead organizer. She was in many often-violent strikes, was arrested several times, and ran for New England political offices. . During one strike she and her father were arrested together. Threatening , for a decade Anne fought a Georgia sedition charge that carried a death sentence.

Her age and energy at the strikes had attracted national newspaper attention. She was given the nickname of "the Red Flame," after her fellow organizer Edith Berkman, the original Red Flame, was arrested, faced deportation, caught tuberculosis, and had to avoid stressful work. After a bloody 1931 strike Anne was about to be deported as an alien. She was saved at the last minute by the work of the Party's International Labor Defense and by her father discovering a ragged baptismal/birth record written in Ukrainian in a small Pennsylvania church that proved she was a citizen.¹¹ About the same time, her father's union organizing led to his being blackballed and unable to find work. In 1933, he moved his family back to Russia, taking advantage of the high wages paid to "foreign" workers. None of that deterred Anne. She stayed in America, alone except for her Party friends. She led New England's contingent in the Party's 1932 huge hunger March on Washington, was active in Party youth groups, supported "peace" movements, joined the Friends of Russia, and recruited for the Party, sending the best newcomers to the Party's training center at Camp Unity in western New York. She gave many

lectures on unionism and Marxism, including one at Harvard University. When the NTWU was disbanded she was rewarded with a trip to Moscow's Lenin Institute to be trained in Marxist thought as well as revolutionary strategy and tactics. On her return, she settled in Boston's working-class Roxbury neighborhood working as a paid Party official, soon becoming the state's executive secretary. Her pay was minimal so she took clerical jobs.. She created ties to Boston's Community Church that lasted throughout her life. Anne was prominent enough to be called before congressional hearings and to earn an FBI mail watch.

Anne's life changed in 1939 when she married the thirty-four-year-old Arthur Timpson, whose background also fit the profile of a typical foreign-born radical.¹² His parents left Estonia when he was five, eventually owning a small Wisconsin farm in an area of first- and second-generation immigrants. His father was naturalized, giving his children citizenship. Arthur completed high school and a year of college then returned to live at home where his father was already involved in farm protest movements. Arthur worked as a farmer, timber cutter, and carpenter then became more politically involved than his father, editing local farmer-labor party, then Party-associated UFEL newspapers. He participated in protests such as the great 1932 farmers march on Washington and met Anne who was there leading New England's Hunger March contingent. Arthur married another woman who was a Party member then worked as a paid organizer for the Ware-Bloor farm unions. In 1935, although married, he accepted an invitation to study at the Soviet's Lenin Institute where he again encountered Anne Burlak. Arthur spent an unusually long-time at the Moscow institute studying, among other topics, artillery theory. In 1937, he volunteered to fight in Spain, serving for two years then returning to America to finalize a divorce and marry Anne.

Arthur decided to live with Anne in Boston. He found a mechanic / salesman job in a garage the FBI called “Communist friendly,” became active in the Party and in the United Electrical Workers Union. That was not enough for him. In 1942, at age thirty-seven and with his first child on the way he joined the army, serving in Europe throughout the war. Anne was alone with an infant living in a rental apartment in working-class Roxbury but she continued her Party involvements. She did little union work during the war because she followed the Party line against strikes. At the war’s end, Arthur returned to his mechanics job in Boston while Anne accepted the new Party mandate to return to a revolutionary stance. Being faithful, she condemned her hero Earl Browder and his moderate policies. Arthur, who had rejoined the Party, taught at the Sam Adams School, and stayed connected with his Lincoln Brigade comrades who also followed the new Party line.

Anne did a bit of union work after the war as major strikes hit the textile and electrical industries but she did not play a prominent role, even in the Boston area Party-supported UEW strike against General Electric. She must have known about the Party’s colonizing of industries and of the orders to gain information on defense-related work in factories but Anne focused on doing Party administrative chores, and editing a local Party newsletter from her apartment. She occasionally gave speeches, travelled to protests such as that at New York City’s Foley Square trial, and attended national Party meetings. But after having her second child, when in her mid-thirties, she spent more time dealing with family needs. There were many of them. Her young son was sickly and the family had little income. Arthur owned a used car but did not own a home. Worse, he lost his mechanics job and had to switch to one as a rock miner (blaster) for a local tunnel construction company. Anne had to rent one bedroom of their flat to bring-in

money to supplement her \$13,000 (2020\$) Party salary and Arthur's unpredictable working-man's income.¹³

Pressures on the family multiplied when the federal government began its Smith Act prosecutions against "second-string" Party leaders in 1951. The Party demanded Anne go underground so her work could continue. Although her children were five and eight years old she agreed and disappeared for eight months, leaving William with a Boston friend, and sending Kathryn to live in Kansas and Missouri. Returning home, she and Otis Hood became the public face of the Massachusetts Party as they awaited court decisions on the Smith Act charges, never sure they would be dismissed. More pressure came when she and Otis Hood were indicted under an old Massachusetts anarchy law. They decided to fight it--- neither went underground. They received legal help but they had to contribute time to both cases and deal with the anxiety caused by continued FBI surveillance.

There was another burdensome problem. While dealing with the courts Anne had to come to terms with the 1956 revelations of Stalin's brutalities and the resulting split in the American Party. She wavered, Arthur did not. Anne and Arthur criticized the Party for approving 1956's Hungarian invasion and the Soviet's move away from a revolutionary policy but they disagreed on to what action to take. The household split as Arthur left the Party and Anne, after thinking of joining a splinter group, decided to stay and "mend" the Party from within. That mending did not include a condemnation of Stalin.

She found it difficult to reform the party or heal her family relations. There were many arguments, with the children taking their father's side. Anne had to tolerate that as she continued in such posts as the Party's regional treasurer. She viewed the Party as vital and continued to be loyal although Boston's membership was in steep decline. Two thirds of the membership were

lost within three years. Within six years the Boston area had one hundred listed with only one-half paying dues. Party finances were so bad there were plans to sell Christmas cards door-to-door. The national Party did not provide financial help. There was no money for salaries. Many of the area's Party clubs were not meeting. But Anne did not stop her Party work although she was again tempted to leave after she was denounced as a revisionist for protesting Soviet censorship of major intellectuals and denounced again for mentioning she believed America might possibly move to socialism without a revolution.

Anne did receive a form of a benefit from the Party in 1961 when she was invited to join an expense-paid, month-long trip to the Soviet Union where she met with her surviving relatives. The trip was not a sign the Timpson family's finances had improved. Arthur faced bouts of unemployment leading Anne, who was nearing fifty, to return to Boston's workforce to take full-time clerical jobs. The children were doing odd-jobs in the neighborhood to help. Anne's being hospitalized during the early 1960s worsened the situation. After a short recuperation Anne returned to her Party work and participated in activities such as Martin Luther King's huge 1963 march on Washington. She helped with pro-Cuba events but supported some initiatives to bring Russia and China back together. That brought more complaints she was a revisionist. She also met with California's Dorothy Healy who was beginning to criticize New York City's leaders' abandonment of revolutionary goals. In New England, Anne's friend Homer Chase was more aggressive, so much so he was expelled from the Party and began his own Hammer and Sickle group.¹⁴ But, again, Anne remained in the Party and did not join Homer's group, the New Left, or the New Communism movements.

Staying as a Party officer had costs. In 1964, she was charged by the Federal Government with failure to register as a foreign agent. Civil rights groups helped her defense

but the years of waiting for a final decision were traumatic. Burdens on Anne and the family grew as Anne's lost her bookkeepers job followed by a long-term search for a new one. Then, Arthur became seriously ill. In 1968, Anne and Arthur moved into a less expensive small apartment where Anne spent most of her time caring for him, doing minimal Party work. She stayed home until 1976 when Arthur passed on, then at age sixty-five she took another full-time clerical job. She held it for five years until she retired to collect Social Security payments.

Anne continued being a believer and an activist on behalf of many local causes, receiving special awards from Boston's Community Church before her death. She had another type of award: Both of her children prospered while becoming liberal reformers. Both finished college. Her son attended Boston Latin, then Harvard, then earned a PhD from the University of Wisconsin. He became a leader in merging education and social reform.¹⁵

Hugo Degregory--Beyond MacCarthy

Massachusetts was just one of many states launching 1950s anti-Communist crusades. Its neighbor, tiny New Hampshire, was a standout because its intense version of a Smith Act campaign outlasted those of other states, the Federal government's string of Smith Act prosecutions, and Senator Joe McCarthy's infamous anti-Communist spectacle. Begun in 1951, New Hampshire's battle continued into the mid-1960s, ended only by the United States Supreme Court's decisions, ones that also nullified the Federal government's attempts to jail Communist leaders by using the McCarran rather than the already quashed Smith Act.¹⁶ Surprisingly, the major target of New Hampshire's efforts was Hugo Degregory, a little-known and rather lowly member of New Hampshire's small Party, rather than the state's famous Elba Chase Nelson or her aggressive sons. Degregory was also unlikely to become central to a major Supreme Court civil rights decision on the scope of the First Amendment.¹⁷

Hugo was a strange man from a strange family and had been only a minor Party functionary in Massachusetts before he moved to New Hampshire after World War II. But beginning in the 1930s he made contacts that caught the attention of state and federal authorities. While in Massachusetts he befriended Joy Clark and her family, as well as Elba Chase Nelson and, later, Willard Uphaus, a friend of Jessica Smith and the Clarks. Uphaus was a ministerial-trained, fellow-traveler who led an organization linking the churches to labor union causes.¹⁸ He became so radical that after his trip to a 1950's peace meeting in Poland and a visit to the Soviet Union without a visa, then his support of the China-backed peace conference the Fletchers attended, the UAW's Walther Reuther severed all ties to him and his organization. Uphaus was forced to resign from the National Religion and Labor Foundation, but he did not back-away from leftist causes. He soon took-over New Hampshire's World Fellowship camp where numerous radicals met and made fiery speeches across the country against United States polices. He was arrested by New Hampshire's authorities. Uphaus became a famous civil rights martyr after losing his 1959 appeal to the Supreme Court then was imprisoned for a year for refusing to testify about his anti-war activities in New Hampshire.¹⁹

A Nice Italian Boy Becomes a Radical

Hugo Degregory gained his share of national attention, until his third appeal after his mid-1950s convictions on similar charges reached the Supreme Court in 1965. Hugo was the child of Italian immigrants who first settled in California where Hugo and his brother Norman were born just before World War I. Unexplained, the births came before their parents were officially married. Florindo, Hugo's father, worked menial jobs and suffered unemployment while in California but somehow found money for a 1917 move across country to New York City's ethnic

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Bronx neighborhood. The family, now including Florindo's mother and a baby daughter, endured a few years of struggle in New York until Florindo landed a job as movie projector operator, a unionized occupation, allowing him to buy an above-average home. His children went to New York City's public schools where Hugo proved himself a high-achiever, showing unique skills in Italian and English. Unlike his brother Norman, who left school when he was fourteen, Hugo graduated from high school and seemed destined for a successful white-collar career. Then, the Great Depression and personal problems struck him and his family. Florindo was laid-off. While Florindo stayed in New York and soon recovered his job as a well-paid projector operator (later arranging one for Norman) Hugo made an unexpected decision. In 1931, immediately after his high school graduation he moved 120 miles away to Springfield, Massachusetts, taking a string of low-paying jobs as a clerk while living alone in cheap boarding houses--things not fitting his status as a high school graduate. He may have made the move because of family tensions. His mother was soon admitted to an insane asylum. Florindo divorced her while she was institutionalized, then remarried.²⁰

Hugo's brother, meanwhile, was becoming a success in New York, earning four times what Hugo was making and starting a family. In contrast, for seven years Hugo endured failure, loneliness, frustration, and estrangement from his family. He took more lowly clerk positions, sold magazines, worked as a salesman, and stood in unemployment lines. Yet, he stayed in Springfield, perhaps because he had become tied to the Young Communist League.

Then, when he was just twenty-two, he became involved with the Party, was chosen to attend its rural New York training school, was selected as a member of Massachusetts' delegation to the Party's national committee, and was made a candidate for state political offices. He continued to work temporary jobs as a salesman and delivery man, but he focused on

his work as a paid Party and union organizer in Springfield. Then, the twenty-seven-year-old bachelor made another unexpected decision. In March, 1941 Hugo enlisted in the army although the Party was continuing its anti-war, Yanks-Not-Coming policies. Hugo served without distinction as a technical sergeant until the war's end.²¹

Just as he began his enlistment Hugo made other inexplicable decisions, ones suggesting he was somewhat erratic. He announced he was going to marry a Boston office worker, then he suddenly wed Brooklyn's Rose Prace. That relationship did not go well, and may have been more of a paper than a true marriage. The couple separated, they were no children, and in 1949 Hugo paid a Party-affiliated lawyer to secure a formal divorce.

In 1946, when the army discharged Hugo, he returned to Party work in Massachusetts, not to his family in the Bronx. He was alone, again. He held some minor posts including being the Party's regional secretary. That led him to help the aging Elba Chase Nelson, the New Hampshire Party's head. Hugo had other contacts in that state's small and financially-stressed Party (just one hundred dues-payers) including all members of the large Dobrowolski family. He also met with one of Joy Clark's few New Hampshire recruits. Of importance for Hugo's later problems, a Nashua housewife, Carol Foster, had quickly become disgusted with Communism and helped the FBI as an informant for close to fifteen years.²²

In 1949, because Massachusetts was pressuring its Communists, Hugo felt a need to lower his visibility. He moved to Nashua, New Hampshire, not to New York. Love and a desire for a family were other reasons for the move. The thirty-six-year-old soon married Louise Dobrowolski, a twenty-seven-year-old accordion prodigy and one of the state Party's leading and most visible officials. Louise also just had ended a short, childless, and failed first marriage. By 1950 Hugo was working in Nashua factories, sometimes in non-union white-collar jobs,

while living as a member of the Dobrowolski extended family, all of whom were Party members. Hugo may have envisioned rescuing New Hampshire's Party and reviving its unionizing efforts, as well rebuilding his own finances, but he arrived at troubled time for the Party, unionizing, and for the state's economy. New Hampshire was beginning its own anti-Communist movement, its unions had rejected Party influence, and its industries were in decline.

Being Radical as Industry Moves Away

New Hampshire's age of abundance had passed well before Hugo arrived. It had been one of the New England states that led America's amazing march towards industrialization during the early Nineteenth Century. Its major manufacturing cities, Manchester and Nashua, began, as had Lowell, Massachusetts, began as planned, paternalistic, utopian towns built to house giant textile factories that were intended to employ young native-born workers from the state's stressed farms. As would the Soviets who built Russia's industrial cities of the 1930s, New Hampshire's planners expected the workers would feel part of a harmonious family.

Manchester's Amoskeag mill became regarded as the largest in the world, employing 17,000 by the early Twentieth Century. and Nashua's mills employed thousands. The state was also a leader in newly mechanized shoe manufacturing.

By the later Nineteenth Century New Hampshire's social order and its industrial economy and were threatened. The mills and factories were not attracting cooperative native workers but the foreign born, many bringing radical ideas. Ethnic neighborhoods replaced the once homogenous towns. Strikes and violence became common as all New England's industries, especially textiles, began facing competition and a need to minimize wages. The American South with its lower labor and tax costs was the greatest threat. That competition became critical

after World War I as the government-driven boom in demand for textiles ended, resulting in a wave of strikes.²³

Hugo DeGregory's future in-laws began arriving from Lithuania when New Hampshire's economy was already declining. Felix Dobrowolski and his sister Tekla arrived in 1902 when they were in their early twenties. Constanti (Konstanti), their younger brother, followed in 1908 when he was just sixteen. Like his brother and sister, Constanti had only a fifth-grade education and always found English a difficult language. Tekla, who worked in the textile mills, did well enough to join with Felix to purchase a substantial home. They could afford it because white Felix may have begun in the mills he became an entrepreneur and speculator. Before World War I began Felix ran a grocery store, a restaurant, and a carbonated beverage bottling plant in Nashua's Lithuanian neighborhood. He also bought land in the city and neighboring towns. The young Constanti began as a laborer then worked for Felix.²⁴

The Dobrowolskis brought radicalism with them from the old country. Despite being a fledgling capitalist Felix helped Nashua's strikers with loans for food from his store²⁵ and the family was soon in trouble with local authorities for other reasons, including Constanti's subscriptions to radical magazines. As New Hampshire began an anti-anarchist program Felix and Constanti moved to Lowell, Massachusetts in 1917 where they opened a grocery store, restaurant, and bottling plant. Felix again speculated in land. Unfortunately for the brothers, Massachusetts had also passed an anti-anarchy law. In 1918, after the brothers displayed a radical anti-police poster in their restaurant's window they were arrested.²⁶ They became noticed by regional newspapers because they were the first to be prosecuted under Massachusetts' new legislation. Felix was apologetic and was not jailed while Constanti stood by his radical beliefs and served nine months in prison. As soon as he was released he married a local immigrant

Polish girl, Katherine, who was eight years younger than he. Meanwhile, although free, Felix had not prospered in Lowell. He went bankrupt and had his properties seized for back taxes. He, then Constanti and Katherine, returned to Nashua and to the family's old businesses.

Felix remained single while Constanti and Katherine began what became a five-child family. Four, including Louise, were born in the 1920s, the last child arrived in 1939--an amazing seventeen years after the first. Despite settling into Nashua's ethnic community and becoming active in Polish and Lithuanian social and religious organizations Constanti and Felix were watched by the government because they were among the first members of the state's new Communist movement. However, the Dobrowolskis were not prominent players in the series of New Hampshire's early 1920s' strikes. Felix tended to his businesses, then died unexpectedly in 1925. Constanti took-over the small operations but the family home went to his spinster-sister Tekla. She seems to have distanced herself from her younger brother leading Constanti and his family to live in a succession of low rent homes in Nashua's ethnic neighborhoods despite Constanti earning a near middle-class income. Katherine worked in the local mills when she could, and her income and frugal living allowed all their children to finish high school. Constanti was also able to pay for Louise's accordion lessons, ones that led her to become a noted performer and music teacher while in her teens.

The family survived the Great Depression that led to the end of many of New England's textile mills (Amoskeag closed in 1935 with the cost of thousands of jobs) but the Party-member Dobrowolskis again kept a low profile, even during 1930's violent strikes. The family faced some economic difficulties when Constanti was crippled by arthritis in 1938, just before his last child was born. But he held onto his businesses as well as the land his brother had purchased in nearby Hudson. Tekla also kept her property.

The Dobrowolskis then followed Party mandates and helped the war effort. The older boys joined the army and Louise worked in a war plant while continuing her music teaching. Her mother returned to the mills, this time taking a prominent part in union activity. After the war, the younger Dobrowolskis took more visible Party roles. Louise, who had roomed with Margot Clark and remained close to Joy Clark when Joy worked at the Nashua Mills Company, became the chair of Nashua's Party, and led the city's Progressive Party campaign--helped by all her brothers, although they were doing more than holding working-class jobs as tanners and bakers. Like their father, they were becoming small-time entrepreneurs and land developers. The family stayed in the Party after Browder's 1945 ouster and agreed with Elba Chase Nelson when, during Party meetings, she declared good Americans would not support the United States if it entered a war with the Soviet Union.

Although Nashua suffered the loss of major industries after World War II, including the nation's largest blanket factory, most Dobrowolskis did well. Hugo Degregory was an exception. While the brothers bought homes, although extended family living remained common, after their 1950 marriage Hugo Degregory and Louise lived with her brother Edward and her parents in Nashua, then in nearby Hudson where Constanti was trying to create a small development of working-class homes.²⁷

Hugo had attempted to reconcile with his New York family by having his marriage to Louise held in the Bronx, but his relatives did not rescue him financially. Although Hugo held factory jobs and Louise was earning money teaching accordion their finances continued to prevent them from buying a home--or starting a family. Hugo's situation worsened when in 1951 New Hampshire's legislature passed an anti-Communist law, one as or more stringent than

Massachusetts.' Legislation followed that directed and funded the state's attorney general to investigate and prosecute those suspected of subversion.²⁸

Wyman vs. All

By late 1953, Louis Wyman the attorney general was ready to act. Elba Chase Nelson and her family, all the Dobrowolskis, Hugo, Willard Uphaus, and the noted Harvard-trained Marxist economist Paul Sweezy, who had given a left-supporting speech at the University of New Hampshire, were among the more than 100 summoned to meet with Wyman for questioning. A fear of Wyman's intentions may have been why Hugo and Louise made a trip to California to go underground before the meetings began. Then they decided to return to Nashua. One of the reasons for Hugo and Louise finally agreeing to meet with Wyman was because the other Dobrowolskis were threatened that unless Hugo and Louise appeared they would be jailed. Hugo met with Wyman and testified but was not cooperative. As a result, he became one of Wyman's major targets for prosecution.²⁹

Many others Wyman questioned refused to testify about their current or past Communist connections, usually relying on the Fifth Amendment's protection against self-incrimination, thus avoiding charges based on Party membership. Wyman did not abandon his efforts, however. He charged some of the uncooperative witnesses with contempt of the state legislature. The nationally famous Elba, Uphaus, and the economist Paul Sweezy were predictable targets. They were able to obtain help with their defense, however. Elba, although always condemning the rich "establishment" had farm properties, but pleaded poverty, and gained the no-fee support of the head of New Hampshire's bar association. She spent one night in jail, then played some legal angles, answered a few questions, and was purged of contempt

and set free. Uphaus and Sweezy also refused to conform but their national connections led them to immediately gain legal support from national civil rights groups, including a remake of the Party's Civil Rights Committee and prominent leftist lawyers such as Leonard Boudin. Uphaus' appeals lasted until 1959 when the United States Supreme Court voted against him. Sweezy had more support from liberals than Uphaus and won a 1957 Supreme Court appeal.³⁰

Hugo On-His-Own

In contrast, the unknown Hugo Degregory was left on-his-own after his 1954 contempt charge. Neither the Party nor the state's liberals stepped forward despite Hugo's long service to the Party and his support of national civil liberty organization such as the Committee For the First Amendment that helped many leftists including Dalton Trumbo, Carl Braden, and Pete Seeger. Huso served two weeks in jail before being allowed to post bail. Hugo and Louise barley afforded the the bail then searched for ways to pay an attorney. Just finding one was difficult. Hugo was turned-down by several lawyers. Ironically, the one that agreed to represent him was James C. Cleveland, a conservative Republican, and an expensive lawyer. Louise tapped the family funds, called on friends, and began a letter-writing campaign that resulted in few dollars coming from any state Party. Massachusetts' Party was angry with Hugo because he had not coordinated his defense with it and Elba Bates Nelson's son viewed Hugo as a traitor after Hugo followed his attorney's advice and distanced himself from the Party. Then , in 1957, Massachusetts' group begrudgingly thought of sending just \$1,000 to him.³¹

While unsuccessfully pushing appeals through New Hampshire's and the federal court systems Hugo became a special target of New Hampshire's prosecutors when he refused to testify after the state passed a law giving immunity to those who chose not to use the Fifth Amendment. Hugo argued the state law did not protect against federal prosecution. After the

state renewed its 1951 anti-subversive law in 1957 Wyman again went after Hugo. Hugo purged himself of the original contempt charge by truthfully stating he was not a member of the Party, but he refused to say anything about the years prior to 1957. He was charged and spent another two weeks in the local jail where Uphaus was serving his year-long sentence. Hugo was released on bond--- a huge one, \$200,000 dollars, only because the Dobrowolski family assumed the burden. They pledged the five homes they owned in Nasua and Hudson.³²

When Wyman was replaced his successor pushed the battle against Hugo. There was another charge and another need for bail money. Fortunately, the 1960 bond was in the range of that imposed on Uphaus and Sweezy, \$10,000. And by 1960 Hugo had finally become linked to supportive liberal groups. His second defeat at the Supreme Court angered influential liberals and he was, for example, hosted by Boston's Community Church. Its member joined in a motor-cade in Nashua to protest his sentence while left-leaning journals such as *The National Guardian* gave his sufferings ongoing coverage. Of most importance, his case was accepted by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) that, along with his ex-attorney James Cleveland, agreed to finance his defense. It took the ACLU's brilliant Howard Whiteside some years but in 1966 the Supreme Court overturned Hugo's conviction, and on First Amendment, not Fifth Amendment grounds. The justices declared there was no justification for New Hampshire to demand "old" information, i.e., anything about the years prior to the passage its 1957 law. To do so was an infringement on an extension of free speech principles and privacy, it stated. Although the court had applied the First Amendment in similar cases, Hugo's decision is viewed as a critical contribution to a liberal America.³³ While his cases were going through the courts Hugo and Louise avoided political involvements, perhaps because Hugo knew he remained on the FBI's security index. Despite their bitterness over its lack of support, He and Louise did not

renounce their political beliefs or condemn the Party but they stood aside while the Comrades debated policies, especially the fight over the latest version of a Popular Front, Khrushchev's pull away from the Stalin-Duclos hardline international and domestic policies. However, some of the actions of Elba Chase Nelson and her children, once close friend and-allies, must have tempted Hugo to speak out. Elba and her sons refused to follow Party mandates and were expelled because they championed what they considered the truly revolutionary China and Albania, rather than the Soviet Union. The Chases attempted to create a new party, accepting the totalitarianism and cruelty of those "utopias."³⁴

Hugo and Louise did not join the Chase's party. They concentrated on making a living and creating and raising a family. Whether by birth or adoption they added to their household throughout the mid-1960s when Hugo was in his fifties. One history claims they adopted six children and there are indications they bore three. Whatever the case, Hugo and Louise faced economic challenges as parents. Louise continued her accordion teaching and Constanti deeded his Nashua properties to them but in the early 1960s the family's income was limited by Hugo's finding nothing but factory work.

Donuts to the Rescue

Hugo's finances improved when the Dobrowolski enterprising spirit re-emerged. The men combined their skills as grocers and bakers and opened a chain of donut stores, then built one of the largest donut factories in New England. Their "Cheedies" specialty donuts were sold throughout the region. The boys passed some of their prosperity onto Hugo. They made him the company bookkeeper and treasurer. He did not become rich but accumulated enough to retire to Florida with Louise and the adult children when he reached sixty-seven. He lived in a series of rental apartments, using his savings and social security benefits. Probably not by chance, one of

his neighbors was Willard Uphaus. Although Hugo and Louise had left the Party behind, Hugo's continuing idealism was made clear when he did not take advantage of his veteran's funeral and burial benefits³⁵ while requesting that any funeral donations be sent to the New Hampshire World Fellowship Center Willard Uphaus had directed. Louise, in contrast, had her body returned to Nashua and its religious oriented Lithuanian cemetery.³⁶

Another Comrade Who Went Underground and Didn't Join the New Left, "Boone" Schirmer

In 1946, when the thirty-one-year-old Party organizer Daniel Boone Schirmer was discharged from the American army he immediately returned to Boston where his wife Peggy and his two young children had been living frugally in a small apartment. Whether the Party had supplemented Daniel's military pay is unknown, but Peggy had been able to put away almost \$20,000 (2020 dollars) in war bonds in three years, probably because of income from family trust funds. Beginning in 1944 Daniel's uncle's trust yielded close to \$10,000 a year and Peggy's from England, \$3,000. Those payments continued until the mid-1950s and equaled a third of Daniel's Party salary during his best Party years of the 1940s and 1950s, giving him an income thirty-percent higher than the nation's average industrial worker, soon allowing him to focus on Party work.³⁷

But, in 1946 Daniel had few job prospects and by then his wealthy father had disowned him. Despite that, and despite his only work experience since his 1937 Harvard University graduation was an organizer for a left-wing student group, then for the Party, he did not use his GI Bill for retraining. Nor did he use it to purchase a house. Instead, relying on the family's savings he spent a few months at home to study the new economics and politics of America while trying to convince the government to pay the bills for his stomach and dental problems.

One of the first things Daniel learned after he returned was that his hero Earl Browder and his non-revolutionary policies had been condemned. He unquestionably accepted the Party's anti-Browder policy although he had been Earl's admirer. When Daniel finally went to work it was for the Party, and at a less than handsome salary considering he was a college graduate. Furthermore, that income was not predictable as Massachusetts' Party was already having financial difficulties requiring special fundraising drives. One of those drives had Daniel and others selling cheap fountain pens at inflated prices. Despite his insecurity, Daniel moved the family to a larger apartment, but once again in the working-class Roxbury neighborhood. Then, when Peggy became pregnant with her third child, the family rented the second floor of Otis Hood's just-purchased Roxbury house.³⁸

Daniel immediately became busy with Party work, so much so he was noticed by the FBI. Phone taps and trash watches were in place by 1947. He was soon on the agency's Security Index, then on the DETCOM and COMSAB lists for those to be detained in a national emergency. Among Daniel's first Party duties were taking-over Boston's Progressive Bookstore, leading New England's contingent to the Washington, D.C. veteran's encampment, and spearheading the drive to create the Party's own veterans' organization to combat the conservative America Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Daniel claimed his veterans work led to face-to-face harassment by Legionnaires.

Daniel soon was the Party's state educational director, a job that included contacting printers for the special signs needed for those "spontaneous" demonstrations against such things as Franco's policies in Spain, anti-Communist legislation, urban renewal that displaced the poor, racial discrimination, and rising milk prices. He also became the Party's state legislative representative in charge of mustering demonstrators and petition-signers from Jewish

organizations, the International Workers Order, left-wing and Negro unions, liberal groups such as the Florence Luscomb-led ACLU, the local branch of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the Friends of Soviet Russia. More than once, Daniel defied the legislature at its hearings.³⁹ Peggy often helped Daniel's crusades, sometimes appearing with the children at demonstrations and rallies Daniel had arranged to support Henry Wallace and the Progressive Party. Later, Peggy joined Daniel's protests over an anti-Paul Robeson riot and the "capitalist-driven" Korean War.

Daniel was subscription director for the *Daily Worker* while he taught at Boston's Sam Adams School where he pushed a traditional class-war Marxist line, including the claim that American and European capitalists were creating a war situation through such policies as the Marshall Plan. Daniel also linked America's Greek and Italian polices to a re-emergence of fascism. He declared the United States' Trotskyites part of a capitalist plot and he insisted the Party was not and had never been controlled by the Soviet government. He voiced such Party propaganda on numerous radio broadcasts and amplified them at his and Otis Hood's tuition-charging School for Marxist Studies. It was held in Otis' home where luminaries such as Gerhardt Eisler lectured. Daniel's other Party duties included organizing food-basket collections for strikers in the Party-dominated unions such as the United Packinghouse Workers and the United Electrical Workers. He also led several fund-raising campaigns for the defense of the Party's national leaders charged under the Smith Act and helped Anne Hale after she lost her teaching position because of supposed Communist activity.

Daniel was also involved in the "dark-side" of the Party's work. He helped direct the secret surveys of industrial plants, the defense industry colonizing efforts, and the close supervision of worrisome Party members such as Joe Figueiredo. As well, Daniel was always in

contact with New York's Party center and amplified its calls for sacrifices, such as each Party worker donating a week's income to finance the legal defense of its national leaders. Daniel was so devoted he did not hesitate to appear as a defense witness at the leaders' 1949 Foley Square, Smith Act trial although that and his testimony at congressional hearings put him at risk. At one hearing he was caught in contradictions about his Boone ancestry and his role in Party practice-session "mobilizations" to prepare for revolutionary or crisis situations.

As well, by the late 1940s Daniel faced serious personal problems. Although his mother loved him, liked Peggy, and adored the grandchildren, Daniel's relationship with his father and brother worsened as his radicalism became public, so much so they declared he had always been a "cross the family had to bear." By the early 1950s they said they had disowned him. Peggy had better relations with her mother who she had helped to migrate to the United States and settle in New England near an uncle. It may have been her mother who financed Peggy's children's attendance at an expensive private Boston grammar school during the early 1950s rather than a local Roxbury public school.

Daniel's finances became a major problem as a result of the Party's postwar crises. Party membership and income were in a free-fall. Nationally, membership fell by a third between 1946 and 1950. The decline was worse in Massachusetts, sixty-percent. The national office began calling for more donation drives--Massachusetts' had to do the same. By 1949, Boston could not pay its officers' salaries, including Daniel's. His Marxist School had to close, his Progressive Bookstore was downsized and moved to a less expensive location, and the *Daily Worker's* subscriptions nose-dived. Daniel sought personal loans from friends to cover family expenses, Peggy borrowed from her mother. Both worried they might have to give-up their

decade-old automobiles and they feared might have to forego their barebones summer vacations at the Party's rural New England cottages.⁴⁰

An Underground Life

Then, in summer 1951 the Party demanded a great sacrifice. Daniel was ordered to go underground. That meant leaving his wife and three young children (age nine, seven, and three) on their own, while he assumed aliases, wore disguises, and lived in back rooms of Party members' homes or in cheap rooming houses. Peggy, a university graduate, began cleaning homes in Boston to earn some money, then she took a job as a seamstress in a local factory while serving as an ILGWU organizer. The children were transferred to public schools. When Peggy and the children had vacations, besides a few short ones at the Schirmer estate in Connecticut, Peggy worked in the summer camps' kitchens to cover expenses. She may have received some financial help from the Hoods who waived rent for a time, but the early 1950s remained stressful for Peggy and the children.

The 1950s were extremely hard on Daniel. He spent four years on-the-run, not the Red Flame's eight months. With Robert Lamphere, the FBI's head of Soviet counter-espionage in charge, the agency was mandated to keep track of him as well as Otis Hood, Sidney Lipshires, Michael Russo, and Anne Burlak in case they were indicted under the Smith Act. The FBI considered them, and what it estimated as 300 other underground Party operatives, as important and devoted many man-hours to following them, interviewing informants, listening to phone conversations, and surveilling homes. Daniel was aware of the agency's efforts as he travelled incognito throughout New England and New York doing Party work, including meetings with Party-connected union leaders at defense plants. At times, Daniel had to take menial jobs such as dish washing to cover his expenses. To avoid the authorities Daniel utilized spy craft. He sat

in the back of buses so he could determine if he were followed, frequently changed buses and streetcars, darted off and back onto trains, parked blocks away from where he was living when he had the use of a car, and destroyed any carbon papers after he typed a letter. He became so adept he was at times, able to stay just a few blocks from his Roxbury home without the FBI realizing it. Peggy also learned some tricks and more than once sidestepped the agency's men.

Soon after going underground to avoid possible Federal charges, Daniel learned of another threat, the new 1951 Massachusetts law that outlawed Communist Party membership and the state's allied new anti-Communist campaign. However, the state had few resources to track suspects so the immediate danger to Daniel and the others who were underground remained the federal government's FBI. Daniel continued learning how to play the long and exhausting underground game, often leaving the FBI without a hint of where he was for extended periods. Once, because of a false lead, they believed he fled to Mexico. Daniel was also smart and caring enough to refuse to tell Peggy where he might be so that she would escape being held liable by the authorities, although he had others arrange week-end visits with Peggy and the children at hideaways such as Anne Hale's cabin or at one of the Party's old vacation camps.

Low-points in the hunt for Daniel came when the FBI interviewed his father and brother in Connecticut, then his aunt in California. His staunchly anti-Communist father said despite his love for his grandchildren he would do everything he could to help the government locate Daniel because of his radicalism and because the sooner Daniel was found the sooner he could be saved from the Party that had been using him for so many years. Edward, Daniel's brother, had similarly harsh words about him--and about Peggy. Daniel's ultra-rich aunt in California called him a "traitor."

Three years after going underground the threat to Daniel turned critical. In 1954, Massachusetts, rather than the Federal government, indicted Daniel and six other state Party leaders under its revised old anti-sedition law. Daniel officially became a fugitive, not just someone to be watched. The state raided his home and interrogated Peggy, but the state's authorities were unable to find him. The FBI had to take a hands-off policy and could not inform the state where he was, so Daniel remained free.⁴¹

That freedom lasted for a year and one-half--then the Party gave him a startling order: He was told to voluntarily surrender to Massachusetts' authorities. He walked into the prosecutors' office in October 1955 without assurances the Party would cover his legal expenses. It did provide some help and promised him the Massachusetts law would soon be overturned, but Peggy had to borrow from relatives, including her mother and Daniel's spinster aunt Belle, to cover Daniel's bail.

A Harvard Degree, But ..

As he awaited trial without a Party salary Daniel searched for work. He applied for a cab driver's job but was denied a license. He had to settle for work as a door-to-door salesman for children's photo companies. That came just as the payments from his uncle's trust fund ended and, despite his continuing Party work, he was receiving little help from his hard-pressed comrades. They and the Party continued to struggle. Massachusetts' membership dropped to well below five hundred by 1955 while the national figure was one-half that of 1950. Although there were signs the states' anti-Communist laws might soon be nullified⁴², any sense of security Daniel had was undermined—and his faith in the Cause was severely tested. Eight months after he posted his Massachusetts bail he and six other state leaders were arrested by the FBI on a national Smith Act charge. The bail was a forbidding amount. While Daniel sat in jail Peggy called-on all the

still-friendly relatives, including Daniel's mother and his cousin Greta, for help and took loans based on the family's old International Worker's Order insurance policies. The Party provided little aid, so Daniel had to rely on a court-appointed lawyer. Peggy became bitter because of that.

As Peggy and Daniel dealt with the arrest their faith in the Party was tested by Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's brutalities. The couple was shocked, wavering between denying the allegations, quitting the Party, or leading a campaign for thorough redoing of its policies so it could regain its popular appeal. At one time Daniel suggested the comrades should concentrate on infiltrating civil rights groups and the Democratic Party rather than pursue any independent action.. He and Peggy remained undecided about the Party's future until America's Supreme Court made both state anti-communist laws and the Smith Act unenforceable, and as the couple avoided an income tax charge. They decided to stay with the Party and with the belief that socialism would never come to America without a revolution. But Daniel announced he would cut-back his Party activities because he needed to make a living for his family. As he reduced his Party work he was removed from the FBI's DETCOM list but not its Security Index. The agency tracked him and Peggy for years.

Making a living was not easy for Daniel. After jobs as a photo salesman, he tutored children and worked a proofreader for small printing companies. He had long-term plans, however. In 1958 he began taking night classes in history at the Catholic's nearby Boston University. He also decided to further reduce his Party activities. His formal link seems to have ended by 1960 but he and Peggy stayed connected with their old friends and with the Party's efforts into the 1970s, never publicly condemning the Soviet past. Daniel kept his subscriptions, attended picnics, and arranged to have his oldest daughter work at the Party's remaining summer camps. Before then, soon after Daniel returned to college in 1958, Peggy decided on a new

career. She enrolled in Tufts College for certification as an education and childcare specialist. On graduation, she headed childcare centers in the Boston area including Radcliffe College's and Cambridge City's Head Start. Meanwhile, Daniel struggled to complete his graduate education. It took him three years to gain a Master's Degree while he continued working at home. Then, he added to his income by part-time teaching at the university while finishing his Ph D thesis. That work took a decade to complete, approved in 1971 when he was fifty-six years old. A published version appeared the next year⁴³

Standing With Classic Marxism

Despite all the changes in left-wing ideologies since the 1950s, and Daniel's claim he was now an anti-Soviet independent Marxist-New Left historian, his thesis was a pure version of traditional Marxist doctrine. For Daniel, the United States' taking Philippine Islands in 1898 and its imperialist control over them was the result of corporations' need for markets and raw materials. Daniel's classic anti-imperialism never wavered. For the remainder of his life his major goal was to combat American hegemony in the Philippines. Although the book version of his thesis became a resource for the New Left, being saluted by such luminaries as Howard Zinn, Noam Chomsky, Daniel Ellsberg, and Studs Terkel all of whom inspired the new radicals, and while he published many essays on the Philippines, Daniel never realized his goal of becoming a college professor. The best he achieved was giving seminars for a few years during the mid-1970s at the Boston branch of the once Universalist-linked and Putney-like progressive Goddard College that Paul Sarvis' son attended.⁴⁴

Becoming More than Middle Class But Leftist

Before then, there had been important bad/good news for Daniel and Peggy. Both of his parents died in 1963 leaving a small but significant inheritance. It helped Daniel purchase a small Cambridge home the family moved into after the Hoods sold their Roxbury house in 1960. The inheritance also allowed the purchase of a colonial-era summer estate in Truro on Cape Cod. That estate on what became the most exclusive area on the Cape was worth \$2,000,000 in 2021.⁴⁵ The inheritance also helped finance the children's college educations. It was that "capitalist" money, along with a small research grant, which had allowed Daniel and Peggy to lead comfortable lives while he spent full time authoring his thesis, the follow-on books, and numerous articles on imperialism's horrors. The inheritance also helped with Daniel's two trips to Russia, 1968 and 1973, his trip to an anti-imperialist meeting in Panama in 1975, and Peggy's trips during the 1970s and 1980s to Mexico, Cuba, and China for research on childcare methods. The funds also gave Daniel the free-time to become a founder of the Friends of the Filipino People, a left-liberal organization devoted to the overthrow of the Marcos regime and American influence in the Philippines.⁴⁶

By the 1970s, because of such work Daniel was becoming an ally of Boston's middle-class, left-leaning establishment. Peggy already was a leader of local anti-war groups aligned with Boston's liberals and she, Daniel, and the children often joined with others at demonstrations against the war in Viet Nam and against such things as Harvard University's investments in South African companies. Peggy and Daniel also became favorites of Donald Lothrop's influential Community Church, so much so that Peggy later received its Sacco-Vanzetti Award in recognition of her contributions to freedom. As well, she and Daniel were the first recipients of the Cambridge Peace Commission's Prize. They remained so influential

they received the Justice and the Boston Mobilization for Survival's Peace Leadership awards in 1989 when they were approaching ninety years old.⁴⁷

While agreeing with many of the beliefs and goals of the New Left, and joining in the protest by groups such as the Committees of Correspondence against the Party and its subservience to Soviet non-revolutionary policies, Peggy and Daniel did not abandon traditional Marxism and its emphasis on economics and the role of the proletariat, and they did not become part of the New Left's cultural movements. Nor did they join any new radical organization. At least one of their children did, however. After joining the sometimes-violent anti-Vietnam war protests at Boston University, Audrey moved to New York City, worked many part-times jobs while living in Greenwich Village and sharing in its hippie culture that was deeply influenced by the Herbert Marcuse's reworking of Marxism that emphasized "eros" rather than materialism and determinism. Audrey's stay in New York had a practical goal, however, the study of photography. She soon established herself as a free-lancer concentrating on anti-war and poverty themes, becoming influential enough to be allowed to do photo-essays on anti-war luminaries such as Jane Fonda and John Kerry. Audrey soon moved to Canada and married the noted anti-war documentary film maker Martin Duckworth. The couple made socially conscious films until she suffered early on-set Alzheimer disease after years caring for an adult autistic daughter.⁴⁸ Her and Martin's personal sacrifices were documented in an internationally praised documentary film, *Dear Audrey*.

Sidney Lipshires, From Shoes to Philosophy to the Underground, then to a New Philosophy to Save Marx

Sidney S. Lipshires was another of Margot and the Clark family's contacts who faced imprisonment under the Smith Act, as well as under Massachusetts' anti-Communist laws.⁴⁹

Sidney was the son of a Jewish, Yiddish-speaking immigrant who moved from New York City to Northampton, Massachusetts to eventually prosper as a shoe-store owner. Sidney was an academic star at Northampton's high school, entered the University of Massachusetts, then transferred to the University of Chicago, gaining an undergraduate degree in economics at age twenty-one. He did more than study while in Chicago. He joined the American Student Union and the Party and while a student became a union organizer and protest leader. He was aggressive enough to challenge his college's president, the famous Robert Maynard Hutchins. Sidney found a wife in Chicago, Shirley Fay Dvorin. Shirley also was the offspring of a Yiddish-speaking, Jewish, Russian immigrants, but her father was not doing as well financially as Sidney's. When Sidney and Shirley met the Dvorin's small business was suffering from the depression and the family could not afford to buy a home. Shirley was angry because, although having a high school and college education, as well as post graduate career training, she could not find a job as a teacher or a stenographer. That was one reason she shared Sidney's anti-capitalist ideology.

Despite his intellectualism, Sidney did not pursue an academic career. But he did not join the working class. After graduating he returned to Northampton and worked as a clerk in his father's shoe stores, perhaps because of the need to support a wife who was continuing her education.⁵⁰ Sidney's financial responsibilities increased after his two children were born in 1943 and 1944. There are some hints he and Shirley actively worked with Massachusetts's Party before he was drafted in 1943, then sent overseas to France.

When he was discharged in 1946 instead of using his GI Bill for more education Sidney resumed his job as a clerk in his father's stores. Then, in 1947 he made a grand decision, especially for a man with young children. He moved the family to the then high-tech

Springfield, Massachusetts, where the nation's Springfield Armory had a workforce of thousands and where Hugo Degregory had been for years. Sidney became a full-time Communist organizer and candidate for local offices. Living on a small Party salary must have been hard on Shirley and the two children but Sidney continued his forceful Party recruiting and organizing. He also led protests, including one over military training in colleges. At least once, veteran students chased him off their campus with warnings never to return. That did not end Sidney's Party work. He was so committed he followed orders and participated in the Party's excessive late 1940's campaign against White Chauvinism, a campaign that led to punishment or expulsion of members for such minor things as serving coffee in a chipped cup to a Negro. Some leaders looked back on the campaign as one of the Party's greatest mistakes because it alienated so many while attracting few Negroes.

Sidney was so active the FBI put him on their watch lists in 1947 and within three years he was officially named as one of the Top Reds in Massachusetts. That, and his devotion to his work, distanced him from Shirley. He seems to have begun an affair with a married Party member by 1950, leading them to soon rush for divorces. Sidney's new love, the married Joan (Joann) Breen, was not Jewish, but from a Scituate/Plymouth, Massachusetts Protestant family that traced its lineage back to the Aldens.⁵¹ Joan's parents were not of the state's elite or rich but were well-off enough to support Joan through Boston's left-leaning Simmons College that Noel Field had attended. As soon as she enrolled, Joan became involved in political protests, many with Party links. That led her to meet Martha Fletcher, Stephen Fritchman, Joy Clark, and other young activists. Joan also was a leader of Stephen's American Youth For Democracy. She may have joined the Party as early as 1941, just as she became Mrs. Richard Klein.

Richard Klein was the son of a Brooklyn/New York City Jewish immigrant who became a stockbroker wealthy enough to send Richard through Harvard University. When Richard married Joan he was at Harvard Law School while Joan was beginning a career as a teacher and a paid Party worker. Richard did not serve during World War II and there is no trace of him as a Party member, but after the war he was involved enough to be asked to be the Executive Director of Massachusetts' Progressive Citizens of America, the precursor to the Party-influenced Progressive Party. He soon became the long-term head of the Progressive Party's organization in western Massachusetts, keeping the job title into the 1950s despite the party's decline. Joan had served in the Women's Army Corps then returned to being a Party labor organizer and youth activity director,⁵² bringing her in closer contact with members of the Clark family. Massachusetts' authorities came to believe that Eileen Breen, Joan's mother, had also become a Red.

Perhaps it was because Richard Klein was not radical enough for Joan, or because they had a childless marriage, perhaps caused by her serving in the WACs, that Joan took Sidney Lipshires as a lover. She sought a quick 1951 divorce in Florida, inexplicably publishing her intention to marry Sidney in the *Boston Globe*. Her Florida adventure and Sidney's own divorce proceedings were not well planned. The divorces were not recognized under Massachusetts law, nor was their July New York City marriage. They feared arrest and the Party dreaded a great embarrassment. The couple sought refuge in Rhode Island, then the Party arranged to send them to Los Angeles where they were protected as they used false names. After several months they were called back to Boston, given a long list of aliases to use, and told to help with both open and underground work.

Then, the Party gave Sidney new orders. He was told to go fully underground as Joan began a job as secretary for a Boston architectural firm while continuing her Party activities and living close to the Hood family in Roxbury. Sidney soon learned something distressing. Shirley, his first wife, had returned to Chicago with his sons, remarried, and changed the boys' last names to Edmonds.

Although in the underground in 1951 Sidney was made director of Boston's Party branch, then the entire district's organizer. That did little to help a lonely Joan, Sidney also did much clandestine work. He coordinated transportation for those who had gone underground and arranged secret meetings. One of them was at a cabin he rented under an assumed name. He thought he had fooled the FBI. He was wrong. The agents learned of the meeting, rented a cabin a few yards away, and planted microphones in his room.

Michael Russo, Another Sculptor

One of Sidney's underground coworkers was Michael Angelo Russo, a quite unusual young man who had been a Party functionary in his home state of Connecticut before being ordered to Boston in 1951. He replaced Manny Blum, who had gone underground in the Mid-west. Michael became New England's organizer, then assumed the position of head of Massachusetts's Party. Although the region now had less than 500 members, the assignments were important to the Party and Michael.

Michael was the son of Italian immigrants whose small Bridgeport, Connecticut restaurant failed when the depression began.⁵³ Perhaps that was one reason for Michael's short stay in Connecticut's hospital for the insane in 1929-30 when he was twenty-two and just beginning a career as a sculptor. He had enrolled in the Yale University's associated Fine Arts School in 1929, leaving before a year and before he paid his tuition and fees. Those debts led to a

lawsuit by the university a decade later. Released from the mental hospital and with an uncle's support he resumed his work on monumental sculptures, including religious ones that he eventually denounced. He seemed destined for greatness, winning a 1932 Prix de Rome honorable mention award from the American Academy. He continued independent artwork for a few years then abandoned it, becoming a fulltime Party functionary, union organizer, and political candidate in the then heavily ethnic and industrial Bridgeport. He might have remained just a party insider but in 1940 he married Pearl Kosby a twenty-eight-year-old Phi Beta Kappa Wellesley College 1932 graduate. (Margot Clark graduated in 1935 so the two probably met on campus.) Pearl's college contacts would later connect Michael to Boston's liberal intellectuals. Pearl's parents were Lithuanian Jewish immigrants who ran a small grocery store in Bridgeport. The family was becoming middle-class. Pearl's sisters found jobs as stenographers and bookkeepers and Pearl seemed destined for a similar career until a scholarship from her congregation supported her through the local junior college, then Wellesley. Despite her education, including courses at a private secretarial school and foreign language skills, Pearl was unable to find a steady job and remained near destitute and dependent on her sisters until 1937 when she took a position as an organizer for the left-dominated United Mine Workers union and became one of the three women delegates to its 1938 convention.. She probably had ties to the Party by then.

In 1939, her old contacts in the literary world led to a significant role in the WPA Writers' project that documented the lives of ethnic women in Connecticut.⁵⁴ Pearl gained a long-lasting reputation among political liberals and feminists for her analyses and writing for the project. In 1940, she decided to focus on her marriage, her new child, and supporting Michael Russo's Party work. Federal investigators believed she took more than a secondary role,

especially when Michael served in the army near the end of World War II. The government also believes she was active after Michael was transferred to Boston in 1951. Later, Pearl used her writing skills as an editor, bringing income that helped Michael concentrate on his art work.

Sidney Above Ground and Under Threat

In 1954, Michael Russo and Sidney Lipshires were not indicted by Massachusetts as were other state leaders, but just as the Party ordered Sidney above ground in 1955 Sidney, Joan, and her mother were called to a state hearing. Their behavior was typical. They declared the hearing's questions unconstitutional, refused to answer most inquiries, and made long declarations about the right to free speech in America. That behavior reinforced the Federal government's resolve to include Sidney in its sweep of lower-level Party officials. Sidney and Michael Russo were two of seven Massachusetts leaders arrested in 1956 and slated for a Smith Act trial in 1957. The arrests came just as Sidney and Joan's child was born.

Unlike others, Sidney had no problem raising bail money and, in contrast to most of his fellow defendants, he could afford his own lawyer rather than using a court-appointed one. He and Michael Russo hired John Abt the now famous ex-member of Harold Ware's group and Harold's widow Jessica Smith's husband.⁵⁵ As Sidney awaited the trial he learned of Nikita Khrushchev's reports on Stalin's horrific policies and of the Soviet's invasion of Hungary. He was startled and shocked. He led discussion groups on how the American Party should react, soon concluding that its leaders were committed to stay with their old policies and unable to make the changes necessary to save the Party or to match his view of the true Marxist dream. Sidney was so alienated he condemned the detention of dissidents in East Germany and Hungary as examples of oppression as bad as the efforts against him and other Communists in the United States.⁵⁶

Leaving the Party, the Other Russo

Like so many others, Sidney and Joan formally resigned from the Party, in 1957. Michael Russo did so later, in 1960, returning to the arts and becoming rather famous. His labor-struggle and civil-rights paintings found their way into prestigious museums as he and Pearl became part of Boston's left-liberal establishment, and as he combined his first and middle names to become Michelangelo Russo. Another Connecticut second generation Italian artist followed a similar post-1956 path. This other Michael Michele Russo came from a poor family but graduated from Yale University in 1934. He soon married Sally Haley, another artist. While at Yale he reenergized its John Reed Club and became involved in Party causes as he developed as a modernist painter. On graduation he worked on WPA art's projects until he switched to factory war work. In 1947, he accepted an offer to teach at a Reed College's associated Portland, Oregon art academy. The government's HUAC investigators could not prove it, but he seems to have associated with radicals at Reed as well as local Party members. Then, like the other Michael Russo, he blended into his community's liberal culture and politics.

Sidney, Marxism, the Party

Sidney and Joan Lipshires' long-term relation with Communism is unclear. It is known that unlike Michael and Pearl Russo, Sidney did not sympathize with 1958's attempt by John Gates and Joseph Clark, two *Dailey Worker* editors, to form a new more American-like popular party. Nor did they join Milt Rosen's 1962 Progressive Labor Party (PLP) that believed the old Party had abandoned any revolutionary goals. But Sidney and Joan did not forsake Marxism, nor did their Massachusetts' comrades immediately abandon them. Although no longer a member, Boston's Party paid Sidney a half year's salary in 1957 to research a defense for the Smith Act trials. Sidney, Joan, and the new baby had more financial help. Sidney's father established a new

shoe store in New Britain, Connecticut and made Sidney its manager. More good news soon followed: The Supreme Court's decisions led to the abandonment of the Smith Act prosecutions.

Although not satisfied with a business career, Sidney tended the store and his family but kept aware of the Party and of the fate of Marxism in America. He was not pleased with what was happening during the 1950s and 1960s. By 1958, national Party membership was down to 3,000, traditional Marxist labor-oriented splinter groups such as the PLP had only a handful of members, and sociological pundits such as Daniel Bell were predicting an end to the influence of ideology in America. It was also disappointing to Sidney that America's proletariat was not acting like one. The major labor unions had cleansed themselves of Communists in the late 1940s and American workers seemed contented with the economic victories they had won since World War II. The left-radical organizations that were emerging, such as the Students for a Democratic Society, had little to do with the working class, and nothing to do with what remained of the Communist Party.

There was something especially worrisome for aspiring intellectuals such as Sidney Lipshires. Popular philosophies that, while claiming to be Marxist, were undermining the fundamentals of traditional Marxist-Lenin theory. Concern about that and his desire to be an intellectual led Sidney to change careers. Although in his mid-forties he, like Daniel Schirmer, returned to college, earning a Master's Degree in European intellectual history from nearby Trinity College in 1965. The next year, when he was forty-five, he took a job as a college professor—but in a close-by community college, not a research university. Like other community colleges, Manchester Community College had a heavy teaching load, few tenured positions, little money to support any faculty research or sabbatical leaves, and it paid low salaries.

Those limitations motivated Sidney to return to his days as a union organizer. He put years of effort in establishing the Congress of Connecticut Community Colleges in 1973, a version of a faculty union and lobbying organization. He was also busy furthering progressive agendas as a commentator, lobbyist, and protestor. For example, although still at the community college, he participated in the raucous 1980's demonstration at the Colt firearms company. All his activities explain why it took Sidney five years, and financial help from his parents for his research trips, to obtain a PhD from the University of Connecticut in 1971.

He made his contribution to the attempts to rescue traditional Marxist thought with his dissertation, later a 1974 book, *Herbert Marcuse : From Marx to Freud and Beyond*. The work was a subtle attack on Paul Massing's Frankfurt School colleague Marcuse's anti-materialism yet hedonistic premises. Sidney also attacked postwar philosophers such as the existentialists Sartre and postmodernists and deconstructionists like Jacques Derrida, and Michel Foucault who spawned the catch-phrase "there is no truth". While all of them had different viewpoints they shared a belief there were no laws governing the social world. For them there were no "meta histories," religious or scientific, that guided or explained human life. For them Marx and his deterministic, class-conflict theses were wrong. Herbert Marcuse, who was popular among America's radical intellectuals, was an important target for Sidney because his ideas were so attractive to those in the counter-culture movements of the era (including the Hippies) and because Marcuse based his arguments on the theses of Sigmund Freud that had been condemned by Marxists as bourgeoisie, anti-science, and anti-revolutionary since their first appearance. For Marcuse, it was human 'eros' (libido, sex), not laws, which were the driving forces in history. Eros was what humans should maximize.⁵⁷

Sidney's book was not a best seller, but it became a much-cited reference by those who defended traditional Marxist ideas. While he never formally returned to the Party he contributed many articles on progressive causes as well as an analysis of why the Party and other American radical movements had failed. While remaining on the "left" and a labor union man, Sidney became family-oriented and perhaps returned to religion. He reunited with his sons and made sure he was buried near his parents in Northampton's Jewish graveyard—but with a stone that read "Solidarity Forever."

¹ Helpful on the pre-World War II involvements of Hood and his associates: Massachusetts, State of, Report of the Special Commission to investigate the activities within this commonwealth of communistic, fascist, Nazi, and other subversive organizations, so called: Under Chapter 32, Resolves of 1937. May 27, 1938. For general biographies of the major Massachusetts leaders: *Boston Globe*, 5-30-1956 and *passim*; *NYT* 4-6-1954. Also, very informative for all of New England before and after the war is, INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE NEW ENGLAND AREA—PART 3 HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OR REPRESENTATIVES EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS SECOND SESSION, MARCH 14, 20, AND 21, 1958. On the political context in Massachusetts, Larrabee, Judith, "The Politics of Anticommunism in Massachusetts, 1930-1960," Ph.D. Diss. University of Massachusetts Amherst, May 1996.

² FBI FOIA, hood and MIS CIC records at NARA are important sources on the Hood family. Census and family histories were used.

³ *NYT* 6-21-1949.

⁴ City directories, family history.

⁵ On Hale :

<https://www.bostonglobe.com/magazine/2016/02/04/how-red-scare-destroyed-small-town-teacher/OyzaMTrsxMsx54liP1YX9I/story.html>

⁶ For a Party-sympathetic view of the prosecutions: Belknap, Michael R., *Cold War Political Justice: The Smith Act, the Communist Party, and American Civil Liberties* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977).

⁷ FBI FOIA, blum. The underground experience of a national leader is told in: Green, Gil, *Cold War Fugitive: A Personal Story of the McCarthy Years* by Gil Green (NY: International Publishers, 1984).

⁸ *The Boston Globe* has extensive coverage of Otis from the early 1950s through the end of the decade.

⁹ *Yates v. the United States*, 1957. and placing it in context, Sabin, Arthur J., *In Calmer Times: The Supreme Court and Red Monday* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).

¹⁰ FBI FOIA, burlak; Hughes, Quenby Olmsted, "Red Flame Burning Bright: Communist Labor Organizer Ann Burlak, Rhode Island Workers, and the New Deal," *Rhode Island History Journal*, 67 (Summer – Fall 2009):43-60; census, family history.

¹¹ *Boston Globe* 5-30-1956.

¹² FBI FOIA, burlak; <http://www.alba-valb.org/volunteers/arthur-timpson>

¹³ Census, city directories, family history.

¹⁴ Forbes, Donald H., *Two Communist Brothers from New Hampshire and Their Fight Against Fascism* (np: Lulu Press, 2013).

¹⁵ Family history.

¹⁶ *Yates v. United States*, 354 U.S. 298 (1957); *Albertson v. Subversive Activities Control Board*, 382 U.S. 70 (1965).

- ¹⁷ Very useful on Hugo and the New Hampshire party is, New Hampshire, State of (Louis C. Wyman, Atty. General) 'Investigation of Communist Activities New Hampshire'. Circa Jan. 5 1955. Much on Hugo is found in the FBI FOIA's for burlak, hood, Schirmer; Census, city directories, and family histories revealed much and the *Nashua Telegraph* contains much on Hugo, his wife, and her family. Much on Degregory and family is in . New Hampshire, State of (Louis C. Wyman, Atty. General) 'Investigation of Communist Activities New Hampshire.' Circa Jan. 5 1955. His important Supreme Court case was, *DeGregory v. Attorney General of New Hampshire*, 383 U.S. 825 (1966).
- ¹⁸ Uphaus, Willard A ., *Commitment* (NY: MC Graw-Hill, 1963); *Behind the bars for the First Amendment :the story of 36 Americans, four of them already in jail . written by several of the defendants on behalf of the Committee of First Amendments Defendants.*(NY: the committee ,1960), Forward by Dalton Trumbo; Investigation of the unauthorized use of United States passports. : Hearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, Eighty-fourth Congress, second session[-Eighty-fifth Congress, first session]. pt.1, 1957.
- ¹⁹ *Uphaus v. Wyman*, 364 U.S. 388 (1960), FBI FOIA, san francisco party.
- ²⁰ Census, family history.
- ²¹ "The Wyman report," *Op cit.* is also informative on Hugo and hi life in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.
- ²² *Nashua Telegraph*, *passim*.
- ²³ Informative is, Sweezy, Alan R., "The Amoskeag Manufacturing Company," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* , 52 3 (May, 1938): 473-512.
- ²⁴ Census, family history.
- ²⁵ He wasn't open handed. When the union did not pay him for the food 'loans' he sued it.
- ²⁶ *Boston Daily Globe*, 11-26-1919, 6-6-1920..
- ²⁷ Family history.
- ²⁸ A glimpse at the investigation is in, Thomas J. Klitgaard, Thomas J., "Constitutional Law: Power of Legislative Committees to Compel a Witness to Reveal Communist Affiliations," *California Law Review*, 47 5 (Dec.1959): 930-9.
- ²⁹ One source is *Nashua Telegraph*, *passim* 1951—59.
- ³⁰ *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*, 354 U.S. 234 (1957).
- ³¹ FBI FOIA, burlak, hood.
- ³² *Nashua Telegraph*, *passim*.
- ³³ *DeGregory v. Attorney General of New Hampshire*, 383 U.S. 825 (1966), Hugo left his papers and the items relative to the case, to the Dartmouth College Library.
- ³⁴ Forbes, "Two Communist Brothers," *Op cit.*
- ³⁵ No trace of his burial place could be" found although veterans' cemeteries have complete listings. A search of New York cemetery listing suggest he never again considered it is home.
- ³⁶ *Nashua Telegraph*, family history.
- ³⁷ FBI FOIA, schirmer; census, family history, and the *Boston Globe* were the major sources of the Schirmer history. Daniel's fund was from his uncle Boone in St. louis, Peggy's was from her family in England/ On Peggy, *Boston Globe*, 8-19-2004..
- ³⁸ FBI FOIA, schirmer, hood.
- ³⁹ For example, *Boston Globe* ,2-1-1951.
- ⁴⁰ FBI FOIA, schirmer ;family history.
- ⁴¹ *Boston Globe*, 1954-6 *passim*.
- ⁴² *Pennsylvania v. Nelson*, 350 U.S. 497 (1956), The Supreme Court declared the federal laws superseded (nullified)- the state anti-communist laws.
- ⁴³ Schirmer, Daniel Boone, "Massachusetts Ant-Imperialism, 1895-1904,".Boston University Graduate School, Ph.D., 1971. Daniel also studied at Boston University with Howard Zinn, a leading left-wing intellectual, a contact that later helped Daniel become part of the national left-oriented I "intellectual set."
- ⁴⁴ Schirmer, Daniel Boone; and Howard Zinn. *Republic or Empire; American Resistance to the Philippine War* (Cambridge: Schenkman Pub. Co.; distributed by General Learning Press, Morristown, N.J., 1972); Gerson, Joseph (ed.) *The Deadly Connection : Nuclear War & U.S. Intervention* (np: American Friends Service Committee New England Regional Office, 1986).
- ⁴⁵ Truro Village web pages; real estate advertisements.
- ⁴⁶ Family history, *Boston Globe* 5-10-2006 and *passim*.
- ⁴⁷ *Boston Globe* 8-19-2004, " Marxist.org " web page, Peace Education web Page.
- ⁴⁸ *Boston Globe*, *passim*; *Montreal Gazette* 4 12-2022.

⁴⁹ Major sources on Lipshires are : Lipshires Papers University of Massachusetts, introduction and finding aid; FBI FOIA, hood, burlak schirmer; census; family history.

⁵⁰ Shirley was at Smith college in Northampton as graduate student in 1942, Sidney's sister graduated from Smith.

⁵¹ Census, family history; Portsmouth Herald, 520 a-2204.

⁵² *Boston Globe* 7 22 51 suggests she still headed it in 1951,

⁵³ Major sources for Russo: FBI FOIA, hood , burlak; Census, family y history; *Sunday Herald* 4 1 1948; *Boston Globe* 1-8-1987, 1 28-1958, 5 22-1971.

⁵⁴ Anker, Laura, "Women, Work & Family: Polish, Italian and Eastern European Immigrants in Industrial Connecticut, 1890-1940," *Polish American Studies*, 45 3 (Autumn, 1988): 23-49.

⁵⁵ *Boston Globe*, 12-11-1956.

⁵⁶ *Boston Globe*, 11-9-1957.

⁵⁷ Among the explorations and critiques of Marcuse's philosophy, Alford . C. Fred (1985), *Science and Revenge of Nature: Marcuse and Habermas* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press , 1985).