

## Chapter 6

### **Margot and Susan Clark, and Many, Many Comrades in a Party Trying and Lying to Look American**

Jean Clark's mother and sisters remained more deeply involved in Party affairs than she. There were differences in their involvements, however. While Susan worked with the Cause's elites, Margot and Joy spent their lives as dedicated foot-soldier Communists, suffered more life problems than Jean and, unlike her, continued to be entangled in the Party's day-to-day activities--in California as well as Massachusetts. Significantly, all the Clarks were close to the Fields, Hintons, Tatlocks, Fritchmans and Sartons, and to people far beyond their Boston circle, including Harold Ware, Robert Oppenheimer, and Alger Hiss.

#### **The Young Clarks: Up to the Working Class**

The Clark children, Jean, Margot, Alan, and Joy were not born into Cambridge, Massachusetts' most influential circles but they had special childhoods--- although ones with a few not-so-happy episodes. Because Alfred and Susan Ainslie Clark, their parents, loved a country atmosphere, where they could write novels and plays. after their late-in-life 1909 marriage. then beginning a family in 1912, they moved thirty miles from Boston to rural Walpole, Massachusetts. Alfred's job as a columnist for the nationally important *Boston Post* newspaper, which had a one million circulation, led to renting a small in-town Boston apartment to avoid Alfred's constant commuting.<sup>1</sup> When the children grew older, Susan decided to move to another rural retreat closer to Boston so the children could attend Cambridge's ultra-progressive Shady Hill School. A few years after settling into their Trapelo estate near Weston, Susan decided it was wise to also keep a small home or apartment in Cambridge, although Weston was less than twenty miles away.<sup>1</sup>

The Clarks were not among the ultra-rich but lived well as part of the upper middle class, although that sometimes left them without savings. Alfred was a Harvard graduate who overcame some financial problems and settled into the rewarding job at the *Boston Post*. After Susan graduated from Wellesley College in 1903 she spent years working with reform organizations in New York City and Boston, gaining a leftist reputation for her feminist activities and her work with Women's Trade Union League (WTUL) and The National Consumers League. She became well-known for helping compose a book on women workers, *Making Both Ends Meet*.<sup>2</sup> She continued her contacts with and writing for reform organizations throughout her life, headed Massachusetts' chapter of the WTUL, supported strikers in New Bedford and Lawrence, joined Sacco-Vanzetti protests, and wrote essays for national liberal journals. Alfred's sisters, both Smith College graduates, were also Progressives, with Florence devoting much of her life to teaching at New York City's Henry Street Settlement House that served the immigrant population.

Although Susan always was a reformer who was "for the people" she never lived with them-- or like them. After Alfred began at the *Post* the Clark family usually had three servants. At times, there was even a chef, because Susan never learned to cook. Family trips to Europe were not unusual, and there frequently were vacations, sometimes rugged ones to places like an abandoned Shirley, Massachusetts farm Hermann Field later purchased.<sup>3</sup>

The family's affluence had its peaks and valleys. After Alfred's sudden death in 1933 a day after having all his teeth pulled, and when Susan was in her mid-fifties, there was some belt-tightening as Alfred had no insurance. But Susan's convinced the *Post* to allow her to take-over and politically radicalize Alfred's column. That and her continued freelance publishing led to a financial recovery allowing Susan to raise her children in high style as she had been. With

the help of scholarships, her three girls went to Seven Sister colleges. Vassar, Smith, Wellesley and Radcliffe were their educational destinations. Alan, her only son, would have attended an Ivy League school, but he dropped-out of his radical progressive high school near the Trapelo enclave to spend “learning years” as a hobo, merchant seaman, and machinist. He was an intellectual, however, publishing a well-received socialistic book about men vs machines, *Firewall*, when he was just twenty-four. After World War II, he settled into a life as an early version of a hippie, living on a New Hampshire homestead. He connected with the state’s Party leaders, but unlike his family, he was not an active Party member.<sup>4</sup>

### **Margot’s Conversion**

Although Alan’s sisters attended college, they made career choices that also fit more with future youth cultures than with their parents’ middle-class lifestyle. Margot, for example, decided to devote her life to the Party despite being talented enough to be a successful writer or one of post -WWII’s famous feminist leaders like a later fellow Wellesley graduate, Hilary Rodham. While at Wellesley, Margot won awards for her poetry, gained a Phi Beta Kappa, and was an assistant editor of the college’s magazine. Like her mother she was petite, only 5’1” and 93 pounds, but unlike Susan she always looked fragile and drawn. While she was not a beauty, Margot socialized with her fellow students and seemed happy at Wellesley . Her letters to her Cambridge’s Shady Hill School friends May Sarton and Jean Tatlock suggest she was a normal young girl a bit worried about womanhood and sex but not rejecting the idea of starting a family.<sup>5</sup>

Then, a year before her 1935 graduation, Margot took a second European trip, this time to the Soviet Union, rather than France and Italy. She accompanied her sister Jean and her husband Hermann Field to study at the new Soviet-American summer institute just established by the

organization that evolved into America's Fulbright student exchange program. The group of some two hundred students in the summer program included children of America's leading reformers and intellectuals. Among them were Asho Ingersoll of New York's leading Progressive family, Budd Schulberg, the son of movie producer B P. Schulberg, Kermit Roosevelt, Theodore's grandson and later a CIA officer, and the famous blacklisted Hollywood screen writer Ring Lardner, Jr. <sup>6</sup> The program was a small but well-orchestrated part of the Soviet's drive, begun in 1931, to increase tourism and its world image by investing hundreds of millions of dollars in hotels and tourist programs to showcase the wonders of the Five-Year Plan.<sup>7</sup> That drive included the expansion of Jacob Golos' World Tourist company in New York City that offered trips to Russia at a minimum price of \$6,000 per person-- but with steep discounts for groups like those headed for the summer institute.<sup>8</sup>

Although Margot and her family had been more than sympathetic to the left, the trip changed Margot into a dedicated Communist—and one who always felt superior to the unconverted. <sup>9</sup> In July 1934, the twenty-year-old wrote an emotional fourteen-page letter to her mother Susan about what she was witnessing in Leningrad. It revealed she had become a believer in the Cause while rejecting any remaining religious beliefs.<sup>10</sup> The letter began:

It is beginning already to be damn hard to write about all this. It is too terrific an experience. Sort of like coming out of a century long stupor without the necessary transition. I feel as happy as a lark born and bred in captivity who's felt the first touch of a new world under his wings. Maybe it is because the change is so thorough and far reaching without a stone left unturned that the foreigner seems incapable of grasping it. God, I'm sick of Americans. The best one can say is that one hopes there's a better side to them, but one can't help wondering whether

they aren't really purely rotten right down to the core when one watches their behavior here. No wonder so much trash is fed to our public. No matter how much Russia advances and how obvious it becomes we'll still get the flood of distortions and complete misunderstanding of those who have 'been' here and whom our dear folks at home read with admirable gullibility.

Without guilt, Margot continued-on to admit she and her fellow students had been offered and accepted special passes that gave them more discounts on food, travel, entertainment, health care, and lodgings than privileged Russian students. Then, she began listing the marvels of the new Soviet life of equality, comparing them to those in the "failed capitalist United States." Almost everything was good in Russia, everything was bad in America. There was social equality in Russia with everyone openly interacting with all others, regardless of class. Soviet streets were clean, America's filthy. In Russia there were beautiful parks, many created from the confiscated estates of royalty, which were open to everyone without charge. Workers had paid vacations with free access to resorts and there were rest homes and hospitals for all to use. Perhaps influenced by her brother-in-law Hermann Field's observations about the need for architectural planning, Margot declared Soviet architecture made America's seem a "bundle of confusion".

Margot gave special attention to sex, marriage, and women's status. The new Russia, she wrote, had ended barriers to pre-marital sex resulting in no prostitution and virtually no venereal disease. Marriage had also been reformed, with the Soviets making marriage a simple and inexpensive ceremony while turning divorce into a rational and equitable

process. New laws also eliminated the stigma of illegitimacy, she claimed. Margot spent much of the remainder of her letter emphasizing that women's equality had been fully established, with all education and jobs open to females. She then proclaimed the United States needed a true revolution to become like the Soviet Union. That was followed by a deeply emotional description of the greatest event of her visit: She saw Stalin!

The letter concluded with a statement that signaled her full conversion: "It is perfectly clear to us that American can never mean the same to us after what we have seen here. We are heart and soul in this and I doubt if we'll ever get out of it."

**Many Others Seeing No Evil in The Great Social Experiment , All Evil Here,**

Margot was not the only highly-educated and intelligent American concluding the Soviet Union was the realization of American reformers' long-held dreams.<sup>11</sup> The hundreds of other American visitors included a wealthy Cambridge neighbor of Susan Clark, Ferdinanda Wesselhoeft Reed, whose family was part of Cambridge's Unitarian establishment.<sup>12</sup> She had supported the Party since 1919 and had begun visiting the Great Experiment in the mid-1920s, always returning to America to write long and glowing reports for local newspapers and national journals. After Ferdinand a's 1934 trip she proudly wrote that although she was in her mid-sixties she helped dig the new Moscow subway, along with eighty thousand purely "voluntary" Russians. Ferdinanda became a Party legend. When she was in her eighties and living in Santa Barbara, California Party send her birthday telegrams and roses,<sup>13</sup>

Jessica Smith, another of Susan Clark's radical feminist acquaintances, frequently visited the Soviet Union. She applauded it as the first nation in history to recognize women's rights. Lement Harris, a friend of Jessica's, praised Soviet agricultural policies

as the world's only scientific ones and its factories as workers' heavens. One of Susan's contacts, Ella Reeve Bloor, a devoted and famous American Communist, contributed greater tributes to the Experiment.

Salutes to Soviet programs became formalized. An important example of left-leaning coverage that claimed scholarly credentials was the influential series of works published during the late 1920s by the appropriately-named Vanguard Press. The press was heavily subsidized (over \$1,000,00) by the Roger Baldwin-directed Garland fund that supported many radical causes. The *Vanguard Studies of Soviet Russia* covered all aspect of Soviet life and each volume, usually written by a Party member or fellow traveler such as Jerome Davis or Jessica Smith, applauded the attempts to turn what was pictured as a devastated, near medieval country into a modern nation. In addition, popular writers such as Susan Clark's acquaintance Anna Louise Strong published a stream of books on the success of communist policies, including claims of the elimination of racial prejudice.<sup>14</sup>

It was not just those of the far-left who idealized the Soviet experiment. Well-known and respected American liberal reformers such as Stephen Duggan and Jane Addams joined-in, saluting Soviet education, library, child, and health care policies as examples of what American urban progressives sought for the United States since the 1890s. For such moderates, the Soviet Union was a place where their local reform efforts were finally being tested on a national scale. Young American economists such a Rexford Tugwell pictured the Soviet Union as the place where radical economic theories were proven correct. In addition, many American engineers treated Soviet industrial projects and policies as a realization of their professional dreams of replacing politicians and unlettered businessman with "efficient" social and economic planning in America.<sup>15</sup>

There were practical reasons for those engineers, and even American businessmen, applauding Russia's new policies." The Soviet Union had become one of the world's few major buyers of foreign goods and service and was one of the United States' largest customers by the mid-1930s. American engineering firms were sharing in contracts for some of the world's greatest development projects and major corporations like Ford Motor and General Electric had large stakes in Russia's success.<sup>16</sup> Such business ties were one of the reasons for President Roosevelt granting formal diplomatic recognition to the Soviet government in 1933.

America's intellectuals had their own reasons for approving Soviet policies. Famous American professors such as John Dewey and George C. Counts joined in publishing numerous articles praising Soviet achievements during the 1920s and early 1930s. As well, until the later 1930s.<sup>17</sup> America's liberal and scholarly publications, such as *The New Republic*, typically contained positive views of Soviet policies, often dismissing or excusing-away horrors such as the famine of the early 1930s, campaigns against Muslims, deportation of a million peasants to make way for farm collectivization, the 1936-8 political purges of more than two million officials and citizens, and political dictatorship.<sup>18</sup> America's Liberal newspapers also had pro-Soviet leanings. The influential Walter Duranty, *The New York Times*' Russian bureau chief, consistently hid the realities of Soviet life, frequently refuting negative articles appearing in American and European papers and, at times, those in his own newspaper. Duranty was not alone. Important American officials sided with him. Joseph Davies, the United States' ambassador to Moscow, 1936-1938, also was an admirer of Marxism in action.<sup>19</sup>

### **Other Voices and Views**



Many other contemporary observers presented different pictures of the results of Bolshevik policies during the mid and late 1930s more than hinting its admirers had been manipulated by Soviet propaganda and well-controlled tours of showcase cities and farms. They wrote that while the massive Soviet Five-Year economic development plans begun in 1928 were leading to a vast expansion of heavy industry, those gains were coming at a heavy price. The critics pointed that at the time of Margot's visit Russia was yet to recover from the brutal early 1930s farm collectivization program that cost millions of lives and from the confiscatory farm taxes that led to decreased, not increased, food output. The critics also claimed the government's plans led to a dire shortage of all types of consumer goods, as well as strict food rationing for all but the most favored in Russia's leading cities.<sup>20</sup>

Not all these commentators were on the ideological right. There were Communists who turned against the Experiment. The Soviet agent Hede Massing remarked on the lack of food and the ragged clothing she saw in Moscow during the 1930s. Fred Beal, the devoted American Communist labor organizer who fled to Russia in 1929 after being convicted of homicide during the violent Gastonia, North Carolina strike, returned to the United States to write a scathing description of the condition of Soviet workers. Robert Nathaniel Robinson, an American Negro engineer who was recruited to work in Soviet tractor factories, escaped back to America to tell of deep-seated racial prejudice.<sup>21</sup> America's Socialist leader Norman Thomas, once a Bolshevik admirer, condemned the Soviet treatment of its common men, especially the lack of political freedom. Others wrote that Soviet workers' benefits such as vacations and medical leaves were paid for through horribly low wages (a form of hidden tax), increasingly long workdays, and severe production quotas. The lack of water, sewer, electricity, or gas services in most Soviet cities was also noted.<sup>22</sup>

Other critics had a longer list of Soviet failings. One observer claimed women factory workers' pregnancy and birthing benefits came because of wages that typically were less than one-half of what an American female worker received.<sup>23</sup> One authority on conditions in the late 1930s concluded that such low wages were the foundation of the Soviet state. He estimated the average male Soviet industrial worker received a monthly income equivalent to one-seventh of an American worker, with most of the value of his contribution going directly to the government. He also claimed there was vast unemployment hidden by preventing peasants from leaving their farms to escape a near starvation existence. Others pointed to the stripping of power from workers' unions after the 1920s. The failure to provide adequate housing was emphasized because the average living space was less than the size of small jail cells. In addition, the speed-up of work routines led American expatriates in Russia who were accustomed to regimented factory and farm work to protest and, at times, rebel.<sup>24</sup>

Other commentators pointed to the persecution of religious leaders, continued property confiscations, turning of hundreds of thousands of people into "non-citizens," draconian discriminatory "affirmative action" policies in education and employment, repeated bloody political purges, forced labor, and a political and cultural dictatorship that had intensified under Stalin's rule. They claimed there was no free speech, no independent press or radio, no separate schools or youth groups, and no freedom in the arts in the 1930s.<sup>25</sup> Critics also complained about the Soviet government's failure to compensate for the wholesale confiscation of foreign property, its refusal to pay any Tsarist debts, and the dumping of forced-labor products onto international markets. As well, increasing numbers of foreign visitors during the 1930s protested being prevented from traveling to any but show-piece towns and factories. There were

enough complaints that by the late 1930s influential leftist intellectuals, such as John Dewey, began publishing about the cruelty of Stalin's regime.

### **See No Evil, A Mother's Influence**

Before then, soon after Margot Clark's 1934 visit, reports reached the West about the Soviets reversing many of their 1920's sex and family policies. On-demand abortion was made illegal, so was homosexuality, as the government tried to overcome what it saw as a "culture of abortion" that treated the destruction of human fetuses as a natural function. Margot and her ideological mates dismissed those reports and the other criticisms of the Soviet regime. Margot failed notice Soviet women were being ordered to send their children to day care centers while they were forced to go to work. Margot and her friends also discounted reports appearing in the mid-1930s stating the Soviet government was abandoning its egalitarian policies and was paying skilled industrial workers, Party functionaries, and skilled farm workers on a "much-more-than-equal" basis to encourage productivity. As well, experienced workers from foreign countries now received much higher wages and greater benefits than others just as Soviet citizens were required to provide more and more unpaid overtime work while being subjected to increasingly rigid Taylorite-like "Fordism" scientific work rules with punishments for failing to meet production goals. American leftists and unions had condemned milder versions of Taylorism when they were applied in the United States.<sup>26</sup>

By the mid-1930s there was enough published about Russia's cruelties and failures to make an educated person question Soviet policies but Margot Clark stood by her devotion. She refused to recognize Soviet realities, dismissing the growing number of critics as capitalist tools because, like so many of her generation, she had been conditioned to see only the best of Russia and the worst of America. Her mother Susan and her reformist friends had shaped Margot's

views since her early childhood. In turn, her elders had been influenced by the organized left's propaganda about socialism and then Soviet achievements.

Since its 1919 beginnings, the American Communist Party's publications applauded Russia while ridiculing criticisms of Soviet policies, even those by the liberal The American Federation of Labor and radical International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Expectedly, Party papers and journals always rejected the findings by congressional committees of widespread forced convict labor and the accusations of political and religious suppression published in Hearst and Catholic publications. Image molding went so far by the 1930s that Party-aligned Hollywood film writers were ordered to block or denounce films critical of the Soviet Union.

### **Susan, The Party, Accepting the Popular Front as Anti-fascist, Not Communist**

Susan Clark did more than shape Margot's perception of Russia, she guided her daughter into the American Party. Susan had been close to major figures in the early 1900's Progressive era's reform movements, including its feminists, and she had many influential contacts that could have helped Margot remain a middle-class liberal supporting reform movements. However, before Margot's 1935 Wellesley graduation, Susan became more radical and had as many contacts on the far-left as in the liberal establishment—and she had broken with formal religion, including Unitarianism.<sup>27</sup>

During the 1920s Susan had joined with Party activists such as Ella Reeve Bloor in the campaigns to free Sacco and Vanzetti---then she went further becoming a Party member (a secret one because of her job) by the time of Margot's Soviet trip. That was before the Party changed from its late 1920s hardline Third Period policies that condemned any but Communist polices to its anti-Nazi and supposedly cooperative, non-revolutionary Popular Front stance. (People's Front was the term used in the United States). The 1935 Comintern-ordered shift to the

Popular Front policy and the American Party's drive to quickly increase membership led to a campaign to change its image, even that of its leadership. Three years before, in 1932, America's Party leader, William Z. Foster published, *Toward Soviet America*, a work intended to serve as the Party's version of a bible. The book contained a hard-core version of revolutionary, totalitarian Marxist-Leninism. According to Foster, once the expected American revolution took place property was to be confiscated, religion discarded, independent voluntary organizations eliminated, all education to be Marxist, all communications to be controlled by the Party, "socialist-fascists" outlawed, a separate Negro nation established, and a dictatorship of the proletariat put into place as the Party's "vanguard" turned the revolution in a truly socialist direction.<sup>28</sup>

1935's apparent rejection of Foster's blueprint for a Communist America and the shift to the Popular Front's emphasizing cooperation with all other anti-fascists helped the Party out of its membership doldrums. The onset of the Great Depression of 1929 had increased its recruiting within labor unions and its initiatives such as a nation-wide unemployment march increased general membership. National rolls had gone from a tiny 9,000 in 1929 to 25,000 five years later, but under the Popular Front, the Party's peace and anti-Nazi campaigns came near tripling membership during the next five years. Massachusetts' Party also grew. In 1934, when the Clarks began joining, the state's Party had less than 1,000 members, down from 2,000 in 1920. Boston had three hundred with perhaps twenty in Cambridge. As with the national Party, most members were immigrants or second-generation Americans. Then, the Front approach and the Party's role in the Spanish Civil War led to expansion. By 1939, state membership rebounded to 2,000 dues payers with many being native-born, and with more being young intellectuals. But that growth was much less than desired. The Party's leaders continued to search for ways to

recruit the masses. One way was to make the Party seem an American, not foreign, organization. Americanization had been a goal since the early 1920s; under pressure from Moscow in the 1930s it became a priority.<sup>29</sup>

### **More Red Lies: Looking “American” to Move Beyond Immigrants**

In the early 1920s the vast majority, 95%, of American Communists were foreign born and members of ethnic organizations known as Language Federations. The Federations conducted their affairs using each ethnic group’s language and social organizations. The Finnish federation, for example, had near half of the Party’s members, with the remainder in organizations for Jews and those for immigrants from other Baltic states. The federations’ more radical members looked forward to the Russian revolution spreading to their homelands, even to America and since the Party’s formation they insisted it be an underground organization, partly because they feared arrest and deportation. They also objected to any public activities, including cooperation with organizations that were not committed to armed revolutionary action and the destruction of capitalism and its allied political structure. The federations’ list of condemned organizations included more than the American Federation of Labor and the Socialist Party. The radical International Workers of the World (IWW) was denounced because its program did not include the total overthrow of capitalism. The Party’s sister American organizations, the Communist Labor Party and its successor the United Communist Party, a 1920 merger of the Communist Labor Party and bolters from the Federations, were declared outlaws that paid only lip-service to revolutionary ideals.<sup>30</sup>

The Federations’ leaders soon had to compromise. Orders from Moscow led to a complicated merger with the United Communist Party in 1921 and to accepting cooperation with other groups as well as involvement with above-ground activities such as the Trade Union

Educational League that sought to penetrate and convert America's labor unions. The merger was not total, however. The Federations remained independent, even collecting Party dues. Their continued objections to public work, including remaking the Party into the Workers Party of America that participated in elections, led to a critical decision in the mid-1920s. The Party disassociated the Federations, with hopes their members would all join the Party. That did not happen. Few federation members joined. The Party membership dropped by one-half and remained dominated by the foreign born and their children.

Low membership was one reason for an intensification of a drive to make the Party appear American, at least by having its national and state leaders being native born. A first step came after the party cleansings of 1929 when Jay Lovestone (Jacob Liebstein) was replaced by the second generation Irish radical William Z. Foster who chose another American-born, Earl Browder, as his assistant. Foster had traveled through syndicalism and union organizing in the American heartland (rather than in New York City's Jewish community, or in a Finnish cooperative in the upper Midwest) to become a Communist. Although a hard-liner, a Soviet supporter, the son of an Irish radical, and having an abrasive manner, Foster did not speak with a foreign accent as had the previous party leaders. A greater contribution to "looking American" came in 1934: Earl Browder survived another intraparty battle and was appointed chairman when Foster became ill and was rushed to Moscow for treatment and recuperation-- just as the Comintern was ordering the start of the Popular Front. The Party provided its new leader Earl Browder with a public persona of a pure-bred, patriotic American without foreign ties or radical views. That, like the promise to cooperate with all anti-fascists, helped the Party's growth, but Browder's image was a distortion as were many of the Party's interpretations of its actions and intentions during the Popular Front era.

### **Americanizing at the Top**

Many influential left oriented Americans such as Norman Thomas doubted the sincerity of the Front policies, Browder's intentions. And the image the Party built for him. Thomas and the others were correct about the Popular Front and about Earl. More than one Party insider told members the Front was only a tactic to gain enough influence to allow the Party to play a greater role in the coming revolution. Those who remembered the actions under the Party's short-lived United Front cooperative policy of the 1920's agreed. They feared the Popular Front was just another attempt to "bore-from-within," taking-over unions and political and civil rights organizations rather than cooperating with them. They were correct in their suspicions of Party-created organizations that claimed to be supporting universal causes, such as anti-fascism or free speech.

Earl Browder always denied trying to bore-from-within, but he never rejected his Party-given image.<sup>31</sup> Earl was born in the American agricultural heartland, Kansas, to a less than successful farm family. He joined the Socialist Party when he was a teenager, then associated with William Z. Foster's radical syndicalist labor group. About that time, Earl worked as an accountant, married his first wife, and had two children. Then, his radicalism pushed him to protest America's entry into World War I. That led to two short stints in Federal prisons. On his release he joined the new Communist Party, working with Foster's trade-union organizing section, the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), that aimed at converting AFL unions into adjuncts of the Party. At the same time, Browder established links to Moscow, received training there, then became involved in espionage in America and Asia. He had an extra-marital affair, perhaps a marriage, with Kitty Harris, a Jewish immigrant girl who joined the American Party then became a professional Soviet agent in Europe. Browder's sister also served the Cause, as



did Helen Lowry, his niece, and his brother-in-law Harrison George, a veteran of the International Workers of the World (IWW).

Earl had used some of his time in Moscow to find a new wife (before divorcing his other wives) and having another two children. When ordered back to the United States by the Comintern he brought his new family, and a maid the Soviets has assigned to watch him, to New York where he took a full-time position with the Party. He became a faithful Stalinist, a recruiter for Soviet intelligence, and the Party's presidential candidate. During the 1930s, Earl was a frequent traveler to Moscow where here received orders, and funds.

His travels were on forged passports. That, and failing to inform immigration officials that his new Russian wife was a Communist, put him in danger. After the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 the American government grew suspicious of the Soviets, the Party, and Browder. Earl was imprisoned for passport fraud. The Party's image-makers immediately made into a free-speech and civil rights martyr. Other Party leaders who had used the passport document-mill led by Jacob Golos of New York City went into hiding, declaring America was persecuting loyal patriots and moving towards fascism.

When Germany invaded Russia and the American government no longer considered the Soviets a probable enemy Browder was granted an early release. He resumed power and began setting Party policies that went beyond the Popular Front's. He gave full support to Franklin Roosevelt's war effort, but echoed the Soviet Union's demands for unlimited supplies and for the Americans and British opening a "second front" campaign in Europe that would force Germany to divert its forces from Russia. Although pushing such Soviet demands Browder declared socialism would arrive through evolution, not revolution, in the United States-- and the world. He also reversed union related polices. The Party had encouraged strikes in critical

defense plans before the Russia was invaded then Browder approved the 1941 prosecution of the James Cannon's Socialist Worker's Party (Trotskyite) for anti-war efforts and then told all union members to defeat any attempts at strikes. Browder also approved Stalin's announced dissolution of the Comintern then added his own cosmetic change to aid his World War II deepening of Popular Front policies. He turned the American Party into just a "political association" and urged its members to support Roosevelt's Democratic Party.

### **More Who Became "American" Almost Overnight**

Before then, in 1934, while Browder was assuming power the Party was grooming other men to help it "look American". Although he also had a less-than-pure background Eugene Dennis was one of them. Dennis, really Francis Xavier Waldron, was born in Seattle, Washington to the son of a radical Irish immigrant. Francis' ne'er-do-well father was unable to provide much for his family and young Francis was soon at work and becoming bitter. He joined then IWW, then the Party, acted as a union organizer for the IWW, then for the Third Period's separate TUUL unions. Francis married a radical immigrant-family Jewish girl (Peggy) who had been trained in Marxism since her youth. Then after being indicted for syndicalism in California in 1929, he fled with her to Russia where the couple received training for party, labor, and espionage work.

Although having a new son, Francis was assigned to duties in Asia where he assisted the Sorge espionage operation. In 1935, he was ordered back to the United States to help with the shift to the Popular Front policies. Peggy was instructed to have an abortion so she could travel with him. Their young son was kept in the Soviet Union and placed in a state orphanage to ensure Francis' good behavior. With criminal charges still active in the United States, Francis changed his name to Eugene Dennis (and sometimes Tim Ryan and other aliases) as he began his new

career as a Party functionary and a controller of intelligence sources such as Communists inside America's WWII's Office of Strategic Services.<sup>32</sup>

The next young Party rising star was also born in the United States--but to a Finnish immigrant who had been and remained a radical after he moved to an ethnic enclave in Minnesota's Mesabi Iron Ridge, joined the IWW, then helped organize the new Communist Party. Arvo Kustaa Halberg went beyond his father's old-world radicalism. Joining the Young Communist League, Arvo was sent to Moscow for two years of training when he was just twenty-one. On his return in 1934 he began careers as a Party union organizer (with several arrests), a political candidate in several states, and a full-time regional functionary. Although he tried to look pure-American by changing his name to Gus Hall in 1935 he did not fit the Popular Front's immediate needs.<sup>33</sup>

The Party also tried to manipulate the image of *The Daily Worker*, its major newspaper, to make it seem purely American. In 1940, the American government knew the Soviets were heavily subsidizing the paper and was ready to make the Party register it as the agent of a foreign government. To protect itself, the Party shifted the newspaper's ownership to several older ladies who, it advertised, were all innocent respectables of colonial American stock. That seriously bent the truth. Although the women were all native born and associated with prestigious colleges, they had few colonial ties-- none were "innocents." Susan Woodruff, Caro Lloyd Stobell, Anna Pennypacker, and Ferdinanda Reed had long Party histories, as did Ferdinanda's children. One of Ferdinanda's daughters became so committed she left her husband and moved to the Soviet Union. Ferdinanda's other girl was also a believer. Evidence was found buried under Ferdinanda's summer home indicating her daughter Nancy was a Party member supplying convoy data to a Soviet source during the years of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.<sup>34</sup>

Massachusetts' Party was also attempting to "look American"—and to appear to be a democracy run by locals.

### **The American Look in the Bay State**

Boston was one of the first cities in the nation to have a party organization, but it was never purely American. That party began as an immigrants' society. It was started by John Ballam, an immigrant Dutch Jew cigar maker, and Louis Fraina, an Italian-born radical, with a bit of help from John Reed, a young American Harvard University graduate. Ballam and Fraina organized Boston's east European immigrants, led violent protests and strikes, and used over a million dollars of Soviet funds to attempt to turn Boston's police 1919 strike into the first step towards an American revolution. Ballam represented Boston's Latvians at Chicago's 1919 Party-founding meeting, then became a Communist functionary and a labor organizer sent from place to place, including the American South. Fraina returned to and stayed in New York City, while Reed went to and died in Russia. Ballam frequently reappeared in New England, but he was not American enough to be a public leader. While another Party founder, Fred Bates Chase, once the head of Massachusetts' Socialist Party, was "American" and played an early role in Massachusetts' radical politics, he became ill and retreated to recuperate on a small farm in New Hampshire.<sup>35</sup>

In Massachusetts, some native-born locals were promoted to Party leadership positions during the 1920s and early 1930s, but they were usually second-generation Americans like Joe Figueiredo. The real power was held by functionaries appointed by the Party's Chicago, then New York headquarters. In 1925, Sydney Bloomfield, a tough-guy union organizer, was sent to Boston, to be helped by William Schneiderman the Russian-born functionary who became famous for his Party work in San Francisco. Bloomfield stayed until 1935 when he was replaced

by Philip Frankfeld and his wife Frances (Francis) Hartman. (Hartman was a Party name, she was born a Goldberg). Both were from New York City's Jewish community. Philip had been a labor organizer and he and Frances had gone to Russia to receive training in revolutionary tactics. Philip remained in Boston until 1945 when a marital problem and a shift in Party policies led him to be reassigned to Baltimore where he was soon convicted under the Smith Act for conspiracy. After a divorce, Frances Hartman remained active in Boston, sometime at odds with Philip's replacement Manny Blum, another New York City second generation Yiddish Jew. Manny was a frustrated college graduate reduced to part time teaching who then built a life as a paid Party organizer in New York, using several aliases. He also made at least one pilgrimage to Moscow.<sup>36</sup>

Although there were an increasing number of native New England Communists playing roles in Massachusetts' Party, most were not pure enough to fit the Popular Front image. Ordway Southard was the son of a distinguished Harvard neuropsychiatrist who came from an old-line American family. The young Ordway was active in the Party, but he was a rather erratic genius who mixed ideology with poetry. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana had credentials as a pure New Englander and gave much time and money to the Cause, but his intellectualism and homosexual reputation made him unfit to do more than lecture on Russian achievements. He never had power.<sup>37</sup> A few younger men, such as Hugo Degregory, were being groomed but he was too "Italian" at the time, and Sydney Lipshires seemed too "Jewish" for the needs of the 1930s. Two others who gained power in New England were not American enough for the Party's needs.

Elba Chase Nelson (Elba Korn, Korb, Korg)) was born in Latvia to Jewish parents who immigrated to New England. As a young girl she worked in Filine's Boston department store,

enrolled in the city's nighttime grammar school, took a nursing course, and became involved with Susan Clark's Women's Trade Union League and feminist causes. Then, she married the Socialist leader and Party founder Fred Bates Chase. She retreated with him to a rented primitive New Hampshire farm after Fred became ill. After his parents died and their Keene, New Hampshire farm was sold, an inheritance helped Fred buy his farm and a nearby maple sugar operation, but the family was never financially secure. Elba had five children to raise but joined Fred in his continued Communist activism. They remained so devoted Elba had the hammer and sickle engraved on Fred's headstone and led a hundred mourners in singing the Internationale at his graveside. Elba and her red-diaper children were on-their-own, living off the meagre returns from Elba's farming and maple-sugar business for five years after Fred's 1933 death. But she did not abandon her Party activities. After her 1938 marriage to Charles Irvin Nelson, a local New Hampshire farmer, postman, and quarry owner when she was near fifty her financial situation improved (the couple had three farms and two businesses) and she was able to help two of her children through college. As well, her Party commitments in New Hampshire and New England increased and she became the behind-the-scenes power in New Hampshire's Party as well as a mentor a mentor to Joy Clark and other young activists.<sup>38</sup>

. Another not-quite-American woman with influence in Massachusetts and New England played a more important role in the Party and in the lives of Margot, Susan, and Joy Clark . Anne Burlak Timpson was one of the most energetic and colorful American Communists and had impeccable Party credentials. She built a reputation as the radical "Red Flame" union organizer during her youth, trained for Party work in the Soviet Union, and was an experienced and well-regarded functionary. But she was the daughter of radical Ukrainian immigrants who returned to Russia during the 1930s. Marrying Arthur Timpson, a Jewish Estonian immigrant

already devoted to the Cause, was another reason she seemed unfit to be a public face of the 1930's Party.<sup>39</sup>

### **Americans, At Last**

The Massachusetts Party found two men who were American enough to be its public facade and who were willing to follow orders from New York and from Moscow while spending endless hours working for meagre wages.

### **Otis Hood**

he Party claimed Otis Archer Hood was a descendent of the Mayflower Pilgrims. He may have been, but his family did not become rich or part of New England's high society. Otis was born on the grounds of Massachusetts's poor-farm and asylum complex in 1900 where his father was running a small business that failed, leading him to try to support his ten children as a skilled worker in a nearby shoe factory. The family struggled but persevered, especially Otis. While working at odd jobs he completed high school. At an imposing 6'6" and 220 pounds he gained notice as a football player, but athletics was not among his life's goals. He wanted to be an intellectual and an artist. Finances made both objectives difficult to achieve. He could not afford a college like Harvard, or to study art abroad. He did the best he could, enrolling in Boston's state-run Massachusetts Normal Art School, working part time, commuting from his home in Abington, and beginning a habit of getting speeding tickets when he had an automobile. It took Otis four, not two years to get his 1924 certification in industrial and commercial applications of his sculpting talents, not in abstract art. Otis was frustrated by that and by the lack of job opportunities. After a year's search the best he could find was a temporary job teaching shop-model construction at a Boston manual arts school. He became alienated from America.

After two years of frustration at the school, at age twenty-eight, he landed his first real job, but only as a model maker at a Boston architectural and construction company. By that time, he had become interested in Marxism. He studied on his own, then founded a John Reed Club in Brookline. He also began making statues of Stalin, Lenin, and Trotsky, selling them at club meetings. As his interests in Marxism deepened, the Great Depression smashed his employer. At thirty-three, Otis was out of work, with no prospects. As he tried to scratch a living as an independent sculptor, he joined the Party just before its switch to the Popular Front policies. He was immediately put to work. He was assigned to organize a Boston May Day celebration although he was living in Worcester. The parade turned violent; he was beaten. The next year he was ordered to run as the Party's candidate for mayor in Boston because he "looked American." Then, as he accepted the Party's turn against hardline Marxism, he was made its state chairman, ran for governor, became a legislative representative, recruiter, school board candidate, prolific pamphlet writer, leader of raucous demonstrations, and the public face of the Massachusetts Party. He became so devoted to the Party he crafted large bronze statues of Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, and James Ford to decorate the Party's Boston office. By then Otis' family had disowned him because of his radicalism.<sup>40</sup>

After several years Otis finally began a family, which meant searching for ways to supplement his meagre Party salary. At age thirty-nine he married a woman seven years younger who, although they shared much, was an unusual choice given her background., Frances (Fanny) Allen was the daughter of a famous Boston editor-publisher who did well enough to put her through Radcliffe College and, with the help of scholarships, send her to Paris to study piano and composition with the famous Juliette Nadia Boulanger. Then, like Otis, Fanny became discontented. On graduation she was unable to launch a performance career. She had to work at



secretarial jobs then one as a music teacher at an elite private school in far-off Indiana. She joined the Party there, returning home because of a spinal injury. As soon as she was rested, she became active in Boston. She taught music to children at the elite but progressive Shady Hill School, married Otis, had a first child at thirty-six, and became an indefatigable Party worker. That brought pressures. She as well as Otis was put on the FBI's "key figure" and DETCOM lists. Also, their home was "bugged" and their phones tapped. Despite such pressures, and although they could not afford more than small rental apartments until much later in life, they remained true to the Cause, following all the twists in Party policy during the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.

### **Daniel Boone ?**

Massachusetts' Party was grooming another "look American" candidate during the 1930s, an unlikely one, partly because he was not of the working class.<sup>41</sup> Daniel Schirmer was from a very rich New York City and Connecticut country-club family. His grandfather immigrated from Germany, did well, and passed his financial talents to his sons who became wealthy insurance executives and financiers. Daniel's mother also came from a family of great wealth and influence. She was disappointed when, unlike his brother Edward, Daniel showed no interest in finance. Daniel, being very bright but idealistic, if not unrealistic, had problems at elite private Connecticut schools and was sent to an exclusive North Carolina boarding school with a reputation for succeeding with intelligent but unconventional boys. The school did not strip him of his idealism. As soon as Daniel entered Harvard University, he became a leader of left-wing student groups, so many he was almost expelled for poor grades. He joined the Young Communist League and the John Reed Club, then became a Party member in his senior year. He also became a leader of the American Student Union (ASU), heading its protests over such

”capitalistic” schemes as military training in colleges. After his 1937 graduation he became the ASU’s paid state secretary while falling in love with Margaret (Peggy) Fellows, an English girl from a wealthy family who transferred from the London School of Economics to Radcliffe College to study social problems, as had Kate Field. Peggy also joined the Party.

Daniel and Peggy’s family backgrounds and their college educations made them look less than typical American so the Party played on one aspect of Daniel’s past: His middle name was Boone, his mother’s maiden name. The Party always advertised him as a direct descendant of Daniel Boone, the famous the American pioneer- explorer whose eighteenth-century frontier exploits made him a folk hero. There was a problem with that image: Daniel was only the distant descendent of Colonel Boone’s younger brother George. Daniel did not contradict the false advertising until forced to in the 1950s.

Daniel became a devoted Party worker soon after his college graduation and remained so, first working for near starvation wages as an organizer in Vermont where he put himself in danger by running for political office although he was not a legal resident. The Party then began moving him up its ranks. He was sent to a secret training camp in up-state New York in 1940, then made a union-organizer -agitator in Springfield, Massachusetts where he began buying hundreds of books preparing to open his own Red Star bookstore and publishing house. He married Peggy the next year. He was earning a small salary as an organizer but because he and Peggy had incomes from small family trust funds they were able to build a small nest-egg.

Like Otis Hood, Daniel followed Party mandates and took out an insurance policy with the Party-run International Workers Order (IWO) and obeyed the always-changing orders from New York and Moscow. In 1940, he denounced war preparations and aid to England as plots by Wall Street to force the United States into the war, even organizing “informative” picket lines at

Westinghouse plants. After the Russian invasion he was a leading spokesman for all-out war efforts, frequently calling unions that went on strike new versions of the American Civil War's Copperheads. He was one of the first of those demanding the immediate opening of a British-American second-front to divert German forces from Russia, despite America's lack of preparation. Daniel soon became an effective spokesman for Earl Browder's policies of cooperation rather than revolution.

Following Party orders to penetrate the defense industries he took a menial job as a polisher at the Smith and Wesson arms company while preparing to be the state Party's lead publicist. He soon left Smith and Wesson, stating that his night time newspaper job demanded his full attention. His quitting was a relief to the FBI's men who worried over his working in a critical defense plant and had spent much time following him and going through his trash. Just as he left Smith and Wesson Daniel's Party work had to be put on hold. Despite his always looking gaunt and underfed, and after several attempts to be deferred because of his two young children, he was drafted in 1943. For unexplained reasons, he never served as an officer. Peggy assumed Daniel's Party duties while he was away. Wisely, she had just been naturalized. Daniel was honorably released from duty in 1946, but as "disaffected," perhaps because he was suing the government for what he claimed were war-induced stomach and dental ailments. On his return to Massachusetts, he was put on a fast-track to Party leadership. Unfortunately, by that time, like Otis Hood's, his family had disowned him because of his radicalism.

### **Under Increasing Pressures : The Big Red Lies**

By 1935 there was a need for the Party to have more than American-looking leaders. The national and state Parties were coming under pressure and feared legal actions, even imprisonment of Party leaders. At the national level, congress was reenergizing its un-American activities investigations while states were passing new anti-radical laws. In 1935, joining twenty-two other states, Massachusetts passed a loyalty law for teachers and, later, government employees. Then, prompted by Catholics and business organizations, the state began investigations that many believed would lead to outlawing the Communist Party. In response to a 1937's threat Otis Hood and Philip Frankfeld issued a long and astounding document, "A Confession of Faith"<sup>42</sup>. It was intended to convince the public that, as Earl Browder phrased it, "Communism is 20th Century Americanism". It was also meant to serve as the template for Party recruiters. The "Confession" stretched the truth more than the fabricated images of Party leaders and the giving of new names, such as Sam Adams or Thomas Jefferson, to the Party's training schools.

The "Confession" began by calling the state's pending investigations "red-baiting." Then, it declared the Party was a true political (not revolutionary) institution that deserved all American rights and protections, especially because it was leading the fight against the real danger, fascism, and was protecting the rights of free speech and assembly for all liberals. Otis emphasized that because the state Party was small and had less than 1,000 members it could not be a threat and was being targeted as a first step in destroying all American freedoms. Next came a statement of the Party's economic platform that was less radical than the Socialists' of 1912. It approved all the reform measures the Party had traditionally condemned as means of deferring the needed revolution. The platform statement was followed by host of claims that did not match American or world Communist history: Communists were never against religion; the Party had

always cooperated with regular unions such as the AFL; the Party was against strikes unless a last resort; the Party was against force and violence; the Party was for the traditional family, not free-love; the Party supported free scientific inquiry; Communists stood for the protection of traditional democratic institutions such as political parties; and, the Party never had any secret training schools.

Hood and Frankfeld continued with a self-serving history of the Party and of the United States that belied well known facts. Their overarching claim was that Communism and communist ideas were not foreign but rooted in American history, from the nation's founding through Brook Farm, Thoreau and Channing, and the Progressive and New Deal movements. They claimed that no foreign ideas (or people or money) were behind the formation of the Communist Party of the United States.

“The Confession” repeated and repeated one theme: The Party must be protected as it was at the forefront of defending Massachusetts against the growing number of fascist organization in the state. Saving American democracy meant defending the Communist Party! There was no mention of Marx, Lenin, or Stalin and while Earl Browder alluded to the dictatorship of the proletariat at the end of his 1938, *The People's Front*<sup>43</sup>, Hood and Frankfeld never used the term, or anything like it. As well, there was only a short paragraph in their document admitting the Party stood for the public ownership of factories and utilities, but that was accompanied by a commitment to the private ownership of farms—not to collective farms.

Despite such obvious distortions in Party literature, and the Popular Front's seeming turn away from fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, Margot, Susan, and Joy Clark stayed with the Party as they would when in 1939 Stalin abandoned anti-fascism and made what some feared

was an alliance with Germany , then reverted back to a Popular Front policy in 1941, then swung back to a Foster-like position at the end of World War II.

<sup>1 1</sup> As with most all biographies in this work the early history of the Clarks had to be pieced together from any diverse sources. The most useful for the Clarks were national and states census materials, Wellesley and Smith College alumni and archival records, Harvard alumni records, genealogical cite, city directories, the *New York Times* (NYT ) and Boston newspapers, and correspondence with relatives. To provide a complete listing of all the sources for this and the other biographies is impractical so just one or a few sources will be cited in each case. See for the Clarks. for example, NYT, 3 24 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Clark, Sue Ainslie.; Wyatt, Edith, *Making Both Ends Meet; the Income and Outlay of New York Working G Girls*, (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1911). Useful on the movements Susan was involved with in her early year are Dye, Nancy Schrom, *The Women's Trade Union League pf New York* (Columbia : University of Missouri Press, 1980) and . Nutter, Kathleen Banks *The Necessity of Organization : Mary Kenney O'Sullivan and Trade Unionism for Women, 1892-1912* [New York : Garland Pub., 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Correspondence with Carol L. Figueiredo

<sup>4</sup> Clark, Alan, *Firewall* (NY: Random Hou.se, 1940).. See also his obituary, Plainfield, Vermont, 6-6-2004.

<sup>5</sup> Alumni Records, Wellesley College.

<sup>6</sup> *New York Tribune* 9-19-1934.

<sup>7</sup> NYT, 3-2-1931

<sup>8</sup> NYT, 3-9-1930.

<sup>9</sup> The 1934-5 group arrived to find their classes had been cancelled but other part of the trip was conducted.

<sup>10</sup> FBI FOIA, margot clark.

<sup>11</sup> Timberlake, Charles E. "Russian American Contacts, 1917-1937: A Review Article." *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 61 4 (1970): 217–21.

<sup>12</sup> See, Massachusetts Historical Society on-line collection guide to Reed Paper for a biographical sketch and NYT 6-15-1930 for a sample of her writings. See [https://www.masshist.org/collection-for the family papers](https://www.masshist.org/collection-for-the-family-papers).

<sup>13</sup> FBI FOIA, san francisco party, 1950.

<sup>14</sup> On Baldwin and his circle, Cottrell, Robert C. , *Roger Nash Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

<sup>15</sup> A helpful survey of attitudes is : Lovenstein ,Meno, *American Opinion on Soviet Russia* (Washington. D.C., American Council on Public, 1941).

<sup>16</sup> For example, Saul, Norman E., *Friends of Foes: The United States and Soviet Russia, 1921-1941* (Emporia: University of Kansas Press, 2006).;Feuer, Lewis. "American Travelers to the Soviet Union 1917-1932: The Formation of A Component of New Deal Ideology," *American Quarterly*, 14 2 Part 1 (Summer, 1962): 119-149,

<sup>17</sup> For a comment about those views, Mc Dermont, Wm. F. NYT 8-29-1937.

<sup>18</sup> Lovenstein,, *Op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Taylor, S. J., *Stalin's Apologist: Walter Duranty, The New York Time's Man In Moscow* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>20</sup> For example, Chamberlin, William Henry, "The Balance Sheet of the Five-Year Plan?", *Foreign Affairs*, 11 3 (Apr, 1933): 458-469. For a retrospective,.: Dalrymple, Dana G., "The Soviet Famine of 1932-1934", *Soviet Studies*, 15 3 (Jan., 1964): 250-284

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, Keys, Barbara , "An African-American Worker in Stalin's Soviet Union," *The Historian*, 71 1 (Spring 2009): 31-54; Lewis, David Levering "Invisible Man : Blacks in Stalin's Russia " NYT 5-15-1988;

<sup>22</sup> NYT, May 1931. For sensitive vies of the Soviet economy before and after the revolution: Gregory, Paul R., *Before Command: An Economic History of Russia from Emancipation t the First Five-Year Plan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Gregory, Paul N., *The Political Economy of Stalinism: Evidence from the Soviet Secret Archives* ( London: Cambridge University Press, 2004;) Allen., Robert C., "The Standard of Living in the Soviet Union, 1928-1940," *The Journal of Economic History*, 58 4 (Dec., 1998): 1093-1089; Temin, Peter, "Soviet and Nazi Economic Planning in the 1930s" *Economic History Review*, 44 4 (Nov., 1999)573-593; . Davies, R., *The Economic Transformation of the Soviet Union, 1913 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

- <sup>23</sup> For example, Beal, Fred Erwin, *Proletarian Journey: New England, Gastonia, Moscow* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1971). Helpful is, Hunter, Holland, "The Overambitious First Soviet Five-Year Plan," *Slavic Review*, 32 2 (Jun., 1973): 237-257.
- <sup>24</sup> For example, McDermit, William F., *NYT* 8-29-1937.
- <sup>25</sup> Saul, "Friends or Foes," *op. cit.*
- <sup>26</sup> for example, *WP* 6-29-1938.
- <sup>27</sup> See FBI FOIAs for Susan, Joy, Jean and Margot Clark on Susan's activities and beliefs.
- <sup>28</sup> Foster, William Z., *Toward Soviet America* (NY: Coward-MCCann, Inc., circa 1932).
- <sup>29</sup> For overviews of Party history, its interpretations, and its success and travails: Draper, Theodore, *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (NY: The Viking Press, 1960); Palmer, Bryan D. "Rethinking the Historiography of United States Communism," *American Communist History*, 2, 2 (2003): 144-173; Kazin, Michael, "The Agony and romance of the American Left," *The American Historical Review* 100 5 ( Dec., 1995): 1488-1512; Isserman, Maurice, "Three Generations: Historians View American Communism," *Labor History*, 26 4 (Fall, 1985):517-546; . Klehr, Harvey, " The Historiography of American Communism: An Unsettled Field". *Labor History Review*, 68 (2003): 61-7;8: and Klehr, Harvey, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* ( NY: Basic Books, 1984);
- <sup>30</sup> Useful on federations : Buhle, Paul & Dan Georgakias (eds.), *The Immigrant Left in the United States* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996); Zumoff , Jacob A., *The Communist International and US Communism, 1919-1929* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Kostianen, Auvo, *The Forging of Finnish-American Communism, 1917-1924: a Study in Ethnic Radicalism* (Turku: Turun Yliopisto, 1978); and Bureau of Investigation Confidential Surveillance of the Unity Convention of the Communist Party of America Woodstock, New York, . May 15-28, 1921. .
- <sup>31</sup> Very useful on Browder: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earl\\_Browder#Early\\_years](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earl_Browder#Early_years); CIA CREST files on Browder: and the less than frank [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earl\\_Browder](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earl_Browder) is also helpful. Of importance, Klehr, Harvey, John Early Haynes, and Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Pres, 1995). Browder, Earl, *The People's Front* (NY: International Publishers, 1938) is nearly complete repudiation of Foster's program.
- <sup>32</sup> Useful on Dennis: Dennis, Peggy, *The Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life 1925-1975* (Westport/Berkeley: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1977) and Haynes , John Earl and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* ( New Haven : Yale University Press, 1999).
- <sup>33</sup> A popular yet substantial biography of Hall is found at [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gus\\_Hall](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gus_Hall).
- <sup>34</sup> On the purchase, *Warren Times Mirror Newspaper* August 1, 1940, on the espionage charge, *NYT*, August-12-1942.
- <sup>35</sup> Much on early Massachusetts Party history is in: Russell, Francis, *A City in Terror: Calvin Coolidge and the 1919 Boston Police Strike* (Boston: Beacon Press, 200))
- <sup>36</sup> Massachusetts' leadership history may be traced through the many Federal and state investigations of the Communist Party, for example: 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. Boston: Wright and Potter printing co., legislative printers.
- <sup>37</sup> A glimpse at Southard is in Winston, Rick, "A Sinister Poison: The Red Scare Comes to Bethel", *Vermont History*, 80 1 (Winter/Spring, 2012):65-82. On some aspects of Dana's life: Lowes, Hilary Iris. "The Queerst House in Cambridge,": *The Public Historian* 41 2 (May, 2019) :44-69.
- <sup>38</sup> Helpful on Elba: Forbes, Donald H., *Two Communist Brothers from New Hampshire and Their Fight Against Fascism* ( np: Lulu Press , 2013).
- <sup>39</sup> For an uncritical short Burlak biography : Hughes, Quenby Olmsted, "Red Flame Burning Bright: Communist Labor Organizer Ann Burlak, Rhode Island Workers, and the New Deal ", *Rhode Island History*, 67 2 (Summer/Fall 2009):43-60. For a more complete view see below and her FBI FOIA release.
- <sup>40</sup> Hood was traced through census , family history, and news source (for example, *Daily Boston Globe*, 5-39-1956 and *NYT* 4-6-1954) and archival material such as his oral history at New York University, and the Subversive Control Board records at NARA, but his FBI FOIA release proved the most valuable.
- <sup>41</sup> Schirmer and his family were traced through academic, census, and family history sources , newspapers, and the records of government hearings. The best source on his life is his FBI FOIA release.
- <sup>42</sup> Communist Party of Massachusetts, State Committee, *A Confession of Faith: We State Our Case to the Legislative Committee* (Boston, 1937). Helpful on Massachusetts' Communist history: Holmes, Judith Larrabbe,

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<sup>43</sup> Browder, Earl, "*The People's Front.*" *Op cit.*