

Chapter 9

Post- Third Period Lives of Ware's Farm Group and His Washington Cell

Ella and most of Harold's farm crew stayed with the Party and were treated better than the other Red agriculturalists. Some became members of the Party's central hierarchy, even its secret apparatus.

Ella's Last Years

When the UFL was left without support Ella Bloor and Andrew Omholt took a long vacation-like auto tour. Of course, wherever they stopped Ella gave a speech saluting the latest Party policies, accepting donations for her presentation. Herta, Ella's granddaughter, spent part of the trip with them. She had just moved to New York City to stay with Jessica Smith while she tried to succeed as a folksinger and actress.¹ That brought her into contact with May Sarton, another of the Boston-Cambridge circle, and eventually to marriage to Will Geer, a famous actor, Communist, and friend of the Clarks and Stephen Fritchman. Ella's 1935 trip included an extended stay at the Roger Baldwin sponsored Mena, Arkansas Commonwealth College. The college evolved from a commune into a Garland-supported training ground for young radical labor and anti-segregation leaders. Ella and Omholt then settled down, but in Pennsylvania, not North Dakota, or Delaware. For just back taxes they bought Charles Garland's old utopian April Farm near Philadelphia where Ella's son Carl Reeve was settling-in as a Party official. While not as much as before, Ella was active enough that the FBI believed her farm was a meeting and archive center for the Party leading the agency to keep her on its list of persons to be detained in case of war. Although quite old she travelled to strikes as far away as Michigan, frequently giving speeches.

Her high-point during the late 1930s was an expense paid, three-month trip to Russia for the twentieth anniversary of the revolution. She and Omholt toured the country, stopping at Verblud where an honorary display for Harold had been erected.²

Somehow, Ella failed to notice the Soviet political purges of 1935 and 1936 and she never mentioned the horrific campaigns of 1937 and 1938 when Stalin rid the country of more political enemies, as well as ethnic groups on his nation's borders. In 1937, the political police arrested 973,000 and executed 353,000. The next year's totals were 939,000 and 329,000.³ When Ella returned home she continued to salute Russia and the Party. She accepted the Hitler-Stalin pact, condemned America's aid to the British, then became a vocal advocate for war when Russia was invaded. She was rewarded by the Party's financing a 1941 autobiography, *We Are Many*, ghost-written by Jessica Smith.⁴ It pictured Ella, the Party, and the Soviet Russia as innocent reformers, not Foster-like dictators. During the 1940s Ella continued to help the cause but by the end of the decade when she was in her eighties she became ill, suffering from dementia.⁵

Ella was almost abandoned. When Omholt and Carl Reeve asked the Party for financial aid for hospital bills they were refused. The Party gave some help but only after it feared she might divulge secrets just as its highest officials were planning to go into hiding, and after it realized what an embarrassment it would be if the public heard that its heroine was discarded. A member was sent to see if someone should be with her to prevent her talking and the Party gave some financial help for her medical treatment. Then, it used her, trying to gain positive advertising for itself as a truly American institution. When Ella died in 1951 at age eighty-nine, the Party held an elaborate funeral, burying her in Camden, New Jersey, not in Arden her old utopian home, because Camden was where the famous poet Walt Whitman was interred—although Ella had only a fleeting meeting or two with Whitman during her youth.

Meanwhile, most of Harold's Farm Research group had adjusted to 1934's ending of the UFL and CAWIU(cannery union) and stayed with the Party. John Theodore Herrmann was an exception. Although he was in need he received little from anyone. Josephine Herbst divorced him, and he scraped by ⁶ as an "author and petition writer," and as a minor party functionary. By 1940 he was living alone on a houseboat, the Cheerio, near New Orleans's famed Bourbon street. Then, at age forty-one he enlisted in the Coast Guard, serving until war's end. He remarried, began to restructure his life, but then fled to Mexico fearing arrest because of his contacts with Alger Hiss who was being investigated for espionage. John became part of the American-left's expatriate colony in Mexico living as a "tourist writer" until passing-on in obscurity in 1959, having his body returned to his old hometown of Lansing, Michigan.

From Farms to Factories, to Real Estate, to Progressivism--The Ingersolls

Jeremiah (Jerry) Ingersoll fared better than John during the Popular Front years. He left the School on Wheels and UFL-FNCA projects in 1934 but did not abandon the Cause, nor did Minneola Perry, his new girlfriend. After a short stay working on farm-union problems in Nebraska the Party found a new role for the couple. Jerry took a job as a laborer at a Midwest steel plant just as the Party was joining a new surge of industrial unionization. Then, he took a few weeks off in 1935 to marry the twenty-two-year-old Minneola (Minnie), Perry a girl from a prosperous and religious family in Mobile, Alabama. After a year at a local college, she had turned her attention to radical causes joining Olive Stone's Farm Research work, leading to her meeting Jerry as they toured with the School on Wheels, to falling in love with him, and to committing to Communism. Her lavish 1935 wedding and honeymoon at an exclusive Missouri retreat did not signal a return to her middle-class or Jerry's upper-class lifestyles. Although Jerry's parents owned a 10,000

square foot Brooklyn townhome that had at least three servants, and owned the Duck Island estate on Long Island, Jerry and Minnie were satisfied with low-rent, rear-of-building flats as they began to radicalize Chicago's workers.⁷

Following Party orders, Jerry took a job at the Republic Steel plant in Chicago, then he and Minnie, guided by Gus Hall, acted as organizers for the Party-supported CIO's Steel Workers Organizing Committee that replaced the Party's old steel union. Jerry and Minneola participated in the bloody 1937 Republic Steel strike that took ten lives then continued as low-paid workers for the Party, the International Labor Defense, the American Youth Congress, and the CIO -- with Minneola gaining a public reputation as one of the most dangerous Communists in the Chicago, although she had become a mother. Meanwhile, Jerry became another near perpetual student. He took graduate courses at the University of Chicago, taking five years to complete his thesis on American labor struggles during the 1830s, a topic made later made famous by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. as he crusaded against American Communists

Jerry continued following Party mandates. In 1942, although thirty-one years old and a new father, he enlisted in the army, reaching officer rank before being discharged at the end of 1945 with a minor disability. Meanwhile, although having a two-year-old child to raise, Minneola (Minnie) did not return home to Mobile, Alabama nor did she turn to Jerry's parents in Brooklyn. She stayed in Chicago working for the union and the Party, often travelling out-of-state. She also worked at Hull House when not busy with her union efforts. She did not stop her work after having Jerry's second child in late 1945. It wasn't until 1946 that she agreed to move to Brooklyn, Jerry's hometown, where his mother remained an influential liberal, and where his engineer brother was becoming a real estate developer, despite his old ties to the Party and his continuing work for left causes such as raising a defense fund for his relative Corliss Lamont, the rich intellectual and Soviet sympathizer who once headed the American Civil Liberties Union. Arriving in

Brooklyn, Jerry and Minnie received help from the family, so they didn't request anything from the Party. They quickly became part of Jerry's family's progressive social set, brother Raymond's real estate operations, and the area's progressive elite. The FBI was uncertain if the couple continued as Party members, but they knew they joined leftist movements. One was strange and ill-fated. Just as Jerry was discharged from the army in 1946, he and Frasier McCann, a multi-millionaire heir of the Woolworth retail store fortune, and major donor to left-wing causes such as the Progressive Citizens of America (PCA), rescued a new journal aimed at American veterans. A private successor to the Army's *Yank* and *Stars and Stripes* magazines, *Salute* was expected to have over 200,000 subscribers. The magazine had been started by Lev Gleason, a comic-book publisher, an editor of pro-Soviet magazines, and a board member of Barsky's Joint Anti-Fascist Relief Committee that was under scrutiny by Congressional investigators. Lev was among those in Barsky's group who were charged with contempt of Congress.⁸ Just as the new *Salute*'s first issue was to appear Frederick Woltman published exposes of Lev and his magazines as Communist tools. Under pressure, Lev withdrew from *Salute* hoping the unblemished Jerry and Frasier could make the magazine a successful voice for the left. Editorial staff that seemed too conservative were replaced with men who were clearly on-the-left, such as Dewitt Gilpin, a Party member and voice of radical organizations such as the United Electrical and Farm Equipment unions.⁹ *Salute* did not survive, but Jerry and Minnie continued following Party directives, with Minnie the most visible. Her brother-in-law Raymond had paved the way for her. He had taken an engineering course at Brooklyn Polytechnic after graduating from Swarthmore College, married the famous Howard Munford Jones's daughter, and spent the war working at an aeronautical research firm. He probably ended his Party membership but continued to go far beyond his mother and father's liberalism. He supported Party policies, establishing a pathway for Minnie's public involvements by

becoming a major figure in the American Labor Party (ALP). The ALP began in 1936 during the Popular Front period by New York City Socialists and union leaders who wished to support Roosevelt and his policies, but not the Democratic Party's Tammany Hall political machine. Communists joined the ALP, promising to cooperate but soon pushed the Party-line and by 1944 had gained control of the party. That caused moderates such as David Dubinsky to leave and establish the Liberty Party. The Liberty Party and its ally the Americans for Democratic Action fought the ALP while supporting Harry Truman's domestic and Cold War policies as the ALP became a wing of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party.¹⁰

As Jerry and Minnie were settling-into a Brooklyn home and raising two children (one was a genius who became a famed physicist) Raymond became the ALP's candidate for the state senate and a supporter of Party front organizations such as the Civil Rights Congress. Although they had become capitalistic real estate developers he and Jerry were also fund-raisers for the defense at the Foley Square trial of the Party's top leaders. Soon, Minnie became the most visible Ingersoll leftist, often noticed by the *National Guardian*. She was a founder of Brooklyn's Progressive Citizen of America and the Progressive Party. She was an ALP congressional candidate, an associate of Lee Pressman (a noted leftist) and, most tellingly, an ALP representative to 1949's Communist-led World Congress of Partisans for Peace in Paris. While there she encountered Noel Field, Paul Robeson, and her 1930's boss Donald Henderson who one was of the congress' major speakers.¹¹

Unexplained, Minnie, Jerry, and Raymond began turning from radicalism. They became more of a part of their parents' New York's elite liberal world. Jerry and Raymond joined the NAACP and the Urban League and accepted appointments to housing commissions as Minnie became a new version of Marion Ingersoll. She held positions on numerous reform-oriented government

boards and charitable organization's after Jerry's death when he was just fifty years old. She even became the president of the influential Women's City Club.

Staying With the Party and The Farms, but Going West, The Dahls

Leif Dahl and his wife Vivian had post-Third Period lives different from the Ingersolls. The Party immediately found important work for them, but they did not have the resources to begin a successful post-war life as did the Jerry and Minnie. In 1934, Leif was assigned to a new AFL, then CIO- aligned version of the cannery union. Although disappointed when he was not made its president he led strikes by field laborers as well as warehouse workers throughout Maryland and New Jersey, a beet workers strike in Colorado, and a milk-producers revolt in New York in association with the radical faction of the Farmers Union led by Archie Wright (later, William Hinton's associate). Leif and Vivian gave some help to a well-funded Donald Henderson-Harry Bridges-CIO attempt to unionize California's agricultural field workers, as well as Henderson's move into the deep South and the attempted take-over of the Southern Tenants Farmer Union(STFU) ¹². Vivian was very active, often "colonizing" plants before violent strikes began and being arrested once they did. Neither she nor Leif hid their Party involvements, and they became close to leading Party figures such as Carl Reeve, Philip Frankfeld, Sam Darcy, and Ella Bloor. Vivian even joined a Party cell when she visited her parents' new home in California's central valley during the late 1930s. Returning East in 1938 she became involved in a dispute between Socialists and Communists when she accepted a job as an organizer for the newly energized American Federation of Teachers in Pennsylvania. She,

expectedly, sided with the aggressive Communist faction. Like its counterpart in New York City, the union became so strident the American Federation of Labor soon expelled it.¹³

Vivian survived her teachers' union conflicts and by 1939 she and Leif were settled in Philadelphia and were doing quite well, professionally and financially. Leif published union-related articles in the *New Masses*, *The New Republic*, and the AFL's *American Federationist*, as well as penning tracts for the Party's publishing house. He also became a respected and well-paid CIO organizer while Vivian found a good job with the Federal government's labor board despite her radical background. By 1940, the couple was making three times the average income of an industrial worker. Significantly, Leif was on this way up within the CIO's hierarchy. He was chosen as a negotiator with the National Labor Relations Board for farm and other than agricultural union issues and was the CIO's representative on Pennsylvania's national War Bond campaign. Then, in 1942, the thirty-four-year-old Leif followed Party orders and enlisted in the army as a private, leaving in 1946 as a captain. Vivian stayed in Philadelphia working at the war labor board, receiving several promotions. Then, she accepted a 1944 offer to head a branch in San Francisco where the faithful young Communist Dorothy Healy worked—at a salary near four times an industrial worker. Arriving in California she renewed old Party contacts, joined San Francisco's South Side "club" under the name Jane Allen, and socialized with influentials such as Robert Treuhaft, the Party member, CIO attorney, and husband of Jessica Mitford who became famous because of her expose of the undertaking business. Vivian also taught at the San Francisco Labor School. But, when contacted as part of a Hatch Act background check she told the FBI's investigators she no longer had any Party involvements. She worried the FBI might discover her continued contacts and thought of returning to Philadelphia, but she liked San Francisco so she convinced Leif to move there after his 1946

discharge--despite her labor board position being eliminated. When Leif arrived in San Francisco the Party and the CIO aided him, at least initially. The Party accepted him in its clubs and found him jobs with Harry Bridges' union, with the local CIO administrator, and with Don Henderson's newest effort at organizing cannery and agricultural workers, his Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers' Union of America (FTA). None of the positions were as high status or as well-paying as his Philadelphia jobs and the best the family could afford was a small house in a less than desirable neighborhood near a noisy highway. With a second child born in mid-1947, and with Vivian a stay-at-home mother who was earning some extra income by tutoring blind children, tensions grew within the family perhaps because Leif did not use his GI Bill to earn a graduate degree and find a better-paying university position and there were rumors of Leif becoming "a drinker." Even before the FTA was tossed from the CIO because of its Communist leadership, Leif was on-his-own and bitter. He complained to friends that the Party had let-him-down, after all he had done for it! A Party friend helped by hiring Leif as a carpenter but that did not solve the financial or family problems. A divorce was formalized in 1951. Vivian remained in San Francisco. Leif did not, as so many leftists were doing, take a job as an ILWU longshoreman or warehouseman. The forty-three-year-old headed home to Philadelphia where he had once been an influential Party and union official.

Vivian avoided Party involvements and while receiving child support, as a single-mother she worried about the anti-Communist surge, one that might lead to her arrest. She was stressed and anxious, but she did not give-in. She seems to have completed her college degree while quickly developing a national reputation for her work with blind babies. She was hired by the Variety Club's foundation for blind children as a lead instructor. She was not wealthy, but was able to see her son through San Francisco's amazing Lowell High school in 1953, then to graduation at the University of California in Berkeley. Unfortunately, there

were frictions with her teen-age daughter who decided to live with Leif in Philadelphia while she attended a private high school, then Columbia University's Barnard College.

By the mid-1950s Vivian had distanced herself from the Party and was becoming part of San Francisco's liberal reform circles. She remained in them until her death when she was seventy-one. Well before then she had gained recognition for her work with the blind and her involvement in conservation movements. She was even considered to lead the famous health reformer Grace Burnham McDonalds' influential legislative group, The California Farm Research and Legislative Committee that lobbied for the safety of farm workers.¹⁴ While Vivian became a public "liberal" she did not entirely abandon the Cause, she maintained a subscription to the Party's *People's World*.

Leif had a quite different life after 1951. By the time he returned to Philadelphia the Party had dwindled in membership and influence and the major unions had turned against Communists. There was no Party or union job ready for him. He found work as a carpenter, then progressed to be a contractor, then owner of a cabinet-making business. He remarried to a social worker from a wealthy family and while becoming "one-of-the guys" at local bars he kept a low profile concerning political matters, only penning a letter or two to local newspapers about the Viet Nam War. He died when he was just sixty-four, without any salutes to his Party or union contributions.

A Party Man in the South, Then a Liberal in Lake Placid, Robert Hall

Robert Fowler Hall has a more unusual and unexpected post-Third Period life history. The Party found new work for him at the end of 1934. It assigned the twenty-eight-year-old bachelor to his hometown of Mobile, Alabama (under the name Bill Mosely at first) to

bring the state's organization into line with the Popular Front's policies. He replaced the group of organizers from New York with southerners who, like him, had "drawls" so they could easily communicate with the region's population and make them feel the Party was not the tool of brash and abrasive Northerners.¹⁵ Soon, using his own name, Robert accepted posts as the Party organizer for the state, then the region. He traveled as far South as Florida. He was also tasked with diplomatically breaking the Party's links with the Sharecroppers Union because it was a Third Period creation. He also worked with Donald Henderson to bring the Southern Tenant Farmers Union into the newest version of Henderson's "cooperative" cannery union while he aided the CIO's drive to unionize Southern industrial and cannery workers. Robert was also busy putting his writing skills to work, publishing articles on Popular Front union and Party organizing. He was also deep into the Party's internal affairs, managing a secret bank account.

Robert wasn't keeping his Communism private, however. He ran for Congress as a Communist in 1938 and 1940, leading to the FBI putting a constant watch on him. Robert's most remembered achievements were his linking the Party to emerging Civil Rights organizations. As with others in the Popular Front movement, Robert's "co-operation" with liberals had Party goals as he worked with James Dombrowski and Myles Horton's Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. The school trained a generation of labor organizers and famous Civil Rights leaders including Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King, James Bevel, Ralph Abernathy, and John Lewis. Robert also played an important role in the Eleanor Roosevelt and Clifford and Virginia Durr-supported Southern Conference for Human Welfare and its campaigns to eliminate poll taxes, end segregation, and improve Negro education. Its postwar successor organization, The Southern Conference Educational Fund, had Susan Clark's friends the Braden's as major supporters. There was another

connection between Robert and Clifford Durr. Clifford was one of the radical members of the National Farmers Union as well as an official in the National Lawyers Guild.¹⁶

Robert continued his organizing and “cooperative” work and, having a “3a” deferment because of his widowed mother, he didn’t join the army until 1944, serving as a private. Ordway Southard, who been working with Birmingham’s Party office took Robert’s place as regional director. Southard was one of the Party’s most unusual finds. The son of prominent Harvard and Radcliff professors who knew the Clarks he dropped out of college and became more than attracted to Marxist thought-- and poetry. With little worry about money, Ordway and his wife joined the Party and accepted a series of assignments. By the early 1940s they were in Birmingham, worked as organizers, and ran for Congress. By war’s end they were drifting from the Party and began a life of travel and writing.

Robert Hall, in contrast, had remained committed to the Cause but on his discharge from the army the Party almost deserted him as it turned against Earl Browder and the “cooperation” of the wartime Popular Front. There were objections to his past as a Browderite and to his personal behavior, perhaps homosexuality. But Robert cleared himself and in 1945 received a promotion, an important one. He was given a job as an editor of a *Daily Worker* publication then soon made head of the paper’s important Washington, D.C. bureau. He cooperated with reporters of the Soviet’s TASS agency and the Party-sponsored Federated Press, while badgering America’s politicians for stories. Importantly, he was the behind-the-scenes leader of Washington’s Party branch, as well as a member of its national council. He performed well but, surprisingly, was not subject to any government prosecutions. He became confident enough to finally marry. At age forty-four he wed a graduate of the elite and liberal Sarah Lawrence College, not

a girl for the working class. The twenty-four-year-old Euphemia Virden from was a very wealthy family of Cleveland's Shaker Heights suburb. While her college choice was predictable, her marriage to the much older professional Communist "Rob" Hall was not.

Despite the troubled factionalism in the Party, Robert kept his job and the marriage lasted. Then, Robert made a startling life-change. With the 1956 revelations of Stalin's brutalities, he abandoned the Party, Washington, and communism. He did not flee to any new factional Party, and he did not return home to Alabama. The fifty-year-old took a job as an editor of a small weekly newspaper in tiny idyllic Elizabethtown in up-state New York near Lake Placid, then bought other local papers near Warrensburgh. He became a staunch Republican, a Methodist, and very middle class. He also became leader of the American Legion, a member of the Chamber of Commerce and the Kiwanis, and fathered four children. Euphemia became a respected schoolteacher and rural medical care reformer, accepting positions on local and state boards. Robert soon became a noted conservationist, serving on state commissions and editing widely-read conservationist journals. He died in 1993 a well-known member of the conservative, not Communist community.

Staying With the Party and the Farm Problem, Until... Donald Henderson

Donald Henderson was well treated by the Party as it shifted to the Popular Front strategy in 1934-5.¹⁷ First, for unknown reasons, Harold Ware was slighted, and Donald was appointed head of the TUUL's agricultural branches, then, as the TUUL ended, he was made the leader of all of the Party's agricultural work and ordered to find new ways to unionize and radicalize farm workers. He

immediately gave a long quasi-theoretical and pretentious speech at the Party's national convention that defended the abandonment of Third Period policies and organizations.¹⁸ He was then given a place on the Party's central committee as "Doibalkdsnm" while his ally Harry Bridges used "Rossi."¹⁹ Donald's new farm program was a replay of the Harold's FNCA approach. Donald's Organization of Agricultural Workers (renamed the National Committee to Unite Agricultural and Rural Workers) was intended to gather-together all the existing farm-labor and interested liberal and radical organizations and create a "cooperative" umbrella group. With substantial help from the Garland fund and his wife Elinor's writing skills, he began the *Rural Worker* magazine, held an organizing convention in Washington, D. C., and joined with liberals to plan a grand Conference for Rural And Social Planning that would give his organization academic and political respectability. He also helped the Party build a front organization, The National Workers Alliance, aimed at foreign migrant farm workers.

Donald became more aggressive. He aided local strikes and asked the AFL for a charter and for financial help for a new version of a cannery union. When the AFL refused Donald turned to Harry Bridges and the new CIO. The CIO promised three-quarters of a million dollars and a charter. Donald immediately held a convention in Denver and formed the United Cannery, Packing, Agricultural, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA). He energized the organizers from the Party's earlier farmer and labor unions, including Dorothy Healy and Luke Hinman, and sent them throughout the West and South, even Alaska, to organize the rural proletariat. The UCAPAWA was at California cotton strikes, pecan sheller uprisings in Texas, crab-packer and soup factory stoppages in the Northwest and Maryland, beet picker strikes in Colorado, and tobacco factory conflicts in North Carolina. Henderson claimed that within two or three years he built one of the largest unions in America— with 100,000 members.

But there were problems of several types. The transient farm and cannery workers could pay little in dues, even if they stayed in the union beyond a strike period. By 1938, the UCAPAWA was in financial difficulty. Henderson soon decided his union could not afford campaigns among field or short-season workers. There were also internal problems. Henderson was pressuring all the organizations associated with the union to support Party policies such as peace initiatives and Negro rights, and to accept his centralization of authority in the union. There were complaints as it became clear, even to supporters such the rich and politically influential Gardner Jackson, who had been one of the New Deal. Farm radicals, that the UCAPAWA was becoming a Communist not a “cooperative” Popular Front union. A serious break came in 1939 when Henderson rigged the union’s convention against the Socialist-influenced Southern Tenant Farmers contingent. Its leaders abandoned the union, letting the public know of its worries about Communist influence. Increasing competition with AFL unions, such as the Teamsters, for recruiting agricultural workers made the situation worse.

However, those problems did not end the union nor Donald Henderson’s career. He climbed in the CIO’s ranks and in the Party’s. By 1940 he was a chief CIO organizer in Chicago and the Party’s regional education director. By the mi-1940s he was on the CIO’s executive board and a player in its moves to influence American politics through what became known as a PAC (Political Action Committee) . He also enhanced his union standing by his reorganization of the UCAPAWA and its finances. He called his new 1944 “cannery” union The Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers’ Union of America (FTA) admitting it was too costly to organize transient workers. Donald and Lem Harris were also involved in a renewed drive to radicalize the National Farmers Union, making some headway in the Midwest and New York after the war.²⁰

Donald's personal life was not going as well, however. His union successes brought him to the attention of the United States Congress' anti-Communist investigators and the FBI. Worse, his Party and union work had not led to funds he needed to fulfill his increasing family responsibilities. Despite his new workload and travels he and Elinor decided to have more children, a decade after their first child Curtis was born. Lynn arrived in 1936, Donald junior in 1938. There were other important family changes: The Henderson's moved from their luxury Manhattan apartment to a rental across the river in a lower middle-class neighborhood in Queens as finances had become a serious problem. In 1940, Elinor, alone with the three children, reported an income from editing that was not much above the yearly rental of the Queen's apartment. Donald's income compensated although he had to support separate households while he was away from New York. Elinor's wealthy and politically conservative mother was watchful, but seems to have decided not to rescue her daughter. Worse, there were increasing personal frictions between Elinor and Donald.²¹

In June, 1941 there was a family tragedy. Donald had moved to Chicago for his CIO related work and Elinor and the three children moved there, at least for the summer. Then Elinor died of poisoning. Investigators were not certain if it was a suicide, a homicide, or an accident. They decided that she had mistakenly swallowed the contents of a wrong bottle when she went to the bathroom in the dark.²² Whatever the cause, Donald was alone with three young children to care for. Elinor's mother provided some help. She immediately took charge of the teen-age Curtis, sending him to a rigorous private school in Connecticut and later in life providing him with the remains of a handsome trust fund. Who immediately took charge of the two younger children remains uncertain, but Donald may have been taking care of them by the mid-1940s, remarking that the three boys were living together on Long Island, New York in 1951. In any case, Donald had significant family responsibilities during the 1940s.

Donald's burdens seemed to ease in 1943. After his return to New York City, he married the forty-one-year-old Florence McGee. Florence's family had migrated from South Africa to Canada when she was six. Trained at Margaret Easton's famous progressive school Florence became a child actress. She decided to try for success in New York when she was in her early twenties. She landed a few Broadway parts but struggled, living in Greenwich Village soaking-in its social and political radicalism and marrying Byron Thomas, then a very poor artist but one who after his divorce from Florence became famous, rich, and married into America's high society. Florence did have a moment of fame. After a frustrating decade she finally landed a starring role, in Lillian Helman's, *The Children's Hour*. The play was radical in its treatment of homosexuality. The play and Florence were a hit, but Florence did not follow-up on that. By the time she married Donald she had a record of only short-lived Broadway plays and summer stock. What happened to her son, Thomas Thomas, is unknown, but she mothered Donald's boys, Lynn, and Donald, for some period of their youth--and she became a devoted wife. She stayed with Donald when he moved to Philadelphia where he continued his Party activities and established the headquarters of his FTA as it prepared to participate in the CIO's massive Drive Into Dixie campaign to unionize the American South. Herbert Aptheker, one of Donald's new organizers for the drive became famous as a writer on the history of slavery and as a stalwart Party leader-philosopher. The CIO's main Dixie goal was to equalize wages with those in the North to prevent more flights of industries to the low-paying Southern States. With the help of Leif Dahl and many other seasoned organizers and the group at the Highlander Folk School, Donald concentrated on the employees at the major Southern agricultural processing plants. Little was done to unionize field workers there or in the West, but Donald did help New York City cemetery workers' battle against the Catholic Church. ²³

Donald was, as usual, using the FTA for the Party's purposes. He claimed he was the FTA's official representative at the Communist-organized great 1949 Paris "Peace" Conference where he was one of two Americans allowed to give a major address. Donald also steered the FTA into joining the Soviet controlled World Federation of Trade Unions and into participating in demonstrations against Marshall Plan and the Dubinsky-AFL-CIO sponsored International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. All that angered the CIO's leaders,²⁴ as did Donald's not fully truthful statements that he might have been but was not now a member of the Party when the government was expelling Communists from leadership positions in the nation's unions.²⁵ The union was also upset when Donald kept dodging subpoenas and was embarrassed when he appeared at congressional hearings and used the Fifth Amendment to avoid answering questions about his Party ties.²⁶ The government did not prosecute Donald, as it did an FTA leader at the Campbell Soup Company, but by 1949 the CIO had enough of him, the FTA, and other radical unions. The FTA was cut off and Donald was out of work-- the Party did not rescue him. He tried for a comeback by helping form a small New York City union built on the remnants of ones expelled by the CIO, the Distributive, Office, and Processing Workers Union, but he was soon involved in factional battles and faced complaints that he was trying to take-over the union. He lost the contest.²⁷

Once again, the Party failed him. In his early fifties Donald retired, but certainly not as a rich man. He and Florence moved to Miami, Florida, and a small home. He led a quiet and untraceable life while Florence joined in with the local society set, sometimes acting in plays to raise funds for charities. Donald seems to have cut all Party links.

The Henderson Boys, Different Directions, From Frozen Bodies to the New Left

Donald's sons did not live such quiet lives and one of them did more than keep to "the cause." The older boy, Curtis, briefly served in the Air Force during World War II, worked in factories, gained a law degree, worked as an insurance claim adjuster, then inherited money from the Curtis family. Although he had been thoroughly indoctrinated by his parents and at the ultra-progressive Little Red School House, he had never been active and abandoned the cause in 1956. So, he did not feel guilty when he bought a yacht, an airplane, and a large lot on the Southern tip of Long Island where he built a home and, well after the early atomic-bomb scares, constructed-by-hand a huge concrete bomb shelter with a machine-gun mount. Then, he became famous/infamous as he founded the human cryogenics movement and a private company to keep bodies frozen until it seemed technically feasible to renew their lives.²⁸

Lynn, Donald's younger son, followed a quite different path. After college and an unsatisfactory stint at the New School for Social Research he worked as a railroad brakeman and union leader in Chicago. He became more of a Communist than his parents had been. He became a leader of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers' Party (SWP) that condemned the complacency of the Communist Party and post-Stalin Russia. Lynn helped Farrell Dobbs change the SWP from a being a small cult to become an influential predecessor of the radical New Left. Lynn's many writings helped the SWP's journal, *The Militant*, to have thousands of subscribers by the mid-1960s. Lynn received national attention in 1970 when the SWP sued the American government for FBI harassment during its COINTEL operations that used subterfuge to undermine radical organizations.²⁹ By the later 1970s, Lynn was involved in factional struggles as the SWP's influence declined. He was eventually removed from the party in 1983. Like his father in the 1950s, Lynn retreated to an untraceable life, perhaps in New York living with Curtis.³⁰

Loyalty to the Very End, Lem Harris, Operation Solo

The Party kept “Lem” Harris busy until his death. He remained in its innermost circles. His first post-Third Period assignment was a sensitive and important one. Just after he married, and took his all-expense-paid trip to Russia, he was sent to Minneapolis, Minnesota to try and salvage the FNCA, to rebuild relations with the National Farmers Union, and to act as the Party’s educational (propaganda) director. The last was the most important for him and the Communists because the Party was determined, under the guise of cooperation, to make another attempt to take-over the only successful farmer-labor party in the nation.³¹ The Party had devoted extraordinary resource to Minnesota for years where it had twenty-six organizers, although it had only eight hundred members, and it increased its efforts as the state’s old Farmer-Party (FP) was electing its candidates to local, state, and national offices. Although the FP had banned Communists from its ranks, the Party found ways to gain influence, typically using allied organization such as Finnish and Bulgarian women’s clubs, to land seats at FP conventions. The FP leadership expelled some individuals who were admitted Communists but had to contend with others and with the factionalism that led to a critical stand-off over 1948’s national and state elections. That battle within FP led many liberals such as Hubert Humphrey to turn into devoted anti-Communists, founding the influential Americans for Democratic Action.

Lem kept Minneapolis as his home-base until late 1939 as he edited the *Midwest Daily Record*, but he made recruiting stops in the Dakotas and Nebraska for the FNCA and The National Farmers Union (with little success at the time). Curiously, Lem never started his own farm. In late 1939, after the birth of his son, Lem settled his family in New York where he listed himself as an employee of the Farm Research Bureau.³² He did not move into his family’s rich neighborhood but into a rental apartment in a lower-

middle-class area across the river in Queens where two more children were born. Within a brief time, the family was in a substantial but not elegant single-family home in Far Rockaway, Long Island, across the inlet from where John F. Kennedy Airport would be located. It was twenty miles from Manhattan where Lem said he had an office. Lem also had a lovely fallback: a place in Chappaqua, a quaint village forty miles north of New York City where Lev Gleason the Communist publisher had a home. Affording two homes remains baffling as Lem reported he had no income in 1940. That is only one of many puzzles about Lem's financial history. He always lived beyond what the Party could pay, so there must have been other incomes. Lem claimed his father had disinherited him, but his mother seems have helped him and in 1941 his father established a trust for him of a million- and one-half dollars to be administered by his brothers after his mother's death.³³ She lived until 1970, but the family may have supplied Lem with some of the funds before then. There is one indication they did. When a Senate investigator asked Lem how he could live as a self-employed agricultural researcher he replied he had a separate source of some income.³⁴ But there also are hints he never received all the monies in the trust fund, at least not in large sums. He lived in some stylish towns such as Norwalk, Connecticut, but never owned more than a modest home.

There are few details on Lem's activities after World War II began. There is no indication he served in the military but it is clear he survived the campaign against his friend Earl Browder and became a Party "insider", one known to all its famous members. He worked with John Abt, met with Anna Louise Strong, and continued to assist Jacob Golos and Elizabeth Bentley, at least until Elizabeth seemed a threat to the Party.³⁵ He soon replaced Donald Henderson as the Party's agricultural guru, helped with a few

Henderson-Dahl-led farm efforts, and assisted Charles Coe at the remnants of Harold's Farm Research Bureau. Lem also edited a short-lived Washington, D.C. agricultural policy newsletter.³⁶

His role in the Party's secret business activities is evidenced by his involvement in a threatening attempt that helped cause Elizabeth Bentley to abandon the Party and become an FBI informant. Lem was a member of a team ordered take-over the Party funded shipping-forwarding company Jacob Golos established during the 1930s. . After Jacob's death Elizabeth headed the company, at a \$200,000 a year salary. Lem's assignment was to oust her. Elizabeth feared for her safety.³⁷

After the war Lem continued to work with the radicals in the National Farmers Union and, strangely, was a member of its Pennsylvania branch although he still did not own a farm. In 1946, he assisted the union with a fiery pamphlet, *Meat, the National Scandal*, aided Archie Wright and William Hinton in another attempt to radicalize the National Farmer's Union, and he devoted some time to Donald Henderson's postwar drive to "coordinate" Southern farm organizations. Lem also participated in the strikes at Southern tobacco factories. He continued his relationship with the slowly dying Farm Reach Bureau and the Party's barely alive Farm Commission.

There is no evidence he was involved in espionage, but when he was called before congressional hearings on Communism and agriculture during the early 1950s he invariably took the Fifth Amendment. There also were some mysterious trips to Mexico during the mid-1950s where he met with expatriates. The trips may have been courier related.³⁸ Lem stayed with the Party after the 1956 splits that left it with about one-tenth of its 1950 roster. With membership down to three thousand and financially stressed, Lem was called on for many Party chores. He was asked to rescue Camp Unity, the Party's resort and training ground in the Berkshire

Mountains, to revive many struggling Party publications that were holding-off the Internal Revenue Service, and to solicit donations in Hollywood. Soon, was also becoming one of the Party's "intellectuals", and along with Philip Foner and Herbert Aptheker, charged with rebuilding the *Daily Worker*.³⁹

Lem was much more than a go-for. By the 1950s he was an insider and aware of most Party secrets. Along with John Abt and Jack Childs he managed the Reserve Fund the Party used for its non-public operations.⁴⁰ What Lem and others did not know was that Jack and his brother Morris Childs had become FBI sources, the most important Party ones the agency ever employed. Both Childs had been Party founders and employees in its highest ranks but after near thirty years of service Morris was expelled during the anti-Browder battle, just as he became ill and needed expensive treatment. Like Ella Bloor, Morris was abandoned at a critical time. The Party refused to help with Morris' medical bills, Jack resigned in protest. Morris became bitter and when the FBI approached him and stood ready to pay his medical bills he agreed to be an undercover operative, so did Jack. With FBI help they worked their way back into the Party by the early 1950s. Significantly, in 1958 Morris was selected to be the Party's new secret representative to Moscow. His Operation Solo lasted for three decades during which he funneled over a million dollars of Soviet money each year to the Party's Reserve Fund that Lem helped manage. He also brought back valuable Soviet and Chinese secrets he shared with the FBI.⁴¹ Lem was also involved with the Party's undercover efforts to influence Martin Luther King and his organization. Lem knew and helped with the one-time Communist Stanley Levison's guidance of King's beliefs and programs, and he assisted in the recruitment of a Party cadre for the great 1963 March on Washington. As well, Lem had responsibilities for raising the funds the Party needed to send delegates to Vietnam War related peace conferences.

Lem's ideological commitments never wavered, but there were several changes in his personal life by the 1960s. Still unexplained as to why and how, he established an industrial insurance company in New York City. He divorced his wife, then married a twice-divorced woman from Queens New York and moved into a small house in lovely Norwalk Connecticut. Reflecting his continued communist beliefs, he arranged a scholarship in Moscow for his youngest daughter. As soon as she finished her college course she married a local, became a Soviet citizen, and made Russia her permanent home. Lem had begun a series of trips to East Germany (where he was hosted by Gerhardt Eisler who had been a guest in Lem's home)⁴² and to the Soviet Union, the last in 1985, just four years before it imploded partly because of the failure of its farm programs. On each trip Lem saw what he was determined to see: an agricultural and workers' paradise that should be a model for the failed economies and societies of capitalist nations. In 1965, when he founded a travel agency (Anniversary Tours) that specialized in visits to Eastern bloc and Communist-influenced third-world countries he always found a way to show the best of communist practices and the worst of capitalist ones. That helped him keep his position on the governing board of the United States' Council of Soviet-American Friendship as did his continued active membership in the Party although it was a near hollow shell by the 1990s. Lem continued to publish on the themes of Soviet achievements and American failures despite the 1989 Soviet collapse and he attempted to gain recognition by America's academic establishment, writing a self-serving semi-autobiographical history of agricultural policies. He died in 2002, age ninety-eight, still a believer and still "not seeing" Soviet history.⁴³

Harold Ware's Sad Years

Many of Harold Ware's farm policies fit with Popular Front mandates, but he did not lead the Party's post-1934 agricultural campaigns. One reason may have been that he believed that watching, evaluating, and influencing Washington's policy-makers was more important. Other reasons may have been his troubled personal life, his previous battles with Puro, and his involvement in what the American government came to fear was espionage.

In 1934 Harold was forty-five and had children to support, but little income to do it with and he did not own a home. He was still financing his two girls at an elite boarding school, his twenty-one-year-old son Robert had not found a life-path, and his six-year-old son David was fully dependent. There were also relationship problems as Harold had been too busy to spend much time with any of them. Robert remarked that although he had been in Russia with Harold and with him on Harold and Lem Harris' 1931 American tour he hardly knew his father or Jessica. His aunt Helen, the violin prodigy, had been his true parent, he stated.⁴⁴

Harold had more family troubles. Jessica had left him, separating as early as 1933. Robert believes she was having an affair with John Abt, Harold's friend, and member of Harold Washington D.C. cell.⁴⁵ The separation added to Harold's emotional and financial woes. Although Jessica had an income from her Soviet publications work, Harold had to contribute to the support of her household. The Party did not come to his aid, and he was essentially homeless, living at night in his sister Helen's' Washington D. C. music studio on stylish Connecticut Avenue, or bunking with Charles Garland in his small rental apartment on Euclid Street in a less than -prestigious Washington neighborhood. Meanwhile. Jessica and David lived in a lovely semi-rural Washington suburb. Harold was also without an automobile, relying on friends for out-of-town transportation for his Farm Research Bureau and other activities.⁴⁶

Observing and trying to influence national farm policy-making in Washington did not demand an automobile but it was time consuming. The new Franklin Roosevelt administration had energetic young people with many ideas about the immediate and long-term farm problems. One of the new faces who was especially promising to those on the left was Rexford Tugwell who was made second-in-command at the Department of Agriculture. Tugwell had been the academic mentor of Henderson, Hall, and Dahl, an admirer of the Soviet Union, a part of Jessica's Smith's social set, and a political left-winger. Although gaining a reputation as being a leftist, Henry Wallace, the Secretary of Agriculture, and his advisor M. L. Wilson, although big-agriculture advocates, were known to be open to innovative ideas and programs like those Tugwell put forward.

Early in 1933 a flood of farm related New Deal legislation began. Many programs were extensions of those of the Hoover administration and were aimed at saving the existing system, not changing it or the farmers.⁴⁷ Huge sums were allocated to the new Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) to bolster state and local immediate assistance efforts, with much going to rural areas. The old system of federal guaranteed banks for farmers was expanded and pressures were put on private lenders to suspend foreclosures. A program for payments to farmers for soil conservation practices was established and there was one to buy depleted lands and turn them into preserves. There was legislation making it easier for farmers to form cooperatives to set sale prices, buy and share machinery, voluntarily limit production, and establish stores. As well, a program for rural electrification and one for the federal government to purchase surplus perishable farm products then give them to the urban poor were established. Soon, there were programs for loans for immediate farm needs and one to create federally funded and directed mini-communities (Subsistence Homesteads) where urban workers could supplement their wages by raising their own food next to their beautiful new homes. That

homestead program led to some thirty-three communities with an average of fifty families each. It was supervised by M. L. Wilson who was inspired by the early writing of agricultural experts like Elwood Mead and Hugh MacRae, and by Sherwood Eddy's thoughts that led to his 1930s cooperative farms for displaced sharecroppers.⁴⁸

All of those farm programs were minor compared to the major thrust of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 (AAA), one inspired by the ideas of Harold's friend M. L. Wilson who had been brought back to the Department of Agriculture to help oversee parts of its operation. To raise the market price of the major staple crops and livestock, farmers were paid to take acreage and stock out of production. The program was financed by a tax on food and animal processors. The top-down act worked, at least for the larger farms, and prices quickly rose. Commercial farmers could pay their debts saving the nation's existing agricultural financial structure.

But the AAA and other early New Deal programs had limits and problems. Harold and his old and new friends were among those who quickly pointed to them. Harold, Lem Harris, and Donald Henderson railed against the AAA because it destroyed crops and livestock and raised the price of the food that did reach urban workers. Harold, the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, and many others condemned the AAA because it was leading to the eviction of tenants and sharecroppers as land was taken out of production. As irritating to them, the promised shares of federal payments were not going to the workers, just to the landowners. Harold and Webster Powell denounced the Subsistence Homestead program as one doomed to failure as it was creating a new type of serfdom that would undermine unions. Others, such as Rexford Tugwell, criticized the AAA and much of the other initial Roosevelt farm legislation as not dealing with rural poverty and the fundamental weaknesses of the American agricultural system.⁴⁹

Harold Ware a Spy?

Harold was doing more than criticizing. He had been assigned other responsibilities by the Party. The one ordered by J. Peters, the Party's undercover intelligence director, was especially important and overlapped Harold's agricultural work. Harold was told to recruit and use federal employees who could give information on, and perhaps shape, policies. The first result was Harold's Washington, D. C. Marxist "discussion" groups. His initial and famous one included a set of highly educated young men mostly lawyers brought to the New Deal to refine some of its farm programs. Alger Hiss, Joh Abt, Lee Pressman, and Victor Perlo are the most remembered of the original eight in the Ware Group. All were from the nation's best universities and law schools and seem to have already been attracted to the Party as well as to leftist beliefs. The Group's secret cell had more than discussions about Marxism and how to mold New Deal legislation, and they recruited others into Ware-supervised spin-off groups. Harold collected information about government policies from them and frequently made trips to New York with his data and the Party dues collected from the groups, and he had contacts with the then undercover operative Whitaker Chambers.⁵⁰

Lawyers as Farm Experts

The key players in the Ware Group had been recruited for the New Deal agricultural agency by the radical legal theorist and attorney Jerome Frank whose work for the Democratic Party led to his appointment as legal counsel at the Agricultural Adjustment Act's (AAA) headquarters. He expected his young lawyers to handle the technical aspects of the AAA's regulations-- but they and their ally Rexford Tugwell did much more. How deeply they were influenced by Harold, or the protests of the Southern Tenant

Farmers Union and FNCA, is unknown, but they were soon pushing many radical ideas for agrarian reform. They did not go as far as supporting the demand of some of the STFU's radicals to nationalize (perhaps confiscate) all farms over one hundred and sixty acres and give the land to poor farmers,⁵¹ but they argued for rules to ensure AAA payments got to small farmers and croppers and for rules to prevent evictions as result of crop reductions. Then, they tried to establish programs that went beyond Wilson's subsistence homesteads experiment. They argued for more and larger loans to poor farmers (all with the minute supervision of experts) and for American versions of collectives.

Frank's and Tugwell's young radicals went too far. Although they were not yet identified as Communists and the Ware Group's ties to Soviet intelligence were unknowns until the late 1940s, they were soon purged from the AAA and reassigned to other important agencies, but not before they won some victories. Rexford Tugwell and his assistant Lee Pressman began to carry out the radical's program after they were assigned to lead a new organization, the Resettlement Administration (RA) that was housed under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), not the Department of Agriculture. RA was to oversee all the existing programs for relieving those on depleted farm or forest lands such as those run by Wilson's homestead agency, as well as resettlement programs begun under FERA and the Works Project Administration. Tugwell wanted more than program maintenance, he proposed a new great adventurous plan to reshape America's agricultural sector, as well as its cities. His grand vision was to relocate three-quarter of a million Americans. To aid poor farmers Tugwell used federal monies to purchase huge tracts of worn-out land, then bought new tracts with good soil and built government-owned communities supplied with water, sewage, electric power, and homes with the modern amenities where, under the guidance of agricultural and home economics experts, the resettled families

could begin a new life, one centered on cooperative farming and possibly manufacturing. Tugwell had more than farmers in his sights. He wanted to demonstrate how urban America and its slums could be reformed. His Greenbelt Cities project fit with the ideas of young idealist architects like Hermann Field. Tugwell wanted the government was to buy land near crowded cities and build fully-planned and government-managed Greenbelt communities where urban workers could live in modern homes surrounded by greenery and be served by cooperative stores.⁵²

Tugwell also helped with a deepened loan program for those poor farmers who wished to stay on their own land. But that program came with what some historians called “Hull House-on-steroids” as it was intended to create a new American Farmer, just as the Soviet’s had hoped to create a New Man. To qualify for the loans the farmers and their wives had to submit to expert -directed crop and business plans and to directions on hygiene, childcare, even diets. The supervision was intense. By 1941, the loan program employed 2,586 home management experts. Rexford also supported a publicity campaign to show the misery of poor farmers. It led to the world-famous photographs of Dorothea Lange and, later, the film documentaries by Jean Hinton.⁵³

Tugwell soon encountered opposition but before he resigned in 1936 the RA was renamed the Farm Security Administration and turned over to the Department of Agriculture and its business oriented administrators.⁵⁴ Tugwell left a frustrated man. He was able to build only three Greenbelt cities, relocate no more than 10,000 people, and established only some thirty cooperatives, none of which proved long-lasting. The new agency, the Farm Security Administration, was more conservative than Tugwell. It focused on loans to tenants and croppers to establish traditional farms and on creating temporary camps for thousands of “Oakies” fleeing to the West Coast in search of work in California and Oregon’s fields. That migration and the camps were featured in the award-winning

movie *The Grapes of Wrath*. However, Rexford Tugwell regarded both the loan program and the camps as palliatives that could never solve the underlying problems of the American small farm.

Harold's Death, Jessica's Continued Influence

Harold was aware of the beginnings of Tugwell's programs but did not live long enough see any results, good or bad. On a vacation trip to Hannah Pickering's Elmira New York farm in August 1935, with the Powells driving their cars, there was an auto accident near York Springs, Pennsylvania. Harold died of a fractured skull, the Powells were uninjured. Harold's funeral service was held in Philadelphia, with little notice, even by the Party. Presumably, his cremated ashes were taken to the utopian Arden. His obituary reflected the spilt between he and Jessica. She was not named as a relative although they were still married. Surprisingly, neither were Ella or Carl and there was no mention of Harold's Party ties, only that he was an expert in American and Russian large-scale agriculture.⁵⁵

In contrast, Jessica Smith lived long and did well. She continued her Soviet publications and married John Abt just two years after Harold's death. After a few more years of government service John went into private practice and moved the family to New York, at first to a substantial apartment in Queens then to one on Central Park West in Manhattan. The Abt's became close to local Party members, including Edward Barsky of the JARC who also served as their physician⁵⁶. By 1940, he and Jessica were earning close to five times an average worker's salary. He then prospered as an attorney for the CIO, the Party, and the Progressive Party, and he and Jessica soon had additional homes in Connecticut and Long Island. John played stepfather to Harold's children, helping Judith through the ultra-liberal Reed College and to a successful marriage to Daniel Dodson, who became a famous Columbia

University Professor. Abt helped Nancy through four years of college and aided David, who developed the overcame severe mental problems,⁵⁷ but both were less than successful.⁵⁸

John and Jessica stayed with the Cause throughout their lives. Jessica and Anna Louise Strong were among the first Americans to tour Russia in 1945 while John and Lee Pressman visited in 1946. All returned to salute the Soviet system and to call for American cooperation and aid. Jessica and John also became Progressive Party activists and stood their ground during congressional investigations. Yet, neither was indicted. John survived the widely publicized late 1940s investigation of Harold Ware Group's possible espionage, but his friend Alger Hiss served prison time because of it. John later admitted he was a life-long Communist and continued defending famous leftists including Angela Davis while Jessica accepted significant Soviet funds for her *New World Review* and other publications. The funds included monies brought to her by the secret Operation SOLO that channeled millions of Soviet dollars to the Party.⁵⁹

¹ WP 3 17 1936., NYT 11-17-1938.

² FBI FOIA, ella ware bloor at Smith College Archives; Conn, William H., "Commonwealth College Comes to Arkansas, 1923-25," *Arkansas History Quarterly*, 23 2 (Summer, 1964):99-122; Cobb, William H., *Radical Education in the Rural South: Commonwealth College, 1922-1940* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

³ Getty, J. Arch and Oleg V Naumov. *The Road to Terror: Stalin and the Self-Destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (New Haven : Yale University Press, 1999); Gelb, Michael "'Karelian Fever': The Finnish Immigrant Community During Stalin's Purges," *Europe-Asian Studies*, 45 6 (1993):091-116.

⁴ *We Are Many: An Autobiography by Ella Reeve Bloor* (London : Lawrence & Wishart, 1941). Also useful on Ella's image: Brown, Kathleen A., "The 'Savagely Fathered and Un-Mothered World of the Communist Party, USA: Feminism, Maternalism, and 'Mother Bloor.'" *Feminist Studies*, 25 3 (Autumn 1999): 537-570.

⁵ FBI FOIA, ella at Smith College Archive.

⁶ Census, family history, Langer, Elinor, *Josephine Herbst* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984).

⁷ Family histories, census various newspapers, *Time*, 1-19-1948 on *Salute* magazine, various FBI FOIA releases on others, also Dennis, Michael, *Blood on Steel: Chicago Steelworkers and the Strike of 1937* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

⁸ Useful on Gleason: Dakin, Brett, *American Dare Devil: Comics, Communism, and the Battles of Lev Gleason* (Toronto: Chapter House, 2020).

- ⁹ Gilpin, Toni, *The Long Deep Grudge : A story of Big Capital, Radical Labor, and Class War in the American Heartland* (Chicago: Haymarket Books , 200).
- ¹⁰ FBI FOIA, Ingersoll; Wolfe, Alan, "The Withering Away of the American Labor Party" (np: Journal of the Rutgers University Library, 1968).
- ;
- ¹¹ NYT 7- 18-1974 and *passim* in NYT, *New York Herald Tribune* and *Boston Globe*.
- ¹² FBI FOIA. dahl; Dyson, "Red Harvest." , *Op cit.*; family histories, census, various newspapers, Toloudis, Nicholas "Organizing Teachers in Pennsylvania, 1935-1941," *Labor History*, 60 5 (nd): 20-39. On the CIO and the radical unions and Henderson::Klehr, Harvey and John E. Haynes, " Communists and the CIO," *Labor History*, 35 3 (nd):442-446.
- ¹³ . On the CIO and the radical unions, Harvey Klehr, Harvey, and John E. Haynes, " Communists and the CIO," *Labor History*, 35 3 (nd):442-446.
- ¹⁴ Gluck, Sherna and Mary Lee Dunn "Grace Burnham McDonald, Founder of the Workers' Health Bureau: "You Have to See It in the Context of Organized Labor's Right to Survive and to Represent Its Members" *NEW SOLUTIONS A Journal of Environmental and Occupational Health Policy* 24 3 (nd):327-36.
- ¹⁵ On Hall, Dahl and various others: FBI FOIA, dahl; family history, various newspapers, city directories., the finding aid for the Hall papers at the New York State Library Kelly, "Hammer and Hoe," *Op cit.*,
- ¹⁶ Insights into the long history of the group associated with Highlander and SCHW: Price , Michael E. "The New Deal in Tennessee : The Highlander Folk School and Worker Response in Grundy County," *Tennessee Historical t Quarterly* 23 2 (Summer 1984):99 120 . Thomas , H Glyn , "The Highlander Folk School: The Depression Years," : *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 23 4 (Dec. 1964): 358-371; -Voices from the Southern Oral History project. Program: Learning from the Long Civil Rights Movement's First Generation: Virginia Foster Durr; Klehr. " *Op cit.*; *Heyday*; Krueger, Thomas A., *And Promises to Keep: The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938-1948* (Nashville : Vanderbilt University Press , 1967); Klibaner, Irwin, "The Travail of Southern Radicals" The Southern Conference Education Fund, 1946-1976," *Journal of Southern History* 49 2 (May 1983):170-202.
- ¹⁷ Principal sources for Henderson: FBI FOIA, henderson; NYT *passim*; *Cryonics*; census; family history; <https://www.marxists.org/history/erol/ncm-7/rose-cio.htm> hender#; Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Issues 822-836;
- ¹⁸ "The Rural Masses and the Work of Our Party."
- ¹⁹ Klehr, "CIO" *Op cit.*; Schwartz, Harry , "Recent Developments Among Farm Labor Unions," *Journal of Farm Economics*, 21 3 1(1-41): 833-842..
- ²⁰ Rosswurm, Steve (ed.), *The CIO's Left-Led Unions* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press,1992); Pratt, William C. ,"Communists and the FBI in the Upper Midwest:, *Agricultural History*, 63 3 (Simmer, 1989):61-80.
- ²¹ Their son Curtis emphasized the couple often fought, *Cryonics*, *Op cit.*
- ²² NYT 6-12-1941.
- ²³ *American Catholic Studies*, 119 2 (2009): 1-33.
- ²⁴ NYT 11-4-1951.
- ²⁵ NYT 8-21-1949.
- ²⁶ "Communist domination of certain unions: report of the Subcommittee on Labor and Labor-Management Relations of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Eighty-second Congress, first [-second] session."
- ²⁷ NYT, 1951, *passim*.
- ²⁸ " *Cryonics* interviews.," *Op cit.*
- ²⁹ WP 1975-1976, *passim*.
- ³⁰ <https://lynnhenderson.wordpress.com/about-lynn-henderson/> ; McDonald, Lawrence P., *Trotskyism and Terror: the Strategy of Revolution* (Washington ,D.C.: (ACU Educational and Research Institute, 1977). .
- ³¹ *My Tale of Two Worlds*, (NY: International Publishers , 1986). Haynes, John Early and Harvey Klehr, "Researching Minnesota History in Moscow," *Minnesota History* 54 1 (Spring1994): 2-15; Mitau, Thodores, ."The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party Schism of 1948," *Minnesota History*, 34 5 (Spring, 1955): 187-194/.

- ³² Census, family history.
- ³³ *NYT* 4-30-1941.
- ³⁴ *WP* 3-1-1951; U.S. Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, 83rd Congress, *First Session on Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments April 10 1953* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953).
- ³⁵ Abt, John, *Advocate and Activist: Memoirs of an American Lawyer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).
- ³⁶ *NYT passim*.
- ³⁷ FBI FOIA, Silvermaster File, on-line.
- ³⁸ Immigration and passenger records.
- ³⁹ Family history, *NYT*, 4-8-1967.
- ⁴⁰ FBI reports; on Operation SOLO; https://conservapedia.com/Stanley_Levison/; FBI, Jack Childs File; ; FBI Solo Files on Levinson and Harris, FBI files on Southern Leadership Conference; , on-line.
- ⁴¹ Barron, John, *Operation Solo : The FBI's Man in the Kremlin* (Washington, D. C.: Regency Publishing Co., 1996); FBI file on Operation Solo, on-line.
- ⁴² https://archive.org/details/FBI_File_Communist_Infiltration_Motion_Picture_Industry_COMPIC.
- ⁴³ On publishing: *NYT* 1-9-1991; Harris ‘papers’ description, University of Iowa Archives;; Harris. ;Lement, *My Tales of Two Worlds* (NY: International Publishers 1986); Interview with Lement Harris , conducted by Blackside, Inc. on July 16, 1990, for The Great Depression.. Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection.
- ⁴⁴ FBI FOIA, ware
- ⁴⁵ Abt., “*Advocate*,” *Op cit.*, claims their relationship began after Harold’s death..
- ⁴⁶ Census, city directories.
- ⁴⁷ A useful survey of New Deal programs with a bibliography is, Rasmussen, Wayne D. “ The New Deal Farm Programs: What They Were and Why They Survived,” *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, . 65, No. 5, Proceedings Issue (Dec. 1983):1158-1162. Informative on Hoover policies are . Douglas, Elaine , " Herbert Hoover and the Adjustment to the Depression,"; Strategic Studies Institute, US Army War College (2014) and *Hamilton, David E., From New Day to New Deal: American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt . 1928 1933* (Chapel Hill::University of North Carolina Press, 1991).
- ⁴⁸ Conkin, Paul K, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Programs* (Ithaka, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976).
- ⁴⁹ Ware, Harold M. and Webster Powell, " Planning for Permanent Poverty: What Subsistence Farming Really Stand For," *Harpers* (April 1935); Peek, George N., *WHY QUIT OUR OWN: Offering an American Program for Farm and Factory* (NY: D Van Nostrand, 1956).
- ⁵⁰ FBI FOIA, ware; Chambers Testimony; Klehr, Harvey, John Earl Haynes, Fridrikh Igorevich Firsov, *The Secret World of American Communism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
- ⁵¹ Mertz, Paul, *New Deal Poverty and Southern Rural Poverty* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978).
- ⁵² Sternsher, Bernard, *Rexford Tugwell and the New Deal* (Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1964) Namorato, Michael V., *Rexford G. Tugwell: a Biography* (NY: Praeger , 1988),
- ⁵³ Roberts, Charles Kenneth, “Client Failures and Supervised Farm Credit in the FSA,” *Agricultural History*, 87 3 (Summer 2013): 368-390., and his, *The Farm Security Administration and Rural Rehabilitation in the South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2015),
- ⁵⁴ Peek, George N. *Op cit.*
- ⁵⁵ *New York Herald Tribune* 8-15-1935, *The News Journal*, Wilmington Delaware, 8-1935.
- ⁵⁶ Abt, “*Advocate*,” *Op cit.*
- ⁵⁷ Abt, “*Advocate*,”: , *Op cit.*, 297.
- ⁵⁸ Census, family history, immigration- travel records.
- ⁵⁹ FBI Operation SOLO File, on-line.