

The Garland Book

by

Dick Cowen

To my wife, Connie,

who has lived this with me,

every step of the way.

William A. Swanberg in his magnificent  
biography, NORMAN THOMAS: The Last Idealist,  
calls Charles Garland "one of the most incredible  
but unsung young men in all history."

I am here to sing Garland's song.

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## IN THE BEGINNING

Somebody has got to be the first to stand out against the organized selfishness of society, or nobody ever will.

Charles Garland

Literary Digest

January 8, 1921

It was spring 1926, the time a young Pennsylvania farmer like Charles Garland was to be out planting the year's first crops on his 200-acre commune.

The rolling countryside of Lower Milford Township, about a dozen miles south of Allentown, was especially beautiful. And what added to that beauty were the hundreds of apple and peach trees of Garland's April Farm coming into blossom. How wise it had been two years earlier when Garland, truly a New England blue blood, and his followers had abandoned their thin-soil place in Massachusetts to acquire this property with its rich land where the last farmer had developed extensive orchards.

This was a time when the nearby one-room Eberhart School still had decades of service left to give to the neighborhood children of Lower Milford. In 1926 for the most part, the



children who entered its first grade were fluent in Pennsylvania Dutch. In the classroom they were coming upon their first lessons in English.

The narrow road through April Farm was dirt as were the other roads in the township. It would be another decade before the main pike through the township would be paved with concrete. It would be 30 years before the Northeast Extension of the Pennsylvania Turnpike would slice its way through what by then was the parceled-out land that once had been April Farm on its relentless expressway-blazing to tie suburban Philadelphia with Wilkes-Barre and Scranton in the anthracite region.

But instead of being on his tractor out upon the land, Garland was spending 60 days in Lehigh County Prison in Allentown -- for adultery.

Garland: a pupils of some of the best prep schools of England and New England, a student for a year at Harvard, a third generation millionaire, a good farmer, a deeply moral man in his own way -- sharing Lehigh County Prison with local burglars, robbers and home-grown adulterers. For in 1926, you went to prison for adultery in Pennsylvania. The state's listed sex crimes in that era had been taken right out of the Old Testament book of Deuteronomy.

Garland's arrest that January had gotten him national attention, not the first national attention he had, but perhaps the most notorious.

His first had been in 1920, just after his 21st birthday, when he refused a million-dollar inheritance from his father's estate. He said he hadn't earned it. "Private property is the main cause of all unhappiness," he said.

#### TOLSTOY DISCIPLE SPURNS \$1,000,000 BEQUEST OF FATHER

New York World -- November 24, 1920

Newspaper reporters and magazine writers descended upon him at the Garland family estate at Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts, to quote at length this Charles "Barley" Garland on his ideas on wealth and work -- he said he was a Tolstoy Christian -- to get comments from his wife Mary -- she said she supported his decision -- and to speculate that the Garlands were throwing away the future security of their infant daughter Margaret.

To the clamoring press, Barley explained that, besides the writings of Tolstoy, one of the main works that influenced him to make his decision on the money was H.G. Wells' book "New World for Old," which is rather heavy reading on socialism.

Contacted in London, Wells responded, "It's such depressing

news so early in the morning."

Songwriter George M. Cohan commented, "I wouldn't refuse a million dollars from the meanest man in the world."

And the mail came -- by the sackful -- to Barley with schemes on how to spend that million. It filled a room waist deep.

Muckraker Upton Sinclair from Pasadena, California, sent a "Dear Comrade" letter in what he said had to be letter No. 10,001 Garland had received from cranks. "I want to congratulate you upon the very fine propaganda stunt you have pulled off. It beats any of mine."

#### GARLAND TAKES LEGACY ONLY TO GIVE IT ALL AWAY

Chicago Tribune -- January 11, 1922

Then, there had been the matter of taking the money after all, but passing most of it on to the cream of America's radicals.

In giving away the money at age 22, Garland instructed that it was to be used for "the benefit of mankind -- to the benefit of the poor as much as the rich, of black as much as white, of foreigners as much as citizens, of so-called criminal as much as

the uncondemned."

Roger Baldwin, the founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, was the political engineer for the whole transaction, a friend of the Garland family at Cape Cod. And Baldwin looked primarily to the names on the ACLU letterhead in picking colleagues to help him manage the money.

Baldwin christened this foundation the American Fund for Public Service, quite a flag-waving title for an organization that included on its board Communists William Z. Foster and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Socialist Norman Thomas and, of course, Baldwin himself, who on a given day might fall under just about any radical label. Foster sent a note after one meeting he missed, explaining he couldn't make it because he was in jail.

But despite the high-sounding name, the foundation would quickly come to be called the Garland Fund -- a name that stuck until it closed its books in 1941. . .and even beyond. . .long after most folks remembered whom it was named for.

The Fund's assets, blue chip bank stock, grew like the loaves and fishes in the Bible. Barley's gift was \$850,000. But after three years of operation and a million dollars in distributions, the Garland board still had a million left.

It weathered a verbal assault from Samuel Gompers, the aging conservative head of the American Federation of Labor, who branded the board a bunch of "parlor pinks."

Across its existence, the Garland board aided a host of lost causes of the political left, particularly labor newspapers, and put money in at least one organization that turned out to be a downright fraud.

But as the decades since have shown more and more, the Garland Fund had some magnificent moments in American history. It aided in the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti and, later, the Scottsboro boys, helped Margaret Sanger to set up birth control clinics around the country, provided bail money for jailed union organizers, founded Vanguard Press, bankrolled the ACLU in various causes and virtually established the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and gave the NAACP the money to hire its first full-time lawyer. . .to name a few.

But in 1922, almost as an aside in the news accounts of Barley taking the inherited money and giving it away, came the business of his leaving the security of a 1,000-acre Bay End Farm which his flamboyant widowed mother, Marie Garland, presided over at Buzzards Bay to establish a farm commune 30 miles away in the thin soil of a place called North Carver. Barley named his commune April Farm as he would a later one in Pennsylvania. His

wife Mary and their infant daughter Margaret were to share in this frugal existence.

#### GARLAND IN AMAZING TRIANGLE

Boston Sunday Advertiser -- January 22, 1922

Oh, yes, and young women were attracted to this handsome soft-spoken man -- to insinuate themselves between Barley and his wife. Soulmates, the press said, "the most exotic peasantry to come out of the better Eastern colleges."

Mary and her baby Margaret soon abandoned April Farm to return to the Garland family complex to a home that Marie had given Mary and Barley upon their wedding -- a place with the romantic name of Shore Cottage on Little Buttermilk Bay. It would provide little romance for Mary.

"I lived at April Farm for a very brief time," Mary recalled near the end of her life. "I think it was for a summer. I didn't like it very much. There was too much going on.

"Would you like it to have half a dozen women around the house? We shared the cooking and all, and nobody got poisoned."

Barley proclaimed he was in love with one of those women, his mother's secretary, Lillian Conrad, a former art student. She

had been at Buzzards Bay as his mother's aide for several years, accompanying Marie on her far-flung travels. But only now had Lillian and Barley found their mutual love. To Barley, she would be the one to help him grow emotionally and spiritually.

The New York Tribune labeled it philosophical bigamy. Preachers in Boston pulpits denounced Garland. And the police chief near April Farm said there would be none of this going on in his territory.

Lillian left soon after -- overwhelmed by the outcries.

Then Barley disappeared. The commune had folded and carried away its farm implements across the winter of 1923-24. . . vaguely to somewhere in Pennsylvania. And newspapers found other sensations to pursue.

Barley from time to time would have brief reunions with his wife at Shore Cottage -- and those resulted in three more children -- but they never had a real marriage. Mary (Wrenn) Garland headed a one-parent family.

Years later, she would confide to her third child, Mary, that Barley loved children so she kept having them, hoping to win him back, even though she wasn't interested in having children herself.

What a time the piranhas of the press would have had if they had known that Mary, five months pregnant herself with that third child by Barley, had taken in one of the soulmates and her first child by Barley in the spring of 1924. But this had been in the quiet of New Hampshire, away from the clamoring metropolitan dailies.

Soulmate Bettina Hovey recalled, "Mary took me into her home after my son Carl was born. The average wife would have given me a dose of poison."

And, for that matter, how many girlfriends with a married man's child would move in with his pregnant wife?

First-born Margaret, known as Peggy, said in their later year she had talks with her mother about some of these things.

Peggy: "I would never understand it."

Mary Wrenn: "Oh, if you had been there, you would have."

Peggy: "Not me. I'm not you. One slip and I would have been out of there so fast."

Peggy recalled that it didn't make sense for her pregnant



mother to take in Bettina and her child. "Mother did a lot of things before she thought of the repercussions. Some of them worked out all right. Some were slight disasters."

Mary had a soft touch for traveling salesmen who came to the door, and she had no resistance for Barley -- no matter what he did. Fifty divorced years later, at the end of her life, she still deeply loved him. "Be kind in what you write," she advised. "He was so handsome and so gentle, and it was such a fatal combination."

Bettina, the only soulmate who bore him children, loved him to the end of her days -- though her time with Barley was perhaps three years. "Don't love too deeply," she advised shortly before she died at 83.

But here in January 1926, two revelations in Pennsylvania coming one atop the other <sup>b</sup> trust Garland back into the national slimelight of yellow journalism. Both were the result of events that quietly developed the year before.

-- In fall 1925, the colonist at the second April Farm in Pennsylvania applied for a charter of incorporation at Lehigh County Courthouse in Allentown. Their petition said April Farm "was an experiment in social science." They intended to expand their commune to up to 50 adults and also add a school for up to

40 orphaned children.

No one opposed the petition.

Such applications were routinely approved. That should have been the situation here. But someone apparently whispered "communism" in the ears of the county judges. They took the unusual step of appointing a master to investigate the application and the applicants. Their choice was attorney Robert Stuart, a Sunday school superintendent at one of Allentown's big churches, who embraced this task as a zealous mission for Christianity against the forces of free love and godless communism.

At the hearing, Stuart brushed aside the testimony of Pennsylvania Dutch neighbors who said how hard-working the colonists were and how they minded their own business.

He was more bent on questioning Bettina about her marital status.

She told him: "I don't wish to go into any personal thing at all. I consider it irrelevant."

Stuart was at his most aggressive in questioning colonist Paul Scott, the one who devised the idea of a school for orphan

children and convinced Barley to seek incorporation for it.

Stuart began by asking Scott if he believed in the birth and crucifixion of Jesus Christ.

Scott "Not necessarily."

Then, the attorney asked: Would April Farm admit Catholics?

Scott: "Yes, sir."

Stuart: Jews?

Scott: "Yes, sir."

Stuart: Mohammedans?

Scott: "Yes, Negroes, Chinamen, too."

Obviously in asking those questions, Stuart had no idea that Paul Scott's wife was Jewish.

Stuart pushed on, trying at length to pin down Garland on a hypothetical question of whether an 18-year-old boy at April Farm might be able to bed down with a like-minded 16-year-old girl.

-- Meanwhile, a daughter had been born to Garland and Bettina Hovey on July 4, 1925. She was their second child. Barley delivered her. He had often proclaimed that he had helped deliver cows of their calves. He certainly could do the same for the delivery of his child. And, of course, free souls that they were, Barley and Bettina didn't bother with the niceties of a birth certificate.

Then the child, Barbetta, died that October 17 in her crib in the night. When a kindly neighbor went to the nearest town for a coffin, the local undertaker refused him one unless he had a birth certificate for the baby.

So Barley and Bettina, in filling out the certificate, put in public record their names to the child's parentage. "I hereby certify that I attended the birth of this child who was born alive," Barley wrote in listing himself as the father.

It was no secret to Barley's wife Mary back in Massachusetts. She quietly endured this as she had so much in carrying the torch for this man.

#### GARLAND'S FARM CALLED COLONY OF FREE LOVE

Milwaukee Journal -- January 9, 1926

Then, Stuart filed his report with the court.

The leaders of April Farm "believe in and probably practice what is known as free love," Stuart wrote. The farm may be a refuge for "unfortunate women." And he concluded, "This is a scheme foreign to the American conception of liberty."

Reject the petition, he urged.

Stuart's report generated an avalanche of stories from the press. A local reporter and photographer with the trappings of a milk truck got onto April Farm to interview Barley. After that, however, the farm's German shepherds were out to keep others away.

At some point, 74 reporters from around the country tried to get onto the commune to interview Barley.

#### WARRANT TO BE SERVED ON CHARLES GARLAND

Allentown Chronicle & News -- January 11, 1926

And District Attorney Orrin Boyle, spurred by all this attention, vowed to seek out and punish any adulterers and fornicators involved -- specifically Barley and Bettina -- and he had the records on Barbetta as proof.

When Barley's arrest came, the afternoon paper in Allentown

bannered its account of this "statutory charge" across the top of page one -- above new developments on Sacco and Vanzetti and the renewed eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

And the local press speculated on whether Clarence Darrow would be coming to town to defend him.

The tabloid New York Daily Mirror quickly put together a daily series that ran for two weeks on what it considered Garland's scandalous past, complete with a row of drawings across the top of each article purporting to be Garland, his wife Mary and his much-married mother, Marie. Even The New York Times made note of the arrest.

The tiny weekly Town and Country newspaper out of Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, near April Farm reported that about 1,200 cars passed the place on the first weekend after the furore broke in the press. What dedication that some soul should stand along the dirt road leading to April Farm in winter to make such a count for history.

The even smaller publication, Road to Freedom, put out by the Socialist/anarchist Modern School colony at Stelton, New Jersey, came to Barley's defense. But these were friends. Garland and Bettina had visited Stelton on their way to set up the second April Farm, and several of the Stelton people, including Paul

Scott and his wife Polly, had followed him to Pennsylvania.

Road to Freedom declared: "The railroading of Charles Garland to 60 days in jail for alleged adultery is one of the most outrageous actions of the hypocritical Babbitry. True, a society based on sexual rabbit-relations is afraid of free relations outside its legal prostitution. But why the silence on the part of the goody-goody radicals?"

It asked: Is there no one around, like in times past, to champion freedom in sex relations?

And the mighty New York World lambasted the handling of the Garland story by the yellow journalism of the hour:

In this press we read of Garland as a "love-cult head," of his colony as "a free-love colony for radical college girls and men," of the mother of his child as "his latest of a long string of loves," of his farm as sheltering "fugitive criminals" from New York and Boston, of his community as a "Bolshevist community in direct contact with Moscow," of the investigation into the death of his child as an investigation which "may assume national importance."

The World thundered that not one of those items had an ounce of established fact behind it. The paper said smut is especially good smut when it can be linked with a "colony" and with a "radical" who has withdrawn from society, spurned its system of justice and can be expected not to counter with a suit for libel.

The political right had its share of super-patriots come forth to denounce Garland. Vague references were made in one New York paper that some local veterans group planned to run Garland and his followers out of the county.

President John A.W. Haas at Muhlenberg College in Allentown took to his chapel pulpit to brand April Farm "a part of a greater movement of extreme communistic tendencies." And he contended the money Garland gave away went "for purposes that will not make the world a better place to live in."

The Crisis, the testy magazine of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, carried not a line on Garland's arrest.

Rather, in its June 1926 issue that came out just as Garland finished his jail sentence, the fiery editor W.E.B. DuBois wrote: "It may well prove true that the Garland Fund will become one of the main agencies for the emancipation of the American Negro."



Garland Fund money had just provided \$26,000 of the \$65,000 raised across America to establish the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The Garland Fund spurred the drive with the incentive of matching money: Giving the NAACP \$5,000 outright and a dollar for every two it raised from others.

In just three months time, the NAACP joyously found itself with a substantial supply of cash to enable Clarence Darrow to defend Dr. Ossian Sweet and his family who moved into a white neighborhood in Detroit and were greeted by a mob. The Sweet case would be one that blacks would point to for decades.

For Garland himself, this was the last time he would be big news. Later, he would wind up as a paragraph and occasionally a page in a biography of someone else's life.

The National Republic -- 40 years premature with an obituary -- pronounced him dead in 1930 in an article attacking Communists and Socialists, he being among them in the magazine's view.

When Garland actually died in 1974 in rural New Hampshire where he quietly farmed the last 20 years of his life, even the local weeklies carried nothing on his death. His family had seen to that. They had gone through enough with the press in the 1920s.

And some relatives and fellow colonist have gone to their graves as this 20th century ends -- still refusing to talk about this strange and gentle man and his impact on their lives.

But the money he gave away in that sweeping declaration that it was to aid mankind continues to talk for him, especially as America takes a longer and deeper look at the history of its blacks.

## SOME ANCESTORS

Do one of these novels on the whole damned family.

Mary (Wrenn) Garland

December 11, 1979

Charles Garland came from an extraordinary family. .  
.particularly on his mother's side, the Tudors.

### IS GARLAND REINCARNATION OF HENRY VIII?

Boston Globe -- January 29, 1922

When the furies of the press were unleashed in early 1922 -- first over Garland's decision to take his million-dollar inheritance and then over soulmate Lillian Conrad -- his pedigree suddenly was news.

"His mother was Marie L. Tudor of Boston, a direct descendant of the royal English Tudor family, of which Henry VIII was the most conspicuous and interesting member," proclaimed the Boston Sunday Advertiser on January 22, 1922.

Within days, the local police chief near April Farm was announcing he would arrest Lillian and Barley if they were living

together -- offering no special leeway just because he was a direct descendant of Henry VIII.

And then the next Sunday came the Boston Globe with its raucously overstated comparison of Garland with the "famous fickle Tudor king whose love affairs upset the world." Really, Globe, the whole world?

To emphasize a Massachusetts angle, the Globe christened Garland "the Bay State offspring of the royal philanderer."

As the Globe saw it:

King Henry had no regard for law when it interfered with his wishes. . . Garland refuses to recognize man-made laws.

King Henry was inconstant in his affairs of the heart. . . Garland scorns constancy in love.

King Henry was a man of education, understanding the sciences of engineering and ship building. . . Garland is well-educated and on his farm spent considerable time building boats and constructing farm machinery.

King Henry sacrificed Anne Boleyn to his desire  
for Jane Seymour. . .Garland sacrificed Mrs.  
Garland to his desire for Lillian Conrad.

And then, to the American press, Henry VIII retreated into  
the history books for another day.

The Tudors in Barley's family had been in America since  
1714. William Tudor, a great-great-grandfather, was attached to  
Washington's staff as a colonel and served as judge-advocate of  
the Continental Army during 1775-78. He later was an eminent  
Boston lawyer, member of the Massachusetts House and Senate and  
Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

But on the maternal side, the Garland family points more to  
William's son, Frederic Tudor (1783-1864), known as the "Ice  
King." He was one of Barley's maternal great-grandfathers.

Unlike Barley, he was a cantankerous, ruthless individual  
who trumpeted the motto: "He who gives back at the first impulse,  
without striking a second blow, despairs of success, has not  
been, is not and never will be a hero in love, war or business."

Like Barley, he spent some time in jail -- though his time  
was for debt.

He went into business at 13 and stayed in business. His three brothers went instead to Harvard, and Frederic never got over the fact that he lacked a Harvard education.

In 1806, Frederic Tudor conceived the idea of shipping a load of Massachusetts ice to Martinique. Despite ridicule from friends, he did it. And with variations he worked out on ship design and structures to preserve the ice, he made the use of ice an accepted thing in warm climates.

In 1833, his operation became worldwide with his first cargo to Calcutta -- to cool the drinks of English colonials. And on his 50th year of the ice business, he sent 363 cargoes to 53 different places in the United States, West Indies, East Indies, China, the Philippines and Australia.

S.E. Morison's "The Maritime History of Massachusetts" reported: "Mr. Tudor and his ice came just in time to preserve Boston's East-India commerce from ruin. Not Boston alone, but every New England village with a pond near tidewater was able to turn this Yankee liability into an asset, through the genius of Frederic Tudor."

He brought the first steam locomotive to Boston, a one horsepower affair which ran on the sidewalk. He created the Maolis Gardens at the resort town of Nahant, probably the first

amusement park in the United States.

At 50, he married 19-year-old Euphemia Fenno and sired six children.

One of those children, Frederic Tudor Jr., was Barley's grandfather. He attended St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, and subsequently was graduated from Harvard in 1867.

He was a pioneer in the ventilation and sanitation of homes and public buildings in America. In the 1870s and 1880s, he installed systems in such buildings as the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, the new public library in Boston, the Allegheny County Courthouse in Pittsburgh and various buildings at Harvard, Columbia and MIT.

He was also an inventor, though some of his creations were appropriated in whole or in part by others, who gave him no credit.

"The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography" said, "A generous man, he gave freely of his time and counsel to many a young engineer and mechanic. He was uncompromising in his adherence to high ideals, so much so that his life was embittered to some extent by the grasping desires of others to accept credit that was due him. He was courageous, persevering, modest and just

in his criticism."

And, in the next generation, among five children was one Marie Louise Tudor, a life-long hell-raiser. She was Barley's mother, the child of Louise (Simes) and Frederic Tudor Jr.

Barley would give the world 11 children by two wives and one soulmate and throughout his life would show some commitment to all of them.

Marie (the family says it as MAAHree) would marry millionaire James A. Garland Jr. twice. And with his death of tuberculosis at 36 she was financially blessed with the income from his multi-million-dollar estate -- provided she remained his widow.

But in 1912, after six years as a widow, she lost that money by marrying her MIT-educated gardener and estate manager, Francis Cushing Green. The marriage lasted two years.

For Barley, his kid sister Hope and his three brothers, Green would be the first of five stepfathers Marie would bestow upon them, including one younger than they were. Her grandchildren say the last man in her life murdered her -- at age 79 in a tub in an El Paso hotel.



In growing up in staid Boston in the late 1800s, Marie recalled, "I had already done all those things girls could not, in those days, do in Boston.

"I had ridden a bicycle. I had gone to a drive with boyfriends. I had earned my own living at a time when no girl in our circle could handle money of her own without the suspicion that it was tainted."

In 1894 in England, as a new mother whose ordinarily bountiful breasts were fresh with milk, she encountered "a man, soiled and tired carrying a heavy satchel, followed by a wet bedraggled woman with a wailing baby under her shawl on the local train to London.

"The child's cry was that of hunger. The infant's wailing added to the worn look in the woman's face. She tried to quiet and soothe it, conscious of a hostile look from her fellow passengers."

When Marie asked if the baby was ill, the woman told a sad tale of no work and no food. "Weary from walking for hours in the rain, she had but little milk, which did not satisfy.

"Being also a mother, I asked if I might help her. Taking the fretting child in my arms, I gave him from my own breast.

"When at last the belated train pulled into the station, I placed in the woman's arms, from whose face the worn look had passed, a quiet sleeping child, and saw her turn with shining and happy eyes to her husband."

Marie claimed to be the first woman in Boston to go into Boston courts and ask for a divorce. In her brief years as an unmarried widow, she was also the leader of a school on her farm to help women on the Cape earn money for themselves with crafts and sewing.

In January 1918, Marie championed the idea of married women going out into the workplace -- made possible in part by establishing school kitchens so youngsters would no longer come home at noon for lunch.

She made the proposal before the Cape Cod Farm Bureau at Hyannis in a talk on "The Problem of the Woman at the Cape." She said, "The woman should be free to earn her share of the family funds, either in the home or out of it -- free to go out into the world when possible and fill the place of some man who has been called to the colors."

She claimed this would carry over after the war. After all, the vast army of men in the service "are called upon to do every

kind of household work, scrubbing floors, pots and pans, washing dishes, washing clothes, the cleaning of windows, mending."

Once back from the war with these new skills, those men would no longer be dependent upon women to perform those chores, "no longer a slave to women's efficiency." And the women would continue with their new-found freedom to be in the workplace.

She was an international suffragette, one of the first women members of the New York Yacht Club, the author of an absolutely horrid prose book on "Hindu Mind Training," yet a poet of enough stature to have "The Marriage Feast," one of her three books of poetry, reviewed in The Sunday New York Time Book Review in 1921.

And in 1920, with third husband-to-be, the handsome liberal attorney Swinburne Hale, Marie was on the national executive committee of the Committee of 48 that tried to start a new national political party in America.

She addressed the founding gathering that July in Chicago, advocating that it merge its efforts with a trade union convention going on at the same time with much the same purpose in that city.

She told the gathering she was a feminist, urging that men and women work side by side. She got laughter and applause when

she said, "If there is one thing that makes me fearfully tired, it is to hear men say that in all the centuries that have been no woman has ever done anything worthwhile. There wouldn't have been any of them here if women had not done something worthwhile."

English Professor Robert Morss Lovett of the University of Chicago, who saw Marie and Swinburne together at the ill-fated convention, referred to her as "the expansively beautiful Mrs. Garland."

She left the raising of her offspring primarily with a nanny. She built a separate cottage apart from the main house on her Buzzards Bay estate to get away from the rest of the family.

"This cabin of mine in the woods is a dream come true," she wrote in September 1915 when her daughter Hope was only 10 and her sons were teenagers. "It is a sanctuary. Here, all things are beautiful and holy."

Besides her own brood, she adopted eight orphaned children from two families -- four Bensons and four Manns. One of the Mann girls, Irene, would later marry Barley's brother Hamilton.

Marie made her Bay End Farm something of an artists colony. It would get an added distinction as the place where Kahlil Gibran wrote much of the first draft of "The Prophet" when he was

her guest there for 24 days in the summer of 1918.

"I am a royal guest in a royal house in a royal countryside," he wrote to his sister Marianna from the Garland estate. "I can work here, ride horses and can drive the auto whenever I want."

There would be little cottages scattered throughout the estate where a guest could seek solitude.

Gibran said he wanted to stay forever because he was free to be what he wanted and do as he liked. He praised Marie's ability to combine a vigorous intellectual life with the practical role of farm owner. And he marveled at the freedom she gave to her sons.

Marie was an incurable romantic. How delicious are the love letters of Marie at age 55 in 1924 to 22-year-old filmmaker Henwar Rodakiewicz -- the statuesque Marie, whose mighty breasts had been heralded in published poetry by the last departed husband, Swinburne Hale, and by Marie herself in her poem, "The Marriage Feast." She wrote to Henwar:

Today, my sister said, "I suppose that boy is as crazy about you as ever. Don't forget that it won't last long. Hope you are not counting on it.

It would not have happened if you had not been in Bernhardt's class and those like her. Can't understand it quite myself. But it's genuine."

She's a scream, and adds: "Love never last more than two years anyway."

I know this is not so, yet I do believe that passion pure and simple will burn itself out in that time.

And at another time:

I wonder why the first passionate letter you wrote did not burn a hole in the mail sack!

I wonder if the postman ever feels palpitating words through the paper envelopes. He might weave wonderful thoughts about what he feels. Perhaps, though, he just plods along, thinking only of his Bridget and the cabbage she is preparing. Perhaps he does not even think of her as he goes on his way.

It is I who am romancing.

And Henwar in an equally heated reply would write:

I feel as lost as only you and I can feel when we are separated from each other's arms. So much of me is with you that there is but little left here --

and that little is struggling toward you.

I hunger for the dearness of your voice and I  
thirst for the sweetness of your breasts.

Marie would marry Henwar and go off to New Mexico with him to settle in a ranch that would attract Georgia O'Keeffe to one of the little cottages that Marie had built upon the place. And, later, she would leave Henwar -- on the advice of O'Keeffe.

As Marie told him at the torrid start of their romance, "I love you and shall go on loving you until you turn, as you eventually will, to some young thing."

And in October 1934, Marie attended a family gathering of her sisters Effie, Rosamond and Emma and brother Frederic "Rico" upon their mother's death at 90. She recounted:

It began from Emma. "Marie, what is your name, who do you call yourself?" etc. for the newspaper article. "We have to do the regular thing in writing the notice after mother's death."

"Why do we? Would it be a sin then to omit the regular thing?" This passed unnoticed, I being the irregular member of the family.

So it was agreed among them that I was the widow of James A. Garland! And me the divorced wife of

Francis Green, the divorced wife of Swinburne Hale, the divorced wife of Henwar Rodakiewicz and wandering around the world with a man I'm not married to. But the title of widow of J.A.G. made a thin coat of whitewash to satisfy Emma.

Roger Baldwin, the ACLU founder and a friend of the family, broke into a knowing smile when he recalled Marie near the end of his life.

"She was quite a number," Baldwin said. "She was a very striking woman and she was very, very sexy, too. She was very easy, very easy to make."

Was he speaking from experience?

"Heh, heh, yes," he replied.

"She just never wanted to be old. She behaved like a young girl all the time, wanted to reassure herself. Oh, men do the same thing. Men marry young girls just to reassure themselves that they're still potent. Marie married a young fellow for just the same reason. . .30-40 years apart, something like that.

"She was more an anarchist than Barley was. She absolutely defied convention. She came from a family of Tudors. The Tudors



were highly placed in Boston, and she was expected to behave according to the book, but she didn't.

"She was a very eccentric woman in her personal view and her personal life. Very impressive."

Margaret "Peggy" Garland Brown, Barley's first-born by Mary Wrenn, remembered Marie as a comical character.

"She'd do things just to attract attention. She'd dress just to attract attention. She seemed to be and wanted to be and succeeded in being the center of attention wherever she went. I wasn't impressed with this.

"A lot of men, an awful lot, told me she was attractive. Some of our friends met her after the war (World War II) down at the Cape and still talk about her. She and Polly (Peggy's younger sister) both strike people the same way, only Polly's quieter and Polly's much taller.

"Marie was a very domineering character, and she could talk to anyone. But she was very determined things would go her way. She was more concerned with herself than anything. She wasn't, you know, what one's grandmother would ordinarily be like."

Life ended for Marie at age 79 in the scalding water of a

bathtub in an El Paso hotel in December 1949 -- murdered, her descendants insist, by her last boyfriend, a man named Robidoux. He was gone when the authorities arrived and so was an extensive collection of native American jewelry she had with her, the family says. Robidoux never returned to claim an inheritance Marie left for him in her will.

The authorities called her death an accident. . . though the transcript of an inquest is far from convincing of that conclusion.

Marie's worth a book in herself.

Her kid sister, Rosamond, was a portrait and landscape painter, who perhaps did some of the portraits of family members hung of the walls of the main house at Bay End Farm.

Great fame, however, would come to Rosamond's daughter, originally named Starling Burgess, but renamed Natasha by her father who admired the heroine in Tolstoy's "War and Peace." She legally changed her name to Tasha Tudor.

Across much of the 20th century, Tasha Tudor acquired an army of loving admirers for both her writings and illustrations of children's books. She was Barley's cousin.

And on the Garland side, there was James A. Garland Sr. (1840-1900) of 259 Madison Avenue, New York, with stables on 40th Street and summer homes at various times in Plainfield, Monmouth Beach and the posh Elberon, New Jersey. He was Barley's paternal grandfather. His death in 1900 was announced from the rostrum of the New York Stock Exchange.

He was the money-accumulator.

He was a baker's son, a whiz in math as a kid. He spared himself military service in the Civil War by buying a substitute for three years.

At 22, he left his own accounting business in his native Philadelphia to become a member of the banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., the bank that financed the Civil War for Lincoln. James Sr. started as its chief clerk when it was organized in Washington in 1862. His financial skills were so sharp that when the house moved to New York just after the Civil War, he was made a partner.

When the Cooke empire collapsed in 1873, James Garland Sr. was among a dozen Cooke people taken in at New York's First National Bank. He was considered an excellent broker. He served First National for 25 years as vice president and also was a major figure in organizing and building the Northern Pacific

Railroad.

The New York Times noted that James Sr. "was well-known to art lovers as the owner of the finest collection of Oriental porcelain in this country, and one of the finest collections in the world."

As The Times explained, at the time of James Sr.'s death, the greater portion of his collection was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where he was a trustee.

But to the disappointment of the museum, his will did not leave these more than 2,000 Chinese porcelains to the Metropolitan as a gift.

Rather, his estate sold them for a half million to a New York gallery. The very next day after the sale, J.P. Morgan, himself a leader on the museum board, repurchased the entire collection from the gallery and gave it to the museum. Thus, the Garland collection became the Morgan collection.

Two years before his death, James Sr. left New York to spend his remaining days in Hamilton, Massachusetts, in the bustling home of James Garland Jr., Barley's father. So Grandpa Garland was around for the first years of Barley's life.

James A. Sr. left an estate of \$6.5 million -- including money in trust to his grandchildren.

Ah, yes, and James A. Garland Jr., usually referred to as Albert or Bert, the man who twice married the hellion Marie Tudor. . .Marie who would claim several husbands later that she never really loved Bert.

At 16, Albert was beset by poor health. So his father sent him traveling across the country to recover -- accompanied by his doctor. Albert rewarded his father with almost daily letters of his travels. And when he and the doctor reached the West Coast, they wanted to continue to the Orient and beyond, circling the globe. James Sr. agreed.

Like Barley, Albert was a Harvard dropout. He attended Harvard as a special student during 1890-91. He maintained his own home at school with the help of servants and was able to keep his horses there with him.

In describing his first marriage of Marie, the Boston Sunday Herald of September 24, 1893, noted, "The young couple will go abroad and will reside in Paris. Though Mr. Garland is a rich man, he is devoted to architecture and proposes to make a thorough study of it abroad."

James Sr. provided Albert and Marie with a quarterly allowance and various other sums from time to time. He was an admittedly doting father, saying he consistently worked for the happiness of his three children. He seemed to have little of a marriage in later years, his wife sickly and usually living apart from him at one of their summer homes.

When Albert and Marie bought the farm at Hamilton, Massachusetts, James Sr. sent them money for the payments. And with the arrival of grandchildren via Albert and Marie starting in 1894, James Sr. sent ponies, carts and pieces of silver and set up a bank account for each one.

It was a matter-of-factness about wealth that most of the rest of us just can't fathom.

But James Sr. also kept chiding Albert to find a career and settle down. You selected architecture as a profession and yet have done nothing with it, he reminds Albert in March 1896.

"Go into an office. Accept a position of employee, even at \$500 a week -- or nothing. Then, if you have any talent in that direction, an advancement as it warrants.

"Don't waste any more time -- not even this summer -- because you are getting older and have no time to throw away.

Remember, with your income, a little more added by your own efforts would make you more than comfortable."

Sell your horses, James Sr. advises his son. "Horses are a luxury that bring more care and expense than the pleasure we want." And stop moving around the country. It's not fair to Marie and, besides, moving is very expensive.

"Show all that you are not only the son of your father but are able to bring out results yourself."

There's little to indicate Albert took his father's advice.

Albert had five sons by Marie -- the first to arrive eight months after their marriage. Then, they divorced after 10 years. As *The New York Times* so delicately put it: "In the litigation, both husband and wife accused each other of over-friendliness with acquaintances."

They were reconciled a year later aboard his yacht, the *Barracuda*. Grandchildren say that Marie swam out nude to his ship for this reunion off the Cape.

Their second marriage was private, and from that union was born a daughter Hope.

When James Jr. died in 1906, The New York Times called him a "well-known clubman and yachtsman," and the Boston Globe saw him as the "millionaire clubman of Boston and New York," labels that would indicate he didn't dirty his hands with manual labor.

That yachting on one occasion included squiring teen-age showgirl Evelyn Nesbit and her mother up the Hudson. That figured -- what with his father knowing architect Stanford White, Evelyn's 50-year-old lover who would have the nude Evelyn glide on a red velvet swing in his lair in New York.

But these obituaries also noted that Albert had worked vigorously as editor of The New England Magazine for a number of years and had written a book on "The Private Stable -- Its Establishment, Management and Appointments." The book even devoted a segment on how to fire stable help. It came out just about the time his father was telling him to get rid of his horses.

His book on the stable would be reprinted in the late 1970s by tiny North River Press at Croton-on-Hudson which hailed it as a classic, "one of the best books on stable management ever published."

Albert's yacht had originally been the official yacht of the Imperial Government of France. Its French name was L'Aigle (the



Eagle) -- which was Napoleon's nickname.

On November 17, 1869, it led a fleet of ships from many nations in the elaborate ceremonies marking the opening of the Suez Canal. The Empress Eugenie of France and Ferdinand DeLessups, the builder of the canal, were aboard for the trip.

According to Lloyds Register, James Garland Jr. purchased the vessel in 1903. . .121 feet 7 inches length, 20 feet 1 inch beam and 11 feet 9 inches draught.

His club memberships included the Union Club, the New York Yacht Club and the Harvard Club, all of New York, and the Tennis and Racquet Club of Boston.

He bought 700 acres near Potter's Cove on Prudence Island, Rhode Island, in 1904 and designed a mansion for the property, putting to use whatever skill he had developed in architecture. Here, he raised all kinds of fancy stock and had an extensive kennel of Old English sheep dogs, which was the most famous of its kind in the country.

According to the Providence Journal, Albert envisioned a home of grandeur, stables and farm buildings, cattle and sheep-raising on a gigantic scale. Part of this idea became reality.

He spent somewhere between \$200,000 and \$300,000 on the place. But had he done all he wanted, it would have cost him a million.

He made repeated revisions. Much went wrong. Three times he had a tennis court torn up because it didn't suit him. The fourth version was the same as the original one. Also, he placed the library in the basement of the mansion. Some of the islanders who visited the estate reported that many valuable editions were ruined by the dampness.

His palatial yacht was a frequent visitor to Naragansett Bay. He called it the Barracuda although sometimes the name appeared as the Barracouta. He and his crew lived on the yacht anchored at Potter's Cove while the estate was being built. His wife and sons lived in a houseboat nearby.

According to information at the Rhode Island Historical Society, Albert with a party of friends aboard the Barracuda was making a trip from Providence to Newport late in the fall of 1904.

They encountered an unusually heavy sea and wind reaching almost hurricane velocity. The captain of the yacht was having trouble with the engine and advised Albert to anchor at Potter's Cove while repairs were being made.

After viewing the scenery from his yacht, Albert was impressed with the serenity and loneliness of the locale and immediately made plans to purchase the entire north end of the island and build a home there.

In May 1906, his wife Marie wrote of the scene:

From Pine Hill, I see the waves come tumbling in on the beach below. The sky is deep blue, fading away to a soft misty mauve along the horizon. In the distance, I see Hope Island -- sandy headlands to the west of me, with bayberry and pale bare patches of yellow sand, rocks at the base of the bluff where the waves break in tossing spray.

To the east, a long low beach, curving to the sea like a crescent moon, backed by green marshland. Beyond all this, all the wooded stretch of the Island, which runs south for four miles. Ships come in through the haze like great sea birds, all their white sails spread in the sunlight.

For a year or two prior to his death, Albert took much

interest in the work of a home for crippled children in Providence. And it was through his generosity that a children's hospital was established at nearby Conanicut Island in the former Conanicut Hotel in the summer before his death. His intention was to have an institution of that sort on his own estate on Prudence Island, where he already had established a summer retreat for crippled children.

A one-page biography of him on file at the Rhode Island Historical Society gave this curious evaluation from someone labeled only H.D.T., who apparently knew him:

"He had, when he desired to exert himself, an exceedingly fascinating manner, which impressed itself on everybody who met him. He was sensitive in temperament, and this very sensitiveness made him sometimes misunderstood by those who did not know him well."

But what a vindictive man to put in his will that Marie could enjoy the earnings from his wealth -- only so long as she didn't marry again.

Then, too, there is Barley's kid sister, Hope (Garland) Ingersoll. She had lived at Bay End Farm since she was two, and when her mother departed for New Mexico with young Henwar in the late 1920s, Hope became mistress of the place.

In 1916, Marie had massive barns and other buildings constructed just down the road from her main house for a dairy farm. She called it Grazing Fields Farm and imported Guernseys. Hope later turned that into one of the best-known Welsh Cob breeding farms in North America.

And when the Commonwealth of Massachusetts announced in the 1960s that it would run a new highway out to the Cape right through Bay End Farm, Hope fought against it. . .for 25 years. . .and won. The route would have gone through a lake on the property that attracted blue heron and other wild birds. Massachusetts finally acceded to her proposal to have the highway cut through the edge of her property and leave the lake alone. She turned the lake area over to the Plymouth Wildlands Trust. Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis sent her a letter of congratulations.

There are other characters woven into this family or on the fringes of it, including:

Frederic "Rico" Tudor, Marie's brother, Harvard 1891, who owned by first motor vehicle ever registered in Massachusetts and whose cars bore the registration number "1" the rest of his life.

Despite the loss of a leg while at Harvard, he was

unwavering in his interest in cars and the development of motor travel. He bought his first car, a Winton, in 1902.

His obituary on April 10, 1939, in The New York Times said he was so fond of his license number that in 1923 he refused \$5,000 for it. Fellow Cape Codder Charles Henry Davis of the National Highway Commission tried to sweeten the offer by proposing to buy Frederic Tudor "the most expensive automobile manufactured" in exchange for the number. Tudor still refused.

His friends explained: "He doesn't need the money and he likes the number."

The obit also said he gave up a business career in Boston about 1915 and moved to Bay End Farm where he experimented with fruit orchards, farm produce and flowers. His hobby was tropical fish and he had 22 separate aquariums.

At one point, he was secretary of the Massachusetts Democratic State Committee, but resigned to join the Committee of 48 -- the political group that tried in 1920 to form a third political party in America. That was the group which carried his sister Marie's name on its letterhead as one of its 48 and which she addressed at its 1920 convention.

Philip Wrenn, Harvard 1894, a stock broker who rose to head

the Boston Stock Exchange by 1919. He was also a member of President Theodore Roosevelt's "Tennis Cabinet." His brother, Robert, was world's tennis champion in both 1896 and 1897.

Cambridge Latin School was his preparation for Harvard. "I took advantage of its elective system, selected with few exceptions easy courses and convenient hours. The exceptions were courses chosen at random and with little judgment," he wrote for his 25th anniversary from Harvard.

After graduation from Harvard, he spent 2 1/2 years in Europe and Australia for a manufacturing house that produced agricultural machinery. He then became a stock broker in 1907 and has since been in the field of banking, he wrote in 1944 on his 50th anniversary from Harvard.

He became Charles Garland's father-in-law with the marriage of his daughter, Mary, to Barley. But with Barley's subsequent enrapture with soulmate Lillian Conrad, he came to hate Barley and never spoke to him again.

Carl Hovey, Harvard 1897, whose daughter Bettina bedded down with Barley at that first April Farm and had three children by him. Bettina's love for Barley -- brief years that they had together -- came at the price of alienation from her father for the rest of his life. She was not acknowledged in his 1956

obituary.

As managing editor of Heart's Metropolitan Magazine, which billed itself as "the livest (not liveliest) magazine in America," Hovey had among his stable of writers the revolutionary John Reed and former President Theodore Roosevelt.

To Reed who was covering the turmoil in Mexico, Hovey telegraphed in February 1914: "Battle article received. Nothing finer could have been written. Cheer up. You are sending us great stuff. We are absolutely delighted with your work."

And to Reed at the Harvard Club, 27 W. 44th Street, New York, Hovey wrote in March 1915: "This is to certify that you have been appointed a representative and correspondent in Europe of the Metropolitan Magazine of New York for the purpose of observing in its behalf the present war conditions in Europe and reporting generally on same."

Don Brubaker, who married Mary "Polly," Barley's second daughter by Mary Wrenn.

While serving on the aircraft carrier Valley Forge in the Pacific during the Korean War, Commander Brubaker, a Navy pilot, shared a cabin with author James Michener for six weeks. Michener



was aboard to work as a newspaper correspondent and to gather material for a novel.

During his stay, Michener wrote a three-page account of an incident in which another pilot was downed in a bombing run of some seemingly indestructible bridges and, despite rescue efforts by his comrades, was subsequently killed. Those bridges were in a deep valley flanked by enemy artillery.

Michener wrapped his yarn in some flag-waving. He began by citing from a newspaper story from home reviewing what he called the "civic corruption and public scandal of our time." He noted that the news account ended with the line that America's moral fiber had turned to mush.

Then, Michener told his version of the fatal bombing run by Ensign Marvin Broomhead of Salt Lake City.

In his closing, Michener wrote, "The enemy had a field day and we had nothing. Nothing, that is, except another curious demonstration that sometimes defeat -- like the Alamo or Dunkirk -- does actually mean more to a democracy than victory. Such defeats test whether the moral fiber of the democracy had indeed turned to mush."

Brubaker, who was part of the rescue attempt, sent a copy of Michener's writing home to his wife, with a whole series of corrections he inserted by hand between Michener's double-spaced typed text because it was "loused up some."

As Brubaker later learned, Broomfield, wounded, didn't die but was captured and returned home after the war.

From this immediate incident, Michener wrote the popular novel, "The Bridges of Toko-Ri." That hero, who died in the book, was named Don Brubaker.

In 1961, the real Brubaker in an article in his hometown newspaper -- the Glenrock (Wyoming) Independent -- said he was not the prototype for the Brubaker in Michener's novel. Rather, he said the book's hero was a composite of many pilots who made daily hazardous bombing runs over Korea.

Decades later, amid research for this book, a letter was sent to Michener suggesting he might drop a note to a then seriously ill Don Brubaker in West Fork, Arkansas, about their encounter in the South Pacific.

In a November 1992 letter to Brubaker, Michener tossed off as a "remarkable coincidence that your private and military life duplicated so closely what I said about my imaginary man."

Michener's caution seemed like he was fearful that Brubaker -- at that late date -- might ask for a share in the royalties.

Some of these individual will make appearances in only cameo roles, others as major players, some not any further, at this split-screen story of Barley's life and the Garland Fund unfolds.

MARIE'S SONS

These boys of mine have the blood of kings  
in them, and I want them to show it.

Marie (Tudor) Garland

1913

Charles "Barley" Garland was the fourth son born to Marie Louise (Tudor) and James A. "Albert" Garland Jr., but the first to survive beyond his 30s. He was frighteningly handsome even as a kid, and so was his brother Hamilton who came right after him. Women would stare at them when they walked the streets of Boston together.

Marie seemed to find something special in Barley. She wrote:

His eyes are wild and close to nature,  
Understanding things unknown --  
Things words never reach,  
Things which are in us and beyond us --  
All of beauty.

His features are perfect,  
Like a young god's,  
But it is the look

That startles you,  
And holds you.

Marie had those five sons within six years -- the first, James A. III, living to age 24; the second, Tudor, succumbing at 20, and the third, Charles Tuller, dying at seven months.

Barley and Ham were the only sons to live into old age.

And from the second marriage of Marie and James Jr. to each other came their only daughter, Hope, who would eventually take over Bay End Farm.

If there was some genetic weakness that Marie and James Jr. passed on, who's to say the source. But there were mental breakdowns among their children. . .Barley himself at 40. . .and now among Barley's grandchildren. It's eerie.

Barley's youngest child, James "Jay" Garland of Peterborough, New Hampshire, contended -- before a line was written -- that this book would somehow be therapeutic to all the Garland family. He said it would end a lot of family mythology.

Jay, born in 1939, says he grew up knowing nothing about his father's first family or the children by Bettina.

Albert, Jay's grandfather, died while his own children were still small, Hope not even a year old.

Compounded with that was something Marie revealed a decade after Albert's death. She wrote in 1915:

"The greatest joy in a woman's life must be, I know, to bear a child of the man she loves.

"I realize this is something which has never come into my life. For that reason, I know my children have missed something, something I could never give them."

But if her children were conceived without love, Marie burned with desire that her sons, at least, achieve.

"I want my boys to prove to the world that a Garland is one to be looked up to and respected," she wrote when Barley was 13. "These boys of mine have the blood of kings in them, and I want them to show it."

Some of their early days were around Prudence Island where their father was building a mansion while living on his yacht. Marie and the boys were on a houseboat.

In a story in December 1920, the Providence Journal gave

some indication of the Garland boys' childhood around 1904-06.

It seems that their father arranged "some queer ball games" at Potter's Cove between the crew of his yacht and the farm hands. Liking to be with a sure winner, Albert played on the farm hands team. Some of the yacht crew hardly knew the game.

Then, the Journal article noted:

"No one recalls ever seeing the Garland boys play ball. Nor were the youngsters allowed to witness the sports of the sailors and the farm hands. They were carefully shielded from all contact with influences that might 'harden' them.

"Their tutor was a college man, a likable sort of chap, but 'soft' through his association with children almost entirely. Either he or a governess, a prim strict woman as she is described, was always with the children, who could be seen sedately dragging a train of toy cars or some other 'safe' plaything about the grounds.

"They were well-behaved boys, the islanders recollect. Charles and 'Hammy' were favorites. They were quiet, thoughtful, self-contained little fellows even at that age."

Charles was seven and Hamilton almost six in their father's

final year.

The Journal article concluded: "Those who knew the family at that time say the father was very fond of his boys, but seldom saw them."

Their homestead during most of their growing up years, however, was Bay End Farm, initially 300 acres and three homes which Marie bought for \$25,000 shortly after their father died. Later, it would be more than double that size with the acquisition of nearby lands.

Garland family members point out the main house had been built as an inn in the mid-1700s by the founding fathers of Bourne, the larger community that comprised Buzzards Bay and seven other nearby villages.

In 1867, Bay End Farm became the Monument Club, a fishing club established by a dozen Boston sportsmen of wealth. Material from Bourne archives indicates that Mark Twain and President Grover Cleveland were visitors to the club. Cleveland's presence in the area was well known -- since he had purchased as a summer place the home at Nahant on the North Shore where Marie was born and renamed it Gray Gables.

Within a few years of settling in Buzzards Bay, Marie would



turn it into the home base for the Old Colony Union, an arts and crafts organization among the women of Cape Cod that would rank among the tops in the nation. The idea was to provide these rural women with training by teachers skilled in handicrafts like basket weaving, sewing, French embroidery and crocheting. The sale of their products would give these women some financial independence.

For originating this "uplift plan" and bankrolling it in its first year, Marie had become known as the "Angel of the South Shore," the Boston Sunday Post proclaimed in headlines in a June 25, 1911, article. It was perhaps one of the few times this hellion was ever called an angel.

By then, too, she was already using the property to raise Duroc-Jersey swine, Angora goats, White Plymouth Rock chickens, Pekin and Indian Runner ducks and Toulouse, African and White China geese.

She brought an architect from Boston to design massive barns and silos for the Guernsey dairy cattle that were part of her enterprise. Fifty years later, Marie's only daughter, Hope, would use those barns and fenced fields to operate one of the largest Welsh pony breeding farms in North America. Hope (Garland) Ingersoll renamed it Grazing Fields Farm.

And Marie also turned Bay End Farm into an artists colony, attracting people of creative talent -- something she continued to do later in her final years at her ranch in New Mexico.

With all Marie's goings-on, it fell to nannies to raise the Garland children and tutors to instruct them. And from some views within the family, Marie would fire a tutor that got too close emotionally to the children and hire a new one. The children would often see their mother only at bedtime -- for a goodnight kiss.

"She was a bitch of a mother," says the widow of one grandson. "The children must have been so hurt by her."

As a youngster to get back at her mother, Hope spent hours and hours threading horse hairs through cigarettes so they would stink when Marie's guests would smoke them.

Soulmate Bettina Hovey, near the end of her life, said, "I got the impression Marie never gave a hoot about her kids. Barley was very unhappy as a kid.

"When the children became attached to the nurses, she'd change around the nurses. She was selfish. She operated by whims.

"Barley told me that first she'd treat them all as equals.

Next, she'd segregate the adopted ones, and they had to be in the kitchen as servants.

"She had this very beautiful place at Buzzards Bay, a big dairy farm in a small backward town. She hired and fired people. She was charitable in a whimsical way. She'd start projects and then go off to Europe.

"Barley's background as a rich kid wasn't different from other fabulously rich kids. . .the parents every now and then remembering the children."

Marie was quite the party-giver. She had houses in a great many places -- including New York and Bermuda. One relative says, "She never had to pack a trunk in those days." Her Bermuda place, Parapet, was one of the oldest homes on that island complex. It included slave quarters -- Bermuda abolished slavery in 1834 -- behind the main house. Parapet was acquired and expanded upon by the wealthy Charles Stewart Mott in the late 1930s and remains in the Mott family as the 20th century ends.

To staid Boston people, Marie was someone without morals. She was the one blamed -- or credited -- with infusing in Barley's young mind his disdain for the marriage ceremony.

"Marriage has nothing to do with the marriage ceremony,

which is an affair of the State, nor with divorce," Marie expounded in one of her love letters to young Henwar. "True marriage is deep in the heart and something too prized and struggled to keep inviolate."

And if Louise Bryant could pose nude on a beach at Provincetown, Marie could prop herself up on her elbows nude on a sand dune in her middle years and show off those bountiful breasts -- and did.

The Garland children were raised in wealth. As a young child, Hope had a tiny cart and her own pony to pull it -- though it seems her older brothers often commandeered it against her wishes.

The boys were sent to Eton in England, Barley for three years -- with Harvard the ultimate objective, as it had been for their father. Barley said he hadn't awakened as a student or begun to think for himself at Eton.

But then they went to St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, where a teacher had a profound effect upon Barley. He told *The New York Times*, "I had one teacher who really thought for himself. The shock was so great that I realized then for the first time what one could do."

According to Mary Wrenn, Barley's first wife, this was a teacher who would be drummed out of the school shortly after Barley left.

Sixty years later, in its history of the institution, St. Paul's acknowledged that early turmoil and confessed that the headmaster who got rid of this teacher wrote an apology to him 30 years after it happened. But St. Paul's would not mention the teacher's name in its history, only his initials.

To hear the *New York Mirror* tell it in 1926 in its 12-part "amazing true-life story of Charles Garland, millionaire, convention-defying love-cult leader," the molding of Barley's young mind was accomplished almost entirely by his mother.

The *Mirror* claimed: "Garland's strange ideas were instilled at his mother's knee. She told him of his famous ancestor, Henry VIII. She read to him from the poems of Sappho. . . 'Money is a curse,' she told her boy, Charles as they strolled amid pastoral scenes and she expounded to him the philosophies of Tolstoy and Plato and taught him the beauty of nature and the untrammelled soul."

But maybe what Marie instilled in Barley and the others was to be their own person.

"I am the mother of six and adopted eight more to bring up with mine," Marie wrote in one reflective piece. "I had my ideas on this subject and did this mostly between husbands, during a long period of being alone.

"I tried to give all of them a capacity to think for themselves, to question everything, to accept nothing, to make their own individual decisions. I tried to have them know that the only true freedom is the acceptance of responsibilities. . .the joy of work with hands and head. . .a sense of brotherhood with all men.

"In a religious sense, I tried to convey to them that their knowledge of God was what they within themselves understood it to be, that as they grew and developed, they would find this knowledge also expanding and especially so if they never allowed themselves to be bound or limited to any so-called religious belief or the belief of others.

"That within each would be at all times a guiding voice to be heard which would infallibly tell them right from wrong -- their individual right from wrong."

Englishman Charles Robert Albee visited Bay End Farm in May 1915 to study Marie's arts and crafts enterprise -- the Home Colony Union. He marveled at the place -- calling it a blend of

aristocracy, luxury, bohemianism and beauty.

In letters to his wife, he was particularly struck by Barley. . . "a combination between an Adonis and a colonial rancher -- over six foot, and barely sixteen, perfect proportions and so beautiful one can hardly keep one's eyes off him."

And in another letter two weeks later, he described Barley as a "big Whitmanic Adonis cowboy with no particular brains, but a presence and power, capable of doing anything he chooses to put his hand to and a physique that is a marvel."

Barley went off to Harvard for a year, then dropped out to marry Mary Wrenn of Dedham, a society girl whose father, Philip Wrenn, was the head of the Boston Stock Exchange.

He had harsh words for Harvard. On one occasion, he commented, "Though I received my education at a university that turns out hypocrites, I am happy I saw the light and went my own way."

At another, he told a New York Times reporter, "All the things I wanted to take and felt that I needed I couldn't take because I was a freshman. As far as education goes, Abraham Lincoln has probably done more to educate me than any teacher or professor that I've ever had because he thought for himself."

And a generation later, the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee would wrongly conclude that young Garland was "conditioned against wealth by radical friends at Harvard."

Mary Wrenn, Barley's bride, was a lively spirit from a staid Boston family, bright, with a sparkling intellect, not willing to conform to the stuffy life in Dedham, according to a daughter-in-law.

The first time she was at Bay End Farm, she was given chiffon to drape around herself. She loved it. Proper Dedham parties weren't like this.

"I was kind of a youngster when I got married," Mary recalled. She was 19 and Barley was 20. They met at the Cape through Barley's cousin, Virginia Converse, who was a close friend of hers. "We used to go down together to visit. . .and there was Barley. I was 17 or 18 when I met him because he had cousins all over the place."

Mary's sister Margaret claims that Barley's mother engineered the marriage, that Marie had asked Barley what he thought of Mary Wrenn and when he expressed an interest in her, Marie told him to marry the girl.



Margaret, blind and in her 90s, recalled, "We were all invited NOT to be there for the wedding. It was on a terrace next to our garden. Marie Garland and my mother were the only people present. We watched from an upstairs window.

"My parents tried their best to forbid it. The only thing they could do was give their consent. Mary was under-age. Barley was only a freshman in college. I think Barley figured he knew enough after one year at Harvard.

"And with what happened afterward, my father was awfully bitter. He would never see or speak to Barley."

What further compounded Marie's domination of these newly weds was that she sent them off with her 14-year-old daughter Hope and an 11-year-old adopted daughter to an apartment she had in New York.

"Marie thought it would be nice for Barley and my sister to take care of those children just after they were married. They never had time to themselves. They would have been better off if they had been alone," Margaret said.

Mary herself said, "My mother-in-law was a great one for everybody else's business. So we lived wherever she said, 'I've got a nice place fixed up for you' or 'stay here in New York with

my daughter and her adopted sister' because she wanted to take off for a bit. So we moved around a lot."

Barley was the focus of everything for Mary Wrenn . After she was 80, she said, "I often wondered, if his mother had stayed out of our lives, if we wouldn't have had a good life together."

In those early months of their marriage spent in New York with those two young girls to care for, Barley was well aware of politics and union organizing.

To a friend of his mother's, he wrote that he had heard John L. Lewis and a few other labor leaders speaking about strikes. He found them not much above the average politician. "But, of course, it is not fair to judge them after hearing them only once in Madison Square Garden where they had to almost yell their heads off to be heard at all."

Here was Barley at just 20, encouraged by what he saw in labor as a move toward thinking for itself, developing a social consciousness and finding ideals it will insist on fulfilling.

What saddened him was the intolerance shown toward opposing ideas. "So long as people are willing to listen to both sides and do not resort to hatred and revenge, problems are bound to solve themselves. But fanatics on both sides are howling for

repression, hatred and violence and hiding their hatred under the name of patriotism."

As Barley saw it, labor lost its best man when Socialist champion Eugene Debs was sent to prison -- a man ready to sacrifice everything for his cause and the only one with real faith in truth and justice.

Others would later claim it was associates in Greenwich Village who influenced Barley's thinking while he and his bride were living in New York.

Just who instilled the idea in Barley that unearned money was not to be accepted is still unclear. It seems to have come to him from a variety of voices. Mary Wrenn said he was deeply influenced by Tolstoy.

President Harlan Eugene of Brown's Business Colleges, headquartered in St. Louis, felt he may have been some influence. He was pushing for inheritance taxes in all states as one of the leaders of the Association for Limiting Inheritances. And in a July 1922 letter to Roger Baldwin, he was unsuccessful in urging that the brand new Garland Fund take over his cause with manpower and money.

But, in his effort, he told Baldwin:

When I went to see you at the Essex County Jail in 1919, my visit to New York was to make a speech at Cooper Union on the abolition of inheritances.

When questions were called for after the speech, a lady arose and asked what a young man should do with an inheritance of a million dollars, if convinced of the truth of my proposition.

I told her he should accept it and use it for social purposes, preferably for the destruction of the hereditary principle as applied to property.

After the meeting, she introduced herself and told me the case was not hypothetical but real.

She was Mrs. Garland, the mother of the donor of your Fund.

Roger Baldwin, the ACLU founder, was already someone in Barley's life by early 1920. "I take it mother must have asked you if you could give me a job," Barley said to Baldwin. "You had better not count on me."

Then, he shared some thoughts with Baldwin that Roger thought extraordinary coming from a 20-year-old. Roger dropped Marie a note and told her so.

Barley was skeptical of organizations, and here he was voicing that skepticism to Baldwin, one of the left wing's great organization men. Roger was active in as many as 20 organizations at one time -- like the board of the National Urban League, the League for Mutual Aid and the Anti-Imperialist League of the United States.

Barley told Roger, "It seems to me the only lasting good that is done results from individual effort, which of course may express itself in an organization, but which is not strengthened by organization."

Mary Wrenn claimed she learned Barley wasn't going to take his inheritance by overhearing him tell that to a reporter on the phone in late 1920.

"We were sitting after breakfast, I guess, and the phone rang and it was a reporter. These people, I think they check on who's coming into money and how much and when, how and why.

"I was in the other room. So I could hear Barley's end of

the conversation. I heard him say, 'No, I can't. No, it isn't mine. I didn't earn it. I'm not going to take it. I don't want it.'

"So I got a glimpse of what was coming. Finally, the phone conversation ended, and he came back to me. Of course, out of this, there was a lot of talking back and forth between us."

Barley asked, "What do you think of it?"

Mary Wrenn responded, "I think you ought to do exactly what you want to. But I also think you've got a big responsibility. And I think you ought to take care of your responsibility any way you think you should."

But Barley's second wife, Ursula Feist, says Mary Wrenn was aware of his ideas before she married him and thought that she'd change him after they were married.

Just a hint of how staid Boston was in those days is that Garland's refusal to take the million was spread across the country for a week before the Boston Globe ran its first article.

In stories dated November 22, 1920, major New York papers and even the Morning Call in Allentown, Pennsylvania, a city where Garland would later spend time in jail, carried accounts

that Garland had spurned a million dollars for idealistic reasons.

The New York World sought expressions from leaders of different lines of endeavor:

Economist Joseph French Johnson, like some of his ilk, talked out of both sides of his mouth: "It seems to me -- I am a Harvard man, you know -- that being a Harvard man, he should have better appreciated the uses of money.

"Think what a vast amount of good \$1,000,000, properly used, could accomplish! It could give employment to several thousand men.

"Looking at young Garland's renunciation from another point of view, if I wanted to ruin a young man (and if I had the \$1,000,000), my first step would be to turn it over to him. In how many cases do you think such a young fellow would develop his human gifts to their maximum."

Financier Frank A. Vanderlip: "If we cannot will inheritances, there will be no more fine homes, country estates, patronage of the arts and wonderful private libraries.

"Before I comment on the young man's action, I would like to

know his mental attitude. If it is actuated by deep convictions that the money does not belong to him because he has not earned it, and if he believes society is better off for his having refused it, then I would say that is a rare and noble exhibition of character."

Comic artist Al Fruueh: "I never answer hypothetical questions. But if you really want to know, just leave me a million and then I will tell you."

And that same day, *The New York Times* pontificated in an editorial: "A possible explanation of Mr. Garland's scorn of a million is that, as he had the upbringing of a very rich man's son, he does not realize the value of money or that it is not easy to get or that its lack is often inconvenient."

Within about a week, muckraker Upton Sinclair typed a tantalizing letter from Pasadena, congratulating Garland on this magnificent propaganda stunt. "It beats any of mine," Sinclair conceded.

"You will, however, recognize the fact I have given a good deal of time to propaganda stunts, and you may not mind if I suggest some schemes for carrying on yours."

Sinclair quoted an old Bowery friend who said New York was a



nine-day town. Anything that happened, including Barley's decision not to take the money, would be forgotten in nine days.

"Meantime, there is a million dollars lying idle, a source of anguish to every radical who thinks about it. Do you realize that never in the history of the radical movement has anybody had a million dollars or a tenth of that?"

Radical organizations get a few hundred, occasionally a thousand or two, but nothing like this.

"Therefore, I suggest that at the end of nine days you announce you have seen the error of your ways. Somebody converted you -- I don't care who.

"Be very mysterious about it. Say you are not ready to announce your plan. That will keep them guessing, and you don't have to answer all the letters that come to you. Just answer mine!

"Get the money, the actual securities in your hands."

Then, Sinclair suggested, Garland should distribute \$100,000 each to such people as Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Charles Erwin, editor of the Socialist daily New York Call; Max Eastman, editor of the Liberator, and

several others of similar bent.

He said this was just a sample list. Garland could pick those causes that particularly appealed to him.

Sinclair concluded, "You have it in your power to do more to enlighten the American people than any other man has ever done in our history."

And Sinclair signed off by saying that if Garland didn't feel capable of distributing the money, he could easily delegate that task to someone else.

No, assured Sinclair, he wasn't doing any begging for himself. "Your whole million dollars couldn't hire me. I have to go on writing books."

Sinclair's plan -- though in much modified form -- was essentially what Garland would soon embrace. But it took the persuasion of old family friend Roger Baldwin to convince him of it.

## REFUSES MONEY

I do not believe in private property.  
It takes all the meaning out of life.

Charles Garland

November 20, 1920

Charles Garland was a most serious young man, almost totally devoid of a sense of humor. But some things he said in all seriousness in his youth do have a light ring to them even now.

"No reporter can be an honest man, or he would not be a reporter," Garland said at age 21. "Newspaper work could not be an honest business."

He sure had his fill of reporters in the early 1920s. He was a media freak, a handsome child of wealth who wasn't doing what he was supposed to do with his money. . .and he was talking about it, to any reporter who knocked on the door of the 29-room main house on his mother's sprawling Bay End Farm at Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts.

The press descended in force on Charles Garland with his announcement of November 1920 that he wouldn't take his inheritance from his father's estate -- an inheritance of

somewhere around a million dollars, probably more.

They came to quote him and his wife, Mary (Wrenn) Garland, and, for some, to inject their comments about how Barley's decision wasn't taking into consideration the welfare of their infant daughter Margaret.

Mary Wrenn was overwhelmed by the response from the press.

"We feel like quite ordinary people -- not celebrities at all," she said. "You can't imagine how strange it seems to have people coming down here to talk to us and putting us in the newspapers."

Marie, Barley's mother, was in Europe amid all this turmoil. She was soon to be followed there by New York attorney Swinburne Hale, a poet and Socialist who had defended some of the Reds who had been sent to Ellis Island the previous year. Swinburne and Marie had been on the executive committee of the Committee of 48 together.

Within a few months, Marie would wed Swinburne, though she expressed reservations to the last about marrying him. Just before the wedding, she wrote from France, "We have had to choose between the certitude of unhappiness apart and the more than possibility of unhappiness together. We think the latter will be

infinitely more interesting."

She conceded that marriage reformed no one. But, alas, what would happen if Swinburne would quit his drinking and smoking and become so young in spirit that she'd have no valid excuse for making eyes at other men!

Marie concluded, "Husbands are always so sure of making one happy and so successfully fail."

Swinburne would increase Marie's husband total to three in four marriages -- James A. Garland Jr. twice, a Harvard man, Class of 1893; then Frances Cushing Green, MIT Class of 1905, and then Harvard again, Class of 1905, with Swinburne Hale.

But the press was at Bay End Farm to hear Barley's ideas on wealth and inheritance.

If he had been just another humorless 21-year-old philosopher on the next bar stool in a tavern where reporters congregated, they would have turned their backs on him.

But Barley had said "no" to all that money. So they came and sat at his feet, busily recording for posterity all the philosophical gems he had to offer. A group of Sunday edition reporters even endured what one New York Evening Sun writer

called a "cold-storage interview" in the living room of the main house, huddled in their overcoats and glancing at an unlit fireplace while Barley sat there with a flannel shirt for an outer garment.

But while a male reporter saw the cold fireplace, novelist Marguerite Mooers Marshall saw Garland, the man. Marshall, in her capacity as a special staff correspondent for the Evening World, observed:

"Do you want to know how a man looks who makes the magnificent gesture of giving up a million?"

"This man is extremely tall -- several inches over six feet, I should say -- and stoops a bit as persons of an immoderate height are inclined to do. He is slender and his face is colorless.

"His smooth, closely-cropped, inky-black hair grows in a widow's peak on his forehead. His eyes are dark and soft and dreaming, and his face, with its straight well-cut nose and pleasant mouth, would have been most attractive if only it had not so badly needed a shave. But perhaps he is trying to raise a Tolstoy beard. He wore an old pair of trousers, a flannel shirt and no coat."

But what struck Marshall most were Barley's hands -- big, brown, work-hardened, a complete contrast to the smooth hands of the typical rich young idler.

"I am not a Socialist," Barley told the press assemblage. "I am merely trying to be a Christian. Jesus would have refused to be a millionaire, and I am trying to follow his example. He would have thought it wrong to have accepted a great fortune and live in idleness, while His brothers were in suffering and want.

"A man's giving up should be purely voluntary, for I don't believe in any sort of force. I am a non-resistant. I have faith in the law of love.

"Too much of what Jesus taught has been forgotten or 'explained' out of all meaning."

But while not a Socialist, Barley sympathized with some Socialist ideas. "Government is coagulated patriotism -- a follow-the-flag ideal. The individual should govern -- be true to himself and trustful of others. Yes, a state of moral anarchy, that would be the best form of government."

Barley challenged the trustees of his father's estate. "How do they know the money is mine, or anybody else's for that matter? I have no right to that money anymore than if a man came

to me with a stolen herd of cattle and said, 'It's yours.'

"The money does not exist as far as I'm concerned."

But he noted that most of that money which "didn't exist" had been made by his grandfather, James A. Garland Sr., though Barley had no idea how.

Barley was adamant against the idea of taking the money and giving it away to others in need.

"I have thought of that. But it would be useless to try to alleviate the condition of the poor with a mere million dollars. It wouldn't go very far in all the distress even in only one of our large American cities.

"So I decided that an example would be better, the example of a man willing to refuse something he didn't earn and didn't need. That is why I am refusing to take the money.

"I want to prove to the world that it is possible to be honest and willing to give up something for the general good."

Barley saw the chief trouble in the world as unselfishness.

"Men should have what they earn, but too many get more than



they earn. They trample on the rights of others to get things they don't need just because they are selfish and greedy. Great fortunes are piled up in this spirit of selfishness.

"I believe every man, after providing for such simple needs as shelter, food, clothes and the satisfactiion of the instinct for beauty, should willingly give his surplus to those who need it. When need is satisfied, we will have abolished war, prisons, injustice, rebellion and our other social sufferings.

"I imagine most people will not see what I am trying to do -  
- they think only of money.

"But there are some who will see and understand when they think of the injustice that follows the gathering together of great sums of money that one does not need. Some of them, at least, will follow the example and help spread the idea of justice and unselfishness."

In a rare moment of humor, Barley said, "Yes, I believe in private homes. . .and in private toothbrushes."

The closest Barley got to enrolling a convert was his younger brother, Ham, who said maybe, just maybe, he might duplicate what Barley had done.

There had been some published speculation that Ham, then just turned 20, would also turn down his million when his inheritance time arrived. But Ham, a sophomore at Harvard and a candidate for the Harvard varsity crew, quickly denied it.

Sitting in his room at the fashionable and exclusive Danster Hall, one of Harvard's "Gold Coast" dormitories, Ham announced, "The newspaper stories have got me wrong. I haven't said I shall give up my inheritance. I'm not yet 21 and so can't act one way or the other.

"But I may decide to do as Charles has done. He has been influenced to his action not so much by the teachings of Christ, perhaps, as through the study of Tolstoy."

Novelist Marshall pointed out that Barley with not a cent to his name was far more consistent than Tolstoy.

Tolstoy didn't believe in private property. Yet he took no final steps for the renunciation of his large Russian estate -- Yasnaya Polyana -- and allowed his wife -- though he didn't believe in marriage -- to manage it and its many workers.

But Upton Sinclair, in his letters just weeks earlier urging Barley to take the money, found him just as inconsistent as Tolstoy. "You know, Tolstoy came to the conclusion that the sex

relationship was disgusting and inexcusable, and he forbade it in his moral code.

"When people argued with him that there was no other way to keep the human race in existence, he argued that there was no need to worry about that because not everybody would be capable of living up to his moral code.

"In other words, the moral men will retire and leave the reproducing of the race to the immoral ones!"

Sinclair found Barley a "moral Tolstoy," though fraught with the same type of inconsistency. "You proclaim that inheritance is wrong and you withdraw into your proud moral isolation, and you leave the inheriting of money to be done by those who will spend it upon monkey dinners and jazz parties!"

Another one of the press speculations was that Barley, who rode a motorcycle, was going to become an automobile mechanic.

"No, you can deny that report for me. I think I'll go in for farming, or I might be a carpenter," Barley told the assembled press.

"We'll stay here this winter. You see, we have to look out for Margaret, who is only six weeks old and doesn't worry about

money or morals or H.G. Wells or anything, apparently, but food."

Barley said he had no money of his own at the moment, that he and his family were at Bay End Farm as the guests of his mother.

Margaret and any other children they might have won't need a million dollars, he said. "And why should I worry about their possible future wants when I know today there are thousands of starving suffering babies."

He reasoned that the wealth might not ruin Margaret, but she would be better off without it.

And he maintained that his wife Mary agreed with him in his stand.

One reporter slipped away to find Mary upstairs and put the question to her.

"Of course, I approve of my husband's giving up the million dollars. I wouldn't have him do otherwise for anything in the world since he thinks this is the right thing for him to do.

"Really, there isn't much you can say when he starts quoting the Bible and Christ -- unless you are ready to repudiate Christ

and the Bible and real Christianity entirely."

She claimed that before she married Barley, she never had thoughts about his theories of wealth and poverty. But he'd talked to her about them since and explained them so well she appreciated exactly how he feels.

As one listener observed, she even expounded on Barley's theories at times in virtually the same words he used.

Earlier, Barley conceded he would probably miss some things that wealth had brought him. But he said that wasn't important when viewed against the number of people who had done without those things all their lives.

"A great deal of so-called society life bores me -- the incessant chase after a good time, the waste of money, the idleness and shallowness of it all," he said.

To this, a reporter posed: then, what do you like?

"I am fond of the country and outdoor sports," Barley replied. "I like books and pictures and music, but I like them to be in big libraries, art museums and concert halls where everyone can enjoy them."

When Mary was asked about her life style before she married Barley, she said she enjoyed the dancing and all the rest of it when those were part of her existence. "But now that I'm out of it, I don't mind in the least giving it all up.

"Love, a husband, a baby and a home are worth them all."

But if there was love between this couple, from Barley it was only fleetingly. He said that from the start that marriage should be voluntary. The love, across a lifetime, was from Mary to Barley.

Meanwhile, in another house on the estate lived James A. Garland III, the firstborn of the family, who was five years older than Barley. He had already quietly taken his inheritance.

Perhaps the one most irked by Barley's refusal to take the money was Henry D. Tudor, president of the Commonwealth Finance Company. He was one of the custodians of the money, entrusted now for 15 years with the management of the largesse left by Barley's father.

He contended that Barley's "peculiar" ideas on inheritance and money may have been acquired from associations formed in Greenwich Village, New York's Bohemian quarter, when Barley lived there for four months shortly after his marriage.

"Mr. Tudor, referring to Garland's life in Greenwich Village, said that he understood the young man had been a close friend of John Reed, newspaper and magazine writer, who recently died in Soviet Russia," said an Associated Press dispatch of December 2, 1920.

Since the first publication of Barley's refusal, Henry Tudor was pestered to death with all sorts of freak proposals for the spending of the money.

He told an interviewer, "Only today a woman came into the office and insisted that it be used to finance a Broadway production for her husband, a musician. She said such action would pave the way to eternal fame for her husband, and she vouchsafed the opinion that the money could not be dedicated to a better purpose."

Henry Tudor said there had also been an unending chain of charitable workers seeking funds for their pet institutions.

But the trustees of James Jr.'s estate had no alternative but to turn the money over to the heir. Henry Tudor noted the will passed through several adjudications and the disposition was finally decided by the courts about 1916.

One part of that 1916 decision was that the share due to Barley's brother, Tudor Garland, who died just before reaching 21, passed to his mother, Marie. That would seem to spare the flamboyant Marie, who was between husbands, of any immediate danger of genteel poverty.

Henry Tudor said the trustees have no more right to continue to administer Charles Garland's share of the estate than they have to dispose of it any way but the way the courts have ruled.

The income amounted to \$65,000 a year. Henry Tudor said the trustees had no further authority to handle the money. So they had no choice but to let it lie in the bank.

"Our predicament is further complicated by the recent birth of a daughter to the recalcitrant heir," Henry Tudor complained. To be fair and legal, any disposition of the money now would have to consider her rights, too.

"I've talked with the most eminent lawyers in New York concerning the unique situation. They confess themselves stumped.

"It has been suggested to young Garland that he receive the money and turn it over to some charity or make some other altruistic disposition. But the creed of his peculiar idealism forbids him to assume even transient dominion over inherited



wealth."

Henry Tudor rendered the assessment that Mary Wrenn was a very dutiful wife and would not go against Barley's wishes -- though she probably doesn't have the same views about accepting the money that he has.

He figured further that Barley's mother, Marie, would not try to influence him. But she evidently does not disapprove of accepting an inheritance since she accepted -- with the court's blessing -- the share originally due to her son Tudor who died just before reaching 21.

Meanwhile, in his continued coast-to-coast debate through letters with Upton Sinclair, Barley wrote, "If my life is to be of any benefit to others, I feel that it must be by reminding them of a hope which they have lost, of a dream which never came true.

"Words by themselves cannot teach much in our day. But true words with acts to illustrate and affix the stamp of sincerity are sure to reach men's hearts."

His wife Mary included a note which ended, "I think I understand pretty well how you must feel about that million dollars. But I honestly can't help feeling that Barley is right

in carrying out his beliefs to the fullest degree.

"What good is a principle if one is not prepared to do one's best to live up to it without compromise?"

But even with the typing of the letter, as with their food and shelter, Barley and Mary had to depend on someone else. The letter carried the initials D.B. for the typist, Doris Benson, one of those eight orphaned children Marie had adopted.

FREE ADVICE

Is not Mr. Garland's idea communism?

Harper's

February 1921

The New York Times was perhaps the first newspaper in the country to jump in with editorial page advice to Charles Garland in the aftermath of the first news stories about his refusal to take an inheritance of a million or more.

Headlined *He Doesn't Want a Million!* the paper's November 24, 1920, editorial column noted:

"Garland forgets, apparently, that he cannot escape, by refusing the million, all responsibility for what is done with it. He only puts it out of his power to decide what uses shall be made of it, and a conscience as sensitive as his should suffer at least a little from that very obvious fact.

"That a million, as he says, is more than any man ought to have, he has a right to believe if he chooses, but only by taking the million could he make sure it would go to 'the poor people' to whom, he somewhat rashly thinks, 'it would do a lot of good.'

"A possible explanation of Mr. Garland's scorn of a million is that, as he had the upbringing of a very rich man's son, he does not realize the value of money or that it is not easy to get or that its lack is often inconvenient," *The Times* editorial concluded.

Socialist A. Philip Randolph, co-editor of the *Messenger* "magazine of scientific radicalism" and a man only ten years older than Garland, took to a bit of name-calling and publicly said what Sinclair wrote to Garland in private.

In the January 1921 issue of the *Messenger*, Randolph editorialized:

"We hear radicals sometimes praising Garland and his type as social heroes, but we regard him as a plan bug. Anyone who is interested in the development of useful social ideas should take advantage of every means of disseminating those ideas. The chief obstacle to this so far has been the limited means of the radicals.

"To reject the means for giving wider circulation to democratic social opinions is -- from the sound social point of view -- criminal negligence. It is not laudable intellectual martyrdom. It is not a praiseworthy trait. It is not an expression of sterling character. It is just a symptom of a

simpleton -- the irrefutable evidence of a mental nut!"

But the first venomous assault on Charles Garland came from Harper's in its February 1921 issue, a column by Edward S. Martin from the comfort of his Editor's Easy Chair.

It was invidious and brutal to this gentle man who eschewed violence and hate.

Garland had told Upton Sinclair, "As a method of testing physical strength, fighting has my heartiest approval. If two men are quarreling, each maintaining he can break the other's nose before his own is broken, I will advise them to have a good set-to with their fists. That alone can settle the question.

"But in moral questions it is different."

Barley said the German victory in the Franco-Prussian War only proved the German army was a more destructive weapon than the French army. But it settled nothing as far as the principles of justice were concerned.

Many believe they can prove the justice of democracy by sticking a bayonette through a man who believes in dictatorship. "They fail to see that the relative worthiness of democracy and autocracy remain unchanged by the murder. They have proved

nothing except that they were capable of taking the life of a fellow man."

True to his beliefs, Garland would have recognized the free-speech right of what Editor Martin did from his easy chair -- no matter how violent the verbal assault. But the Martin attack was a harbinger of others, at first on Garland and then more and more on the Garland Fund, as it handed out money to organizations the right wing despised.

Martin saw all labor strikes as resulting from the impression of strikers that somebody is getting something that does not rightfully belong to him and to which they themselves are entitled.

"Bolshevism theoretically is based on this feeling," Martin concluded.

He cited Garland's quotes that "a system which starves thousands while hundreds are stuffed condemns itself. A system which leaves a sick woman helpless and offers its services to a healthy man condemns itself. It is such a system that offers me a million dollars."

Martin said that system is what the Socialists and Bolshevists and various active reformers or destroyers call the

capitalistic system under which the business of the civilized world is conducted.

He wrote that Garland seemed to be in sympathy with those reformers who feel the right of private property has outrun its usefulness. "In Russia, such a system is now being tried," Martin said.

Somehow, in Martin's mind, Garland's views represented those who wished to destroy the family and place children under the care of the state.

Even admitting ignorance did not deter Martin. "It seems to be, though Heaven knows what is the truth about Russia, that the soviet government assumes the charge of all children whether parents like it or not," Martin speculated.

Money would be useful to raise children and educate them. Garland turned down money. Ergo, Martin concluded, Garland opposes the capitalistic system where people are taught to think family life is a good thing and young children are best off under the control of their parents.

With faint praise to Garland's good intentions, Martin called him a quitter, a man who buried his talents. "The idea one gets is that it is his view that nobody should have a million

dollars."

Martin maintained that it really mattered little who had the money, just so long as it was put to use.

Barley would soon demonstrate just how wrong Martin was about that -- because it would make a big difference that Barley took the million and an even bigger difference in how he put it to work.

This was the era of the Red Scare, of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer packing off Emma Goldman and other so-called subversives and sending them back where they came from, of the "America Plan" of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and other leaders of business which really meant the open shop, of union organizers needing a permit from the local police chief to hold a meeting in a private hall, of union leaders being jailed on the slightest pretext, of wage cuts, of the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, of the mayor of Johnstown, Pennsylvania, ordering that all blacks and Mexicans who lived there less than seven years to get out of town.

Obviously, any individual who dare oppose any of that national mischief had to be a radical, at least a "parlor pink," more likely a Communist.



Enter Roger Nash Baldwin, already a celebrated jailbird by the time he founded the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920. He was about 15 years old than Garland, perhaps too young to be a father figure for the father that Barley never really had. But Barley would hold Roger in such esteem that he named a son after him, Roger Garland, born in 1935.

Across much of the 20th century, Baldwin would become America's "unofficial agitator for and defender of civil liberties," as *The New York Times* said upon his death in 1981.

"I am for hell-raising on principle," Baldwin wrote to labor leader Harry H. Broach in the 1920s.

He masterminded the ACLU through the first 30 years of its existence as the executive director -- at a salary of \$3,600 a year that remained constant. He retired from that post in 1950, but continued to show up at the ACLU headquarters in New York on a rather regular basis almost to the end of his life.

For much of his last 30 years, he specialized in international work for human rights, traveling to many countries, sometimes for the United Nations.

In a 1979 interview, he espoused much the same beliefs he championed when the ACLU began -- that the Bill of Rights meant

freedom of speech and assembly for everyone, even members of organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, whose ideas he personally despised. "Unless we defend the S.O.B.'s rights, we lose our own," he said.

Baldwin wrote his own obituary at age 87 -- "A Prejudiced Account of Myself" -- seven pages, typed, single spaced. He called himself a "political reformer -- about as near as I can come to describing the unclassified occupation that marks my whole life."

In those early years of his association with Barley, he was on the receiving end of venomous hatred from super-patriots of the political right and the condemnation of the federal government. In his later years, he won plaudits of the arch-conservative General Douglas MacArthur and several American presidents.

Those super-patriots of the 1920s branded him a "draft evader. . .one of the most active revolutionary radicals in the country. . .an ex-jailbird and notorious underminer of our institutions and aider of the Communist cause."

And, in the view of the Better America Federation, the ACLU in Baldwin's hands wasn't much better. The Better America folks told a 1930 congressional committee that the ACLU "is a rascally,

skulking foe, operating under a camouflage and marshaling the lewdest fellows of the basest sort of secret sapping of the foundation of this republic."

In those days, those "lewdest fellows of the basest sort" on the ACLU National Committee included the likes of Helen Keller, Felix Frankfurter, Harry Elmer Barnes and Clarence Darrow.

A generation later, General MacArthur was to hail Baldwin as "one of the architects of our cherished American way of life. Roger Baldwin's crusade for civil liberties has had a profound and beneficial influence upon the course of American progress."

A June 1918 War Department memo noted that Baldwin was raising money for the defense of more than 100 leaders of the International Workers of the World, a radical labor union known as the Wobblies, who were on trial -- essentially for opposing the draft. History would show it was a political trial amid wartime hysteria. The presiding federal judge was Kenesaw Mountain Landis, later commissioner of baseball.

The military intelligence memo said: "Baldwin is assuming more potential danger than he enjoyed when the National Civil Liberties League (forerunner of the ACLU) was furnishing legal advice and assistance to conscientious objectors.

"In forming a group to collect money for the IWW defendants, many of whom I understand are charged with sabotage, he and this group who sign the appeal are becoming more of a menace.

"We should make certain that the office of the Secretary of War understands this matter thoroughly and will be prepared not only to give Baldwin the cold shoulder but to take all necessary steps to suppress him."

When apprised of that ancient memo in 1981 six months before his death at age 97, Baldwin replied, "I have no doubt the files are full of my subversion."

Baldwin was jailed by the federal government on Armistice Day 1918 -- to begin a sentence as a conscientious objector who refused to submit to the draft. But it failed to suppress him. He even started a library in the jail.

It was the same War Department -- in 1947 -- that called on Baldwin to assist General MacArthur in setting up a policy of civil liberties in occupied Japan after World War II. Rather than go as a government representative, he got MacArthur to invite him as a private citizen. Miraculously, the conservative MacArthur and the liberal Baldwin hit it off.

In 1964, President Lyndon Johnson sent Baldwin 80th birthday

greetings that said in part: "Your unremitting fight against injustice and intolerance in this country and across the world has earned you the warm gratitude of countless individuals."

And in his final year of his life -- five days before his 97th birthday -- Baldwin was awarded the White House Medal of Freedom.

President Jimmy Carter said, "He is a leader in the field of civil rights and a legend in the field of civil liberties. He is an inspiration to those of us who have fought for human rights and a saint to those for whom he has gained them."

Baldwin was of suburban Boston stock. His parents were liberal Unitarians in a community "where Unitarians were among the best people, or so we thought."

Baldwin, born in 1884, wrote in his 1971 obituary: "I have stuck pretty close to the underdog and his wants on the principle that he should be given his chance. I guess I was conditioned that way ever since I was a kid.

"Was I not the natural liberal of my time, with Negroes at our dinner table along with my Uncle William, a railroad president and reformer, a trustee of Tuskegee; with my father's business associates, Jews, his intimate friends, and with my

mother an agnostic and something of a feminist?"

He went on to Harvard, getting both a bachelor's and master's degree in the same year. Then, for 11 years he was involved in social work in St. Louis before moving on to New York in World War I to the causes of conscientious objectors and political prisoners -- and, in a matter of a few years, to the ACLU, which would occupy a good bit of the rest of his life.

In his early 90s, Baldwin typed out a three-page memo to Bettina Hovey, who had three children by Garland, on how he became associated with Garland.

Baldwin recalled that he heard in 1920 from Boston friends that Garland, then about to celebrate his 21st birthday, had refused to take his inheritance on moral grounds and was seeking a way to make it socially useful.

"I thought I could help with that idea," Baldwin wrote in that 1975 memo.

"My Boston family had known the Garlands and Charlie's mother's family, the Tudors. My brother was a classmate at Harvard of Charlie's brother. My classmate, Swinburne Hale, was among Marie's husbands. So when I met Charlie, it was by some of these family connections.

"Our relations with Mary Wrenn's family were also part of that old Boston tie. I got to know them all pretty well by visits on the Cape from my Martha's Vineyard summer home."

Roger continued his friendship with Mary Wrenn and her growing brood, who lived apart from Barley most of their seven-year marriage.

"I remember Roger Baldwin well," says Mary "Polly" (Garland) Brubaker, Barley's second daughter by Mary Wrenn. Her memories would be from times in the late 1920s, when Barley and her mother were already divorced.

"We all adored Roger. He was very impressive and a tremendously energetic person, often taking us four children out to his home in the country, as we were living in Cambridge at the time. He would take us on hikes and enter into outdoor games with us.

"I personally thought that he felt sorry for us, especially the boys, not having a father around and may have even felt some guilt or responsibility for this and was in some humble way trying to make up for it. In those days, he would come to the house in Cambridge quite often."

Mary Wrenn would write a poem to Roger in a slim book of poetry she had published in the early 1930s.

On Waiting for a Friend

(To R.N.B.)

Without my door, a foot-fall;  
Within my heart, a leap;  
Within my heart's heart's inmost wall  
Still waters running deep.

Barley's second wife, Ursula, insisted across her lifetime that that was a love poem.

As Baldwin remembered it, he first broached his proposal on the money to Barley at his first April Farm, a scruffy run-down place at North Carver, Massachusetts, perhaps 40 miles from the splendor of Bay End Farm. The time was late 1921.

Barley had spent part of his spring and summer farming on the family estate at Buzzards Bay.

A covey of reporters visited Barley that June at Bay End Farm to find him barefoot, hatless, tanned, working on farm machinery. He was a country farmer. He was still adamant against taking his inheritance.



"If I want to eat, I'll plant my foodstuffs and build an engine to reap the harvest. Then, I'm producing what I need and not robbing anyone," he said.

But despite his extensive garden at Bay End Farm, he admitted it was not practical for others to work without pay as he was doing. He and his young family were largely dependent on the bounty of his mother.

Pressed by reporters for views on other issues, Barley replied, "I have no set theories on the eight-hour day, votes for women or modern dancing.

"I'm a liberal about everything, even love. I believe a love is free. If two persons tire of each other, they should separate. Marriage is only a legal technicality. It's love that counts."

Then, Barley moved on to his first experiment in a farm commune at North Carver. It was a place even his mother couldn't love, though she built herself a portable cottage on the property and visited the commune from time to time.

Marie, in one of her later laments of depression between husbands, wrote: "There seems to be no joy, no bubbling of fun over all the little what-nots of life, and there are so many in a

life that is dear and 'intime.' I so want to be able to enjoy beauty once more! How one missed it at North Carver!"

Mary Wrenn, Barley's first wife, and their infant daughter Margaret tried it a few months and quit, returning to one of the houses in the Garland complex at Buzzards Bay. She couldn't stand the spartan ways. Moreso, she couldn't endure the competition from young women drawn to the place by this handsome man who maintained that marriage was only a technicality.

She described the place in a poem:

#### April Farm

Bare feet;  
Flies;  
Discordant violins scratching trite tunes;  
Souls strangling each other to express they  
    known not what;  
Words;  
Faces drawn or dull;  
Shady trees and uncut grass;  
Over all the sky,  
Blue -- unquestioning.

But to some of the young people who would join Garland in

this rustic life, there was a charm and romance to this existence.

Alice (Edgerton) Rothschild, a frail married Quaker five years older than Barley, was among the first to join the commune. She wrote to her parents back on the family farm in Ohio:

"I'm so glad I came here, for no other reason than to see how a life lived in seeming solitude can be a social life and one full of real contact with people."

Sixty years later, Alice recalled the experience: "People just thought we were nice, and fools -- nice fools, you know.

"It's funny, but I don't remember the rigors of a winter at that place. I must have been there, but I don't remember. They didn't seem serious to me, I suppose. They didn't seem to matter."

It was to April Farm that Baldwin journeyed to outline to Barley a plan for his money.

What Baldwin proposed was a trust for all sorts of progressive causes with a representative board, dedicated primarily to backing the pioneering and experimental social and especially labor agencies.

Barley agreed to it at once.

"It was not long before we set up a corporation, the American Fund for Public Service," Baldwin said. "Charlie refused to be a part of it. He left everything to the trustees."

When the trustees got the securities Garland designated for the Fund, "we found they were valued at about a million dollars, mainly in gilt-edge securities of the First National Bank of New York," Baldwin wrote. "In the 1920s stock market craze, the million doubled.

"For 20 years, until 1940 when the Fund was nearly spent -- Charlie insisted we spend capital as well as income -- the trustees did the best they could to make wise grants to aid a great variety of applicants -- workers' education the heaviest field, cooperative movements, publications, trade unions, farm organizations, civil liberties defense and protection of minority rights, especially Negroes."

When the Fund folded after 20 years, Baldwin and the few remaining trustees held a press conference that Barley attended where he expressed his satisfaction at what had been done with his fortune.

"I knew what he didn't," Baldwin said in his 1975 memo, "that we made many bad guesses and lost money on loans that couldn't be repaid and backed some few causes that turned out to be more ambitious than honest.

"But considering the times, with the stock market crash and a depression of the 30s, with disruption on the left, I think we made a pretty fair average of useful grants."

Some banks didn't do any better, he said.

The trustees were a mixed bag -- representing labor, Socialists, Communists, women and liberals. Eleven of them came right from the letterhead of the national board of the American Civil Liberties Union. "Nobody got paid except the clerical assistants in a public stenographer's office," Baldwin said.

Barley and Roger became good friends right from their first meeting, and Roger saw much of Barley in the years Barley was in North Carver and in Pennsylvania, less after he moved to Mount Vernon, New York, and not at all after he moved to New Hampshire.

Baldwin said theirs was a friendship of a personal, not public character. "We rarely talked of public issues, most often of personal problems and conduct.

"At heart, Barley was a shy mystic, with firm convictions about what was right for him and an idealism about conduct quite impractical. He got some of it from Tolstoy who did not believe in taking what you do not earn.

"When I first met Barley, we discussed that. I could not deny its morality, and there's no sense arguing with idealists. Barley followed what you'd call natural law regardless of the written law, which is often less moral. But it got him into trouble in Pennsylvania and into jail, too."

Garland believed in communal life and practiced it. Baldwin was in sympathy with Barley's view of the good life on the soil, but recognized that all such experiments which are contrary to custom face difficulties.

"Charlie had his troubles and bore them without complaint," Baldwin remembered. "He had an inner life, I think, a detachment from reality, that sustained him. I never tried to explore it even when I was most curious because it seemed to be too private for others. Sometimes, it took the form of fantasies I just had to accept without response."

Baldwin said he didn't know why he and Garland drifted apart after 1940. Roger kept in far closer touch with Mary Wrenn and Barley's sons by her.

Two or three times, Roger visited Barley, second wife Ursula and their children at Mount Vernon.

"I thought the old rapport had changed, maybe because I was changed. and it grieved me," Baldwin said. "Those ruptures in feeling do not repair themselves.

"But I have always kept my admiration for so strong a character, his high motives, his mystical values and his courage to live as he thought right."

ACCEPTS MILLION

Really, Garland's attitude seems a piece  
of extraordinary good fortune.

Robert Morss Lovett

April 6, 1922

Sometime in the latter half of 1921, Charles Garland left behind the security of his mother's Bay End Farm at Buzzard Bay and bought himself a run-down thin-soiled farm at North Carver, about 40 miles to the east.

He erected a sign at its rustic gate which read: "Be Yourself."

And he composed a poem to reflect that motto:

Friend, do you ask  
Why I questioned old standards,  
Called some unfitting for me,  
Accepted some, rejected some?  
I did it to be more truly myself  
And that I might more truly love you,  
For whoever is most himself  
Is most the friend of man.



This was the first April Farm, 10 miles from a railroad station and five miles from the nearest telephone. This was where Barley was going to make his living by the labor of his hands and share that work with any fellow believers who would join him.

It was about the time of the first annual accounting of Barley's estate since he reached 21. And Henry D. Tudor, one of the trustees, expressed the fear that the Orphans Court of Massachusetts might not accept his accounting.

"We couldn't throw the money out the window," Henry Tudor told the New York Sun. "What we have done is reinvest the money that needed to be reinvested in Liberty bonds and municipal bonds about which there could be no possible criticism. Technically, I'm not sure we had the right to make these investments."

As to the young man himself, Henry Tudor said, "Charles Garland appears to be perfectly sincere in his attitude, which is founded on religious conviction.

"I have received innumerable letters, a large number of which declare that he is insane. But on the contrary, he seems to me to possess an excellent intelligence."

Garland's new abode, the scruffy April Farm, supposedly got

that name because a Joe April had been a previous owner. But some scalliwags of the press would later twist that around to find some kind of connection between the month of April and the day that month preceded, May Day, the great time of celebration for the Communists.

Barley had the money to buy the farm -- even though he was still saying "no" to the more than one million dollars that was his share of his father's estate. His grandfather, banker James A. Garland Sr., had left trust funds for Barley and the other grandchildren that netted Barley about \$15,000 a year. And in the early 1920s, for someone leading a frugal existence, that amount was a handsome sum.

Soon after the formation of the Garland Fund in the summer of 1922 with most of Barley's inheritance, Barley would write to the Fund's trustees that they were not to worry about his financial situation. "When I turned these funds over to you, I still had left an income of \$15,000 a year to contend with, so I do not see why you should have any worries about my feeling broken-hearted later on."

April Farm was truly a place in the back woods and, by what the term implies, heavily wooded. It was a mass of great boulders, trees and stumps when he arrived. The main building was described as not much more than a shack.

What with dynamiting to blast out tree stumps, Barley and his 22-horsepower tractor within a year's time were starting to get the place in shape. He had also transformed a chicken coop into living quarters -- where with his 6-foot-2-inch frame he could only stand erect in the exact center of the building.

Mary Wrenn, pregnant with Barley's second child, and their infant daughter Margaret tried April Farm for a few months in the beginning. But while Quaker Alice Edgerton, one of the earliest members of the commune, couldn't later even recall the cold of winter, Mary Wrenn found it more than she could bear.

The winters are bleak, observed the *New York Herald* in the winter of 1921-22. "No amount of theories will make the farmhouses in those parts endurable these nights. It takes roaring log fires and glowing furnaces."

According to the *Herald's* informant, Mary Wrenn and her child suffered from the rigors of living in the cold and all but unfurnished farmhouse. Relatives and friends of hers went to Garland and pointed out to him that he was attempting the impossible when he tried to take his wife, bred to comforts, back to the utmost in simple living in one step.

But these were all private matters within the Garland family

at the time, only to be expounded later in the days after another headline would make Garland's doings very much a public matter again.

#### GARLAND WILL TAKE MILLION

Boston Post -- January 9, 1922

The Garland in the headline was Charles. But the story was about both Barley and his younger brother Ham taking their inheritance. The runover of the page one story carried the heading: Garlands Will Accept \$1,000,000 Legacies.

"Charles and Hamilton Garland, youthful idealists who a year ago amazed the entire country when they refused to accept a million dollar legacy left by their father, the late James A. Garland of Boston, have changed their minds and will now take the money," the Post story began.

Really, Boston Post, was "the entire country" amazed? But then, the press repeatedly embellished the Garland family saga when it needed no embellishment to remain interesting.

The Post story treated the reading public to a whole packful of developments of this unorthodox family that seemed to go its own way.

Barley was taking the money. A reporter had gone out to North Carver to Barley's tumbled-down April Farm and gotten confirmation directly from him. But Barley declined to tell the reporter what he would do with the money.

That revelation, of course, supposedly put the Post on the trail of his younger brother Hamilton, last located a year earlier in a Gold Coast dorm while a sophomore at Harvard.

Ham wasn't at Harvard anymore, the Post said. The paper reported he had quietly withdrawn because, as he told his roommates, he wasn't getting enough out of college life. Ham was a daddy, with a new-born daughter at Massachusetts General Hospital, the Post revealed.

And that required some further backtracking -- to introduce the mommy, Olive Jenkins, a model from a shoe style exhibit that he met and married about a year back. The marriage had been known only to a close circle of friends, the Post said. Olive was described as a former East Boston girl of modest parentage but unusual beauty. Her published photo confirmed her beauty.

And that baby to Ham and Olive was a major reason that Ham was taking his million, the press declared.

The news was relayed across the land where it was picked up

by The New York Times and other lessor dailies.

It was bizarre misinformation. Because Ham was not married to the beautiful Olive. His older brother James III was, James who had taken his share of the family fortune without any press hoopla several years earlier. Ham was not the daddy. It was Mrs. James Garland III still in the hospital from the birth of a daughter, born the previous December 13.

Ham was married to Irene Mann, one of those eight children his mother had adopted. Irene was pregnant. But her firstborn would be a son who arrived in May 1922 -- a little late and the wrong sex for the Post's January 9 front page saga.

The Boston Globe in its opening coverage of the January doings correctly noted that it was the wife of James Garland III in that Boston hospital -- not Mrs. Hamilton Garland as had been reported elsewhere.

Perhaps because of all this erroneous information, the press pretty well left Ham alone after that -- for the rest of his life.

A clearer explanation to what happened on the inheritance came from New York -- outlined particularly in the New York Sun.

Henry D. Tudor of 100 Broadway, one of the trustees of the estate of James Garland Jr., confirmed that Barley had accepted his legacy.

He said the share had originally amounted to about \$750,000 but had grown to \$1.6 million during the administration of the estate.

Three other shares had already gone out -- the first ironically to Marie, James Jr.'s disinherited wife. The courts named her to take the share of their second son, Tudor, who died in 1916 just before reaching his 21st birthday. The others were to James III and Ham.

One share remained to be distributed, to Hope, the kid sister to the boys. That wouldn't be until 1926 and Tudor predicted Hope's share would be worth \$2 million by then -- a figure that turned out to be conservative.

Henry Tudor said he thought Barley's growing sense of responsibility toward the future of his children was a major factor in his willingness to accept the legacy. "Another infant is expected in the Garland family," he said. Mary Wrenn was six months pregnant.

Barley had met Henry Tudor and fellow trustee James J.

Parker in Boston a week earlier. "Until then, we didn't know whether he would agree to relieve us of our trust," Henry Tudor said in a formal statement.

"We had requested him to do this many times and had continued to place before him matters connected with the property which called for his attention. Finally, to our great relief, he agreed to take it over."

Henry Tudor said Barley was still not convinced altogether that this was the right thing to do. But so many complications had arisen with the trust that it became necessary for Barley to take some action. The trustee reasoned, "Idealism of the sort which he was seeking to carry out comes in conflict very often with modern conditions."

The government, for example, required that Barley should pay his income tax despite the fact that he had refused the income to pay it with.

The trustees concluded by saying Barley was still an advocate of the simple life and "is working as a practical farmer on his small place at North Carver."

To the Boston Globe, Barley said he reached the conclusion that the money ought not to continue to lie idle.



"I will use it for my own special purposes, but I do not wish to say at the present what those are," the Globe quoted Barley. "I will not use it for furthering any socialistic idea or for the extension of my own farm work.

"I shall live on the old farm here for some time yet, however."

And, while he was getting around to clearing things up, he asked: Remember all those stories published last summer about how a second fortune of \$1 million was coming to him from an uncle, Charles Tuller Garland of England? Well, Barley said, there never was any such fortune.

And in a day or so, Barley announced that he was accepting the legacy only to give it away -- about a third to be settled upon his wife, Mary Wrenn, who was back with her parents, and the balance to be distributed among ten close friends, confident that they will make good use of it.

As the New York Herald reported it that January 11, Barley insisted he was only slightly modifying his theories of life that led him to refuse the money a year earlier. His decision now to accept the inheritance was merely a plan to dispose of it so, unhampered, he could once more "be a poor but happy farmer,

content with his arduous labor, his books and his thoughts."

Barley admitted that April Farm had not paid its way. But he was confident that it could.

What was outlined in the Herald sounded just like what Upton Sinclair suggested in his letters in late 1920.

The money would go as out-and-out gifts to those friends in whom he had confidence and whom he believed would spend it for humanity. He would not ask for an accounting, for he had faith in the people who were to receive it.

The Herald let it be known that a well-posted authority revealed that Barley was brought to accept the legacy by friends of his wife "who repeatedly told him he had a right to live his own life, but not the right to deprive Mrs. Garland and her child of the comforts that were necessary to their physical well-being."

Barley was supposedly considering scholarships in various schools where the liberal thought was paramount, the Herald said. This could include the newly-established Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York, where such individualistic theories as Garland's prevailed.

Barley had spent a few months at Brookwood studying labor problems. Brookwood, established in 1920 as the first labor college in the United States, was set up to develop leadership and organizing ability for the labor movement. It was most appropriate that the Herald mentioned Brookwood -- for Brookwood would become one of the major beneficiaries of the Garland Fund. The Fund was to become its financial angel for more than a decade.

The Herald had it from that well-placed informant that there was little chance Garland would donate any money to any of the politically radical schools, cults or colonies "because he is not a political radical himself and does not hold with the liberal in politics who ventures further than the center of the right wing of the Socialist party."

Barley, after all, was a social non-conformist, not a political revolutionary, the Herald contended.

Meanwhile, on the editorial pages, the Herald said Barley with the money would be an easy mark for a host of ingenious parasites and disreputable confidence men.

The New York Tribune took a kindlier tack, saying now that Garland has accepted the stewardship of the inheritance, he can put it to work doing a good many good things that need doing,

including the feeding of a few of the hungry and the clothing of several of the naked.

Both were right.

The letters poured in to North Carver with schemes from all over the country -- just as they had in late 1920 when first he said he wouldn't take the money. And if one from a Harry Vanderburg of 36 Thirteenth Street, San Francisco, was any indication, Barley had a lot of reading material.

That January 11, Vanderburg wrote Barley six full pages with his plan for a cooperative restaurant. His "scheme" -- and he used that word -- was to buy a farm near San Francisco in Barley's name to raise meat and vegetables he would use in his restaurant. That way, he could sell meals at modest prices to ordinary folks.

"One hundred thousand dollars would be plenty to start a real cooperative undertaking," Vanderburg wrote. And once it got going, Vanderburg would share the profits with his employees. That would inspire the establishment of hundreds of other cooperatives across the land. But, of course, if it failed, the farm would revert to Barley.

And Vanderburg -- in a delightful contradiction -- advised

Barley not to give his money away to others because then he would lose control over it.

Insurance agent Milton H. Goshlen of New Bedford, Massachusetts, endured an all-day drive to reach April Farm. He had visions of landing a fat policy as soon as he heard that Garland was taking the million.

What Goshlen found was a rough-looking fellow sweeping out the hovel. At first, he thought this must be the hired hand.

Barley leaned on his broom and patiently listened to the insurance agent's spiel before saying he wasn't interested.

"I am going to divide the million and give each division to a man or woman in whom I have faith," Barley said, or at least that was Goshlen's recollection of Barley's reply. "There will be no strings attached. I will tell the recipient the money is to be passed on for worthy purposes."

Barley said he had about ten persons in mind. But while admitting he didn't think the money would do much good, he figured it would do less harm if passed out this way than if handled any other way.

Goshlen asked: "Don't you think you have a first duty to

your family?"

Barley replied: "If I love my neighbors as I should, I will provide for them just as readily as for my family. Family ties are only accidental. There is no need for providing for one's relatives in advance of anyone else."

To a reporter for the Evening World, Barley said, "The first demand on me is the demand of conscience, and my conscience tells me I must work out my own faith and beliefs."

"As to the practical result, I think there will be such. I may not see them or know them. But an effect must precede from any cause, and the effect in this instance must be good because my cause is just."

"I am not doing this thing because I have a great fortune. That principle would be the same if I gave away two dollars."

No, said Barley, I am not doing this to influence others. "I have something to do and I am going to do it solely because it is the right thing to do."

The World reporter found him kneading bread. "Yes, I mix and bake my own bread," he said. "An old woman, who is one of my neighbors, taught me."

To this inquisitor, Barley said he picked April Farm "because it is quiet. I came out here to work and think."

Mary Wrenn, his wife, and their daughter Margaret were at her parents' home in Dedham, according to some accounts of that day. The World said that parental home was in a suburban section of Dedham "inhabited by millionaires whose diversions are polo, hunting and golf." In other press accounts, she and the baby were in one of the homes connected to the Garland family complex at Buzzards Bay.

Both accounts were probably true -- for various weeks or months in that immediate time.

What was clear was that she and the baby were not with Barley at April Farm. But for all his talking -- and in those early days he seemed to answer most questions put to him by reporters -- he accorded Mary and the baby a degree of privacy. He refused to go into details about his wife and child.

At the same time, The New York Times erroneously reported that the Garlands were reconciled and that Barley would leave his farm in North Carver to move into a new cottage at Dedham with Mary Wrenn. That reconciliation was due in large measure because Mary was pregnant, The Times claimed.

Except, that there was no reconciliation because, with Mary deeply in love with him no matter what he did, there had really been no alienation.

Except, too, for Barley, there was no move to leave April Farm.

Mary Wrenn, usually quietly in the background, stepped forward for an interview with the New York Herald to dispel all the "ridiculous stories" that were going about.

Were it not for the baby, she would join Barley at April Farm and "live in that little old shack." She said she visited him frequently and he comes to see her and the baby in their new home. They correspond regularly.

"The difference between myself and Mr. Garland on the matter of idealism is that I blend the practical with mine. I have the utmost sympathy and respect for his altruistic views toward his fellows.

"But idealism must be blended with common sense. You cannot raise a baby properly under conditions that exist at the place in North Carver. You cannot bathe an infant in a fireplace, for instance.



"And you may say for me, please, that this is the sole reason for our living apart. There is not the slightest bit of ill-feeling between us because of the course he is following. Stories of a difference in views or a coming divorce are entirely wrong and ridiculous."

That was the Herald of January 20, 1922.

Within two days, there would be revelations that Garland for months had been enchanted by a new love -- Lillian Conrad, his mother's former secretary, an art student from Philadelphia. The press would christen her Barley's first soulmate.

The separation of Mary Wrenn and Barley had involved more than just a matter of rustic quarters at April Farm to raise their child. It was also beset by "the other woman."

## THE OTHER WOMAN

I love Charles Garland. He loves me. He loves  
his wife. She looks upon me as a vampire.

Soulmate Lillian Conrad

January 22, 1922

Charles Garland, husband and father, had fallen in love with another woman and, like the poet Shelley, blabbed about it.

He wanted his wife, Mary Wrenn, to share this existence with him and soulmate Lillian Conrad, his mother's former secretary, at his scruffy 30-acre April Farm deep in the woods of Massachusetts in the impoverish soil near the Atlantic Coast.

He even had his mother's blessing.

Marie Garland in an October 29, 1921, letter to her pregnant daughter-in-law seemed little concerned that Lillian was vacillating at the moment on whether to join Barley at North Carver.

"In the crisis of his life when he thought she (Lillian) was there beside him, she ran away. Now that she sees him going on

alone, she runs after him. Barley feels he does not know her now," Marie wrote.

She explained that she told Lillian to give serious thought to whatever move she made.

But Marie was furious that Mary was trying to hold onto Barley through pity. She cited recent instances where Barley wanted to go out, including once to take his adopted sister, Doris Benson, to New Bedford and Mary had insisted that he stay home.

Marie was outraged. "You're trying to make Barley your own thing. How could you take a winged spirit like that and crush it in your hand and then ask it to sing for you!!

"My dear, you have been making your own pain. You have made no life of your own. Instead, you have been sucking his life out of him. Good God, Mary, can't you see this? You can't just love him, when your love brings him nothing but comfort of the flesh!

"Be an inspiration to him. If his dream is to make the world a better place, lead him to it!! Dump everything out but your love for Barley. Dump even the fear of losing your life in giving birth to his child. Face lovingly bringing this child into the

world with him alone in the wilderness."

Mary was four months pregnant at that point with Barley's second child. She had mistakenly thought this would be their second daughter and even had a name picked out, Polly. And as Marie Garland saw it, this daughter-in-law of hers was just living a life of ease to be well rested to give her son a good time in bed and then cuddling herself even moreso through the subsequent pregnancy.

"Face poverty, hunger and starvation," advised Marie who had never done so herself. "Give up your allowance if it comes between you," said Marie who later would grub an allowance from her own children.

"If you feel Peggy (then two) can't rough it, don't make her. But she is perfectly fit to live in a hut where many babies were born and flourish. When you say you won't go until Polly comes, you are thinking of yourself, not Polly.

"You want ease and comfort. You want to be lazy. You want to give all your strength to your passion."

Marie advised Mary to go out and plow with Barley. "Work in the fields. Carry stones. Stop listening to a supersensitive fool doctor who tends rich women and tells them not to work. They want

him to tell them just that. That's why they like him!

"You need a colossal shaking! For God's sake, wake up before your whole life crashes upon your sleepy head.

"Who is this you you offer Barley? It is beautiful? Singing? Free? Is it a fit mate for my son?"

She closed with the salutation: "With a heart full of loving you, Marie."

And just three days later, Barley wrote to his wife that "it would be best for both of us to recognize that our sexual relation has ceased, ceased indefinitely. To do this is only to be honest."

The child Mary was carrying at the time from previous intimacies was a son, Peter, who would arrive in April 1922. But Barley's call to a cessation of their sexual relations would last at most a year. There would also be Christopher born in June 1923 and Mary, called Polly, in September 1924.

In that November 1921 note, Barley also said that Lillian had written that she is ready to live with him if he still wanted her. "I do not know what will come of it."

What came of it was an uproar several months later when the press got ahold of Barley's idea to have both Lillian and Mary at April Farm.

"I refused my husband's suggestion," Mary was quoted in the *New York World*. "Such philosophy and arrangement are unthinkable. So we parted. I hope Charles will come to his senses," she said in late January 1922 -- when this love triangle hit the press, or, as the *World* called it, a "tri-wrangle."

"I accepted," said Lillian, a beautiful art student, though she had gone off to Boston to work out her own career when this was announced. "I love Mr. Garland, and my philosophy is the same as his. I love Mrs. Garland more than any woman I know. I am truly sorry for her."

Mary noted that this domestic intruder was an older woman -- that Lillian at 25 had deliberately used her superior knowledge of life to lure Mary's 22-year-old husband from her.

But a Boston organization that subsequently sheltered Lillian maintained that it was she who was led astray "under the fascination of Garland's personality."

Prominent Boston clergymen and a leading club woman

denounced Garland. And the police chief in the April Farm area said he wasn't going to permit Garland and his lady love any reunion to bed down in his territory.

Truly, the week of January 22, 1922, was a time the Garland family laundry got a thorough airing in public. . .nationally.

Lillian had come from a proper Quaker family in Philadelphia. She worked in Washington, D.C., from April 1918 through May 1920 in the office of Louis F. Post, assistant United States Secretary of Labor.

She left that position to go abroad as the social secretary for Marie Garland, Barley's mother.

"Miss Conrad was so glad when she got the offer to accompany Mrs. Garland abroad," said Carrie Manson, a young woman who shared a Washington apartment with Lillian during her days at the Department of Labor.

"She was so ambitious, studying most of the time and hardly ever going out. Friends she had were very high types," Manson said.

"Lillian was one of the finest girls I ever met, lovely and gracious-mannered and devoted to her mother. I know she spent

some time at home before she went to Europe.

"Her skin was lovely and clear and had no need for cosmetics," said Manson to the Philadelphia Bulletin. "She didn't even use powder. She didn't have to."

But Manson didn't know Lillian had become an art student. She had lost touch with Lillian after a postcard from Switzerland saying what a delightful time she was having traveling with Marie Garland.

At April Farm, Garland was revealing all the details of his love life to the Boston Advertiser to start another press firestorm that put the acceptance of the inheritance into the background -- relegated almost to a footnote to this unfolding soap opera. It was too bad that radio was in its infancy. Otherwise, this saga could have slipped virtually unedited directly into a daytime serial.

"I admit without shame or fear that my love for Lillian brought about this separation from my wife," Garland said as he worked at a vat of laundry on an old-fashioned kitchen stove.

How ironic he should be doing his laundry when he was airing the family wash in public.



"The outcome may be possibly a divorce," he said. "Many problems must be solved before a definite decision is made. I feel I am right. My wife feels I am wrong."

Barley explained that he bought April Farm, partly to solve his problems. "My first thought was to live alone. I needed solitude to think out the situation and decide what would be a proper course."

"Lillian was my mother's secretary. She is a beautiful blonde girl 25 years of age. I met her at my mother's home about a year after Mary and I were married. We did not fall in love with each other immediately. It was a gradual irresistible growth."

"Lillian understands me and my ideals. She is willing to give me her love and to face the consequences without fear."

"My wife knows of my love for Lillian. It has hurt her deeply, and she cannot understand it. We have thrashed it all out face-to-face."

"I suggested that we all come to live in this little farm until we have solved our problem. Lillian was willing. My wife wanted me to come back to her alone."

Barley, 22, said his 2 1/2-year marriage had been an enlightening experience. He didn't regret it. It had contributed greatly to his spiritual growth.

But he couldn't see his way clear to returning to Mary. "I feel I love both these women. Love cannot be individual and exclusive. It must be general, all-embracing.

"A man who can love two women deeply is just so much better than a man who has only one love."

And in his serious way, Barley expounded on the idea of the more, the merrier. . .or perhaps in his case, the more, the greater spiritual development.

Lillian may not be the final affair of his life, Barley said. He might meet other women he would come to love. Those future loves will mean just so much more to his development. Lillian, he claimed, recognized all that.

"The great women of history who have given themselves to many men I consider superior to those of more exclusive affections. Great lovers like Katherine of Russia gave inspiration and light to many men. These lovers were responsible for the loftiest thoughts of poets and artists."

He tempered that by adding that love should be quality, not quantity. "I don't mean that five or six superficial love affairs are better than one. But granted the right quality, the more the better."

His wife's love was an exclusive love, he said. "She cannot bear to share me. I have argued with her in vain that true love is not exclusive, but comprehensive. I tell her each love in our lives is just one phase in our growth, all part of the great universal love, and we can only attain peace through development.

"I tried to convince her that one love must give way to another, that one woman, her function accomplished, should resign in favor of another."

That rascally Oscar Wilde had said, "I can resist everything except temptation."

Garland's sedate variation was, "I feel life is made up of many and diverse experiences and that it is my duty to yield to each one that comes my way."

Barley admitted the separation from his wife and daughter caused him many pangs. But, then, no growth can come without suffering.

"When I married Mary Wrenn, I thought she shared my matrimonial ideas. Marriage to me was only a superficial contract that ceased to bind when love ceased to bind.

"For a while, we were very happy. I loved her deeply. I loved our little girl and rejoiced in her coming.

"Then, I met Lillian. She came to our family to work for my mother. It was not love at first sight, but gradual, irresistible. Her sympathies and understanding meant something in my life which I could not evade."

Garland said that during the previous year, he came to realize he would not do justice to himself by remaining with his wife. He sought solitude. He bought April Farm to be alone. He accepted his inheritance and settled a third of it upon his wife and daughter.

"Lillian and I do not love according to the ordinary standards of the world. Lillian is ready to live with me and my wife at the same time.

"Lillian would be content to share this little farm with me in any capacity. She has been here several times and here we find our deepest happiness together."

Barley said he and Lillian had no intentions of getting married. "I will live with her without a ceremony. I don't say that the marriage ceremony is a hypocrisy for everyone, but it is for me. I have outgrown marriage.

"I will not marry Lillian or any other woman" -- a vow he was able to maintain for nearly 25 years while he had 11 children by Mary Wrenn and two other women.

"It is absurd and silly for a civilized man and woman to believe that the will of God is being carried out just because one man, a minister, says so when he performs a marriage ceremony."

Barley conceded to the Advertiser that marriage is a church law as well as the law of the land.

"But what of it? The church does more harm than good among individuals whose souls are hungry for development. The church has nothing to offer. It stunts self-development.

"Love such as exists between me and Lillian is the newest approach to a real religion I have found. The church gives one a religion that exists but one day a week. Love exists all the time."

It was those lines that would infuriate the Boston clergy.

Barley insisted there is no such thing as platonic love.

"Real love develops the soul. Spiritual expansion accompanies real love such as Lillian's and mine. But I firmly believe there could be no love, no spiritual development, without sex relations. They go hand in hand. Without the one, the other cannot exist."

Barley said he didn't know what Lillian's family thought about this whole situation. "She has not spoken to me much of her family. But we feel we owe to our spiritual development to be together."

Continuing this dialog in this real-live soap opera, Lillian chimed in for the Advertiser in the next day's installment and the next and the next, more than a week in all of the "love philosophy" of Charles and Lillian:

Whatever cherished moments Lillian had accumulated alone with Garland at North Carver or behind Mary Wrenn's back when they were all at Buzzards Bay, she was now in Boston to make a living. She insisted she wasn't interested in Barley's money and didn't want a penny of it.

"I know that Mary Wrenn, Charles' wife, looks upon me as a vampire who has stolen her man. She has denounce me to my face as a traitor. I pity her. My first duty is to Charles.

"Charles is free to go back to his wife, whom he still loves. He is free to go to any other woman, even as he came to me. I will share him with anyone else or, if I must, I will give him up forever."

She said she had already lived with him as his wife and was ready to do so again or go away and never see him again. "It all depends on what is best for his spiritual growth.

"Mary does not understand. I have seen tears in her eyes as she vainly fought for her man. She is selfish. She wants all of him. She has left him. Why can't we three live together?

"He needs a girl that understands him, a mate who will not tie him down to sordid domesticity. A home is the last thing in the world he wants."

Lillian acknowledged there were plenty of things the world could do to her and Barley. "They can arrest us. Sometimes in our divinely happy moments together on the North Carver farm we have wondered what the police would do if they broke in on us. But we laughed and took our chance."

She said she had encountered intolerance before -- in the Old World, when she was the traveling companion of Marie Garland.

"We were practically driven out of Italy because we were Americans. The automobile was stoned in the same way I shall be stoned, as it were. But I shall not blame those who attack me anymore than I blamed those who stoned our automobile in Italy."

Lillian said she would have no children by Barley.

She noted that recently a "very modern" play had come to Boston. "One character remarked she had just seen an illegitimate baby and it seemed to be the same as any other child."

But Lillian pointed out, "The world has not reached a point yet where it thinks an illegitimate baby the same as any other baby. My child would be exposed to the odium which still surrounds a child of love alone."

In defending Barley, she reasoned that for mental inspiration people read more than one book, see more than one picture, hear more than one piece of music. "They do not confine themselves to just one source of pleasure and help.

"In love, it seems to me the same. I am not an advocate of polygamy or the harem, but I do believe that spiritual



development depends on contact with many persons. . .and the more intimate the contact, the deeper the knowledge gained."

The clamoring press learned to its chagrin that Lillian was something of a practical joker.

Reporters seeking information regarding the inner secrets of April Farm from her were sometimes given a certain amount of information for a small sum, often \$2.

After Lillian furnished what she considered good value in talk for that amount, she withdrew and refused to talk further.

When the next reporter sought information after furnishing the proper payment, he, too, was supplied with the stipulated amount of information.

But those privy to listening to these interviews contended that Lillian never told the same stock of information twice. Her story always varied.

Mary Wrenn as well publicly offered her version of what the New York Evening Journal called a gripping drama of three souls:

"When Charles and Lillian told me of their love for each other, I faced them both. I asked Charles which of us he loved.

He answered both.

"I told him to choose between us, and he chose Lillian.

"Then, I told him to go, to take Lillian with him and to stay away until he'd come back to me as his own man, free from any other woman in the world.

"In the meantime, I told him I would love him and wait for him, and when he came back, I would be ready for his love."

And she pointed to her obvious second pregnancy, now six months along. "I can understand his loving another woman, but I cannot understand his deserting me while his child is yet unborn.

"The old standards of the sacredness of the marriage tie and the loyalty of husband and wife are my standards. I have tried to understand his, but cannot accept them.

"I let him go freely. He must come back, if he is to come, just as freely. I shall not go to him, but I shall be ready for him."

The Journal reported that Mary had dedicated a little room in her luxurious white cottage in Dedham "to the man she hopes to

bring back through her love."

The fire is laid in the iron grate, ready to light, when Charles Garland comes home. By the fire is his own spacious armchair. His favorite picture, details of the Last Supper by Leonardo da Vinci, is hung on the wall. On the piano are copies of the melodious little "Bergerettes," pastoral songs of the 18th century, which he once loved to hear.

The books that he loved are ready for him on the shelves -- the meditations of Marcus Aurelius, the works of Tolstoy, Turgeneff and Dostoievsky, the poetry of Walt Whitman and the philosophy of Buddha.

"When he comes, I shall be ready, as I have always been since he left me," Mary Wrenn said.

But he would never really return -- except for brief reunions over the next several years that would get Mary pregnant with their third and fourth child.

With the disclosure of this marital furore also came the news that Lillian had gone to Boston to make her own way in the world -- at least for the moment.

The Tideover League of Boston saw the situation in a far

different light from Mary Wrenn. To the league, Lillian had been rescued from Garland's clutches and placed in a private family to live. She was reported studying in the School of Applied Arts.

Mary Irving Husted, director of the school, asked that society be lenient in its judgment of Lillian. "She has made a clean breast of things, and I know at the present time Miss Conrad is leading an upright pure life," Husted said.

No statement repudiating Barley came from Lillian herself -- who was apparently sequestered from the prying press and her soulmate.

Garland had been in Boston to see Lillian one day in that week of January 22. But he left for home without her.

"This is a case where the past should be forgotten," Husted said. "The Tideover League, under whose auspices the school is run, will stand by Miss Conrad, provided she does not return to live with Garland, and I don't think there's any danger of her doing that.

"We have taken her from the boarding house where she lived and placed her in a home of a cultured Boston family. This family is interested in the school and I know Miss Conrad is now living a pure life.

"I am sure that she never erred before she met Garland."

When Barley returned to April Farm, reporters who quizzed him there described him as bitter -- sick of soul, sore of heart and alone.

One account pointed out that he was being treated by Lillian the way he had treated Mary Wrenn.

"He became bitter at society more than ever when queries were hurled at him by reporters and declared himself disgusted with the notoriety his case had been given in the public prints and seemed to pity himself for the world's inability to understand."

The Boston Globe that January 29 said Garland denied statements accredited to him a week earlier that a man could love more than one woman at a time.

"I don't believe that a man can love more than one woman at a time," the Globe quoted. "I am not a polygamist. It is untrue that I wanted Mrs. Garland to live with Lillian and myself. I have no such wish."

And also toward the end of the historic week in the unfolding or perhaps the undoing of this love triangle,

Middleborough Police Chief A.C. Sisson -- whose territory included April Farm -- said that if Miss Conrad returned to the place to resume her relationship with Garland, the soul twins would be arrested.

He resorted to a typical police response when the press uncovers some social crime. "We knew nothing about what was going on," he said.

The Philadelphia Bulletin noted Sisson refused to grant young Garland any special leeway just because he was a direct descendant of Henry VIII. "Garland is no better than any other man," Sisson said.

And, of course, the Bulletin had to seek out Lillian's Quaker parents -- even though Lillian hadn't been around home in the last five years except for brief visits.

The parents were courteous people, the neighbors said. And the Conrads extended courtesy to the Bulletin reporter who knocked on their door, inviting him in out of the cold.

But her father's only comment was an extended no comment: "We have nothing to say now, but if at any time we feel the situation calls for our saying something, we will gladly do so."

But within a day, Lillian's father, J.S. Conrad, issued a signed and dated statement to the press:

I feel now that a brief statement from me is due the press regarding our daughter, Lillian.

This is a most unfortunate and shocking affair to be brought to us.

Everything has been done that parents of moderate circumstances could do to give her a good education and social standing, and everything is now being done to protect her from further annoyances.

She returned to her home, but is not in Philadelphia at present, which closes the incident as far as she is concerned.

J.S. Conrad

1728 N. Sydenham St.

But that was far from the end of it.

Some Boston clery offered their views to the public, according to *The New York Times* in a special dispatch.

The Rev. Dr. David M. Lockrow of Tremont Temple said: "It will take more than the young gentleman and the millions he is repudiating to fasten his ludicrous ideas upon the world.

"There is one person in this amazing affair who should be pitied, little Mrs. Garland in Dedham. But, in my opinion, she is better off without him."

The Rev. Dr. F.W. Cummings of Ruggles Street Baptist Church suggested, "The young man is taking himself too seriously. I advise him to alter his way of living at once. May it not even be possible he is imbibing too much of the fresh ozone he extols?"

Mrs. Bertha Wesselhoeft, president of Boston's Professional Women's Club, said, "Of course, a man talking as Mr. Garland talks and believing it is hardly in his right mind. It looks to me as if before he's through, Charles Garland might need his millions to get him out of considerable trouble."

The *Evening World* enlisted a psychoanalyst and playwright named Andre Tridon who pontificated that "young Garland is decidedly of the neurotic type." Tridon reached that deduction from seeing pictures of Garland, reading what he said and following press accounts of his actions.

Tridon went on at length about how a man loves a woman by reason of certain fetishes that have come to him from his mother and are the guiding influence of his life. "They may be a trick of speech, a matter of gesture, the chic with which a woman wears her frock, the way in which she smiles -- but they are



compelling."

Returning to his scrutiny of the news photos, Tridon saw a "remarkable resemblance" between Mary Wrenn and Lillian -- their eyes, their mouths, their brows, their noses. From that, he concluded: "It is easily to be deducted that the fetishes Garland may have imagined he could no longer find in his wife were to be found now in Miss Conrad."

Of course, he was studying head shots of the two women. A full-length look would disclose a prominently pregnant Mary Wrenn and the non-pregnant Lillian.

But perhaps he was right about their physical likeness.

The Boston Globe described Mary Wrenn as a pretty young girl. "With her yellow hair and blue eyes, she is as delicate as a bit of Dresden china. Nights of anguish have left their mark on her sensitive face. Weary lines are beginning to show around her sad eyes."

And it said that "Lillian Conrad, 25, a beautiful blonde, has eyes of dark blue, rather wistful in expression. Slight and girlish, she is a pathetic figure when one considers that she it is who will have to bear the brunt of the world's condemnation."

The Boston Advertiser trotted out an artist named Ferdinand Pinny Earle 2nd, known as Affinity Earle, as a Garland look-alike and act-alike.

An affinity was for Earle what a soulmate or soul twin was for Garland.

Both men were the sons of famous fathers and had unlimited means, Earle's father being a general and wealthy, the paper said.

Both craved solitude -- Earle in his Earle's Castle (a.k.a. Earle's Folly) at Monroe, New York, where he guarded himself with bees and dogs; Garland at North Carver.

Both were called "eccentric to the point of madness" by friends and relatives. Both scorned the conventions of the law and the church.

The Advertiser quoted Earle, "I adore my affinity. She is to me what the Madonna is to the devout Catholic. I need no other faith."

And the Advertiser's sound-alike quote from Garland was: "Love is the nearest I have come to real religion."

Both claim the right to develop their own souls as they see fit and do that developing with an affinity, soulmate or soul twin wherever and whenever the whim overtakes them.

One difference was that the first Mrs. Earle was glad to be shed of Affinity when he left her to squire a new affinity, a soon-pregnant second Mrs. Earle-to-be around Europe, marry No. 2 before the divorce came through for No. 1 and then four months later become a father. He didn't take kindly to fatherhood, commenting: "Nothing retards the soaring soul of the artist as clinging baby fingers."

There were several succeeding affinities for Earle, enraging the people of Monroe, New York, just short of a lynch-mob mentality, to hear the Advertiser tell it. Affinity Earle had a nervous breakdown and ended his days in a sanitarium.

In Garland's situation, however, Mary Wrenn said she hoped for Barley's return once his fling with Lillian was over.

If the Advertiser had come around again some years later, it would have had some more comparisons to make between the two. In some ways, Barley outdid Affinity.

And for its outside expert, the World turned to popular novelist Jane Burr, born Rosalind Guggenheim, daughter of a St.

Louis copper magnate.

Burr was touted as an author who, in her last two novels, succeeded in "introducing more sex complications per page" than anyone else around. And she had an extended record in the marital business, too -- twice married, once divorced and separated for five years from her second husband.

She said she was working on a third novel dealing with a triangle similar to the Garland case.

In briefly prefacing the interview with a bit of background on Garland, the World had one item different from other accounts -- that Barley expected Lillian to join him at April Farm in spring.

Burr saw Garland as hopelessly impractical an idealist as the poet Shelley. And she repeated Matthew Arnold's famous description of Shelley -- "a beautiful ineffectual angel beating his luminous wings in a void."

Garland is a visionary, a dreamer, a person who doesn't fit into our conventional everyday world, Burr said. "As a newspaper man said the other day, 'The reason everybody points the finger at him is not because of his immorality, but because he acts like

a damned fool.'

"He wasn't content to act like the average man, who marries, tires of his wife, has a succession of secret love affairs, but breaks none of the domestic ties.

"Like Shelley, Charles Garland told!

"He told his wife, the mother of his little child -- a modern Harriet Shelley -- that he was in love with another woman. Now, he has told the world. He refuses to be the combined sensualist and hypocrite.

"Also, he seems to have no sense of humor or the thing equivalent to it -- a sense of proportion."

She found Barley one who loves his wife but is IN LOVE (her caps) with Lillian.

She praised the long-suffering Mary Wrenn. "She does not cast him off, even now, for his unfaithfulness. That proves how profoundly and unselfishly she cares for him."

And Burr predicted that Mary Wrenn "will win the game in the end if she is content to make it a waiting game. Like every wife, she has all the cards in her hand if she knows how to play them.

He'll return!

"Leave him alone and he'll come home wagging his tail behind him -- just like Bo-Peep's sheep. Every husband does!"

And in Lillian, Burr saw courage. She quoted a phrase from novelist Edith Wharton about the "courage of her lack of convictions."

Burr said Lillian had the courage to stand up against the conventions and laws she didn't believe in. "The woman in America who publicly admits her love for a married man, stands with her back against the wall and may expect to be shot at sunrise.

"Even if, as it is said, Miss Conrad has recanted some of the convictions she expressed about the rights of love, she had her moment of daring."

All these people are simply ahead of the crowd, Burr concluded. "Most of us are not yet ready to admit, in Charles Garland's own words, that 'every line of the marriage ceremony contains an underlying hypocrisy, but the promise to love and cherish is the most deceitful. It is not within a man's power to promise to love and cherish because his emotions are not within the control of his intellect.'

"Today, few of us publicly agree with those sentiments. But wait 50 years!"

## FOND MEMORIES

I've known very few people with as  
much inner strength as Barley had.

Alice Edgerton Rothschild

October 6, 1979

The press had two parting shots at Charles Garland and his family in the immediate aftermath of the Great Soap Opera Saga of January 1922.

One was the now-and-then prescence of Doris Benson at April Farm, one of the four orphaned Benson children Barley's mother had adopted -- or, if not legally adopted, taken under her wing to care for.

The Boston Globe said Doris arrived at Bay End Farm when she was 18. She was 21 when the press discovered her at April Farm. The most salacious the Globe was able to dredge up was that a statement from Doris on marriage provided a "hint" that April Farm was to be a free love colony. What Doris said was that she shared Barley's and Lillian's view on the marriage ceremony.

The other was the belated discovery by the Boston Advertiser of those portable houses Marie Garland had built around her Bay



End Farm for writers, artists and other creative people she invited to the place.

"Portable houses and portable loves -- this is the grotesque experiment in a free love colony which has suddenly astounded historic Cape Cod," the Advertiser proclaimed in its self-righteousness.

Regarding the first matter, Doris was an agricultural student at Amherst College who intended to live on April Farm when her course was completed. Marie Garland was apparently financing her education.

"My regard for Charlie is more than sisterly, more than friendly, more than admiration," she was quoted in the Globe.

"I share his ideals as far as I understand them. I, too, believe that we should respect no authority but that which speaks within us."

The Globe described Doris as a stalwart young girl, with grey-blue eyes and golden hair. "She is a typical outdoor girl. She dresses with utmost simplicity. A lover of nature, she delights in her studies and is planning for the time when she will assist Garland on his North Carver farm."

Doris said she expected Lillian to be there, too, and perhaps others. "Several are considering going to Mr. Garland's farm to live, men as well as women," she said.

But they would come because they were attracted by Garland's ideals or were enchanted by the prospect of sharing a simple life with this man -- among them a sickly Quaker farm woman from Ohio. . .an IWW who had served time in Leavenworth for his opposition to World War I and then pardoned by President Harding. . .a preacher. . .a doctor and his wife. . .and, later, a young reporter, Bettina Hovey, who arrived to write a story on the commune, fell in love with Barley and stayed, bearing him three children.

And what they faced was hard work.

"We weren't faddists," Bettina recalled shortly after Barley's death in 1974. "We didn't have to grow the carrot in a special way. Our idea was just to get the damned carrot, somehow."

And the Quaker woman, Alice Edgerton, wrote home to her family, "I'm so glad I came here, for no other reason than to see how a life lived in seeming solitude can be a social life and one full of real contact with people."

This existence didn't have the sex appeal of the Barley-Lillian-Mary tri-wrangle. But members of the press stopped in at April Farm from time to time for an update -- particularly as they became reminded of what was happening to Barley's money. One reporter, Caryl Frink, who called herself The Flapper, stayed for days and wrote a whole series for syndication.

From recollections and those letters home to Ohio saved from 1922, Alice tells of a homier life at April Farm than that found by the Advertiser and the Globe.

Alice was in her late 20s when she was at April Farm. She was in her mid-80s when she brought out her letters and talked of those days. She still used the Quaker "thee" and "thou" occasionally in her speech.

"It was a poor thin-soiled farm such as they had down along the coast of Massachusetts," she said. "It was no good as a farm, just a few fields set down in the woods which makes a rim all around the edge. You cannot see out in any direction but sky direction."

There was an old house on the place, occupied by an elderly couple who had been there before Barley arrived. "Both are characters, and they are the ones who know most about farming," Alice wrote.

A new barn had been built, typically small as they were in the Northeast, not the big barns that Alice was used to in Ohio. And Barley built a low-ceilinged "hen house" with three rooms about 10 by 10 each, fine for her at 5-foot-1, but Barley with his 6-foot-2 frame could only stand in the middle of each room.

The first room was the kitchen with an oil stove, a table, three chairs, a breadbox, three pots, three plates and other utensils and that's about all.

Barley's was the middle room -- bed, desk, chair and a pile of blankets in the corner, tools under the desk for mending shoes, a picture of a wolf standing alone in the snow against a dark sky, clothes hanging on the wall, a lamp.

But Barley gave up his bed for Alice. He slept on the floor in the kitchen.

The third room was for a medical doctor Alice only remembers as "Chief" and Chief's wife Mary -- much like Barley's except he had some medical supplies.

There was a growth of pines just back of the hen house, and it was like a room there, all clean pine needles on the floor. That was the bathroom.

Alice had been sickly as a kid growing up on a farm in Ohio. She had been at Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York, and then did some social work with a Rev. William Simpson in Crone, New Jersey.

"I came to know about Barley because of his giving up his money and because he was living in a way that I thought was appropriate for any concerned Christian person," Alice recalled.

She particularly remembered one incident she said was indicative of the kind of man Barley was:

"Somebody came and appealed to Barley to do some work for him. He had a wife and a little girl.

"This man wasn't evil at all, but he was really rude to his little daughter who was only about two years old. He called her really nasty names and was always putting her down.

"So Barley -- he was a very tall man -- he picked this little girl up and put her on his shoulders, and he walked around with her, calling her all those horrible names that her father called her. And the way he did it took the sting out of it. She laughed and was so gay."

Alice said that illustrated Barley's sensitivity and his ability to do something about a situation in the simplest way.

"It was very like him, really. And in some ways, he was nicer, more outgoing, with people like that than he was with people who were very intellectual. I think that was true of him always."

From the letters, Alice wrote that once when she talked with Barley about life at April Farm, he responded, "I was surprised to see how near I felt to people when I first came here and how many separations arise when I go home to Bay End Farm."

That was because of the servants and the "usual attitude" toward them at Buzzards Bay, Alice wrote. And then she gave her family this description of Bay End Farm:

"It is a huge place, now well attended by servants who even keep the bedrooms in order, who do every bit of work and serve everybody all the time. I felt strangled by the undercurrent of this.

"Everything is beautiful. Everbody there dresses with great simplicity. Boys and girls alike wear shirts and knickerbockers, very cheap and durable ones at that. Their tastes are simple, and there is no idleness. They're all brown as crusts and hard as

nails and skinny as tough little ponies.

"They go for a swim in the day and work hard at their play. They do interesting fascinating things in play. All their play has the same simplicity and innocence which is so fundamental and real that it all seems right and is right, too.

"The reason why there can be so much real beauty and truth in it is that all the children there at Bay End are just simply and naturally too full of health and life to want extravagances and luxury.

"But Dori (the adopted Doris Benson) is the only one there who does a day's work. She's painting one of the houses.

"Nobody apparently ever remembers that they are all parasites, and the parasitical life is not normal."

Barley, Alice and Chief went on a raw foods diet as preparation for a fast -- vegetables, fruit and now and then a shredded wheat biscuit. No milk, except some on the biscuit if they wanted it.

"We ate lettuce, carrots and delicious raw cabbage, figs and soaked prunes and apricots besides fresh fruit. . .quarts of blueberries which I picked. Honey counts as a raw diet. No sugar

used here, except brown, and no white bread."

But Chief banned Alice from the fast until her strength improved -- something Alice was able to bring about in this simple existence. "I flourished under it," she said. "I stopped coughing while I was there, and I felt so well."

Almost like a kid writing home about a typical day in camp, Alice in her letters traced the day's beginning with her dashing nude outside to have Chief throw a bucket of cold water on her.

"It's the best way of getting a cold bath I ever saw and takes no fancy spray stuff. Chief says it gets the immediate reaction without the shock of the bath."

Breakfast of fruits, whole wheat bread and butter, cereal. . . then hours with Chief's wife Mary hoeing barefoot in the garden while Barley and Chief work on a foundation for a house. . . a noon meal of one dish, maybe peas or beans, and a salad plus blueberries. . . a second chance for that bucket of cold water before work in the potato patch in the afternoon.

One letter told how Alice had cut a lot of corn the previous day. "We dried it on a big screen like a screen door in the sun. We spread it out at noon and by night it was pretty well dry.



"We're interested in utilizing the sun for two reasons: The kitchen does get hot. It is low. And the oil stove isn't very good for drying corn."

Alice arrived with the understanding that because of her poor health, she wouldn't be able to work the full day. So at first, her afternoons were spent in reading or writing.

Supper was much like the noon meal. The diet was totally vegetarian. "We never had any meat," Alice said.

"Carrying water in buckets from the well and finally after a review of the work and maybe a forecast of tomorrow's, we would read or talk. Then, Chief would adjust my back and give me a treatment, and we'd go to bed."

Barley's wife, Mary Wrenn, came to April Farm for a stay. "I had a couple long talks with her," Alice wrote. "She did want to understand Barley. She couldn't, really she couldn't. He was totally different from what she thought he was going to be."

Alice looked upon Barley as "about the finest man I ever saw. He hardly ever talks. But when he does, it is true to what he feels and more sincere than most people dare to be.

"Barley seems not to have any feeling that this farm is his,

and only those should be there who agree with or who are invited by him. Just by not talking about it he has put private property out of his life."

Yet, Alice felt she was simply telling her family things "about" Barley. "I don't suppose I know the real Barley," she confessed.

Much of this was the routine of day-to-day druggery of scraping out a living, not the salacious revelations that enraptured the daily press. After all, who in the reading public cared about drying corn or hoeing potatoes?

Meanwhile, that belated press discovery of those portable houses back at Buzzards Bay spurred one Boston paper to new depths in its attempt to inflame the community against the Garland family.

#### MOVABLE LOVE NEST CASTLES

Puritans Up in Arms, Storm Against Such Modern Innovations  
Conrad Romance Born There, Others to Share in  
Strange Experience in Ancestral Castle

Boston Sunday Advertiser -- January 29, 1922

With the hysteria that only a sanctimonious press can generate, the Advertiser proclaimed it was offering "discovered facts even more startling than the revelations which already stirred the country" over Barley and Lillian at April Farm.

These goings on had aroused a "hurricane of condemnation."

What the Advertiser had uncovered was that there were portable homes at Bay End Farm, and it quoted Barley as saying that he and Lillian had at some recent point lived in one of them as man and wife. That, said the Advertiser, was hurling defiance upon "the stern soil of Puritan severity of manners and morals."

More scandalous, however, to the Advertiser, was that other people were living in those portable houses.

"On the Garland ancestral estate stand seven portable houses of unsuspecting appearance," wrote reporter Katharine Donovan. "They are slightly apart from the large manor house and from the farm where Mrs. Marie T. Garland, mother of the boys, endured her own domestic infelicities."

Obviously, reporter Donovan didn't know Marie. She enjoyed - - not endured -- her infelicities.

But, to press on, in this Advertiser prose:

"And, today, a love colony rivaling the most condemned revolutionary social practices of history has already been associated with these little portable houses."

That was an excuse for reporter Donovan to trot out some of the other historic advocates of love without law -- English poets Spenser and Shelley and "the greatest disciple of unfettered sex love America yet produced," Walt Whitman, who supposedly taught Lillian and Barley much of their own philosophy.

Lillian and Barley had dwelt in one of these prosaic structures. Doris Benson had shared one for a time with Lillian. Another adopted daughter, Irene Mann, lived in one before her marriage to Hamilton Garland. Likewise for shoe model Olive Jenkins before she married James Garland III.

Had the world known of the union of Charles and Lillian, the law might have been evoked, the Advertiser proclaimed.

"But the law may have to be evoked many times if the rumors rife now upon the Cape are all they portend. It is whispered by Buzzards Bay folk that Lillian and Charles may not be the only ones who rebelled against the standards of many.

"Many strangers have come and gone between the secluded

Garland estate and the little pine-board railroad station. They have been of both sexes."

Finally coming to the shocking point of this treatise, the Advertiser revealed, "It is said they hail from America's center of fantastic ideas of social behavior, Greenwich Village of New York City."

Some unnamed local citizen reported, "These houses keep coming and going. Whenever they have company, they set up a string of houses, and when the company goes, the houses go."

Why, the Advertiser visited one and found a Mrs. Marie King and her two tiny babies. In another was a young French girl named Flora, said to be adopted and educated by Marie Garland.

Reporter Donovan observed that the young women seen flitting from house to house on the estate hardly resembled the pioneer Pilgrim mothers, who went about in voluminous garments of homespun.

These woman wore much the same clothes as the men -- knickers and leather breeches, scarves of bright hue and heavy woolen coats. Ham's wife, Irene, and James III's wife, Olive, it seemed were both devotees of knickers.

And not only did the neighbors reveal the existence of those portable houses on the Garland estate, but also small camps hidden five or six miles from the nearest road. "They tell of summer and winter visitors who tramp the woods together, occupying these little camps and changing from one to another."

At that moment, under Ham's orders, workmen were busy renovating the seven portable houses.

And with the real sounds of hammers of the workmen, reporter Donovan was apparently imagining noises in her head -- "the voice of Cape Cod, muttering of the past and of the group of unusual strangers who dwelt in these houses before."

Donovan obviously didn't know these were some form of the same little portable cottages at Bay End Farm that poet Kahlil Gibran spoke so lovingly about when he visited in 1918 and lived in one.

And while reporter Donovan could hear the voice of Cape Cod muttering about the past, she lacked the ability to listen to the noises of the future. She might have heard the pounding of hammers of other workmen putting more of those portable houses together at Marie Garland's ranch in New Mexico and spotted painter Georgia O'Keeffe in one of them.

Was it any wonder that some members of the Garland family and Mary Wrenn's family shut themselves off from the press for decades, some for the rest of their lives?

## GROUNDWORK

I feel personally that the money should be distributed as fast as it can be put into reliable hands.

Charles Garland  
to Garland Fund directors  
November 1922

How far afield from the Garland Soap Opera Saga of earlier 1922 -- and how unnoticed -- were the quiet arrangements Roger Baldwin was making to assemble a board of liberals and radicals to accept Barley's money and to decide just how to spend it.

There was initial reluctance to spend the principal -- even though Garland encouraged it. There was concern that Garland after a time might change his mind and want his money back -- though he never did until the mid-1930s when little was left.

In March 1922, Baldwin launched the idea of a National Service Fund through a letter to various like-minded friends and associates. He called the plan a prospectus and included a list of all those he was approaching.

Baldwin explained, "It was brought to a head recently by the



desire of Charles Garland of Massachusetts to put his fortune at the disposal of some group which could use it most wisely in promoting social and economic freedom."

Without specifying who, Baldwin said, "Some of us met with Mr. Garland and discussed this general proposition. There seems to be every assurance he would start it with a substantial amount to which he is heir."

With thinly-disguised subtlety, he reminded the "persons named in the enclosed prospectus" that many others would be enchanted with the proposal.

He said the Fund seemed to offer a way out of many difficulties "for organizations and lines of endeavor which most of us are connected."

Socialist Upton Sinclair had put it more bluntly in that first letter he wrote to Garland in December 1920: "Do you realize that never in the history of the radical movement has anybody had a million dollars or a tenth of that? Our propaganda organizations get a few hundred, and once in a while a thousand or two, but nobody ever gives them any real money according to present-day standards."

The Baldwin letter said the work devolving to each director

would not be great. After a few initial meetings to work out common purposes, much of it could be handled by mail.

He asked their views on the plan, whether they'd serve on the founding board of directors and what they suggested as a name for the Fund. His memo proposed:

1. To establish a national trust fund, similar to those in various cities known as Community Trusts, to which persons may contribute during their lifetimes or bequesth by will, the funds so secured being held for public purposes.

2. The purpose of this particular Fund would be to assist in the development of pioneer enterprises directed to social and economic freedom, particularly those which contribute most directly to individual liberty and the power of voluntary associations.

3. The trustees should be persons with a similar social viewpoint, not a composite of varied philosophies, and should serve for a fixed period, their successors being elected by the remaining trustees. Possibly some arrangement should be made for some participation by the contributors of the Fund.

4. There should not be any salaried group of executives administering the Fund. It should be done by the trustees themselves with the help of clerical workers only.

5. There is some question as to whether incorporation is an advantage. The legal features have been worked out fairly well in the various community trusts. The chief difficulty to solve is to keep the Fund as elastic as possible and to prevent it from representing some fixed interest.

Frances Perkins of New York City, later Secretary of Labor in the New Deal, didn't respond readily. And she apparently didn't after a reminder from Baldwin two weeks later. She was not chosen for the board.

Robert Morss Lovett, 51, chairman of the English Department at the University of Chicago, was delighted with the proposal.

Lovett replied, "The plan seems to me an extraordinarily good and promising one. I shall be belighted and honored to have a part in carrying it out. Really, Garland's attitude seems a piece of extraordinary good fortune."

Lewis Gannett, 31, of Brooklyn, associate editor the the Nation magazine and American correspondent for the Manchester Guardian, responded with a qualified yes.

He said he feared institutionalization, particularly if there were a large board of directors. Further, he said he'd hate to see the Fund wind up giving to the same organizations year after year so they became dependent upon this aid.

And he hoped that Garland would change his mind about turning the legacy directly over to the board. Rather, he'd prefer that Garland just hand over the interest each year.

Further, the list of possible directors was too long. He suggested lopping himself from the list as well as Lovett and definitely the Rev. Harry Ward, professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary and president of the American Civil Liberties Union. "I distrust all churchmen," Gannett wrote.

He also opposed Chicago social worker Mary McDowell. "Let's not get social workers, even the best," he said.

Gannett approved, however, of Communist party leader William Z. Foster and radical Rabbi Judah Magnes. Apparently, he didn't mistrust all clergy after all.

But he underlined one line in his letter: "The shorter the list of directors. the better."

He said he feared the "perversion" of any such organizational body to stray from its original purpose. He'd rather the money all be given to Baldwin, with an advisory group to assist him.

But if he couldn'a get his way, the whole idea still struck him as good. Even if Baldwin wouldn't reduce the number of directors, he'd be willing to serve.

And for the banal name for the organization, he suggested something like National Service Fund or Social Service Society.

Rabbi Judah Magnes wrote that he heartily favored the Fund. "It is a brilliant idea and can, I think, serve as an answer to many questions." He'd be honored to serve, and "service" was an excellent word to include in the Fund's title.

By early April 1922, ACLU counsel Walter Nelles reported nine individuals had agreed to be incorporators -- Roger N. Baldwin, William Z. Foster, Lewis S. Gannett, NAACP Secretary James Weldon Johnson, Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, Chicago Welfar Secretary Mary E. McDowell and the Rev. Harry F. Ward.

Labor attorney Frank P. Walsh had not responded. But Nelles expected to contact him by phone to add his name to the group. For whatever reason, Walsh did not become a part of the board.

The name was to be the National Service Fund.

But New York Secretary of State John J. Lyons rejected it, declaring it was too close to the title of another organization.

The eventual selection, of course, was the American Fund for Public Service. But the official title hardly mattered, because again and again over its active existence and beyond, it was usually called the Garland Fund.

Lyons also said the stated purpose was too broad -- "the establishment and maintenance of charitable and public educational activities, agencies and institutions. . ."

Nelles protested, pointing out that the Fund had embraced the same wording that was used in 1913 for the Rockefeller Foundation and had been upheld by the courts.

Indeed, Baldwin had written to the Carnegie, Rockefeller and Russell Sage Foundations as part of the groundwork.

He told them, "A very considerable sum of money for public

causes is likely soon to be placed in the hands of a small group of us, and we want to be guided by the soundest business practices of other funds which have had to face much the same problems in somewhat different fields."

All three foundations responded by sending along copies of their charter and bylaws. The Russell Sage Foundation noted that it made a point to investigate any potential recipient that it was unfamiliar with -- advice the Garland Fund took to heart.

Rather than tarry with the quibblings of Secretary Lyons in Albany, Nelles filed for incorporation in Delaware -- long noted as the easy state when it came to incorporation.

There were four incorporators -- Thomas, Lovett, Gannett and Baldwin -- since they were around to get their signatures quickly. And they chose six others to serve with them as the executive committee -- Foster, Johnson, Magnes, McDowell, Socialist/Communist Scott Nearing and Ward.

In a letter that July 18, 1922, Baldwin wrote to those who had consented that he was enclosing a letter Garland had written to him just three days earlier from April Farm at North Carver.

Parts of this letter were repeatedly quoted. It was Barley's monument, written just after his 23rd birthday:

Because of the absence of the corporate trustee of his father's estate, he explained, he could not say definitely what sum he would be turning over to the American Fund for Public Service. But it would be over \$500,000, he said, continuing:

It is my desire that thru the Fund the money be turned over to individuals and to group of individuals.

These shall be trusted to use it to the benefit of mankind -- to the benefit of poor as much as rich, of black as much as white, of foreigners as much as citizens, of so-called criminals as much as the uncondemned.

(How the cadence of that paragraph seemed to match point four of the 1906 "Address to the Country" by the Niagara Movement at its meeting in Harper's Ferry in its march to create the NAACP. Point four went: "We want the laws enforced against rich as well as poor, against capitalist as well as laborer, against white as well as black.")

But to go on with Garland's manifesto:

They shall be trusted not to use it to the



advantage of one individual as opposed to another, of one group as opposed to another, of one class or one nation as opposed to another.

The members of the Fund shall decide what individuals and what groups to trust with this commission, and they shall decide the amount of principal or interest to be entrusted to each individual or each group.

They shall not attempt by promise or by the setting forth of conditions or by any other means to control the policy of any group or individual entrusted with this money or a part of the money.

I make this outline, not so much to limit the use of the money as to express the purpose which we, including all members of the board, have at heart.

I wish you would talk this over with them and find out if this outline is satisfactory to each and let me know of any suggestions that may be made to improve it.

Will you find out, too, if it would be satisfactory to all if I acted as an informal member of the executive committee so that I could be present but so that operations would not be dependent upon my presence.

He signed it Charlie Garland.

Within a few days, Barley raised several other questions in a conference with Baldwin and possibly other members of the board.

-- He suggested any new director added or incumbent removed be done so by a "substantial vote" of the board, not a simple majority.

When it came to the communal living at his April Farm in both Massachusetts and later in Pennsylvania, he actually preferred unanimous decisions by the residents.

-- He also proposed to the board that "there should be no distribution of moneys which would arouse antagonism and controversy of a character which would likely make the Fund a source of bitterness rather than helpfulness."

How naive. Almost from the outset, the Garland Fund would be the object of antagonism, hate and villification in some quarters for both how it distributed its moneys and who was on the board.

Across its 20-year existence, it would be attacked by such notables as President Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis through some hired henchmen, the Chicago Tribune, the super-patriots of the political right in the 1920s, the House UnAmerican Activities Committee and Frank Hague, the longtime tyrant-mayor of Jersey City.

And posthumously, it got a second go-around from HUAC in the Communist witch-hunting era of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Then, too, there had been Baldwin's remark, "I'm for hell-raising on principle." So the architect of this whole project knew he and his colleagues were destined for "antagonism" -- Barley's word, though perhaps too mild a term for the venom spewed from downright enemies.

-- Garland also repeated a point from his July 15 letter, that the board in giving out money should make no effort to control the policy of the organizations receiving it. Garland said he had no objection, however, to controlling their business practices in the interest of efficiency and economy.

It was because of the concern about the efficiency and economy of some potential recipients that the Garland Fund subsequently sent certified public accountant Stuart Chase out to examine their books.

With some groups, Chase's recommendations proved a help. With black Socialist A. Philip Randolph and his fiery Messenger magazine, no amount of advice seemed to lead to a lessening of the continual chaos in Randolph's record-keeping.

Chase, later a noted American economist, also provided the Garland Fund with his forecasts on whether these recipients would be able to survive financially. Sometimes, the Fund directors ignored his predictions of an organization's imminent doom and gave the money anyway. On the other hand, Chase would later lament that one successful applicant he had strongly endorsed had gotten his approval with what turned out to be bogus books and equally bogus verbal assurances.

There could be some lively debate about whether the Garland Fund attempted to control the policy of organizations it helped.

Most certainly, it influenced the direction of some just by giving to one phase of an organization's comprehensive operation.

This, of course, could achieve some magnificent results -- as it did for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in arousing America's consciousness in its anti-lynching campaign of 1922.

The NAACP ran full-page ads in November 1922 in 10 leading newspapers -- including *The New York Times* -- that outlined the horrors of lynching of both whites and blacks in this land. It called for passage of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, then pending in Congress.

The Garland Fund paid for those ads, though the ads themselves made no mention of the fact.

The bill never got through the southern-dominated Senate. But it passed the House. And the ads were credited with focusing such attention upon this national disgrace that the number of lynchings declined.

The Garland Fund influenced in another way by making some of these groups jump through various financial hoops -- dollar-for-dollar matching money, sometimes a dollar for every two or three the organization raised.

The rise of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund from nothing to about \$65,000 in a few months time in 1926 -- spurred by matching

money from the Garland Fund -- is an outstanding example. It gave the NAACP the money for famed defense lawyer Clarence Darrow to conduct the Sweet case in Detroit.

And the Garland Fund outright controlled Vanguard Press in its early years. The Fund directors bankrolled the establishment of the press in the 1920s with about \$150,000 of Garland Fund money to create a publishing house that would print liberal and left-wing writings cheaply.

Before July 1922 was over, Baldwin asked Russian immigrant Sidney Hillman, founder of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to join the board. Hillman had been out of town when the organizing work was going on but was figured in the initial plans.

Hillman said he would be glad to serve. But about that upcoming meeting on July 27, he couldn't make it because he'd be out of town again -- this time in Canada.

Hillman's inclusion made for 11 on the board -- an odd number, handy in case of any split votes.

This was really a numerical accident -- because the brochure the Fund put out about itself shortly after it organized said: "The Board of Directors consists of 12 persons."

Right under that sentence, it listed the 11 names.

Baldwin had gone down the letterhead of the ACLU National Committee to pick most of his colleagues on the board of the American Fund for Public Service. Only Lewis Gannett and Sidney Hillman were absent from the ACLU letterhead.

Over the 20 years the Fund existed, 21 people -- 17 men and 4 women -- would serve on the Garland Fund board, Baldwin and Norman Thomas for the entire time.

And while they were branded "parlor pinks" by conservative and aging Samuel Gompers and even worse by others during the Fund's existence, they wound up in later years with prestigious teaching positions and honorary degrees from leading universities, prominent obituaries in *The New York Times* and with autobiographies and biographies of their exploits -- books where Garland got a mention, at best, in a page or two.

Baldwin wrote Garland at April Farm that in receiving the money the directors would operate for six months with the principal left intact. At that point, the decision would be up to Barley on whether principal would be used as well as interest.

"I have entire confidence that this committee will do the

very best that can be done by any group in the United States to apply the funds as you want them applied," Baldwin told Barley.

But it is a "council of caution." That's why it chose to spend only the interest for the first six months.

Baldwin said the preliminary publicity had gone well. Barley's July 15 statement, though brief, was in fine spirit, Baldwin said. "We want to elaborate it a bit later and get it into the hands of a very much larger group of papers, particularly the liberal and religious press."

ACLU counsel Walter Nelles, who was handling the legal work for the Garland Fund, received a list on July 31 of 15 stocks and 7 bonds that Barley had designated be turned over to the board. With accumulated cash earnings, the total came to \$850,000.

The biggest block was 475 shares of First National Bank of New York, listed at \$1,130 a share. Their worth was \$536,750 alone. This stock would rise to \$6,775 a share just before the Crash of 1929 -- though the directors had sold off most of those 475 shares by then to finance the Fund's grants and loans.

First National was the bank where Barley's grandfather, James A. Garland Sr., had been vice president for 25 years.



When the paperwork was completed for the transfer of the principal, what the Fund received in stocks and cash had already risen to \$901,555.90.

Barley added some comments in a typewritten letter in November 1922 from April Farm that Baldwin would incorporate into Barley's declaration of July 15.

It seems to me that so far as my interest is concerned, the board of directors need feel no compunction about assuming full responsibility for these funds or about spending them as soon as possible.

When I turned these funds over to you, I still had left an income of \$15,000 a year to contend with, so I do not see why you should have any worries about my feeling broken-hearted later on. I am fully decided that I do not want any strings to the money, though of course if you decide that you do not want to handle it, I would be willing to arrange things so that you would not feel any unwelcome responsibility.

I feel personally that the money should be distributed as fast as it can be put into

reliable hands.

There is nothing that stands in the way of a sensible expenditure of money so much as does the possession of too much money. And the longer you have it, the harder it is to see straight. I feel that if the money is not spent now, it will be spent too much by mind and too little by heart.

For with the crying needs there are in the world today I do not believe it is possible to hold money unless human compassion is pretty well smothered in theories. If we feel that money can help, we ought to strive to give that help now.

Barley concluded by suggesting that if the directors were unable to find needs in this country, surely they could find them overseas.

Baldwin did some skillful editing of those two statements from Barley for inclusion in the "History of the Fund" in its printed reports that first came out annually and then later covered several years.

He avoided any reference to the fact Barley wanted to sit in on board meetings. Who in the public would care?

Nor did the history note that Barley still had that \$15,000 annual income from his grandfather's estate. Rather, it said that Garland had divested himself of practically all private personal property and "has now literally nothing of his own."

And correctly so. . .for Barley would soon set up a more informal Personal Service Fund to quietly give away most of that income by gifts and loans to individuals like economist Stuart Chase to enable him to write a book on "The Tragedy of Waste," Sacco and Vanzetti lawyer Fred H. Moore so he could return to Los Angeles to pick up his former practice, poet Claude McKay to enable him to write a novel or Judge Ben Lindsey to help in his fight in Denver against the Ku Klux Klan.

What was left of Garland's statements for public consumption about this new American Fund for Public Service were those magnificent lines about using the Fund to the benefit "of poor as much as rich. . .of black as much as white. . ." and the admonition to distribute it quickly. . .with heart rather than head.

Not bad for a kid of 23.

## THE BOARD

The director of the Fund were picked out as persons of diverse connections with radical, labor and liberal movements.

### First Garland Fund Report

1922-23

What a bunch Roger Baldwin assembled for the founding board of the American Fund for Public Service to handle Garland's money.

The New York World of July 19, 1922, proclaimed that Garland's million was destined to fall into the hands of "a group of Greenwich Village liberal thinkers whose views of life, including matrimony, are shared by the young unwilling-to-be-millionaire.

"What is to become of the money after it is thus conferred remains a somewhat uncertain matter. According to the incorporators, they expect to use it in aid of 'agencies which are so new or experimental that they do not command general support.'"

But only a day later, the World said "oops." Obviously,

Roger Baldwin contacted the paper and raised hell.

This time, the paper said Baldwin and attorney Walter Nelles had left New York to confer with Garland who has decided to turn his legacy of \$1,000,000 over to the Fund.

Again without attribution, the July 20 story explained: "While members of the newly formed directorate agree with Garland's ideas on property, they do not subscribe as a group to his views on marriage, it was pointed out yesterday, and on this point the World was in error in its announcement Wednesday of the youthful heir's prospective gift."

The money would go to such causes as support of workers' unions, educational work and other agencies depending upon liberal thought.

And the World further noted that Garland lived for a while at his mother's apartment in Greenwich Village and some of his views are traced to the neighborhood's radical atmosphere.

"But the group which is to receive his money is not representative of that school of thought, but are intellectual liberals drawn together from several cities."

At the outset, the World did carry the Fund's official

announcement that it was to promote experimental agencies for public welfare. The Fund founders regarded themselves as analogous to the various Community Trusts now in successful operation in a number of large cities -- though these all have a conservative bent and are not inclined to assist new movements.

Lewis Gannett, another founding director, told *The New York Times* that the story about Garland offering the Fund \$1,000,000 was unfounded. Several people had offered the Fund money, but it would only be in the thousands, Gannett said.

And ACLU lawyer Walter Nelles, representing the incorporators, told *The New York Tribune* there was no tie-in between a possible donation from Garland and the fact that Nelles' law partner was Swinburne Halse, radical poet, a member of the so-called Greenwich Village group and since 1921 married to Garland's mother.

Garland himself refused to clarify the conflicting reports. "I am through talking to the newspapers," he said from North Carver.

"Arrangements have been completed in this matter in New York, and from Walter Nelles a statement will be issued explaining all there is to be explained. But he must do the talking. I shall not."

And within a few days, Nelles of Hale, Nelles & Shorr, 80 East 11th Street, announced the American Fund for Public Service was getting Garland money. Nelles said he was authorized to release a one-paragraph statement from Garland:

"I am trying to use the inherited wealth toward social uses for the following reasons: I believe that every person is an integral part of society and that the interests of one individual cannot be divorced from the interests of the other members of society without all having to pay the price for it in the end. From this, it follows that I must strive to use whatever resources I have to the advantage of all. With this object, I intend to turn over to the American Fund for Public Service the sum of about \$800,000."

The New York Times pointed to a Nelles comment at the time the Fund was incorporated to the effect that it would be controlled by "persons who will not be conventional in their conception of public service."

The New York Tribune in what purported to be a news story said that every name identified with the Garland Fund is a "person well-known in the propagation of socialism."

But in an editorial, the New York Herald said the Garland

money "may be used to excellent purposes and in directions overlooked in the ordinary course of philanthropy. It is equally possible the money may be spent uselessly and even harmfully."

The Herald said Garland is to be admired for acting on obedience to his principle that he has no right to money which he did not earn. "He had the courage to do what most people in his place would have found excuses for not doing.

"And he is to be pitied because he apparently lacks the spirit which would prompt him to take the \$800,000 and build and fight with it according to his lights.

"Instead, he leaves the execution of his ideals to others."

But look at those others, the Herald said.

They include two members of the editorial staff of the Nation, two college professors, the director of the ACLU, an officer of the NAACP, a rabbi, a teacher at the Rand School, a settlement worker and a labor leader.

And the Evening Globe, in a column by Bruce Bliven, said one of the hardest tasks in the world is to give large sums of money away wisely.



Virtually echoing something Garland expressed months earlier, the Globe columnist said hardly anything debauches individual character quicker and more completely than sudden access to unearned money.

Columnist Bliven said this was true of those who fall into large fortunes as well as those who are merely incidental beneficiaries of charity.

He went on to say that it is comparatively easy to turn your fortune back at the moment of its creation, increase wages for employees or spend a surplus on useful research work.

But once the money is isolated from the productive process and put away in the bank, it's difficult to know how to restore it to society in a way that will do more good than harm.

Bliven concluded, "Mr. Garland and his board of directors should do some extremely useful pioneering in a field where too little has been attempted in the past." His comments were some of the kindest ever rendered upon Garland and the Fund.

The founding directors, besides Baldwin:

**WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (1881-1961)** -- Now, here was an out and out Communist, and, judging by his letters in the Garland Fund

papers, a most cantankerous individual to deal with.

He was eventually forced off the board for simply not showing up at meetings -- though he vigorously protested his removal.

On two emergency matters, he did have a good excuse for failing to respond in time on a poll of the board by mail. "I have been in jail," he wrote Roger Baldwin. "You will understand that is quite a barrier to one's carrying on normal activities."

With Foster's chronic absence from meetings, Baldwin suggested in 1924 he might send a non-member proxy -- provided the board unanimously agreed.

Foster, who was nationally known, proposed Charles Krumbein, a local organizer for the Workers' (Communist) Party.

Most board members were willing. But Norman Thomas vetoed the idea. Thomas said he was interested in having Foster on the board for his position in the labor movement and his personal character. But he charged Krumbein, an unknown quantity to Thomas, would just tout the Workers' Party line. The board concluded that Krumbein could speak for Foster, but Baldwin was to retain Foster's proxy.

In July 1922, Foster had just been to San Quentin to visit the celebrated labor prisoner Tom Mooney when he wrote to Baldwin that he would accept the post of Garland board member.

The resulting story of that visit published in the *San Francisco Call* should have been warning enough that Foster would be problems for his colleagues on the board. It trumpeted Foster as the Garland Fund's official representative to investigate the frame-ups of Mooney and other political prisoners in California.

The story listed Garland's first name as Walter. The Fund's name was wrong. And Foster was no official representative at that point of anything the Fund was doing. He hadn't even been to a meeting.

He conceded he talked to a *Call* reporter. But he said the reporter confused his work as secretary-treasurer of the Trade Union Educational League with his new post on the Garland Fund.

Baldwin was sympathetic. He responded that "there have been so many unfounded stories about the Fund that Garland gave us that we don't pay attention to them anymore." He said the tone of the *Call* story was good -- "despite the fact that there is nothing accurate in it."

But, later, the board became impatient and irritated with

Foster. It declared his seat vacant in 1926 for repeated absences -- if Foster agreed. Foster fired back, "I am being unfairly crowded off the board. I do not intend to resign." The board went through the formal bylaw procedure and officially kicked him off in early 1927.

Foster had trudged along many rutted roads by the time he came to the Garland Fund in 1922.

He grew up in the slums of Philadelphia and had to quit school at 10 to go to work. For the next two decades, he worked in a multitude of laboring jobs around the country. Much of his life was devoted to socialism and radical trade unionism. He believed a revolution would come through the economic struggles of unions, strikes and sabotage.

While he championed industrial unions, he gained prominence within the American Federation of Labor with its system of craft unions. For the AFL, he engineered an organizing strike of 365,000 steelworkers in 1919 -- only to have it crumble in the red-scare atmosphere of the day.

He formed the Trade Union Educational League in 1920, devoted to industrial unionism and to boring from within the AFL. He was the Workers' Party candidate for president in 1924, 1928 and 1932 -- the last time polling more than 100,000 votes.

LEWIS S. GANNETT (1891-1966) -- He was a writer and editor for newspapers and magazines with much of his career devoted to book reviews. He wrote an estimated 8,000 book reviews for the New York Herald Tribune from 1930 to 1956.

In his final column, he wrote: "A reviewer of books has a box seat at the theater of history, and it has been an exciting seat all those years."

He was yet another Harvard man to be involved in Garland's story, the fourth generation of his family to attend. He received both a bachelor's and master's at the institution, then did further study in Germany.

He worked as a reporter for the New York World during 1916-17 and then served with the American Friends Service Committee in France 1917-19. For the next decade, he was associate editor of the Nation, then went on to the Herald Tribune.

SIDNEY HILLMAN (1887-1946) -- He was the late arrival to the founding board, asked on after the others had been announced. And like Foster, he was seldom in attendance at Garland Fund meetings. He couldn't make his first meeting because he was to be in Canada.

Hillman resigned less than two years after he joined the board -- unlike Foster, at his own request.

Probably his greatest fame was as the founder and first president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America -- the union that worked with companies turning out men's clothing.

He was a Russian Jew. As a teenager, he was the son selected to carry on the family's rabbinic tradition, but he soon left the Hebrew seminary and at 16 was in the outlawed Jewish trade union movement. He was jailed twice.

He was about 20 when he came to America and settled in Chicago, soon becoming immersed in the struggles of employees at the men's clothing factory of Hart, Schaffner and Marx. He brought peace, emerging as the "statesman of labor."

The renegade Amalgamated Clothing Workers was established in 1914. And Hillman held the post of president from then until his death. It would be 20 years before the AFL would accept the ACW within its ranks.

In the 1920s, he offered educational and social programs for his members, low-cost housing and the union's own banks. And in contracts, he successfully bargained for unemployment insurance and a shorter work week.

He was an advocate of industrial unionism -- early championed by the Industrial Workers of the World and later by the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

He served on various New Deal agencies and was especially active in Democratic/labor politics.

He had great influence with Franklin Roosevelt. When Roosevelt was planning to dump "progressive" Henry Wallace for Senator Harry Truman as his 1944 runningmate, the President remarked, "Clear it with Sidney." That line became a Republican rallying cry for the campaign.

**JAMES WELDON JOHNSON (1871-1938)** -- What a magnificent human being.

W.E.B. DuBois wrote in the *Crisis*, the magazine he founded and edited for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that other foundations had helped the Negro. The Garland Fund put one on its board.

Johnson was a poet and musician who was involved in a host of Broadway productions around the turn of the century. As the lyricist, he collaborated with his brother Rosamond on more than 200 show tunes.

More importantly, he wrote the words and Rosamond the music to "Lift Every Voice and Sing," often called the Negro National Anthem. They did this around 1900 -- for a program in Florida for school children to celebrate Lincoln's birthday. The brothers considered it an incidental effort, something created just for the occasion.

But as Johnson outlined in his biography, "Along This Way," the children in that school continued to learn it. And when they became teachers, they taught it to their pupils. Within 20 years, Johnson wrote, the song was being sung in schools and churches and on special occasions throughout the South.

There were three copyrighted arrangements. But Johnson found in traveling around printed and typed copies of the words pasted in the back of hymnals and songbooks in Sunday schools, YMCAs and similar groups.

"We wrote better than we knew," Johnson said. He was deeply thrilled to hear it sung by black children. He said nothing had so fully paid him back in satisfaction.

Johnson was the first black to be admitted to the Florida bar through examination in a state court -- in 1897. A Republican, he served as consul in Venezuela and Nicaragua during



the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. But the Democratic Senate turned him down as consul for the Azores, just before the arrival of Woodrow Wilson.

He left government, feeling his career there was blocked by both politics and racial prejudice. He turned to writing. He wrote poems. He translated an opera that was presented at the Metropolitan Opera House. "The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man," his novel published anonymously in 1912, told of a light-skinned musician -- like Johnson, himself -- who could pass for white.

In 1916, Johnson took on yet another career. He became field secretary for the NAACP and for the next 14 years was its champion in fearlessly speaking out for the rights of black people, crusading against the horrors of lynching and building the organization itself.

He edited "The Book of American Negro Poetry" which appeared about the time the Garland Fund was founded. And later, he and his brother Rosamond would put together two collections of American Negro spirituals.

In coming to the Garland board, Johnson entered the friendly setting where Garland at the outset said the money was to be used "to the benefit of black as much as white." But he learned that

he would have to battle for what he wanted -- sometimes against Baldwin.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT (1870-1956) -- Another Harvard man, a university English professor and editor much of his life, yet a teacher who wrote in his final years, "I have never made any contribution to knowledge."

He made that conclusion because he was a compiler of anthologies, a collaborator on college English texts and on a widely used "History of English Literature," the selector for a volume of poems, the critique writer on another's prose.

He served on the jury to grant the Pulitzer Prize for novel in 1920. Lovett and a colleague agreed on Sinclair Lewis's "Main Street." They were surprised when the trustees announced it was going to Edith Wharton's "Age of Innocence."

Lovett lived for various periods at Hull House in Chicago during his more than 40 years of teaching at the University of Chicago.

He was an advocate for peace as World War I approached -- even moreso with the death of his son in the fighting at Belleau Wood in 1918. In the years after the war, he worked for such causes as the independence of India and Ireland, the doomed

defense of Sacco and Vanzetti and the opposition to capital punishment.

He joined the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920 and stayed with the organization the rest of his life. He was associated with the New Republic throughout the 1920s.

Lovett headed the League for Industrial Democracy (1921-38) which enlisted people like Baldwin and Norman Thomas to speak on college campuses and at summer encampments at Tamiment, the Socialist retreat in the Poconos, with the idea that there was more to the way of life than that trumpeted by the Chamber of Commerce and the screaming radical right.

He worked with Communists at times in various causes. So did other members of the Garland Fund board who were not Communists themselves. Yet, he was struck down by those associations in ways the others were not.

He retired from the University of Chicago in 1936 -- a year after an Illinois Senate committee probing subversive activities recommend he be fired.

Lovett became secretary to the Virgin Islands in 1939 and then was hounded out by the Martin Dies Committee in 1943 in one of those witch hunts for subversives. Horror of horrors, he had

been arrested by Chicago police in 1933 while investigating the plight of strikers. . . just your average Garland Fund director with a police record.

The U.S. Supreme Court vindicated him and ordered Lovett to receive back pay.

In his autobiography, "All Our Years," he mentioned the American Fund for Public Service twice -- yet in neither instance did he say he served on its board. And the Fund failed to have enough status to be included in the book's index.

His correspondence in the Garland Fund papers reveals little -- except for a saucy note in 1925 from Baldwin suggesting that for applicants recommended by Lovett that were outside the Fund's scope, it should be Lovett's task to say they had been rejected.

Baldwin noted, "We have had two beauties from you lately, and we have to go through all the rigamarole of telling them 'no' when you can do it just as well as we can. As a matter of fact, I think you can do it a little better, for your manners are a little bit better than ours."

**RABBI JUDAH L. MAGNES (1877-1948)** -- Magnes and his family were on their way to Palestine just about the time he said yes to serving on the Garland Fund board. He intended to remain in the

Holy Land for a year or two. He stayed the rest of his life -- elected chancellor of Hebrew University in Jerusalem when it opened in 1925 and then becoming president, a mainly honorary office, in 1935 until the end of his life.

In 1929, in the aftermath of anti-Jewish riots in Palestine, he spoke and wrote widely in support of accommodations with the Arabs -- guaranteeing the interests of both sides. Most Jews in Palestine regarded this as capitulation, and Arab leaders failed to respond to his ideas.

Yet when it came to the establishment of Israel in the 1940s, it was Magnes' stance against its partition into separate states that prevailed.

As to the Garland Fund, Magnes wrote to Baldwin in March 1922 that his plan for the Fund was a "brilliant idea" that would answer a lot of questions. And, in agreeing to serve, he said "service" in the name was a good choice.

That May 20 Magnes and his family went abroad for that relatively brief sojourn that turned into a lifetime -- though he did come back to the States from time to time to lecture and raise money for Hebrew University.

So, for purposes of the Garland Fund, Magnes was much like

Foster and Hillman, certainly interested but not around and even less readily available by mail for opinions and votes.

Magnes was American-born of Eastern European immigrant Jews. His religious education was both in this country and Germany.

He was a pacifist who was the main speaker at the two largest anti-war gatherings in World War I, a Zionist, a rabbi for brief years at Reform congregations in New York City, a leader who believed in the survival of Jews as a separate ethnic group.

In 1908, he directed the establishment of the Kehillah in New York City, a communal organization aimed at coordinating and improving Jewish philanthropic, educational and religious service. It ceased in 1922, though some of its features survived.

**MARY McDOWELL (1854-1936)** -- She was called the "Angel of the Stockyards" and the "Garbage Lady," in 1893 the founding director of the University of Chicago settlement house in the heart of the stockyards and slaughterhouses.

To the immigrant workers, Mary McDowell and her staff offered help in locating jobs and housing and provided classes in English and citizenship. The Czechoslovakian and Lithuanian governments would later honor her for what she had done for their

people who came to this land and worked in the Chicago stockyards.

She campaigned across a generation to clean up a one square mile area known as Packingtown, aided by "The Jungle," Upton Sinclair's muckraking book on the meat packing industry. She studied the garbage disposal systems in European cities and returned with proposals for Chicago.

When Mexicans and blacks came to the stockyards during and after World War I to join the European immigrants in the labor force, Mary McDowell worked quietly for interracial understanding through the NAACP, the Urban League, the Immigrants Protective League and various women's organizations.

In 1923 she became the first woman commissioner of public welfare in Chicago under a reform mayor, only to see all her new programs wiped out four years later with the return of a business-as-usual mayor.

On the Garland Fund board, Mary McDowell was the senior citizen, about 20 years older than any of the others. She stayed on the board only two years.

When she sent her resignation, Baldwin wrote back, "We realize how difficult it is for you to keep in touch with us at

long distance when you so rarely come to New York. We hate to drop you from this fraternity and your association with us has been of more value than you perhaps realize."

SCOTT NEARING (1883-1983) -- His Clark University experiences perhaps more than anything illustrate the story of this radical and social critic.

When Professor Nearing spoke at Clark in 1922, he was there at the invitation of undergraduate A.D. Ross Foster. Nearing was addressing about 100 students and townspeople when Clark President Wallace Atwood entered, demanded the meeting be disbanded and turned out the lights.

When Nearing next returned -- in 1974 -- it was at the university's invitation. He was awarded an honorary doctor of humane letters, and the man making the presentation was trustee Foster.

Nearing played a major role in leading the Garland Fund in such directions as aiding labor colleges, particularly Brookwood at Katonah, New York, having the Fund establish its own publishing house in Vanguard Press to turn out works of the political left at prices that workers could afford and initiating political research, especially its anti-imperialism studies, which, in turn, would find publishing acceptance at Vanguard.



Yet, nearly half a century later, in one of his autobiographies, "The Making of a Radical," Nearing lambasted what he called his Garland Fund episode as "a wonderful object lesson in futility and iniquity of private giving."

Nearing came from a prosperous Pennsylvania family, got his education at the University of Pennsylvania, including a doctorate in economics. He taught at the university's Wharton School while he was also campaigning for child labor laws in Pennsylvania.

He was fired in 1915, supposedly for his opposition to capitalism. But there was also the claim raised that his firing was a gift to the Republican-dominated Pennsylvania Senate for Nearing's crusade for child labor laws. Pennsylvania was notorious for its immigrant children working in the coal industry.

Nearing joined the Socialist party in 1917 and the Communist party in 1927, only to be expelled from the latter in 1930. Toward the end of his life, he defined himself as "just a tough U.S.A. radical, a Socialist for a long time, but not a Marxist."

He was a vegetarian, a prolific writer and an anti-war crusader. For his anti-war writings, he was charged with

sedition, but acquitted. Great Britain for a time barred him because of his denunciation of empire-building.

In 1918, he ran for Congress on the Socialist ticket against Fiorello LaGuardia in the 14th District of New York's Lower East Side. LaGuardia won with 14,000 votes combined on the Democratic and Republican tickets to 6,100 for Nearing.

NORMAN THOMAS (1884-1968) -- "Among other things, I have run for governor of the state of New York, mayor of the city of New York and president of the United States, under the Socialist ticket," Norman Thomas testified in 1930 in North Carolina in a suit the Garland Fund brought against some local officials over their refusal to hand back bail money for labor defendants.

Upon his death nearly 40 years later, The New York Times would describe him as the Isaiah of his time -- a prophet pointing the way. It devoted more than a full page to his obituary.

To many in the 20th century, Norman Thomas was the conscience of America.

He was a champion for social justice, seeking equal rights for America's blacks, protesting the internment of Japanese-Americans in 1942, championing the cause of exploited southern

sharecroppers in the 1920s and 1930s.

He was a pacifist, a leader in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, from World War I to the Vietnam War, calling the Southeast Asia conflict "an immoral war ethically and a stupid war politically."

He was co-director of the League for Industrial Democracy, the educational arm of the Socialist party, the organization in which Lovett served as president.

Norman Thomas would run for president on the Socialist ticket six times starting in 1928, his best performance being in 1932 when he polled nearly 900,000 votes. In that campaign, he advocated such measures as public works projects, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, minimum wage laws, a shorter work week and abolition of child labor.

While repeatedly being lauded for the lofty caliber of his campaigns, he replied at one point: "I appreciate the flowers. I only wish the funeral weren't so complete."

And on another occasion he said: "While I'd rather be right than be president, at any time I'm ready to be both."

Upon his death in 1968, Vice President Hubert Humphrey

extoled, "His honesty and sense of justice left their mark upon America. Many of his crusades are now the law of the land."

Norman Thomas was a graduate of Princeton University (the 1905 valedictorian) and Union Theological Seminary (1911) in New York. He was an ordained Presbyterian minister, serving first as assistant pastor of Brick Presbyterian at 5th Avenue and 37th Street, East Harlem Presbyterian on East 116th Street and then headed the American Parish which was a Presbyterian work among immigrants.

He was the only Garland Fund board member to be interviewed in Playboy. It gave him an audience of millions, whereas none of his books attracted more than 10,000 purchasers.

He held the lofty distinction of being "deported" from Jersey City -- in 1938 -- at the behest of Mayor Frank Hague. He had shown up to speak at a Socialist May Day rally, only to be escorted by Hague's operatives to a ferry boat back to Manhattan.

Later, thanks to a federal court ruling, he returned to Jersey City to speak before a throng packing Journal Square.

With the Garland Fund, he was its first president. And he was the board member in the first year of the Fund who referred to the April Farm at North Carver as "Garland's love nest."

He was anti-Communist, as he mentioned in 1922 in one of his first letters as a Garland Fund director. "Fairness compels me to admit a growing prejudice against our Communist friends and their tactics, which make it increasingly hard to be dispassionate in my judgment."

In 1923, he suggested he resign from the Garland board, citing his work as editor of the *New Leader*, the Socialist daily newspaper succeeding the *New York Call*. The *Leader* died shortly thereafter, as did so many other less distinguished labor papers of the era. But Norman Thomas was persuaded to remain on the Garland board. He stayed until the Fund ceased in 1941.

He was another Fund member who was arrested and jailed -- at a textile workers strike in 1926 in Passaic, New Jersey. But after posting bail, he was never prosecuted.

**HARRY F. WARD (1873-1966)** -- This Methodist minister was the first chairman of the ACLU, serving in that post 20 years from its founding in 1920.

He was professor of Christian ethics at Union Theological Seminary in New York from 1916 until he retired in 1941.

He was a founder and longtime secretary of the Methodist

Federation of Social Service and was chairman during 1934-40 of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

That latter position would bring him before the red-hunting Dies Committee in 1939 where he testified the league got around \$3,000 a year from the Communist party. He denied that money influenced the league's foreign policy.

And in 1953, the red-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee branded Ward as one of three Methodist ministers who were Communist conspirators -- fearlessly based on testimony taken behind closed doors.

Ward denied the charges. "I am not and never have been a member of any political party," he said.

The New York Times described Ward as a slender, frail-looking man and a clear and effective speaker. At his 90th birthday celebration in Carnegie Hall, sponsored by 100 religious leaders and educators, he spoke for an hour.

Only three of the founding directors would remain on the board until it ceased operation -- Baldwin, Gannett and Thomas. Johnson was there from the beginning until his death in a car accident in 1938.

There would be others on the board to succeed some of the original group. . .such as New York lawyer Morris Ernst, the man who would later succeed in getting James Joyce's "Ulysses" admitted into this country in landmark obscenity case. . .Freda Kirchwey, longtime editor of the Nation magazine. . .labor leaders Clinton S. Golden who help establish the United Steelworkers in the 1930s, Clarina Michelson who was an organizer of the department store workers in New York and Leo Wolman, a close advisor to Amalgamated Clothing chief Sidney Hillman in establishing unemployment insurance, union banks and housing developments. . .and the feisty Benjamin Gitlow, who earlier had been denied a rightful seat in the New York legislature upon his successful election on the Socialist ticket and who later would stand on both sides of the Communist party, a vice presidential candidate for Foster on the Communist ticket at one point and a rabid anti-Communist crusader as he got older.

Suffice, the Garland Fund was in business in 1922, and quite a hell-raising business it would be.

## FIRST MEETING

Easy come, easy go.

New York Tribune

July 31, 1922

The Garland Fund held a pittance compared to some of those other foundations around it in the America of the 1920s.

But it stood out as a pioneer in its aid to workers education. It was one of the few foundations to aid the improvement of farming -- specifically for the project to introduce American farm methods in Russia.

In what were then "four unconventional fields," it had the distinction of being the sole contributor: the promotion of birth control, the maintenance of civil liberties, the support of labor unions and strike relief work.

Further, it selected individuals on the basis of their opinions. It donated to organizations devoted to giving financial assistance to radical leaders.

Executive director Evans Clark of the Twentieth Century Fund made that evaluation in an article he wrote for ~~The New York~~



Times in the mid-1920s on the nation's billion dollar philanthropic empire. Clark may have been a bit prejudiced in the niche he found for the Garland Fund in the vast array of prominent foundations. After all, he was the husband of Freda Kirchwey, the editor of the Nation, who served on the Garland Fund board from 1923 until its closing in 1941.

Clark pointed out that philanthropic organizations held more than \$1 billion -- as much capital as such American industries as shoes, baking, clothing and rubber. These charitable funds gave away about \$60 million a year.

The General and International Education Boards controlled \$111 million of John D. Rockefeller funds, Clark said. The former disbursed about \$18 million a year to the support of colleges, universities and medical schools as well as to public school and Negro and agricultural education. The International Education Board contributed about \$3 million a year, substantially to foreign universities but also to finance educational fellowships in all parts of the world.

The Carnegie corporation made diverse donations in the educational field, about \$8 million a year. In the wake of Andrew Carnegie's famous benefactions to libraries, the Carnegie corporation made a specialty of medical schools.

"Seven foundations give especially to educational work among Negroes," Clark wrote. "Many a little southern schoolhouse, set among the pines, draws its support from the Rosenwald Fund, which has been primarily devoted to this field."

How farsighted it was that he found a place for the renegade Garland Fund in this collection of what might looked upon as mostly main stream foundations.

How differently several major New York papers headlined their stories on the board's first meeting:

CRIMINALS TO SHARE IN GARLAND'S FUND, said The New York Times in the harsh headline of its July 29, 1922, report of that board's first session. And its subhead read: \$800,000 is to be used for black and white foreigner and citizens.

There was not a mention by The Times of the first grant, \$2,000 for the relief of striking coal miners in Western Pennsylvania.

Both the Herald and the Tribune -- separate papers then -- saw the initial grant as the lead item. FIRST \$2,000 of GARLAND FUND GOES to MINERS, Headlined the Trib, with three wordy, but gentle subheads saying: Pennsylvania Workers Benefit by Gift of Public Service Organization Which Opens Its Activities Here, then

Norman Thomas Is Head and, thirdly, Editor to Lead Group  
Administering \$800,000 Gift; Prof. Lovett on Committee.

With all that headlining, the Trib hardly needed much embellishment in a story. But both the Trib and the Herald in their opening sentence mentioned Garland's declaration that his money was to go to the "benefit of mankind."

And the Herald noted that the \$2,000 was to be distributed through District 2 of the United Mine Workers of America. "The sum is to supplement money being raised by the American Friends Service Committee (Friends)," the Herald story said.

How different the perceptions of the same event -- a difference that certainly adds some stature to the cynical adage that it's not what you do in this life, but who writes your history.

The Times wouldn't let it go at that. It took up the cudgels again -- this time in a July 31 editorial -- about Garland's comment that his money should aid "so-called criminals as much as the uncondemned."

Garland's statement was a disquieting hint of what was to come, The Times predicted. It went on:

Apparently the young man -- the rather elderly young man, by the way -- thinks there is little if any difference between people who have been convicted of crime and those who have not been -- as yet.

Whether he believes everybody is a criminal or that nobody is one -- that makes little difference as a basis for estimating the soundness of his judgment or for prophesying the wisdom with which his largesse is to be distributed.

The Trib saw Garland as embracing the idea of "easy come, easy go."

If a part is going to striking coal miners, it will do little to ease the current labor difficulties. In fact, the whole \$800,000 would do little in that regard, the Trib said. And if it went to struggling Socialists, it would do little to benefit the Socialist Party "with which Mr. Garland sympathizes."

There's no telling what may become of the Garland Fund money, the Trib lamented in its editorial.

It conceded Garland's money might have been of great social service. But it advised that the only way it could do any good at

all is to keep it together and use it for one specific beneficial purpose.

It pointed to John D. Rockefeller -- someone who gives away more in a year than Garland's entire inheritance. "He accomplishes a great benefit by his gifts," the Trib said.

But first Rockefeller takes the trouble to find out what money can do for people -- and how. And with his business acumen, Rockefeller makes sure his gifts do the work he intends them to do.

Garland, on the other hand, was scattering his money, the Trib said.

Ah, the heady responsibility of editorial writers. They never seem impelled to tell us who to marry, what kind of car to buy or which home to purchase -- major decisions that for decades effect out everyday lives. Their task is much loftier -- to tell states and nations how to govern and prominent individuals how to live their lives.

By July 1922, the 23-year-old Charles Garland had reached such prominence to rate that free editorial advice.

The brief announcement of the \$2,000 to the Pennsylvania

miners only lightly touched on the plight of those workers.

For one, the Garland money hadn't actually been turned over to the board yet. So, for weeks after the announcement, there was no money to send. Baldwin did, however, immediately send a note off to UMW District 2 President John Brophy in Cresson, Pennsylvania, that Garland's money was expected within a week or 10 days. As soon as it arrived, the Fund would send the \$2,000, Baldwin assured. And he suggested Brophy might use the letter to get financial credit right away.

Brophy responded, "Misery and destitution abound in the district and relief, no matter in how small quantities, is very welcome. Thank you for your generous support."

Quaker Powers Hapgood had already informed Baldwin that as a consequence of their efforts to gain recognition for their union, 1,200 of the 15,000 striking miners were forced to live in tents -- evicted from their homes.

Hapgood wrote that August 1 from Johnstown, Pennsylvania: "I have attended three strike meetings of hungry miners today. At one, the chief field deputy sheriff of Somerset County served eight miners with writs of eviction, and he believes the company is going to apply for more.

"Every day brings new miners and their wives and children into the tent colonies, and the union is going to have to spend more money from a sadly depleted treasury for more tents. In spite of everything, however, the miners are standing solidly on strike."

The \$2,000 went out that August 18 -- the first check written on the Garland Fund account -- with an apology from Baldwin for the delay. And it was not the last Garland Fund check to various districts of the United Mine Workers. There would be others in similarly modest amounts, in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Illinois, for education projects and one to aid a union leader charged with sedition. These were provided by the Fund despite the indifference and, in one instance, the downright opposition of UMW President John L. Lewis.

As the Fund correspondence reveals, a \$2 assessment across the UMW in the fall of 1922 added new strength to strike relief efforts within the union itself.

To clean up the paperwork from that first Garland Fund board meeting, it should be noted, as the Trib proclaimed, Norman Thomas was chosen as president, Ward as vice president, Baldwin as secretary and Albert DeSilver, an attorney associated with the ACLU, treasurer. ACLU attorney Walter Nelles, a law firm partner of Garland's stepfather Swinburne Hale, was counsel.

Professor Robert Morss Lovett, James Weldon Johnson and Sidney Hillman were named to screen applications for grants and to look around on their own for possible programs to recommend. There were no application forms, nor any instructions for them in the first brochure the board soon published about itself.

Lovett, Johnson and Hillman were empowered to go outside the board in search of advice and background on various proposals.

It was a suggestion that both this distribution committee and other members of the board would repeatedly take -- involving an impressive cross-section of Americans in its work and decisions.

The Garland directors would draw into their work such people as:

Professor Paul E. Douglas, later U.S. senator from Illinois.

Ernest Greuning, later the first U.S. senator from Alaska.

Emmanuel Celler, later longtime head of the House Judiciary Committee.

Harvard Law Professor Felix Frankfurter, later a U.S. Supreme Court justice.

Professor John Dewey of Columbia University.

Dr. Alice Hamilton of the Department of Industrial Toxicology at Harvard University's School of Public Health.



At that first meeting, the board suggested that it might tie conditions to grants as long as they didn't in any way try to regulate the policy of the recipients. And what the board saw as acceptable conditions were requirements that the applicants (1) raise money from other sources to go along with what they were getting from the Garland Fund, (2) devote the Garland grant to a specific project and (3) adopt approved bookkeeping standards.

Both the minutes and the newspaper reports noted Garland's personal attendance at that first meeting. The minutes also showed that Garland renewed his intention to turn over to the board certain securities held by estate trustee James A. Parker in Boston.

But the board, "Mr. Garland consenting," voted to let those securities remain with Parker for six months, then come to the board if three-fourths of its members agreed. Meanwhile, it would work with just the earnings from those securities.

This had been a bit of caution suggested earlier by Nelles. After all, Garland was a very young man, Nelles stressed.

And in the weeks immediately around the Garland board's first meeting, some of its members and future members were getting their names in the news for other agitations.

On one particular July evening, Sidney Hillman was speaking at Carnegie Hall, urging his listeners to invest in \$10 shares of the newly-formed Russian-American Industrial Corporation. Its aim was to set up eight clothing factories in Moscow and Petrograd not only to supply the Russian people with garments, but also to furnish them with employment.

The economic rehabilitation of the world depends upon the reconstruction of Russia, Hillman told the gathering.

On another front, Hillman, in behalf of 175,000 clothing workers, was writing to 20 U.S. senators, including New York's William Calder and James Wadsworth, urging them to vote against a proposed increase duty on wool imports.

He told the senators the added tariff would provide little benefit to the worker while resulting in higher prices to the consumer.

Harry Ward as chairman of the ACLU was getting nowhere in an exchange of letters with Colorado Governor Oliver H. Shoup over Shoup's sending state rangers into coal strike districts. Those rangers have suppressed free speech and free assembly, Ward charged in his letter.

But Shoup replied that Colorado had maintained law and order

during the past year -- despite "repeated effort on the part of agitators to the contrary. We will use every legal means to continue that condition."

A few days later, Ward had further evidence to support his contentions.

William Z. Foster as founder of the Trade Union Educational League was "deported" from Colorado by the adjutant general of the Colorado Rangers before he had a chance to make a much-advertised address to a meeting of union members in Denver.

Foster was seized in a Denver hotel, put on an eastbound train and ordered by Adjutant General Patrick Hammock not to stop anywhere in Colorado. Later, Hammock said Foster was deported because he headed a Soviet organization whose correct title he did not know. But he did know that "Foster was one of the most dangerous men in the country -- an undesirable."

Foster got a much kindlier reception the next night in Omaha, where he addressed several hundred people, attacking Shoup and Hammock for the way he was treated in Colorado. City detectives took notes at the meeting, but didn't interrupt him.

In Philadelphia, Police Superintendent Mills was assigning 200 police to a drive on all radicals who might be found

spreading "red propaganda" in the city.

He branded Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who would join the Garland board just a year later, a "notorious radical" for her work with the defense of anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti. He said her followers were to be arrested "if they attempt to create trouble or distribute seditious literature."

Only the night before Mills' edict, some of his police had broken up a meeting of 2,000 needle trades workers -- storming the session and demanding it end because no required American flag was on display.

And in that line on the national scene, U.S. Attorney General Daugherty was calling upon the American Bar Association at its San Francisco convention to organize a nationwide movement against the spread of "red propaganda" throughout the country.

Norman Thomas was among those addressing an open-air meeting against war in midtown Manhattan after a torchlight parade. It was timed to coincide with the anniversary of the start of "the world war" -- World War I.

And amid this heady stuff of national import, columnist Westbrook Pegler, later a zealot for the political right, was writing a bon voyage piece for the Socialist New York Call about

novelist Jane Burr, the 40-year-old veteran of two failed marriages who was sounding off again about marriage generally -- just as she had specifically about Garland's some months earlier.

As she sailed for England, Burr praised the ease of both marrying and divorcing in the Scandanavian countries.

"Philosophers who have studied the matter as I have agree that the time is coming when marriage will simply be the recording of a promise between two people to live together as long as it is mutually agreeable."

## WORKERS HEALTH

Trade unions should assume a new function,  
namely, the protection of workers' bodies  
against the ravages of occupational diseases.

Workers' Health Bureau

July 29, 1922

The Workers' Health Bureau with headquarters at Broadway and 11th Street in New York came into being on July 1, 1921, as an independent organization "devoted to planning, installing and supervising health service for trade unions."

Grace M. Burnham and Harriet Silverman ran it, and theirs were the only names on the bureau's stationery during virtually all of its seven-year history.

It started on borrowed money -- though its file in the Garland Fund papers doesn't explain whose borrowed money. And when it first approached the Fund in the summer of 1922, it had the "hearty endorsement" of Dr. Alice Hamilton, a pioneer in many ways, among them being the first woman on the faculty of Harvard Medical School and also America's leading expert on industrial poisons.

Over the next several years, the Fund provided \$26,042 to

the health bureau for its overall program.

But perhaps the most important of that was \$4,000 specifically allocated for detailed medical examinations of 404 striking textile workers from the Passaic area of New Jersey in 1926. Those physicals by doctors who volunteered their services showed what ravages workers endured upon their bodies and spirits by working in the virtually unregulated textile mills of North Jersey.

The bureau said, "In looking through the material on health hazards to which textile workers are exposed, we found that no study of a representative group of textile workers had ever been made in this country. There was no information on the actual effect of the hazards of the textile industry on the lives of the thousands of men, women and children employed in this important trade."

And a year after its findings were issued, the bureau told the Garland Fund, "You will be pleased to know that tremendous interest has been aroused throughout the country in the report of 404 textile workers, which was made by the bureau."

But to start at the beginning of this encounter of Burnham and Silverman with the Garland Fund:

Silverman wrote to "trustee" Walter Nelles of the fledgling "Garland Foundation" on July 29, 1922, asking the Fund to take a look at the bureau's first year of operation and its plans for its second year.

It was not of labor or by labor, but for labor.

She said the bureau "serves organized labor in the field of health out of the conviction that trade unions should assume a new function, namely the protection of workers' bodies against the ravages of occupational diseases."

Silverman said the bureau acts on a national scale as an engineering body:

- Studying health-destroying processes in the various sections of the trade,
- Analyzing harmful materials,
- Working out a program of health education
- And building upon this information a health plan suited to the needs of the particular group of local unions uniting for the work.

The major goal was for each trade union to establish a health department, financed and controlled by its membership -- a plan that seemed destined to put the bureau out of business.



Silverman sought no specific grant. But she presented a budget for 1922-23 showing \$6,000 in planned expenses atop a deficit of \$2,000 from the first year.

Two members of the bureau's professional advisory committee sent along letters of endorsement -- Dr. Emery Hayhurst, head of the Department of Health at Ohio State University, and Dr. Alice Hamilton of Harvard Medical School.

Hayhurst saw great prospects in the bureau arousing interest in public health work that hitherto had been almost impossible to interest -- organized labor. "In fact, we know of instances in which organized labor has actually opposed such work as sanitation and hygiene," he said.

Hamilton said she was convinced the bureau represented "one of the very few agencies in this country endeavoring to cope with the excessive rate of occupational disease among American working people.

"The bureau aims to cooperate with employees in industry to help them discover the dangers in their trades and to teach them how to avoid these dangers, or, if unavoidable, how to bring home to the employer his responsibility for the sickness which results."

Roger Baldwin wrote to Hamilton for more details.

She said she had little to add, except she saw Burnham and Silverman as capable personnel operating a good program. She gave her hearty endorsement for their campaign for money.

As a postscript, she said: "I have studied with the greatest interest your stationery. Never have I seen names more worthy of confidence and respect, or less suggestive of great financial resources. I cannot help wondering where the 'Fund' comes from."

Hamilton, known for a delicious sense of humor and eye for the absurd, would soon find out who Charles Garland was. And she would be called upon again by the Fund for advice on requests from Margaret Sanger.

It was understandable why Baldwin would turn to Hamilton for advice. They had known each other for years. In 1918, Hamilton wrote to her sister Edith about Baldwin: "I have known him and liked him for years. He is of a good Boston family, a Harvard graduate, now in his early thirties, a perfect charmer and always joyously espousing the most unpopular causes, just now, of course, free speech."

In the 1890s when she was in her 20s, while teaching pathology at Northwestern, Hamilton lived at Chicago's Hull House

where she met radicals like Eugene Debs and Emma Goldman. **Current Biography** says that Saturday mornings she bathed neighborhood babies in the basement of the settlement house, subsequently succeeding in starting Chicago's first baby health center.

She also learned that many of the neighborhood's immigrant workers had been made incurable invalids by poisons they inhaled in their jobs in steel mills, factories and foundries. **Notable American Women** says that by 1916, she had become "the leading American authority on lead poisonings and one of a handful of specialists on industrial diseases."

As author Barbara Sicherman says in the introduction to her biography of Hamilton, "No one did more during the first half of the twentieth century to alert Americans to the danger of industrial poisons than Alice Hamilton."

In 1919, Hamilton joined the faculty of Harvard Medical School. Her stature grew, despite lack of promotion by Harvard and denial of access to the all-male Harvard Club, to march in graduation exercises or to claim her quota of football tickets.

Perhaps because she was an ardent pacifist, she regarded public exposure of what industrial poisons did to workers as one of the best ways leading to their correction or elimination.

That approach fit so well with her tie-in as a scientific advisor to the Workers' Health Bureau whose aim was to educate workers to the chemical dangers they faced in their jobs -- through medical examinations of workers, pamphlets by the thousands to teach them to avoid these dangers or, if unavoidable, to bring home to the employer his responsibility for the sickness which results.

Where possible, the bureau hoped its findings would be used by unions in contract negotiations to obtain changes.

For all her work for the bureau, Hamilton looked upon it as so "violently prejudiced on the side of labor that it cannot see straight," a quote cited by Sicherman.

The Garland Fund provided the organization \$26,042 in the course of 1923 through 1926 -- some years its grant being nearly half the income it had in providing what Hamilton called "a service of the greatest usefulness on amazingly little money."

American workers were fighting for their basic rights, which seemed to them more important than their health, Hamilton said. Workers paid 25 cents a year to be members of the bureau.

The Fund provided its first grant in January 1923 -- some \$1,500 to pay off a deficit. Then, in 1924, the Fund appropriated

\$5,000 and nearly similar amounts for the next several years.

The bureau's first work was with painters when six locals in the New York area opened a trade union health department in 1922.

Among the typical cases of occupational diseases referred to the bureau were:

"Painter -- suffering from benzol poisoning. . .in bed four months. . .still unable to work. . .paint found to contain 10 percent benzol. . .compensation claim won.

"Painter -- 38, thorough examination showed hardening of the arteries, high blood pressure and kidney trouble due to trade poisons. . .advised to stop work at once. . .body is 20 years older than actual age. . .burned out at 38."

With stone cutters, the bureau had a hundred workers examined and given chest x-rays to determine the actual injury from stone dust. For garage workers, the most vital demand was to obtain one day's rest in seven. More than half the garages studied gave no day off during the month.

A first-ever bureau study among glass bevelers and mirror workers disclosed "the hazard of silicosis, a disease of the lungs brought on by breathing dust containing silica or quartz

which is a constituent of glass. This disclosure was news to the scientists and a request has been made to have our report reprinted in the Journal of Industrial Hygiene."

One bureau report said, "In analyzing the death records of journeymen stone cutters, it was found that 19 percent died from tuberculosis, about 10 percent from diseases of the lungs and air passages."

The bureau fought General Motors, DuPont and Standard Oil of New Jersey on the use of tetra-ethyl lead which was just being introduced into gasoline in the mid-1920s and hailed by one industry spokesmen as an "apparent gift of God." It was not until 1989 that Congress finally outlawed leaded gasoline entirely.

The bureau also campaigned for changes in workmen's compensation laws to include coverage for occupational diseases.

Perhaps one of its most noted achievements was a study in 1926 of 404 textile workers from Passaic who had been out on a prolonged strike. This was done with a special appropriation from the Garland Fund.

A bureau press release of May 4, 1926, said, "Forty strikers, all apparently well, have been taken from the picket line each morning and brought to New York for careful and

complete medical examinations with full laboratory tests of blood, urine, etc. and x-rays."

An emergency staff of six physicians, three nurses, two lab technicians and two x-ray technicians conducted the exams. Hamilton planned the operation.

"Overwhelming proof of what starvation wages, long hours, night work, heat, steam and fumes can do to wreck workers' bodies is piling up in the records of the examinations," according to the bureau announcement.

The bureau said there was nothing surprising in finding tuberculosis in a little 16-year-old girl trying to feed and clothe a family of five brothers and sisters on \$11.90 a week and forced to work day after day in the hot moist air of the mill, constantly breathing irritating wool dust.

The textile workers had an incidence of tuberculosis twelve times higher than the general population.

The bureau said that its findings "will be used to help the fight of the United Front Committee of Textile Workers to establish the union and win their demands for decent sanitary working conditions, shorter hours and living wages in the mills of Passaic, Garfield, Clifton, Lodi and vicinity."

Seventy-seven dye workers -- four of them women -- were among the 404 textile workers given medical exams, the 77 comprising 25 Italians, 22 Poles, 15 American-born, 6 Hungarians, 3 Austrians, 3 Russians and 1 each from Lithuania, Jugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia. They ranged in age from 16 to 64.

Not one of the 77 was found free from physical defect. They had a sickness rate far higher than those in comparable industries.

After studying the report on the 77 dye workers, Hamilton concluded the unhealthy conditions in these dye works were almost entirely preventable. The high rate of anemia, tuberculosis, rheumatism, heart disease, brochitis and other respiratory diseases in this group can hardly be explained on any other ground, Hamilton said.

She said the dyeing industry was unhealthful because of:

-- The use of poisonous substances, chiefly in bleaching and mordanting, and in the use of aniline black, which contains aniline oil.

-- The production of steam, the excessive wetness of floors and apparatus.



-- The great heat required for drying.

-- The sudden changes of temperature to which workers are subjected, especially in winter. "The workers must often, at the end of their shift, put on street clothes which have grown wet from hanging in the steaming air of the dyeing room, and go out in the cold -- facing a risk entirely unnecessary and which may easily have serious consequences."

Hamilton said that at the Passaic plants the evils (her word) of long hours of work and a short lunch hour -- or none at all -- add to the irritation from caustics, acids, chromates, the possible poisoning from aniline and from the fumes of carbon monoxide from gas jets.

No sane man would go to the tropics and try to keep up his normal rate of exertion. He would know that breakdown would surely follow. Yet here in these dye plants tropical conditions are reproduced and men are expected to carry on as if they were working under normal conditions sometimes for twelve or more hours a day.

With 8 of every 10 dye workers allowed 20 minutes or less for lunch, food must be gulped down in heat, steam and fumes, with no relaxation of body tension, since in many instances work goes on simultaneously. "A third of the workers complained of

digestive disorders," the bureau reported.

"It is no wonder that the physical examinations have revealed no single worker in robust health," Hamilton said.

She said those evils could be done away with almost completely "in modern, decently conducted dye works, through the introduction of modern apparatus and methods of ventilation. . .dry, cool, comfortable dressing rooms and lunch rooms. . .the control of poisonous compounds. . .and the shortening of hours of work when the contact with poisons and exposure to heat is unavoidable."

In a letter to the Garland board, Hamilton lauded the scientific value of the study of the textile workers.

"The work has been done by a group of well-trained physicians, and the methods used are in accordance with the most modern medical standards," she wrote.

"This investigation in Passaic I regard as especially useful, because it has to do with a trade which is not inherently dangerous, which can be made safe and healthful without any radical change in methods and which yet proves to be more productive of sickness than several of the lead trades.

"The value of the study is unquestionable."

The Fund had originally allocated \$2,500 for the study. Hamilton's letter was enough for the directors to quickly add \$1,500 to cover a deficit when expenses ran higher than expected.

Amid the magnificence of this work came some pettiness from the Garland board. As Elizabeth Gurley Flynn explained in a letter to Hamilton, the Garland directors "feel that the two women in charge of the work are running it on entirely too individualistic a basis and do not know how to establish contacts with the labor movement which will insure labor control and support."

This saddened Hamilton, particularly because Burnham and Silverman had entered upon the extensive program in connection with the Passaic strike.

As to getting labor support for the bureau, Hamilton said, "No class, rich or poor, has ever paid for its own public health work. This must always be subsidized in some way, and it is not fair to expect workers to do what wealthy people will not do."

Yet from another standpoint, Burnham and Silverman had developed a program far more ambitious than labor was willing to support -- at least, financially.

The final Garland money came in late 1926 -- \$2,500 for general expenses and \$2,500 for a study of miners. The bureau said national safety standards must be established "if the brutal killing of 2,500 coal miners yearly is to be stopped."

With Fund permission, the bureau diverted part of the miners study allocation to look into the auto industry. It particularly cited a spring 1927 explosion in the Briggs auto factory in Detroit where 21 workers were burned to death. "Paint fumes sprayed under high pressure without proper ventilation were responsible for the explosion," the bureau said.

But with the miners and auto studies done, the bureau called it quits on July 1, 1928, in the face of financial difficulties.

Trade unions had supplied only \$27,000 of the bureau's income across its seven years as against \$82,000 from other contributions. "Repeated efforts to get the American Federation of Labor to assist have failed," Burnham wrote.

She thanked the Garland Fund for the support it provided.

In reply, Roger Baldwin said, "We all appreciate the good work the bureau has done and are glad to have had a part in making it possible. We share your regret that the American labor

movement is not yet sufficiently awake to its significance to give it the aid it deserves."

Meanwhile, on a localized health front, the Garland Fund was asked for \$10,000 in 1925 by the Union Health Center in Manhattan to publicize its medical and dental services to the 60,000 members of nine New York locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union that established it.

Medical exams were started by the ILGWU in 1912 and transferred to the health center in 1919. The center's general operation was self-supporting. But because of ILGWU internal dissensions (plural) and thousands of workers unemployed for months, the center had no money for an "extensive and intensive campaign of health education."

And who should the Garland Fund turn to for a recommendation before it made the grant but Grace Burnham of the Workers Health Bureau.

Burnham hailed the center as "one of the most important medical enterprises initiated by a trade union in this country." But she also saw some weaknesses in its operation that were at least partly responsible for so few members using its services.

For example, in 1924 some 5,811 applicants for union membership were examined at the center. They constituted nearly half the workers treated that year.

Burnham said, "This entrance exam should lay the foundation for health education, for preventive work and for the program of extending the services and activities of the organization." Yet, this first important contact is allowed to slip by with a mere routine exam taking on average eight minutes.

The exam itself is totally inadequate and unscientific, she said. It should include a careful examination of all parts of the body with blood and urine tests and, where necessary, x-rays.

Despite Burnham's less than glowing assessment, the Fund approved the \$10,000 without any strings attached.

The center's proposal included hiring an educational supervisor and publicity worker to organize the work. . .to give health lectures at the center, in the shops and at local meetings. . .to create posters, booklets and leaflets printed in Yiddish, English and Italian to suit the language needs of the members. It was also to direct some of its health propaganda to other labor unions.

The only update in the Garland Fund files was after the

program had been in operation two months. It had obviously gotten off to a slow start, but various leaflets and booklets were due soon from the printer or were in the process of being translated.

HELPING SANGER

Your Fund is the only one courageous enough  
to assist this movement.

~~American Birth Control League~~

November 22, 1928

The word had obviously gotten around rather quickly -- and rather widely -- about the creation of the Garland Fund in 1922.

Here was Margaret Sanger, the person who coined the term "birth control," writing from the Grand Hotel in Murren, Switzerland, that August 15 to Charles Garland, North Carver, Massachusetts, for help in her birth control crusade:

Some good friend of Progress sent me your name and a note that you have created a board to help carry out experimental work for public welfare.

Could I interest you in a research clinic for birth control? I have studied this subject in Holland, Spain, England and France and am convinced that a clinic for experimental work is most necessary before the larger work can go forward.



I expect to be in New York early in October and would gladly come to see you to explain in detail what such a plan will do for human welfare.

Trusting you will be interested in one of the most fundamental causes for humanity's happiness and Progress, I remain.

Garland sent it along to Roger Baldwin and wrote on Sanger's letter: "Roger: This explains itself. Charlie."

Margaret Sanger as president of the American Birth Control League didn't write again until the following May, this time to Baldwin. She had a woman physician, Dr. Dorothy Bocker, willing to give fulltime to this clinical research department. Under a 1918 court decision, Dr. Bocker would be able to give contraceptive information to married women "for the cure and prevention of disease," Sanger explained in quoting the court.

She proposed a \$5,000 budget for this, \$3,000 of it for chemical contraceptives and pessaries for about 900 women "too poor to purchase them."

There was also \$1,200 for a visiting nurse to go into settlement houses, clinics, factories and any place where large numbers of women were employed -- to let them know there was a

place on the 19th floor of 104 Fifth Avenue where contraceptive information would be given to married women. . .for the purpose of preventing disease.

She suggested a second project -- a legislative and educational campaign in sending an organizer across New York State for a year to "awaken labor to the importance of the idea of birth control." The cost for this was figured at \$5,800.

These were programs separate and apart from the league's regular work, Sanger said.

She was getting 6,000 to 7,000 letters a month -- "90 percent from poor overburdened parents reaching out their hands, not for charity, but for the opportunity to have a few years freedom from the enslavement of maternity."

And she concluded, "The enslavement of the black man was never as menacing to the race nor as degrading to this nation as enforced maternal enslavement of women of this land."

She pleaded for help -- saying that with both organized and unorganized labor that was the greatest need and also the greatest difficulty in getting support.

The Garland Fund turned her down without a cent.

Baldwin's pitiful refusal letter contended birth control was a field already "more adequately supported" than any other the Fund had to deal with. Maybe later, Baldwin said.

Executive director Anne Kennedy shot back, saying the league had gotten two \$500 contributions from Pennsylvania and one from New York for work in those states -- provided it had matching money.

Baldwin replied: We'll be glad to contribute to your \$3,000 campaign. We'll give you \$500. . .provided you raise the rest.

The league did as requested, and the Garland Fund came through with the promised \$500.

Margaret Sanger said in her 1931 autobiography, "My Fight for Birth Control," that she knew little how most of her ventures in the work were financed. And perhaps it was for that reason she made no mention of the Garland Fund in her book.

"I am of no economic turn of mind," she said in the autobiography. "I do things first, and somehow or other they get paid for. If I had waited to finance my various battles for birth control, I do not suppose they ever would have become realities."

Her mission in the 1910s and 1920s was to see that poor women enslaved by large broods of children could learn birth control methods at a clinic to end that enslavement and to dramatize the need for clinics through speeches, a Birth Control Review publication and, later, through international conferences. In those decades, she left changing the law to others.

In 1917, she went to jail in New York City for 30 days for carrying out her beliefs. She used some of that time to teach her illiterate fellow inmates how to read and write. "I sent out for school books, and Henry Holt & Co. sent over, free of charge, several packages of primers and lower grade books to help in the instruction," she wrote in her 1931 recollections.

She also said from that 1931 vantage point that "if I had a million dollars to spend outright on the birth control plans as I've drawn them up, I believe it would accomplish in fundamental principles of race building more good than any agency in social science today."

Yet with her basic attitude about raising money, it seems a good bit of the financial huckstering fell to Anne Kennedy -- at least in the case of the Garland Fund.

Kennedy was back again to the Fund in early 1924 -- with two proposals:

1. "Pennsylvania has a militant and courageous group willing to organize to effect a change in the law. They are anxious to carry on the agitation and education for one year."

Their budget would be \$6,000.

2. The clinic at 104 Fifth Avenue was too small to handle the increased workload. "We need to get into a district where women can reach us more easily -- in the crowded section either of Brooklyn or the East Side," Kennedy wrote.

She asked the Garland Fund for a third of the \$10,000 estimated expense for the move.

The women coming to Dr. Bocker comprised 33 percent Protestants, 32 percent Catholics, 32 percent Jewish and 3 percent other religions. Human need overshadows all creeds," Kennedy concluded.

Within a day, the Garland Fund was back with a semi-favorable response. It would pledge \$2,000 to the Pennsylvania work provided the league raised the \$4,000 more needed to carry it on.

"As to the clinic in New York, the board did not feel its

importance sufficiently to warrant favorable action," the Garland Fund said.

In April, Anne Kennedy had a modified proposal for the Garland \$2,000 -- to shift the project to New Jersey to take advantage of some unexpected publicity received there.

In February 1924, a Dr. Thomas B. Lee of Camden spoke on birth control at the annual convention of the state and local health officers at Trenton. Camden papers took it up -- one interviewing a rabbi, a Presbyterian minister and a Roman Catholic priest.

The priest condemned birth control, which led to a discussion for several weeks in the *Camden Courier* between him and an Everett R. Meves of Camden.

"It was finally shown that the priest was engaging in misrepresentation. He discontinued the discussion," the league reported.

One result of the publicity was a public mass meeting at the Camden YMCA with Margaret Sanger among the speakers, the session chaired by Meves. A week later, the Camden Birth Control League was formed.

"We have found a very excellent man (Meves) in Camden who has all the qualifications of a good organizer," Kennedy explained. The league wanted to hire Meves immediately to work fulltime. Permit us to shift to New Jersey the money originally intended for Pennsylvania, Kennedy asked.

And in December 1924, Kennedy reminded the Garland Fund it had agreed to the shift in the work to New Jersey. Meves was having excellent results, she said. But please give us the promised \$2,000 now. We'll raise the required \$4,000 during the winter.

What consternation that provoked on the Garland board.

A December 17 memo to the Garland board from its office secretary said its records failed to show any agreement by the Garland directors to transfer its contribution to the league's New Jersey work. Further, Roger Baldwin didn't remember saying so verbally.

The \$2,000 Garland grant was conditioned on the league raising \$4,000, the memo said. It concluded that Baldwin didn't see any reason why the league "with all the money behind it" should be treated any different from any other organization dealing with the Garland board.

And two days later, Baldwin stomped directly on Anne Kennedy on the supposed affluence of the league.

The board had discussed the matter. No, in the face of so many other demands upon it, the board would not send the \$2,000 now. "That feeling is due in part to the fact the birth control movement has so many well-to-do backers, while most of the movements with which we deal have much fewer resources," Baldwin wrote.

He suggested the league make a monthly report on what it was receiving in gifts and pledges. The Garland board, in turn, would send along a dollar for each two dollars on the league report.

"Won't that help?" he ended.

It apparently did, albeit perhaps belatedly and piecemeal. And Meves was put to the task on a half-time basis, not the fulltime the league had hoped. The league received about \$1,400 from the Garland Fund for this by the end of 1925, at one point the Fund even advancing \$400.

Meanwhile, even in a half-time position, Meves had stirred interest across the state. The League of Women Voters, its leaders in favor of birth control, made it a study question for the year. Meves held interviews and was permitted to distribute



literature at the annual gatherings of the New Jersey Women's Republican Club and the New Jersey Federation of Women's Clubs. Margaret Sanger addressed the Contemporary Club of Newark, the largest and most influential woman's club in the state.

This was enough to get a bill introduced in the New Jersey legislature to liberalize the law so doctors could give birth control information to married people. It was also enough to have it undergo a public hearing, though not enough to have it passed that year.

How far-reaching the purpose of the measure, as outlined in a subsequent version:

The object of this bill is to permit the giving of Birth Control information to married persons by physicians, either in private practice, or in clinics and dispensaries, in order to help eliminate abortion; to improve the physical, mental and moral health of the people; to relieve poverty with its attendant evils, including child labor, due to large families; to decrease the burden on public and private charities due to the unbalanced over-production of the poorer and subnormal classes; and to remove the danger of war

from over-population.

The irrepressible Anne Kennedy came back again -- this time asking for the same deal for Pennsylvania, the league's \$4,000 to get the Garland Fund's \$2,000. The Garland board agreed, and this time Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as board secretary put it in writing.

But the project never even got started in 1925, as Margaret Sanger revealed at the end of the year. League wrangles and personal differences in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia scuttled it.

Another problem was money, Sanger added to rebut some of Baldwin's earlier assumptions of league affluence.

"The whole organization is kept alive by dollar memberships," she said. "While we have apparently wealthy members on our National Council, many of them do nothing more than lend their names and give from 10 to 25 dollars a year."

Sanger also pointed out that none of the foundations or big philanthropies want to finance the league, because it had not been able to set a state license. "We were practically told to go to the Vatican and get their sanction first (this, to your private ear)," she told Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

"What we hope to do is keep our clinics going until such

time as a license may be granted us from the state and then pass over the work to the medical profession," she explained. "In the meantime, there is no other place in New York where mothers can get contraceptive advice except through us.

"We know that within a few years -- if we can keep going -- this work will stand on its own feet and will probably have as much support as it needs."

Meanwhile, she still wanted to send an organizer into Pennsylvania to arouse interest among trade unions in this cause. She had a particular woman in mind. And she pointed out that of the 80,000 letters the league got in the last year, the largest number came from Pennsylvania.

She asked: Wouldn't the Garland Fund ease the conditions for the league to get its help?

And before the Fund answered her question, it turned to Dr. Alice Hamilton of the School of Public Health at Harvard, asking her to review the exchange of letters between Kennedy/Sanger and the Fund and then suggest what action the Fund might take. At the time, Hamilton was listed on the letterhead of the American Birth Control League as one of its 78-member National Council -- as was Garland board member Robert Morss Lovett.

Hamilton's response was to give the Fund directors royal hell.

The board has no question about the value of Sanger's work, nor the necessity for it, Hamilton analyzed. Rather, the board was fretting over whether the work is strong enough to warrant Fund help.

She asked: "Is it your policy to help only such efforts as have already proved themselves popular enough to be able to get in other quarters twice as much money as you give them? From the letters you enclose, I get the impression that is your policy."

If that's the case, the Garland Fund couldn't give anything toward birth control work in Boston. "I doubt if you could raise \$500 here, so fearfully unpopular is it in this city." And that same thing is probably true in Philadelphia.

What irked Hamilton was the board's attitude. Its correspondence indicated that the Garland Fund "cannot help a cause which is utterly discredited and unpopular, that its proponents must first be able to show that some people with money believe in it before you can touch it and that even then you will help only half as much as the interested people will."

Hamilton's scolding continued, relentlessly. "Now, we have

all supposed your Fund was created to help just such causes -- causes which could not commend popular adherence, which had to break their way, which the usual good people did not believe in -- pioneer work."

Surely, she said, if there was any current movement especially in the province of the Garland Fund, it was birth control -- what with the Catholic and Episcopal clergy thundering against it and others saying it was too disgusting even to discuss.

What is needed is intensive propaganda of the kind Margaret Sanger suggests. "It will have quick and increasing returns. The time is ripe, and the opponents will always give it the publicity possible," she wrote.

Make up your mind whether you believe in birth control as a very important social movement, Hamilton told the Garland directors. And if the answer is yes, then provide real money, not just a few thousand dollars.

"Stop giving tiny, irritating doles. Really treat the matter seriously," Hamilton concluded.

The scolding worked.

A subsequent report by a Garland Fund committee comprising Flynn and Lovett heralded the board's conversion:

"The American Fund for Public Service has voted the sum of \$50,000 to be expended in the interest of birth control under the direction of a committee, in consultation with Mrs. Sanger and Dr. Hamilton."

The fact that Sanger and Hamilton were explicitly mentioned in the board action indicated the Garland directors wanted to proceed along the lines identified with those two individuals.

The committee saw two tasks for the believers in birth control: (a) to remove the legislative ban which prevents knowledge of contraceptive methods from being freely circulated and (b) to disseminate such knowledge.

Two groups were working toward this end -- Mrs. Sanger's American Birth Control League and another organization called the Voluntary Parenthood League.

The Flynn-Lovett committee said Voluntary Parenthood was seeking to delete from federal law the label of "obscene materials barred from the mails" for all information concerning contraceptive methods.

Mrs. Sanger's group, however, was urging a bill making it legal for physicians to furnish birth control information by mail.

The committee found the Sanger approach more practical. "It avoids the objection of opening the field to imposter and quacks, and it is enlisting the support of the medical profession."

Flynn and Lovett cautioned, however, that Garland Fund policy opposed appropriating money for legislative campaigns. But we'll look into that further, they told their colleagues.

The other major field was disseminating birth control information.

Such information is effectively shut off from certain classes, the committee said. To get them this information, the best method is the birth control clinic -- like the several established in New York and Chicago. "They are the best form of propaganda," the Flynn-Lovett report said.

"They enlist the support of social agencies in their districts and lead to a demand for their extension in other cities. They appeal to public interest." More enlightened countries like Holland already had them.

They are the type of social investment the Fund has favored. And even though they constitute such a small beginning of enlightenment amid the vast surrounding ignorance, such is the case for all frontier enterprises.

Flynn and Lovett "strongly recommended" \$10,000 for the partial support of two clinics in New York for a year. They also called for \$20,000 additional to be set aside for tapering off support for those clinics over the succeeding five years as anticipated public support would grow.

They embraced another Sanger way of spreading enlightenment -- through labor unions. Mrs. Sanger asked for \$5,000 for salary and expenses of an organizer. Let's give her that -- once she secures a competent organizer and gets indications of cooperation on the part of the unions.

There wasn't a word in the report about matching money.

The actual total the American Birth Control League got from the Fund was \$13,456. But most of it came in the mid-1920s and from the reports from Sanger and Kennedy, it came at a key time.

Sanger said that legislative secretary Kennedy would be the organizer sent into the field in 1926. And the Garland board



specifically approved \$5,000 for that work.

Sanger said the field had already been thoroughly canvassed with the idea of selecting states where birth control groundwork has been almost completed and where the establishment of clinics would have the widest publicity and benefit.

The strategy in any city selected would be to give addresses on birth control to groups of varying interests and to assemble a committee of those willing to sponsor and support a clinic.

To arrive at the opening of a clinic, it would be necessary to deal with the same kind of opposition as developed in other cities -- especially the oppressive methods of the Roman Catholic Church and its influence on political and professional groups.

"This is all pioneer work," Sanger said. "The right to open these clinics must be demonstrated."

Pennsylvania and New Jersey already had organizers doing active work. But Sanger estimated they need to keep going for another year before clinics would be established and public interest aroused enough to support the work.

But she also had three more cities targeted -- Milwaukee, Minneapolis and Dallas.

A start had been made in Milwaukee. But it met with a strong protest and the league lacked the funds or people to carry through on its effort. Yet, there was enough of a foundation laid that with proper organization a clinic could be established -- no matter what the opposition.

Sanger pointed out that when she spoke on birth control before the Labor Council in Milwaukee, it passed a resolution endorsing a clinic for the city.

The laws of Minnesota were identical to those in New York. So a clinic in Minneapolis would benefit the northwestern field and strengthen the league's work through legal analogy to New York State, Sanger said.

"We have friends in the medical profession as well as among labor groups in Milwaukee to support our organizational work," Sanger explained.

Dallas was her other choice -- "So located that the women of Arkansas, Oklahoma and Louisiana would be able to reach such a clinic. It would be possible for doctors from all over the South to be taught the technique of contraception at this clinic."

The work would take patience, she said. There is prejudice

and misunderstanding in the South on this subject. Sanger's group had already received information that the Klan opposed birth control -- a report she was checking out.

"The establishment of a clinic in Dallas would be a direct challenge to the conservative and reactionary opinion of the South."

Sanger contended that this is the kind of pioneering work that should merit the support of the Garland Fund. But it doesn't appeal to the average contributor because of its militant possibilities. It is agitation -- plus organization and the breaking down of ignorance and oppression in other parts of the country.

She tacked on this footnote: "No other organization is doing this practical and pioneering work."

With Anne Kennedy out in the field and medical director James F. Cooper following up on her groundwork, the Garland Fund got regular reports of their efforts.

Much of the content of those reports was rather dry, notes, really, of who was visited and what reaction was received in a dozen major cities. But excerpts from them give some idea of what the birth control advocates faced and how pioneering their task

was:

. . .At Milwaukee, Dr. R.S. LeCron, a general practitioner, "said he received an average of 10 patients a month sent from Roman Catholic physicians."

. . .At Dearborn, F.L. Black, editor of the magazine of the Dearborn Independent, advised, "Henry Ford would be interested only through a real emotional story. The social or scientific side would be received coldly."

. . .Kennedy found Minneapolis the best organized city for social and medical work in the United States. "Every agency or group cooperates. Everything is interlocked, working harmoniously."

As explained by Dr. Jennings C. Litzenberg, "the leading gynecologist in the Northwest and nationally known," this cooperating situation made it almost impossible to get support of physicians for a non-hospital clinic.

On the other hand, it would be most desirable to have this work done in the University Hospital Dispensary where he was chief, he informed Kennedy. There, the poor would be treated from across the state.

Litzenberg also headed the Nicollett Clinic staffed by leading Minneapolis physicians. There, the service would be provided for those who could afford to pay.

. . .At the Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, Dr. Robert Mussey, chief of the obstetrical division, said he "will advise and give contraceptive instruction to his patients in the future, especially in the heart, kidney and tuberculosis condition.

"Dr. Mussey requested that I would in no way give this to the press or make public," Kennedy's report said. "Dr. W.G. Mayo is opposed to birth control."

. . .On a return trip to Milwaukee, Kennedy interviewed Nate Stone, Boston Store president and chairman of the executive committee at Mount Sinai Hospital. "He's opposed on the basis of cheap labor being necessary. I succeeded in making him ashamed of his stand, that publicity of his opinion would be detrimental and without basis. I made him qualify his opposition."

Dr. Louis Warefield, "absolutely fearless" chief of the county dispensary, will devise ways and means of using it in county work. "May defy Catholic members of the board. He resigned from medical teaching staff of Marquette College (Jesuit school) and carried all Protestant staff because of college opposition to abortion to save (mother's) life."

. . .At Cleveland, Dr. John Phillips of the Cleveland Foundation (Crile Clinic) was reported favorable to birth control. "This clinic is second in importance to the Mayo Clinic, but has no gynecological or obstetrical service," the report said.

At Lakeside Hospital, chief of medicine C.F. Hoover, while not opposed to birth control, considered it a waste of social effort. He was personally skeptical about its use by the average woman. "The human race should be stangled," he told Kennedy.

. . .At Syracuse, a local committee agreed to organize a clinic since the trustees of Memorial Hospital refused to consider it.

And Dr. Wisecotten, dean of Syracuse Medical School and the city's health commissioner, told Kennedy: "As a private physician, I am deeply interested. But as a public official, your subject is dynamite." He showed interest, however, in having the medical school place all the information on contraceptives in the hands of medical students.

. . .Kennedy addressed 500 people in Toronto under the auspices of the Woman's Labor League. She learned life insurance companies charged a higher rate to the women of Quebec due to the

high infant and maternal mortality in that province.

Canada had no provincial laws against contraception, but a dominion law prohibited the mailing of written information.

"The law gives to the police the power to decide whether a subject is moral or immoral," Kennedy wrote. "The chief can close a meeting or prohibit the sale and circulation of any book or pamphlet."

. . .In St. Louis, owing to strong and powerful Roman Catholic influence, the hospitals and dispensaries where contraceptive information could be given were limited. The best prospect was Barnes Hospital, the city's largest and connected with Washington University.

Dr. Paul Taussig, chief of its obstetrical dispensary, called a staff meeting where he "pressured" his colleagues to take up use of American Birth Control League methods and keep case card records for six months or a year -- without publicity. The aim was to get the program firmly established.

"Otto Schwartz, the acting head of this department, is a converted Catholic. He is away for a year. They do not wish to embarrass him by too active work," Kennedy explained.

. . .In Dallas, the subject of birth control was tabooed among the laity. "The pastors of Baptist and Methodist churches had preached against it, classifying it among subjects such as evolution as a defiance of the word of God."

Yet at Southern Methodist University, President Charles C. Selecman told Kennedy, "This very morning, I have been thinking in terms of birth control, on the value of increasing the span of life and just what it will mean for the race." Kennedy met various professors and sat in on a sociology class where students asked questions and discussed the subject freely.

"It was encouraging and hopeful to find frank discussion of birth control in a Methodist university," she noted.

She got encouraging responses, too, from instructors at Baylor Medical School. But at Parkview Hospital, supported by city and county funds, the chief physician "feels he cannot even bring up the subject to his staff -- although abortion cases increase alarmingly."

. . .At Austin, Governor Dan Moody "said he was a lawyer and interested, but could not express an opinion on birth control."

But Dr. W.M.W. Splawn, president of the University of Texas, "grew quite enthusiastic, saying he would cooperate by having the



professor of obstetrics of the medical school, Dr. Cook, lecture to senior medical students on contraceptives."

But elsewhere on campus, Dean of Women Ruby Terrin expressed "great indignation" at the sale on the street of the league's magazine. "I left her one and explained why it would not corrupt morals of young girls. Very unsympathetic woman, though she still consented to girls attending birth control lecture with boy students."

Kennedy had hit a dozen major cities in her campaign -- working mainly with physicians to induce them to include birth control services within their existing clinics.

As a followup, the league used some of the Garland money to help send out Dr. James F. Cooper, its director of clinical research, in a campaign that would extend into 1929.

Sanger's autobiography described Cooper as an able speaker, trained in the Boston Medical School and specializing in gynecology. "His work as a medical missionary to China fitted him for the task of winning to our cause the vast body of men and women upon whose service, knowledge and understanding this movement must rise or fall."

Sanger's book said the idea of money for Cooper's salary and

expenses was more than her board of directors of "charming women" could deal with. Besides, her directors reaction to new programs was instinctively negative.

Sanger wrote that the money for Cooper's salary came from a "noble friend, a man." She got no more specific than that.

"The doctor holds the key to the birth control situation," Cooper said. He lectured to over 300 medical societies in every state in the union.

In March 1929, Mrs. Robert L. Huse, the executive secretary for the league, reported to the Garland directors that Dr. Cooper had just completed a "most encouraging" swing through Indiana.

"His last meeting before the Indianapolis Medical Society brought out the largest attendance which that body had ever registered -- 389 doctors.

"When he was in Indianapolis on a previous trip, the medical society put him on its program and, later on, through Roman Catholic influence, he was informed that he would not be allowed to speak.

"This year, he was the only speaker on the program."

As Huse explained at another point, "doctors are most conservative and very badly informed on contraception. To break down their prejudices and get them to listen to lectures on the subject is in itself a triumph."

She was repeatedly lavish in her praise of the Garland Fund.

"Our efforts to induce foundations to make us a grant for Dr. Cooper's work have failed. Your Fund is the only one courageous enough to assist this movement. Other foundations with annual millions of unexpended balance are still afraid," Huse said.

She said the Garland Fund in helping the American Birth Control League had made a valuable and lasting contribution to the future welfare of this country.

Too bad that Margaret Sanger, who labeled herself a fanatic in the birth control cause, hadn't said the same thing in her 1931 autobiography.

She did mention that Dr. Alice Hamilton was among the delegates to her Sixth International Neo-Malthusian and Birth Control Conference held in New York in March 1925. . .that Norman Thomas was a backer of her work. . .and that in 1929 she called upon Morris Ernst, "brilliant and impassioned attorney," to

defend five women workers arrested at her Clinic Bureau in a New York police raid fostered by the city's Catholic hierarchy. By then, Ernst had been a Garland Fund board member for five years and would continue to the end of its existence.

But Sanger seemed to use much of her book to lambaste those who opposed her cause -- "the ignorant, the prejudiced, the intolerant" -- and to lambaste those supposedly on her side who were social spectators -- "passive approval is not enough" -- or didn't pitch in with the vigor she felt the moment required.

In deference to her, she wrote the book at a time she had just come off a withering defeat in the U.S. Senate.

The issue was to change a federal law fomented in the late 1900s by sin-chaser Anthony Comstock that barred from the mails anything "to induce or incite a person to so use or apply any article, instrument, substance, drug, medicines or thing to be used or applied for the prevention of conception." Related provisions of the federal code equated birth control information with pornography.

Sanger was championing an amendment, "a doctor's bill," aimed at placing the whole matter of contraceptive education in the hands of competent physicians and clinics.

That bill died in committee in March 1931.

## LYNCHING, LEGAL DEFENSE

It may well prove true that the American Fund for Public Service, popularly known as the Garland Fund, will become one of the main agencies for the emancipation of the American Negro.

W.E.B. DuBois

The Crisis, June 1926

Editor W.E.B. DuBois already could point to the Garland Fund record of accomplishments for blacks by mid-1926 in his "Opinion" column in the *Crisis*.

"Its record for colored people has not been heralded, but it is of far-reaching importance," DuBois told his largely black audience.

"First and foremost, it did the square thing by the Negro race by appointing a colored man, James Weldon Johnson, on its board of directors." This was more than other foundations helping blacks had dared to do, though common justice demands it, he said.

"This Fund has helped to secure justice for the Virgin

Islands; has contributed toward the trade union movement to organize Negro workers; has appropriated money to the National Urban League to study the relations of Negroes in trade unions; has appropriated money for the *Crisis* to study Negro common school education, and has helped the anti-lynching campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of colored people."

There would be more assistance from the Garland Fund for blacks, particularly the NAACP, on into the Depression years -- miracles, really, in a nation that was grudgingly reluctant to grant blacks anything that faintly approached equal rights.

And, ironically, the aid was meted out by a board that was often narrowly split on the issue.

The Garland Fund's powerful architect, Roger Baldwin, was frequently among those voting "no." Baldwin in 1928 wrote the National Urban League, where he was on the board: "We do not aid social work enterprises."

And Garland himself criticized the board for allocating money to the NAACP. He considered the organization not advanced or radical enough for his tastes.

But at the end of 1936, NAACP Secretary Walter White would write to the American Fund for Public Service:

"You will be interested in the enclosed reports of Dr. Charles H. Thompson, editor of the Journal of Negro Education, to see how far has been the indirect effect of the campaign against educational inequalities made possible by grants from the American Fund.

"The impulse given by the specific cases which the NAACP has fought has already led to the gradual taking of a position which would have been thought impossible two years ago."

And when the historic school desegregation decision of Brown vs. Board of Education came down unanimously from the U.S. Supreme Court in 1954, it was the same Walter White who remembered a white man in the 1920s who believed no one should enjoy money he did not earn.

That man, Charles Garland, set in motion a chain of events which changed American social history, White said in an interview with **The Associated Press** in the immediate aftermath of the Brown ruling. Garland had bestowed nearly a million dollars upon the American Fund for Public Service, and one of the key beneficiaries of that money was the NAACP.

The NAACP was very much on the defensive in 1929, White said. It couldn't afford a full-time lawyer. It was fighting



discrimination against blacks on a scatter-gun basis with the help of volunteer lawyers and with no long-range planning.

The Garland Fund had allocated \$100,000 in securities for the NAACP for the 1930s. But the crash of 1929 reduced its value to \$30,000.

That \$30,000 was enough, however, to change the direction the NAACP was taking and put it on the offensive, White said in that May 1954 interview with *The AP*.

That new direction led to a series of test cases over 25 years in the Supreme Court, which was just ruled that segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional.

With the Garland money, the NAACP for the first time was able to pay for a complete study of the legal status of the Negro in America -- the Margold Report done by attorney Nathan Margold in 1931. That provided a background for planning for years ahead for what White recalled as "a broad frontal attack on the basic causes of discrimination."

In the early 1930s, with the help of Garland money, the NAACP hired as its first full-time lawyer, Charles Hamilton Huston of Washington, an honor graduate of Harvard.

The Margold blueprint and the presence of Houston brought the start of a series of test cases across those 25 years that culminated in the Brown vs. Board of Education decision.

From the NAACP's beginning, its leadership wanted segregation wiped out everywhere by the Supreme Court -- in schools, buses, trains. But the high court itself was a gigantic handicap.

In 1896, it upheld segregation in ruling that separate but equal facilities were constitutional. To the NAACP, which came on the scene in 1908, this was wrong because separate invariably meant unequal.

NAACP lawyers argued that when blacks were forced to ride in the rear of interstate buses or in Jim Crow cars on trains or were not allowed in white graduate schools but were shunted to inferior "equivalent" schools for blacks, they got unequal treatment.

Bit by bit, the court outlawed these practices -- but always on the grounds that the existing treatment was not equal.

But with Brown vs. Board of Education, the NAACP made a frontal assault on segregation itself. It did it with a six-man legal team headed by Thurgood Marshall, who succeeded Houston as

NAACP chief counsel in the mid-1930s -- a legal staff that had its origin in that gift from the Garland Fund.

As the *Evening Chronicle* of Allentown, Pennsylvania, proclaimed in its headline over the May 19, 1954, interview of Walter White:

**Funds From Charles Garland, April Farm Founder,  
Launched Fight to Have Segregation Ruled Illegal**

But to go back to the beginning of the Garland Fund's dealings with blacks:

James Weldon Johnson, the Renaissance man who as executive secretary headed the NAACP, was one of the founding directors of the Garland Fund.

Roger Baldwin solicited Johnson with the same routine letter he sent to other liberals and radicals he was seeking to surround himself with on the Garland board.

Johnson accepted -- and served until his death in 1938. He was a major factor in obtaining Garland Fund help for the NAACP, and he was the one Baldwin turned to whenever other black organizations came seeking aid. For a time, he was board president.

The initial brochure the Fund issued in 1922 to explain itself and the makeup of its board said that the causes of minorities would be one of its four primary areas of concern.

So Johnson, who was already speaking out fearlessly on America's disgrace of lynching, had to be gratified by a willing audience in the Garland directors for the NAACP's first proposal sent their way -- ads, half page to a full page, in major newspapers in the eastern half of the country to decry the shame of lynching and support the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill that was before Congress.

The Legal Committee of the NAACP, headed by Arthur Spingarn, one of the organization's vice presidents, made the proposal in September 1922.

It came at a time Harvard was refusing to place black freshmen in dorm rooms with white freshmen and when the Ku Klux Klan took credit for mailing the severed hand of a black man to A. Philip Randolph, Socialist and Farmer-Labor Party candidate for Secretary of State in New York and editor of the **Messenger**, a Socialist magazine crusading against the back-to-Africa movement of Marcus Garvey.

The NAACP had already spent \$40,000 in its efforts for the

Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. Its funds were depleted to the point where it had a deficit.

Old abolitionist friends of the Negro were gone, and no new ones had sprung up in their place, Spingarn said -- "Negro" being the preferred word in that era. The Republican Party had abandoned its attitude of benevolence. Northern states seemed to defer to the Southern attitude in dealing with the race problem.

"Today more than ever, the cause of the Negro is perhaps the most unpopular cause in America," Spingarn conceded.

The Dyer bill was so sharply controversial that the NAACP's campaign for the legislation found it impossible to enlist "from any of the conservative funds or foundations or those interested in conventional philanthropies."

What Spingarn was finding here regarding anti-lynching Margaret Sanger had found regarding birth control.

Spingarn said the time was as good as it ever had been to push for this kind of legislation. It had passed the House and was now on the Senate calendar. Push for it now or the opportunity won't come again for a long time, he said. A publicity campaign just might bring it off -- "arousing the great mass of Americans who are ignorant and apathetic on this

question."

He said it was peculiarly appropriate to appeal to the directors of the Garland Fund for aid in this emergency. He asked for at least \$10,000.

The Garland Fund quickly approved only \$2,500 -- with a matching fund proviso. But Baldwin in his notification letter to Spingarn offered the encouragement that if the NAACP raised the matching money, the Garland Fund would be receptive to a request for more.

What nearly two million subscribers for nine major newspapers from New York to San Antonio got one day in late November 1922 was a huge ad on **THE SHAME OF AMERICA**.

The ad's opening question was: **Do you know that the United States is the only land on earth where human beings are burned at the stake?**

And then it noted that 3,436 people had been lynched in America between 1889 and 1922, including 83 women. Just over 500 were in the aftermath of a rape. In the latest four years, 28 people were burned at the stake. And it was obvious that some of those lynched had been white people -- for such offenses as jumping a labor contract and being a member of the Non-Partisan

League. Others, obviously blacks, had been lynched for such capital crimes as "talking back" to a white man, "insulting" a white man and not turning out of the road for a white boy in an auto.

The NAACP -- "fighting for 100 percent Americanism. . .for all the people, white or black, all the time" -- offered **THE REMEDY**, the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill.

The measure provided that all culpable state officers and lynch mob members shall be tried in federal court -- if the state courts fail to act. And it would fine the county where the lynching occurred \$10,000.

It had already passed the House 230-119 in January.

Despite the ads, the bill failed in the Senate, the Republicans yielding to filibustering Democrats.

But were the ads worth it?

Yes, said editor W.E.B. DuBois in the January 1923 issue of the **Crisis**, only it should have been many times more spent.

"What every great cause -- the Red Cross, Jewish Charities, the Knights of Columbus, the hospitals -- what all white folk

# THE SHAME OF AMERICA

Do you know that the United States is the Only Land on Earth where human beings are BURNED AT THE STAKE?

In Four Years, 1918-1921, Twenty-Eight People Were Publicly BURNED BY AMERICAN MOBS

3436 People Lynched 1889 to 1922

For What Crimes Have Mobs Nullified Government and Inflicted the Death Penalty?

The Alleged Crimes	The Victims	Why Some Mob Victims Died:
Murder . . . . .	1288	Not turning out of road for white boy in auto
Rape . . . . .	571	Being a relative of a person who was lynched
Crimes against the Person . . . . .	615	Jumping a labor contract
Crimes against Property . . . . .	333	Being a member of the Non-Partisan League
Miscellaneous Crimes . . . . .	437	"Talking back" to a white man
Absence of Crime . . . . .	176	"Insulting" white man.
	3436	

## Is Rape the "Cause" of Lynching?

Of 3,436 people murdered by mobs in our country, only 571, or less than 17 per cent., were even accused of the crime of rape.

83 WOMEN HAVE BEEN LYNCHED IN THE UNITED STATES

(No lynchings maintain that they were lynched for "the usual crime".)

AND THE LYNCHERS GO UNPUNISHED

## THE REMEDY

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill Is Now Before the United States Senate

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill was passed on January 26, 1922, by a vote of 230 to 119 in the House of Representatives.

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill Provides:

That culpable State officers and mobsters shall be tried in Federal Courts on failure of State courts to act, and that a county in which a lynching occurs shall be fined \$10,000, recoverable in a Federal Court.

The Principal Question Raised Against the Bill is upon the Ground of Constitutionality.

The Constitutionality of the Dyer Bill Has Been Affirmed by:

The Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives . . . . .  
 The Judiciary Committee of the Senate . . . . .  
 The United States Attorney General, legal adviser of Congress . . . . .  
 Judge Guy D. Goff, of the Department of Justice . . . . .

The Senate has been petitioned to pass the Dyer Bill by:

29 Lawyers and Jurists, including ten former Attorneys General of the United States . . . . .  
 19 State Supreme Court Justices . . . . .  
 21 State Governors . . . . .  
 3 Archbishops, 85 bishops and prominent clergymen . . . . .  
 39 Mayors of large cities, north and south . . . . .

The American Bar Association at its meeting in San Francisco, August 9, 1922, adopted a resolution asking for further legislation by Congress to punish and prevent lynching and mob violence.

Fifteen State Conventions of 1922 3 of them Democratic have inserted in their party platforms a demand for national action to stamp out lynchings.

The Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill is not intended to protect the guilty, but to assure to every person accused of crime trial by due process of law.

THE DYER ANTI-LYNCHING BILL IS NOW BEFORE THE SENATE  
 TELEGRAPH YOUR SENATORS TODAY YOU WANT IT ENACTED

If you want to help the organization which has brought to light the facts about lynching, the organization which is fighting for 100 per cent. Americanism, not for some of the people, some of the time, but for all of the people, white or black, all of the time

Send your check to J. E. SPINGARN, Treasurer of the

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE  
 70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK CITY

THIS ADVERTISEMENT IS PAID FOR IN PART BY THE ANTI-LYNCHING CRUSADERS.



must do to get their cause before the public, we black folk cannot afford to neglect.

"On a single day, the ads made five million intelligent Americans think about lynching. We reached the unreached: white people who knew little and cared little about lynching."

He listed the newspapers carrying the ads and their circulation -- **Times** and **World** in New York, **Star** and **Journal** in Kansas City, **Daily News** in Chicago, **Constitution** in Atlanta, **Express** in San Antonio, **Star** in Washington and **Plain Dealer** in Cleveland. It had also run in the *Nation* magazine.

The **San Francisco Call** termed the ad "the most amazing ever paid for and printed in any newspapers" -- then reprinted part of its text for free because it was not trying to sell anything but pity, mercy and tolerance to the American people.

James Weldon Johnson wrote the thank you letter for the NAACP to his colleagues on the Garland board.

Leading metropolitan dailies, North and South, had accepted the facts and statistics put forth in the ad and subsequently had gone on record editorially in denouncing lynching, Johnson wrote.

Liberal forces in the South had become embolden by the ads.

And groups of white church women in the South had repudiated the mob violence of lynching as a protection of womanhood.

The total cost had been \$6,730. The NAACP has raised \$3,365. The Garland Fund added \$865 to its original \$2,500 to complete its agreement to pay half.

In mid-May 1924, Johnson sent a memo to the Garland board noting a marked effect of the anti-lynching campaign. In 1922, there had been 61 lynchings. In 1923, the number dropped to 28. So far in the first four months of 1924, there had been but three.

Johnson said the House Judiciary Committee of the current Congress credited the decline to the publicity given this crime and the fear of a federal law providing for punishment for those who participate and are responsible for lynching.

"The real publicity that has helped has come through the urging upon Congress to favor action on this legislation. The American people generally have been for the first time told the truth about lynchings," Johnson quoted from the judiciary committee report.

Johnson said that at that point no Garland Fund appropriation had brought about more definite results than the

money expended in the educational campaign against lynching.

As DuBois exhorted in his January 1923 editorial in the *Crisis*, "We must advertise. We must agitate. We must, as Jehovah told Isaiah, 'cry loud, spare not, lift up they voice like a trumpet and show my people their transgression.'

"Few Americans dream of our daily life of insult, cruelty and discouragement. If we do not let them know, who will?"

There were other Garland Fund moneys going to the NAACP in the early 1920s. One started as a \$3,000 loan. The NAACP repaid \$500 and the Fund forgave the rest. Another was a grant of \$1,500 for expenses in moving the main office to better quarters.

Yet another was \$500 to the Boston branch for court costs in a case arising in 1921 that seemed like a presage to the Scottsboro case of the 1930s.

Three young men from Onset -- bravas, black Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands -- were charged with raping a white Buzzards Bay woman, Gertrude Butler, on the night of August 15, 1921. They were defended by the Boston NAACP through lawyers who donated their services in what the judge called a hard-fought and sensational trial that December. The alleged victim fainted or pretended to faint 17 times during the trial. One juror got drunk

and was arrested. The case proceeded nonetheless.

The three defendants were convicted and received 25 year prison sentences.

Their volunteer attorneys, including former Assistant U.S. Attorney William H. Lewis, said the three were subjected to lynch laws within the courts. "I am convinced there was no rape at all," Lewis said in a letter to the Garland Fund.

What Lewis sought was \$800 for fees and investigators for new evidence for an appeal. One defendant, Benjamin Gomes, confessed after conviction, absolving the other two. But what he confessed to was fornication -- sex with a willing Gertrude Butler.

What heightened the feelings of the defense attorneys about lynch law justice was that Massachusetts Governor Channing H. Cox in his 1921 Thanksgiving Proclamation pretty well thanked the populace for not lynching the defendants.

This was a reference to a mob of 200 who attempted to storm the county jail at Barnstable three days after the incident to lynch the defendants. The militia was ordered out to guard the prisoners.

Amid the mentioned blessings of the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims and other Bay State bounties on Thanksgiving, Channing said: "Let us recall with gratitude that recently the people of one fair section of the Commonwealth, although deeply stirred by the report of the foulest of crimes, evidenced by their restraint and their faith in the orderly process of law as administered in Massachusetts."

The proclamation, of course, came out just before the Bravas case went to trial.

Secretary Butler Wilson of the Boston NAACP branch said even though these bravas were not Negroes, race prejudice had "tightened" everywhere on the Cape against all blacks. A new trial for these boys would soften feeling among former employers of blacks in mills, shops and farms, in cranberry bogs, on coastal vessels and in domestic employment.

The Garland Fund did provide \$500 toward the appeal. But the judge rejected the new version offered by Gomes, saying he lied at trial with one story, now was probably lying with a new one.

In yet another area, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund can find its origins in the archives of the Garland Fund. Oh, yes, the defense fund in 1990 celebrated what it called its 50th anniversary -- The NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Inc., a separate

entity from the NAACP itself, separate headquarters, separate existence and separate checks, please. Its story -- without a mention of Garland -- graced the pages of the *Crisis* with pictures to show its heroes. And those 50 years are correctly counted, which must be especially gratifying for those Afro-centric blacks who want Black History to be all-black.

But the defense fund really began in the 1920s, though it didn't carry a title or an incorporation. And what the Garland Fund did to set it on its way was astounding. W.E.B. DuBois said so, and he was the leading drum-beater for what was accomplished.

The first request to the Garland Fund for legal defense money came in 1923, and, like many things involving the NAACP, it took years to have it come to fruition.

On June 18, 1923, NAACP board chairman Mary White Ovington wrote to Roger Baldwin to discuss the general plight of the organization and plead with him to convert into a gift a \$3,000 loan the Garland board made the year before to the NAACP. The loan represented nearly 10 percent of the NAACP's 1922 expenditures.

She was quietly eloquent and almost totally successful in that mission -- the Garland board forgiving \$2,500 of that loan.

She had a second proposal in that letter:

We also appeal to you for funds for our legal defense work. The colored people, with those few white sympathizers radical enough to believe that the Negro should have all the rights of the white man, should support the Association in its regular expenses. But if we are to do the case work of which I have spoken, it is necessary that we have a large Legal Defense Fund.

We had an Anti-Lynching Fund, and it is because of this that we have been able to do the amount of anti-lynching work which we have done.

Will not the American Fund for Public Service start our Legal Defense Fund with a gift of \$25,000, which we may announce at our conference in Kansas City? We have only \$1,200 for legal defense and that has to go to Arkansas cases which are still unfinished.

She ended by appealing to Baldwin's better instincts. "We know the administrators of your Fund desire to help the Negro in the United States," she said.

"The best way to do this is to help him along the lines in which he is already working:

"To give him courage when he attempts to get a just settlement with his landlord,

"To secure a decent school in his neighborhood,

"To keep him from being segregated when he enters his northern home,

"In short, to give him a place in the community.

"When he gets this place, he will be better able to fight the battle for economic justice."

She failed -- at least for the time being.

Baldwin responded, "As to the legal defense fund, we do not feel justified in putting any such sum into legal defense work when there is, in fact, no such fund actually in operation, except for particular cases, and when the demands on us in other directions are so heavy."

That last phrase was just so much malarkey. Had the board really wanted to support NAACP legal defense at that juncture, it



would have done so -- the pressure from other organizations and projects be damned.

But Baldwin was right about their being no NAACP Legal Defense Fund -- except for that \$1,200 Mary White Ovington mentioned, money which had been raised by struggling black women in the previous year or two.

What changed all this was the Sweet case in Detroit which arose from an ugly encounter on, of all places, Garland Avenue.

NAACP President Moorfield Storey outlined the case and what led to it in a seven-page letter dated October 22, 1925, to the directors of the Garland Fund:

In 1911, Detroit had 8,000 blacks. By the time of Storey's letter, there were 81,000. Various threats had been made against blacks who obviously had to find some place to live outside the districts which up to then had housed Detroit's black population.

These threats culminated in the massed attack of a mob upon the home of a prominent Negro physician, Dr. Turner, in June when a mob broke into his home, smashed much of the furniture, loaded the rest on a van and carried it back to his former home. Even after they forced the physician to sign an agreement to sell his new house, the mob smashed his car and injured him as he and his

wife were driving away.

Another physician, Dr. Ossian Sweet, bought a house on Garland Avenue in a middle-class section, but he didn't move in for nearly two months, hoping the clamour aroused by the Turner incident would die down. Sweet was a graduate of Wilberforce and Howard universities and had done post-graduate work at the universities of Vienna and Paris.

When he moved into his house in September 1925, a mob attacked. Gunfire was exchanged. In the disturbance, one member of the mob was killed and another wounded.

The police, inactive up to that point, rushed into the house, arrested all 11 occupants, including Mrs. Sweet, the mother of a 14-month-old baby. They were held without bail charged with first-degree murder.

Morey saw the 11 as simply people protecting their lives and property from the mob. Should they be convicted, the homes of other black people in Detroit and in all parts of the country would be subject to attack.

The issue of residential segregation was endemic in northern cities. The NAACP already was carrying two cases of residential segregation to the Supreme Court.

"The Detroit case, however, concerns not only a constitutional principle but the fate of 11 colored people on trial," Morey said. "It is the dramatic focus of a situation that threatens to become general."

He asked: Is the mob to dictate where blacks shall live, without regard to their constitutional rights as citizens? In the absence of adequate -- or any -- police protection, are black citizens to be accorded the elementary right to defend themselves from eviction and their homes from pillage at the hands of mobs?

"If colored men may be prevented from choosing their abodes as freely as whites, Catholics and Jews and any other body of citizens may be prevented as well," Storey warned.

Clarence Darrow and Arthur Garfield Hayes would conduct the defense, along with white and black attorneys in Detroit.

Storey asked for \$5,000 outright from the Garland Fund toward the expenses of the Detroit case and a contingent appropriation of \$20,000 more to be paid over dollar-for-dollar as the NAACP matched it.

His aim was to raise a defense fund of \$50,000 "to meet the costs of the nationwide fight against segregation and the costs

of other cases involving the Negro's constitutional rights."

The NAACP had three other cases going involving fundamental constitutional rights:

-- Opposing the attempt of the Louisiana Legislature to evade a 1917 Supreme Court decision that declared segregation by ordinance or law unconstitutional.

-- Arguing before the high court against the attempt of private citizens in the District of Columbia to segregate blacks by agreement between individual property owners and to have those agreements enforced by the power of the state.

-- Bringing from Texas a case testing the disenfranchisement of Negro citizens in southern states by white primary laws.

But Storey said the Sweet case involved "the most menacing phase of this entire contest for the securing and maintaining of the Negro's common rights of citizenship."

He said the NAACP's work needed and deserved a defense fund of \$50,000. "It is this which we ask the American Fund for Public Service, not to give us in entirety, but to help us and give us the stimulus to rise."

The NAACP wanted to announce before the scheduled October 30 start of the trial that it had the \$5,000 outright and the contingent \$20,000. Having to wait until after the trial would be deadly to the campaign.

The Garland Fund said yes, with a somewhat trimmed variation -- just before the trial started. The Garland directors often seemed loathed to give the full amount that anybody asked.

The Garland board said it would give the \$5,000 outright and \$15,000 more if the NAACP would raise \$2 for every \$1 of that \$15,000.

In one of those joyous times in its existence, the NAACP leadership underestimated the response from its believing public.

The NAACP sent out approximately 25,000 letters -- to its branches, to **Crisis** subscribers, to those who had contributed to the Arkansas case, to black home owners in major cities, to various black organizations and to others.

And, of course, the fiery DuBois had a fiery message in the December 1925 issue of the **Crisis**:

Now or never, the Black Folk of America must strike for freedom. No listless foolishness, no carping criticism, but to the Work. Pay! Give! Sacrifice! Be men and women! Be free!

We have secured the best legal talent in the United States -- Storey, Marshall, Darrow; we have associated with them the best colored lawyers obtainable: Lewis, Cobb, Perry, Rowlette and Mahoney.

We are going to win.

But to win we must pay.

The cost of Freedom to the Negro today is \$50,000.

Is it worth it?

If it is, pay and pay now.

As we write, the first gun booms.

The American Fund for Public Service gives us \$20,000; \$5,000 is given outright and

\$15,000 will be added if we raise \$30,000 and thus complete the \$50,000 fund.

The first gun booms.

But it is not our gun.

Our gun must blaze with \$30,000.

Who starts?

Apparently, a lot of people started, because the **New York Amsterdam News** in a banner headline announced at the end of December that the \$50,000 had already been raised and the NAACP has increased the goal to \$65,000.

One reason was that what happened at the first trial necessitated -- at least in the eyes of the prosecutors -- a second trial.

The first trial of the 11 ended with a hung jury after 46 hours of deliberations. It had cost the defense more than \$20,000.

For the second trial, the state singled out as a lone defendant Henry Sweet, the doctor's son, because it deemed the

case against him was the strongest.

The NAACP fund-raising itself was a miracle.

Some of the old financial angels helped, of course. The most notable in dollars was liberal philanthropist Julius Rosenwald of Chicago. He gave \$1,000.

The Honorable L.C. Dyer of St. Louis, the author of the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill, gave \$50. And the Rev. A. Clayton Powell of New York -- this was Powell Sr. -- was listed for \$10.

And the NAACP branches in the major cities sent sizable contributions. The NAACP in its report said Philadelphia led with \$3,433.

"New York, though the efforts and earnest cooperation of the Women's Auxiliary of the NAACP, raised \$4,056, but New York is not a branch," the report said. Other branches that raised large sums were District of Columbia, \$2,768; Boston, \$2,351; Chicago, \$1,742; Cleveland, \$1,300; Los Angeles, \$1,076, and Richmond, \$1,056.

And there was a second \$1,000 coming from Julius Rosenwald, the report said.



But it was a massive outpouring of modest gifts from across the nation -- and beyond -- that boosted the NAACP campaign to its original goal of \$30,000 within seven weeks and to more than \$40,000 by the end of 1925. And that didn't include more than \$6,000 the Detroit NAACP Branch raised for the Sweet case.

There were more than 1,100 individual gifts listed in the 22 typed pages (single space) of contributors of \$5 or more that the NAACP forward to the Garland Fund to document its success.

The outspoken Mabel Lynch of Allentown, Pennsylvania, a barber's wife who would live to 100, collected \$44.25. The Deming Hotel employees of Terra Haute, Indiana, sent \$15.

Jacob McCalister of Limay on the Phillipine island of Bataan donated \$5. And people like Mrs. Blanche Bates of Cincinnati and Solomon DeCoursey of Baltimore gave \$10 each.

From the anthracite region, Golden Rule Lodge 15, F.& A.M., contributed \$50 and Luzerne Lodge #437, I.B.P.O.E. of W., gave \$25, both groups from Wilkes-Barre. From Springfield, Ohio, came \$39 from the Colored Men's Council and the Golden Rule Society of Eagles, First Baptist Church of Lawrence, Kansas, \$5. The Maysville, Kentucky, NAACP Branch gave \$30.70.

The Downingtown Industrial School in suburban Philadelphia contributed \$5.

And two lines among those 22 pages noted more than \$3,500 came from those who gave less than \$5. They represented at least 700 more.

So perhaps 2,000 individuals and organizations across America and that chap in the Phillipines in a matter of about two months gave the NAACP the money it needed to go after civil rights cases in the courts.

The NAACP was astute enough to count that \$5,000 gift from the Garland Fund as part of its campaign for the Garland matching money.

The Garland Fund report for 1925-26 showed that it had given that \$5,000 gift plus \$21,552 in matching money for NAACP legal defense.

That indicated the total NAACP treasury for legal defense stood at almost \$65,000 in early 1926. . . \$26,552 of that being Garland money.

Everything NAACP Board Chairman Mary White Ovington asked of the Garland Fund in 1923 for legal defense came about -- and then

some. It just took three years longer than she wanted.

And what famed defense attorney Clarence Darrow asked of the jury in that Detroit courtroom came about. His summation in behalf of Henry Sweet would become cherished in the annals of America's defense lawyers.

After three hours of jury deliberations, Henry Sweet was acquitted.

## A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

The Messenger occupies a unique place among colored periodicals.

James Weldon Johnson

January 1923

A. Philip Randolph was a big name in the news -- rather frightening news -- in 1922, back even before he came to the Garland Fund asking for help.

This was long before he threatened a march of 100,000 blacks on Washington that pressured President Franklin Roosevelt to form the Fair Employment Practices Commission in 1941. . .before he threatened massive civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance in 1947 that led to President Harry Truman's 1948 order desegregating the armed force . . .and before he directed a protest march that actually happened, the August 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom that catapulted Martin Luther King Jr. to history.

In September 1922, at age 33 Randolph was already a prominent leader among Harlem Negroes. Further, he served as editor of *The Messenger*, a magazine that preached -- Randolph was a preacher's son -- economic emancipation for the Negro through

organized labor and socialism. He was the Socialist and Farmer-Labor party candidate for secretary of state. And he spoke out with a stirring voice against the Ku Klux Klan.

As an organizer of the Friends of Negro Freedom, he was involved in a group that opposed Marcus Garvey and his back-to-Africa movement. Because of that opposition, he had received anonymous letters threatening his life.

"We have been holding meetings here exposing Garvey, some of the biggest meetings among Negroes ever held in New York," Randolph said. The charges hurled from the platform at these meetings were also published in *The Messenger*, which had a national circulation among blacks. Later, he would admit that what he was preaching didn't stand a chance against "the emotional power of Garveyism."

Randolph said that "as for the klan, it is interested in silencing all opposition among Negroes, especially those militant members active in opposing the cringing Negro that Marcus Garvey favors, a movement which aims to make Negroes into jellyfishes."

He tied Garvey to the klan, saying Garvey had an interview with the temporary klan of the klan when he was in Atlanta, "an interview he promised to make public but never did."

On September 6, 1922, a package wrapped in brown paper arrived for Randolph at his office at 2305 Seventh Ave. Its return address simply said "From a friend, New Orleans." In unwrapping it, he noticed a peculiar white powder between the wrapping paper and the box inside. He suspected a bomb and called police, who thoroughly soaked the package, then opened it.

Inside, they found a human left hand, a hand which had been hacked off at the wrist from the body of a black man. With it was a note signed KKK.

It read in part: "Listen, Randolph. If you are not in favor with your own race movement, you can't be with ours. What do you mean by giving us a nigger (Garvey)? Our organization is made up of all whites.

"We have sent you a sample of our good work. Be careful how you publish this letter in your magazine or we may have to send your hand to someone else. Now, let me see your name in your nigger improvement association (Garvey's group) as a member paid up."

Randolph said he was inclined to believe the package was sent by the klan rather than by Negro antagonists. He pointed out that blacks would have little opportunity to mutilate dead bodies.

Nothing ever came of it -- except the Post Office Department said this was the first time in its history that a human body part was sent through the mails. The incident didn't seem to slow down Randolph and his colleague, Chandler Owen.

**The Messenger** began publication in November 1917 as "the only radical Negro magazine in America." Its Socialist and anti-war messages immediately made it the object of persecution from the superpatriots.

"From its earliest issues, the magazine was characterized by flamboyance, adventurousness and courage, and these qualities never left it," wrote Theodore Kornweible Jr. in his book "No Crystal Stair," a title taken from a Langston Hughes poem. It published literary works from such black writers and poets as Countee Cullen, Claude McKay and Hughes.

Kornweible said the magazine provided a forum to explore every avenue for racial advancement, every ideology, no matter how unpopular -- a function no newspaper dared to perform.

It opposed universal military training, war and armaments. .  
.demanded the release of all political prisoners. . .urged  
Negroes to join the union which controlled the industry where  
they worked. . .favored social equality for all races. .

.advocated free and untrammelled criticism of leaders and movements without regard to race. . .excoriated Henry Ford for his Jew-baiting.

Its anti-war stance got its editors hauled down from the stage of a Socialist meeting in Cleveland in June 1918 by the Department of Justice and jailed for several days. That stance also resulted in postal officials lifting its second-class mailing privileges in August 1918, not to be restored until July 1921.

The magazine died in 1928.

It started as the official organ of The Friends of Negro Freedom. It ended as the official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the union that Randolph founded.

The **Messenger** first applied to the Garland Fund in January 1923. Reaching 26,000 circulation November 1919, it now had dropped to 5,000. It sought \$10,000 -- \$5,000 outright and the rest as it raised matching money -- to pay debts and expand, noting it opposed capitalist exploitation of workers, especially the Negro, and the activities of the klan, American Legion and Garvey and his followers.

Like with other applications from blacks, the Garland Fund



turned to director James Weldon Johnson for his evaluation.

The applicants say the \$10,000 won't put the magazine on a paying basis, Johnson reported. "Indeed, they frankly admit the magazine is run for propaganda and not for profit."

Johnson said that at times he found himself almost directly opposed to many of the utterances of **The Messenger**. Nonetheless, it is the only magazine attempting to bring to Negroes modern ideas about economics and industry -- "specifically interested in the Negro as part of the labor world."

He endorsed the application, though not necessarily in the amount asked.

The Fund appropriated \$500 plus -- on a matching basis -- up to \$250 a month for six months.

Randolph and Owen were furious at the paltry sum. "You ask us to do what you have probably asked of no **white** journal."

Surely, the Garland directors don't want to require for the magazine the usual Southern conditions for the Negro: "If the Negro is educated, he may vote, but we won't give him schools. If the Negro will learn to swim first, then he may go into the water."

Yet, the Fund is saying to the only liberal and radical Negro organ: "If you show you don't need us, then we will give you help."

Excising the charge of racial discrimination, the criticism was valid. The Fund had begun with the same type of penny-pinching bootstrap-lifting approach, for example, to Margaret Sanger and her birth control movement.

Baldwin saw no sin in the Fund's approach. "Something is wrong with these fellows," he wrote to Johnson. "This is the wrong spirit. Examine the correspondence and write them a letter on our behalf to which they cannot take exception on the ground that it is white men talking to Negroes."

Johnson gently chided Randolph and Owen for the tone of their last letter. "No consideration as to color discrimination entered into the matter. Indeed, the fact that **The Messenger** is a publication run by Negroes was one of the strongest factors taken in favorable action on the application."

You got the same kind of money under the same terms as other similar publications, Johnson said.

What a difference that made in the next letter -- "of thanks

and appreciation" -- from Randolph and Owen to Baldwin.

And soon after, when AFL reactionary president Samuel Gompers attacked the Garland directors, Randolph told Baldwin, "Hold on and hold fast!"

The Garland Fund was anxious to help **The Messenger**. But the magazine's financial books were a mess, according to CPA Stuart Chase. To Owen, he wrote, "I see some pretty bad record-keeping among our friends in the radical movement, but the accounts of **The Messenger** are in as poor shape as those of any I have encountered."

And Chase was sympathetic to the magazine's causes, pointing out steps the editor should take to avoid trouble with federal tax authorities. He suggested the way to get them to upgrade their bookkeeping would be "to stand over them with a club."

The financial records of the Fund show a grant of \$2,000 to **The Messenger** for a subscription campaign and three loans totaling \$750 in fiscal 1923, a \$600 loan (\$100 repaid) in 1924, a loan of \$500 (\$250 repaid) in 1925. What wasn't repaid was eventually forgiven by the Fund.

Randolph had another cause that he asked the Garland Fund to help -- the founding of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

in August 1925 -- out of **The Messenger** office in Harlem. Some historical sources list it as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids, though maids was not on its initial letterhead. It was to be a "real union," to replace the Pullman Porters and Maids Protective Association, a company union. Among its goals was "manhood rights."

James Weldon Johnson early on officially gave the endorsement of the NAACP to the movement. And Randolph engaged Stuart Chase to start a set of books for the organization. He had obviously learned from Chase's scolding over the horrid bookkeeping of **The Messenger**.

Within a year, more than half the Pullman Company's porters and maids had joined the union.

It was the first black trade union in America, and it took twelve years of battling with the Pullman Company -- until 1937 - - to get its first contract.

At the outset, general organizer Randolph thundered: "The Pullman Company is the only big corporation in the country which relies upon the public to help it pay the wages of its chief workers, the porters, who helped it produce \$83,927,769 in the last fiscal year, the most prosperous in its history."

A major aim was to raise the porters' wage "from the starvation point of \$67.50 a month to a living wage." Work hours ranged from 400 to 600 a month. Each porter was expected to report four hours before train time each trip without pay to prepare his car for service.

A porter on a 39-hour run between New York and Miami, for example, could get at best three hours sleep -- usually in a sitting position. The Pullman conductor on the same run got eleven hours -- always with a berth at his disposal.

Randolph estimated there were 27,000 porters employed on sleeping cars in the United States and Canada -- about half of them employed by the Pullman Company. The concentration would be upon those working for Pullman.

He saw the success of this effort opening the way to the organization of "all of the 100,000 unorganized colored workers employed in various capacities on the railroads. It will also greatly stimulate organization of hundreds of thousands of workers of the same race in other industries."

Within a month of the union's first organizing meeting, Pullman was trying "to intimidate the men and bribe me to desert the men," Randolph told Garland Fund secretary Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.

"Two porters have already lost their jobs because of their activities in the movement. The company has plenty of porters acting as spies," he reported.

The Pullman Company had enlisted some of the Negro press to its side. **The Chicago Defender**, the largest black weekly in America, has been throwing its weight against the union, Randolph reported.

"One old porter in service 44 years, ready to retire on pension in two years, was called into the Pullman office for attending a meeting of the movement and told they would fire him if he attended again. He did attend again, but is not fired as yet."

In January 1926, Randolph asked the Garland Fund for \$29,000 for the union -- \$14,000 for organizing, \$12,000 for propaganda and \$3,000 for economic research.

The research was preparation by the Labor Bureau in New York of a brief for higher wages and better working conditions ultimately to be presented to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

That brief, completed two years later, would note that the employment of porters was limited only to blacks, plus a few West

Indians and Filipinos. Yet, there was no opportunity for advancement. The 26-page skeleton brief -- just the highlights -- was a damning indictment of the labor injustices the Pullman Company worked upon the porters. The ICC rejected the appeal.

In virtually record time -- just three days -- the Garland directors approved \$10,000. In all, the Garland Fund gave the union \$17,924 during 1925-28.

The understanding was that some money would be used for printing extra issues of **The Messenger**, now packed with union material, which would go to thousands of porters across the land.

Randolph responded, "The men deeply and sincerely thank the Fund for its sympathetic and generous attitude and interest in their fight for a living wage and relief from the demoralizing custom of receiving tips in order to exist."

In one of those **Messenger** pieces on the need for a union for the porters, Randolph pointed out that the white Pullman conductors -- outnumbered four to one by porters -- were organized. So their interests and rights are not disregarded, as the porters are. And then he related this yarn:

"The philosophy of organization is aptly stated by an old grizzled farmer who, while driving through the woods,

nonchalantly with his whip flicking a fly which annoyed the ear of his horse, next a grasshopper which sat challengingly on a twig, then a caterpillar perched snug on a bough, but balked significantly when he saw a hornets nest.

"Upon inquiry by a cynical friend as to why he didn't flick the little busy hornet, buzzing menacingly on a little spongy-looking knoll, the farmer -- with a mixture of chagrin and humor -- growled back, 'Them's organized.'"

Randolph announced a strike of porters in April 1928 because the Pullman Company refused to recognize the union. But he had to call it off at the last minute because AFL President William Green refused to support it -- saying economic conditions were unfavorable to such a strike. Instead, Green urged a campaign of public education -- something that would have virtually no effect upon the intransigent Pullman Company.

The cancellation demoralized the union members, though Randolph kept to his pledge not to desert them.

History beyond Garland Fund records reveals that after years of struggle through federal agencies and courts, plus a 1934 change in the Railway Labor Act to include porters, Randolph was able to announce a contract with the Pullman Company in 1937 that cut their hours and gave them millions collectively



in pay increases.

Current Biography 1951 says the union spent \$750,000 in its organizing campaign and in pleading its case before federal agencies and the federal courts.

The Garland Fund was there -- with support -- when it all began.

## NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

There are even more unpopular causes than social service among Negroes.

Roger Baldwin

September 7, 1922

The National Urban League had a terrible a time getting help from the Garland Fund. It was just too mainstream.

The Garland directors repeatedly rejected proposals sent along by executive secretary Eugene Kinckle Jones and further endorsed by league board member and Fifth Avenue attorney L. Hollingsworth Wood.

Ultimately, the league received a \$15,000 loan -- which it repaid in full -- and \$5,000 in grants.

Wood probably didn't help the league's chances by describing it as "educational organization" in a letter to the Fund. He said its work was "to explain to the Negro the purposes and aims of organized labor and to persuade organized labor to take an intelligent attitude toward the Negro and his claims as a human being."

The first approach from the National Urban League came in July 1922. It amounted to little more than Jones putting his hand out.

The league had a budget of \$59,770 for its program to reduce the causes of misunderstanding and friction between the races. Subtract the committed contributions and the league still needed \$24,000 to complete its budget. "We would appreciate any consideration," Jones concluded.

The Garland Fund reply came from Roger Baldwin, the only Fund member on the league's national board. "We do not see our way clear now to aiding any social service organizations of the established type, even where it is directed in the interest of Negroes," Baldwin wrote.

The league was back again in February 1923, asking for \$3,000 a year for three years to help finance what it called an industrial plan.

The single greatest problem the Negro faces in his dealings with white people occurs in industry, Jones said. "His wages, hours and conditions are affected in almost every case by the attitude of white workers towards the job that the Negro holds."

Often, the Negro is looked upon as a strike-breaker and

scab, the letter said. Repeated references are made in the Urban League file to the role of blacks as strike-breakers in the 1919 steel strike. Blacks -- and Mexicans -- were brought in, for instance, by the steel industry to plants in Bethlehem and Johnstown, Pennsylvania, in the wake of that 1919 strike to dilute the militant white workforce.

The league proposal was two-fold:

-- That the Negro be taught more and more to appreciate the dignity of labor and realize he can make a contribution.

-- White and colored workers should be taught to respect each other rather than succumbing to the efforts of the "unscrupulous capitalist" who sets one against the other.

Too tame, the Garland board concluded. Writing for the board, Norman Thomas said his colleagues "do not see in it anything of an unpopular character which would not justify your making the appeal to the regular social service contributors."

To get Garland Fund help, it would have to be something so apart from ordinary social service ventures that no one else would support it -- like organizing the Negro in a particular industry or conducting a propaganda campaign in a white union to break down prejudice.

Jones protested, saying the league would conduct propaganda. Wood protested, too, saying the program would get the Negro into the industrial struggle.

The answer was still "no" to this established social service enterprise, Thomas said.

In 1925, the league outright succeeded in obtaining its only Garland Fund grant for "a special industrial program for enlarging opportunities for Negro workers." It asked for \$1,000.

It sounded much like the three-year "industrial plan" of 1923 that the Fund rejected. But this one came with a three-page outline of topics to be investigated -- including the actual extent of Negro membership in labor organizations, attitude of white members to Negro membership and attitudes of Negroes both inside and outside of unions.

Charles S. Johnson, who headed the league's department of research and investigation, would direct the study.

As it had with various other applications from blacks, the Fund called upon colleague James Weldon Johnson for his evaluation.

"The program is undoubtedly a good one," James Weldon Johnson said, though he couldn't see how the league could do it for \$1,000.

Then, he learned upon conferring with Jones and Charles Johnson that the league expected a considerable sum from other sources, that league industrial secretaries in major cities would be called upon to help and that the investigation would be wholly independent of the employer's point of view.

"This job of investigating trade unions' attitude toward Negroes and vice versa ought to be made, and I don't see anybody who is going to do it any better than the Urban League," James Weldon Johnson concluded. Then, he quoted himself from an earlier letter to the board:

"I believe the Fund can give direct aid in the protection of the Negro as a minority group by helping the Negro to become -- as rapidly as possible -- an integral factor in the industrial world.

"The masses of Negroes in the United States have all along been **workers**, but it is only within the last five or six years that they have begun to be anything like **factors** in industry and labor."

The Fund voted the requested \$1,000 in January 1925 and an additional \$2,000 in April 1926 to complete the study. After Charles Johnson left the league in September 1928, the work was carried on by his replacement, Dr. Ira DeA. Reid.

Baldwin recommended the league take the manuscript to Vanguard Press for printing and distribution.

The study came out in 1930 in a bound volume as "Negro Membership in American Labor Unions" -- 100 copies cloth covered and 900 paper covered.

A preliminary report of the study noted, for examples:

-- The National Federation of Post Office Employees allows but one local under the jurisdiction of one postmaster. "What happens in the South is that where there are Negro members, the whites withdraw and are permitted to affiliate with a white local of any nearby city."

-- "The United Mine Workers and the Garment Workers were among unions which admitted Negroes only to mixed unions. In the UMW, discrimination among members and locals is discouraged with the threat of a fine. In the Garment Workers, because the clothing industry centers about New York City and Chicago and is largely Jewish and foreign membership, racial sentiment against

Negroes is not strong."

-- "One source of hostility of white union workers to Negro workers is the fear of them as strike-breakers. The fear is warranted, for not only is there a menace to union objectives in the availability of Negro workers, but it has so happened that many of the greatest advances which Negroes have made in industry -- many of them first opportunities -- are due to strikes and their part in breaking them.

"They were largely responsible for the failure of the (1919) steel strike, and they have since been used in a proportion of 17 percent in the steel mills."

The league tried again -- in early 1926 -- for a loan for front money to cover start-up expenses for a major fund drive, and the Garland directors, in looking at it as strictly a business transaction, approved it.

This was for a \$15,000 loan for expenses of a joint fund-raising campaign of the National Urban League and its New York and Brooklyn units looking to raise \$350,000. The three organizations couldn't get the money elsewhere because all were at their credit limit at their banks, Wood explained.

Wood said the Fund would have first lien on the returns of



the campaign after fund-raising expenses.

The Fund approved the loan for a term of six months at 6 percent.

But after a year, the three groups reported the campaign had fallen far short of expectations. Wood said the league made many new friends and had increased interest from many old friends. But what perplexed the leaders was the people who said they'd consider the drive, but hadn't made a commitment to give. "This has produced a great embarrassment to the officers."

Wood asked the Fund to waive all interest on the loan, to change half the loan into a gift and to permit a slower repayment rate on the other \$7,500.

The Garland board refused, except to forgive the interest if the \$15,000 were repaid by April 1, 1927.

Acting secretary Robert Dunn explained, "While the Garland directors all appreciate the good work of the Urban League, they did not feel it came sufficiently within the scope of the work we have been doing to warrant cancelling a part of this loan. In fact, they already made an exception when they granted the loan."

"Thank you for your hard-hearted letter," Wood responded. "If you knew how little I enjoy being turned down by my friends when I make so abject an appeal as I did to the American Fund, I am sure you would have added some sort of a postscript for a poultice."

Shortly after, Baldwin as a member of both the league and Fund boards was asked by his fellow Garland directors to try to work out some repayment plan with the league. He also repeated that the loan was outside the Fund's general purposes. "We do not aid social work enterprises."

By late 1927, the league had paid off \$9,500 of the loan. At that point, Wood asked if the Garland directors would forgive \$2,000 with the league paying the remaining \$3,500.

Writing from Switzerland, Baldwin said, "If that is the best they can do, we will have to accept it. I don't like it because of the assurances made to us at the time of the loan. But it is true that they banked on a good money-raising outfit and got stung -- which could hardly have been foreseen.

"If the league were within our field of interest, the loss would only be like so many others." Baldwin, himself a former social worker, concluded: "All of which shows we slipped up in aiding respectable social workers!"

The league, however, wanted the whole thing to show on its books -- which would boost both its income and expense totals and reveal it paid off the entire loan. It paid the Fund the entire \$5,500, then immediately received a contribution check for \$2,000 from the Fund. Thus, the \$2,000 wound up on the Fund books as a donation, not a loan forgiveness.

Finally, the league made a pitch in May 1930 for some of the \$100,000 the Garland directors allocated to the NAACP for legal action in the courts in efforts to secure for Negroes their full rights.

But what ever the proposal was, there was mention that only one copy of it existed. Somehow, that copy never made its way into the Garland Fund files.

Garland director Robert Dunn sent a rejection letter to the league, offering the solace that not all the board members were in favor of the \$100,000 going to struggles in the courts. He made no mention that the \$100,000 plan was approved in a 6-5 vote or that he and Roger Baldwin were among those voting against it.

## APPLICATIONS FOR BLACKS

To retrieve and preserve the neglected records of the Negro race.

Carter Woodson, 1922

This is sheer speculation. But it seems reasonable that so many black organizations or even white-led organizations for blacks would flock to the Garland Fund.

Here was Secretary James Weldon Johnson of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the man who wrote the words to the Black National Anthem, "Lift Every Voice," as one of the founding members of the Garland Fund board. Some black applicants wrote directly to him. And here, too, was Charles Garland's opening declaration listing "blacks as well as whites" among those it would aid.

Further, early on in the business of the Fund, grants had gone out to the NAACP, most notably to publicize in major American newspapers the reasons for Congress to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill. And Dr. W.E.B. Dubois heralded Johnson's appointment and the Fund's help in the pages of *The Crisis*, the NAACP's magazine.

So it was obvious that blacks organizations could get help

from the Garland Fund and many applied -- often for projects outside the scope of the Fund. A sampling of these rejected applications reflects the 1920s aspirations of blacks and the various attitudes of whites involved in those projects, though many others are also in the Garland Fund papers:

**\*\* AFRICAN BLOOD BROTHERHOOD**, a fraternity of Negro peoples, with international headquarters at 2299 7th Avenue in New York City -- Organized in 1919, the brotherhood aimed "to protect the Negro minority group through agitation for recognition of Negro rights" and with education to align the Negro with those economic and political forces striving for a better social order.

It was part of a six-organization group that in 1923 signed a declaration "toward realization of a united Negro front" -- essentially saying they would work together and not snipe at one another. James Weldon Johnson signed for the NAACP.

In 1924, the brotherhood sought \$3,000 for a news service to serve black papers and a \$2,500 loan to develop a sick and death benefits program.

**\*\* AMERICAN NEGRO LABOR CONGRESS** with offices at 19 S. Lincoln St. in Chicago -- National organizer Lovett Fort-Whiteman petitioned for money to launch a semi-monthly paper, publish a pamphlet on racial discrimination against the Negro and send an

organizer and speaker into southern states -- \$2,000 in all.

Fort-Whiteman said the congress was "to combat discrimination to which the American Negro is daily subjected.

"Nothing has been more influential in promoting racial bitterness than the Negro everywhere being used as a weapon in the hands of the employing class to resist the demands of organized white labor.

"Nothing has been more productive of race riots and general racial hostility than the cutthroat competition between black and white workers in the labor market."

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn said the Fund didn't see its way clear to giving money to the congress.

\*\* Playwright **GARLAND ANDERSON**, a black man of 318 W. 53rd St. in New York City, but who grew up and worked 15 years as a bellhop in San Francisco -- He asked for a loan of \$30,000 to reopen his play **Appearances**, which had a brief run on Broadway in 1925. He said it closed due to lack of money for publicity and a poor location -- an "upstairs house."

He later modified his request to a \$10,000 loan if he could

raised the other \$20,000. And he listed among his financial supporters Garland directors James Weldon Johnson and Morris Ernst.

In his quest for the \$20,000, he said he was struggling for a truly great cause." Showman David Belasco and Al Jolson had each given him \$1,000. Other contributors included Noel Coward, Harry Houdini, George Jessel, Paul Robeson, Ethel Barrymore and Bill (Bojangles) Robinson.

In a gentle turndown, Elizabeth Gurley said that while Fund directors were sympathetic and some even personally contributing to his cause, it didn't meet Fund requirements.

**Appearances**, the story of a black bellhop falsely accused of rape, ran twenty-three days on Broadway at the Frolic Theater. One critic called it "well-intended but clumsy." Various theater historians consider it the first full-length drama by a black playwright to make Broadway or one of the first plays by blacks to reach Broadway.

Anderson got several related writing ideas out of his venture with **Appearances**. In 1925, he also wrote a 30-page treatise **From Newsboy to Bellhop to Playwright** and an undated 43-page bit on **The Success Principle and How I Used it to Raise \$30,000**. And his wife, Doris Anderson, wrote **Nigger Lover** in

1938, "the experiences of the English wife of a Negro."

**\*\* ASSOCIATION FOR THE STUDY OF NEGRO LIFE AND HISTORY,** founded in 1915 to retrieve and preserve the "neglected records of the Negro race," with offices at 1216 You Street N.W. in Washington, D.C. -- Carter Woodson, the editor of the association's **Journal of Negro History**, said the group couldn't both publish its magazine and finance investigators and researchers of Negro life.

Woodson would come to be revered for his work on the history of blacks.

In a 1922 application, Woodson sought \$15,000 over five years to finance a researcher who would "devote his whole time to reading 18th century newspapers in a quest for facts throwing light on the history of the Negro prior to the time when slavery became economic and decidedly changed the status of the race."

He said this "unpopular effort" had met with little encouragement.

Fund member James Weldon Johnson said Woodson's association "is doing very good work." But he would oppose an appropriation beyond a year.



Further inquiry brought from Woodson that the association got \$25,000 in 1921 from the Carnegie Corporation to assist the journal and \$25,000 from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for research into the free Negro prior to 1861 and Negro Reconstruction.

The information was enough for Roger Baldwin to reply: "Any enterprise, like your own, able to appeal successfully to the big foundations, is strong enough to survive without our help."

Woodson was back again in late 1927, faced with a problem he later decried in his 1933 book **The Mis-education of the Negro** -- blacks cutting each other up rather than working together.

He said he lost about half his financial support because one Thomas Jesse Jones charged him with changing from a scientific researcher to a propagandist. Jones outlined his discontent in a secret memo to contributors.

Woodson said the cause of all this was his protest against Jones's "using his influence to bar a Negro missionary from Africa and his plans to station there ones favorable to the oppression and exploitation of the African native."

He needed \$5,000. But the Fund said it had run out of money, except for repayment of loans and that money was coming in

slowly.

\*\* DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS writing on the stationery of **The Crisis**, the NAACP magazine he edited -- While the Garland Fund supported a number of proposals from DuBois, it said no to his request for help in early 1929 so he could hire researchers and complete what was already a 746-page manuscript on the history of black troops in the World War. He asked no specific amount.

He said he had been collecting material since 1918. Immediately following the Armistice, he was in France for three months in close contact with Negro troops. Data was collected from a large number of people, white and black.

He said his book seeks to show "that with all the high ideals the leaders of the war professed, the result of the war was to intensify prejudice and make economic adjustment more difficult."

The finished book -- to run about 1,000 pages -- would have chapters on black troops in French, English, Belgian and Italian armies. . .the 8th Illinois Regiment starting in the war with a full complement of colored officers. . .the 92nd Division, the only complete division of Negro troops in the Army during the war. . .the 368th Regiment, "around which the greatest

controversy rages."

In saying no, Scott Nearing said that while the Fund would like to have the DuBois material as source data in the record of Negro exploitation in America, the cost of putting it all into shape for a book would be too great to justify such an appropriation.

**\*\* COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION** headquartered at 409 Palmer Building, Atlanta -- Chairman M. Ashby Jones in May 1924 asked the Fund for \$10,000 a year for five years to support its budget.

The request carried a supporting letter from principal Mary McLeod Bethune on the stationery of Daytona-Cookman Collegiate Institute (formerly the Daytona Norman & Industrial Institute). "I don't think any work being done in the South is of more vital importance than the work of the Interracial Commission," she said.

Consulted as the "black" expert on the Fund, James Weldon Johnson found the commission neither radical, nor delving deeply into "the fundamentals of the race situation." Further, it could get money from conventional sources.

But he hailed the commission as far in advance of any

movement regarding race relations in which white people of the South have taken steps. "It has enabled liberal whites of the South to get together, and they have gained greater courage to speak out," Johnson said.

**\*\* FRANK CROSSWAITH and GEORGE SCHUYLER** at 24267 7th Avenue in New York City -- Their idea was to create a national Negro paper, with unspecified Fund help, to trumpet the cause of organized labor among the half million blacks who migrated to the industrial centers during the Great War and the years immediately after.

"The Negro more and more is a factor in the large industrial centers," they said in an April 1924 application.

They noted Pittsburgh had 2,200 Negroes in the steel industry in 1916, 8,000 during the war and 21,000 by 1923. In Detroit, Ford had 7,500 Negro workers, Dodge Brothers 4,000 and Packard 1,000. Thirty-five other Detroit companies each had more than 100 Negroes.

They said the Negro workers are largely unorganized and traditionally hostile to organized labor. Further, "the Negro press is antagonistic or merely lukewarm. The Negro clergy, like the white clergy, are largely handmaidens of the system. The Negro middle class -- doctors, lawyers and teachers -- are

indifferent and snobbish."

In reply, Roger Baldwin called the proposal too undeveloped for consideration. Already burned by other newspaper projects, he said, "We cannot finance a paper scheme of any sort."

**\*\* DAYTONA NORMAL & INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE (for Negro Girls)**  
at Daytona, Florida -- Here, under the school's earlier name, Principal Mary McLeod Bethune in August 1922 sought Fund money for her work for the "uplift" of the Negro in far-away Florida.

The state has spent little for the education of the Negro, she said. "We are striving to give these Negro children a better opportunity."

The money would go toward a little science and research room in connection with its high school work in Volusia County. . .to equip the hospital and training school for nurses. . .to equip a trade room to give opportunities "to boys who have no chance at all."

Roger Baldwin, who personally knew Bethune as a fellow board member of the National Urban League, praised her for "the fine energy and good sense you put into your job." But he suggested she seek help from agencies specifically interested in Negro education in the South.

**\*\* KATY FERGUSON HOUSE** at 162 W. 130th Street, New York City -- Treasurer Harry Robbins sent his request for the organization to secretary James Weldon Johnson at the NAACP headquarters in New York. Coming in August 1922, it was one of the early applications to the Garland Fund.

Robbins explained that the Ferguson House was designed to care temporarily for unmarried mothers until they could be satisfactorily placed with their babies. A companion Sojourner Truth House at 170 W. 130th was intended to give the same temporary care to young girls in danger of becoming permanently delinquent.

"There are no other homes in the city which give temporary care to colored girls and women," Robbins said.

Tightened finances forced closure of the Sojourner Truth House, and raising money is difficult. He sought \$2,000 a year to cover the mortgage payments.

Robbins exhibited a healthy skepticism of the press. He said he read about the \$800,000 Garland gift. "I have no means to judge the accuracy of newspaper accounts, but according to them the board is given a rather free hand."

The Fund's reply: We're faced with demands of many agencies of national scope that are in even greater difficulty.

**\*\* HOUSTON INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL FOR NEGROES** located near Huntsville, Texas -- Walker County Judge A.T. McKinley Jr. hailed the school and principal Sam Houston for the school's program "to train members of the Negro race along industrial lines. The graduates are making the best citizens, acquiring homes, farming in a better way, making better school teachers and in every way are reflecting credit upon this school."

Further, the school was well represented overseas in the Great War, and Houston and his school lead his race in all war work drives. Court records will show no graduate has ever been arrested for a crime.

In a supporting letter, rural education chairman R.M. Woods of Sam Houston State Teachers College said former students of the industrial school are "honorable men and women, giving no trouble, but making an honest living and are a credit to their race."

Roger Baldwin's reply: Aid for colored schools is already handled so well by other foundations "that we do not invade the field."

**\*\* NEGRO FOREIGN FELLOWSHIP FOUNDATION** at 69 Fifth Avenue in New York -- The foundation, including incorporators Walter White and James Weldon Johnson, proposed establishing European scholarships for Negro men and women. They would be open to blacks with at least three years of academic training in an American institution of learning.

The 1922 application said: "The American Negro imperatively needs a few liberally trained leaders with world perspective and international outlook and contacts." They would become effective agents in combatting the further spread of racial prejudice and misunderstanding.

The board reply: Not within its field of activity.

**\*\* SNOW HILL NORMAL & INDUSTRIAL INSTITUTE** at Snow Hill in the heart of Alabama's black belt -- The school was founded in 1894 by president William J. Edward, a disciple of Booker T. Washington.

"Our people have very poor educational facilities," Edward wrote in 1922. "Each year, hundreds, yea thousands never see the inside of a schoolroom. We have been doing what we could in a small way. We have upwards of 2,000 young men and women in various parts of the South trying to teach our people to be useful and helpful citizens."



Trustee W.G. Simpson, a local businessman, attributed the work of Snow Hill to the area's achievement that "we have no lynchings."

Roger Baldwin replied that while "we are sympathetic to your valiant work, our directors are committed to enterprises which are often more unpopular than negro education and which have far fewer friends to support them."

\*\* PHILLIS WHEATLEY PUBLISHING COMPANY of 250 W. 125th Street in New York -- Publisher Roscoe Conkling Bruce requested a \$25,000 loan to complete the preparation of a **Who's Who in Colored America**.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, in reply for the Fund, said it did "not come sufficiently within our scope."

\*\* LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF KENTUCKY of Lincoln Ridge, 21 miles east of Louisville -- In 1933, President C.C. Stoll asked the Fund for help, not specifying any amount.

The institute's aim was to provide "this practical method of educating the colored youth of our land. . .training students to make a living, to appreciate the cultural things of life and to develop character."

It had departments of agriculture, home economics, carpentry and engineering. It also had a one-year program preparing elementary school teachers, with most employed before graduation. It cited one of its first honor graduates, Dr. C.L. Stoll, who went on to higher education, a career in dentistry in Louisville and subsequently to the Lincoln board of trustees.

Among the many pictures in the brochure was one of the dean of vocations, Whitney M. Young -- a man who later gained prominence as head of the National Urban League.

The Fund replied that its funds were exhausted.

SACCO and VANZETTI

I felt so shocked and upset, so far away and useless, over the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

September 7, 1927

The Garland Fund board made a commitment to help early in the fateful struggle for the defense of two Italian immigrants and anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. And the Garland Fund was right there through the appeal process -- not with large amounts compared to the total raised in their defense, but with grants and loans that came -- as the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee acknowledged -- at critical times.

The initial request arrived from Communist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn -- several years before she became a member of the Garland board itself.

The murderous crime alleged against Sacco and Vanzetti was committed on April 15, 1920 -- the broad daylight killing by unmasked assailants of a shoe company paymaster and a guard at South Braintree, Massachusetts, and the making off with the payroll in company with a group of automobile bandits. Their

arrest was that May 5.

In November 1922, the newly-created Garland board acted within days after it received Flynn's relayed request for help. This was for \$2,500 for a special investigator to assist defense attorney Fred H. Moore.

And the Garland directors responded again in 1924 with a \$20,000 loan when the defense committee needed upfront money to hire Boston lawyer William G. Thompson to handle the post-conviction appeal. Roger Baldwin said the loan was to run "without interest and with no security except the good faith of the committee and the ability of friends of the defense to meet its costs." Baldwin's declaration was included in the committee's 1925 report.

Secretary Amleto Fabbri of the defense committee would subsequently write to the Garland Fund:

Your dealings with us, and the appropriation made to us in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, have been more than fair and reasonable, even from the point of view for which the American Fund has been instituted.

Therefore, while we express thanks and gratitude for the aid received, we feel it

is our duty to send a vote of applause to the board of directors of the American Fund for the work impartially done in the interests of the workers.

The defense committee outlined its version of the case in a six-page preface to its 1920-25 financial report:

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested May 5, 1920, on a streetcar in Brockton, Massachusetts, while on their way to arrange a meeting of radicals to protest the death of their friend, Andrea Salsedo, at the hands, directly or indirectly, of U.S. Justice Department agents.

Salsedo had been seized two months before on a deportation warrant and was confined illegally incommunicado in the department's chambers in New York City. A fellow prisoner said Salsedo was tortured to try to get a confession of radical activities. On May 3, he plunged 14 stories to his death, whether murdered or a suicide was unknown.

Vanzetti had been active in the movement for Salsedo's release before his death, and he and Sacco immediately became active in the movement of protest after the event. A handbill advertising a meeting where Vanzetti was to speak was in their possession when they were arrested. Each also was carrying a gun,

Sacco a .32-calibre Colt automatic, Vanzetti a .38-calibre Harrington & Richardson revolver.

Later, the local police chief admitted grilling the men about their radical affiliations and opinions at the station house. For two days, nothing was said of a more serious charge. It looked like another deportation case -- there were many in those days -- and the two prisoners returned misleading answers to the questions put to them in the third degree. In future months, this desire to protect themselves and their friends was used against them, the state arguing their lying was a sign of consciousness of guilt.

After two days, the men were suddenly confronted with unexpected murder and robbery accusations for killing the paymaster and the guard at the shoe company in nearby South Braintree and escaping with nearly \$16,000 in a car with two other bandits. Soon after, Vanzetti was charged with an unsuccessful attempt at a holdup at Bridgewater on December 24, 1919.

The charges had the effect, at first, of stunning their friends, then rousing them to activity. The charges seemed preposterous.

Sacco, a skilled trimmer in a shoe factory at Stoughton, had

a wife and child. A second child was born soon after his arrest. He had \$1,500 in savings and the confidence of his employer that he was frequently used as a watchman over valuable property.

His interests were his family and the labor movement. He had been a leader at a four-month strike at a Hopedale foundry. His constant efforts for the movement endeared him to the hearts of foreign-born workers, who were badly underpaid.

Vanzetti, a fish dealer with a regular pushcart trade in the Italian colony at Plymouth, lived as a bachelor with friends. He had taken perhaps the most active part of any in a long strike that partially reformed wages and working conditions in a big cordage plant at Plymouth. He was a regular contributor to Italian radical newspapers.

Vanzetti was tried and convicted that summer on the Bridgewater charge and sentenced to 12 to 15 years by Superior Court Judge Webster Thayer. Vanzetti had 18 witnesses to show he was selling eels in Plymouth the day of the crime, but they were discounted as Italians. He would have been acquitted had he been a real American, the defense contended.

Similar anti-foreign feeling prevailed at the murder trial. It came in the wake of the Red Scare perpetrated by U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. Armed guards were on duty. All

spectator were searched.

The trial was in June 1921 before the same Judge Webster Thayer in Dedham Courthouse.

As historian Paul Avrich points out in his 1991 book, "Sacco and Vanzetti," District Attorney Frederick Katzmann conducted an unscrupulous prosecution. He coached and badgered witnesses. He withheld exculpatory evidence from the defense and perhaps even tampered with physical evidence. He played on the emotions of the jurors, arousing their deepest prejudices against Italians, agitators and atheists -- and these defendants were all three.

As the defense committee saw it, the case would have collapsed against virtually any other type of defendant.

Judge Thayer was biased against the defendants, being quoted with remarks like: "Did you see what I did with those anarchist bastards the other day? I guess that will hold them for awhile."

Subsequent appeals and the accompanying publicity generated by the defense committee turned this into an international cause. Millions across the world rallied to their side. It all proved to no avail -- with the appellate court, then with Governor Alvan T. Fuller and finally with Harvard President A. Lawrence Lowell who headed a last-minute commission created by Fuller to review the



case.

The commission, with Lowell writing its report, concluded the men received a fair trial.

John Moors, a proper Boston Yankee, a Harvard classmate of President Lowell and a champion in the cause of the two doomed men, commented: "Lawrence Lowell was incapable of seeing that two wops could be right and the Yankee judiciary could be wrong."

Sacco and Vanzetti were electrocuted August 23, 1927.

Ella Reeve Bloor -- to many, Mother Bloor, the Communist -- was among 160 protestors arrested at the Boston State House on the day of the executions. She was one of seven to be test cases that October, the others including Edna St. Vincent Millay, novelist John Dos Passos, black lawyer William Patterson of Boston and Wellesley Astronomy Professor Ellen Hayes. They would all be acquitted.

Bloor, who would end her days as the mistress of Garland's April Farm in Pennsylvania after Barley gave it to the Communists, wrote that the bodies of Sacco and Vanzetti lay in state in a humble undertaker's room in a working-class neighborhood in Boston. Thousands of workers viewed their faces. Mother Bloor said at least 150,000 people paraded eight miles

behind the limousines carrying the bodies to the crematorium.

In November 1922, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as the organizer of the Workers Defense Union forwarded an appeal for help to the Garland Fund from defense counsel Fred H. Moore. This was for special investigative work, leaving the defense committee free to handle the actual legal defense in Massachusetts.

Her request came with a six-page single-spaced letter she had received from Moore. He asked for only \$2,500. But those six pages expounded in detail **why**.

The defense committee had received \$147,000 from all sources since May 1920, Moore explained. It had spent \$155,000.

The organization and publicity expense of raising the money had been a big item, he said. "The two Italians were entirely unknown outside their immediate labor group, excepting, of course, to the employers. Literally hundreds of thousands of pieces of literature had to be printed and circulated -- in English, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French and German."

Attorneys fees were another serious item, though no one individual attorney got a large fee, Moore said.

So were the costs of investigation before trial.

"While local counsel were employed immediately, they made no investigation," Moore lamented. "When I arrived five months after the arrests, no effort had been made to locate eye-witnesses of either the Bridgewater or Braintree crimes, to trace the history of the stolen automobile or the course of the bandit car from either crime.

"Suffice it to say that before we went to trial, we interrogated approximately 500 people." The trial itself lasted seven weeks, the transcript covering 10,000 pages. Some 225 witnesses testified.

Then, the contributions dropped off.

One factor was unemployment, strikes and lockouts in the New England textile and shoe industries, where many of the workers were Italians. And with the terrible economic times in Italy, many of these workers felt the necessity to send money to relatives in their homeland that otherwise might have gone to the defense committee.

A protracted strike of the United Mine Workers of America, again with many Italian workers, hurt. Add to this a general national depression and the fact the case no longer rated headlines.

Moore said the defense committee could handle the legal expense and local phases of the investigation. What he asked Flynn to provide was money to support "an investigation in the West relative to the real culprits."

The labor movement had often claimed its members were the victims of frame-ups. "We never had a mathematical demonstration of the innocence of the men framed," he told Flynn.

"I can conceive no greater moral victory than to demonstrate that persons other than Sacco and Vanzetti committed this crime. The frame-up system symbolizes all that is vicious, cruel and socially dangerous in our national life. It must go."

He asked for \$2,000 immediately and the assurance of \$2,500 within 60 days, if needed.

Moore's plea to Flynn, her relay message to the Garland board, the board's meeting decision to ask ACLU Attorney Albert DeSilva for advice and Baldwin's letter to DeSilva asking for his opinion all were accomplished on November 22, 1922 -- obviously in an era when the postal service moved mail rapidly.

The next day, DeSilva wrote a haunting reply:

I do not think it is possible to form a judgment as to whether the kind of work which Fred Moore has in mind will produce results.

I am, however, clear that work of that kind has to be done in the case and that money spent for it is not lost, in a large sense, even if nothing comes of it. His application is the kind of thing I should vote for if I were a director of the Fund.

The board resolution had asked for advice from DeSilva only. But a week after receiving it, Baldwin chose to inquire also of defense activist Elizabeth Glendower Evans, a wealthy Boston widow, "as to the probable usefulness of this Fund and the imperative need for it." He added, "We are, of course, deeply interested in these men."

Yet even before her reply arrived, Baldwin had a favorable vote by mail from his colleagues. But as President Norman Thomas subsequently pointed out, it was not so definite or unanimous to rule out further discussion.

Baldwin sent \$400 to the defense committee on December 2 as the installment for that month but without any assurance it would be continued thereafter.

Evans replied shortly after -- on stationery of the League for Democratic Control in Boston, whose letterhead listed her as secretary.

She hoped the Garland Fund would approve the requested \$2,500. "The men are innocent beyond a doubt," she wrote. "The defense committee rests with a small group who have carried on the work with magnificent tenacity. But they must have money, and they are up against terrible odds."

That said, she still had a great deal of anxiety over the way the defense committee handled the money already entrusted to it. The committee had received \$70,000 and never made an accounting. She said she urged the treasurer to do so -- to no avail.

Tie your gift to an audit of the defense committee books, she suggested. But also be willing to pay for the audit.

Norman Thomas conveyed something of that idea to Moore -- that the Garland Fund really didn't give out money to groups without a financial report. And in view of a split vote on the first installment, Moore might do well to supply an accounting. Thomas made no mention of Evans' proposal for an audit financed by the Garland Fund itself.

Moore quickly came back with a partial listing -- a general breakdown of \$76,288 in expenses -- including legal investigation expense before trial of \$11,730, trial expense of \$13,214, legal investigation since trial of \$14,936 and publicity at \$9,434. The summary, however, didn't include various attorney fees, including his own.

The defense committee would be turning over to the printer a full financial statement "in a few days" of its own expenses and also Moore's. And as soon as it was convenient for the appropriate Garland committee, Moore was ready to come to New York to present "as detailed a statement as is humanly possible."

Don't come, Thomas telegraphed back on December 19. "Are persuaded value of work for which you request funds. We simply desire a financial statement of income and expenditures of your committee."

That wasn't anything special. That was what became standard Garland board procedure: We don't allow personal appearances by applicants. But give us full disclosure of your books.

Three days later, that's the stance the full Garland board took in this case: It approved another \$400 for January 1923 provided an audit of the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee was furnished.

And in a "Dear Fred" letter right after the meeting, Norman Thomas conveyed that to Moore along with the sympathies of the Garland directors toward the lawyer's investigation.

The audit never came, and the defense committee wound up with only that first \$400 from December.

By mid-summer 1923, Moore was still maintaining that work on the audit was just about to start, this time in a letter to Roger Baldwin. And Baldwin quickly responded: "There is nothing we can do until we have the audit."

The proposal died, the remaining \$2,100 cancelled.

In the fall of 1924, the Sacco and Vanzetti Defense Committee was more successful with the Garland directors. It obtained \$20,500 in loans from them.

This came in what Elizabeth Gurley Flynn called "the dark days of 1924."

Flynn confided that the defense committee itself was increasingly dissatisfied with Moore's spending for investigation. Roger Baldwin later characterized Moore as an unstable man, possibly on drugs. Adding to the aggravation was the fact that little money was coming in. Moore was dumped.



Judge Thayer had turned down a motion for a new trial. It didn't matter that some prosecution witnesses recanted their original testimony. It didn't matter that other evidence pointed in the direction of others as the perpetrators. The judge and others in authority were rigid in their views against the defendants.

As historian Paul Avrich points out, "As a result, a growing number of observers, many of whom abhorred anarchism and had no sympathy with radical propaganda of any kind, concluded that the accused had not received a fair trial. The judge's bias against the defendants, their conviction on inconclusive evidence, their dignified behavior while their lives hung in the balance -- all this attracted supporters, who labored to secure a new trial."

First, though, the defense committee needed money to hire new lawyers. And who should the committee enlist to do its pleading with the Garland Fund in the fall of 1924 but Roger Baldwin himself -- wearing one of his numerous other hats, this one as director of the ACLU.

By then, Baldwin had a deep personal commitment to Sacco and Vanzetti. "I used to visit them both in jail every time I went to Boston during those years," Baldwin told his biographer, Peggy

Lamson, near the end of his life. "Vanzetti took rather a shine to me. He was such an innocent really. . .an open, naive fellow. Sacco was passionate, suspicious and militant."

He also explained to Lamson that from the beginning the case was handled exclusively by Italians. "They formed the defense committee and hired the lawyers. All the rest of us were just assistants. We never had any inside authority of any kind."

On the ACLU letterhead, which included the names of 10 past, present or future Garland board members among its 62-member National Committee, Baldwin wrote a pleas on October 28, 1924, to "Friends" on the Garland board:

The Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee is up against a serious situation in reorganizing the defense work following Judge Thayer's denial of a new trial. It is necessary to make immediate contracts with the lawyers handling the appeal. A sum of \$5,000 is needed.

The committee has on hand \$5,000. They will be able to raise a large sum as soon as they get their new defense machinery in motion. Meanwhile, they ask the Fund for a loan of \$5,000 for six months, secured only by the endorsements of the members of their

executive committee.

Miss Flynn, who is in Boston helping with the organizing, says that these people mean business, that they can get the money necessary to see the case through, having raised already about \$200,000. She thinks the loan perfectly safe. Her view is concurred in by the executive committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, which recommends the loan.

By the time of this letter, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was a member of the Garland board.

Baldwin concluded: The defense committee asks for an immediate decision from the Garland directors. This is an emergency. Every day counts because of the time limit fixed for the appeal.

Flynn got busy in Boston, rounding up the signatures of the executive committee of the defense committee. "They are all reliable," she wrote to Baldwin. "And they are all terribly sensitive here about the extent to which Moore has discredited them to the Americans. It came with darn poor grace from him."

But while Flynn was about this business, treasurer Aldino

Fliciani of the defense committee sent off a letter to the Garland board, saying this group needed a loan of \$15,000 more. "We need the sum total of \$25,000 to engage Mr. William G. Thompson as chief counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti." And Fliciani said Flynn would be in New York shortly to explain the reasons.

From Harvard Law School, Professor Felix Frankfurter advised Flynn: "I do feel very strongly that Thompson ought not to be haggled with. The thing ought to be cleaned up, if possible, in one fell swoop."

Two days later, Frankfurter was back with a second note to Flynn: "I have reason to believe that it is highly important for you to be able to tell Mr. Thompson before this week is up that he is to be retained to take full charge, even if you have to tell him it may take another week to raise the necessary funds."

The Garland board voted \$15,000 at its regular November meeting. This was atop a \$5,000 loan voted earlier in November by mail and a \$500 loan for 30 days at the end of October that apparently required no board action -- \$20,500 in all.

Secretary Emilio Coda of the defense committee wrote in January 1925 to Baldwin, this time in his capacity as the leader of the Garland board: "Every obligation contracted by the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee will be fulfilled just as soon as the

condition will permit to do it. You certainly know and realize we are up against it."

And as the Garland Fund records declare, \$18,000 was repaid and the Garland board voted that the remaining \$2,500 be converted into a gift.

The defense committee's report covering from May 5, 1920, the day the pair were arrested, to July 31, 1925, showed there was still \$5,000 of that Garland money owed.

The New York Times said the defense committee issued 10,000 copies of its report.

The top of the final page of the report's six-page introduction hailed the Garland Fund loans. The final paragraph of that introduction carried these ominous words:

The Committee wishes to thank the multitude of persons who have aided and are aiding this fight for the lives of two innocent men. It is impossible to say what expenses will still be necessary, but in the very nature of things the case is marching towards a conclusion. Nicola Sacco will not be eternally sitting behind the bars of his little cell in Dedham

nor will Bartolomeo Vanzetti always be making automobile number plates in the prison industries at Charlestown. The case is moving on -- to Liberty or Death!

It would be another two years in coming, but it would be death. . .and martyrdom.

The Garland Fund report show another \$10,000 to the defense committee in June and July of 1926 in what the board members labeled "loans" but knew they weren't. They were gifts to a lost cause, and yet they had no regrets in doing it.

Their general policy was no allocations for lawyers -- for court costs, yes, as they had with the Bravas case on Cape Cod, but not for lawyers. Yet, this is just exactly what they were doing here.

The money in part was needed to pay expenses incurred in the investigation of the confession of the South Braintree crime by Celestino Madeiros, a young Portuguese prisoner in the Dedham jail awaiting appeal from a conviction for bank robbery in Wrentham. A cashier had been killed in that crime.

As Elizabeth Gurley Flynn related in her autobiography, "The Rebel Girl," Madeiros saw Rose Sacco with her baby visiting Nick

and became greatly troubled.

In November 1925, Madeiros wrote a note confessing to being among the shoe company robbers and also saying Sacco and Vanzetti "were not in said crime." He passed the note to Sacco via a trusty. And while Madeiros refused to name his robbery associates, Flynn said that it was "easily established," after investigation, to be the well-known Morrelli gang from Providence.

Flynn wrote that Thompson went ahead before Judge Thayer with a motion for a new trial based on this new evidence -- despite the objections of anarchists, the same kind of objections that caused Fred Moore so much heartache.

Thompson told the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee on June 1, 1926, "I understand the American Fund for Public Service is willing to advance you \$5,000 on account of expenses of the confession of Madeiros and in the preparation of the motion for a new trial based upon that confession."

Get it in one lump and send it to me at once, Thompson said. He needed it to repay his office "for the loans sustained by practically exclusive use of my time" since the decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court in the investigation of this matter.

Thompson told the committee the emergency was so great he went ahead with it "without attempting to make any bargain with anybody for remuneration."

And Amleto Fabbri, secretary of the defense committee, begged Flynn to hurry with the Garland money. "The authorities are doing their utmost to prevent Mr. Thompson investigations in the Madeiros confession. They are threatening also people who have already made affidavits in connection with this affair."

Esther Lowell, a writer up from New York who was turning out publicity in English in support of Sacco and Vanzetti, confided to Flynn in June 1926: "I think Thompson is sorry he ever got into this case. It is disillusioning him -- showing him another side of the world."

Just a day after that message, Lowell expanded to Flynn: "Thompson admitted in court today he had never before handled a criminal case and had not expected to have to do criminal investigating in this one. My first estimate of him seems to hold up -- except that he actually is more honest than I had expected before seeing him in action."

Lowell called Thompson "too fair" in this case, sharing all his affidavits with the district attorney's office and getting no cooperation in return.



She warned against overconfidence about the Madeiros confession. And she reminded Flynn that the issue would go before the same Judge Thayer, older but hardly wiser. "He looks like a corpse and talks like a ghost. If competent psychiatrists examined him, they might find him suffering from at least incipient senile dementia, with accompanying grandiose delusions."

Thompson had been so hopeful in his first efforts, the appeal to the Massachusetts Supreme Court, and practically promised the defense committee success when he was hired with the original \$25,000 fee. That's why the committee feels so hurt now in Thompson's request for money over the Madeiros confession, Lowell said in a letter that Fabbri also signed.

Thompson himself sent the defense committee a lengthy letter in late June 1926, outlining in detail the various expenses and saying he needed at least \$10,000 for services up to that point. He also said:

Had I not believed that Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent and that they had an unfair trial, I should not have continued in this case, no matter what sum of money were paid me. On the other hand, I do not think that because I do

believe them innocent and that they had an unfair trial, I ought to continue in the case without any regard not only to my own income but to any obligations to the members of my firm. . .

I am all the more sorry the expense should be so great because I am unable at the present time to hold out the same hope of success that I felt justified in holding out when the case was before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

On the other hand, I assume the defense committee will not be satisfied to let the case of Sacco and Vanzetti drop without pursuing all legal remedies to the very end. If so, I think the time has come to take the matter up seriously with the Garland people and with anybody else from whom they have been able in the past to obtain a substantial sum of money.

This letter to the defense committee was quickly shared with the Garland board. Just as quickly, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn fired back to Thompson: "We certainly cannot be counted upon as an inexhaustible supply of funds." She doubted the Garland board would give or lend any more money to this case -- "in spirit of the fact that we are in deep sympathy with it."

Flynn said the Garland board has had to retrench. It was taking no new applications. Its treasury had little left, and that little was already committed to definite undertakings in the labor movement.

As to what the Garland Fund had already done, she said: "Only the exceptional nature of this case -- which we all feel to be such a gross injustice -- caused our board to violate their established rule not to contribute money for attorney fees."

This being the era when the railroads carried the mail and had workers sorting it along the way, Thompson responded within a day. He was sorry the Garland Fund would not supply anymore money. Whether he could bear the financial burden of going ahead with the case, that was something he would have to decide for himself.

"There is a limit to what I can do," he told Flynn. He reminded her he was not responsible for what was done in the case before he got it. He fully performed the only contract he ever had with the committee -- namely, to argue the case before the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

"The case is occupying practically all my time, to the great detriment of my business, as is usually the way with first degree

murder cases, I believe, although I have never been in one before and hope I may never be in another one."

The Garland board voted that July 5 what would be its final \$5,000 "loan" to the defense committee because of the "critical situation in the case." It came at the urging of board members Lovett and Flynn who had conferred with Harvard Law Professor Felix Frankfurter. That made it \$10,000 in Garland loans that summer of 1926.

Flynn told Amleto Fabbri, secretary to the defense committee, that it had been Frankfurter's eloquence that had impressed upon the board the necessity for this grant.

The board realized the difficulties Fabbri was under in raising funds. "We all feel so keenly the plight of Sacco and Vanzetti that we do not want a few thousand dollars to stand in the way of an adequate defense of their case," Flynn said to Fabbri. She said much the same in a separate letter to Frankfurter.

In late September 1926, Frankfurter was back at the Garland board's doorstep again, asking it to supply still more. Even after that \$10,000, he urged Garland director Lovett to obtain \$3,000 additional for the defense committee: "The American Fund knows the good faith with which money, penny by penny, has been

raised by those who believe that ultimate issues of justice and the processes of law are at stake. It isn't as though the American Fund were doing it all. Each according to his needs."

Lovett passed Frankfurter's letter along to Flynn with the note: "I think the help given the Sacco-Vanzetti people was one of the finest things we were able to do with Mr. Garland's money, and I hope that we shall not let them down."

But Flynn, as much a personal champion as she was for those doomed men, replied to Frankfurter that if the Garland Fund hadn't already done so much, she'd make an exception and go to the board with his latest urging. "We have given much more heavily to this one case than to any other," she said. "I presume you realize we have loaned with the understanding that these loans are all too likely to be contributions in the end."

Besides, there had been no new request directly from the defense committee for more. "If the situation is as acute as you seem to think it is, the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee should be persuaded to make further request of the American Fund," Flynn wrote. "They, of course, are aware that they are indebted to the American Fund at present for \$10,000 and possibly hesitate to ask us for more."

There was one more Garland Fund loan in November 1926 in

connection with agitation over the case -- \$1,000 on a 30-day basis to what was called the Sacco Vanzetti Conference Committee. It was for preliminary expenses in connection with a Madison Square Garden rally in behalf of the two men.

Thompson didn't care for such meetings, Flynn observed, "but it is impossible to keep up the interest in the case without an occasional meeting."

Sacco and Vanzetti were executed in the electric chair at Charlestown State Prison shortly after midnight on August 23, 1927 -- Sacco pronounced dead at 12:19 a.m., Vanzetti at 12:26.

Celestino Madeiros, the Portuguese who said Sacco and Vanzetti had no part in the Braintree crime, preceded them in the electric chair. He was declared dead at 12:09 a.m. for the murder of that Wrentham bank cashier.

The Associated Press said both Sacco and Vanzetti made brief speeches in the death chamber before they sat in the chair.

Sacco shouted in Italian, "Long live anarchy." Then in broken English, he said, "Farewell my wife and child and all my friends." As the straps were adjusted, his last words were: "Good evening, gentlemen. Farewell, mother."

Vanzetti shook hands with his guards as he came into the chamber, walked unassisted to the chair and seated himself.

As he was strapped in, he said, "I wish to tell you I am innocent and never connected with any crime, but sometimes some sin. I an innocent of all crime, not only of this one, but all. I am an innocent man."

Mother Bloor, arrested and then released for picketing the State House the evening before the execution, spoke to a labor gathering in Boston as the end approached. Her autobiography, "We Are Many," recorded her message:

"We stand in the shadow of death tonight. Let us try to think the thoughts of Sacco and Vanzetti are thinking now. Let us act as they would have us act. Let us stand united without regard to nationality, creed or color."

She wrote that an armed thug called out, "You better go back to Russia where you came from."

Then a tall woman in the crowd called out, "She can't go back to Russia. She's an American. Her ancestors took part in the Boston Tea Party."

Perhaps the Syracuse, New York Post-Standard reflected some

of the establishment feeling against the pair in its headlines of the executions.

Its banner headline said, "Sacco, Vanzetti Die in Electric Chair." Then under that were pictures of the two men graced with a sub-head that read: "Radicals Prefer to Die as Nonbelievers."

Three months after the executions, the Garland board in a rather futile, almost silly move suggested to the defense committee that it try to raise the money to pay off at least part of that outstanding \$10,000.

But if it was out of the question, some Garland directors had another idea. They said they knew the defense committee was trying to raise funds to establish the innocence of the martyred men. They offered the idea of forgiving on a matching basis the old debts for any money the defense committee raised in this new effort.

"It might assist you in raising funds if you could state in your appeal that for every \$1 contributed, the American Fund agreed to cancel \$1 of the old indebtedness," said Robert Dunn in writing for the board.

The defense committee virtually ignored the idea, apparently because it was based on false information.



Secretary Joseph Moro, Fabbri's successor, replied by thanking the Garland directors for past loans, reporting little in its own treasury and saying it was making no appeal for funds.

Moro said the defense committee faced considerable work ahead in publishing letters and other materials, if its money held out. After that, it would make every effort to repay the \$10,000.

The Garland directors got the message. One of their final acts to close out 1927 was to forgive the \$10,000.

Gardner Jackson responded for the defense committee: "We are deeply grateful for your decision. You know -- without explanation -- how much that loan meant in the bitter fight to get justice for Sacco and Vanzetti. We believe that as time goes on, it will become increasingly clear that your assigning money to this case was indeed for public service."

He said the committee was now following "what our newspaper friends assure us is a lost cause. We cannot, however, satisfy our own souls or live up to the wishes of Sacco and Vanzetti by any other course.

"We must strive to the limit of our ability to insert the

true significance of this case in history."

The letter was written on plain paper -- not the committee's regular stationery that included pictures of the two men, the listing of 44 organizations across America that helped in their defense and a quote from Socialist Eugene Debs: "Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent men; they shall not be murdered!"

Jackson apologized, "You'll pardon the paper, we hope. We're out of letterheads."

Nearly 50 years later, Roger Baldwin would tell his biographer, "It was a tormenting case."

Perhaps to heal some of that lingering torment, Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis marked the 50th anniversary of their deaths by proclaiming August 23, 1977, as "Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti Day."

Historian Paul Avrich noted the governor sidestepped the issue of guilt or innocence. But Dukakis declared that "the atmosphere of their trial and appeals was permeated with prejudice against foreigners and hostility toward unorthodox political views."

## BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE

To Brookwood, the Fund gave the longest and largest of all its appropriations.

Roger Baldwin

1934 assessment

"Part of the explosive rise of labor education in the early 1920s was a product of the largesse of the Garland Fund," according to Alice H. Cook in 1981 in a article entitled "Labor Education in the U.S.: Marriage of Convenience."

The two workers schools to benefit the most were Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York, and -- to a much lesser degree financially -- Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, both residential institutions.

But other labor colleges and schools around the country also received Garland Fund grants -- in Denver, Portland, Boston and Seattle as well as the Rand School in New York City.

The final Garland Fund report said \$366,000 had been spent on workers education from 1922 to 1941 -- though some dollars in other categories might fall under the same purpose. "Fancy sums,"

said Roger Baldwin in his 1972 oral history statement, "The Reminiscences of Roger Baldwin," for Columbia University.

More than half of that -- \$199,835 -- went to Brookwood, "then the leading institution, which later went bankrupt, getting far too much for its own good," Baldwin said in that oral history transcript.

But he tempered that by adding, "We employed one trustee, Clinton S. Golden, a staunch labor man -- recently knighted by Harvard with an honorary degree -- just to go around the country and find wise ways of spending money to educate trade unionists. He found them."

Of Commonwealth, Baldwin said at one point that it was "spoiled with too much generosity."

Some historians have praised the workers schools as preparing leaders for the rise of organized labor in the 1930s and beyond. This education included preparation for industrial unions -- which incurred the wrath of the AFL's Samuel Gompers with his craft unions. Near the end of his life, he repeated the old saw that "a little learning is a dangerous thing."

Other historians contended the schools were teaching

outmoded ideas. And the super-right saw them as teaching ideas that destroy respect for American institutions.

For a place like Brookwood, with its fifty acres of woods and fields, it offered a pastoral haven as well as an education to workers from city factories and mines. And it was open to anyone who worked in industry and held membership in a union shop for at least a year.

The school was co-ed, saying it offered equal opportunity to both sexes. And at Brookwood's urging, the Garland Fund in 1925 provided scholarships for two black students. Fund director James Weldon Johnson, Charles Johnson of the Urban League and A. Philip Randolph of *The Messenger* constituted the selection committee that awarded the scholarships to Thomas L. Dabney and Floria L. Pinkney.

Garland director Clinton Golden, who was later bankrolled by the Fund to be a field organizer for Brookwood, called the school "an experiment in the development of workers education."

The founding group included John Fitzpatrick of the Chicago Federation of Labor, President James Mauer of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, Abraham Lefkowitz of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, President John Brophy of United Mine Workers District 2 and Rose Schneiderman of the

Women's Trade Union League.

After meeting for two days, the leaders said the goal was to turn out "trained, responsible, liberally-educated men and women from the ranks of the workers. The new college is not intended to act as a propaganda institution."

But, oh, what a stormy time it was -- despite all the money given from the Garland Fund -- between the Garland directors and the Brookwood leadership and also among the Garland directors.

Scott Nearing, writing on Garland Fund stationery, at one point charged Muste with cow-towing to the right-wing leadership American Federation of Labor. Muste shot back that he considered it a threat. Certainly even our best friends should know they can't influence our policy by waving their pursestrings, he said.

This degenerated by 1932 into accusations by leftist Garland directors Clarina Michelson and Robert Dunn that Brookwood had dropped its stance of political neutrality and was now virulently anti-Communist.

Brookwood was open to students of all shades of opinion, an unsigned "investigation by the American Fund" countered. It was the Communists who were working to cripple Brookwood. Communist students came not to learn, but to cause trouble.

Among its documentation of Communist agitation was that one Marth Solomon refused to "participate in the dance" with one Larry Heimbach.

This, from a school that began with the declaration that "it seeks truth, free from dogma and doctrinaire teaching. . .motivated by social values rather than pecuniary ones."

It was labor's first resident college -- with a two-year program that included some noted names like Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas and Reinhold Niebuhr as visiting lecturers. Brookwood began in the fall of 1921. It attracted students from foreign lands -- Germany, England, Costa Rica, Guatamala in one year alone. Courses dealt with such subjects as child labor, labor tactics and unemployment as well as history, literature and English.

The faculty was headed by A.J. Muste, a minister, a pacifist and a labor leader who was called the American Ghandi. He directed the school until 1933, which was around the time the Garland Fund grants were running out. He was buffeted about by various sides of the political and labor spectrum who claimed he was in some dreaded enemy's camp.

And it had an educational advisory committee of Professors Walter H. Hamilton of Amherst, William F. Ogburn of Columbia,

Joseph H. Willits of Pennsylvania and Leo Wolman of the New School for Social Research and soon to be a Garland Fund director.

Historian Merle Curti in his 1959 assessment of the Fund wrote: "The effort to establish strong labor colleges, such as Brookwood, eventually failed, and probably no amount of financial help would have kept Brookwood alive in view of changes in staff and in the labor movement itself."

Brookwood ceased in 1939 and Commonwealth in 1941.

Yet, the Garland Fund support "helped provide training for young men and women who later became prominent in workers' education in unions and in the labor movement as a whole," Curti said.

Workers education had become an important force both within labor unions and in several institutions of higher learning.

Curti concluded the claim couldn't be made that the movement in its infancy wouldn't have developed without the support of the Garland Fund. "But one can say the Fund aided pioneering enterprises that have proved viable."

Brookwood began its quest for Garland Fund money with a



request for \$1,000 for library books. The ones it had previously were on loan and the owner had taken them back. The Garland directors quickly approved the money.

Next, its labor committee asked for \$15,000. Brookwood was completing a woman's dorm, which was supposedly covered in a fund-raising campaign. But it needed money for heating, water supply and sewerage systems and other related sundries.

Asked by Roger Baldwin for advice, Harry W.L. Dana of Cambridge responded, "The general spirit of the place, the general character of the students, the general quality of the teachers, all seem very promising. I should be delighted to see all requests of Brookwood granted by the American Fund."

Nonetheless, Baldwin told Brookwood that "under no circumstances does the Fund feel justified in putting \$15,000 into Brookwood. The directors are all opposed to investing money into bricks and mortar, whether for workers education or anything else." Garland money is for experimental and pioneering work.

Besides, the Fund first wants to complete a study of workers education before allocating money in that field. Others are as deserving as Brookwood, Baldwin said.

But soon Brookwood cried poverty. Hit by the bitter struggle for survival, miners and railway strikes and the enormous expenses of fighting injunctions, the American labor movement is not in a position, at this time, fully to support the important work of Brookwood, Muste said.

Lend us \$7,500, particularly to pay off bills coming due for the dorm construction. And the Garland directors did -- even though it went for bricks and mortar -- then extended the loan when expected union money did not arrive and finally, before the end of 1923, forgave it.

The Fund's dealings with Brookwood even got into the matter of helping the back-home families of students while they were attending the school. It was called a dependency fund.

Student Rudolph Harju of Frederick, South Dakota, had made arrangements with a brother to care for his ailing mother while he returned to Brookwood for his second year. But the brother was suddenly beset by problems in his own family and couldn't do it. So the Fund gave Harju \$250 to lay in coal and other supplies for his mother before he started off for Brookwood.

With at least two other families in the Chicago area, the Fund provided weekly subsidies to the wife and children back home while the union member was at school.

In those early years of Brookwood, an eloquent appeal to the Fund to establish a permanent policy for financing the school came from E.J. Lever of the Philadelphia District Lodge 1 of the International Association of Machinist.

Lever, a Brookwood graduate, wrote:

"Brookwood's policy and aims are in keeping with the idea of developing the young blood in the labor movement. No greater service can be rendered by any agency than Brookwood is rendering at the present time."

Lever said the ignorance of the average trade union official and active member is simply appalling.

"Among hundreds of union machinists in this territory, there is hardly a single one capable of drawing up a contract with an employer. . .of negotiating with an employer without inciting everybody to riot and losing more members in the long run than they can gain.

"The members and most officers act like overgrown children. They are incapable of building the movement because they hardly realize the forces they are struggling against and do not know how to overcome them.

"This is the state of affairs in almost every trade union in America."

Lever said the only permanent constructive force working for change was Brookwood. "All other movements are built on quicksand. There should be more Brookwoods."

The upshot was that in February 1926 the Fund directors voted a 10-year appropriation totalling \$150,000 for Brookwood. It started with \$25,000 for 1926-27 and a similar amount for the following year, then dropped down to \$20,000 for each of the next two years and continued this reduction pattern until the final allocations of \$5,000 each for both 1934-35 and 1935-36.

In the first years of providing aid, the Garland Fund tied support to matching amounts raised by labor unions and students. It gave that up with 1925-26 by going to flat amounts.

The Garland Fund papers on microfilm (reel six) are undoubtedly a treasure trove for Brookwood historians -- particularly with inclusion of the school's printed pamphlets, summaries of activities, campus newspapers, enrollment lists and testimonials by graduates. The prolific A.J. Muste couldn't seem to write a letter under four pages -- whether hand-written or typed. And there are seeming miles of expense reports from field agent Clinton Golden of meals and trainfare in his travels across

the entire country in spreading the message of Brookwood and recruiting students.

In comparison, Commonwealth College in Arkansas got a paltry \$27,780. But that was an entirely different proposition -- real pioneering in the Arkansas Ozarks for physical survival.

Fifteen men and women in 1923 bought 75 acres 10 miles west of Mena and three miles from the Oklahoma border to create a workers college. These were former IWW's, old Socialists or members of the Non-Partisan League.

Commonwealth's lone buildings were a mountaineer cabin and a barn. William E. Zeuch, who had taught at the Universities of Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin, was the director and Kate Richards O'Hare the field secretary.

Living in tents, they worked the land without pay, put in garden and forage crops and erected temporary buildings that they hoped would house 50 students for the year ahead. "Education for Workers" was Commonwealth's motto, though it had no ties with organized labor.

Garland director Clinton Golden -- after a four-day visit in November 1925 -- reported from the start, Commonwealth had little money. The place had no running water, no phone, no plowing and

planting equipment, no tractor, just an old mule. They operated with kerosene lamps. Someone had to go two miles on horseback to get mail.

The residents went weeks without butter or meat. They were at the point of starvation with 38 cents among them when one Garland Fund check arrived.

But amid this meager existence, there was no dissension. All were facing the situation cheerfully, Golden said.

Garland's Personal Service Fund gave Commonwealth \$1,000 to enable it to finish its first year, and the Garland directors reimbursed that fund.

And despite prior pronouncements, the Garland directors provided \$1,750 as a loan so Commonwealth could buy 160 acres of adjoining land.

This was done with the edict that the Fund was to receive no new application from Commonwealth for a year and no application at all if Commonwealth remains detached from the organized labor movement.

This brought a stinging letter in reply from Harold Z.

Brown, Commonwealth's executive secretary. He asked: How could the Garland Fund "limit its own liberty"?

But once they received Golden's report of the spartan conditions at Commonwealth, the Garland directors quickly turned that \$1,750 loan into a gift.

Further, they allocated \$6,843 as gifts to buy farm equipment, domestic equipment and lumber to construct several buildings and purchase a truck, hand tools and a buzz saw.

Baldwin himself visited the place in July 1926. He reported the spirit was excellent -- "due to wrestling with nature and the pioneer drama of their task." Ever the penny-pincher, he added, "We could spoil that spirit with too much generosity." The goal was to invest only enough to get the colonists on their feet.

And Baldwin, who told Brookwood the directors were unanimous that nothing be for bricks and mortar, preferred that every additional dollar at Commonwealth go into capital investment.

Virtually all the money for Commonwealth was during 1925 and 1926.

Then, in 1927, the group was wracked by dissension. Some faculty and students quit. Roger Baldwin observed, "They will

kill their chances for raising any money by such fool scraps, and the school will go under."

But Oscar Foy, one of those who left, told Baldwin: "It has been said that you were afraid to do anything or the high and only Father of mankind would expose your ideas as to sex and probably your past history as to sex," the Father reference to Commonwealth director William Zeuch.

Baldwin ignored the taunt. But the Garland board refused to release \$3,500 it planned to provide for 1927 because of Commonwealth's lack of cohesion and morale. In its own newsletter, Commonwealth charged the Fund by withholding the money was dooming the school. And in a rare move the Fund resorted to a press release of its own to defend itself.

The correspondence -- most of it from Commonwealth -- is voluminous even in the years it was getting nothing from the Fund. One was an 11-page letter, single spaced.

In a 1929 letter, business administrator Clay Fulks admitted, "The matter of social control presented problems infinitely more difficult of solution. It is easy to understand that a school for workers would attract, besides class-conscious workers, a variety of sex experimenters and food faddists."



The Workers School in New York, under the control of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, got money after the Garland directors changed their policy that barred money to schools operated by a political party. And they gave the money even though field worker and board member Clinton Golden emphatically told them not to.

School director Bertram Wolfe made it clear at the outset: We are not non-partisan. "To turn out Marxist-Leninists for leadership in the working class movement -- that is the fundamental aim of the school." The basics would be a course in the tenets of communism and a course in English. Special training courses would be limited to party members. Benjamin Gitlow, a new Garland Fund director, was one of its teachers.

The Fund policy didn't get in the way of school's first request -- \$1,000 to buy books for the its library. It was quickly granted, and the list of books bought seemed to agree with all sides.

But when Wolfe asked for money to help finance the school, Fund secretary Elizabeth Gurley Flynn replied that it was "not within the scope of worker education as the Garland directors understood it."

Clinton Golden visited the place and sat in on some of the

classes. He found an admirable selection of books in the library. It would be nice if the students read them. That would help to broaden their narrow view.

Constant attendance at a Marxism-Leninist course "would give one a vocabulary and terminology absolutely strange to the average worker," Golden reported. In a course on trade union problems, "I learned for the first time that 95 percent of all salaried officers of all trade unions were 'thugs and gangsters' and that the Workers Party alone could organize the unorganized."

The school claimed 700 students, based on the total count of all enrolled in all classes. Thus, if a student took four courses, that person was counted as four students. Twenty courses were offered, eleven of them in Communist Party history and problems.

Golden said his experience with Communists active in the trade union movement "is that they are the most difficult people there are to work with." He said the Workers School courses would have the ultimate effect of hindering, rather than increasing, the usefulness of its students in the labor movement.

If the Fund turned down the Rand School because of its ties with the Socialist Party, then it can't give to the Workers School, Golden said.

In short order, the Garland directors went on record that they will "disregard partisan control of labor enterprises in deciding on applications" -- thus removing the largest objection to approving money for the Workers School.

Still early in 1926, the Fund allocated \$5,000 to the school provided an equal amount was raised by trade unions. Later, it approved \$2,500 for each of the next two years, again on a matching basis, then said it was running out of money and could give no more.

That didn't quiet Wolfe. The school was growing. It needed its own building. It had established branches across the area and sent itinerant teachers virtually across the continent. We got in this business relatively late and -- without mentioning Brookwood by name -- said it should be treated the way others were by the Fund, he whined. He asked for \$55,000 in a reducing 10-year-program (just as Brookwood had).

He got nothing more, Baldwin saying that "just because you came in late, we can't make it up to you." And he added the free advice that "some of us think buying a building is unwise."

The Rand School of Social Science in New York City, founded in 1906 by Socialists as "the school for the workers and

especially for the wage workers," got a double turndown when it first approached the Garland Fund in 1922. Garland director Scott Nearing was a lecturer at the school and his wife, Nellie Seeds, its associate education director.

The school explained it had been a special target of government persecution and newspaper attacks since the entry of the United States in the World War and the consequent wave of hysteria. As an economy, it was forced to close its research department, but wanted to reopen it because of its long service to organized labor, particularly with its American Labor Year Book.

In reply, Roger Baldwin said no to the research department. "We do not see the special usefulness of such a department under a party school when other non-partisan organizations are in the field."

And the Fund found difficulty in supporting a school with its narrow doctrine because of its control by the Socialist Party, Baldwin wrote.

This from a man who by 1924 was on the Sustaining Fund Committee of the Rand School along with fellow Garland directors Lewis Gannett, Sidney Hillman, James Weldon Johnson and Norman Thomas as well as Socialist luminaries Eugene Debs, Helen Keller

and Upton Sinclair. Eleanor Roosevelt was one of its contributors.

Rand School officials fired back: We've heard that charge of narrowness from the lunatic fringe. You're responsible people. Investigate your charge. You'll find a large proportion of our teachers are not Socialists, which has even brought us criticism from some Socialists.

Seeking outside advice about the merits of the Labor Year Book, the Fund got this comment from one individual: "Scolding the Labor Year Book is like upbraiding the cook. Better to have her at last, and the meal a bit underdone and stale, than to go hungry. The result is not the telephone book. The volume is suprisingly readable. But for the Rand School, we would have none."

The Garland directors provided \$10,000 directly to the school, though half of that went for scholarships. But they gave more than \$30,000 to the research department over a six-year period. That enabled the department to compile and publish the year book as well as its first **American Labor Who's Who** and **American Labor Press Directory**.

Of the 1925 year book, **The New York Times** said, "Published under what are predominantly Socialist auspices, it sets forth,

with apparent equal precision, the proceedings of the Communist Convention and the platform of Sen. LaFollette, the activities of the carpenters' union and those of the IWW, an achievement most unusual in the world of radical thought."

Historian Merle Curti wrote, "The Rand School was unable to finance its research department and the Fund took over virtually the entire support of its program."

After citing the three books, Curti said, "The Fund also authorized a new study of the tactics of American employers against organized labor, the work being done by (Garland director) Robert W. Dunn through the research department of the Rand School."

## WORKERS CHILDREN

The thought of sending their children away  
to school is a brand new idea to the workers.

William M. Fincke

September 13, 1924

The former farm of William and Helen Fincke at Pawling, New York, became the site in 1924 of two experimental programs to educate the children of workers, particularly union workers.

And both got start-up help from the sometime cautious Garland Fund directors -- money for scholarships for the youngsters at first, then larger sums for the institutions themselves.

One was Manumit School, a residence school of learning and doing -- what its backers called the socialized incarnation of their belief in industrial democracy. . . an act of faith in the labor movement. The "doing" might be in the kitchen, in the field or in the milking shed.

The other was the first summer camp of the Pioneer Youth of America. The camp, which soon had its own site elsewhere, was a special supplement to Pioneer Youth's 17 year-round clubs of young people scattered across New York City. The camp began with

35 children under director Joshua Lieberman, housed in a few tents and using a hole in the ground as the oven for cooking.

The Fund gave \$19,743 to Manumit, plus an \$18,000 no-interest loan in 1926 secured by a mortgage on the Pawling property. But no effort was made to collect on the debt. What the Fund did was turn that mortgage over to Charles Garland personally when it went out of business in June 1941.

In effect, the Fund gave \$37,743 to Manumit.

Pioneer Youth of America received \$36,517.

Much of the outright gifts to both groups hinged on matching money from labor organizations, even counting tuition payments as part of that matching.

The Pioneer Youth program itself centered around the clubs, branching out from New York to places like Philadelphia and Baltimore after enlisting 400 young people the first year. It reached out to black children as well as whites -- including for its summer camp.

Its clubs had been offered as meeting places various labor temples, Harlem Educational Center on E. 106th Street, Finnish Cooperative Society, Community Church at 34th Street, P.S. 45 in



the Bronx and the annex to P.S. 25 in Brooklyn.

The program also led to "play school" in the 1930s in the summer among the children of southern textile workers who had been battered into a sense of defeat by strikes lost and then blacklisting.

A report at the end of 1935 contained a section entitled "Work with Negroes." It noted: "Our camp for textile workers children in North Carolina enrolled eighteen white and six Negro boys and girls for eight weeks. This is the fourth summer we have had Negro children at the Marion camp and so far as we know it is the only interracial camp for children in the South."

Pioneer Youth started as a project of the National Association for Child Development with headquarters at 70 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. Within a short time, the association name disappeared from the letterhead, replaced by Pioneer Youth of America.

Norman Thomas was the lone Garland director who was also a board member of the organization. But into the 1930s, when Garland Fund money was no longer available, Pioneer Youth had among its advisors Garland directors James Weldon Johnson and Thomas and educator John Dewey. Among its board members were ILGWU leader David Dubinsky and Frank Crosswaith, sometimes referred to as the black Eugene Debs.

Its pamphlets made clear that Pioneer Youth had no connection with any political group, but was strongly sympathetic to organized labor. It was not to be confused with The Pioneers (YMCA) or Young Pioneers of America (Communist).

At the outset in 1924, the group's statements cited the need of bringing up children with an understanding of social forces, creating within them a greater degree of self-dependence and preparing them for intelligent participation in the work of bettering society.

"Our children are taught history in the spirit of race and national hatred. The glories of war are sung continuously, and our youngsters are paraded around in military uniforms," the literature said. Another factor was "the introduction of anti-labor and open shop propaganda into the public school system through the Chamber of Commerce and other anti-union bodies."

One youngster, upon mentioning Eugene Debs in his public school class, was told by his teacher, "That won't help you in the Regents."

Garland director Harry Ward told his colleagues, "This is an organization worth helping. It has promise of significant development."

Roger Baldwin considered the Pioneer Youth movement a gamble, that it wouldn't take hold in the labor movement even though it had considerable labor backing at the outset.

Professor Henry M. Busch, assistant in charge of field work for Union Theological Seminary, was secured as educational director early on.

One aim was to find "the right kind of stories for our children. . . stories of men and women who fought war, poverty, exploitation, intolerance and ignorance in all its manifestations," executive secretary Joshua Lieberman explained.

"We are organizing visits and trips to factories and industrial centers, museums and groups of children living under different conditions as well as children's groups of various races. On two occasions, Pioneer Youth clubs have been the guest of Chinese and Arabian children."

Meanwhile, the summer camp in two seasons had accommodated 300 children, the great majority from trade union families. Partial or full scholarships for up to ten weeks were given to 22 children from the families of strikers or unemployed workers.

The campers were provided with counselors expert in such

topics as nature study, recreation, woodwork, arts and crafts, music and dramatics. Yet, the children themselves organized their own program and assumed responsibility for chores -- thus, looking upon any success of the camp as due to their own efforts.

A weeklong winter camp in the Bear Mountain region was added in the second year.

The growing response of the youngsters and the expansion of the program prompted the Garland Fund to agree to match all income from labor sources "at the rate of \$1 for each \$1 received in 1926, 75 cents for each dollar during 1927 and fifty cents for each dollar during 1928 -- not in excess of \$10,000 a year."

For those three years, Pioneer Youth was able to match enough from labor sources to receive \$27,000 of the possible \$30,000. And that was where the Garland Fund money ended for Pioneer Youth.

But the organization kept asking the Fund for renewed support -- up to 1936. Its supporting documents give some idea of how the Pioneer Youth program spread.

In 1928, the printers union raised nearly \$3,000 to send 102 children of unemployed printers to the Pioneer Youth summer camp.

A summary at the end of 1931 said that those who watched the steady growth of Pioneer Youth during the previous seven years are convinced it has amply justified the hopes of its founders and well-wishers. "It is an essential adjunct to the workers educational movement in America," the memo said.

"Children with whom we started eight years ago and less have 'graduated' to jobs as industrial workers in the printing, garment and building trades. Some have gone on to college where they are leaders in liberal movements. Some are active in Socialist and Communist parties. Others are now counselors and leaders in Pioneer Youth camps and clubs."

By then, Pioneer Youth had branched out to major cities around the country. And for a fund-raising drive that year, Roger Baldwin, who said at the outset he doubted the program would survive, had his name among the leaders of the campaign.

For the summer of 1931, Pioneer Youth conducted play schools in five southern mill towns, enrolling 300 youngsters.

At the camp at Marion, North Carolina, where interracial education began the previous summer, one camper suggested a friend of his, a Negro, be invited to the camp. "When a nearby school team refused to play a return baseball game if the colored boy played, our camp team called off the game."

In Draper, North Carolina, where the Marshall Field mill interests dominated the town, the two young women leaders were successively "evicted" from a boarding house, a private home and were finally obliged to commute from another town.

By the mid-1930s, Pioneer Youth was part of group of organizations campaigning for public playgrounds in the Brownsville and East New York sections of the city. It was acquainting its youngsters with the story of Shay's Rebellion, the uprising of farmers and former soldiers during the post-Revolutionary War depression in Massachusetts.

It was also conducting play schools and establishing clubs in places like mining towns in West Virginia.

Meanwhile, Manumit School opened on September 25, 1924, as a new community school organized by labor people and educators exclusively for the children aged nine to fourteen of trade union workers. Considering the founders intentions, Manumit was an appropriate name. It means to emancipate, to free from slavery or bondage.

As an article in the May 1924 issue of the **Locomotive Engineers Journal** said:

Manumit is the "creation and contribution of two of the staunchest friends of the American labor movement, Mr. and Mrs. William M. Fincke, who have already given abundant evidence both of their disinterested devotion to the labor movement and of their capacity for aiding it by the founding of Brookwood Labor College."

The article also noted the school didn't aim to prepare youngsters for college entrance, but hoped to continue its courses to the point where students would be equipped either to go on to higher education or to enter their life work with well-rounded personalities.

Another article on Manumit in the October 15, 1924, issue of *The Nation* said the school intended to adapt to its own needs the best methods developed at other experimental schools, such as the Modern School at Stelton, New Jersey. Stelton was the colony that Paul and Polly Scott -- at Charles Garland's invitation -- left to join Garland at his April Farm in Pennsylvania where Paul Scott saw a chance to conduct a school himself.

Manumit would differ from the other well-known "free" or "modern" schools -- "which take as pupils mainly the children of professional and middle-class families, with a sprinkling of wage-workers' children for variety." Manumit would more accurately reflect the proportions of the adult world.

Such a comparison applied to the Modern School, however, seemed massively inaccurate.

Further, Manumit recognized the numerous wings and divisions of opinion within American labor. So the school avoided tailoring its teaching to any rigid political line -- because such an approach would "unfit" labor's children for that scientific, discriminating independence on which its future strength so largely rested.

The *Nation* article also said Manumit with considerable reluctance aimed to keep abreast of public school measures of performance.

Manumit reasoned, "If its children are to come from workers' families, who move about a good deal and face economic uncertainties that compel withdrawal of their children and their entrance into a regular public school, Manumit does not want these children to be lost in the public school process -- unideal as that process usually is."

The article ended upon a hopeful and almost prophetic note:

"If the promise of the school thus far and the quality of support given to it by labor and education can be taken as



portents of the future, somewhere -- scattered about in workers' homes -- are fortunate children who may go to Manumit and some day do good works to the glory of our pioneers in labor education."

Two weeks before the school had its first class, it had already secured \$2,400 from the Garland Fund for scholarships for six students. Somewhat typically with Fund grants, Manumit got only half of the \$4,800 for twelve scholarships it requested.

But there were no matching gift conditions tied to it -- though Manumit volunteered dollar for dollar in matching money for the \$4,800.

"In your first year, we did not feel like attaching conditions," Roger Baldwin wrote. "But neither did we feel like carrying one-fourth of your budget. We think it will be a source of strength to the school to find it elsewhere."

William Fincke, who with his wife offered the farm for a dollar a year, thanked the Fund, adding that he hoped it would not be necessary for Manumit to call upon the Fund again this year for further assistance.

He wondered whether the first-blush enthusiastic support of progressive labor people would transform into cold cash.

What might help would be the emotional appeal to aid half orphan children or those whose parents were financially up against it. Families were expected to pay a basic \$270 to cover food, laundry and supplies. Beyond that, \$400 was figured for running the school -- hopefully raised from other sources.

On the other hand, the thought of sending their children away to school was a new idea to workers. Adding to this was that elementary education has little to do with solving economic problems, thus making it difficult to obtain grants for scholarships from the average trade union.

In March 1925, the Fund appropriated \$3,000 for Manumit operating expenses -- though only released \$1,437.

That spring also, Manumit asked for a \$2,000 loan for general expenses. William Fincke personally guaranteed repayment.

The Fund replied that it would approve the loan if Manumit got equal money from labor sources. Garland director Elizabeth Gurley Flynn said she and Baldwin were convinced from prior experiences that labor organizations do not take seriously their obligation to repay the Garland Fund as they would to a bank.

Asked to reconsider, the Fund approved the loan, saying it

would cancel a dollar of the loan for every dollar raised from trade union sources.

The result was \$696 was repaid by Manumit and cancelled \$437 because of matching money. The remaining \$867 was forgiven in 1927 because William Fincke was in a precarious state of health and especially worried about the debt since he had pledged his personal guarantee of repayment.

Meanwhile, the Garland Fund cleared Manumit for a \$7,500 grant in June 1925 based on matching money from trade unions. The Fund actually released \$8,046 since the union money exceeded the original goal.

In 1926, the Fund also provided Manumit \$2,000 to hire field worker Jack F. Anderson to draw students to the school from unions not yet represented in the student body and to gain financial support the institution.

One of Anderson's other tasks was "to show the necessity of labor's gaining representation on public school boards so as to bring the schools again in sympathy with the aims of labor." Yet another was to indicate Manumit's contribution to the labor movement in taking care of orphans, half orphans and children from broken homes.

After speaking before numerous regional, state and local labor units over four months, Anderson reported, "The response I have received to this school is far beyond my expectations."

In 1926, when the school had 39 students, a faculty of 12 and budget of \$35,000, board chairman A. J. Muste and secretary Helen Fincke outlined an extensive plan of Garland Fund support:

-- Contributions reaching \$75,000 over five years, with \$12,000 as starters for 1926-27, based on matching money from union sources.

-- Money to build ten cottages for students and three for faculty. Two were immediately needed, at a cost of \$10,000 each.

-- Funds for a shop center, to include a machine shop, wood shop, dairy to manufacture cheese and butter, laundry, print shop and arts and crafts shop. Here, another \$10,000 was needed.

Muste and Mrs. Fincke claimed that Manumit, with good social support, was in a position to found a type of workers' education that would advance the power of the labor movement. Further, they said, its existence would help promote the establishment of other similar schools.

The initial reaction of the Garland directors was that

outside of tuition Manumit was depending too much upon a single source for its money -- them. Besides, it was in a period of what Elizabeth Gurley Flynn called "severe retrenchment" on actual contributions. . .no matter how sympathetic it was toward Manumit.

Instead, the Garland directors offered an \$18,000 loan interest-free for a year, secured by a first mortgage on the Manumit property, which they thought was free and clear. The board said it was making the offer at a time it didn't even have the \$18,000 in its treasury.

The Finckes balked at a mortgage. Another complication was that there was already a \$9,000 federal farm loan on the property.

The Fund relented somewhat, willing to take a second mortgage on a three-year interest-free loan. And it took nearly a year until the full \$18,000 reached Manumit.

By then, Nellie Seeds, Scott Nearing's first wife, was director of Manumit.

"Manumit can be viewed as a far-sighted social enterprise," she wrote in *The Survey* of June 15, 1927. "Manumit endeavors to make children of workers proud of their fathers and mothers who

work and of the labor movement which they represent."

The Garland Fund provided \$5,000 for operating expenses in May 1929, but that was the last.

The board turned down requests from Nellie Seeds to cancel the mortgage since it asked no interest nor demanded any payments. Roger Baldwin wrote in 1934: "The only possible advantage in our holding it would be to act in case the school was discontinued or if there were a diversion of its original purpose."

One 1934 letter indicates the Fund's mortgage on Manumit was never recorded.

By 1939, Manumit had a capacity enrollment of 68 students, plus a summer camp program. "Our financial prospects are better than they have been for some time," reported treasurer William Stewart.

And in June 1941, William Fincke was informed that that second mortgage was turned over to Garland. The Fund's treasurer advised: "Mr. Garland will get in touch with you in the near future to discuss just what disposition can be made of this mortgage."

There seems to be no way to know if Garland ever collected on that mortgage.

But the Dutchess County Historical Society reported the Pawling property was sold in 1944 and Manumit moved to Bucks County, Pennsylvania. There, according to the Bucks County Historical Society, William Mann Fincke, son of the founders, opened Manumit for classes on the 80-acre Brice estate in Bensalem Township that October.

## GOMPERS BLASTS

The Garland trustees represent an interlocking network of 50 or more of the leading pacifist, pro-Bolshevist and parlor pink organizations.

Samuel Gompers, president  
American Federation of Labor  
April 12, 1923

Things didn't go quite as gloriously with many other projects aided by the Garland Fund as they did with the American Birth Control League efforts or the Workers Health Bureau. Some were downright failures. At least one was a downright fraud.

As Roger Baldwin said in a 1976 interview, "The Garland Fund made mistakes. You're bound to make mistakes when you speculate on the worth and merit of people who are doing some kind of pioneer work. You take chances, big chances.

"I figure that the Garland Fund did about 60-65 percent investments that -- from the point of view of hindsight -- paid off.

"But I think probably almost a third of them. . .if we had realized the capacity of people to carry out their intention. .



if we had realized, we would have figured it better. We wouldn't have given them the money, almost a third, maybe a quarter of them.

"You can't tell. They're rather intangible estimates you can make. What is a failure and what is a success?"

Early trouble, however, came in another way -- in a project the directors turned down.

The Workers Education Bureau of America based at 465 West 23rd Street in New York, an arm of the conservative American Federation of Labor, asked in October 1922 for "a grant in aid of the development of workers' education in the United States" -- certainly as broad a proposal as the Garland Fund would get from anyone.

It was a two-part request:

-- \$3,000 toward the salary of a western district secretary and organizers for the bureau for a year.

The bureau had a candidate, Charles Webber, a graduate of the University of Michigan and the organizer of the Denver Labor College.

-- \$2,500 to be applied to the development of correspondence courses, a library loan service and administration.

The bureau had already developed a correspondence course in social psychology for a group of workers. It prepared another dealing with the "History of the American Labor Movement."

It wanted to do others. A railroad local in Minnesota had requested such a service. The money would pay for the instructors and the materials.

The bureau said there were 60 million people in this country without public library service. It wanted to develop a library loan service for its workers taking classes in areas without adequate libraries.

"Administration" expenses meant the need for more stenographers and clerks to handle the bureau's increased work. But it didn't see any way to get it from organized labor itself.

The entire proposal amounted to \$10,000. Compared to some other grants approved by the Garland Fund, that was a modest amount.

The letter was signed by James H. Maurer as chairman and Spencer Miller Jr., the secretary. One of Reading,

Pennsylvania's, great Socialists, Maurer was president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor. Judging from a host of other later associations with the Garland board, Maurer was a friend and colleague of the directors.

But on this proposal, he was turned down. . .piecemeal.

Roger Baldwin reported the members of the Committee on Applications "cannot see their way clear to carrying the salary of a new organizer at this time."

As to the part asking for money for "your regular work," the workers bureau was told that was under study. The Fund had a half dozen requests in this field. It was going to get some outside expert opinion -- notably accountant Stuart Chase -- on just where it should place its money.

Bureau secretary Miller replied immediately with a sweet note, sympathizing with the Fund on the many calls for money it had received and expressed understanding of the need for careful investigation.

Three months later, in late January 1923, Miller asked to sit down with Baldwin. The bureau hoped to send out lecturers and traveling tutors to groups unable to support them -- if it had the money. He suggested such places as the mining area of

Pennsylvania and the industrial area at the eastern end of the state as well as to the railway organization in Minnesota.

Three major recent strikes in the country had a disintegrating effect on educational experiments, Miller said.

He cited major endowments in Great Britain and Belgium that had made such work possible in those countries. But while not asking for a specific amount here, he said it would be nice to announce at the bureau's upcoming annual conference that it had "some assured funds" until it could be supported fully by the labor movement.

"I do not believe it would do any good for you and me to sit down and discuss the proposal. It is perfectly clear on its face," Baldwin responded. And the report from Stuart Chase was expected shortly.

That was not a brush-off. That was the way the Garland board did business -- in writing. If there were any personal dealings, it was Stuart Chase going out at the Garland Fund's behest to look over the books of an applicant and report back.

Early March, the bureau came under attack in the Railway Review for what the magazine charged was its engineering of a network of classes for labor people being taught by "leaders of

radical thought in American colleges and college Bolsheviki."

The Railway Review said the bureau had 20,000 union members in these classes across the country. New York labor radicals created the bureau in 1921, the review charged, which is closely aligned with the New School for Social Research and the Rand School of Social Science, the latter maintained by the Socialist Party. The bureau had ties with other groups under the control of Socialists and ultra-radical leaders.

The AFL had a working agreement with the bureau, the railway magazine charged.

When The New York Times ran something on this, secretary Miller immediately responded, saying the bureau had no radical aims. He said it does have a cooperative agreement with the AFL, but no ties with the radical organizations mentioned by the Railway Review, nor with the Socialist Party.

"It is concerned primarily with the promotion of adult education among working men and women in this country," Miller was quoted in The Times.

Against this backdrop, Miller got his reply to the Garland Fund request in a March 25 letter from Baldwin. Baldwin explained that in view of the report from Stuart Chase, the Garland board

defined its policy in dealing with such applications this way:

"The Fund in its support of labor education shall favor those organizations which instill into the workers the knowledge and the qualities which will fit them for carrying on the struggle for the emancipation of their class in every sphere."

The Workers Education Bureau did not fit that definition, the board concluded. Hence, it would get no support. The support would go to those with a "radical program."

Baldwin, admitting the board's resolution did not explain itself, tried to give Miller "what light I can" in an April 3 followup letter. But his bluntness probably only aggravated the situation.

The Garland board was looking to "radical pioneer enterprises blazing the way to a world controlled by the producers. Those which take the point of view of the old-line labor movement would not enlist our interest nearly so much as those which represent the progressive militant elements."

The bureau was more than displeased. And Stuart Chase felt he had been fingered by the Garland board as the creator of its policy in this field.

That was mild compared to the all-out assault by Samuel Gompers, the aged and conservative president of the AFL, an organization the Garland directors clearly considered "old-line labor."

The Gompers attack would have warmed the heart of Senator Joseph McCarthy, a slanderer and red-baiter of a later generation.

In about 2,000 widely-roaming words, Gompers unleashed his expose of "the revolutionary character of the Fund while it posed before the public as thoroughly American and non-revolutionary."

As for the Garland directors, they were linked "with perhaps 50 or more leading pacifist, pro-Bolshevist and parlor pink organizations," Gompers charged. "Parlor pink" was the in-vogue epithet by the political right at the time for anyone to its left.

Gompers said the Workers Education Bureau application was really a test to obtain authoritative and final proof of the Garland Fund's true colors -- and he had found out: Red.

And he said it should not be necessary to declare with emphasis that no organization in which the AFL is officially interested could take money from any source such as the Garland

Fund.

Gompers pointed out that among young Charles Garland's earliest advisors was one Roger Baldwin, "the directing genius of the so-called American Civil Liberties Union and an active figure in the councils of the Federated Press."

Gompers conceded that Federated Press was formed ostensibly to gather and distribute labor news to labor and liberal papers.

But, with witch-burning zeal, he disclosed: "Its policy has been such that a former manager was deported from England. Its correspondent was refused admission to the State Department in Washington, and the last AFL convention deemed it necessary to order a thorough investigation."

Gompers repeated the purpose of the bureau as outlined in its constitution and noted various endorsements it had received (including one from him).

He claimed the bureau applied to the Garland Fund for an endowment of \$100,000 in a letter dated February 25.

Gompers was wildly wrong on the facts and figure.

There was a January 25 letter from Miller to the Fund. It



mentioned a yearly grant of 2,000 pounds for five years by the founder of Ruskin College to finance labor education in Great Britain. It also mentioned a man who financed a similar effort in Belgium with 100,000 francs as an initial gift and a million francs in an endowment.

Perhaps Gompers, in the slippage of what was the final year of his life, got confused about those 100,000 francs. There was no mention of \$100,000 in the Miller letter nor any outright request for an endowment.

Whatever Gompers' failing about the bureau's request, he seemed well-versed in his specially selected history of the Garland directors, particularly Baldwin.

He quoted what purported to be a 1917 letter in which Baldwin hoped for "a new radical attack on the hide-bound leadership of the American Federation of Labor" . . . another in which Baldwin told a conscience objector that "it is men like you who will be the centers of things in the reconstruction of democracy which is bound to follow the war."

Fifty years later, Baldwin conceded that he wrote "some unwise letters that Mr. Gompers picked up on. I guess in '23 I was pretty left, more left than I have ever been. Well, I've been left on and off. But I guess it might have been one of those

times when I was critical of the AFL."

Then, Gompers went down the list of the Garland board with his biographical material:

Norman Thomas -- "One of the leading figures in the American Union Against Militarism during the early days of the war. Later, one of the leading figures in the People's Council (the American Soviet), which was one of the most energetic in anti-American propaganda during our participation in the war and who is today actively associated with most of the parlor Bolshevik movements."

Gompers quoted himself when in 1917 he called Thomas "one of the conscious or unconscious agents of the kaiser in America."

Robert Morss Lovett -- "President of the League for Industrial Democracy, formerly known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, an organization in which intellectual revolutionary fadism finds a high degree of development.

"He is one of the editors of the New Republic and chairman of the Federated Press League, formed to secure financial support for Federated Press. Also, a member of the national committee of the ACLU."

Harry F. Ward -- "The most ardent pro-Bolshevik cleric in

this country. . . titular head of the ACLU and an active participant in various parlor pink organizations over a period of several years.

"Prominent in such pacifist and radical organizations as the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the People's Council. . . author of pro-Bolshevik articles, some published in religious publications, resulting in most energetic protests throughout his denomination."

Rabbi Judah L. Magnes -- "Well known as a revolutionary pacifist and for his opposition to the policies of America during the World War. . . a directing genius in several propaganda organizations of the pacifist and parlor pink variety. . . one of the principal organizers of the People's Council. . . a moving spirit in many other pro-Bolshevist and pacifist activities."

Scott Nearing -- "One of the lecturers at the Rand School, a Socialist organization. . . one of the organizers and active figures in the People's Council during the war. . . one of the most consistent and energetic adherents to various ultra-pacifist and pro-Bolshevist movements. . . a contributor to Gale's Magazine published by Lynn A.E. Gale in Mexico City as an out-and-out Communist organ. Upon being deported into the United States from Mexico, Gale was sent to prison as a draft dodger. He is still in prison."

(Gale never was a member of the Garland Fund board, nor had any dealings with it.)

"Dr. Nearing, a member of the national committee of the ACLU, wrote of the war as 'the great madness.'"

William Z. Foster -- "Communist American representative of the Lenine dictatorship. . .head of the so-called Trade Union Educational League, the avowed purpose of which is to create a revolutionary Communist labor movement in the United States as the first step toward the overthrow of the American government. . .also a member of the executive board of Federated Press."

Sidney Hillman -- "Head of the workers seceding from the bona fide garment workers' union and whose clothing workers' corporation in Russia under the Soviet regime his attorney, Colonel W.O. Thompson, said was a scheme doomed in advance to failure. . .the financing of this Soviet scheme is by contributions from American workers."

Mary E. MacDowell -- "Member of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom which recently called upon Secretary Charles Evans Hughes to demand recognition of Russia."

James Weldon Johnson -- "Associated in various activites

with Oswald Garrison Villard, John Haynes Holmes and other pro-Soviet 'liberals' of that type."

Lewis Gannett -- "One of the editors of the Nation, which is a pro-Soviet publication that was pacifist during the war."

After reciting this list of undesirable associations of the Garland directors, Gompers said it wasn't necessary to go into further detail about the Communist character of some of them, particularly the ACLU and Federated Press.

He closed with a public service message:

"The American Federation of Labor, through its president, makes public these facts in order that there may be no further illusions in the public mind as to the character of the American Fund for Public Service, which has at its command to use in any manner its trustees deem expedient the enormous wealth turned over to their tender mercies by an eccentric young millionaire."

The only one who escaped relatively unscathed by Gompers was Garland himself -- just labeled eccentric and prone to advice from Baldwin.

The story made page one of such newspapers as **The New York Times**, **Providence Evening Bulletin**, **Boston Globe**, **New York**

Tribune and the Socialist New York Call.

In several, including *The Times*, Baldwin got something of a rebuttal right in the Gompers story. The Socialist Call, as might be expected, gave Gompers a couple paragraphs and the rest was all Garland Fund statements and reports, while the *Providence Bulletin* account was all Gompers, as might also be expected.

Baldwin denied the Fund was supporting revolutionary organizations. He said it was aligned with neither revolutionary nor non-revolutionary groups. Rather, the Fund helped "organized producing classes and organized minority groups."

The Fund had planned to release a report on its first six months the following Sunday. But in view of the Gompers attack, it put out the report immediately. And its main point was that over \$25,000 had been given outright and over \$100,000 lent to radical and labor organizations.

The gifts included \$3,300 to the NAACP for a campaign for a federal anti-lynching bill, \$5,000 for teachers salaries for the Rand School of Social Science in New York and \$6,400 for the League for Industrial Democracy.

Among the larger loans were \$25,000 to the United Mine Workers (already repaid); \$25,000 to the *Minnesota Daily Star*,

\$17,000 to the Oklahoma Leader and \$10,000 to the New York Call, all three labor or cooperative papers; \$10,000 to the Labor Defense Council in Chicago to aid in the defense of Communist William Z. Foster and his associates, and \$7,000 to the Labor Bureau in New York.

That was tame compared with the counter-attack that came from Baldwin and Norman Thomas the following day. They laid Gompers low.

They said the attack by Gompers on the Fund was clearly the result of his disappointment in not receiving the grant for the Workers Education Bureau.

The Fund's board and activities were given wide publicity eight months earlier. "If Mr. Gompers thought we were a revolutionary organization improper for the labor movement to deal with, he should have warned his adherents then.

"It comes with poor grace from him now to object to the character of the Fund's trustees after one of his enterprises has failed to receive the \$10,000 it asked for."

But Baldwin and Thomas suggested what may soften Gompers' indignation somewhat would be to learn that many AFL enterprises have been beneficiaries of the Fund.

Among those directly or indirectly tied to the AFL getting Garland money were "the United Mine Workers, District 2, Cresson, Pennsylvania, to whom our biggest loan was made, \$25,000; Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York; whose labor cooperating committee is composed entirely of representatives of unions affiliated with the AFL; the National Women's Trade Union League, Chicago, officially affiliated with the AFL, and the Teachers Union, New York City."

Others included the **Minnesota Daily Star**, official organ of the AFL in Minnesota, and other labor papers, they said.

Baldwin and Thomas said they'd welcome an explanation from Gompers on how "revolutionary and pacifist" these enterprises were.

They said many other AFL groups had applied for Garland money. The Fund regretfully turned them down because of limited resources or because their work should be supported elsewhere. The Fund's decision to refuse the Workers Education Bureau was entirely consistent with that.

"We see that Mr. Gompers is still fighting the war," they said. "His chief charges against us are that we are 'revolutionary and pacifist.' We thought the war was over."



Then, turning some of Gompers own tactics back upon him, they pointed out that the AFL chief welcomed the support of Wisconsin Senator Robert La Follette, who was certainly opposed to the war, but was an honored guest at the union's recent convention.

"It also happens that the secretary of Mr. Gompers' organization, to which we were unable to contribute, was a pacifist during the war and, so far as we know, still is.

"These facts make us suspect that Mr. Gompers is merely using a characterization which he hopes will prejudice public opinion against us," Baldwin and Thomas said for the Garland directors.

Besides, the Garland Fund's \$850,000 is insignificant compared with the resources of organized labor. Any one of the strong international unions has more resources. Despite Gompers' excitement about the Fund financing the revolutionary movement in America, it's plain nonsense to think the Fund could achieve a revolutionary purpose or subvert Gompers' labor movement.

As they saw it, Gompers put himself in the interesting position of opposing progressive movements by and for the working class -- the type the Garland directors said they would aid.

The Garland directors took precisely the definition of the Belgian workers education enterprises organized to carry on "the struggle for the emancipation of their class in every sphere." Was Gompers opposed to that?

Finally, they said they knew that Gompers, despite his official position, didn't speak for the rank and file of organized labor. They predicted: "The day is rapidly coming when more progressive and constructive forces will dominate the American labor movement."

Meanwhile, they said that fair-minded citizens of all political shades will judge the Fund by its actual gifts, not by allegations regarding its trustees. And what those gifts are will be regularly reported to the press and the public.

Gompers grumped back a feeble guilt-by-association reply.

"These men are ardent friends of Moscow," he contended. "If there is anything in common between the democracy of America and the cruel ruthless tyranny of Moscow, I have yet to find it."

He claimed the only money the Garland trustees had given or lent had been to "Red Revolutionists or to the fragment of the left wing whose purpose is the control or destruction of the bona fide trade unions."

He promised further revelations "at the proper time" concerning what he saw as the Communist aims of the Garland Fund.

That proper time never came before death claimed Gompers in 1924.

In an April 23, 1923, editorial at the height of this fuss, the **Providence Evening Journal** quoted its own condemnation of the Garland Fund in 1922 when it began operation:

"It seems a pity to place such a large sum in a trust fund which must be swallowed up in the abyss of shattered dreams, unpopular standards and causes the worth of which is largely a matter of conjecture."

Jumping to the moment, the **Journal** saw the Fund as paying for lawyers who defend men charged with criminal syndicalism and attempts to wreck the U.S. government and supporting radical newspapers and propaganda organs which spread pacifist lies and inflame readers to open rebellion against the government.

Small wonder that Gompers disavows any connection to groups getting Garland money and the trustees administering "this Fund for destruction!"

The **Journal** failed to explain how the pacifist lies went hand in hand with destruction and open rebellion.

But it claimed Garland's million was "only one of the many spent every year to increase class hatreds, promote discontent and teach disrespect for American institutions and traditions."

In some respects, the **Journal** was right.

The Garland Fund did promote discontent and teach disrespect for some American institutions and traditions. . .government bodies at various levels that used strong-arm methods to suppress free speech and traditions like the subjugation and lynching of blacks, the domestic enslavement of women, the beating down of workers attempting to organize unions and perpetuating gunboat diplomacy to protect big business in Central America.

The New Republic, whose editors included Garland board member Robert Morss Lovett, said the Fund committed a serious mistake when it limited its aid for workers education only to those programs that fostered "pugnacious agitations and causes."

Education is independent of class and national conflicts, the New Republic said. As such, it is particularly indispensable and sacred for the emancipation of wage-earners and their spokesmen.

Yet, the magazine charged the Gompers attack on the Fund was both silly and contemptible.

Gompers is one of those people uncomfortable in carrying out a public controversy "unless he can disqualify his opponents by calling them names," the New Republic said. For Gompers, the only way to promote American labor is to swear unquestioned loyalty to the AFL and the policies of its management.

"Mr. Gompers has as usual unearthed in the American Fund for Public Service a red revolutionary conspiracy against public order, the ground of his condemnation being that its trustees believed in peace and worked for it, that they have fought for the preservation of American civil liberties and that they have favored a conciliatory policy on the part of the American government toward the Russian Soviet Republic," the editorial summarized.

There were several sidelights to this Gompers fracas that were quietly resolved.

Norman Thomas as a friend to many associated with the Workers Education Bureau wrote to its board. He reiterated his belief in workers education, but stood by the Garland board's decision to say no to the bureau.

Spencer Miller's statements several weeks earlier in *The New York Times* tied the bureau to a program of adult education without any particular definite object or aim -- unlike the Belgian program, Thomas said.

Miller also "went to the extreme of repudiating the sort of work in which our Fund is particularly interested," Thomas said. That's why Roger Baldwin wrote a note trying to explain it all.

Thomas reminded the bureau leaders that the Fund did not attack the bureau or intend to, nor did it reveal the exchange of letters to the public. Gompers had.

He called the Gompers attack unjust. "I do not believe the W.E.B. is behind it or approves of it. I have tried to make it plain to reporters who have besieged me that we have no personal feelings against W.E.B.

"I cannot believe your application was merely a trick to test us and that you then rushed into print or got Mr. Gompers to rush into print to denounce us for beliefs which you share and for memberships and organizations with which many of you are connected."

The hurt feelings of Stuart Chase were another matter. He

was irked the Garland directors made it sound like they had turned down the Workers Education Bureau on his say-so. The Garland directors had breached a confidence in dragging his name into their letter to the bureau.

Chase said that what he did for the most part was provide facts. He didn't write the policy or even suggest it.

Rather, about the Worker Education Bureau, he had written: "It is invaluable to the effective growth of the organized labor movement. Its greatest need is an endowment to balance a modest budget. An application for assistance from this source is worthy of deep consideration."

Baldwin apologized to Chase for himself and Thomas.

There would be other attacks on the Fund and vilification of its directors following the Gompers approach -- by henchmen of United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis the following year, by self-appointed super-patriots of the political right, by autocratic Jersey City Mayor Frank Hague in the late 1930s and by various red-hunting congressional committees, one even a decade after the Garland Fund closed for business in 1941.

But, as Baldwin and Thomas suggested, fair-minded people would judge the Garland directors by the gifts they made.

One further measurement of its character might be who asked for Garland Fund money.

Despite the attacks about the far left leanings of its directors, the Fund over its 20-year existence was besieged with requests for money from groups of all political and social persuasions, including the American Bible Society, American Heart Association, American Red Cross, Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches, Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, Community Chest of San Diego, Junior Achievement, National USO Campaign, Salvation Army, University of Georgia School of Medicine, U.S. Flag Association and U.S. Junior Naval Reserve.

Several requesting organizations on their letterheads had the likes of Presidents Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover, President-to-be Franklin Roosevelt, presidential candidate Alfred E. Smith, presidential candidate-to-be Thomas E. Dewey, arch conservative Congressman Hamilton Fish and Dr. Norman Vincent Peale.

Apparently, they took the attitude of the Old Testament prophet Elijah in the wilderness being fed meat brought by birds -- that they were willing to accept any bounty received without probing into the details of where it came from.



## IRISH UNHAPPINESS

Rejection evidently makes queer bedfellows.

Norman Thomas, April 16, 1923

The Garland Fund directors got a second dose of abuse from another rejected "suitor" at the same time in April 1923 that Gompers launched his attack.

The executive committee of the Ulster Defense Alliance denounced the Garland board as anti-Irish, anti-labor, disloyal to their trust and unworthy of the confidence reposed in them by Charles Garland -- somehow avoiding echoing Gompers in calling the Garland directors a bunch of Communists and parlor pinks.

The board on a 6-4 vote had turned down a request from Irish labor agitator and recent Sing Sing resident James "Big Jim" Larkin for a loan toward purchase of a mercy ship to transport food, clothing and medical supplies to Dublin, Cork and Belfast.

The alliance charged intrigue and interference by an Englishman who it alleged had been publicly denounced as a British spy and was an intimate of another Irish faction.

Specifically, it claimed Dr. William J.M.A. Maloney, formerly surgeon in His Majesty King George of England's Army,

had successfully advised Norman Thomas to change his mind and vote against the project.

Thomas told Larkin that simply wasn't so. Yes, Dr. Maloney was his friend. But it was his own decision to reject the proposal "and would have been the same had there been no Dr. Maloney."

Thomas tried to end his message to Larkin on a light note: "Now that the business is over, maybe you can afford to laugh with me over the trials of being a trustee of the American Fund. On one and the same day, you and Samuel Gompers let forth your blasts -- both of you because you didn't get money for something in which you were interested. Rejection evidently makes queer bedfellows."

Meanwhile, Scott Nearing had further stirred up the already troubled waters by telling some Irish women in Boston he favored the relief ship but not with Larkin aboard, fearing his presence would cause British gunboats "to blow such a ship out of the water."

Roger Baldwin, who backed the Larkin project, added to the treacherous cross-currents by keeping the applicant informed on developments on the Garland Fund voting -- something that seemed to be kept confidential with all other applicants.

But to give Baldwin his due, while expressing his personal sorrow that the proposal lost, he did tell Larkin that the six who voted against the project "based their decision on an established rule of the Fund not to aid enterprises outside the United States except in unusual circumstances, nor to help those enterprises which can be financed from other sources. They feel the Irish and labor movements here could be enlisted and that this Fund does not exist to undertake work which they should handle."

It made for a fine mess, right atop the Gompers grumping.

The whole squabble came out April 18, 1923, in the **New York Tribune** -- after all the unpleasantries had been exchanged. The **New York Times** wrote nary a line.

Three days later, Larkin -- cursing the press and threatening reporters -- was put aboard the *Majestic* of the White Star Line for his deportation to Ireland. The final insult was the U.S. Department of Labor refused to send him home aboard an American vessel. He traveled steerage -- the cheapest possible. And with Larkin's departure went his hopes for the mercy ship.

What failed to reach the public ear was the lyrical lilt of

this Irishman's application to the Garland board.

But to backtrack four months, Irish agitator Larkin was granted an unconditional pardon by New York Gov. Alfred E. Smith after serving two years of a five-year sentence at Sing Sing for criminal anarchy.

Larkin's crime was putting his name to a manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party that advocated a change in the form of government "to a dictatorship of the proletariat" to be accomplished by strikes called to effect the political action of the electorate.

The ACLU initiated the move to free Larkin and several other "political prisoners." Even the D.A.R. supported freeing Larkin.

Gov. Smith said in his pardon order, "This is a case where a man has been punished for the statement of his beliefs. From the legal point of view, it is a case where a man has received -- during the period of unusual popular excitement following the close of the war -- too severe a sentence for a crime involving no moral turpitude."

New York State Senator Clayton Lusk, a Republican, said Smith didn't know what he was talking about. Editorially, *The New York Times* praised Smith for the pardon, but said he should have

kept his questionable reasons to himself. It called Larkin neither repentant nor grateful.

Released from Sing Sing, Larkin headed for Manhattan and a meeting with Roger Baldwin.

And over the next month since he "came out of state prison to the larger prison of the world," Larkin claimed to have addressed more than 20,000 people in New York, Detroit, Chicago and several New England cities on his mercy ship scheme and raised \$6,400.

In the lilting words of his application of February 20, 1923, that he had already shared verbally with Roger Baldwin, Lewis Gannett and Norman Thomas, Larkin said:

"Economic and political chaos. Fratricidal strife. Unemployment (consequent misery and starvation) lives with the People of my Country. Some common measure must be found to provide a basis of unity for the warring factions. . .

"Before the soul can be stirred, the stomach must be satisfied. An unemployed starving mass of men, hungry bitter-hearted women and famine-eyed children must of necessity be comforted before they are in a receptive condition to receive any appeal, ethical or otherwise.

"Symbolism, soul value and imagination have got to be utilized. Our people have dreamed, our poets and prophets have sung of 'the men that have come up from the ships,' bringing peace, comfort and brotherhood to the children of Gael.

"As they say in the schools, a physical demonstration is worth a hundred years of theorizing, a grip of the hand worth a million unseen vibrations of the heart.

"I propose, therefore, that a ship be acquired by purchase, placed on berth, New York harbor, to be used as a platform or rallying center, for all humans irrespective of nation or creed, and thus make physical demonstration that in our day the Parable of the Loaves and Fishes can be applied to a purpose."

Larkin envisioned the ship -- his ark of the new covenant -- as manned by volunteer seamen and filled with food and clothing donated "by those who must respond." He would be on it when she enters the port of Dublin on Easter. Selah!

That ship would be a message of brotherhood from the earth's peoples.

What he wanted from the Garland Fund was to place in the hands of his New York purchasing committee \$25,000 or possibly

\$50,000 to buy a ship at auction in the next few days that was being held under a lien.

This was the steamship Acropolis, formerly the Kilpatrick, a United States transport built in Belfast.

As security, he offered the Garland Fund first mortgage on the ship and association in the company to manage it. "Further, within a week after berthing in the port of Dublin, I undertake to repay every dollar advanced."

Larkin wanted this all resolved right away -- prior to his last tour across America before returning home.

The Garland directors rarely rushed when someone was trying to hurry them along. Yet, within four days, Baldwin informed Larkin four directors were four it, four opposed and three not yet voting. "I will push it as hard as I can," Baldwin said.

But on March 8, Baldwin informed Larkin by letter the final vote was six opposed, four in favor and one director in Europe not voting.

More than a month later, Bulletin #1 of the Irish Relief Ship Committee attacked the Garland Fund as anti-Irish and particularly Norman Thomas, Robert Morss Lovett and Mary McDowell

for their "no" votes.

That led to the April 18 article in the *New York Tribune* on the second unhappy Garland Fund reject that week.

And departing aboard the *Majestic* on April 21, the deported Larkin in a less poetic mood told questioning reporters, "I never talk to the press. I've yet to shake the hand of a newspaperman. If you don't move away, you'll be carried away."

As *New York Times* stories later that year disclose, this Irish agitator was back in Ireland still practicing his basic occupation.



## GARLAND A SAINT?

Down here, we aren't a bit interested in the rest of the world, and we can't see why people are so interested in us.

Bettina Hovey

April Farm commune member

May 5, 1923

Meanwhile, as controversy swirled between both Gompers and Larkin and the Garland directors, the soap opera life of Charles Garland also provided a few new chapters for the public press.

Mary (Wrenn) Garland had just returned in April 1923 from a trip to Europe after being away for much of the winter.

Some segments of the press overstated the length of her absence, saying she had been gone for nearly a year. At best, it was six months, because she was that much along in her pregnancy with Barley's third child when she got home.

The *New York Times* and the *Boston Sunday Advertiser* both announced in late April that the Garlands had reconciled. The *Times* said they were living together.

The **Advertiser** contended that Barley was spending his evenings with Mary at Shore Cottage on Buttermilk Bay -- Mary's home in the Garland family complex at Buzzards Bay. But he was sleeping at his mother's home and returning in the morning to sit across the table from Mary at breakfast -- then going off for the day to his chores at April Farm.

"The comely maidens at April Farm will have to eat their morning meal alone," the **Advertiser** said. Those comely maidens were the Quaker, Alice Edgerton, and Bettina Hovey, the bosomy estranged daughter of former Metropolitan Magazine editor Carl Hovey -- who while editor hired John Reed to cover World War I. "Bettina looked as though she had just stepped from a Russian ballet," the paper said.

What the **Advertiser** revealed came from the mouth of a visiting artist, Max Simpson, who was at the Buzzards Bay complex at the invitation of Barley's mother. He even supplied the items in Mary's breakfast menu and compared them with the simpler fare at April Farm. Such were salient points in journalism's instant history, as least as the **Advertiser** saw it.

But Garland himself was not going into family matters. Dogged by the press, he finally consented to talk:

"I will not discuss my relations with my wife. I have been

maltreated and misrepresented in the newspapers. I have been lied about, and the true story of our affairs has never been printed. You fellows don't want the truth. All you want is a story."

Mary, through Max Simpson, said she refused to talk directly to reporters. "There has been so much in the papers and so little of it the truth that I don't care what is printed now," she conveyed through Simpson.

But within days, there were other reports that any reconciliation between the Garlands was over. Mary Garland had left Shore Cottage. Barley had returned to his two bare-legged and barefoot soulmates, Alice and Bettina, in a love-nest in a dell in the deep woods of North Carver.

In fact, Mary had driven him there and dropped him off as he was greeted by Alice and Bettina, who were "lightly clad."

Bettina at the end of her life was still a saucy earthy woman. And the demure Alice in her mid-90s was off to the South with a younger male companion for the winters. So as young women, they probably gave the oogling press much to oogle.

A very different view of the colony came from Rabbi Louis Browne, a Yale graduate student, that same spring. He inveigled an introduction to April Farm through the intervention of a

friend. He went there out of curiosity -- "an effete rabbi," he called himself, whose hands were used to carrying nothing more weighty than a walking cane and whose muscles were trained only to make graceful pulpit gestures.

He said he arrived with no intention of writing about Garland or his place. But after seeing what Garland was trying so sincerely to do and after learning Garland's unconventional ideas on love and marriage, Browne felt his experience ought to be passed on to others.

He wrote a three-page series for *Cosmopolitan News Service* in May 1923 that virtually canonized Garland and found in the seven colonists there at the time an idyllic group almost too good to be true.

"Charles Garland, I am convinced, is a man extraordinary.,, Possibly, a saint," Browne wrote for his lead in the first article.

"After three days of intimate contact on his farm, I am left with the feeling that I have talked with a man who I would liken to a new Nazarene. He does far more than talk his idea. He lives it," Browne concluded.

The rabbi found that Garland labored on his 30-acre farm

nine or ten hours a day, ate the coarse foods served at every meal, slept on a wooden board and seemed extremely happy.

"He just looks the sort of boy who could refuse a great fortune and go off to freeze all winter and sweat all summer amid bogs and waste of sand."

Garland's love for work was infectious. "Work to him is lovely, beautiful, gloriously cheering, especially work on the soil. . .and he expects others to love it just as much. The strangest part of it is that others do get to love it when they are around him."

After wielding a shovel until his body ached and his arms seemed made of lead, Browne counted himself in that group.

Barley, who had been there nearly two years, no longer owned the farm. He had deeded it over to three friends as the trustees of the community, Browne said. It was an act that Barley would repeat years later in Pennsylvania with the second April Farm.

In the Quaker Alice Edgerton, Browne saw someone people would call plain were it not for her smile that is forever lighting up her face. . .singing while she kneads coarse bread dough. . .kindliness, thoughtfulness and love personified. . .a creature finding her only pleasure in serving her fellowmen.

Handsome William Simpson, 30, was of good stock, a Presbyterian minister who had outgrown the Presbyterian Church and even the Christian religion, Browne said. Simpson believed there was one religion which was taught with different accents through the prophets, Buddha, Confucius and Jesus.

For two years, Simpson worked as an itinerant carpenter for his food and lodging and preached on streetcorners. At April Farm, he was working half days building a windmill, then studying the rest of the time in his cabin.

"William Simpson is perhaps the noblest man of God I have ever seen," Rabbi Browne extolled -- without specifying how many men of God he had seen.

Bettina Hovey he so accurately described as an "untamed girl of 22, thorough child of nature, who remembers days in a fashionable boarding school and nights at Yale proms, but now seems superlatively happy tramping about barefoot or in torn sandals."

Bettina had nothing of the religious training of the others, yet possessed their same attitude toward life, the rabbi observed. He quoted her as saying, "The only joy on earth is to be found in work that is free and creative."

But what he failed to spot was that Bettina envisioned an even greater joy on earth. She was wildly in love with Barley. Within a few months of Browne's articles, Bettina and Barley would be doing a bit of procreative creating that would result in their first child, Carl, in May 1924.

There were also conscientious objector Frank Hennessey, who had gone to prison rather than serve in the Army, and Charles Christian, a grey-bearded musician who provided sweet flute playing -- as well as two neighborhood children, Mary and George Wrightington.

The group shunned labels. But Browne gave them one nonetheless -- "philosophical anarchists."

Barley had come by his views through a diligent study of Tolstoy. A whole set of the great Russian's writings was in the shack. Over Barley's wood bunk in the barn were other books of like spirit.

The rabbi credited Simpson with reaching his present thinking "via that most radical of all books, the Bible." Books Simpson arrived with at April Farm were already much underlined from study. Now, they were labeled "Everybody's" and they, too, were housed in the shack.

And the rabbi reported, "All members of the community are unhappy unless they are completely free.

"According to them, no man is free so long as he owns anything. . . a house of his own, furniture, books, a wife or anything else that he must watch and guard lest someone steal it.

"It takes an extraordinary amount of thoughtfulness to get by with such a system, But in this community, they seem to have thoughtfulness aplenty," the rabbi wrote.

And that led the rabbi to what he called "this free-love business."

Browne found Garland was less hesitant to talk as they lay in their nearby bunks at night in the darkness, waiting for sleep to come.

With the pawing of a horse and the munching of a cow in stalls below, Garland told him that the whole system of matrimony seems wrong. "It's too closely tied up with the idea of private property.

"A man owns a woman and a woman owns a man, and all day long they are busy running after or away from each other. That's



wrong. It is slavery, and slavery kills love."

Browne had sanctified many marriages and had seen them desecrated by the very tightness of the bond. He was lost for an answer. So he replied by questioning, "What would you do? Let all men and women surrender to their passions whenever they're so moved?"

"No," Garland answered slowly. "But let them surrender to their better selves. The heart of man is good, not evil. All he has to do in this matter of sex is to be natural and let the goodness in him decide how he will act."

That series prompted the *Boston Herald-American* to generate a scholarly interview with Bettina. While Rabbi Browne had called Bettina an untamed girl of 22, a thorough child of nature, the *Herald-American* labeled her a reformer -- a term it used repeatedly in the interview.

Bettina expounded that April Farm was a colony similar to the famous Brook Farm established in 1840 on a milk farm in Roxbury.

George Ripley, who conceived the idea of Brook Farm, said it was "to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor than now exist, to combine the thinker and the

worker so far as possible in the same individual."

Hawthorne in a letter from Brook Farm told his sister: "The whole fraternity eat together and such delectable way of life has never been seen on earth since the days of the early Christians."

Bettina stormed to the interviewer, "We have been reviled as free love artists and ridiculed as freak enthusiasts."

"Yet, the project we have launched is similar to the great ideas supported a hundred years ago by the greatest thinkers of New England -- Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau and Wollcott."

"There's nothing particularly revolutionary about our ideas. We're not planning anything more drastic than cultivating a farm."

Meanwhile, that same spring of 1923 and unbeknown to the press, there was activity elsewhere in the Garland family. Barley was still maintaining contact with his 1922 soulmate, Lillian Conrad, who was working in New York. Marie Garland, Barley's mother, was also in the city.

Marie was about to go abroad, with Bermuda her first stop, where she had a beautiful hillside home called Parapet. She wrote to Lillian, her former secretary, asking her if she wanted to

accompany her.

Family members say that when Lillian left Barley in early 1922, he gave her a good bit of money. Later, she came back and asked for more -- this time to be refused.

But as Lillian's letter of March 23, 1923, to Marie revealed, she and Barley still knew where to find each other.

Lillian wrote that she recently had lunch in New York with Swinburne Hale, who by then had parted from Marie. Lillian went with Hale to his New York quarters to meet the young woman Hale was having an affair with. "He acted more like a father, and she responded in the same way," Lillian reported of the girl.

Somehow Hale got the idea from that luncheon encounter that Lillian was interested in an affair. He conveyed that to Marie. So Lillian in her letter assured Marie she'd never have to worry for a moment about an affair between her and Swinburne.

Apparently swearing off men, for the moment anyway, she added, "The thought of anything like that in my life would seem impossible with anyone.

"For, dear, I have suffered a great deal because of my great love for your boy. He was here the other night to see me and

though our visit was short and without any close relation, yet just seeing him and having a talk and knowing he still cares for me meant a great deal.

"The pang of separation is still within.

"Is it not through suffering that we reach our great potential heights? Then, you and I must be progressing along that road which makes our tired feet sore with the roughness of the stone and our hearts sad within with the length of the journey."

Marie probably would have cheered had Lillian gotten Barley into bed again. She liked Lillian, whereas she considered Mary Wrenn a pampered whimp and Bettina Hovey a testy upstart. The flamboyant Marie had another reason for disliking Mary Wrenn. She was the one who had turned Marie into a grandmother.

MOVE TO PENNSYLVANIA

NORTH CARVER -- Charles Garland's  
platonic colony at April Farm has disbanded.

Boston Advertiser

February 17, 1924

The year 1924 was a quiet one for Charles Garland as far as the public press was concerned. But not in his own life.

He disbanded his North Carver commune, turned the property over to an absolute screwball named Armistead Collier and quietly moved the commune to Lower Milford Township in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, about 15 miles southwest of the county seat of Allentown. Up to a dozen colonist went with him, including Bettina Hovey and Doris Benson, the latter one of those people his mother had adopted some years earlier.

The press barely noticed his departure from Massachusetts. After all, he was yesterday's news, and there were fresh sensations to expose and chase.

Garland would become a father twice in 1924 -- once with a woman the press called his new soulmate, Bettina Hovey, and later the same year with his wife, Mary.

Bettina was the daughter of Boston-born Carl Hovey, "who came from a wealthy, liberal Boston family who could trace its American ancestry back to 1635," according to Santa Monica College Professor Larry Leplair in his book on Hovey's second wife, Sonya Levien.

Hovey was Harvard '97 and editor of the *Crimson Herald*, a newspaper and magazine writer who early in his career wrote biographies of Stonewall Jackson and J. Pierpont Morgan. He went on to become managing editor of Heart's Metropolitan Magazine, which called itself "the livest magazine in America" when Hovey first joined the organization in the early 1900s.

As editor, he dealt with writer John Reed in 1914 when Reed was sending back articles on revolution and turmoil in Mexico. To Reed in El Paso, he telegraphed that February 14: "Battle article received. Nothing finer could have been written."

And in early 1915, Hovey wrote to Reed, a fellow Harvard alumnus, at the Harvard Club in New York: "This is to certify that you have been appointed a representative and correspondent in Europe for the Metropolitan Magazine of New York for the purpose of observing in its behalf the present war conditions in Europe and reporting generally on the same."

Hovey, however, would fire Reed three months before President Woodrow Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war.

To his Harvard classmates in 1922 in their 25th anniversary book, Hovey wrote that the connection of former President Theodore Roosevelt as a columnist for Metropolitan Magazine during the last four years of Roosevelt's life was the highlight of his career. He said:

The colonel had his office with us, came in frequently, exploded into discussion with the humblest of our employees or went out to lunch at the Harvard Club with our editorial staff, often adding a list of other persons who, in the variety of their occupations and characters, had the incredible range of the cast of a problem play.

I am more inclined to speak of having known Roosevelt well than to recall any other achievement I could rake up.

There is no much of the ideal Harvard in his extraordinary combination of fineness, openness, democratic zest, scholarship and freedom from all fiddle-de-daddle that the memory of my association with T.R. is a kind of Harvard memory, too. It was almost entirely

through the Metropolitan that he carried on his great campaign for national preparedness long before we went into the war.

So it was through her father that Bettina as a teen-ager came to know both John Reed and Teddy Roosevelt.

Bettina's mother, Jean (Edgerton) Hovey, was southern-born, from Charleston, South Carolina. She had written a novel, "John o' Partletts': A Tale of Strife and Courage," in 1913 that Bettina desperately wanted to get a copy of near the end of her life.

Hovey hired Sonya Levien in 1912 to the Metropolitan staff, a Jew from Eastern Europe and a former lover of Sinclair Lewis. She joined an array of noted writers contributing to the Metropolitan that included Edna Ferber, Joseph Conrad, Theodore Dreiser and, of course, Sinclair Lewis himself.

In late 1915, Jean Hovey committed suicide shortly after Bettina's 15th birthday. And in October 1917, Carl Hovey married Sonya. Bettina was livid with the woman who replaced her mother in her father's life.

Both Sonya and Carl would later have careers as screen writers in Hollywood -- Sonya winning an Academy Award in 1955



for "Interrupted Melody" and having writing credits for such other films as "Quo Vadis" and "Hunchback of Notre Dame." In his newspaper column, Will Rogers hailed Sonya as "the best female scenario writer."

Bettina's father lacked steady employment in Hollywood and became pretty much a house husband to Tamara and Serge, children he had with Sonya.

Bettina saw this stepmother as the one who had somehow caused her own mother's death, though she refused to offer specifics. And the fact that Sonya Levien was Jewish seemed to poison Bettina's heart thereafter with anti-Semitism.

Barley was open to anyone at both April Farms. But Bettina carried a special resentment to Jews who arrived. That became particularly evident to new arrival Paul Scott at the second April Farm. His wife Polly was Jewish.

As a young girl, Bettina attended a select Medera School for Girls in Washington, D.C. Classmates described her as of fine character, yet someone struggling against the problems of life without a mother to guide and protect her. Before she met Barley, she was a \$15-a-week clerk filing photographs in an office in downtown Boston. Fellow workers said she often talked admiringly of Garland for refusing to take his unearned fortune.

Somewhere along the way she developed a beautifully "cultured" way of speaking -- though by later years that was enhanced by a rather salty vocabulary.

She was in her early 20s when she went to the first April Farm at the behest of a newspaper. Her plan was to join the group as a legitimate disciple, stay awhile and then write stories of that experience. That plan went awry when she fell in love with Barley. She remained, never wrote the stories and eventually got in bed with him. They conceived their first child in August 1923.

And it was her relationship with Barley that severed forever any lingering ties Bettina may have had with her father. "My father never accepted my relations with Barley. He absolutely hated Barley."

Bettina named her firstborn by Barley after her father -- perhaps her way to reach out to him in one final attempt at reconciliation. Grandchildren can often do that in a feuding family. But with the Hovey family, it failed.

The final evidence came decades later in the obituaries for Bettina's father and stepmother.

When Bettina's father died in June 1956, his obituary in the

Los Angeles Times listed his survivors as his widow and two sons, Copeland and Serge. Copeland was Bettina's older brother, also by Jean, and Serge was her half-brother, a child of Sonya's. There was no mention of Bettina nor of Tamara Hovey Gold, Sonya's daughter who was also a screenwriter. Tamara had been blacklisted only three years prior after her name and her husband's came up in the congressional witchhunts for Communists in Hollywood.

And with Sonya's death in 1960, the Los Angeles Times obit carried no mention of even her stepson Copeland, just Serge and Tamara, the latter then in exile in Paris.

The alienation, however, continues beyond the grave. Approached through an intermediary, Carl Hovey's second family refused to be interviewed for this book. And for the 1996 book on "A Great Lady: A Life of Screenwriter Sonya Levien," author Larry Ceplair wrote that he got absolutely no assistance from Tamara beyond the public papers filed at the Huntington Library.

Whatever the Hovey family bitterness in the early 1920s, that didn't stop the arrival of Carl Garland on May 5, 1924, to Bettina and Barley at East Alstead, New Hampshire, where the prominently pregnant Mary Wrenn had another home. Barley wanted to avoid the press that had stalked him at Buzzards Bay and North Carver. "He was afraid of the publicity. He didn't want those horrible newspaper people around," Bettina said.

Mary cared for Bettina and her baby in the first weeks of Carl's life because Barley asked her to until he and Bettina became settled in their new place in Pennsylvania. Mary would have done most anything Barley asked.

"Well, I loved him," Mary Wrenn explained 60 years later. "I thought, you know, he was pretty young. Given time, he might grow up. Not outgrow it, grow up."

Bettina recalled, "Mary never lauded it over me that she was the wife. She was one of the nicest people I've known. She was crazy about Barley, absolutely crazy about him.

"She took me into her home after Carl was born. The average woman would have given me a dose of poison."

Bettina said Mary realize to some extent that Barley was going to be with somebody. "I was a nice girl, refined girl. Our fathers went to Harvard together. She knew that I was sincere, not out for Barley's money."

She remembered Mary as really not a jealous person, not antagonistic. "She was a very gentle woman, very refined. She was really very beautiful.

"With her pregnancy, she got very heavy, sitting and playing the piano all the time. She would cry, but none of mooning miserable stuff. There wasn't any self-pity."

Bettina concluded, "I never felt I did her any harm."

She said Barley couldn't live with just one woman. "A lot of men were like that."

In fact, as Bettina remembered it, first soulmate Lillian Conrad showed up amid these pregnancies.

Barley had fallen tremendously in love with Lillian early in his marriage to Mary, Bettina said. "They lived together for awhile at Buzzards Bay, before North Carver. Lillian's brothers came out and raised hell. They told Barley that he had to divorce his wife and marry Lillian. That was unthinkable to Barley."

At first, Mary threatened divorce or suicide, Bettina claimed. Then, Mary just sort of accepted the situation. "Barley felt that people didn't possess each other," Bettina said.

Lillian wanted \$50,000. "That ended the whole romance right there. It hurt him terribly," Bettina recalled.

"When Barley and I were in New Hampshire -- Carl was just

born -- Lillian was at the railroad station in the next town. She wanted to see Barley. He had an old truck. He went in that.

"When he came back, he said she had lost the \$50,000. And in those days, \$50,000 was a hell of a lot more than it is today. Her brothers had advised her and she wanted to get some more. She was not a bad girl, just caught up with a fascinating young man."

Barley would become a father again on September 19, 1924, when Mary Wrenn gave birth in Boston to their second daughter, Mary, though Polly was apparently the name her mother preferred. She was the fourth and last child Mary Wrenn would have by Barley.

Mary Wrenn said it seemed she was pregnant most of the time in those early years of a marriage that was soon to be over.

Years later, she recalled that this fourth child "was registered at birth as Mary because my father thought that Polly would sound ridiculous by the time she was 80." This daughter went by Polly into her 70s, then decided it did sound ridiculous and went by Mary thereafter.

Mary Wrenn said, "There are so many Marys. I think we could get rid of a few."

There was Mary Wrenn herself -- and she didn't mind poking fun at herself. Barley's daughter Mary of 1924. Then, Mary Brunhilda "Bruni" born to Barley and second wife, Ursula Feist, in 1930. And, much later, two daughters-in-law Mary, the wife of Barley's first son, Peter, and then the wife of Carl, his firstborn by Bettina.

Barley had 11 children in all, four by Mary Wrenn, three by Bettina and four by Ursula, a young woman from Germany who joined the second April Farm about two years after it was established.

Bettina said Barley had a sort of pride in producing all those children. "He felt strongly about the whole process of creating a child."

She said Barley felt the doctor had taken some of this away by handling the deliveries for Mary. "I didn't have a doctor. Barley always delivered my children. Many women wouldn't allow it."

She said Barley's background as a rich kid wasn't much different from other fabulously rich kids -- the parents every now and then remembering the children.

Barley had two children by Mary Wrenn by the time Bettina went to live with him. "Mary was away in Europe. I was with him

for months, and he never went to see those kids. He knew the servants had them."

Sometime in the fall of 1923, the core of April Farm colonists agreed to move to a better place. John Rothschild, a bit of a smooth operator and soon to be the husband of Alice Edgerton, had a lot to do with the decision. John had been involved in bringing students over from Europe -- so much so that he left Alice after several years for one of them, Erika Feist, the sister of Barley's second wife, Ursula.

In fact, there was such switching around of mates of several of these people that it would take a chart to explain it all.

But there was none of that for Ursula.

Bettina gave birth to her third child by Barley, a son Nicholas, in July 1928.

Just about that time, Ursula became pregnant with her first child by Barley, a daughter, Susan, born in April 1929. Once Ursula latched onto Barley, his bedding-around days were over. She kept such a tight hold on their relationship -- it wasn't marriage until later -- that the four children she had by Barley didn't learn until they became adults that they had two batches of half-brothers and half-sisters.



The name of John Rothschild, not Barley's, appeared on the deed as the purchaser of the 158-acre Hazlett farm in Lower Milford Township in June 1924. The price was \$35,000. It had a value 10 times that of the scruffy place at North Carver. And it was Rothschild's name again as the buyer several weeks later for eight adjoining acres for \$900 -- though this tract came to be looked upon as relatively worthless. The bounty was in the Hazlett farm with its apple and peach trees.

As Alice recalled, when John Rothschild arrived at the first April Farm, he was "appalled by the economic inefficiency of it, the fact that we would never be able to support ourselves on the place, that we would always have to live on Barley's money, what he had left. John was a very persuasive man, an excellent debater, and he persuaded Barley that they should go to a place where there would be a possibility of income from the land."

John knew the Lehigh Valley somewhat because he and Alice had been there to the Bach Choir spring festival in Bethlehem. He knew what the land was like in the area -- some of the best in Eastern Pennsylvania.

"So he thought we should go down and farm a place down there," Alice recalled. "He persuaded Barley to finance him to a trip down there to find a place. And John picked out that Hazlett

fruit farm, and he made the arrangements -- and nobody want to go except Barley. He saw the sense of what John was saying about being able to support ourselves."

As a subsequent inventory would show, the new April Farm had nearly 2,000 apple trees and 3,000 peach trees.

Newly recruited colonist Paul Scott wasn't quite as glowing about the place after the first year's operation. He wrote to Roger Baldwin, "It is a well-developed place for a private owner to operate on a basis of labor exploitation. But it does not fill the need of a cooperative community desiring to produce its own means of life.

"For instance, there are sufficient pasturage and farmland to supply the needs of a family, but not sufficient even to pasture the cows for a whole community. What we are compelled to do is change a place designed for private ownership into one suited for communal operation."

In this, Scott said the need for additional money for such things as a cider and vinegar plant, a truck, three cottages, fencing and more land.

Perhaps due to Scott's prodding, Garland and his followers subsequently bought more land and added improvements to the

property, including a packing house, installation of electric lights, an irrigation and spray system for the fruit trees and a number of structures for members to live in. And a neighbor said they also had a pond -- where they swam nude.

"Bettina didn't want to go to Pennsylvania," Alice said. "Doris Benson didn't want to go. I wanted to go because I would have gone anywhere with John at that time."

Bettina admitted there were other reasons as well for leaving Massachusetts. The Ku Klux Klan was harassing the colonist. So were the local authorities.

Barley and his pregnant Bettina spent some of the winter of 1923-24 traveling to other communes.

They visited the Modern School community at Stelton, New Jersey, just outside New Brunswick, a Socialist and anarchist group of mostly Jewish immigrants who had come out of Harlem where their school had first been established.

Will Durant at 27, Jesuit-trained, was one of its teachers at Harlem when Ida "Ariel" Kaufman, a 14-year-old Jewish student, wrote him a note, declaring her love. And despite his initial attempts to rebuff her -- saying she had a common infatuation of student with teacher -- six months later they were deeply in love

and soon to be married, Ariel riding on roller skates to City Hall when they went for their marriage license.

How sweetly these famous American historians recalled in their "Dual Biography" the first time he reached into her blouse to touch her breasts.

The Stelton colony was home to the mother of protest singer Joan Baez and to the family of Edgar Tafel, later a student of Frank Lloyd Wright and a noted New York architect in his own right.

At Stelton, Garland and Bettina enlisted printer Paul Scott and his wife Polly to join them in Pennsylvania. They were Tafel's aunt and uncle.

In a 1981 interview, Tafel described Paul Scott as a fascinating man. "Paul was more than just a printer. He set up a print shop. They were at Stelton after World War II. He would stay up all night reading and smoking cigarettes. He was a Socialist, a proofreader for **The New York Times**.

"Whenever I came to New York, I always visited them. It was a great place to take a date. Paul put on a personality show with whatever he talked about.

"He said he was once a pitcher in the Mississippi Valley League, and we looked it up and found he was. He said he threw his arm out pitching a double-header. He could really throw the ball.

"He worked in a prison in Missouri. He was a hobo that rode from city to city on freightcars. That was before he was married.

"I think he was working on *The New York Times* when he met Polly. Polly was Jewish. My mother and Polly were sisters. My grandfather and grandmother wouldn't speak to Paul. My grandmother said that when Polly was pregnant that she would have twins -- one will be a Christian and one a Jew."

Tafel said his parents let the Scotts live in their home at starting in the late 1920s. The Tafel family took on apartment in New York where they had a dress business. "Paul couldn't make a living. He had two little babies. He worked at Western Printing in Dunellen, I believe. He took the bus. He didn't drive."

Tafel said his parents and the Scotts had a falling out over the house at the end of World War II. "When I got home from the service, the Scotts insisted the home belong to them. They sued my folks for it in 1946. That was the break. They never talked to each other again."

Mary Ellen Scott, who was an infant at April Farm, wrote in 1985, "One thing -- My daddy went to April Farm because Garland asked him to come there to set up the school."

Her sister, Joan Scott, said she was outraged with historian Paul Avrich for describing her father as a "tramp" in his book on the Stelton colony. She voiced her indignation in a letter on the letterhead of her Writers & Artists Agency of Beverly Hills and New York.

"Like many young men of his era, my father wanted to see the country and he had no money, so he rode the rails. But he was hardly a tramp, being an unusually brilliant man."

Thanks to information from their cousin Edgar, the Scott sisters were contacted in 1980 for this book.

Joan Scott said in one of her subsequent letters, "I was a year old when my parents lived at April Farm, so of course I remember nothing. In addition, although I heard the name Bettina mentioned now and then, and April Farm, neither my sister nor I ever really knew what happened there. We always thought the community died because they buried a child without getting the legalities taken care of.

"I never knew how involved my father was until your letters

started us going through a whole bunch of letters and papers my mother gave my sister after our father died. We had never gone through them before."

The eccentric and perhaps demented Armistead Collier, the man Garland bestowed with the first April Farm when the group moved to Pennsylvania, discussed the Scotts in a "provocative and humorous" letter to Roger Baldwin in November 1925. He sent it to Baldwin at the ACLU office in New York, though he marked it personal.

Collier apparently liked to flaunt his sexual conquests.

Just a month before, he typed a letter to DOTP (Dear Old Tiger-Princess) from Charley Garland's infamous and abandoned love farm. He made carbons that wound up in the Labor Archives of Wayne State University in Detroit. He typed later at the top, "To Meta," obviously Meta Fuller who was Upton Sinclair's wife 1900 to 1912. His piece to DOTP said in part:

"I was going to write you this summer -- but didn't know where you were hiding (from your many lovers) and also the old house leaked.

"I have not all the comforts of home! -- to tell you what a romantic joke it would be for you, at 40-odd, to fly away from

home, husband and lovers, and come up here to Garland's Free Love Farm, to join your old adorer, at 50-odd -- the first man to kiss the back of your neck after your 11 happy years of faithful married life as the hungry wife of the famous writer and essential monogamist, Upstart Saint-Cloud (author of 'The Bungle' and other volumes of Muck) -- and be discovered here in the backwoods of Plymouth Rock, living perfectly happy in the scandalous and illicit relations of Platonic love and friendship. . .writing poems to God and Mother Eddy and letters of Christian forgiveness to all your past traducers -- and seducers -- including the misguided father of your firstborn, who burnt the house over your head in a fit of jealous rage and drove off all your soul-lovers by telling them what an over-sexed and insatiable animal you were. . .whom no one could ever live with but such a Saint from the Clouds as -- the one and only Upstart."

His November 15, 1925, personal letter to Roger Baldwin chided Roger for recently making a bigger stink in the Boston papers than perhaps anyone else could except Upton Sinclair. "It must be nice to be so conspicuous -- in print -- for anyone who looks so demure as you do."

Collier said he was still hanging on as the lone colonizer to the old abandoned April Farm at North Carver despite storms, leaks, skunks and cold.



Then, he offered Baldwin this bit of titillation on his encounters with the Scotts:

"And also wanted to tell you -- if you have time for such details -- of my reception last summer by ex-comrade Paul Scott at the other farm, who greeted me with: 'Roger Baldwin hasn't got anything to do with this place. What business has he to be sending people out here from the city?'

"I reasoned with him, however, and showed him that I had ideals, too, for which I was -- and am -- persecuted and cast out of respectable society (both radical and liberal).

"And I asked him directly whether his objections to me were personal -- because I made love to Polly when she came to see me at Stelton? (She didn't tell me she had a husband who might object!)

"Whereupon, he admitted he was not a monogamist, but only wanted to avoid unnecessary publicity. He introduced me to Garland whom I found to be one of the most charming personalities with whom I ever came in contact."

Collier said he worked with the colonists for a couple days in Pennsylvania, but was glad to take over his old place for the summer and to be alone.

"Barley thinks he would like to have this (North Carver) place used for a colony. It would not be practicable without a considerable outlay."

In many ways, Paul Scott would become the intellectual leader of April Farm in Pennsylvania during the approximately two years the family was there.

Contrary to the recollections of his daughter Mary Ellen, Bettina said Paul Scott was the one who pushed to have the colony establish a school for orphaned children.

Somewhat later, Garland recruited Ursula and Erika Feist from Stelton.

During that winter of 1923-24, Barley also traveled to the Llano Cooperative Colony in Louisiana -- most likely with Bettina with him. From Llano, he recruited no colonists for Pennsylvania.

Both visits brought the Garland Fund directors years of begging, nagging and invective from the leaders of both organizations.

When Garland gave away his money to Roger Baldwin and his associates in 1922, he said the directors were to have the

complete say in where it went -- subject only to the rather broad aegis he set down. He was going his own way as a farmer.

But he kept his word for only about a year. In traveling to these colonies in New Jersey and Louisiana during the winter of 1923-24, Barley was naturally drawn into conversations with their leaders about all that Garland Fund money.

Busybody Alice Churm at Stelton colony wrote to Roger Baldwin in February 1924, saying that Garland had satisfied himself that "if \$5,000 was given to Stelton, it would offer additional educational advantages to the children, would help them do more towards their own support and would be under the management of competent agriculturalists."

She asked Baldwin to promise that if the Garland Fund wouldn't help, he'd urge that the money be allocated from what was known as the Personal Service Fund, a separate account Garland financed to help individuals with grants and loans. Baldwin was one of three trustees of the Personal Fund.

The Garland Fund gave Stelton \$500 in August 1924 for operating expenses. And its directors were haranged for their hard-heartedness by the Stelton people for the next couple years -- finally yielding in January 1926 with \$2,000 more for operating expenses.

The Llano situation was worse.

It officially started with an item in the February 1924 minutes of the Garland Fund board: "Mr. Garland, who has just returned from a visit to Llano Cooperative Colony in Louisiana, inquired whether the board would be willing to consider loans or gifts for the development of the colony's work.

"The board expressed an interest in the matter and asked Garland to submit the facts together with an audited financial statement."

And a month later, the minutes disclosed: "Application for \$50,000 as a loan or gift refused." The question of aid to the colony was referred to board member Scott Nearing "for a personal examination to get some agreement between Llano and Commonwealth College as to the projects on behalf of which application was made."

Commonwealth, initially a part of Llano, moved to Mena, Arkansas, where it plagued Garland directors with entreaties and stories of its never-ending plagues -- buildings burning, wells going dry and the like. The correspondence is voluminous in the records of the Garland Fund archives. And what Nearing found on a personal visit to the place convinced his board colleagues that

whatever money they invested in Commonwealth was lost.

Garland's visit to Stelton also led to another couple there coming to April Farm for the summer of 1925 in a stay that for a time shattered their marriage when the husband became smitten by another woman and remained behind with the approach of fall when his wife and children returned to Stelton.

Meanwhile, Garland's mother Marie, in love again, had no regrets that she wouldn't be returning to the cabin she had built for herself at that first April Farm. "I so want to be able to enjoy beauty once more! How one missed it at North Carver," she wrote in January 1924.

At 55, she was deliciously in love with Henwar Rodakiewicz, a promising film-maker in his early 20s, the child of a European father and American mother. He was her obsession, so much so that she felt she had to get away for awhile because their initial firestorm coupling was so intense. And she still needed healing from the emotional scars left by her last husband, Swinburne Hale, who had turned from liberal crusading to liberal drinking - - a turn that ultimately resulted in his breakdown in 1926.

Marie sailed for Bermuda -- to Parapet, what she called "my little white house under the blue sky" on a hillside above Somerset Road to commune with herself.

"This island is such a peaceful spot," Marie wrote to Henwar. "The beauty of the brown people is extraordinary. Sometimes, one sees the barbaric type in all its purity, walking like a black queen who owns the island."

But she yearned for Henwar. "My sweet, I wish you were here. I believe the touch of your skin would make my fingers sing. And then all kinds of things would happen. Frissons in loving curved places. . . along the curve of your shoulder, wonderful shoulders, hard and firm and sweet like nuts. It took two worlds to make you, the old and the new. No wonder there are precious things in you to love. How I shall cling to you when I come home."

And in another message to Henwar that January:

"I want to be warmed and cherished so old dreams don't ache anymore. I have learned so much fighting into the flames I lighted."

Quite apart from all this, the James A. Garlands, Senior and Junior, appeared on the scene posthumously in New York in January 1924. Their presence was in the preface in a catalog for the unrestricted public sale of the porcelains in "The James A. Garland Collection" January 17-19 at the American Art Galleries on Madison Avenue, 56th to 57th Streets.

James Sr. was described in his obituary in *The New York Times* in 1900 as "well known to art lovers as the owner of the finest collection of Oriental porcelain in this country and one of the finest collections in the world. The greater portion of his collection is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to which it was loaned by the owner."

The Metropolitan itself had put out a 120-page handbook on the James Garland's loaned collection of Chinese porcelains in 1895.

But the catalog for the 1924 sale only told part of the story.

Calvin Thomkins explained the rest in his "Merchants and Masterpieces: The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art." He wrote that J. Pierpont Morgan as a returning member of the museum's executive committee made his first major art purchase in 1902 in retaining the Garland porcelains for the museum.

"A collection of more than 2,000 Chinese porcelains had been on exhibition at the Metropolitan for several years as a loan from banker James A. Garland. The museum rather hoped to get the collection as a gift, but when Garland died, he made no such

provision, and they were purchased instead by Henry Duveen.

"Early the next morning, Morgan paid a visit to Duveen's gallery, repurchased the entire collection for presentation to the Metropolitan and instructed Duveen to fill out the missing sequences.

"The Garland collection never even left the museum. From then on, however, it was known as the Morgan Collection."

What James Sr. had elsewhere in porcelains, furniture, silver, laces, velvet, tapestries, Persian rugs and Hindu carpets went on to James Jr., Barley's father.

And, here in 1924, some 18 years after the death of James Jr., the trustees of his estate had ordered the sale of those items. The sale catalog ran to nearly 300 pages.

The introduction said James Garland Jr. of Boston "not only inherited a natural taste for gathering beautiful objects, but a very considerable portion of his father's famous collection."

Might the catalog writer have thoughts about the enchanting Marie in that reference to "gathering beautiful objects?"

It noted the Garland Collection became the Morgan Collection



at the Metropolitan in 1902. "Some of the objects from it are now in the homes of conspicuous New Yorkers," the catalog text claimed.

What was for sale at American Art Galleries "represents the objects retained for the collector's personal enjoyment and use.

"Much of the collection has been in the Boston Fine Arts Museum and numerous pieces were loaned some years earlier to the Copley Society. But, in addition to the exhibition pieces and those for adornment at home, there is a large assortment of K'ang-hsi blue and white for household service.

"The collector and his family knew that to eat from productions of the imperial factory at King-te-chen was to double the pleasure of dining."

Those porcelains sounded like just the thing for the rustic table at North Carver or perhaps as a housewarming gift for the transplanted inhabitants of the main house on the new April Farm in Pennsylvania.

Most likely, the April Farm residents knew nothing of these fineries in Manhattan. Bettina in old age recalled, "We never paid any attention to the newspaper or the neighbors. We lived completely isolated from the world."

No, not completely isolated.

Bettina overstated the hermitry a good bit. For early on at this second April Farm, the group prepared a pamphlet -- yes, an advertising pamphlet -- on **What is April Farm?**

The publication was extremely professional. The front cover was graced with a silhouette drawing of three figures together under a tree and a fourth figure somewhat apart, reaching for water from a fountain. It was a romantic scene of contemplation in the country -- what many of the summertime arrivals were expecting when they got off the train at Coopersburg and hired a local buggy driver to take them six miles deep into the rolling countryside to April Farm.

It had to be the talented work of Paul Scott, the printer who had come over with his wife and family from that Modern School Colony at Stelton, New Jersey.

And it seemed geared for the New York audience. Besides noting the distances from the nearby cities of Allentown and Bethlehem and the even closer towns of Coopersburg and Quakertown, the brochure said April Farm was a hundred miles from New York City. Upon request, the colonists would send a table of train connections from New York.

It asked and answered: **What is the main idea?**

"To those who want to see a better, more wholesome society than the one in which most of us find ourselves, many ways have been suggested. The April Farm way is not a new way. It does not claim to be the best or the only way. It does claim, however, to be the best way for some people.

"The basic idea of the April Farm way is that of common ownership -- the elimination of private property within the group. This eliminates the incentive for private profit which is replaced by the incentive for group welfare -- cooperation."

And the pamphlet bluntly faced the question: **Is it Communism?**

"There are two kinds of communism. One kind undertakes to relieve everybody of private property whether or not he wants to be so relieved. The other kind undertakes to gather together those who believe in its methods and to build on the strength of their voluntary effort.

"April Farm represents the latter kind."

Anyone interested was invited to come for a visit. And if you want to stay on, you may join "in the life of the group" for a probationary period of six months. Beyond that, full membership depends on the unanimous consent of all the members.

You may keep your private property during the probationary period. But you have to divest yourself of it before becoming a full member. You don't have to give it to the group. Just get rid of it.

This April Farm Cooperative Association is a practical experiment in community life -- being carried out on 200 acres, including about 50 acres in bearing peach and apple orchards, 50 in woods and 60 in good tillage land.

Up to now, April Farm has not been self-supporting, the brochure admitted. But it's making a steady gain in that direction. Meanwhile, it's had to depend on outside funds (the brochure's vague wording for Barley's income from a trust account from his grandfather, James A. Garland Sr.).

"Whatever profits may be derived from its operation are to go into community development -- not into anyone's private pocket," the brochure said.

The colony defined itself as non-sectarian and strictly non-

political.

To the practical matters of daily life, there is a common kitchen and a common dining room for the whole group as well as a common laundry. A manager assigns the daily work -- usually eight or nine hours a day, more at harvest time.

Write or arrange a visit: The Secretary, April Farm, Coopersburg R.D. 2, Pennsylvania.

Obviously, the unorganized innocence of the first April Farm in Massachusetts had given way to a bureaucracy of its own at the new one in Pennsylvania.

The colonists would soon go even further -- with legal formalities. They registered for incorporation as the April Farm Association with the Pennsylvania Department of State in Harrisburg and then applied to Lehigh County Court for what would ordinarily be quick and routine clearance for a charter.

The association's listed purposes were that April Farm be devoted "to experimental work in cooperative community life, child education and the health and comfort of persons residing thereon."

It was that "child education" item that would leave them

open to question from Lehigh County Court and, in turn, open to attack from a sanctimonious Sunday school superintendent who was the lawyer the court would appoint in its name to investigate.

The finding of that witch hunt -- proclaimed across the nation in January 1926 -- would scatter the April Farm residents, some briefly, some never to return. But even as that investigation began, Barley and Bettina had already endured a much more personal devastation -- the death of their second child, a daughter, in her crib at age three months.

## PERSONAL SERVICE FUND

Our judgments were soft, responsive to  
hard-luck stories.

Roger Baldwin

circa 1934

Charles Garland had a locked-in inheritance from a trust fund from his paternal grandfather that provided him with about \$15,000 a year. This was apart from the million plus from his father's estate that he gave away.

For his simple agrarian existence, this \$15,000 was more than enough to live. He had money left over.

In a conversation in January 1923 with Mrs. Anna Davis of Brookline, Massachusetts, described by Roger Baldwin as a "Quaker with naive leftist sympathies," Garland suggested this extra money might be used to help individuals doing creative work in the radical movement -- as distinguished from the aid given by the American Fund for Public Service to organized enterprises.

But now in November 1925, this smaller fund was in what Davis called a "curious situation" in a letter to the Garland Fund trustees. She outlined its history:

In accordance with Garland's suggestion, an informal committee was formed of Garland, Baldwin, Mrs. Davis and A.J. Muste, who headed Brookwood Labor College at Katonah, New York. It was called the Personal Service Fund.

Mrs. Davis said Garland placed at its disposal "\$7,171.59 from the sale of securities, \$23,500 accumulated income and a regular income amounting to about \$10,000."

Two years after the inception of the Personal Service Fund, Garland left his farm in Massachusetts "to enter upon a larger farm and community experiment at Coopersburg, Pa. This larger undertaking bears so much promise that he now wishes to use for the furtherance of its ends the money he has been appropriating to the Personal Service Fund."

But he didn't want this fund to cease. "He -- as well as the other trustees -- believes that it has found useful ways to help the radical movement and that a future lies before it of increasing usefulness."

Garland himself told her: "Don't you think it would be well to put before the American Fund the proposal that they carry the Personal Service Fund, giving it the same amount to disburse per year, \$10,000 -- at least until the American Fund has what it



considers more important work for the money?"

What Davis submitted showed gifts and loans during 1923-25 to more than a hundred well-known and lesser known individuals, plus two gifts listed by groups -- \$3,600 for scholarships to Brookwood Labor College and \$4,953 for conscientious objectors and political prisoners.

Economist Stuart Chase was given \$1,000 and lent \$500 to enable him to write his first book, "The Tragedy of Waste," \$500 to Mary Field Patron "to finance completing her biography of Mother Jones," \$750 to writer/poet Claude McKay to aid him to write a novel, \$600 to author Josephine Herbst "to enable her to write a novel," \$300 to short story writer Katherine Anne Porter help her "write a book on special phases of the Mexican situation" and a \$3,000 loan (fully repaid) to Upton Sinclair to finance him while getting out "The Goslings."

But there were many gifts and loans not related to specific projects, but rather were to sustain them as individuals in time of personal need. For instances, \$650 to poetess Lola Ridge "to have a much-needed operation and rest," \$250 to recently married poet Allen Tate "to tide him and his wife over the period of the birth of a baby so that he need not be driven to produce pot-boilers exclusively" and a \$300 loan to Hilda Shapiro, "active in trade union work in Philadelphia, to enable her to go to Mexico

to get rid of bronchial trouble."

There were a lot of gifts and loans to people to help them recover from physical troubles and ease, at least, difficult financial straits because the radical activities had shut them out of the job market.

Students Jennie Matyas, "bright active member of the International Ladies Garment Workers," was given \$200 to help finance her at the University of Wisconsin, \$250 to Eugene Corbie "to enable him to go on with his work of studying and writing on interracial and international subjects" and \$200 in a loan to Jock Rantz, "young radical graduate of Harvard getting started as a music teacher in San Francisco."

The Garland Fund took its time in considering the \$10,000 requested. Secretary Elizabeth Gurley Flynn said the application was a "delicated matter" for Roger Baldwin to discuss before the Garland Fund board since he was a trustee of the Personal Service Fund.

But Flynn saw some problems with its operation that had to be corrected -- if the request was to be granted. Some personal service grants and loans simply did not fall under the aegis of the Garland Fund. Action was often taken without a meeting of the trustees. "We should not delegate our responsibility to a group

that does not meet once in awhile, at least, to make its decisions," she said.

Both sides worked out an agreement. A feature of it was to send the money quarterly as needed, not \$10,000 in one lump. Not a part of the agreement, Garland's name disappeared from the letterhead, replaced by leftist Alexander Trachtenberg.

Now, with Garland Fund money, the 1926 grants included:

-- \$250 to Socialist Benjamin Gitlow, a Garland board member, "to meet expenses of his wife's confinement."

-- \$500 to Robert H. Markham "to carry on his free speech fight in Bulgaria."

-- \$50 to R. Quakenbush, "radical of Salt Lake City in great need."

When the Garland Fund directors said "no" to a second year, Mrs. Davis wrote about the plight of two individuals and essentially asked the fund to bankroll a pension for each -- apparently something the Personal Service Fund started, though the names of neither individual is among the list of recipients.

One was a Miss Ellen Wetherell, once a prominent Socialist

and suffragist of Boston. "Two of Miss Wetherell's pamphlets on negro rights are in the Boston Public Library," Davis said. Further, the woman once ran a boarding house in Washington and entertained many workers in the cause, including Eugene Debs and John Reed.

She was sane, though for a time relatives had her committed to the Danvers, Massachusetts, hospital for the insane. Davis asked: Could the Garland Fund provide her with \$300 a year the rest of her life? "I don't think at 70 she would live the year out," Davis said. Otherwise, Wetherell would have to go back to Danvers "and end her days in horror."

The other was Alfred Edwards, an old Socialist who joined Garland's colony at North Carver -- "a man of sweetness and dignity, trying always to act as balance wheel to the young people there." When North Carver broke up, Edwards became a beneficiary of the Personal Service Fund and lived at the Single Tax Colony at Harvard, Massachusetts.

Then, he rejoined the April Farm group in Pennsylvania, staying until Garland's "impending trial made it advisable for him to go."

Edwards was among four colonists at the kitchen table in a farmhouse on the property when the authorities came to arrest

Garland for adultery. News stories at that time described Edwards as a "dapper little fellow with snow white hair and a well-trimmed goatee."

After leaving the Pennsylvania colony, Edwards found a home with a Dr. Chase of Alstead, New Hampshire, Davis said. "Once more, Charles asked that we support him. Edwards' expenses are about \$75 a month."

On the matter of the Garland Fund no longer providing support for the program, Davis said that "in spite of lurid mistakes, we have given some help that was not ill-advised and can give much more."

A decade later Baldwin offered a gloomier assessment of the Personal Service Fund: "We did the job badly. Our judgments were soft, responsive to hard luck stories, and we finally gave up."

Flynn responded to Davis that the Garland Fund was running out of money and that there would be no more for the Personal Service Fund.

As to those two aged pensioners, try to provide for them from money coming in on the outstanding loans due the Personal Service Fund. If you can't, then we will, Flynn said. "The two old people must not be turned adrift."

Apparently, the Personal Service Fund found the means to provide for the two. There were no further allocations from the Garland Fund.

## PUBLICATIONS

We did about an 80 percent job of productive grants.

Roger Baldwin

1975 letter

Probably no group of Garland Fund grants produced so few lasting results as the money that went into liberal and labor newspapers -- some of them in foreign languages.

"Nothing can lose money faster, we learned, than print," said Roger Baldwin in his recollections of the Garland Fund in a 1972 oral history for Columbia University. He said newspapers and periodicals were among the riskiest of all ventures of the Garland Fund.

"We often gave blood transfusions to agencies already headed for the grave," he said.

"Aid to publications in distress did not save them long," Baldwin said in the early 1930s in an assessment of "Garland's Million" that he provided to Princeton University. At the time, the fund -- though much depleted -- still had a decade to run.

"Publications can lose money faster than than any other type

of business, and labor or radical publications were hardly a business. Our emergency aid did not succeed in any major instance in more than prolonging their suffering a few months.

"They all died or were reorganized as something else -- dailies as weeklies, weeklies as monthlies."

Baldwin said the worst was granting loans on real estate held by radical publications. With the collapse of the real estate market in the immediate aftermath of the 1929 stock market crash, Baldwin said the Fund wound up with a collection of properties in several cities which continued to be liabilities.

These disasters sharply curtailed other loans. And it also resulted in the board modifying its loan policy. "We finally came to the conclusion that we would make no loans which we were not willing to treat later, if necessary, as gifts," Baldwin said.

A summary for the Fund's first six years showed \$640,000 granted in loans with \$325,000 outstanding, much of those overdue.

Only one loan was obtained through a deliberate misrepresentation of facts. "This was \$50,000 to the Associated Textiles Inc. of Minneapolis, a so-called cooperative enterprise conducted on an unsound if not fraudulent basis," the summary



said. "An inadequate examination of its affairs was responsible for the Fund's blunder."

One last gasp effort in the publications field involved the Socialist **New York Call**, a valiant newspaper that gave voice to many of the otherwise voiceless. Looking back generations later, it's heartening to realize how finely its coverage traced the social ills of the era and the often futile efforts of people in trying to correct them -- particularly those social hell-raisers who became members of the Garland Fund board.

Its editions in its final years provide a running report of the instigating of such Garland Fund-to-be-luminaries as Roger Baldwin, Norman Thomas, Scott Nearing and James Weldon Johnson as well as Eugene Debs, Mother Bloor and other full-blown agitators.

The Call provided massive daily coverage in 1918 of the federal court trial before Judge Keneshaw Mountain Landis, later a racist commissioner of baseball, of more than 100 members of the IWW in Chicago charged with interfering with the war effort. Those defendants included James Slovick, later a member of the second April Farm.

Its reporting included such other events as an almost daily routine:

TOLEDO, April 2, 1918 -- Joseph Cashman of New York, field secretary of the National Security League, urges the killing of Scott Nearing's ilk by "firing squad just before dawn" in a talk to the league's Toledo branch. Cashman also demanded the firing squad for Wisconsin senator Robert LaFollett.

NEW YORK, Feb. 9, 1921 -- Elizabeth Gurley Flynn of the Workers Defense Union will be among speakers at a labor rally to protest the entry of the Ku Klux Klan in New York State.

PHILADELPHIA, March 8, 1921 -- Elizabeth Gurley Flynn is arrested for sedition for speaking at a rally in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti.

CHICAGO, Nov. 25, 1921 -- The IWW is compiling a list of members serving as political prisoners.

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 6, 1922 -- Charles Sharkey, a cripple, is arrested three times within two days for selling IWW newspapers on the street. ACLU Chairman Harry Ward protests to police chief.

NEW YORK, March 28, 1922 -- Mayor Hylan signs an ordinance prohibiting all women from smoking in public.

NEW YORK, May 1, 1922 -- "Moral" police captain Joseph Howard closed down the Liberator magazine ball because Negro poet Claude McKay, a Liberator editor, was dancing with well-known feminist Crystal Eastman, who was white. Roger Baldwin protested, charging what Howard did was either based on racial prejudice or prejudice against the stance of the Liberator.

DE KALB, Illinois, July 2, 1922 -- The Non-Partisan League is socialism and socialism stands for free love, says Minnesota Governor J.A.O. Preuss.

One of its finest moments came in a page one story June 5, 1922, when the Call reported that blacks attending the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington that Memorial Day were kept in a segregated section a block away. "No news agency carried the information that Negroes were segregated and discriminated against at the dedication," the Call said.

That information, however, is now included in government brochures on the monument as the 20th century comes to a close.

Attorney S. John Block, chairman of the Workingmen's Cooperative Publishing Association which controlled the Call, wrote in early 1923 that the paper faced governmental persecution in which it was banned from the mails for four years, beginning in 1918. That cut its revenues by \$48,000 a year.

"It supported labor organizations, AFL or not. It stood by conscientious objectors. . .fought fearlessly and bravely for freedom of the press, free speech and freedom of assembly. . .insisted on recognition of Soviet Russia. . .was eloquent in its demands for amnesty for political prisoners."

The Call, started in 1908, reached its highest circulation near the end of the World War and then had slid downward to where circulation was around 10,000 when the Garland Fund arrived on the scene. It died in late 1923, despite financial artificial respiration from the Garland Fund.

The Garland Fund aid to the Call and its brief successor, **The New Leader**, produced some of the most heated rhetoric among its directors -- most of it coming from Roger Baldwin. In a letter to Norman Thomas, Baldwin called a \$40,000 outright grant to the Leader "a blunder of the first order."

The Fund became involved in mid-1922 at a time Call managing editor Charles W. Ervin conceded the paper "has been financially exhausted for some time." It did not play it safe during the war and, consequently, had been struggling ever since.

He asked for a loan of \$10,000 -- not enough to save the paper, but it "put us in a position to be saved. We make

enemies," Ervin explained.

The Fund turned for advice to B. Charney Vladeck, the managing editor of the highly successful **Jewish Daily Forward**, which for years had been a financial angel to the Socialist Party.

Vladeck says the paper needed management with a wider imagination. Further, it would take 18,000 more circulation to make it self-supporting. Besides, Ervin thinks that his troubles are all due to bad luck.

"The paper will destroy itself and also the possibility of any other attempt at publishing a Socialist paper in the near future," Vladeck predicts.

Soon after, Ervin leaves.

Despite Vladeck's negative assessment, the board grants a loan of \$10,000 to the Call -- which it later turns into a gift.

In order to survive, the paper cuts its staff, including gutting its news department. By doing that, it loses its soul, one critic tells the Garland directors.

Comes mid-1923 -- when Baldwin is away on vacation -- and

the Fund has before it a proposal to grant a reorganized Call \$40,000 provided there is at least \$60,000 in pledges and gifts from labor unions. Thomas makes clear he will not be its editor, though he's had repeated overtures to take the job.

The board approves, with only four directors present. They say that beyond this gift the future of the paper rests with the "hope and faith that unions will keep it going."

William Z. Foster, a regular non-attender at board meetings, by letter attacks the Call for mudslinging and falsification, saying its campaign against labor's left wing "is even more unscrupulous in many cases than the Gompers machine itself." His proxy vote is "no."

Baldwin asks the board to hold up its vote. In a letter to Thomas, Baldwin asks: "Why on earth should we be in the business of persuading unions to organize and support their own paper? The more I consider the matter, the less important does a daily paper in English seem."

Lewis Gannett writes Baldwin: "I wish to God you were in town so we could talk these things face to face."

Eventually they do, and the Garland directors work out a compromise that no one is happy with. Not necessarily tied with

it, Thomas resigns as president of the Garland Fund board.

Thomas is to be the editor of *The New Leader*. Baldwin is furious, looking upon this as Thomas breaking his word and raising the "unfortunate issue of the propriety in the conduct of our business" since Thomas actively represented the Fund in its negotiations with the paper.

Thomas responds that he tried to arrange the \$40,000 without strings attached. Baldwin's plan had strings. Further, Thomas explains that he had no intention of being editor, but was virtually forced into it because he was the only one unanimously agreed to by the various Socialist factions involved.

The goal of *The New Leader* is to be a labor paper with full news coverage and features, compared with the *Socialist Call*. Its staff includes Ed Sullivan as sports editor -- well before his days as a television icon -- and others who later attain fame.

The main labor support in money for the new venture comes from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers. Other unions pledge funds, but deliver little.

*The Leader* begins on October 1, 1923. Factional squabbling among the various unions abounds about the paper's approach.

Lingering debts from the Call add to the misery.

The new paper dies on November 12.

The Garland Fund also provided more than \$80,000 across a decade to Federated Press, a national labor news service that stood apart from the regular wire services. It was organized by 32 labor editors in the fall of 1919 and began operation in January 1920. Its policy was to report with impartiality the news of labor groups. At one point, it served about 250 newspapers, most of them weeklies, many of them foreign-language.

It approached the Garland Fund in a somewhat independent spirit. Managing Editor Carl Haessler at one point wrote to Garland directors: "Federated Press will survive without the assistance of the Fund, but will not be able to continue the service in its present form or to improve it."

An FP memo explained some of its problems: "Most so-called labor papers are published for advertising revenue with a minimum of expenditure on news. Much of their news comes free and most of the rest, if not all, is purloined. Further, capitalist papers are not interested in news from a labor source."

It soon generated enemies who were far-reaching in their hostility. The inner circle of the AFL, who at first disdained to



notice the operation, launched heavy attacks. The 1923 convention of the AFL passed a resolution condemning Federated Press for holding its columns open to Communist news in addition to news from other labor groups.

"The accusations are a tribute to the success of the Federated Press in maintaining a news service that caters to all factions of the labor movement," was the organization's reply.

FP's death in the mid-1950s was attributed to McCarthyism.

In 1944, the House Un-American Activities Committee had branded Federated Press "a Communist-controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises."

In 1956, the Senate Judiciary Committee piled on, calling Federated Press "a Communist-controlled news syndicate."

One publication that particularly got the attention of the superpatriots was *The Daily Worker*, the Communist Party paper headquartered in Chicago. It got \$34,000 from the Fund, according to one calculation. HUAC claimed it was more like \$57,000 -- though it probably counted some items twice in going through the maze of Garland Fund reports.

That \$34,000 is rather remarkable -- considering the chilly reception the paper got from Roger Baldwin when it made its first overtures to the Fund. Perhaps Baldwin was giving back what he got in arrogance from business manager Moritz Loeb.

Loeb wrote in January 1924: "We have already assured the permanent continuation of **The Daily Worker**. If the American Fund for Public Service sees fit to assist us in extending the scope of our subscription campaign, I am sure **The Daily Worker** will, within the next year, go far towards achieving its purpose in establishing itself firmly as a national daily paper."

Baldwin replied: Don't bother yourself with any detailed application. "It's doubtful this Fund will consider it favorably." He gave three reasons:

-- It's party owned and party controlled.

-- The board has had such "bad luck" with all its loans to radical papers.

-- With the embarrassments and difficulties created by the failure of **The New Leader** fresh in mind, it's not likely to back another with precarious finances.

In a note to fellow board member Lewis Gannett, Baldwin said dealing with the Worker's request was a "ticklish business." Gannett, however, was much more optimistic.

Nonetheless, the Garland Fund agreed to provide \$500 to The Daily Worker to aid its subscription campaign. But the multiple strings attached give some idea of how extensively the Garland directors sometimes pushed their noses into the operating business of those they helped.

The \$500 would be for ads for subscriptions placed in liberal publications, the Garland directors said. They suggested LaFollette's, The Nation and The World Tomorrow.

The Daily Worker said it was thinking more of using the \$500 for ads in labor papers.

Garland director Scott Nearing offered a compromise -- some liberal publications, some labor papers. It was agreed to, with the ads to run in LaFollette's, The New Republic, The Nation, The World Tomorrow and Library Journal as well as a handful of labor papers in the Midwest.

Norman Thomas was opposed to this and any future allocations to the paper. He cited The Daily Worker's "utter disregard for facts when facts are inconvenient for its argument and its

bigoted and spiteful partisanship."

Thomas added, "It is one thing to acknowledge the right of Communists to have an organ and the possible social value of its assistance. It's another to aid such an organ when it assumes the character of **The Daily Worker**."

The Communists spent nearly \$400 for the ads. They reported they brought in only \$173.50 in subscriptions. Apart from those ads, the paper's circulation rose from 12,200 to 14,900, Loeb said.

The paper proposed a better plan -- \$600 a month for two months to hire organizers to scour the landscape for subscriptions. The Fund agreed.

There were subsequent loans to finance various related publishing projects, including a "Little Red Library," and \$17,500 to remortgage its Chicago office.

There is a litany of other publications aided with gifts and loans running through the first decade of the Garland Fund.

In its opening years, the Fund provided \$25,000 in a loan at 7 percent interest for working capital to the **Minnesota Daily Star** of Minneapolis, "secured" on building bonds, to be repaid

within 30 months. The paper billed itself as "a cooperative daily newspaper published in the interest of a square deal for all."

This radical paper was founded in 1920 as the Northwest Publishing Co., a company with 6,250 stockholders, organized workers and farmers. A 1967 history of the then **Minneapolis Tribune** said the **Star** was a creation of the Nonpartisan League, an organization of agrarian revolt which originated five years earlier in North Dakota. The **Star** was established at a time of League prosperity -- when farmers were enjoying a strong post-war demand for their products.

The **Tribune** history said, "The League's list of farm grievances was long and its supposed remedies, because they smacked strongly of state socialism, were darkly viewed on Newspaper Row where the **Tribune** and **Journal** kept careful vigil over the free enterprise system and the welfare of the Republican Party."

Northwest Publishing built its own building and on August 19, 1920, printed the first **Minnesota Daily Star**. Its circulation was 53,000 when it approached the Garland Fund in December 1922.

The paper is almost at break-even, wrote president and treasurer Thomas VanLear. The \$25,000 "would carry us over a very bad period," said VanLear, a former Socialist mayor. It will be

enough to convince the local department stores that the paper is here to stay. That will end their advertising boycott.

Consulted for advice, investment company owner John F. Sinclair of Minneapolis told the Fund: "This paper is growing in influence in the West. . . a valuable organ for the liberal forces of the Northwest."

CPA Stuart Chase of The Labor Bureau said the bonds the Fund would get for its \$25,000 were covered by fixed assets. The prospects of the paper becoming self-supporting look fairly hopeful, he said.

The Fund approved, buying the bonds in January 1923.

VanLear was bristling with optimism when he wrote to Roger Baldwin that March. "This money puts us in a very fine position on the *Star*," he said. "We are an influence now that cannot be ignored.

"Since receiving this money, we have signed two new contracts for advertising, one of them with a large department store and the other a banking institution that we did not expect to get until practically everybody else had come in.

"The securing of this money from your organization and the

way things are breaking for us makes us feel that we owe a great debt of gratitude to you and your board," he told Baldwin.

The Garland Fund files show that shortly after VanLear's glowing letter to Baldwin, Norman Thomas received a poor mouthing one from an E.H. Holman of 1964 Marshall Ave. in St. Paul.

"I consider the **Daily Star** not in any true sense a progressive paper. Some months ago, it carried a two-page ad for the Northern States Power Co., which is all that I need to say. I see comments in the **Star** daily that seem to put it into the reactionary class."

Holman added, "VanLear was elected mayor of Minneapolis on the Socialist ticket and has lost ground ever since until he is only a cheap politician without any sort of program. I am surprised the **Star** under present management could borrow money from any progressive group."

Early in 1924, the paper experienced what VanLear described as "a little court trouble." It fell into receivership, eventually being sold under court supervision that May. The documents carried the names of VanLear, John Thompson and H.D. Bratter as the new Minneapolis Daily Star Publishing Co. Its paper was quite naturally named the **Minneapolis Daily Star**, hailing itself as "the Northwest's most progressive newspaper."

From there on, Garland Fund files contain voluminous correspondence among Garland directors and also between its officers and Minneapolis attorney George Leonard, counsel for the receiver, about protecting the Fund's financial interest. But it became clear with the takeover that the new corporation assumed responsibility for the bonds held by the Garland Fund and laid out a repayment schedule, plus interest.

The upshot was that the \$25,000 was repaid piecemeal in 1927 and 1928 -- after some requests for delay. But it was repaid nonetheless. Further, the interest payments were made regularly throughout the history of the loan.

Just a footnote: The 1967 history of the **Minneapolis Tribune** and a 1998 history of the Cowles Media Company say that A.B. Frizzell, a successful farm publisher (**Tribune** version) or an advertising executive in St. Paul (**Cowles** version), Thompson and VanLear were the three who bought the **Minnesota Daily Star** from the receiver in 1924. The court papers list Frizzell as the largest creditor of the original organization, owed \$66,000, and he became the largest stockholder in the new group.

Thompson, a onetime assistant business manager of **The New York Times**, was called upon to manage the new paper. VanLear remained -- as vice president -- for several years, then



disappeared from the operation. The new paper, politically independent, thrived. It supported Herbert Hoover in 1928 and Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932.

By 1935, it had become part of the Cowles family empire and a year later was the largest evening newspaper in the area. The Star ceased as an evening paper in 1982 -- in an era when America was losing many of its evening papers. A merged Star Tribune in 1998 was the only paper in Minneapolis with a daily circulation of 387,000 and a Sunday run of 667,000, and it had just become part of the McClatchy newspaper conglomerate.

Another first-year venture is perhaps more typical of the loans that went to publishing outfits and never returned.

The Fund granted a loan of \$17,000 to The Oklahoma Leader of Oklahoma City, "secured" by a mortgage and mortgage bonds. After \$3,500 was repaid, the Fund in 1925 increased the loan to \$20,000 backed by stock, "with the understanding it would be repurchased." It never was.

It's not clear whose stubbornness kept this on the books. But the Fund didn't write the \$20,000 off until it closed out its business forever on June 30, 1941.

## NEW MASSES

A magazine of arts and letters, interpretive  
of American life: interested in the social  
struggle. . .

Prospectus, March 1925

The gestation period for the radical **New Masses** magazine was a good bit longer than for the human condition.

But when it finally came out in May 1926, its very existence was due to a hefty subsidy from the Garland Fund. As the magazine itself proclaimed in its February 1928 issue, "the subsidy from the American Fund for Public Service has been our main support."

With that boost from the Garland Fund in its opening years to set it on its way, the magazine carried on for the next two decades.

There had been other radical magazines of literature and art before -- among them **The Masses** and **The Liberator** -- that had been directed by artists themselves, according to Daniel Aaron in his book "Writers on the Left." These were free-swinging radicals who spread their particular criticisms around upon all splinters of the political left.

**The Masses**, founded in 1911, sought to be a popular Socialist magazine. . . "a magazine whose final policy is to do as it pleases and conciliate nobody." Its writers and artists received nothing for their work. But its expression was too free for the Post Office Department that killed it off just after the Great War by barring it from the mails. **The Liberator**, which arose during that war, wound up turned over to the Workers Party in 1922 and the independent-minded contributors drifted away.

The next year, Upton Sinclair, seeming to be filled with ideas for other people to carry out, considered starting a new radical magazine. He asked Michael Gold to help him.

That got Gold to thinking. It eventually led him to the rounding up of literary figures and artists willing to help and contribute to the magazine. This list included Sherwood Anderson, Stuart Chase, John Dos Passos, Claude McKay, Elmer Rice, Lola Ridge, Carl Sandburg, Jean Toomer, Boardman Robinson and 31 others.

Dos Passos wrote to New York attorney Maurice Becker, who was soliciting backers of the project: "From the list of names I gather you are trying to start up something like the old **MASSES**. If that's so, I'm absolutely with you and would gladly do anything to help. The **MASSES** was the only magazine I ever had any use for. You can use my name any way if it's any good to you."

From Bermuda, playwright Eugene O'Neill said, "Be assured of my support and use my name in any way you see fit. But as for contributions, that's another matter. I don't see how I'll be of any service there, for I haven't written a damn line except as part of a long play in so long I don't believe I shall ever again, or that it would be worth a rap if I did."

Poet Carl Sandburg said he was too busy with other projects to be an editor of this new magazine. "I am sure I shall have some things occasionally that would fit into it as nowhere else, that would be tabulated as coo coo elsewhere."

Lola Ridge wrote, "I feel honored by your invitation and should be proud to be listed as one of your contributing editors. Such a magazine should be a living forum in American thought."

The new magazine will "espouse no special party of social reform or revolution -- but be open to the creative message of all of them," according to its prospectus. It was to be called **Dynamo**.

"It will regularly interpret the activities of workers, farmers, strikers, etc., but in such a way as to bring out the general human and cultural significance of particular movements."

"The stockyards of Chicago, the steel mills of Pittsburgh, the mines of West Virginia, the lumber camps of Washington and California, the lynching of Negroes in the South, the clothing industries in the East, the Klan, tabloid newspapers, automobiles, and the private life of average citizens; the national political conventions, the nationwide fetish of big business, the adventures of American imperialism south of the Rio Grande, the life in skyscraper, factory and subway -- these have still to find expression in imaginative, essential and permanent forms.

"It is this new world this group plans to express.

"But the magazine must never take itself too seriously. It must be interesting above everything else; fresh, vivid, youthful, satirical, brave and gay; an expression of intelligent American youth. It must not be afraid of slang, moving picture, radio, vaudeville, strikes, machinery or any other raw American facts."

The prospectus said at least half the pages will be pictures -- including cartoons and drawings -- though that was later revised to 40 percent.

Brevity was to be the goal of literary content.

The magazine would include rhymed and free verse poetry ("avoiding the ineffectual fatalism so prevalent in many aesthetic literary publications"). . .short stories of the life and struggles of the American workers. . .reviews of books, theaters, moving pictures and notes on music and other arts occasionally.

"No editorials, except when the group agrees to delegate someone to prepare an editorial on some special event."

The group chose Waldo Frank as editor, Edwin Seaver as associate editor, John Sloan and Hugo Gellert as art editors and Stuart Chase as treasurer.

With that behind them, they went hat in hand to the Garland Fund and were warmly received.

A committee of Garland Fund directors consisting of Freda Kirchwey, Scott Nearing, Morris Ernst and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn met with *Dynamo* representatives Waldo Frank, Michael Gold, Joseph Freeman, Maurice Becker and John Dos Passos.

They agreed "that the fact of a magazine be taken for granted and that the desirability of such a magazine was conceded by all present." The problem was how to do it.

The Garland directors said plans should be made for more than one year of publications, that a good business manager be hired immediately and that the **Dynamo** group "show a willingness to hang together permanently." The magazine representatives agreed.

The magazine anticipated a diminishing operating deficit totalling \$50,000 across its first three years.

The Garland Fund representatives said they'd recommend to their full board an appropriation of \$1,500 to cover the first three months of expenses for the magazine's business manager -- provided it was someone the Fund approved of. Here, again, the Fund board would be getting its hands greazy prying around the internal machinery of yet another grant recipient.

Further, they'd propose to the Fund board that it provide over three years \$33,000 of the expected \$50,000 deficit -- if the **Dynamo** raised \$17,000.

Scott Nearing provided the fine print in a follow-up letter to Waldo Frank. The Garland board approved the schedule of \$8,500 raised by the **Dynamo** the first year against \$17,000 from the Fund, \$6,500 by the magazine the second year with \$8,000 from the Fund and \$5,000 from both sides for the third year. Norman Thomas voted no.

Nearing concluded, "The members of our board are very much interested in seeing the type you propose putting on its feet."

By December 1925, Waldo Frank had quit as editor, replaced by Michael Gold, formerly editor of the *Liberator*, and the proposed magazine was to carry the name **New Masses**, not *Dynamo*. Its coming-to-be was launched at a dinner meeting at Alice McCollister's Restaurant in Greenwich Village.

The group's press release said a score of artists and writers cheered the three-year subsidy from the American Fund, "the foundation established by Charles Garland, the Harvard youth who celebrated his majority by dedicating his paternal inheritance to the service of the radical cause."

**New Masses** put together a brochure that touted its mission, quoted endorsements from some of its own editors and figures like George Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell and made a pitch for the \$8,500 needed to cover its share of the first-year deficit.

It was May 1926 before the first issue was published, and quite an issue it was -- at the risk of literary name-dropping.

Whittaker Chambers, described in the table of contents as a "young poet who recently left Columbia in protest against the



editorship of the undergraduate literary magazine," had a poem on "Railroad Yards" at Long Island City.

Garland director Robert Dunn wrote on John Francis Sherman, king of the American labor spies. Fellow Garland director Scott Nearing, just back from Russia, had a piece on his visit, entitled "Return of the Native."

Other contributions included poems "Apology for Bad Dreams" by Robinson Jeffers and "Song of New York" by Claude McKay, a short story by William Carlos Williams and a sardonic piece on the electric chair by Michael Gold, accompanied by a drawing of cops swinging their night sticks on someone.

Another cartoon depicted Saint (William Jennings) Bryan, embroiled in the Scopes evolution trial in Tennessee, slaying the dragon and saving the fair maiden.

There were reviews of Theodore Dreiser's "American Tragedy" and "Dollar Diplomacy" by Joseph Freeman and Scott Nearing and a strike piece on "The Battle of Passaic" by Mary Heaton Vorse.

In October 1926, flushed with literary lights, **New Masses** published "Three Fables" by Charles Garland, "who has devoted his inherited wealth almost entirely to the services of the radical movement."

The magazine touted the fables as his first published work -  
- which was not so. He had written two longer pieces that spring  
while in Lehigh County Prison that were published in the  
Allentown newspapers. But, like those earlier ones, they were  
yarns with a lesson and perhaps a bit of autobiography.

Evidentially, Garland simply submitted them to **New Masses**.  
There is no mention of them in the **New Masses** files in the  
Garland Fund papers.

His fables shared the pages of the October 1926 issue with  
such other material as poems on the "Stock Market" by Vachel  
Lindsay and "Representative American" (at the night club) by  
Edmund Wilson, book reviews of "The Weary Blues" by Langston  
Hughes and "The Torrents of Spring" by Ernest Hemingway and yet  
another piece by Mary Heaton Vorse on the textile workers strike  
in Passaic.

Fable one:

I was waiting one time in the office of a justice of the  
peace when a man came in and addressed himself to the magistrate,  
saying: "I wish to get a marriage license, three birth  
certificates, a death certificate, a second marriage license and  
four dog licenses -- two for two dogs that are living and two for

two dogs that are dead but were living at the beginning of the year."

"How is it that you come for all these things at once?" asked the lawyer. "These things are usually obtained as the need arises and not, as is evidently the case with you, when the proper time has already passed."

"This is due," said the applicant, "to a certain philosophy which I have held. I have been what might be called a Christian Anarchist and have hereto performed all my duties to God, believing that I should serve him only. When people have asked me if I was married, I told them that I was, and I have justified this answer to myself by a spiritual interpretation, meaning that the loved one and I were married in spirit by the love we held for each other and that our marriage had been blessed by God in the bonny bright children he gave us. Thus, I have answered all questions that have been asked me and I have always been held in high regard by my neighbors and have been considered an honest man.

"But I talked lately with a preacher, and he has taught me to fear. He has shown me a place in the gospel where we are enjoined to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and he has interpreted this to mean that we should obey our governors and do as they tell us without asking ourselves whether their

orders are pleasing to God. He has warned me also that I was violating the laws of the land and that I was liable to arrest. I have striven in vain to harmonize these things. . .to my old beliefs, for I have learned to see that I cannot serve God and Caesar at once, anymore than a weather vane can point to two winds at the same time. Thus, at last I have come to abandon my old beliefs and my God. Indeed, I might say that I have come to worship a new god and that you are his priest, that your desk is his altar and that the sum which you ask of me shall be my first sacrifice to my new diety."

Another Garland fable:

I stopped at a house to inquire the way. Inside, I found an old married couple and their grown-up daughter. The man told me which road to take. As I was going out, I paused at the doorstep. Inside, I heard the man say: "He looked like a good man. I wish I had offered him something to eat." The wife said, "I will watch as he goes out to see that he does not steal some of our chickens. And the daughter said, "He looks like the minister's son, who, they say, leads a riotous life." I went in as one. They received me as three.

By January 1928, editor Egmont Arens was telling the Garland directors that *New Masses* "stacks up into quite an accomplishment. It is welcomed in France, Germany, Russia, Mexico

and South America as the liviest expression of American arts and letters that come to them. . .the hope of radicals of all shades of opinion."

He went on to correct a rumor that **New Masses** was more or less a Communist organization. The Communist members of the executive board are in a decided minority, he said.

The following month, the magazine published a plea for financial help in what essentially was an in-house ad, saying it would be faced with shutting down without it. And in a rare editorial, **New Masses** said tersely: "The subsidy from the Garland Fund, which decreases to almost the vanishing point next year, will be insufficient to carry us through, unless we raise an additional \$10,000."

The ad said that a year ago, at the end of its first year, **New Masses** seemed ready to fold because the financial support expected from liberals failed to materialize and the Garland Fund subsidy wasn't enough to cover the deficit.

But the writers and artists said, "The **New Masses** must go on!" They agreed to donate their drawings and articles. Readers sent money, and the magazine was saved.

The ad concluded: "With the publication of our April issue,

the **New Masses** completes its second year, and now it faces a crisis even more serious than a year ago. The subsidy from the American Fund for Public Service -- which has been our main support -- will be discontinued unless there is a very decided increase in our support from other sources."

The sum of \$10,000 was needed by March 15 or the magazine would be forced to suspend publication, the ad said.

The March and April issues came out without incident. But there was no May issue.

The magazine resumed in June 1928 with Arens out as editor, replaced by Michael Gold. Hugo Gellert remained as art editor.

And the new leadership with its slogan of "less literature and more life" chose first-off to bite the hand of the organization that fed it financial nourishment in its opening years.

"Every radical magazine has a deficit," the new leadership said. "Our deficit is small. But the Garland Fund, which has met it until now, has decided to put us out in the snow."

The new order at **New Masses** expressed the belief that its readers would send money to meet the need for \$1,000 to take it

through the summer. "The magazine is running on a starvation basis. No one makes money out of this magazine.

"Help us carry on the tradition of John Reed. It is the voice of the lowbrow, the failure, the rebel, the boy worker, the factory poet, the tenant farmer, the poorhouse philosopher, the men and women at the bottom."

With its trashing of the Garland Fund, the new **New Masses** seemed to take a swipe indirectly at Garland himself.

"Millionaires give money to hospitals and art galleries, never to rebel magazines."

And in spreading the insults around, the June 1928 issue also carried an attack by Communist William Patterson upon fellow blacks Paul Robeson, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Jean Toomer, James Weldon Johnson and Claude McKay essentially for not getting down with the lowbrows and failures to do battle in the cause.

The July issue ran a letter from Scott Nearing which urged the **New Masses** "right on!" in the class struggle. And march on it did, fully into the Communist fold.

It was just about the time the Garland Fund ceased even a trickle of aid to the **New Masses**. But its total effort was

\$31,900 -- just about the commitment it made in early 1925. And the years the Fund provided the aid were ones where the magazine was -- as the founders envisioned -- "fresh, vivid, youthful, satirical, brave and gay."



## VANGUARD PRESS

**This is an educational proposition,  
not a financial one.**

Vanguard Press press release

April 1926

The Garland Fund established its own publishing house in 1926 to issue "radical and liberal masterpieces" for working people at prices they could afford. It was called Vanguard Press with headquarters at 70 Fifth Avenue in New York City -- with its goal "to publish books in the Vanguard of thought for the Vanguard of humanity."

The bottom of its letterhead carried the slogan: "An educational press run without profit."

Writer Rex Stout, the creator of the fictional Nero Wolfe, was the Vanguard board's first president and Garland Fund director Norman Thomas was secretary-treasurer. Stout would publish several of his works through Vanguard and retain his affiliation with the publishing house after it shifted into private hands. Four members of the Garland Fund board were among those on the Vanguard board.

John McAleer in his biography of Rex Stout quoted Roger

Baldwin at 91 recalling Stout at Vanguard board meetings as decisive, sensible and persuasive. Baldwin said sometimes Stout was explosive, but rarely argumentative.

Vanguard issued a press release on April 21, 1926, which said in part:

"The first national investigation of the reading tastes of labor and working groups was started today by the Vanguard Press, the non-commercial press just launched by the American Fund for Public Service, to publish liberal and radical books at a few cents a copy. The reading survey is to include all labor groups throughout the United States, according to R.J. Baker, editor."

In the same announcement, Baker explained that Vanguard Press was not a commercial or money-making proposition.

He said, "It is financed by the American Fund for Public Service for the purpose of making radical and liberal masterpieces available to the working groups. These people cannot afford the high prices charged by the established publishers. We do not have to make a profit, and, if we do, it will be turned back to the American Fund."

Vanguard Press was one of two projects of "major importance" that the Garland Fund directors created themselves, according to

Roger Baldwin in a memoir in the 1930s. With \$100,000 initially and \$59,000 later, Vanguard published radical classics in cheap editions -- including works by John Reed, Lenin, Marx, Tolstoy and H.G. Wells -- and also put out a series of new books, mostly about Soviet Russia. There was to be no poetry or drama. Books would sell for 50 cents.

Vanguard also was particularly credited in 1929 with being the only prominent white publisher in America that would issue Scott Nearing's "Black America" with its graphic pictures of lynching. And its reprints included "The Jungle," Upton Sinclair's muckraking piece of 1904 on Chicago's meat industry, John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World," Plato's "Republic" and Ingersoll's "Mistakes of Moses."

The company also set up the Vanguard Book Society with a membership fee of a dollar. That entitled a member to a 20 percent discount on all books for two years.

One Vanguard-related project was a series of studies on Russia -- on such topics as health, education, women in Russia, industrial development and art, literature and drama -- aimed for publication in 1927 because it was the 10th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

The Garland Fund would provide the financing with the

writing to be done by "Americans or at least non-Russians and non-officials. It is to be records of accomplishment and not propaganda," the Vanguard board minutes of 1926 asserted.

The purpose of the series was to answer the question: What is actually happening in Russia? Garland board member Scott Nearing headed the research committee. Vanguard would publish 3,000 copies of each volume.

Baldwin said Vanguard lost money so fast that it was sold in 1932 to a publisher "with an eye to pulling it out of the red, financially and politically."

But if it was a failure under the Garland Fund, it was a magnificent failure. Baldwin called it one of the Fund's more valuable activities -- printing over a quarter million books of "radical fundamentals."

How many other foundations backed such failures?

But to the beginning:

The whole matter first arose with a letter in 1922 to the Fund from Upton Sinclair, urging that it take over his publishing venture and put him on salary. The board refused.

But his letter did start talk in that direction among the Garland directors -- most notably Roger Baldwin in a letter to Norman Thomas, on what he called "the question of publication and distribution of radical literature."

Baker made surveys of reading tastes -- from labor, from booksellers, from others -- and prepared a 32-page report of proposed plans for Vanguard Press.

He conceded the venture would probably lose money and predicted its business life would be less than five years. Booksellers are generally conservative. Of radical ones, there are few.

"The venture is worthwhile," Baker wrote, "but it has few elements of financial success and self-support. It may, however, accomplish even that, granted sustaining enthusiasm and genuine devotion on the part of those engaged in it."

He saw two challenges with the project:

-- "To organize the publication of radical works in the whole social science field that are now lacking in American print, whether reprints, fresh translations or new publications."

-- "To so organize the publication of this type of material

that it shall become self-supporting with a capital of \$100,000."

The Garland Fund had hardly announced its intentions on Vanguard Press when super-patriot Fred R. Marvin -- the same Marvin who was invited to Allentown in early 1926 to denounce Charles Garland -- was lambasting the idea.

Marvin, writing a column in the **New York City Commercial**, provided what its headline claimed was "Data on Subversive Movement Against the American Government."

After quoting the announcement press release from Vanguard Press, Marvin lamented that "the radicals appear to be getting away with the program with little organized opposition. While they are in the minority in number, they certainly appear in the majority in making noise and in their persistent efforts to circulate radical propaganda of all kinds."

Poor Marvin.

To hear him tell it, well-meaning people were being duped into supporting these radical movements, which came disguised under a multitude of names. As he had repeatedly pointed out, around 600 publications -- daily, weekly and monthly -- were "engaged in circulating misinformation and malinformation against the government of the United State and its institutions."

Most were printed in foreign languages. Indeed, most were printed in some foreign country and circulated in America. "The most harm comes from those that pretend to be legitimate but are engaged in cleverly putting over Socialistic and Communistic teachings."

To Marvin, Vanguard Press was one of those literary wolves in sheep's clothing.

"It will not appear as having either Socialist or Communist backing and, for that reason, will be accepted by a great many people who do not know what this organization is, knowing nothing about the Garland Fund and possibly less about the American Civil Liberties Union and its purposes." As Marvin proclaimed it, the sinister ACLU controlled the Garland Fund.

Marvin represented only the first wave of attacks upon Vanguard Press under the Garland Fund aegis.

As outlined in John Tebbel's four-volume "History of Book Publishing in the United States," the Congress's notorious Dies Committee in the early 1940s -- backed by an advertising organization -- hit upon Vanguard in HUAC's campaign against books that discussed consumer issues.

Nineteen publishers involving 36 titles were cited for having "sown the seeds of confusion in the minds of millions." Vanguard led the way with eleven titles, beginning with its best-selling "100,000 Guinea Pigs."

Tebbel's history pointed out that even "Economy of Abundance" by Stuart Chase was included -- though not previously considered a radical book. Chase, of course, was the "bookkeeper" in the 1920s for the Garland Fund, checking the financial integrity of grant applications.

And the book publishers history further noted that Vanguard was the center of a censorship controversy with the New York State Legislature in 1947 over a book called "Our Fair City," in which veteran newspapermen wrote chapters showing that the corruption of American cities hadn't changed much since Lincoln Steffens wrote "The Shame of the Cities" around the turn of the century.

Thanks to the New York Legislature, the book got extraordinary free publicity across the nation, the history said.

Vanguard was also under investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee in the late 40s "suspected because in the 20s it had published low-priced editions of political and economic books, including some by Communist and left-wing



writers." The history added that HUAC dropped Vanguard from its list of subversive organizations in 1957 and even apologized for its investigation.

It's amazing how long the tail of Garland Fund involvement stretched with the right wing's anti-Communist crusaders after the Fund itself was no more. But, then, HUAC had as its hero FBI director John Edgar Hoover.

Just to provide an example of the editorial trauma that Vanguard Press went through in the 1920s, consider the case of Professor Charles Wesley of Howard University.

He wrote a book called "Negro Labor History in the United States" in 1926. Four other publishers had already turned down the manuscript.

Vanguard editor Jacob Baker said, "There is no study like it, and it would serve a useful purpose even though the circulation is small."

The NAACP's James Weldon Johnson and historian Mary Beard favored it. But there was sentiment in some quarters that to become popularized the book had to delete a multitude of footnotes and a wealth of charts at the back of the volume.

Otherwise, according to Garland Fund director Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, this is not a very salable book. Author Wesley was adamant against revision.

Eventually, the Garland Fund provided \$1,500 to Vanguard to have Wesley's book printed. And editor Baker said the final version was much an improvement over what Wesley originally submitted.

According to Gloria Garrett Samson in her 1987 thesis on the Garland Fund, Vanguard merged with Macy-Masius in 1928.

McLeer's biography of Rex Stout said that by the time Stout left as Vanguard president in 1928, it had published 150 titles. Samson had a somewhat different figure. She said that by 1930, Vanguard had issued over 100 titles, "including a series on American imperialism paid for by the Fund and eleven titles under Studies of Soviet Russia for which the Fund paid almost \$15,000."

The buyout in 1932 of Vanguard by James Henle for \$45,000 -- to be paid over a three-year period -- ended the Fund's venture in the publishing business. But there was a sour postscript, \$27,000 of the total payment was never made. The Garland Fund turned it into a \$27,000 "gift" in 1940 as it was preparing to close its books.

Vanguard would go on to various literary triumphs, including publishing the Studs Lonergan series by James T. Farrell and the first books by Dr. Seuss.

The history of publishing concluded that Vanguard never became a large and important house, but continued to publish quality books, some of them distinguished, year after year.

## WOMEN'S CAUSES

Ours has been a fight to secure  
industrial equality for women.

Elizabeth Christman

National Women's Trade Union League

October 1924

Chicago settlement worker Mary McDowell, the angel of the stockyards, was one of the original Garland Fund directors when the organization was formed in 1922.

At 68, she was also its oldest member and the only woman.

The Fund organizers were definitely conscious of having women on what began as an eleven-member board.

As a special committee, Harry Ward, Roger Baldwin and Scott Nearing issued a report in November 1923 calling for additional directors. They said they were particularly searching for "a woman who will represent modern women's movements as well as being conversant with the radical and labor field."

They subsequently added two -- hell-raiser Elizabeth Gurley

Flynn and Socialist and militant feminist Freda Kirchwey. One actually was to replace McDowell. So it was a net gain of one.

This was at a time Flynn was still highly critical of the high-handed ways of Communist tactics, though later she joined the party. And Kirchwey was working her way up the editorial ranks of **The Nation** magazine to become its longtime editor and publisher.

As chairman of its Committee on Women in Industry, Mary McDowell gave the National League of Women Voters at its 1921 convention some scope of female employment in America.

"There are approximately twelve million women in gainful occupations," she told the delegates. "Five million are foreign-born, mostly non-English speaking.

"Over forty-three percent of all colored women are bread winners. They have the added burden of race prejudice as a hindrance toward betterment of conditions under which they work."

McDowell said over half wage-earning women were between fourteen and twenty-one, immature, inexperienced, with little foresight, unorganized and many too young to be organized.

With organizations to help working women -- some, at least -  
- the Garland Fund was there.

One of the most pleasant exchanges of correspondence in the Garland Fund papers occurred between the Ladies Auxiliary of the International Association of Machinists and Fund officers.

The auxiliary asked for \$4,000 for 1926 for an education program aimed at the wives of trade union members.

"Workers' wives are usually so confined to their homes by drudgery that they have little opportunity to come in touch with the problems of the labor movement," wrote Graced B. Klueg of Brooklyn, head of the auxiliary's education committee.

Yet, the wives are a significant factor in labor struggles. They stand behind their men in all strikes.

Something else to consider is that enlightening workers' wives may be helpful for the organizing of women in trade unions, Klueg said.

The \$4,000 was granted, and the auxiliary in little time raised the matching money the Fund required. In addition, the Fund promised \$2,000 for 1927 if the auxiliary would raise \$4,000 matching. It was done with ease.

Klueg and her associates put out a series of pamphlets on such topics as "The Working Mother and Her Child" and "Organizing Women Workers" and conducted lecture courses -- including a summer program at Brookwood -- that "amazed and inspired" the creators.

The pamphlets handled each topic with questions and answers.

"The Working Mother and Her Child" dwelled heavily on establishing day nurseries to meet the needs of the mother. And in "Organizing Women Workers," there was this exchange:

**What types of women are engaged in industry?**

"Not only are these women single, married, divorced or widowed, but they represent all races and nationalities. The colored girl works beside the Jewish girl, the Italian, the American and girls of all nationalities."

**In what way do employers play off one race or nationality against another to prevent organizing?**

"Colored girls, who have been brought into industries to work for lower wages than white girls, are told the union exists only for the white girl and that she will not be tolerated in it.

"The white girl is given to understand she can easily be replaced by colored girls at lower wages. Various race and religious prejudices are harped upon to widen the breach between various working groups."

The pamphlet also said that "women are in industry and they are unquestionably here to stay."

But it didn't shy away from saying that the fighting men returning from the World War were not welcoming the women in industry with open arms if there was a danger they would be displaced in their jobs by women.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn told Klueg: "We are very much interested in the work you are doing."

Another group, the National Women's Trade Union League of America with headquarters in Chicago, also got Garland Fund help.

The league, founded in 1913 but suspended operations during the war, reopened in 1921. "It came into existence because trade union men did not consider -- and for that matter, do not now consider -- the organization of women workers one of their responsibilities," said league secretary-treasurer Elizabeth Christman, writing in 1924.



The league's aim was to teach women how to investigate working conditions and develop strike procedure. "Ours is the only organization training trade union women for organizers, secretaries, etc., giving them both academic and field training," Christman said.

And with the Garland Fund, the league initially had to combat its reluctance because the organization got little help from labor unions.

Failure to receive help from these unions "is really nothing more than a part of the whole women struggle in the labor movement," Christman said.

"Ours has been a fight to secure industrial equality for women.

"It is perhaps comparable to the fight other groups of women have had to make -- women lawyers, women in the medical profession, women architects. It is questionable whether men doctors and lawyers have ever felt any financial responsibility toward the advancement of women in their professions."

That argument was enough to convince the Garland directors to provide almost \$5,200 for the league's work. In turn, the league used some of it for five scholarships for women workers,

mentioning particularly that one went to a "colored postal clerk from Washington, D.C."

The Southern Summer School for Women Workers, which came a bit later than the others to the Fund, grew out of the Young Women's Christian Association. Its total allocation of \$12,080 from 1926 through 1931 was the highest among women's group.

Among the quotes from those who attended the school were these from cotton weaver Eula McGowan: "What the school did for me mostly was to make me think. I didn't get a complete education in six weeks, but I got a good beginning."

The approach came in 1926 on the stationery of the National Board of the YWCA, with its headquarters in New York. The writer was Louise Leonard, industrial secretary for the southern region for the YWCA.

The South was fast becoming industrialized. But the region had practically no union for women workers except the United Garment Workers Union.

The school was to open in the summer of 1927, purely experimental and independent. The founders agreed that control by the organized labor movement frequently meant curtailing freedom

in discussing economic problems "due in part to the very reactionary spirit animating the labor movement." They said it was deplorable, but true.

"We do not wish the school to become an institution," Leonard wrote. The group hoped to reach workers in cotton and spinning, hosiery, tobacco and overalls industries -- first generation industrial workers who, for the most part, had grown up on farms.

Called upon by the Fund for advice, field secretary Paul Blanschard of the League for Industrial Democracy said, "The attempt is decidedly worthwhile."

The 1927 session was at Sweet Briar College, then in subsequent years moved on to Carolina New College in Burnsville, North Carolina, and then to the campus of Christ School for Boys at Arden, North Carolina.

History Professor Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina and A.J. Muste of Brookwood Labor College were among visiting lecturers. Other teachers came from Columbia and NYU.

And after the school's first summer, Clinton Golden, the Garland board's expert in worker education, called the program a splendid piece of work, the only one of its kind in the South.

The Nation magazine carried an article on the school in October 1929 that said, "This small group of women are playing an important part in the fight against economic slavery in the South."

And another Golden assessment in 1929 noted, "Even Roger agrees they are doing a very worthwhile piece of work and have first class southern connections."

## Imperialism Studies

The most important research undertaken  
was a study of American imperialism...

Wisconsin Prof. Merle Curti  
Social Service Review, 1959

The Garland Fund directors enlisted scholars to undertake studies of what effect American private and public money was having upon various countries of Central and South America. They labeled it American imperialism and set up an anti-imperialism committee to plan the work -- the word "anti-imperialism" clearly saying its approach. The efforts stretched over a decade, to the mid-1930s, involving an outlay of nearly \$40,000.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes of Smith College, the historian, agreed to supervise the project, aided in his editorship task by a group of scholars and publicists. "For me, it was mainly a labor of love and an honorific task," Barnes recalled a generation later in a letter to Professor Merle Curti of the History Department at the University of Wisconsin. The pay was "nominal," Barnes said.

When approached initially by Garland director Lewis Gannett as head of its anti-imperialism committee, Barnes said, "If you want a competent director of technical economic research, I'm not

the man.

"If, on the other hand, you want somebody of ingenuity and enthusiasm to head up and plan a diverse exposure of the profiteers and patrioteers, I think I could qualify quite as well as anybody in the country."

He tempered this with the footnote that "I must admit I'm more concerned about the oppression of citizens of the United States than those of Latin American countries."

Those scholars serving Barnes as an editing committee included Professors T.S. Adams of the Department of Political Economy at Yale, Edward Borchard of Yale Law School, Manley O. Hudson of Harvard Law School, Paul H. Douglas at the University of Chicago, Ernest Greuning, then with an address of LaFollette Headquarters in Washington, D.C., and Emmanuel Celler, later powerful chairman of the House Judiciary Committee.

Greuning, later senator from Alaska, responded, "The idea strikes me as excellent."

Asked to be a part of the advisory group, historian Charles Beard called the study both "timely and worthy." But he begged off because of other projects he had going and, therefore, couldn't serve on the editorial committee.

Besides, he didn't like the idea of a sprawling editorial committee. Instead, give the entire task to a first-rate scholar like Barnes or Earle. "Give him enough money to cover the editorial work and let him bring them out over his own name, on his own authority, without any tags, rags or brands," Beard advised.

The voluminous Garland Fund papers are virtually devoid of humor. But at one point early on in the imperialism project, Barnes suggested a place where the researchers might find some. He advised them to check the **Springfield Republican** account from the summer of 1924 of Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes speech at Amherst "where he denied that business interests had ever exerted the slightest influence over his foreign policy."

From his prospective a decade later, Roger Baldwin called the imperialism work one of two major projects the Garland directors themselves created. The other was the establishment of Vanguard Press.

And looking at it a generation later, Professor Curti assessed the project as "the most important research" among those the Garland Fund financed. None of the scholars was a Socialist, Curti pointed out and "those scholars chosen to make the case studies on the role of American investments in various other

countries were all well qualified."

Curti published his extensive findings and evaluations of the Garland Fund in the September 1959 issue of the *Social Service Review* under the title "Subsidizing Radicalism: The American Fund for Public Service, 1921-41."

Curti's treatise stood for much of this century as the lone serious study of the Garland Fund. . .until Gloria Garrett Samson arrived with her 500-page doctoral thesis in 1987 for the University of Rochester: "Toward a New Social Order -- The American Fund for Public Service: Clearinghouse for Radicalism in the 1920s."

Curti's research for his treatise included 1958 letters from Harry Elmer Barnes on his work as the overseer of the imperialism studies. These say in part:

"So far as I can remember, there was never any effort to censor or rewrite the material presented by competent scholars, none even Socialist, to say nothing of Communists. There was no insistency on a Marxist interpretation, and there was none in any book in the series as printed.

"I would say that my work with the Fund committee was as free from arbitrary interference as any editorial work I have



done for publishers in the historical field.

"Most of the rewriting that was demanded related to getting the books down, in some cases, to manageable size. Knight's book as originally submitted was twice as large and twice as good as the printed volume," Barnes lamented, referring to Columbia University Professor Melvin M. Knight whose book was on "The Americans in Santo Domingo."

The others were "The Bankers in Bolivia" by Margaret Alexander Marsh of Amherst and "Our Cuban Colony" by Leland Jenks of Rollins College in Florida. All got to travel to the country of their topic at Garland Fund expense to enhance their research.

At the conclusion of her work, Marsh wrote to Garland director Elizabeth Gurley Flynn: "Though not as yet an actual problem in imperialism, Bolivia from my standpoint has been a fascinating study, and I am grateful to the Fund for the opportunity to carry it on."

Vanguard Press handled the publishing -- subject, of course, to a subsidy from the Garland Fund. That arrangement included having 1,000 copies free to scholars who belonged to the American Historical Association (AHA), libraries of colleges with over 300 students, public libraries in cities with over 60,000 population, editors and politicians while Vanguard would have a similar

number to sell. The plan called for a cheap paperback edition a year later.

Some 2,300 letters went out to members of the AHA, asking if they would like a set of the books. The letters called the books "authoritative and informative. . .reliable and lucid studies of contemporary American imperialism." Those attaching themselves to that endorsement were Barnes, Northwestern history professor Isaac Cox, Duke professor of Hispanic American history J. Fred Rippy, Latin American historian Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas and Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *The Nation*.

One manuscript was rejected by the fund's anti-imperialism committee. That dealt with Nicaragua by Roscoe Hill on the grounds it was too much an apology for Secretary of State Henry Stimson.

"The point of view throughout is that of a benevolent 'liberal' imperialist," Gannett said. "The meaning of the facts is either neglected or distorted."

"The material was worthless to us," wrote an infuriated Robert Dunn, a far-leftist on the Garland board.

"Hill did not use ordinary precaution in determining the

character of the work we were financing," Baldwin said.

Barnes said he would stay out of the dispute, leaving it entirely to the Fund's anti-imperialism committee.

Gannett, noting the Fund had no commitment to Hill, suggested it give him \$300 for his time "and call it another mistake. The fault was Barnes's and ours for not finding out more about him."

Baldwin agreed.

But the Garland board refused to approve the money for Hill. It said it would take its chance on whether Hill would sue.

The committee's assessment of Hill's manuscript was apparently correct. Barnes noted that Hill's work was sharply criticized when it was submitted as a doctoral thesis at Columbia.

When the Garland Fund was recruiting scholars to serve on the editorial committee overseeing the work, Roger Baldwin wrote one potential committee member: "This is not part of the propaganda of Moscow. The Fund will be willing to back out of notice. We are after results, not advertising."

To Harvard Professor Allyn Young, Baldwin said, "The group is not tainted by radicalism of the deep-dyed sort associated with this board. There is no need for public mention of our connection."

Curti said the reception the volumes received was somewhat mixed -- as might be expected.

The American Historical Review castigated the Jenks volume on Cuba as "spoiled by half-truths, innuendo, partisanship of the sort one so often finds among circles of self-approving intelligencia whose motto is whatever is, is wrong, especially if it is American."

But as Curti also pointed out, two "competent authorities" in Isaac Cox and R.L. Buell found much to commend of the scope of the research, the first-hand familiarity with actual conditions and the effort to look at the problems from the point of view of the impact of American investments on the less-developed countries.

Paul Douglas said that the relative success of the studies "may encourage investigations of our relations with Central American states, upon which a good deal of light remains to be thrown."

Quincy Wright of the University of Chicago concluded the authors were "sparing in praise and blame -- letting the facts speak for themselves." Curti called that a fair judgment.

Barnes wanted to keep going with study after study of country after country in Central and South America. "We ought to have a volume on the regime of this bastard Gomez," Barnes said somewhat belatedly in an October 1931 note to Baldwin. This was a reference to Juan Vicente Gomez of Venezuela, described elsewhere in the same file as a "wily old butcher" and "the monster of the Andes." It never came to be.

But by then, two others authorized earlier were completed -- "Porto Rico: A Broken Promise" by Bailey Diffie and Justine White Diffie of New York and "The Capitalists and Colombia" by Rippey, both coming out in 1931 under Vanguard.

The final venture was "The Banana Empire" by Congregational minister Charles David Kepner Jr. and Jay H. Soothill in 1936. This was advertised as "an interesting and carefully documented account of the growth of American investments relating to the banana crop and railroads in Central America and, to some extent, Colombia, Jamaica and Mexico." It also was to show how "the techniques of United Fruit Co. and less important fruit companies have consolidated their power in the Caribbean, particularly in Costa Rica and Honduras."

There were also two other separate studies under the auspices of the Fund that were not related to the Barnes overseeing.

Robert W. Dunn compiled "American Foreign Investments" and Scott Nearing and Joseph Freeman did "Dollar Diplomacy." Curti said they had some immediate influence "on those disposed to question the inter-relations of the State Department and American business engaged in overseas activities." But neither rated a permanent place in the scholarly literature on the subject.

MacMillian Co. of New York turned down an overture to publish the books. H.S. Latham of MacMillan's Trade Department said, "It's important work in its field, but a difficult one to sell. The sales doubt is a difficult obstacle to overcome. I hope you find someone inclined to gamble a bit more than we are."

Arrangements were subsequently made with New York publisher B.W. Huebsch. By the time the books were printed, Huebsch had been absorbed by Viking Press.

Curti said the Garland Fund also "organized and financed a number of research jobs which no other enterprise seemed equipped or willing to undertake."

The Rand School of New York City couldn't finance its research department. In 1925, the Garland Fund took over virtually the entire support of its program.

The department compiled and published **The American Labor Year Book, American Labor Who's Who and the Labor Press Directory.**

The Garland Fund also authorized a study by ACLU attorney Walter Nelles of injunctions in industrial disputes. This dragged on for years at a cost of \$16,000, but it was never completed and never published.

It was one of the dreams of the Garland Fund that was not realized.

COMMON SCHOOLS

I am writing to enlist your interest  
in an inquiry into the present  
situation of common school education  
among Negroes of the South.

W.E.B. DuBois letter  
to the Garland Board  
November 9, 1924

The Garland Fund in the 1920s and 1930s provided the grants  
for the NAACP to lay the groundwork for the *Brown vs Board of  
Education* ruling of the Supreme Court a generation later.

The Garland papers document it. And the words of NAACP  
Executive Director Walter White in the immediate aftermath of  
the historic school desegregation decision in 1954 confirm it.

White particularly pointed to Garland Fund moneys in the  
early 1930s that permitted the NAACP "for the first time to pay  
for a complete study of the legal status of the Negro in  
America."

That study provided the background for planning for years  
ahead upon what White called "a broad frontal attack on the basic  
causes of discrimination."



White was correct as far back as he went. But he didn't go back quite far enough.

The early groundwork -- at least in public education -- arose from a request by *Crisis* editor W.E.B. DuBois in November 1924. He asked for \$5,000 to study the Negro common schools in the South.

James Weldon Johnson had paved the way somewhat for DuBois that spring among his Garland board colleagues when he set out his views on "Policy of the Fund as it Relates to the Negro as a Minority."

He dealt with a variety of areas. . . continuation of the anti-lynching campaign, legal defense, helping blacks become a major factor in the industrial and labor world, dealing with the black farmer and public education.

The Garland directors need to consider that many things that have long passed out of the general radical program -- some as long ago as the signing of the Magna Charta -- are still radical for American blacks in 1924. For instance, for Negroes in Mississippi to assert the right to vote is not only radical, but also dangerous.

Turning specifically to education, Johnson said:

"The Garland Fund could well assist the Negro in his fight for a fair share of the public school funds in those states where separate public schools are established by law. In some of these states, the discrimination is beyond the bounds of belief."

He cited South Carolina -- a state where blacks outnumbered whites. Its own department of education reported that it spent \$10 million for the schooling of white children compared with \$1.1 million for colored children in the 1922-23 school year -- roughly 10 to 1.

Those trying to defend this disparity assert that blacks don't pay taxes. That's just not so, Johnson said. Figures for South Carolina show that blacks pay more in taxes than they receive proportionately for their schools.

Johnson was 30 years ahead of the U.S. Supreme Court in saying in 1924 that public education laws relating to blacks were unconstitutional.

He declared that what's needed is a thorough and exhaustive study of those southern laws and how they may be best attacked. "Action to this end will strike a heavy blow at one of the greatest handicaps under which the Negro suffers in the South --

namely, forced illiteracy."

He said the answer was legal defense -- to secure for blacks the full citizenship enjoyed by other Americans.

DuBois came along six months later with a different proposition. He asked for money to document the financial discrimination in the public schoolhouse -- Southern state by Southern state, county by county, under the auspices of **The Crisis**.

Only by a careful investigation of the South can the seriousness of the situation be laid upon the conscience of the nation. And he said there hadn't really been a study of this kind since one he did back in 1911.

His arguments in behalf of blacks in 1924 sound much like those being given at the end of this 20th century in behalf of education for all minorities in America.

Negroes form a large and increasingly important part of the laboring class in the United States, DuBois said.

It was impossible to deal with this class intelligently as a group unless their children are being properly educated. And in 1924, "the average Negro child in the South is not being given an

opportunity to learn even to read and write," he said.

The Crisis, then 15 years old, had been paying its way since 1916. But it had nothing to spare for an investigation like this.

DuBois cited segments of his 1911 study -- an outgrowth of a conference he conducted while editor of the Atlanta University publications on Negro common school education during 1908-1910.

Besides the widely differing figures on what was spent per white child compared to a black child in southern states, DuBois listed the conclusions of that study, including:

The overwhelming majority of Negro children in the South were not in school. . .the chief reason being lack of school facilities, other reasons being poverty and ignorance of parents.

Those Negro children in school generally were poorly taught by half-prepared and poorly-paid teachers on short terms of three to six months. School officials provided little or no help.

"The result -- and apparently one of the objects of disenfranchisement -- has been to cut down the Negro school fund, bar out competent teachers, lower the grade and efficiency of the course of study and employ

as teachers those willing tools who do not and will not protest or complain."

Further, in an attempt to introduce much-needed manual training in the Negro schools, officialdom has burdened the teachers with a lot of unrelated work "which has pushed into the background the vital studies of reading, writing and arithmetic. In large measure, this has been done with the avowed object of training Negroes as menials and laborers and cutting them off from the higher avenues of life."

The forward movement of education in the South during the last ten years "has been openly confined almost entirely to white people."

DuBois argued that the entire country was suffering from this lack of Negro common school training. "The Negro colleges cannot do proper work, and Negro college students in northern institutions are hampered because of bad high school training."

Thus, it is easy for psychologists to prove the backwardness of the Negro race by testing such students in these institutions, DuBois said.

The difficulty lies with the wretchedly inadequate Negro public school system in the South. And he warned that if an

intelligent working class movement is to be developed in the North, it can't be hindered by cheap and ignorant black labor from the South.

DuBois proposed to survey 12 southern and border states -- first, by collecting their printed reports and school laws. . .then, sending out one or two agents to conduct interviews. . .making extensive studies of two to four of those states, in part through questionnaires. . .finally, touring the South himself, gathering up those questionnaires and noting local peculiarities that will aid in their interpretation.

The ultimate aim was to publish what had been found -- though DuBois' letter didn't say the obvious, that as a Crisis project the place to publish the findings was in *The Crisis*.

Roger Baldwin was brief in his reply. It's new, he said. "We are not entirely certain we are the proper body to finance it. You will hear from us again."

But letters Baldwin wrote to those he turned to for advice show he really wanted to shift this project elsewhere if possible and that he was less than enthusiastic about this project being in DuBois' hands.

In a letter to President James H. Dillard of the Slater Fund

headquartered in New York, Baldwin said outright that the DuBois proposal was outside the scope of the Garland Fund.

He asked: "Wouldn't the Rockefeller people handle it? It would be unfortunate for the Garland Fund to be put in a position of practically being forced to finance such a study because the educational foundations refuse to do it."

In turn, Dillard bounced the proposal to T.J. Woofter Jr. of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation headquartered in Atlanta. Woofter blasted it. He said general facts of Negro education were easily available, that several groups -- including the U.S. Bureau of Education -- were constantly making surveys.

"The addition of another superficial study would be adding insult to injury," Woofter concluded of the DuBois proposal. Dillard forwarded the Woofter accolades to Baldwin.

Fifth Avenue lawyer L. Hollingsworth Wood was greeted by a Baldwin letter of inquiry with questions loaded against DuBois. Baldwin asked: "Would Dr. DuBois make any significant contribution by such a study? If such a study is needed, is not some other agency more competent to handle it and likely to state the facts even more effectively?"

Wood was even stronger in his condemnation of the idea than

Woofter. People who ought to think on the subject would give it little thought if it came from DuBois, he said.

"Although there is plenty of lack of information on various subjects, it seems to me that it is not one of the most important," Wood wrote.

He suggested instead that the Garland Fund put up money to investigate the results of intermarriage between the races. "It would require some such unpopular unafraid organization as yours to finance it. It ought not be undertaken by an advertised radical, though I expect only a radical thinker could do a good job."

Baldwin also sounded out James Weldon Johnson, the only black on the Garland board, on the DuBois proposal, repeating his idea that this project was really something for the large mainstream foundations.

"Frankly speaking, there is not a single one of the large foundations that would give the *Crisis* ten dollars to do anything," Johnson replied. "If the *Crisis* gets any money at all for this work, it would have to come from the American Fund.

"The sort of investigation the *Crisis* has in mind is one which I do not think any other agency would undertake. It is for



the specific purpose of showing up and breaking down the gross inequalities and injustices in the distribution of public school funds in the South. It goes to the root of race conditions in that section, as Dr. DuBois has well pointed out in his application."

Besides giving a ringing endorsement to the project, Johnson apparently shared with DuBois Baldwin's doubts and hesitancy.

In early 1925, DuBois fired back that the Garland Fund should realize that unless certain investigations into the conditions of the Negro aren't done by liberal agencies, all the information will come from unfair sources.

"The statistics on Negro common schools in use today have been collected by either the U.S. Bureau of Education which for years has been southern in tone and influence or by Thomas Jesse Jones, the agent of the large educational foundations of the North."

Jones and those back of him make it appear that only Hampton and Tuskegee institutes have done anything toward Negro education, DuBois charged. Jones also takes the position that while Negro common schools aren't as good as they should be, they are improving so rapidly that there's no cause for alarm.

There are men who know the plight of Negro education in the South. But they either live there or work there and are not free to tell the truth about the situation. "No southerner, white or black, can attack the South and stay there," DuBois wrote.

He appealed to what the Garland Fund repeatedly claimed to hold most dear -- organized labor.

"If the Garland Fund wishes to encourage organized labor among Negroes, it must encourage intelligence among Negroes. Negro education is today fatally deficient because of a lack of elementary education in the South."

DuBois thundered, "The first step, therefore, toward labor organization among Negroes on any definite and lasting scale must be to reveal the plight of the Negro common school." That's why the *Crisis* asked for the \$5,000 to make the investigation.

Despite the critics, the Garland board approved the \$5,000 for DuBois on January 28, 1925. It tied on a proviso -- that the plans for gathering and releasing the material be satisfactory to a committee composed of Norman Thomas and James Weldon Johnson.

Even in his letter to DuBois announcing the proposal was approved, Baldwin was still whining a bit. "Negro education is a little out of our field," Baldwin wrote. That's why it took the

board three months to come to a conclusion on your application.

Further, Baldwin noted the application failed to say in detail how the study would be used. Thomas and Johnson would confer with DuBois about that. What quite obviously didn't get mentioned was the checking around that Baldwin had done about DuBois.

The enthusiasm of DuBois' reply indicated he either missed Baldwin's subtle jabs or ignored them. DuBois voiced his thanks, promised to confer with Thomas and Johnson. "I am especially anxious to have a complete and reliable report," he concluded. And he quickly provided a detailed outline of the project, including mention of his plans to publish the report in *The Crisis*.

But DuBois was not about to share with *Crisis* readers what the project involved. He wanted no public warnings to the white establishment in the South and those blacks who were what he termed its "willing tools."

His November 1925 "Opinion" column in *The Crisis* led with the terse headline: **\$5,000**. His one-paragraph item said:

We take pleasure in announcing that the  
American Fund for Public Service, better known

as the Garland Fund, has granted the sum of \$5,000 to the **Crisis** magazine for special work in research. When the **Crisis** was founded, it was hoped that we might have the opportunity of making from time to time scientific studies in the social condition of American Negroes. But until this grant, no money has been available except in very small amounts. This study is now going on under expert students and the publication of the results in the **Crisis** and in other forms will be announced later.

In June 1926, he first mentioned in print that the money to the **Crisis** was to study "Negro common school education." It was included in a list of other projects for blacks that the Garland Fund has supported.

The following month, **Crisis** readers were informed that "the first of a series of studies on Negro education carried out by the **Crisis** with the help of the Garland Fund" would be published in September.

That September issue was a special double number under the title "The Negro Common School in Georgia" -- 15 pages fully devoted to the forced illiteracy that besieged black children.

And Georgia wasn't the worst state in the South -- as subsequent reports would show.

The Georgia system was an accumulation of 150 years of separate and unequal, the DuBois study pointed out.

In 1770, Georgia fined anyone 20 pounds who taught a slave to read and write. Despite this, the dissemination of education in secret and opens schools for blacks became such that in 1829 Georgia made it a crime for "any slave, Negro or free person of color or any white person. . .to teach any other slave, Negro or free person of color to read and write, either written or printed characters. . ."

The penalty for a black violator was a fine and/or whipping, for a white a fine up to \$500 and jail.

The Dubois history lesson in the Crisis said the real genesis of the Negro school system in Georgia was a meeting in 1864 of General William Sherman and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton with five or six leading Negro ministers in Savannah. "After a dramatic interchange of opinion, free schools were decided upon."

They started with an enrollment of 37,000 in 1874. Enrollment was more than 250,000 in 1924 -- though there were

120,000 other school-age children who were not enrolled.

To those at the end of the 20th century who decry "forced busing" of white or black children to have racially integrated public schools, there was no busing of blacks to their segregated schools in the 1920s in Georgia or even transporting them on trucks. Georgia had but two accredited public high schools for Negroes compared with 275 for whites.

The statewide enrollment figures for 1923-24 showed the devastating results:

	Whites	Colored
First grade	94,203	90,532
Tenth grade	11,526	401
Eleventh grade	7,816	42
Twelfth grade	521	---

Some \$450,000 had been spent in 1924 to transport white children to their schools. Not a dime spent for transportation of black children.

The Georgia legislature had taken care of that right nicely in 1919 for the constitutionally proscribed separate schools for whites and blacks. It passed a law appropriating \$300,000 a year

starting in 1923 to establish consolidated schools in each county, plus an annual bit for maintenance and even more if the consolidation included a regular four-year high school.

The kicker was in the subsequent line in the law:

Such funds for the promotion and aid of consolidation and high school education shall not be sent to two schools in the same county until all other counties in the state have had opportunity for this aid.

It was no surprise who got the first consolidated school in each county. And 159 counties had to take advantage of that new law before any one of them could go for a second one.

The DuBois survey showed that the black children were left with what has become for many a hallowed institution almost as sacred as the church as the year 2000 nears -- the so-called Neighborhood School.

It was usually in a Negro church, lodge hall or dwelling -- often a delapidated building, sometimes in basements. "In some cases, they have no means of getting light. Often, there are no desks," the *Crisis* report said in its summary. "In most of the churches and lodge halls, the children sit on plank benches which

sometimes have no backs on them."

That's for those who had schools.

"In some counties, there is not a single school building for colored children," the report said.

"As a rule, the one-teacher schools do not give instruction beyond the fifth grade."

Troup County, for instance, along the Alabama border had 40 such colored schools. . .nearly all old church buildings, not only unfit for teaching but unfit for people to sit in. "Colored children must walk three or four miles to these shacks."

On the other hand, Troup County whites had "four beautiful consolidated county schools. Trucks transport the children. They are preparing to build five more consolidated schools for the whites."

Troup County white schools ran eight or nine months, colored schools for only five months. The white schools went as high as tenth grade. The colored schools didn't go beyond fifth.

And of the colored teachers, only a few had gone beyond seventh grade themselves. Only one white teacher in Troup County



was paid as low as \$50 a month. Most got \$75 and upwards. The pay for colored teachers ranged from \$18 to \$25.

In 1923, Troup County had nearly an equal number of children of both races between the ages of 6 and 18 -- 5,935 whites, 5,814 colored. Yet, its outlay for white teachers was \$22,500, for black teachers \$3,800. The county had money for such things as equipment, libraries, insurance and transportation for the white schools, not a cent for the colored schools.

Little wonder that Troup in 1923 had 370 illiterate school-age black children -- over ten times compared with 34 whites. "Forced illiteracy," James Weldon Johnson had said.

Glynn County along the Atlantic Coast also had a fairly close split on school-age children, 2,377 whites compared with 2,697 blacks. Statistically, it seemed to rank on a level with Troup:

	White	Colored
Teachers pay	\$ 53,971	\$ 13,624
Building and repairs	111,982	1,819
Equipment	819	---
Libraries, fuel, insur., janitors	15,781	---
Transportation	3,747	---

TOTAL

\$ 186,300

\$ 15,443

And the independent Atlanta School System -- despite some new buildings -- seemed to be playing a giant game of musical chairs with its black children.

The DuBois report quoted M.E. Coleman, the director of census and attendance for Atlanta's colored elementary schools, as saying there were 6,623 available seats in the elementary grades -- many in basements, portables and rented quarters.

The total enrollment in the colored elementary schools was 12,264. "This leaves 5,641 children without a seat or a desk at which to study," DuBois said.

The situation at the one colored high school in Atlanta was nearly as bad in early January 1926. Total seating capacity: 1,170. Total enrollment: 1,882. . .with 270 more due to arrive in a couple weeks.

There was one relatively bright spot in the Atlanta figures. In 1923, about \$900,000 had been spent on buildings and repairs for black schools. The total for white schools was more than \$2 million.

But the report explained that the \$900,000 "was secured only

after the colored citizens of Atlanta, under the auspices of the NAACP, had twice defeated a bond issue which had required for passage that a certain number of citizens vote. The colored either voted against the measure or refrained altogether from going to the polls."

There was one general exception to the shacks: schools erected with the help of The Rosenwald Fund of Chicago whose primary purpose was the aiding of schools for blacks. It allocated \$30,000 in 1924 to build black schools in Georgia. And by mid-1926, the fund contributed nearly \$115,000 to help construct or expand 132 such schools in the state. . .the largest single grant being \$1,500 toward a six-teacher school.

In Peach County in central Georgia, for instance, it provided \$900 toward a four-room Powersville School that served seven grades. Blacks with their cash and labor contributed \$1,500, whites \$125 and the county \$200. And in instance after instance in Peach and neighboring Houston County, the overwhelming amount of money and labor came from the Rosenwald Fund and local blacks.

The best county-owned schools in Georgia were the Rosenwald schools, DuBois said. And Peach and Houston counties were unusually progressive in the Rosenwald program.

But at Union Grove in Colquitt County near the Florida line, a Rosenwald school mysteriously burned shortly after it was built. Later, another school was built. This also mysteriously burned.

The DuBois report quoted the Georgia commissioner of education saying that very little was spent per capita upon Negroes in Colquitt County. "There is not a decent school building in the county," he said.

In his conclusions, DuBois said it appeared that those charged with Georgia common school education just didn't care about the colored schools. "In one instance, a teacher had not seen her superintendent during the past six years."

Salaries for black teachers were as low as \$15 a month -- often supplemented by ten or fifteen cents per pupil, paid by the parents. This fails to secure the best type of teacher.

"In fact, in some counties they do not want good colored teachers," DuBois wrote. "The colored teacher is often selected by some influential white man in the community from among the poorly prepared Negroes who have worked for him."

The figures DuBois supplied showed that less than half the black children of school age showed up for classes on any given

day in Georgia, compared to nearly 70 percent for whites.

He blamed the indifference of the black parents. . .failure of authorities to enforce attendance laws. . .distance for pupils to travel in bad weather. . .epidemics of measles and other diseases that periodically emptied schoolhouses. . .children of tenant farmers being called out to work in the fields. . .poor schoolhouses without heat in winter.

The result was what he called the "great retardation of Negro children."

After marching through Georgia, DuBois did the same to Mississippi in the December 1926 issue, North Carolina in May and June 1927 and Oklahoma in April 1928.

In Mississippi, cooperation was impossible from black teachers in the study. "They seem to feel they would be held criminally liable should they dare attempt to expose the situation," the report said.

Mississippi was spending a million dollars a year on transportation for white students, not a cent for blacks, this in a state where blacks constituted more than half the school-age children. "The number of whites enrolled in public high schools in 1924 was 30,036. The number of Negroes doing high school work

in accredited public high schools, none. . .950 consolidated rural schools for whites, but not one for Negroes."

This even got down to what has come to be called special education: A school for feeble-minded whites, none for Negroes. . .an industrial school for delinquent whites, none for Negroes. . .an institution for whites who are blind, none for Negroes.

And the disparity continued in higher education.

Alcorn A. & M., Mississippi's only black college, was receiving \$35,000 from the legislature and \$12,000 federal money compared with \$504,000 from the state and \$14,000 federal for the white agricultural and mechanic college.

When the General Education Board, a foundation based in New York, offered \$150,000 to Alcorn if the state would match it, the Mississippi legislature refused. When another outside proposal came for \$100,000 on the same condition, it refused again.

North Carolina was without a doubt the best in the South when it came to education for blacks, the DuBois report said on that state. "Certainly, North Carolina is not out of the shadows, but it is one hundred years ahead of Georgia. Here, the education of the Negro is assumed as an established policy.

"A.T. Allen, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, is even able to state that the difference between the educational opportunity of white children and Negro children is growing smaller and to hint that the goal is equal educational opportunity for all children regardless of race.

"Not a single state superintendent of any former slave state, with the possible exception of Missouri, has ever dared make a statement as liberal as this."

The report said the most astonishing development in North Carolina was that of Negro high schools. In 1917, when a new law went into effect calling for definite educational standards, there were no high schools for Negro children in the state. By 1926, there were 23 private and 26 public accredited high schools.

This was primarily the work of W.A. Robinson, "a young colored man who is supervisor of colored high schools," and his two superiors, director of Negro education N.C. Newbold and Superintendent Allen.

For all the southern states, there were only 166 state-accredited high schools for a Negro population of ten million.

Development in Negro elementary schools in North Carolina

hasn't shown the same striking improvement, the report said. But Allen had a seven-point program that includes hiring more teachers to cut down class size and adding up to 2,000 classrooms.

The report said average expense for each pupils per day in the United States was 39.6 cents in 1920. The average for the Negro of North Carolina was 10.9 cents in 1925-26 compared to 20 cents for whites.

Other charts show only 13 percent of Negro teachers had standard certificates compared to 86 percent for white teachers. Black teachers averaged \$436 a year versus \$800 for white teachers.

"Some counties persist in ignoring the rights of colored children," the report said. For instance, a countywide plan for the organization of the schools of Lincoln County mentioned nary a word in its 64 pages of schooling for its colored children.

Lenoir County had a 1920 census of 13,000 blacks and 16,000 whites. Yet its school survey published in 1924 declared it was designed "to find the present plan of educating the white rural children of the county."

There were practically no school buses for Negro children in



North Carolina. "These are still too new to be given them," the report said.

It concluded, "Probably the truth is that actual discrimination in money spent is increasing, but the standards of minimum equipment for Negroes as well as whites are rapidly improving."

The fourth study -- Oklahoma -- was the work of one Horace Mann Bond, M.A., one time president of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and the father of Julian Bond, who is chairman of the board of the NAACP as the 20th century ends. And this is the only one in the *Crisis* series that named the author of a report.

After his graduation from Lincoln in 1923, Bond served as instructor of education at the school for a year. Then, he became professor of education and department head at Langston University in Oklahoma from 1924 to 1927.

Bond's career at that point dovetailed so well with his study of Oklahoma schools for the *Crisis*. He was in his mid-20s when he compiled the report.

Amid that, he earned his master's degree from the University of Chicago in 1926. "Current Biography" said that he wrote his

thesis on the personality traits of a group of adult Oklahoma Negroes among whom he had worked for the NAACP.

The full text of Bond's study of Oklahoma schools for the *Crisis* would probably run to 70 pages in magazine, DuBois explained, "the most complete and exhaustive of all that have been made."

The only way the public would see the entire treatise would be if the teachers of Oklahoma or other interested persons come forth with money. It was another way of saying the Garland Fund \$5,000 was exhausted.

The segment that appeared in the April 1928 issue of the *Crisis* noted that Oklahoma was largely settled by migrants from states having the separation of the races in educational facilities.

In the transition from Indian territory to statehood in 1907, its constitution included that:

Separate schools for white and colored children with like accomodation shall be provided and impartially maintained. The term colored children shall be construed to mean children of African

descent. The term **white children** shall include all other children.

Bond said there was massive power in the hands of the county superintendent to the detriment of blacks.

The dual system made the burden too great upon the local area to support two equally good systems. "Consequently, the practice of other southern states -- supporting a fairly good system for white children and a neglecting the Negro schools -- was being duplicated in the young and progressive state of Oklahoma.

"Particularly did the burden become an onerous one in such counties as Muskogee, Okmulgee and McCurtain where the Negro school population was from 25 to 40 percent of the entire enrollment."

Several Oklahoma court decisions pointed toward equal support for black school children. Bond said the state needed some people who would press those court rulings.

But the part of his tome printed in the **Crisis** carried no charts or text comparing the mney spent per white child on public school education versus that spent per Negro child. Bond mentioned that there were such charts, but they apparently were

somewhere in the rest of the report's 70 pages that didn't make it in the **Crisis**.

Some of his observations about attendance did. The average attendance was 63 percent in a recent year, he said, though there was a marked difference between rural and city schools and there was no improvement across three years for Negro pupils.

"It is strikingly evident that counties in which the average daily attendance is below 50 percent there is no possibility of doing efficient work. Attention is particularly directed to Tillman County with an average daily attendance of 44 percent." Bond said Tillman was also among the lowest in per capita expenditures for education.

Almost scolding, Bond said, "Attendance figures show such disgracefully low averages for mos of the counties that it is obvious that many children are receiving little profit from their irregular attendance."

The inherent nature of rural life and the seasonal use of children on cotton farms were largely responsible.

He saw consolidated schools, increased salaries and longer school terms as ways to improve the situation.

DuBois informed the Garland Fund that he still had completed studies also on South Carolina and Alabama and partial studies on Louisiana and Texas to publish. He asked \$2,000.

The Garland Fund suggested instead that DuBois assemble all the material in a book to have published through Vanguard Press, which the Fund itself had founded. The Fund would provide \$325. This kicked back and forth for two years. Roger Baldwin confided to James Weldon Johnson that the DuBois manuscript "seems inadequate." The project apparently died.

But undoubtedly the unkindest cut to DuBois was that Baldwin hadn't gotten around to reading the *Crisis* series until three years later -- and then he had to be nasty in letting DuBois know.

Baldwin asked DuBois what further should be done with the series. "I understood the purpose of the study was to furnish a basis for some sort of a campaign. That was the purpose of the Fund in voting the money. I am doubtful as to whether you had any such program in mind.

"As printed, it does not shape itself into definite recommendations for action or agitation."

Oh, how wrong Baldwin was.

ATTACK ON DuBOIS, JOHNSON

NAACP 'SLUSH FUND' AIRED

Pittsburgh Courier headline

October 9, 1926

Thanks to Pittsburgh Courier publisher Robert L. Vann, there was an ugly aftermath within the black community to the Garland Fund allocation of \$5,000 to Dr. W.E.B. DuBois to study the public schools in southern states. And Vann's festering bitterness continued right through the death of James Weldon Johnson in June 1938.

Obviously, Vann got little information from the first mention of the project in the November 1925 *Crisis*. DuBois was being deliberately vague in saying the Garland Fund was providing the magazine the \$5,000 for "special work in research." As he explained a year later, "We did not wish the Southern states to know that we were studying their school systems."

But Vann ignored the June 1926 *Crisis* mention with its somewhat more specific terms that the study was on "Negro common school education."

And he further ignored the special double number of the September 1926 issue of *The Crisis* that devoted 15 pages to "The

Negro Common School in Georgia" -- along with a lengthy introduction saying the \$5,000 was to study the condition of Negro schools "in certain states," for the most part in the South.

Rather, the *Courier* in its "investigation" of Johnson, DuBois and the NAACP pointed to the 1924-25 printed report of the Garland Fund where on page 24 was a listing of \$5,000 allocated on March 25, 1925, to Dr. DuBois "for a study of Negro education in South Carolina."

The *Courier* article of October 9, 1926, attacked James Weldon Johnson as a Fund director for allocating grants just to his favorite projects rather than to what would benefit blacks as a race.

Vann apparently was ignorant of the fact that Garland directors stayed out of board discussions on proposals in which they had a direct involvement.

The *Courier* article further charged that DuBois as an NAACP official and a close friend of Johnson's was awarded the princely sum of \$5,000 Garland cash just to study Negro education in South Carolina. It said that was too costly and of questionable worth.

Next, the *Courier* correctly said the NAACP received the

lion's share of Garland money going to Negro causes -- \$35,000 at that point, compared to only \$11,000 to the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. But then it claimed the \$35,000 was used to supplement salaries of NAACP leaders and pay rent for the organization's "palatial offices on Fifth Avenue."

Vann in his weekly newspaper was championing the cause of the porters at that juncture -- though in a few years he would turn on their leader, A. Philip Randolph, much as he was turning on Johnson in 1926.

Then, the *Courier* called the \$26,552.80 from the Garland Fund toward an NAACP Defense Fund "the biggest scandal of the year." Only a fraction went for the Ossian Sweet case in Detroit, while the rest went into the NAACP's bank account, the *Courier* claimed.

In letters to friends, Johnson called Vann's accusations "absurd, baseless and malicious." He told colleagues Vann long opposed the NAACP and was particularly hostile to DuBois. Vann was a Republican henchman and petty office seeker, someone unhappy he didn't get a political post after the 1924 election of Coolidge.

In an NAACP press release, Johnson said Vann's investigation of the Garland Fund was nothing more than a *Courier* reporter calling the NAACP for information and being courteously referred



to the Garland Fund headquarters "where figures were given freely in good faith."

Johnson said that it was ludicrous of Vann to think Johnson could loot the Garland Fund since he was the only black on its board.

The defense fund was advertised beforehand for use in the Sweet case and in other cases, Johnson said. And of Vann's allegations of a defense fund "scandal," Johnson said accountants had gone over the expenses in both Sweet trials and those figures would be in the next annual NAACP report. Not a cent went to NAACP officials or board members.

On the final factual issue, Johnson said the \$5,000 to DuBois was for a study of Negro education throughout the South -- "an entirely inadequate sum for such a stupendous task."

Johnson, normally a genteel individual, ended the press release by pouring out invective upon Vann, calling him a "poisonous gossip-monger and falsifier who perverts his public position as editor to spread lies. . ."

Then, within ten days, Johnson traveled to Pittsburgh where he gave several speeches blasting Vann. He lost his temper on one occasion, calling Vann a liar and a scoundrel, which gave Vann a

chance to mock Johnson's loss of temper on the pages of the **Courier**.

Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University tried to be a peacemaker in the dispute. That failed.

DuBois took up the battle in his annual report in the January 1927 **Crisis** where he listed the year's assets and liabilities. Atop assets were "Sweet Trials" and "Defense Fund." At the very bottom of liabilities, even below 31 lynchings, was "Vann."

That produced a printed uproar from Vann, including harping back to the 1924-25 Garland Fund report which listed the \$5,000 to DuBois for an investigation into the Negro schools of South Carolina -- "SOMETIMES KNOWN AS THE ENTIRE SOUTH."

Vann's anger had to blind him to the fact he was hitting on something that was false. The December 1926 **Crisis** had carried the second report on black and white schools in a southern state -- this time, Mississippi, with thirteen pages of text, charts and photos. But what may have further enraged Vann -- if such a thing were possible -- was the dispassionate and quietly factual defense DuBois offered elsewhere in the same issue regarding the NAACP and Johnson and their dealings with the

Garland Fund.

Without ever mentioning the accusations came from Vann, DuBois concluded: "Coupled with the charges have been a number of vague insinuations and the use of adjectives libelous in intent and unfair. There has been, however, no open clear charge from any responsible source that the funds intrusted to the NAACP and **The Crisis** have not been used for the objects designated and have not been honestly and efficiently administered."

Andrew Buni in his biography of Robert Vann says the matter was finally resolved when Vann, DuBois and Johnson wrote letters to bury the hatchet in late 1929. They appeared in both the **Courier** and **The Crisis**.

Vann apologized for the October 9, 1926, **Courier** attack, claiming he didn't believe its accusations and wouldn't have printed them if he had seen the article beforehand.

DuBois said he accepted Vann's statement in the spirit it was given.

Johnson said he accepted Vann's word and, in turn, wished to withdraw what he said about Vann in his October 19, 1926, speech in Pittsburgh.

DuBois later became a regular contributor to the *Courier*, but Vann never forgave Johnson for calling him a liar and a scoundrel.

Johnson, in his autobiography which was published in 1933, made no mention of the feud with Vann. Nor anywhere in the book did he mention Vann.

But at one place, Johnson listed examples of rough questions thrown at him at various speaking engagements. In fielding them, he said he learned that by keeping his temper he could deal with irrationality.

When Johnson was killed in 1938 when his car was struck by a train at a grade crossing, Vann turned down an invitation from NAACP Secretary Walter White to attend the funeral. Biographer Buni quotes Vann as telling White that his reply was the same as he gave about Huey Long's funeral -- "I shall not be present, but I am glad it happened."

## COMMUNE TURMOIL

Barley couldn't live with one woman.

A lot of men were like that.

Soulmate Bettina Hovey

June 1978 interview

Meanwhile, back at the April Farm commune in Lower Milford Township, Pennsylvania, there were all kinds of turmoil in 1925 - - the first full year of its operation. But it didn't reach the public eye -- which essentially meant the local daily newspapers.

The big news from Lower Milford published in the local press in the summer of 1925 burst out of the village of Limeport, the township's largest community. It was trumpeted as the "famous dance" on the third floor meeting room of Schaffer's General Store in the heart of the village. It rose to legend.

Fifty years later, there was apparently no one around to brag about being one of the paying spectators for the celebrated smoker. But it was still a topic revived from time to time at the Limeport Hotel, the chief watering hole in the community, a base for the area's pinochle league and just a stone's throw from Schaffer's store. That, of course, was in simpler times before the hotel took on airs, underwent renovations and became Ye Olde

Limeport Hotel LTD to cater to the growing suburban population.

There was, however, one villager around who said he was too young to get into the "dance" -- he was only six at the time -- but he had somehow looked in through a window to watch these adult festivities from a perch on a roof.

The headline of the smoker story read:

300 MEN FLEE WHEN SHERIFF RAIDS

DANCE SHOW AT LIMEPORT; FOUR GIRLS

AND MEN ARE HELD FOR QUESTIONING

The subhead added this interracial titillation:

Two of the Females are Negresses, Who,

Together with White Women, Claim Bethlehem

As Home. General Scramble When Officers Appear

According to the sheriff's raiding party, close to 400 men were congregated on the third floor of the general store when the "dance" was performed. The posse had a clue that something big was going on in the village -- all the cars and trucks that brought the audience were rather obviously visible in this dirt-road community of perhaps a dozen homes, a post office, a one-room schoolhouse and a couple business places.

When the sheriff and his posse reached the store, they found

all the doors locked. It was necessary to break down two of these to gain admittance to the building. That action resulted in a general scampering among the crowd. Some jumped from third-floor windows to the second-floor porch and then to the ground. Tony Keshel, trumpet player for the band that accompanied the dancers, recalled that the drummer went out a window -- drums and all -- when the raiders marched in the door.

That none was killed in the stampede was a wonder to those who made the arrests, for the raiders said an elevator -- yes, this building had an elevator -- became overcrowded and crashed to the first floor.

County Commissioner LeRoy "Pop" Werley, in the final years before his death in 1965, claimed the reason he didn't get arrested was that he was standing outside between parked cars, answering nature's call, when the raiders arrived.

In the code words of the day, the press reported: "In the excitement attending the raid, all the spectators made a hasty getaway in waiting automobiles."

About ten people were arrested -- two colored dancers, two white dancers, several men who arranged the social and Monroe Schaffer, the lecherous proprietor of the store. Toward the end of his life, old Monroe practically gave the groceries away to

any attractive women who arrived wearing shorts and a halter top.

Schaffer told authorities he was just renting out the third floor for a group "holding a dance." Twice he was tried -- first in a hung jury of all males, the second time a "not guilty but pay the costs" verdict by a jury of 11 men and one woman. A generation later, the U.S. Supreme Court would bar those "pay the costs" penalties tied on acquittal verdicts.

The two black women -- the local press called them "colored girls" -- and one of the white women -- she was called the "white defendant" -- were tried together to a packed courtroom. Sex played to a full house in Limeport and to a full house in Lehigh County Court in 1925.

Male prosecution witnesses said the two colored girls appeared in underwear and did a "sort of trotting dance."

The women testified they were professional dancers, performers who had appeared at Sunday school entertainments. What they were doing in their Limeport debut was the Charleston, while wearing "Billy Burkes," something with a lot of ruffles. And the musical accompaniment was "very bum," said one.

Guilty to participating in an obscene exhibition, said an all-male jury. Not guilty to open lewdness. Four months in jail



and \$200 fine, said Judge Claude Reno.

The white defendant did a "hootchey-kootchey" dance, then went around the hall among the men.

Harold Hartman, himself a defendant, testified the woman began "with more or less clothes on, but all of which were torn off with the exception of her shoes and stockings." The courtroom spectators roared with laughter.

The white defendant admitted she never could dance. More laughter.

The prosecutor: "Why did you dance with so little clothes on?"

The white defendant: "Because nobody would pay money to see me dance while I'm dressed." More laughter. She insisted the patrons of the hall became disorderly and stripped her of her clothing.

Guilty to open lewdness and participating in an obscene exhibition. Four months in jail and \$200 fine. Same jury, same judge.

Hartman and the other males who set up this entertainment

pled guilty to conducting an obscene exhibition and a host of related charges, including the crime of "using a conveyance for transportation of a person to a place for the purposes of prostitution." It seems the Pennsylvania legislators early in the development of the automobile were alert to the evils that machine could bring upon the populus. And that's what many Pennsylvania Dutch of that era and long after called cars -- "machines."

The worst any male defendant got was four months in jail and \$100 fine. Most got less. Good old Lehigh County justice. . .or maybe just male-administered justice. . .or American justice, 1925 style -- tougher on blacks than whites, tougher on the procured than on the procurers.

And there was the added hypocrisy of the judge declaring that -- in future incidents -- all spectators should be arrested so they could serve as witnesses.

April Farm was several miles out in the country from Schaffer's store, past two one-room schools along dirt roads in rolling country, near the tiny village of Plover, which wasn't much more than a couple homes and a creamery.

Within its confines, so much transpired in 1925.

Bettina gave birth to her second child by Barley, a daughter Barbetta on July 4. Barley was the midwife for the delivery. That child would die in what was apparently an accidental death in her crib that October 17.

In early 1926, when the birth and death of this "illegitimate" infant became public scandal, the Hearst newspaper in New York carried a drawing purporting to show a sorrowing Bettina and Barley by lantern-light burying the infant in an unmarked spot at the edge of Great Swamp Church Cemetery within a mile of April Farm.

The **New York American** quoted Bettina as saying both she and Barley loved Barbetta, the baby girl. The child had been ill for several days with colic. She cried almost incessantly, and the night she died, Bettina, fearing the child would awaken the others, got up and put her in a basket and put the basket on the porch.

"Some way or other, the baby kicked the blanket over her head in the night and smothered," the **American** story said.

Then, the papers purported to describe the burial scene a night or so later -- "Garland digging a little grave by the light of the lantern and Bettina clasping a still little body to her bosom and weeping true mother's tears over it.

"There were no services and no other mourners. When the hole was dug, the baby's body was put in its small coffin and lowered into the hole. A broken branch stuck down into the loosened earth marked the grave."

The **Morning Call** of Allentown insisted the child was not buried at Great Swamp, "according to the best information," and carried a photo of the grave side on April Farm.

The **Call** said the death certificate gave suffocation as the cause of death. Elaborating, District Attorney Orrin Boyle said, "The child apparently died from natural causes."

Boyle said there was no doctor in the case. "A death certificate was issued by the coroner, indicating everything was all right," said Boyle in a strange choice of words.

The DA concluded the coroner must have been satisfied that everything was in accordance with the laws governing the issuance of death certificates before Ray Young of Coopersburg, the vital statistics registrar for the region, provided the certificate.

The public disclosure in 1926 by Lehigh County authorities of the girl's short life didn't specifically reveal where she was actually buried. And in interviews with Bettina 60 years later,

it seemed too private and painful a matter to ask.

Another development later in 1926 was that Ursula Feist and her sister, Erika, would join the commune, German immigrants most recently coming from that Stelton, New Jersey, Modern School colony of Socialists and anarchists near New Brunswick that Paul and Polly Scott came from earlier. Ursula and Erika's father had been a member of the Berlin Symphony Orchestra.

By 1928, Ursula would replace Bettina in Barley's life and bed and become his companion the rest of his years, giving him four children and finally marrying Barley when their own children got into school.

Among the holdovers from North Carver at that second April Farm was James Slovick, one of nearly 100 members of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Wobblies -- including William D. "Big Bill" Haywood -- tried and convicted in 1918 in Chicago essentially for opposing World War I. Federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis sentenced Slovick to ten years in prison.

Like many others, he served time in Leavenworth before eventually being freed after repeated appeals by Roger Baldwin and other liberal leaders of the day. As was frequently pointed out by those seeking release of Slovick and his fellow Wobblies, America was the last nation to free its political prisoners from

the war.

Judge Landis subsequently served as commissioner of baseball from 1921 until his death in 1944. As the end of the 20th century, Landis was receiving belated notoriety for being a key stumbling block during his tenure as commissioner to admitting blacks into the major leagues.

Bettina said Slovick had been secretary of the IWW in Chicago. "He spent years in Leavenworth. He was one of the most courageous people at the farm. He didn't want anything for himself. He just didn't agree with the world out there."

April Farm residents had disagreements over whether the colony should incorporate and start a school for up to 40 orphaned children -- Bettina claiming Paul Scott pushed the proposal while she opposed it.

Meanwhile, Scott asserted by letter (typed, six pages, single spaced) to Barley "that there prevails here a very deep dislike for Jews as such. I feel particularly that this is so with Bettina and believe she is big enough and I know she is honest enough to admit it if it is so.

"It is cruel to mix people together with such antipathies, for both are bound to suffer, as they would call out only the

worst in each other."

Scott, whose wife was Jewish, continued, "I have three children on my prospective school staff who happen to be Jews. These children radiate love -- not for Jews, but for all, good and bad. They ask only to serve and be useful. They think, feel and live beautifully. They have possibly never heard the words of the Golden Rule, but they live it."

He told Barley he could not confront those children "with a prejudice that they could not understand."

There was other turmoil over the holdovers from the first April Farm versus the newcomers. And in another family from the Modern School complex at Stelton, a six-year-old girl helplessly watched her father being seduced away from her mother that summer by another woman. The mother and the girl returned to Stelton at the end of the summer. The father stayed behind, returning to home and family months later.

That girl bitterly held those memories inside for 50 years before even sharing them with her own grown children. She said she didn't want her children to think less of their grandfather.

That's just a partial list for 1925 for a place the press would shortly be heralding as a "love farm." From the inside,

those present knew that not all was love. Each, of course, saw the situation in a somewhat different way.

To the neighbors, however, these were quiet people whose ways and dress may be a bit strange, but hard workers, people who hired neighbors to help out in the harvest season, above all, people who minded their own business.

In 1989, the Rev. Robert Urffer, a United Church of Christ minister who grew up on a farm next to the commune, at age 82 recalled, "I worked at April Farm pretty regular for a number of summers. I knew Charles Garland well. He was an easy-going, tall, intelligent, wealthy young man. My father and he believed a man ought to earn his living and work for it.

"I used their tractor on our farm. They let me use it to get my work done faster so I could come over and help them. There were times Garland would be at our house at 7 a.m., cranking the Fordson tractor. He was the only millionaire I ever saw crank a tractor."

Urffer's relatives were character witnesses in court for the April Farm proposal to establish that school for orphaned children. "It was turned down for political and sexual beliefs," the preacher said. He called the court's rejection a huge mistake for the community.



Urffer said the colonists were branded Communists. "They came pretty close. They were far ahead of their day in what they believed in politics and social relationships.

"Among the people there was someone who could speak fluently in whatever language a visitor spoke. Sometimes there were as many as 50 there. Most of them were young, adventurous, intelligent and civic-minded. They were nice people.

"They had a half dozen little cottages on the farm where they could live separately. If a man and woman wanted to try it together, they moved in and were devoted to each other, faithfully. They had children there and that's how they lived. Nowadays, we don't think anything of it."

Urffer said Garland's mother would arrive in a big car for a visit. "If she didn't feel like driving home, she'd leave it and tell them to do what they wanted with it.

"I worked for J.P. Hazlett who owned the orchard before them. They knew that I knew the place. I'd start at 6:30, but some people on the farm didn't get up till 9 or 10. We'd work for awhile and then they'd say: 'It's getting hot. Let's go swimming.'

"Well, I didn't have a bathing suit, but they said I didn't need one. While we were in, a bunch of women came long, took off their clothes and went in. After awhile, you thought nothing of it, after you learned to know them.

"And when half the afternoon was past, well, it was time to quit. I never had a job that was so easy."

The Armistead Collier papers in the Labor Archives at Wayne State University in Detroit contain a cartoon -- done in 1925 by one of the commune members -- that bears out Urffer's remembrance of the casual work hours at the second April Farm. Collier was the eccentric who took over the North Carver place after Garland abandoned it in the winter of 1923-24.

The cartoon depicts the rear view of Collier's wife Phyllis at the kitchen door at the second April Farm with the clock on the wall showing 10. Phyllis calls out in a lilting voice: "Is there any coffee left?"

Underneath the drawing is this poem:

Oh, how I hate to get up in the morning  
After a comfortable night in bed.  
But the hardest blow of all  
Is to hear my duty call --

"A-pruning you must go --

"A-pruning you must go --

"No spooning -- a-pruning in the cold and dreary snow."

The second line was originally "after a wonderful night in bed" but the word "wonderful" was lightly crossed out and replaced by "comfortable." A note in the margin explains the change was made because "there are too many evil minds at A.F."

Roger Baldwin in his 1976 interview recalled, "I don't know how many apple trees there were there, but so many that when it came to harvesting, Barley had trouble getting enough help. I went down and harvested one time, you know. I'd get up in a tree and pick them off.

"Garland took care of that apple orchard very well. He was a hard worker, all the time, always busy.

"When he went down there to Pennsylvania with Bettina, it attracted quite a community. There must have been five or ten people there all the time. And he deliberately created the community. He intended to create the community when he went down there, a communal farm. That was the idea."

To a question of how Garland got along with the various women on the place, Baldwin replied: "I hate to tell you that I

was present at some meals or just after meals down there when there was quite a question of who was going to sleep with him that night, which one he was going to pick. It was practically a little harem, you know. There was Bettina and I think Ursula was there, and I think there was another girl.

"I remember kind of a joke as to who was going to sleep with him. He was not a bit fussy about it, you know."

Bettina called those Baldwin statements "rubbish."

Baldwin said the handsome Garland was "very attractive to women. But he was not sexy. He didn't chase them. He was a more come hither type, because he was very good looking and very quiet and attractive in that sense, in that women either wanted to mother him or make love to him. He was not the go-after-'em type at all.

"He was kind of a pushover for women who got interested in him, who were determined to get him. They got him. But he never did strike me as a fellow who talked about or was much interested in sex. He never mentioned the subject to me, far as I recollect. He just naturally had to have someone in bed with him."

Baldwin claimed he was summoned from New York to April Farm by commune member Frank Hennessey to settle a dispute over "some

personal rivalry," though he couldn't remember the specifics. "Whatever the trouble, I was the arbitor, the umpire. They accepted my decision."

But Bettina contended personal rivalry was not the issue in what she said was the only time Baldwin was called upon to settle a dispute. Hennessey, another former Leavenworth inmate, wanted the place to be run more democratically, not as Barley's little kingdom.

"Frank wanted it to be a cooperative. He didn't want it to be a fantasy thing," Bettina recalled. "Frank went on a hunger strike in the big barn. Frank had done that at Leavneworth. It confused Barley. He didn't know what the hell to do. Barley got Roger Baldwin out there. Roger talked Frank out of it.

"I thought Frank was right. Barley should have gone to Frank himself. It's a real world we live in. Somebody had to milk the cow."

Bettina said that Roger Baldwin was never a hero to her. "I never took him as God Almighty. I never trusted him at all."

And she looked upon Ursula, the woman who would replace her in Barley's life, as someone after Barley's money. "Ursula was one girlfriend I couldn't get along with."

In a giant understatement, Bettina said, "We weren't a conventional group of people. But who was?"

Erika, Ursula's sister, and a young man named Hans Tiesler had been together in Germany. They had a son, Robin. Those three and Ursula came to America and wound up at Stelton.

Not until she was in her mid-80s did Ursula finally consent to an interview for this book. She said she was doing this for her children, who knew little of their father's early life.

Ursula said Stelton had a place to board children while the parents worked in New York. "The people at Stelton were mostly from Russia.

"In 1925, my sister took a job at the end of the year. The Modern School broke up. There was so much disagreement. The next month, Barley visited Stelton and discussed whether there could be a school at April Farm. He asked me to go."

She took along her sister's little boy, who had been born in February 1924 and was about the same age as Bettina's Carl. She said she arrived after all the furore of the first half of 1926.

Within a few couple years, there would be a multiple

shifting of companions among those connected with April Farm.

Ursula said that by the spring of 1927 her sister Erika was "getting together" with John Rothschild, Alice's ex. "She was an artist. She wanted to go to New York," Ursula explained.

When Hans Tiesler, Erika's ex, and Bettina got together, they wanted to vote Barley out of April Farm, Ursula said. "Bettina got a certain amount of money from Barley, 'the father of her children.' She bought a lot of liquor and they took a vote: Should Barley be voted out. It was voted down."

By July 1928, Bettina gave birth to her third child by Barley, a son Nicholas. And just about that time, Barley got Ursula pregnant with their first, a daughter, Susan, born in April 1929.

Ursula said Bettina and Hans were disappointed at the way the vote went to oust Barley. Despite that move, Barley gave Bettina a place at Hawley in the Poconos, a lodge and a farm. "It had only woods around it," Ursula said. That is where Hans and Bettina went to live for a time. Bettina subsequently had two children by Hans.

"I had gotten fed up on April Farm though I was still very much in love with Barley," Bettina said of her departure to the

Poconos. She and Hans later returned to the April Farm area, spending the rest of their lives there quietly. Bettina posted the names Garland, Tiesler and Hovey on her battered roadside mailbox.

But in August 1925, a seemingly happy Bettina wrote an enthusiastic letter to Barley's mother, urging her to visit. This was just a month after the birth of Barbetta, her second child by Barley. Though she was bearing Garland children, Bettina no more possessed him than did Mary Wrenn. Her letter to Marie said:

"I have so often wished you would come to see the new farm and group. Everything here is so different from North Carver and almost every face would be a new one to you, but as Barley's mother everyone would feel so welcome toward you because everyone here loves him so much.

"Doris (Benson) is here from the old group and also Jim Slovick. Most of the new people are from Stelton School in New Jersey and a very different type from the North Carver crew -- much more capable and hard-working and aware of their goal."

Bettina explained she was living in a cabin Marie once had at North Carver. "I have it on the top of a hill with a glorious view of the hills in orchard and little farms and fields while below I always hear a brook running."



She concluded: "I don't know where you are now. Last I knew you were in Europe. Come to see us."

Bettina said not a word about her month-old baby.

Marie and Mary Wrenn did visit the place toward the end of that summer, as Marie wrote in late September from Buzzards Bay to Paul Scott:

"It was rather pathetic to see Mary wilt after her trip to April Farm," Marie wrote. "It is no use talking.

"Every human craves and is entitled to a mate. Bettina is down in the dumps because she has not one. So is Barley, who will not admit it either. It all hinges on the fact that Barley is going contrary to nature and natural laws. He cannot get away with it for long. He'll wake up some day.

"I enjoyed my visit. But, Paul, there is something lacking there -- happiness. I felt no singing heart, not one. There are those who have come from conditions that hurt them to a temporary peace (peace caused by removal from some form of pressure), but no one has found happiness there.

"You are all so earnest, so sincere. I wish you were

happier. Is there nothing I can do?"

In prompt reply, Paul Scott told Marie he was compelled to admit she was right in most of her conclusions. "I wonder if such conditions are inevitable in a community such as ours.

"I have talked these matters over time and time again with Barley, maintaining that such undertakings naturally attract misfits, failures and the generally disgruntledly and unhappy, and that very little could be expected from a motley group gathered together from that great multitude who are seeking, from without, that which only can be developed and brought out from within.

"Yet, this condition is not peculiar to our place but prevails pretty generally in all places."

Scott asked: "Are not most folks looking for singers to sing for them instead of listening to the songs in their own hearts? Or must we accept a conclusion that most hearts are empty of songs?"

Barley should concern himself more with his own happiness, Scott said. The best way to help others is to throw them back upon themselves.

That sounded something like the doctrine that Garland board

member Scott Nearing preached decades after he left the board, that the help the Fund provided only made financial cripples of those organizations it helped. Of course, with exceptions to most generalizations, that didn't happen to be true for groups like the NAACP and Margaret Sanger's birth control group.

Scott said April Farm demands those with enthusiasm and initiative whose creative instinct has not been crushed out. "Instead, we attract the disillusioned and the tired."

He tenderly chided Barley and Mary for being apart. "Believe me, Marie, all that suffering is uncalled for. Barley loves that girl and there is nothing that keeps them apart except just what you say -- words. If only they could listen to the promptings of their hearts for a minute and learn to trust the love they both feel.

"I don't believe I ever saw such a lonely boy as he was when I came here a year ago, just before Mary's last baby came. He was surrounded by the unhappy, all looking to him for their happiness and depending on him for their very lives."

He agreed with Marie that someday Barley would wake up. But he asked: Isn't there some way to hasten the awakening?

Scott concluded with these lilting words: "The years are all

too few when one can enjoy the warm sunlight of love that belongs to the young. Afterwards, we can play in the moon's pale glow, but it is a mere shadow after all."

In his six-page letter to Barley, Scott typed his dreams for a school at April Farm and his less than glowing assessment of the colony.

Scott arrived at April Farm with the announced declaration tht he had no use for communal living, just the school -- an idea he brought with him from Stelton where there was a free-wheeling school in which the children decided as much what to study as did their teachers.

He wrote that education "is a thing of the spirit, a religious expression if you would have it so, for any education that leaves a child without a definite attitude toward life, without an adventurous spirit concerning it, has missed the mark."

Scott said he arrived at April Farm expecting to find people free from the ordinary race hatreds and usual intolerance of ideas so they could create a life more beautiful than the outside world offers.

"But I feel our community is a failure as far as community

living is concerned." He called it the "uselessness of incompatibles trying to live together. No doubt, I have contributed my share to that feeling."

Though Scott insisted he was personally very happy at April Farm, the life of the group was no more agreeable than life anywhere else.

Getting to specifics, he said the old North Carver people feel entitled to superior rights. They regard new members with suspicion and distrust as interlopers.

Admitting his own presence was "obnoxious from the start," he scored those members who attacked his personality or insulted him when he broached ideas during general discussions.

"Isn't that akin to that spirit of intolerance that has pervaded the world from the crucifixion of Christ down to the late conscience objector to war?"

Another factor making community living unbearable "is bringing out emotional disturbances into the living room and taking them out on the first person who speaks to us."

To resolve his own dilmenna, he suggested several paths he would be willing to take.

One was to leave totally. Another was for him and his wife, Polly, to take over a second house on the property and work from there with those sympathetic with the school idea. Yet, another was for him to secure another nearby property for a separate enterprise and school.

Or any other plan that seems to hold the possibilities of success. . .or to follow the example of that patriot who "left his country for his country's good."

Scott concluded that continuing the experiment of living with people "just for the sake of living with incompatibles" wasn't worthwhile.

"There is no limit to adjustments a human being can make if he feel it necessary to make them. Perhaps we could adjust to living with hornets once we got used to their stings. But is it worth spending one's life to accomplish it?"

Whatever Barley's reaction, April Farm went ahead in Lehigh County Court with Paul Scott's dream of a school for up to 40 orphaned children.

The proposal was doomed in an atmosphere of extensive Ku Klux Klan activity and anti-Communism that prevailed in much of

the nation and much of the Lehigh Valley in particular. Why in nearby Bethlehem, founded by Moravians, they were even baptizing children before hundreds at outdoor Klan rallies.

The public documents that remain of April Farm say nothing about the death of Bettina's second child. They contain only her birth certificate, filled out a month after her death. The harsh wording of the January 1926 criminal information on adultery against Garland, however, brutally acknowledged her conception and birth:

That CHARLES GARLAND did in the County of Lehigh on or about the 4th day of November 1924 and at diverse times before and after that date, and within the last two years past commit adultery, by having carnal knowledge with one BETTINA HOVEY who is not his lawful wife, and the said BETTINA HOVEY was delivered with a female bastard child on the 4th day of July 1925, and she charges the said CHARLES GARLAND with being the father thereof, the said defendant being a married man, and has a living wife, said child being born in the County of Lehigh, contrary to law.

Barbetta's birth and death would also have a haunting

meaning for a New Jersey grandmother who was six years old in  
1925 when her family stayed at April Farm.



## BITTER MEMORIES

The whole experience at April  
Farm was such an unhappy one.

New Jersey woman in 1981  
interview

This white-haired woman in her 60s was talking with Queens College Professor Paul Avrich about his new book, "The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States," and particularly about her experiences at the colony its followers had at Stelton, New Jersey.

"He just by-the-by mentioned the words April Farm, and I jumped practically up to the ceiling because, as a youngster, I was taken there," she said.

"I thought it was just an ordinary farm. That was the name of it, you know. Farms have these romantic names, and since it was an unpleasant experience, it remained locked inside me. I never mentioned it to anyone but my husband. I was very unhappy in that place."

And for this 1981 interview, with historian Avrich sitting in her living room almost as her protector, she insisted that her

name not be used -- for the sake of her children, she said. She was obviously not aware that her parents' names were listed in the rural Lehigh County section of the Allentown City Directory for their time spent at April Farm.

She anguished over giving an interview at all for this book on Garland and his colonies. "It was dredging up something I had buried away. It was only because of Paul Avrich -- I respected him. He asked me as a favor to see you. And I've been very distressed ever since, anticipating your coming, because some things I've had buried inside and never took out, and you're bringing it all out."

She said she hadn't shared her April Farm experience with her grown daughter until just before the interview.

But she agreed to the interview if it would help complete the research and also if it would explain more of what was behind the April Farm experiment.

The year was 1925. She was six. Her family consisted of her father, mother and two-year-old sister. Her father was a German Lutheran and her mother was a Jew.

"My mother came to this country when she was eight or nine years old. She had a beautiful cultured voice. She spoke

exquisite English. My father came here when he was seventeen from Frankfort-am-Mein. He did commercial and portrait photography. He won many prizes for his photographs. He was one of the top commercial photographers in New York in his time. He also did oil paintings, water colors. He painted on ivory, miniatures. He was a very talented man."

The family was part of the Stelton colony.

"The general tone of the place was one of family situations of a high level. And if you read Paul Avrich's book, you'll learn the colony surrounded a school of a high educational level. So the people who came to Stelton, the majority, were people of high ideals and values, who came with their children to give them a better way of life.

"Some -- very much like some people today -- lived together without benefit of clergy. Maybe they arrived with some far-out ideas as to sexuality. But this was not a place that was a free-for-all.

"Of course, there were some who were 'lost souls' who didn't fit in anywhere and came to Stelton, people looking for answers, for a haven for themselves. And they entered into an atmosphere that was more accepting of differences."

The people at Stelton were hard workers -- factory workers, garment workers, plain laborers. "I admired them tremendously," she said.

Sophie Sabasta, who became a member of the April Farm colony for a time, was a next door neighbor. Paul and Polly Scott had already left Stelton and were settled at April Farm.

She figured her family went to April Farm in spring 1925 and returned -- without her father -- in early fall.

"There are two kinds of memories, visual and emotional.

"The visual memories are most exciting ones for me. I was always a very observant person and one who liked nature, and I loved the scenery there.

"I remember the farm and the barn. I was one of those little girls who dreamed a great deal, who looked a great deal. So I remember the sweeping fields of alfalfa, the wind blowing. I remember the barn, the hay loft and the smell of the hay and the birds flying around and the animals, horses.

"I had an experience with a cow that I thought was a bull.

"We had a corn crib, and we used to shuck the corn. One

time, I was inside this corn crib shucking corn and I thought by my stomach it was getting around lunch time. The corn crib had slats -- you could look out -- and lo and behold there was this animal with horns.

"I thought twice about leaving, because I thought it was a bull. I remember staying in there and being hungrier and hungrier and nobody came. Finally, finally, my father came for me. I felt frightened. I told him a bull was there, which turned out to be a cow."

She also recalled the joy of getting part of a beehive and chewing it for the honey. Another time, she had a terrifying encounter along a dirt road with what at age six seemed like a huge turkey tom. "It fluffed out like anything and started chasing me. I ran like blazes."

She and Sophie Sabasta's daughter Josephine, who was perhaps a year older, visited a neighboring farm several times where the farmer's wife entertained them.

"She made cheese. There were rows and rows of cheese hanging. I've never seen it since. One day, she took out a music box. It was huge, in the form of a castle, and she played it for us and soldiers came out of the parapet and moved around. It was a magnificent thing."

Then, they had to return to April Farm -- to the unpleasant.

"They had a main farmhouse and then below it, across a big field and down the road a piece, was another house. For what reason I'll never know, they had the children like in the annex, as I recall it, and the adults lived in the main farmhouse.

"Sophie Sabasta and the older girls took care of us. I remember being very lonely and very unhappy in that place.

"I remember a scene at night. My sister, who was only about two years old, woke up. She was in a crib, crying. I didn't know how to deal with her. I was always protective of my sister and was trying to comfort her and couldn't.

"It was dark out, late, very late. I had to get my mother to help my sister. And so I left in my nightgown, barefoot, walked up the dirt road, which was a distance and then across this long field, along a dirt path.

"I walked into the farmhouse and there sat all the adults, among them my mother, and as I came in in my nightgown, this terrible silence fell on everybody. I looked at my mother and explained that my sister was in trouble -- would someone come and help me?

"Tremendous silence greeted me. And I remember vaguely some of the women saying to my mother, 'Don't go. They have to solve it themselves' or something of that nature.

"I turned around and ran back, sobbing to myself, with a tremendous feeling of rejection. And somewhere deep inside me, there was this knowledge of the intricacies of the goings on among the adults, that somebody was standing very powerful in terms of my mother, because my mother wasn't that type of person at all. She was very solicitous of us.

"Nobody came.

"I ran back in the dark all by myself. How it was resolved with my sister, I don't remember. She probably cried herself out and was asleep by the time I got back.

"But that was an isolated theme that speaks volumes for what had gone on there. What I was so conscious of was the power that some of these other women had over my mother that prevented her from coming to my aid. It was like a sinister something that I was sensitive enough to feel -- because children feel a great deal.

"Other scenes I remember.

"I don't know who the young woman was, but she evidently set her cap for my father. I was aware of that because she tried to get rid of me at all times when I was in the vicinity.

"I have a lovely memory of a little horse and buggy, one of those little black wagons with the surrey on top type of thing. And every so often, whether it was once a week or once in two weeks -- I have no notion -- this little wagon was hitched with the horse and my father went into town to get supplies of some kind, food or whatever.

"And it was a tremendous treat to go. I remember going on several occasions and even coming to the railroad crossing where the horse shied at the locomotive coming, the whistle, the noise.

"We took turns with some of the other children. For this particular time, my father promised me I would be next. I remember his hitching up the horse and buggy and this other woman being there.

"It was time to go, and I started to climb in and I was told I couldn't go. I looked with such amazement and this woman said, 'No, I'm going.' And they went off, leaving me. Again, there was this tremendous feeling of rejection, anger and confusion and loss of my father.



"After April Farm, I never saw that woman again in my whole life. I wouldn't even remember what she looked like. From a Freudian point of view, that's all blocked out."

She also recalled an "unhappy scene" about a woman who was pregnant -- apparently Bettina.

"Her house, where she stayed -- and these are very-small-child memories -- was again removed from the main house. You had to cross a chicken yard and walk up another dirt path to get to this house. And in this house was this young woman who was pregnant. I don't think she had a husband. And again, a sixth sense, it was an unhappy thing that she was pregnant, something unhappy being involved with her pregnancy.

"I remember hearing about the birth of the baby and being on the scene shortly after. There was a lot of unhappiness involved, which puzzled me, because in my background a new baby coming was always such a happy thing. Something was wrong, very wrong.

"I remember something very terrible happening about it. I just remember the terribleness of it all. This baby was seemingly impaired at birth. But I've always wondered what happened there.

"Years later, when Josephine Sabasta and I were back in our

homes in Stelton where we lived adjacent to one another, Josephine mentioned April Farm to me. She said, 'I have a secret to tell you about. Come with me.'

"Her family was out. She took me upstairs and went deep under a bed and took out a box. She said, 'I'd like to show you something.'"

She said the box contained articles about "this particular woman and the baby and that she strangled it. And they said there was a big trial and exposure of the place and unseemly remarks about the goings on. This was all put back in the box.

"I was eight or nine then. How true it was I don't know."

Her recollections are the only ones that suggest Bettina and Barley's daughter may have been born with some deformity and died a violent death. None of the statements from Lehigh County authorities and nothing in court records of Barley's arrest, plea and sentencing for adultery in 1926 indicates anything suspicious in the infant's death. Certainly, nothing of that nature was even hinted at in the voluminous press coverage given to April Farm both locally and nationally. The district attorney had said Barbetta's death was accidental, that she became twisted in her blanket and smothered.

This woman recalled that, unlike at Stelton, she was extremely lonely at April Farm and much aware of the negative interactions among its adults.

"One day, I remember my mother coming down to the house where the children stayed and being greatly distressed. She looked at my sister and me and saw we had nits in our hair. And I remember her, with tears coming down, as she was washing our hair and combing it with this fine comb, trying to remove all these nits, and washing us and trying to take care of us.

"My mother was a very clean person. Our home in Stelton was immaculate and decorative. My father was an artist. So our home was always beautifully decorated. The table was set artistically. Colors were important in my house, like blue curtains and yellow daffodils in front of it. We were kept immaculate, polished."

She said she's not sure whether it was days or weeks later that a car came up to take them home to Stelton. "My mother was taking my sister and me and all our clothes, going in what I assume was a taxi back to Stelton without my father.

"Coming back, we found the home my parents had built had another family in it. My mother, my sister and I moved in with them because we had no place else to go.

"My father stayed at April Farm, I assume, with this lady who had taken my place in the buggy. How long he was separated from us and we from him I don't know -- whether it was a year or just a few months.

"I remember his coming back once to visit us at Stelton and, my, I hated him. I didn't even want to talk to him or kiss him goodbye, because he left again. And how long it was before he came back again -- this time to stay -- I have no idea. But you can understand, this was all a very painful experience to me as a youngster.

"My sister didn't remember anything about it. I didn't tell her anything until she was an adult.

"In retrospect, I look back on the adults with contempt. And as a child, I looked upon them with contempt.

"They were selfish in that they didn't care about the feelings of others. Particularly, they were not sensitive to the feelings of children that were involved in all this, and my childhood remembrances of my father at that time was contempt, that he could be so insensitive, so rejecting and so selfish. And in my child's mind they were not representative of adult models I cared about or respected.

"My early reminiscences of adults were so much finer. This was just a very confusing mixed-up situation that I didn't care to remember, that really, I rejected.

"This has been very painful to bring up again, to think about."

Sometime after this interview, when Bettina was asked specifically if she recalled who this New Jersey woman's father became involved with at April Farm, she was still the fiery Bettina in a note in reply:

"You must know I am not going to answer who he became 'smitten' with. The only point -- to add spice to your book! Are you blackmailing me for a name so you won't pin the story on me? Some 'sweet' daughter he had -- squealing on daddy.

"Try not to be a dirty old man. Be good.

"Bettina."

Master's Hearing

I can believe what I want, regardless  
of the laws.

Paul Scott

November 5, 1925

Lehigh County Court took virtually unprecedented action in September 1925 in calling for an investigation into whether "the purposes for which The April Farm Association is formed are lawful and not injurious to the community."

President Judge Claude T. Reno, the first Lehigh County judge to later go on to State Superior Court, and Judge Richard W. Iobst issued the order.

The registration of the name of the association in the state capital at Harrisburg had been approved that August 24 by the Secretary of the Commonwealth. But that was simply the state's saying it was okay to use that name since a check of records failed to disclose any conflict of the proposed corporation with the name of any other in Pennsylvania.

The major step was an application for a charter -- submitted

to Lehigh County Court.

The court record reveals nothing of the birth of Barbetta, Barley and Bettina's daughter, in July or her death in October. Those who testified that November 5 in behalf of April Farm, including neighbors, said nothing about the infant.

Further, lawyers for the colony were somehow able to protect Garland from extensive questioning about his personal life by Attorney Robert L. Stuart, the court-appointed master charged with ferreting out the purposes of the organization.

The lawyers for the colony offered the group's proposed bylaws and a proposed deed transferring April Farm from Paul Scott and his wife Polly to the association.

Scott, 46, the first witness, underwent the most intense grilling of the witnesses -- and all the witnesses were people in support of the charter. April Farm lawyers noted that in response to required legal ads in the local newspaper and the Lehigh County Law Journal about the charter, no one had filed objections.

Attorney Stuart, the master, was only five questions into his examination of Scott when he launched a probe of Scott's religious beliefs.

To questions from Stuart, an Allentown Sunday school superintendent, Scott testified that he believed in God but did not necessarily believe in the birth and crucifixion of Christ. Neither he nor his wife was a member of any religious organization.

To continued questions, Scott replied that whether Christ was born or not didn't matter, but he accepted Christ's teachings as a moral code.

Stuart: The listed purpose is to devote the income of this corporation to experimental work in community living. Explain the practical working out of that.

Scott: "It is people living together for the interest of each one, where a group benefits equally and no individual derives any superior benefits."

Stuart: Only the persons living on the property?

Scott: "No, we try to extend it as far as we can among our neighbors. . . as fully as we can, to all the ramifications of life."

Stuart: "In other words, you are as much interested that the



community be well clothed as you are. . .and that they should have as much to eat as you have?"

Scott: "Yes, the whole material side of life is to be shared, if not equally, as equal as a member wants it. Our aim is to meet and supply the physical needs of our members by our own earnings and through our own industry and support other people in like undertakings. Any excess earnings ~~from our labor and the~~ income of our industry are to be devoted to the education of orphan children."

Stuart then launched a series of questions on fidelity in marriage. Suppose Scott was disabled. Would he consider it all right for his wife to violate her vows of chastity to him?

Scott: "I would."

Stuart: Suppose your wife were temporarily or permanently absent. Would it be proper for you to violate your vow to your wife as to chastity?

Scott: "I wouldn't violate the vow. I don't consider any such things as made."

Stuart: "If the marriage relation was ended, as you have explained it, by mutual agreement, would you consider, if the

physical demand arose, to have intercourse with another woman?"

Scott: "Yes, I would think I would have the right."

Stuart pointed out that what Scott just said was contrary to the laws of Pennsylvania.

Scott: "I don't think there is any statute that prohibits me from believing anything."

Stuart: "Would you consider that you had the right to put such a thing into practice?"

Scott: "Yes, sir. I can't tell you what I would do, only what I believe I would do. . .It is a question of human rights."

Stuart: "If I tell you we have a statute on the books of Pennsylvania that would make the having of intercourse with a woman not his wife, by a married man, adultery. (If) you were still legally married to a woman, you said you believed you had the right to have such intercourse by what you term human right?"

Scott: "That is what I believe."

Stuart: "Do you consider your rights as an individual paramount to the laws of the land?"

Scott: "My rights extend only so far as they do not interfere with the rights of anybody else."

Stuart wanted to know if Scott considered consent of the sexual partner sufficient to say you had not violated state laws?

Scott: "That takes you into other considerations." He would have to consider the happiness of the two women and his responsibility to them. "Until I could satisfy myself that all these responsibilities can be honestly met, I could not enter such relation regardless of any law."

To Stuart questions, Scott said he didn't believe in either polygamy or bigamy.

He said education for children would be carried on "by caring for the children ourselves or financially through persons who are caring for them in other places."

The plan was a school for up to forty orphan children at April Farm, but not right now. "It will be an experiment in human living and human freedom. . .to supply all the needs for full development of each and every individual child."

Stuart: "Do you intend to teach these children the beliefs

you entertain?"

Scott: "No. I don't believe in teaching anything as ultimate truth. I don't know what truth is myself, and since I have never been able to discover it, I am not willing to teach it to others. . .my idea is that you learn to live by living."

Stuart: Do you believe in eternal life or eternal punishment?

Scott: "No, I do not."

Stuart: "How is punishment inflicted?"

Scott: "Just as if you cut your finger, it hurts. That holds true in moral law as well. If you tell me I have done wrong, my conscience wouldn't hurt me unless I first realized the wrong myself."

Stuart: "Do you know the Ten Commandments?"

Scott: "I think so, yes."

At one point, Scott told Stuart that a lot of his questions invaded his human rights. "Individuals have a right to their individual beliefs, and no one has a right to inquire into them.

They are sacred to every individual."

But that didn't deter Stuart in his quest for sin at April Farm with increasingly long-winded questions: "Do you believe in a representative government, that the people of a country or state elect others to meet at their state capitol for the purpose of enacting laws for our guidance, regarding our conduct, regarding all our affairs, do you believe in such a representative government; we have a representative form of government, do you believe in the existing representative form of government?"

Scott: "It has defects, but at the present time is necessary, and as a necessity, I support it."

Stuart: "Are you willing in all instances to be bound and abide by the laws as passed by our Congress and Legislature, if those laws would interfere with your human rights?"

Scott: "No, sir, I would not. When I say human rights, I mean mine as an individual, belonging to me as an individual, in which the law has no right to concern itself. . . You can't take that right from me, can't take that belief from me. I can believe what I want regardless of the laws."

Under the friendly questioning by Israel Krohn, one of the

attorneys for the colony, Scott said he had always observed the laws in the community where he lived and would continue to do so. "I don't believe in prohibition, yet I am willing and do submit to it."

Krohn also got to the matter at hand -- the charter and how April Farm would operate as a corporation.

Scott said that tied to turning over the property to the cooperative, he planned these deed restrictions:

-- No individual would get any profits.

-- Any income beyond what's necessary to maintain the colonists in a "simple manner" would be used for a "social purpose," meaning acquiring other property on which other individuals may live and work cooperatively in any experimental way they deem proper, through this learning better ways of social living, and they, in turn, would similarly help other groups to do the same.

-- Some of the income would also be used for a school for forty orphaned children on the April Farm property "in which character development is made paramount to the mere acquisition of academic learning." The hope was that once grown, these children would become a part of the colony.

Scott said the child of the 1920s believes "cabbage comes from the grocery store and water from a faucet, and he knows

little of the natural means of living as he has little contact with it.

"For a child to be properly educated he must have actual contact with the means of life, learn to know something of the human effort that goes into the manufacture of these various things so that he may respect work and workers and identify himself with life and takes his full share and responsibility in providing for that life and enlarging upon it."

He agreed that this was an experiment in social science.

The goal was to build April Farm to fifty adult members. That was the number needed to support forty orphaned children. Actual academic education would be a part of the schooling, but only a part.

Back under questioning by the self-righteous Stuart, the examiner said that isn't it true that the beauties of life have been brought to our attention by well-schooled and well-educated people of the country.

Scott: "We are taught that a bird is beautiful and a snake is ugly." Those ideas are easy to instill in a child's mind. Better to let the child work out his own ideas of beauty.

Stuart wanted to know how an adult becomes a member of April Farm.

Scott: The place is open to anyone socially agreeable to the members already living on the property, providing they are capable performing their share of the labor and willing to live on the product of that labor.

No one's religion would bar the person from joining. To specific questions from the Protestant Stuart, Scott said Catholics, Jews, Mohammadans, Negroes and Chinamen could become members.

The whole idea "sprung from the efforts of one Charles Garland to find a better means of people living and striving for a better happiness."

The yield from the land and the orchards together covering about 200 acres and some related industries will enable the program to expand, "our idea being to live in the simplest manner compatible with a normal healthy life."

Stuart: Do you intend regular classes for the children?

Scott: "When they are needed. I would have classes every day, but for no particular duration -- the idea being that the



child get the information at the time he is looking for it."

He said it was difficult to say at what age a child should be taught to read and write. "It is far better for a child's intellectual and physical development that nothing of an academic nature shall be put over the child until after he has arrived at the age of at least ten years."

In his teaching, Scott said he told children all beliefs, all ideas that are held, so far as he could grasp them. "But in no case shall any belief be taught to a child as a true belief. All systems of government, all ideas regarding economics, all such things shall be taught the child as being held by different peoples, held honestly, but none shall be taught as the ultimate truth. That truth he shall find in his own soul."

The school would enroll youngsters between ages five and twelve, but the instructors hadn't been procured yet. Beyond twelve, the students would be sent out to places where they could attain further development.

Stuart had saved his questions about sex until the end of his exchange with Scott. But he really tiptoed around it compared to his subsequent questioning of Garland. To Scott: "Do you intend when a child reaches a particular age to teach the sex problem?"

Scott: "Sex hygiene is an important thing in the life of all people, and it is our intention to provide for these children the very best that can be obtained in all things necessary to the life of the child."

Stuart, demanding a yes or no answer: "You said you believed the child to acquire knowledge by experience. Would you say the child should acquire this knowledge -- the problems of sex -- from experience?"

Scott: "I have to explain. I couldn't answer yes or no to that."

Stuart: "Answer the question, Mr. Scott."

Scott: "Sex I regard as the very basis of life. When a child has reached that age where he can take the full responsibilities. . . as to the exercise of the sex function, then he should be permitted to use that function in conformity with what he believes more truly expresses him as an individual."

Stuart, his last question to Scott: "Who would determine, you or the child, whether the child had a full understanding of his responsibilities?"

Scott: "Human beings always determine such matters for themselves."

Stuart's go-around with Bettina showed that she was just as feisty in her youth as she was in her old age. She refused to tell Stuart whether she was married or single, how many colonists at both the first and second April Farms were married, divorced or single -- calling such information irrelevant. "I feel you should be able to get a charter for something without your private life being (looked) into. I am not trying to hide anything, but it seems to me irrelevant."

To other questions, she said she was 25, came originally from New York, attended a South Carolina boarding school for girls named Ashley Hall, was part of the group at the first April Farm and was among those who came to Pennsylvania to a better farm.

Stuart: "Who asked you to come to Lehigh County?"

Bettina: "I don't think anyone asked me."

Stuart: "So you came here without an invitation?"

Bettina never directly answered that, though she may have had some smartaleck replies in mind. But to additional Stuart

questions, she supplied the names of the three children then at April Farm -- Joan Scott, Marglie Hovey (Mowgli, after a frog character in Kipling's writings) and Josephine Sabasta. Despite being threatened by Stuart with jail or a fine for contempt, Bettina refused to confirm whether Joan Scott was Paul's daughter. (This is the Joan Scott who later ran Writers & Artists Agency in Hollywood and New York.)

Stuart: "You intend to take into your midst children from the surrounding community, orphan children, and have them live on the farm and educate them?"

Bettina: "Yes, sir."

Stuart: "And yet you say it doesn't make any difference to the public whether the people living down there are married or single. . .divorced or not living with their husbands?"

Bettina: "Yes, sir. I can't see the difference."

Stuart ended by telling Bettina it was only his sympathy for her that saved her from jail or a fine. If she weren't a "young and probably uninformed woman," he would have dealt more severely.

Garland's appearance as a witness almost ended as soon as it

began. Stuart called Garland to testify. Krohn objected to any inquiry into Garland's private personal life. Stuart said he was adjourning sine die -- indefinitely.

Wait a minute, counsel for the colony said. Was Stuart denying the petitioners the opportunity to call witnesses to explain the purposes of the corporation?

Stuart backed off, saying April Farm lawyers could call Garland if it was for that reason.

But allowing Garland to testify, Stuart gave a speech that indicated he had already made up his mind: "Strictly speaking, this is not an inquiry open to an investigation by the parties anticipating the corporation. It is an investigation on the part of the Master, in behalf of the Court, of the parties who have been asking for this application.

"If these witnesses refuse to answer the propounded questions that I think are essential -- one of the purposes being child education -- and unless these people can say to the Master that they are fit people, adjudged by standards recognized in our statute and in our opinion, to take care of such children, this application should not be granted. If any inquiry as to their lives and their manner of living cannot be had or the questions are refused to be answered, then it is useless to go on with this

examination."

Attorney Krohn said it was April Farm's understanding the examination was to satisfy the court that the colony's purposes were lawful and come within Pennsylvania statutes regarding incorporation.

"And not injurious to the community," Stuart added.

Krohn maintained that the private views of individuals need in no way effect such purpose.

To routine questions from Krohn, Garland, finally getting a chance to testify, gave his age as 26, educational background of a year at Harvard and that he had been a resident of April Farm in Lehigh County for about a year and a half.

Yes, this was an experiment in social science, the members providing for their own livelihood by farming the land and to conduct a school for the education of children.

At one point, an angered Stuart interrupted to charge Krohn with putting the answers in Garland's mouth with leading questions.

True, the questions were leading, Krohn conceded. But since no one filed objections to the charter, he didn't think anyone would object to his questions. He was doing it to save time.

Yes, Garland testified, he proposed to engage competent teachers. No, he wouldn't be part of the teaching staff. Yes, he would abide by state and federal laws. No, he wouldn't do anything to violate those laws.

Scott had mentioned financial sources April Farm would have if the experiment was not self-supporting. Garland explained that was an income he gets from a trust fund that might, of necessity, be used in this work.

Then, it was Stuart's turn. He had Garland verify Scott's statements about the basics of the operation. Garland also mentioned there was a \$16,000 mortgage on the place.

Yes, Garland was married. No, his wife was not on the farm. Yes, he believed in observing the laws of Pennsylvania.

Stuart: Well, do you believe in observing those laws if they conflict or restrict your human rights and your human privileges?

Garland: "There are certain statutes where I would feel free to abide by the spirit of the law rather than by the law to the

letter. I believe in following the spirit of the law always. For instance, if I saw a house on fire, I would feel free to do what is commonly known as making unlawful entry to put out that fire."

Stuart: "Do you believe in free love?"

Garland: "Not as the term is generally understood."

Stuart: "Do you believe in marriages and institutions?"

Garland: "Yes, sir."

Stuart: "Do you believe in our standards of society as we commonly recognize them?"

Garland: "There are two questions involved. I believe them necessary. I don't necessarily believe they are right."

Stuart: "Do you believe in the present form of ceremony of marriage in uniting people?"

Garland: "I believe in it if it is entered into honestly and sincerely."

Stuart: "Do you believe that a man living with a woman as husband and wife according to the common acceptance. . ."



Garland, interrupting: "I personally do not believe that any set standard can be lived up to by all people."

Stuart: "Do you believe in the illicit relation between man and woman contrary to our statutes, under any circumstances?"

Garland: "I don't know."

Stuart: "Well, society as it exists today would say that it is morally wrong to steal. Suppose the individual considered that it was right to steal, would you think he had a right to pursue that opinion?"

Garland: "Everyone is free to violate a law. That is understood by the fact that punishment is attached to each law. Under certain circumstances, it is justifiable to obey the spirit of the law rather than the letter of the law and act contrary to the letter of the law."

Stuart, now zeroing in on sex: "Is it the intention of the school to so arrange it that the sexes will be segregated?"

Garland: "As I understand it, in sleeping quarters they will be segregated. They will play together during the day and attend class together."

Stuart: "Suppose one of those boys reaches the age of eighteen, he believes in the exercise of his rights that he should be permitted to sleep with some young lady sixteen years of age, and she thinks the same thing, would you in the discipline of your school permit such a thing?"

Garland: "I don't intend to be in a position of carrying out the discipline of the school."

Stuart: "Would you employ a person who would permit such a thing to be done?"

Garland: "I wouldn't under ordinary circumstances, no. I would have to know a specific case before I could give my specific opinion."

Stuart: "Well, can you conceive of a case where a young man of eighteen and a young woman sixteen, both single, should be permitted to sleep with each other?"

Garland: "If I understand the question as you mean to put it, I would say I would not approve of such a person."

Stuart: "But you did say you would have to know the specific circumstances. Under what circumstances would you tolerate such a

thing?

Garland: "I couldn't say. Many things would be involved. I am opposed to making any. . ."

Stuart, interrupting: "But there would be no hard and fast rule against such a course of conduct?"

Garland: "There is a hard and fast rule in the state against such conduct. I feel that is sufficient."

Stuart: "Are there any people living down there on your farm -- I understand they are twelve in number -- that are living together in the relation of man and wife?"

Garland: "Yes, sir."

Stuart: "Sleeping with each other and are not married?"

Krohn, reminding of common law marriage: "In fairness to the witness, marriage as you refer to is anything recognized by the state, living together under conditions recognized by the state, by a proper constituted officer or through their declarations in the presence of the community or witnesses."

Stuart, again: "Are there any people down there, man and woman, sleeping with each other that are not married?"

Garland: "Not that I know of."

Various neighbors testified as to the good character of the April Farm residents.

Austin Urffer, 42, a lifelong resident on adjoining land, said he knew all the petitioners -- Bettina Hovey, Polly and Paul Scott, Charles Garland, James Slovick, Sophie Sebasta and Doris Benson.

"We like them as neighbors. They are law-abiding people as far as we know," said Urffer, a frequent visitor to April Farm. They raise peaches and apples and market them.

Joshua Urffer, 40, another neighbor, testified he found April Farm orderly every time he was there. "I work for these people occasionally during the peach season."

Two other neighbors, Charles Walter and John Nufeldt, testified the April Farm residents were hard-working, intelligent people who lived a plain life.

Justice of the Peace Joseph Brunner, 56, of Limeport, a

village several miles away, said sometimes he had daily contact with April Farm residents.

"The people that live close to them speak very highly of them," Brunner said. He didn't know their social or religious beliefs, except that they did believe in a Supreme Being.

Honest? "Very much so." Industrious? "Yes." Bear a good reputation in the community? "Never heard anything against them from anyone." Sober? "I would say they don't drink." Frugal? "Yes."

Brunner, who occasionally visited April Farm on business, summarized: "They are perhaps simpler in their mode of living. Perhaps they don't wear shoes and hats where you and I would. They might be different in their clothing. But they have a good reputation.

"I wouldn't hesitate to take any one of these that I have come in contact with into my own family."

Stuart, referring to Paul Scott's testimony (Bettina and Barley testified after Brunner) launched this long-winded question: "Squire, if I told you there appears on the record in this case the testimony of one witness in which he says in effect he believes in human rights and human freedom to the extent that

if he thought it necessary and proper under all circumstances to have intercourse with some woman other than his wife -- notwithstanding the prohibition in the Bible and the prohibition of our state laws -- that he would do that, would you still say you would welcome such a person into your home?"

Brunner: "Well, if I would be satisfied that was true, I don't know if I would perhaps be quite so anxious. But I haven't heard anything of that kind."

That was it -- until Stuart would issue his recommendation to the court. That would come on January 7, 1926, when all hell would break lose.

Stuart Rants, Garland Arrested

**This group of people cherish peculiar notions and methods.**

Robert Stuart, court-appointed master  
January 7, 1926

Allentown City Solicitor Robert Stuart, assigned to investigate a proposed charter for April Farm, blasted its major figures for their sexual beliefs and the farm itself as a free-love colony and anti-American enclave.

"An irreparable injury would result to all mankind if children were placed in the custody of people whose beliefs and moral standards are such as is shown by the testimony in this case," Stuart wrote in his zeal to save the world from the dozen or so colonists at April Farm.

Reject the proposed charter for April Farm to become a colony of up to fifty adults who would share their labors and provide for a school with up to forty orphaned children, Stuart told Lehigh County Court. Its purposes are unlawful and would be injurious to the community.

And the court subsequently denied April Farm a charter.

Stuart's report was submitted to Lehigh County Court on January 7, 1926.

Within days, it was national news.

Within days, too, this civil court matter had spilled over into a criminal charge of adultery against Garland by Lehigh County District Attorney Orrin Boyle for bedding down with Bettina -- a relationship that Mary Wrenn, Barley's wife, had known about for three years. And with the criminal count came the excesses of the press that had repeatedly plagued Garland's life -- one being printed claims that the body of Barbetta was going to be exhumed to determine how she died.

Stuart's report started with the tame facts of the April Farm Association name, the petitioners and listed purposes.

In his discussion, he said he looked upon his task as not only determining the purpose of April Farm, but the methods used to carry it out. And "methods" was a word he used repeatedly.

The colonists bear a good reputation in the community, he said. But they present no well-defined program. It's fine to



undertake an experiment in social science. "Civilization would never advance if agencies of this kind did not exist and experiments were not made. The care and education of children, particularly orphans, is a laudable enterprise."

BUT. . . and for the rest of the report, Stuart lambasted April Farm and its people.

"The moral standards of this Christian nation -- carefully preserved by all agencies working for the uplifting of the human race, taught by the mothers of our country to their children and upheld by our Courts -- are inviolate," Stuart wrote, omitting only the flag and apple pie. It behooves any group organized for cooperative community life and child education that they believe in, practice and intend to uphold the moral standards society recognizes as proper.

"The testimony of Paul Scott, Charles Garland and Bettina Hovey discloses they are not fit persons to perform work of this kind," Stuart concluded.

Paul Scott -- "believes in the teachings of Christ as a model code for one's life. . .but does not believe in marriage vows, but that married persons are bound under a contract mutually agreeable to both. . . under circumstances which interfere with his human rights and freedom would consider himself at

liberty to violate his marriage vow as to chastity. . .makes an attempt to differentiate between what he believes and what he would do under particular circumstances."

Stuart saw Scott's method of education of children as one of contact and experience, to get knowledge through experience and not through teaching. "His conception of wrong is something you realize yourself to be wrong and unless you experience this realization, no law or decree of society would make the particular act evil.

"He takes the position that no one has the right to inquire into individual beliefs. His testimony is evasive, but it is very plain that he is a law unto himself."

Bettina -- "declined to answer whether she was married or single. . .roved around the United States and was finally attracted to this group when they were in Massachusetts. . .does not think it makes any difference to the public whether the people living down there are married, single, divorced or not living with their husbands or wives. . .believes that charters should be obtained without inquiries into the private life of the incorporators."

In a rare moment, Stuart actually agreed with Bettina on one point. "She even declined to tell the parentage of the three

children now living on the farm, one of whom bears her name. She thinks that a personal matter, and we conclude that it is."

When he discussed Garland, Stuart gave himself the luxury of speculating why Garland was not to be questioned about his private life -- though Stuart didn't say where that speculating led him.

"He (Garland) is reputed to be a millionaire, but nothing on the record discloses his financial worth." Stuart doesn't say where he got that tidbit. But he did note Garland testified he had private income that might be used for April Farm.

Again going beyond the evidence, Stuart said: "It has not been shown how many people can live on the income of a two-hundred-acre farm, but it hardly requires proof that ninety people could not be maintained, and this is particularly so if forty are dependent children.

"Garland believes our standards of society necessary, but does not believe they are right. . .does not know whether an illicit relation between man and woman is morally right or wrong."

Touching on his example of an eighteen-year-old boy bedding down with a sixteen-year-old girl on April Farm, Stuart said such

criminal behavior -- in Garland's eyes -- would not be absolutely prohibited, that Garland would have to know a specific case to give a specific opinion.

"To extricate himself from this unfortunate answer, Garland says there is a hard and fast rule in the state against such conduct and he feels that is sufficient," Stuart noted.

The witnesses were evasive, Stuart said, preventing him from getting the fullest information. But what evidence there was warranted the inference that "this farm may be a refuge for unfortunate women and that those of the group who appeared as witnesses believe in and probably practice what is known as free love."

This condition is serious, dangerous and injurious to the community. To throw children requiring care and education into the custody of such people would be "nothing short of criminal."

Warming to his task, Stuart thundered, "Our courts dare not permit the creation of corporations to experiment with the lives and souls of infants. The state owes all children an education and, if necessary, support. We cannot fritter away our responsibility by turning over forty orphan children to persons who by their testimony have failed to establish their competence or financial ability to assume the undertaking -- particularly

when their standards and our accepted standards are so divergent."

Stuart said the applicants all openly declare they would feel free to violate our laws if they considered their human rights invaded.

Bettina asks for the right to care for children of "tender years" and declines to tell whether she is married or single. Paul Scott doesn't know how many on the farm are married or single, though there are only twelve adults. And Garland, "the father of the scheme," thinks the question rather involved of whether there are any men and women sleeping together who are not married.

"They discountenance an academic education, think our state system behind the times and do not believe in teaching a child anything until it arrives at age ten," Stuart said.

Their peculiar notions and methods aren't new. But they must be discountenanced "if the good morals of society are to survive."

But he did credit the group with social agreeableness. "They practically live under the same roof with their fellows, accept

them as equals -- without any knowledge of their antecedents or present circumstances in life."

The leaders have taken no steps for the religious training of the children. Holding to the "moral standards of a Christian people" should be essential to any religious training.

In Lehigh County, that attitude was even reflected in the printed marriage certificate. It listed "minister of the Gospel" as the title for the officiating clergy to sign.

Without designating any political belief, Stuart said he could not be too harsh in denouncing "any and all schemes foreign to the American conception of liberty, and this is undoubtedly one in that category." The purposes outlined in the application are probably a subterfuge for the real aims of April Farm -- though he wasn't going to get into what they might be.

The January 8, 1926, afternoon **Chronicle & News** headlined on its local page:

ATTORNEY STUART RECOMMENDS THAT  
NO CHARTER BE GRANTED TO ALLEGED  
FREE LOVE COLONY IN LEHIGH COUNTY

The first subhead read: "Charles Garland, Eccentric Millionaire, of Mass., Heads Party Seeking Incorporation." The

second subhead said: "Report Declares It A Love Enterprise."

And the subsequent text of the article was a combination of fact and fiction that had plagued Garland in Massachusetts.

The details in Stuart's report were recited in a generally straight-forward manner. The article said Stuart "denounces Garland's whole scheme as attempting to establish a communistic colony in Lehigh County as a free love enterprise."

Here was the press, the local press anyway, ratchetting up the story an extra notch by throwing in the word "communistic." And other papers across the country followed suit.

The Chronicle described Garland as the eccentric Massachusetts heir to a million dollars from his father's estate who got a lot of notoriety in turning down the money, but then accepted it. "The colony is backed by Garland and his million" -- the writer and his editors apparently unaware Garland gave that money away.

The article also described Garland as one "who is said to have figured prominently as a man of several wives" -- again, the writer and his editors unaware Garland was still married to his first wife.

The story, naturally, was picked up by **The Morning Call** in Allentown in its Saturday, January 9, edition. But varied versions of the story also spread that morning to other papers around the country, including the **New York Herald-Tribune**, **Milwaukee Journal**, **New York Times**, **Philadelphia Bulletin** and **Philadelphia Inquirer**.

The **Herald-Tribune** was the most blatant with the Communist label. Its headline was: GARLAND COMMUNIST COLONY ATTACKED AS "FREE LOVE" CENTER.

Only **The New York Times** and **The Milwaukee Journal** among those papers avoided the word Communist, the **Times** calling it a "cooperative colony" and **Journal** using Stuart's term of "free love colony."

**The Morning Call** offered some contradictory information -- that Stuart disclosed where Garland was -- yet, later, that people had often seen Garland around Allentown.

Its first story on April Farm began with this long-winded sentence: "The whereabouts of Charles Garland, eccentric millionaire, who came into the limelight several years ago when he renounced rejection of a million dollars and then reconsidered his decision and later on was said to have left his wife and little son in Massachusetts in order to establish a "free love"



colony somewhere or other, were revealed yesterday with the filing in the court house of a report by Attorney Robert L. Stuart of this city on the application for a charter by the April Farm Association of Lower Milford township."

It sounded like Garland had been in hiding, only to be prodded into the daylight by Stuart. "Renounced rejection" -- Isn't that a misplaced double negative? "Left his wife and little son in Massachusetts" -- Barley and Mary Wrenn had four children by then.

Then at the end of that same story, the reporter wrote: "It has become known that Garland during the life of the April Farm Association has been quite a frequent visitor to Allentown. He is a tall lanky man, wears clothes that suggest the toiler in the fields, and it is said by the people in the immediate neighborhood of the farm that the occupants have been respected neighbors."

Backpeddling a bit more, the story concluded: "It is understood that Mr. Garland is promoting a New York magazine whose policy is to carry no advertisements and no editorials, carrying out his ideas that men shall not be directed to the truth but shall be encouraged to seek it out and arrive at it from their own deductions."

In its opening sentence, **The Philadelphia Bulletin** put this spin on the story: "Staid folk of Lehigh County do not want a 'love farm' in their midst, even though it be dedicated to the rearing of supermen and superwomen. . ." And, of course, any Philadelphia paper had its own local angle to mention, Barley's soulmate at that first April Farm, Lillian Conrad, "who resided on Sydenham St. near Columbia Ave., Philadelphia."

**The Philadelphia Inquirer** began its first story: "Charles Garland again is seeking a place in the sun.

"This time, it's something about an April Farm, free love, communism and many other isms and ists -- and the scene is laid in the lower end of Lehigh County. The colony appears to be headed on the rocks."

The earlier time, the **Inquirer** explained, was when this "eccentric and socialistic New Englander" turned down that inheritance, then took it, gave some of it to radical organizations and then left his wife for his so-called soulmate from Philadelphia, Lillian Conrad.

Weeks later, **Morning Call** reporter Fred Ritter told a Muhlenberg College student group that 52 reporters descended on Lehigh County to report on Garland and April Farm.

That Friday's breaking story by the **Chronicle & News** and the Saturday stories by the **Call** and out-of-town papers were only modest beginnings.

The stories brought to Lower Milford the curious that Sunday in more cars than it had ever seen -- despite a snowfall on Saturday that made traveling through the rolling countryside treacherous. All around April Farm cars were parked, but few saw any colonists.

To newspapermen who tried to get interviews, April Farm residents politely but firmly turned them away. Barking German shepherds added to their defense, making reporters reluctant to get out of their cars.

One reporter asked a woman at April Farm: "We presume you are being visited frequently by newspapermen these days?"

"Yes," she replied, "but we are primed for them."

The **Sunday Morning Call** of January 10 ran three stories:

-- An interview of Garland and the reporter's description of April Farm, accompanied by photos of Garland and two buildings on the property.

-- Stuart's entire report to the court and a truncated transcript of Garland's testimony.

-- A reaction piece from Attorney Israel Krohn that April Farm would continue fighting for a charter, claiming that Stuart relied heavily on "a lot of hearsay and adverse criticism."

The reporter who got the exclusive interview with Garland that Saturday morning was William D. Reimert, one of the finest writers the paper had in the 20th century. He would rise to managing editor and president. In his later years, he would claim he and a photographer got onto the property in a milk truck, posing at first as a deliveryman. **Morning Call** reporters didn't get bylines and photographers didn't get credit lines in those days.

When Reimert and photographer Moulton L.C. Frantz -- Frantz later was Lehigh County Republican chairman -- arrived, they were greeted by two rather friendly German shepherds. They wended their way through snow. Their knock on the door brought a pretty blonde of about twenty-eight to answer.

Reimert: "Is Mr. Garland in?"

The woman: "Just a moment."

And in only a moment or two, Garland appeared, friendly but suspicious. He did not invite the newspapermen into the house, but rather permitted them to step into an unheated enclosed porch. He answered all questions put to him but "cleverly evaded" topics he didn't care to discuss. He looked Reimert straight in the eye.

"My experience with reporters has been very disillusioning," Garland explained after the first hesitancy had worn off.

His clothes were simple and hung loosely on his tall gaunt frame. Garland's attire was that of a typical backwoodsman, well-worn trousers, an old army shirt, gray woolen sweater and red sweatshirt with a pair of moleskin gloves completing the outfit. An abundance of thick brown hair was carelessly combed, if combed at all. Torn fingernails and several fresh scratches on his large boney hands gave evidence of recent hard labor.

"We are non-believers in free love and have no intention of practicing it," Garland told Reimert. Some of the couples are married. Others are not.

Asked why he started the commune, Garland said, "We feel that there is a great deal of unnecessary competition in life as it is lived in the world at large, and in this little community each individual has an opportunity to do his or her bit for the

common end, rather than for a personal purpose."

Tolstoy, the Guild System and free cities in medieval times are the pattern for life at April Farm, though not in strict detail. The Elbert Hubbard colony at Aurora and the industrial community at Oneida in New York State have also been studied.

Garland refused to commit himself on marriage and free love. "It is an invasion of a person's private life to inquire into it, and it is annoying to have people throw mud and cast aspersions on a matter they don't know anything about. We have no definite theory as to marriage, no cast-iron rule and no defiance of any of the generally accepted solutions. We have not tried to find a solution.

"All of us have views upon the marriage question and divorces. And I am not at liberty to give my views."

No attempt is made to recruit followers. There is no stipulation, financial or otherwise, as to joining except that applicants believe in the value of the work that is being done. So far, those people have been friends of Garland and his co-workers.

The matter of education had not become a problem at April Farm. No provisions have been made for it. As in every other

case, it will be handled experimentally.

"Our entire work has been approached in an experimental attitude. The time has been too short to arrive at any definite conclusions, but we have learned a lot and find it worthwhile to carry on toward our ultimate goal, the Brotherhood of Man."

Reimert was a horseman who lived in the same kind of rural area of Lehigh County -- though several miles to the west. He would later write columns as *The Countryman* from that perspective.

He provided these observations of April Farm, which he called one of the most beautiful spots in Lehigh County:

The home in which Garland and several other member of the colony live remains practically the same as it was when it was occupied by former proprietor William Hazlitt. Its immediate environs are unmistakably those of a typical farm, with logs, kindling wood lying about in neat piles. Three rangy horses wandered about the premises as if to emphasize still more the free life lived there.

Little was seen of any other members of the house or the bungalows adjoining it except for a momentary appearance of three men who came and left immediately with foodstuffs.

A white-haired man, perhaps sixty, was at the kitchen range, helping a gaudily dressed young woman with the culinary operations underway. A child no more than three -- red of cheek, robust and apparently in the best of health -- ran back and forth, peeking through the windows at the newsmen.

The home in which Garland lives is plain to a marked degree. There is little unnecessary furniture and what there is of that is substantial and uncomfortable-looking. A radio, books ranging from MacBeth to Tolstoy and a number of current magazines were also in evidence.

Reimert also wrote: "The simple tastes of this strange group of people, all of whom are intelligent, many of them college graduates, make the economic problem -- in the little world of their own -- an easy one.

"Up to the present, the products of the farm and the revenue derived therefrom have been sufficient for practically every need, what deficit there is being made up by contributions.

"There is a general supply from which each family draws what foodstuffs and household articles it needs, and a personal money allowance for each person.

"Peculiar as they may seem and dreamers that they are, these



experimenters are essentially workers. Everyone has his or her own particular duty and performs it with a willingness and evident pleasure that is a revelation to the outsider."

Their products are sold in Allentown and Bethlehem markets.

For necessities, the colony for the most part made its purchases over the Bucks County line at the crossroad village of Steinsburg, about five miles away. A Steinburg merchant said, "They are a fine group of people, and we have not had a single complaint against them. They are polite, quiet and above average in education."

At the Steinsburg Hotel, where April Farm residents often purchased light luncheons, they were described as persons of education and refinement.

Villagers said there have been many new faces in the time the colony has been in existence.

Garland admitted that the colonists are not permanent residents. Recruits come from recommendations of previous members. But he offered no explanation for the turnover, saying it was a matter of personal choice and that he was not at liberty to answer.

In the story about Krohn battling Stuart's recommendation in court, the April Farm attorney said, "These people do not intend to violate any laws of the commonwealth. They are idealists in a way and intend to carry on an experiment in cooperative community life."

He said the master's hearing showed the colonists had no intention to carry on any work or adopt any policies antagonistic to state or federal law. And he cited the testimony of neighbors who praised them as honest, industrious and law-abiding.

The third story -- the longest -- carried Stuart's entire report and much of Garland's testimony. What was particularly absent from the testimony was Stuart's question and Garland's answer about whether an eighteen-year-old boy could bed down with a willing sixteen-year-old girl. "Free love" apparently wasn't fully free on the pages of *The Morning Call*.

Two relatively smaller stories in *The New York Herald-Tribune* and *Philadelphia Inquirer* that day indicated maybe Reimert didn't have an exclusive.

Another possibility is that -- as a stringer -- Reimert passed along somewhat different versions to other papers. Photographer Frantz admitted years later that he did well financially selling copies of his April Farm pictures to news

organizations around the country.

Both the **Herald-Tribune** and the **Inquirer** quoted Garland as saying that it was a matter of inclination whether unmarried folks lived together. It was part of the April Farm experiment.

The **Inquirer** said the unshaven and unkempt eccentric millionaire lounged back in an easy chair in the sun parlor while he talked. If true, then Garland provided a bit more hospitality to the **Inquirer** reporter than he did for the local press.

The **Herald-Tribune** claimed that "there is talk of a raid by the sheriff on the colony" -- without going in any details or any source of the "talk." But that one line proved to be a harbinger of things to come -- and come quickly.

The **Morning Call** and The **New York Times** both carried stories the next day, January 11, that Garland was to be arrested for adultery (the **Times** called it a "statutory charge") for his relationship with Bettina.

District Attorney Orrin Boyle said the key piece of evidence was a death certificate for the daughter that Bettina bore the previous July 4, the child who died from suffocation that October 17.

The certificate listed Barley and Bettina as the parents. It had been supplied to the DA by Ray Young of nearby Coopersburg, vital statistics registrar for the territory that included Lower Milford.

The story also said the certificate named a Lower Milford cemetery as the burial place, but the child was not buried there.

"The child apparently died from from natural causes," Boyle said. "Apparently there was no doctor in the case and the coroner must have been satisfied that everything was in accordance with the law."

The Philadelphia Inquirer quoted Boyle as saying he was going to order exhumation of Barbetta's remains because he was not convinced she died of natural causes.

"I can't believe anyone would be so heartless as not to call a physician when a child is fatally ill," Boyle said, according to the Inquirer. "Does it seem possible that a mother will go to sleep without first giving a child such relief as the best medical skill at hand can afford?"

Boyle obviously hadn't checked with the coroner. But why wait to check when the press was clamoring? Had he checked, he would have learned:

Barbetta had been sick for several days and was crying because she was colicky. Barley and Bettina attempted to give her some relief, and the baby fell asleep. They put her in a crib on the sleeping porch for the night. Barley, Bettina and Mowgli were in a bedroom inside. The next morning, the parents found the baby lifeless, having suffocated after being entangled in her blanket, and futilely tried to resuscitate her.

Someone from the farm summoned Dr. W.G. Moyer of Quakertown. When he arrived, he saw that there was nothing he could do. He had to summon the coroner since he had not treated Barbetta previously.

Dr. Fred R. Bausch of Allentown, the coroner, said later that he "found the little body lying in a crib on the sleeping porch. It was evident the child had smothered as a result of the blankets being worked over her head with her feet while she slept."

Bausch said that from a legal standpoint every requirement has been met as far as the coroner's office is concerned. Bausch noted, "Both Garland and Miss Hovey were greatly broken up over the death of the child."

All that information was readily available information to Boyle -- if he had just asked the coroner. But, unfortunately, it

didn't come out until days after Boyle's rush to prosecute Garland and after various papers repeatedly printed rumors that the infant's body was to be exhumed.

Boyle said that when he locates the whereabouts of Garland's wife, Mary Wrenn Garland, he'll issue the arrest warrant on Garland -- again, a statement that just wasn't so. He didn't wait.

The DA said that when the child died, neighbor Howard Savitz traveled to an undertaker in Coopersburg for a casket. The undertaker advised that a death certificate first be procured. That was done.

Boyle said Young had no birth certificate for the child -- information that turned out to be false. Young did have it. But Boyle said the death certificate was sufficient since it listed the place of birth and the parents.

He predicted that Garland's arrest would probably bring out some things about April Farm that would not come to light any other way.

The Call that Monday also carried a more complete version of Garland's testimony -- still minus that exchange with Stuart about the hypothetical eighteen-year-old boy hypothetically bedding

down with a hypothetical sixteen-year-old girl at April Farm.

Also, the paper ran the testimony of Bettina and Paul -- Scott's trimmed free of his exchange with Stuart over whether he'd have intercourse with another woman while still legally married.

Call editors must have regarded it as too heady stuff for Lehigh County readers. Never did they run the names and testimony of neighbors and the Limeport justice of the peace who spoke highly of the April Farm people.

But as with the Sunday paper, Monday readers of the Call were getting a triple dose of Garland and company -- another feature by Reimert on Garland, some of it a rehash of his Sunday feature, again based on that exclusive Saturday interview.

Garland was described as one who revolted against generally accepted social standards. "Outwardly, he appears to be anything but the eccentric celebrity possessed of sufficient temerity to be the propelling force behind a movement that has startled the whole community."

Even at the end of the 20th century, reporters continue to pontificate that entire communities -- the whole world

sometimes -- are shocked, riveted upon, startled or talking about the latest news comet to streak across the journalistic heavens.

Garland is an industrious farmer who seems more concerned with the success of next year's crops than Tolstoy, the Guild System and, least of all, free love, the feature said.

But the look in his large brown eyes, the earnestness with which he answers questions, his unmistakably New England accent and unaffected reserve "betray outward appearances." Garland seems to believe heart and soul in his practical experiment in cooperative life.

Yet, Reimert saw what he regarded as a lack of enthusiasm in Garland -- unaware from just one encounter that Garland was a gentle low-keyed man all his life, that decades later one of his grown sons couldn't recall ever when Garland was angry.

Here, Garland had lived at April Farm nearly two years "almost unnoticed by even his closest neighbors" -- quite an exaggeration since Garland had dealings with neighbors, the village justice of the peace, the people at Steinsburg, county farm agent Al Hacker and, according to Franklin car mechanic Kenneth W.M. Kern, those frequenting the blacksmith shop in nearby Coopersburg.



With all going on in the world, the arrest of Charles Garland for adultery was banner news on page one of the **Chronicle & News** of the afternoon of January 11, 1926 -- outrating such national and international events as the Sacco and Vanzetti case going to the U.S. Supreme Court, motor magnate W.C. Durant seriously injured in a train wreck, the funeral of Italy's Queen Mother Margherita and the ordered electrocution of an elephant named Tex.

**WARRANTS TO BE SERVED ON CHARLES GARLAND**, the banner headline screamed.

A subhead provided the additional information that Bettina was also to be arrested -- both for "misdemeanor" without saying what the specifics were. **The Morning Call**, **The New York Daily News** and other publications would say Garland was charged with adultery.

Bettina was being charged as a way to get her to testify against Garland, DA Boyle said. The warrants had been drawn up in Allentown and authorities were heading to April Farm to serve them.

Since Bettina was unmarried, the charge against her had to be fornication -- though that apparently never appeared in print. And the charge was never served upon her.

In a **New York Herald-Tribune** version of this development, the story carrying an ALLENTOWN dateline cited Stuart's summary on Bettina. Then, the story ended: "Nothing additional is known here of the antecedents of Bettina Hovey except that she joined Garland at his (North) Carver April Farm colony in Massachusetts."

This said of Bettina, whose father hired John Reed, lunched with Teddy Roosevelt and was one of the top editors of Hearst's **Metropolitan** magazine.

This whole business finally did attract the belated attention of **The Boston Globe**, which called Garland a "rich Socialist." But its page one piece made no mention of his mother's home at nearby Buzzards Bay or his first April Farm at North Carver. But then the **Globe** had come along days after Garland first said in 1921 that he was renouncing his inheritance from his father's estate.

The warrant servers, including Lehigh County Sheriff Mark I. Sensenbach, subsequently arrived at April Farm.

James Slovic, "evidently a Russian," came out and asked them what they wanted. Slovic was a colony member who had a far more vicious experience with the law. He was one of about 100 members of the IWW tried in Chicago in 1918 before federal Judge

Keneshaw Mountain Landis -- later commissioner of baseball -- essentially for conspiracy to hamper the government's plan in prosecuting the war. He was among that hundred convicted of 10,000 crimes, sent to Leavenworth for ten years but finally released years after the end of the war thanks to repeated pleading by Roger Baldwin and others for America to let its "great war" political prisoners go. Slovick had found a haven in April Farm.

Slovick insisted on seeing the warrant before permitting the visitors inside and summoning Garland, who appeared in much the same work clothes as he had on Saturday when Reimert first met him.

Detective Herbert Bachman: "Are you Charles Garland?"

Garland nodded yes, and Bachman proceeded to read the warrant charging him with adultery.

Slovick asked about bail. Cash or real estate would be acceptable. Slovick asked, "Shall I go along with you, Charlie?"

Garland: "No, I don't believe it is necessary. There is the money we received the other day that I deposited in the bank in my name. I think that will cover it." He was referring to a check from the Old Colony Trust Co. of Boston.

Detective Bachman: "Is Bettina Hovey here?"

Slovick: "Do you have a warrant for her?"

Bachman explained he had a warrant for her but it listed the wrong last name. Bettina, however, was not there. It turned out she fled with her two-year-old son Mowgli to New York to leave the boy with friends there after being tipped off by out-of-town reporters earlier in the day about her impending arrest.

In a large kitchen adjoining the porch where Garland received the authorities were four men and a woman eating a dinner of peas and buckwheat cakes. They paid little or no attention until Detective Bachman entered the room and said he was subpoenaing them for Garland's hearing.

Doris Benson at first refused to give her name, saying, "I don't want to talk to you." But, on the verge of tears, she relented.

The others objected, but ultimately gave their names as Alfred Edwards, Daniel Hartman, Sam Bolotin and Slovic.

The authorities then went to the building where the Scotts lived, seeking Bettina. "I haven't the slightest idea where she is," Paul Scott said.

The detective, at Garland's request, drove Barley to Quakertown where he did his banking. There, Barley secured two cashiers checks for \$1,000 each from the Merchants Bank before the caravan headed for Allentown.

At one point, a reporter said Garland didn't seem to worry about spending a night in jail. To this, Garland replied, "Well, what of it? I can sleep anywhere."

Reporter: "Have you ever been in jail?"

Garland: "Yes, but only for observation."

Amid all this, the detective, who had a farm near April Farm, got talking with Garland on what success he was having with his peach orchards.

Garland said the entire colony was engaged in pruning trees. He said he received invaluable information from county farm agent Hacker and had made several trips to the Penn State experimental station to learn the latest peach-growing methods.

"They don't seem to agree at State," Garland said. "No two professors tell us the same thing. We have learned a lot about peach-growing through experience."

But with apples, the farm had lost heavily during the summer of 1925 when storms blew hundreds of bushels from the trees and damaged those that remained.

In Allentown, Garland was followed by a horde of reporters and photographers as he walked up Hamilton Street to the office of Alderman William Bower.

At that office, the warrant was read again. Bail of \$500 was set. But since Garland only had those two certified checks for \$1,000 each, Bower accepted one of them.

Garland expected to take the Liberty Bell trolley back to a point south of Coopersburg, then walk the last four miles to April Farm. But a friend was there in Allentown who gave him a ride home.

**The Morning Call** was not finished with Garland for the day. It had yet another story -- that Garland was not a pursuer of women but that women pursued him.

"One man in a million" had been the way Garland impressed people who heard him in his infrequent comments on the day of his arrest.

Here was a man who spurned a million dollar inheritance in 1921, turned around and took it, giving most of it to a fund to promote the needs of organized producing classes and minority groups, except for \$200,000 which he settled on his wife.

At his arrest in Lower Milford, here he was, wearing a pair of shoes most poorly paid laborers would have spurned, an old worn overcoat, a shoddy cap and coarse pantaloons with socks pulled over them.

His lithe strong legs formed a perfect taper from his broad, square shoulders.

"In his conversation, he never swears. Although he will smoke an occasional cigarette, he is ready with a dissertation against the weed, while cigars are intolerable to him. According to friends, he has never tasted strong liquor," the story said.

"His manner is mild, his speech soft, his smile as bland and innocent as a child's. He has a large vocabulary, the vocabulary of a man who has studied the world's philosophies and who does much thinking on the subject of man's purpose and man's best road to happiness and usefulness.

"He is athletic, is up before daybreak to take a run of eight or ten miles around his farm every morning and spends the

entire day in the hardest kind of manual labor. He says that man should possess only that for which he labors, and because of that theory he rejected a cool million."

All this sounds impractical, but Garland doesn't give a rap how it seems to others. He is convinced it is the right thing for him and he does it.

If he were to get another million, he would probably do just the same thing as before -- bestow some upon his wife, but give the rest away to an enterprise for the public good.

Reimert's article said a noted writer several years earlier said that Garland is as "hopelessly impractical and idealistic as Shelley, a dreaming visionary who does not fit into our common every-day world."

At that time also, a newspaperman put it this way: "The reason everyone points a finger at him is not because of his immorality, but because he acts like a damned fool."

Without attribution, the story said the statement had been made that Garland has not pursued women, but that they pursued him -- which is the same assessment Roger Baldwin gave fifty years later.



Newspapermen who had covered Garland's doings since 1921 had the general belief that Mary Wrenn might be coming to join him and assist him in his troubles -- a belief that proved correct.

The Boston Globe reported that Mary Wrenn and her four children were in Shore Cottage on Bay End Farm, the Garland family estate at Buzzards Bay. She refused visitors.

But at some point early on in Barley's criminal troubles, she left her home to join Barley in hopes of helping him. "I went down once with Barley's brother Hamilton and I went down once with Roger Baldwin," she recalled.

She said she decided to get a divorce to spare anything like his arrest for adultery. But her decision came too late to wipe out the criminal charge.

The New York Herald-Tribune said that District Attorney Boyle has been informed that Garland would be represented at his preliminary hearing by Clarence Darrow, "whom he helped to finance in the Scopes evolution trial."

The Garland Fund had provided several hundred dollars for the defense in the Scopes trial. But Darrow never served as counsel for Garland. What possibly spurred the talk of Darrow was the arrival from New York of ACLU counsel Walter Nelles. He

conferred with Garland at the farm where they agreed that Israel Krohn would continue to represent Garland.

The New York Evening World, claiming to tout varied opinions of Garland and his group, suggested they might be looked upon as "nuts and boobs and an utter waste of time for any sensible person to take an interest in them. . .mammals of iniquity, steeped in depravity to a degree more thorough than was ever charged by Fundamentalists against young Mr. Scopes of Dayton, Tenn. . .free-loving sensualists who seek each other's company for immoral support in their misbehavior."

World reporter Lindsay Denison also assessed the April Farmers as people who work hard, tend to their own business, regard the relations of individual men and women as a personal matter and want to be left alone.

Considering the virulent feeling against foreigners in that era, it's not surprising that Denison contended that "there are thousands of farms like it all over the United States in which undoubtedly the domestic relations -- in foreign-born farming groups -- are as confusing as at April Farm."

Alone, Bettina returned by train to Allentown from New York in a couple days and walked immediately to the DA's office "with her head high and with a grace and composure that bespoke

superior breeding," according to one account in the Allentown papers.

She met with Boyle and explained to his satisfaction the circumstances surrounding the infant Barbetta's death by becoming entangled in her blanket. Boyle dropped the charges against Bettina, who agreed to his request that she be a witness at Garland's trial.

Leaving Boyle's office, she was hounded by photographers and reporters as she walked to a car Garland's friends provided to take her back to April Farm.

With Barley and Bettina both back home, **The Morning Call** of January 14 optimistically proclaimed: APRIL FARM COLONY FAST RETURNING TO NORMAL. The afternoon **Chronicle & News** equally optimistic headlined: QUIETUDE REIGNS AT APRIL FARM.

But the **New York Daily News** that same day carried this headline: PROBERS HUNT A LINK TYING FARM WITH REDS IN MOSCOW. Its story claimed some local citizens group had begun an investigation into whether April Farm was a Bolshevist community with direct Moscow affiliations. Unnamed vigilantes and witch-hunters were apparently already on the prowl.

All this furor had been visited upon these peaceful people

in a week's time -- since January 7 when Stuart filed his report on the charter.

## CONDEMNATION, THEN JAIL

April Farm is a part of a greater  
movement of extreme communistic tendencies.

Dr. John A.W. Haas

January 18, 1926

Some super-patriots and some of the self-righteous (some were both) rose up in brief sabre-rattling in the immediate aftermath of the April Farm charter report and Charles Garland's subsequent arrest for adultery.

Much of it seemed to be aided by the press rushing rumors into print or the pompous editorializing by reporters in what were passed off as news stories.

The irascible Dr. John A.W. Haas, a Lutheran minister and theological scholar who previously served a German congregation in Upper Manhattan, accomplished much for Muhlenberg College in Allentown in the 33 years he headed the school. But he was also someone who supported Prohibition, opposed Sunday movies as virtually the work of the Devil, was a tyrant in running faculty meetings and expressed the desire to cut down on the number of Jewish and Catholic students admitted "without creating any prejudice."

Haas had once been on the edge of national news, a week before his inauguration at Muhlenberg in 1904. Members of the Sunday school of his brother's Lutheran church in Lower Manhattan embarked on an annual outing aboard the *Gen. Slocum* steamboat, only to have the ship catch fire with the loss of more than 1,100 lives -- most of them women and children, including his brother's wife and daughter. The Slocum disaster remains the largest harbor disaster in American history. Haas was quoted repeatedly in *The New York Times* in the stories covering the disaster.

At the weekly chapel assembly of Muhlenberg's senior class a week after the April Farm initial furore, Haas urged the students to do everything in their power towards creating public opinion against communities like April Farm.

He asked: What lies in back of April Farm?

And in answering his own question, he claimed, "It is not simply a question of free love, but has far greater import. It is part of a greater movement of extreme Communistic tendencies. The immense sum of money this man Garland has placed in a trust fund is money being spent for radical purposes -- purposes that will not make the world a better place to live in."

He claimed this so-called movement that included April Farm

was "an anti-patriotic pacifism, a revolutionary communism, the fundamental character of which is anti-religious." Its first duty is to destroy faith in God. And he alleged to have it on good authority this movement was planning to make an organized revolt within a decade.

April Farm's idea of a school for orphan children was "merely a wild dream of Communistic theory." He asked: "What do we want, a sound development of human society or the downfall of everything worthwhile?"

Members of the Allentown Sector of the Association of the Army of the United States got themselves pumped up by a speech by super-patriot Fred R. Marvin, editor of the Red-baiting **New York Commercial**.

Marvin was not one of let a good rumor go unpublished. A month after his Allentown appearance, he wrote in the Commercial: "It is reported, but not verified, that the Garland Fund has 'loaned' \$50,000 to the Communists engaged in arousing class-hatred. Knowing something of the nature of other 'loans' made by this organization, we are forced to assume the report is correct."

The Allentown Sector of AAUS included various prominent local men with Pennsylvania National Guard military titles --

some like General Harry C. Trexler, who never heard a shot fired in anger. It was headed by Major Fred W. Bausch, the coroner.

As a result, the group, throwing its protective cloak over the entire nation, adopted a resolution that:

-- Assessed the developments at April Farm evidence of "strong Communistic tendencies, thus menacing the safety and freedom of our own community and the nation at large."

-- Called upon the Lehigh County district attorney and court as well as the Allentown mayor and police chief to conduct an "immediate investigation" of the information in the hands of the Allentown Sector by those in authority in Lehigh County.

What information was in the hands of the Allentown Sector seemed to be what spewed from Marvin's mouth the night of the meeting.

Marvin branded Garland "a poor nut with a sex complex whose peculiar obsession is women." He tied Garland with radical movements in the nation only through his connection with the American Civil Liberties Union, whose officers -- according to Marvin -- took charge of Garland's American Fund for Public Service.



"There has been a flash in the pan in your county that has called your attention to something," Marvin said. "The same thing has been happening all over the country, but we have not paid attention to it."

Other Marvinisms: Every radical leader, both here and abroad, has been educated in American colleges and universities. All economics taught in American schools is based on the writings of Karl Marx.

Marvin charged that many prominent clergy, college presidents and professors were guilelessly made tools by organizations opposed to war. This was all part of a Communist plot to weaken our nation -- making it ripe for revolution.

Within a week, a committee of the Allentown Sector of AAUS assigned to investigate communistic activities in Lehigh County submitted a confidential report at its annual meeting -- the meeting being held on the third floor of **The Morning Call** building.

But the **Call** had no details of its content, saying only that the committee was working "secretly along with government agents to combat anything of a bolshevistic or 'red' tendency in Lehigh County."

The Call story said further, "It was also intimated that startling developments will be announced through the sector within the next few weeks."

But those startling developments never came -- at least not in the public press. And Marvin was back in New York, continuing his printed rantings against those he perceived as enemies of the nation.

There were some actual developments that moved both the civil case to a conclusion and the criminal case toward court.

April Farm gave up on its quest for a charter. It filed no objections to Stuart's report -- thereby letting it become final by default.

Mary Wrenn and Barley, still husband and wife, spent the night of January 19 together in bed at April Farm. She said so in a letter about two months later, explaining to Paul Scott that for her divorce she needed him to testify that Barley and Bettina were "seen living together" since the last time she "lived with" Barley.

Bettina cleared out of Lehigh County for a time after she assured the DA she would testify against Garland.

With her son, Bettina and a man named Eric (who doesn't seem to crop up anywhere else in the Garland history) visited Mary Wrenn at Buzzards Bay. In a letter dated February 26, 1926, Mary told the Scotts:

"I wonder what is to come of the community. Bettina and Eric were here last weekend, making plans for Eric and some friend of his to join the community. Bettina hopes to return in April.

"Honestly, it made my blood run cold to hear them planning. I don't know why excepting that I feel so that this particular community is doomed. It was like hearing a mother plan for her child's future when you know the child is dying.

"Muggie (Mowgli, Bettina's first-born) is well and eats almost as well as my little pigs do. But he seems to be inherently unhappy. He frowns constantly in his sleep and cries out often in the night. The children all like him but he seems lonely just the same and wants to be held all the time."

Mary said she and Bettina were getting on better than ever -  
- "partly, I guess, because I feel so strongly that whatever she says or does, life will work things out in its own way. She can't worry me or hurt my feelings anymore. Also, she seems less aggressive."

Barley's wife said Bettina was doing well selling books in nearby New Bedford, but probably wouldn't do it for long because she didn't like it.

"She can stay here if she likes," Mary told the Scotts. "I've told her so, but I don't know whether she will or not."

What new sensations the reporters covering the Garland story could have ballyhooed with that information.

**GARLAND'S WIFE REPLACES SOULMATE IN APRIL FARM BED, RETURNS HOME AFTER ONE-NIGHT STAND.** Or, for the Massachusetts developments: **BIZARRE TRIANGLE: WIFE SHELTERS GARLAND'S SOULMATE AND THEIR LOVE CHILD.**

What seethed through some of the newspaper coverage was some outrageously inaccurate information about the April Farm people.

The New York World said, "He (Garland) is the son of a remarkable mother, who divorced Garland's father, James A. Garland, in 1912 and who is now Mrs. Francis Cushing Green."

Garland's parents did divorce -- in 1903 -- then remarried a year later and remained so until his death in 1906. By 1926, his mother was already one marriage and divorce beyond Mr. Green and

was headed at age 55 toward yet another marriage, to film-maker Henwar Rodakiewicz, who was in his mid-20s.

The World said a frequent visitor to April Farm was "Mary Preston Green Garland, Garland's wife, on whom he settled \$850,000 of his despised fortune."

Family records show she was Mary Mildred Wrenn until she married Barley. Where the Preston Green names come from is a mystery. And the \$850,000 was what Barley bestowed upon the American Fund for Public Service, his wife getting a considerably lesser amount.

These are just a sample of the factual inaccuracies that coursed through the coverage of early 1926.

But the **New York Daily Mirror** brought that one step lower with the addition of drawn strips that ran with a 12-part series on "the amazing true-life story of **Charles Garland**, millionaire, convention defying **Love-Cult Leader**. The inside life story of Charles Garland, whose exploits in free love have startled the conventional world, is revealed for the first time in the **DAILY MIRROR**, New York's best tabloid picture newspaper."

The series carried the byline of reporter Grace Revere. She indicated she had personally interviewed Garland, his wife and

Lillian Conrad in Massachusetts when that love triangle was aflame. The series started February 11, 1926, and ran daily through February 24 -- sometimes with recent and old photos, sometimes with a drawn strip.

The excesses of Revere's soap opera script was exceeded only by the excesses of the promotional introductions to each installment. Here's the introduction to one that brings Bettina into the saga:

The lure of a "great lover" is irresistable.

Many a fluttering feminine heart, in palatial mansions and in humble tenements, thrilled ecstatically when in newspapers throughout America the news was broadcast that a free-love colony had been founded by the Apollo of April Farm.

Many a romantic flapper, reading of the flaming love affairs of Charles Garland, of his defiance of convention, of his idealistic theories, cherished vague dreams of joining his colony.

There were a few who had the courage to leave their homes, to ostracize themselves from society, to brave the damning gossip of friends -- for the chance to become a favorite of the youthful love-cult leader.

Among them is Bettina Hovey. Read in today's chapter of Garland's amazing life-story of their

first meeting. Follow the story of their astonishing illicit love relation, day by day, in the Daily Mirror, where it will be told exclusively.

In quotes, the series purported to conversations between Garland and his mother when he was a boy, claiming his "boyhood ambition was to found an ideal community of beauty and love."

Revere gave the impression she was behind every tree or couch where Barley was present across his first twenty years, taking down conversations.

With a drawn strip to illustrate chapter four under the headline, GARLAND INSTRUCTED TO LOVE MANY WOMEN, the split/screen opening scenes showed a poetry-writing Marie, looking like a nymph in a Greek play, in an outdoor setting and her husband indoors served by a waiter at a sumptuous table, the exotic Marie spending her days writing poetry and allowing her soul to soar on idealistic flights while husband Jimmy was an Epicurean, loving good dinners, horses and dogs and rather scornful of emotional fineries.

The second illustrated box has Marie walking hand-in-hand with son Charles with this accompanying text: "Money is a curse," she told her boy, Charles, as they strolled amid pastoral scenes and she expounded to him the philosophies of Tolstoy and Plato

and taught him the beauty of nature and the untrammelled soul.  
"Money fetters the soul, she said.

The text for the next box said that "sensational divorce from Jimmy ensued."

Well, if all that's true, Marie was filling Barley's head with Plato and Tolstoy when he was four -- because her divorce from Jimmy was in 1903. And remember, this was a mother who left her children in the care of nannies and tutors and whose first contact with them often was when she kissed them goodnight.

Revere had purported conversations of the first meetings between Garland and Mary Wrenn, Garland and Lillian Conrad, Garland and Bettina Hovey.

At one point in the series, Revere alleged that Garland had been arrested in Massachusetts when he was bedding down with Lillian at the first April Farm. The charge was quashed, her series said.

If this was so, it seemed to escape the notice of many others members of big city newspapers at the time.

At another juncture, Revere has Garland and the "plump, buxom" Bettina going off on long cruise through the South Sea



Islands aboard his mother's yacht, the Blue Moon. "It was a merry party," the story said. "They tossed aside all modern accoutrements and walked about the decks like Adam and Eve of old."

The Blue Moon was his mother's yacht, lying at the old Tack Works wharf in Fairhaven, Massachusetts, according to a New York Times story of September 28, 1924. This new schooner flying the flag of the New York Yacht Club was being fitted out for a world cruise by Marie Garland and a party of a half dozen, including New York poet Lola Ridge and husband David Dawson as well as two artists and a photographer.

"The date of the Blue Moon departure is uncertain," the Times story said. "She will go first to Bermuda and may possibly return to the United States before sailing for European waters."

Marie had a place in Bermuda called Parapet where artist Georgia O'Keeffe sometimes sought as a haven in tempestuous times. So that island colony would be a reasonable destination for Marie on her own yacht.

But this lap-of-luxury type of exotic travel was just not a part of Barley's life. When he was not trying to scratch out a living from the soil in Pennsylvania in the warm weather, he was traveling to Stelton in New Jersey in winter to enlist recruits

to his colony, visiting Commonwealth College in Arkansas accompanied by a pregnant Bettina or returning to the first April Farm to pick up the heavy machinery temporarily left behind and take it down to Pennsylvania.

Revere, like other contemporary writers of the Garland saga, had the comfort of knowing that Garland would not sue or howl publicly in protest -- no matter how outrageous the fictions about him in the press.

Despite the 12-article series in the Daily Mirror, things actually did quiet down regarding April Farm as spring approached. Allentown's Morning Call of March 2 noted there were a number of interesting criminal cases coming up in April in Lehigh County Court, "including those of Stephen Schramak, on a charge of murder in connection with the death of William Miller and Charles Garland on an adultery charge arising out of occurrences at the famous April Farm below Coopersburg."

A longer list published later that month began with: "Murder: Stephen Schramak." Far down the list, after those accused of such crimes as involuntary manslaughter, robbery and passing bad checks, was a generic category reading: "Misdemeanor: Charles Garland and Samuel Lewis." A paragraph at the end also listed the same Lewis among those charged with non-support.

Various segments of the national press, meanwhile, were carrying stories about the same time that the Garland Fund had grown by \$750,000 since its inception -- thanks to the meteoric increase in the value of that bank stock which comprised the bulk of Garland's gift to the American Fund for Public Service.

A Lehigh County grand jury returned a true bill for adultery and bastardy against Garland in early April.

DA Boyle reported that Garland was alone at the farm. He said the colonists he wished to testify had left the area before he issued subpoenas -- Bettina, "said to be the daughter of a prominent editor and literary man and mother of the child Barbetta, which died". . .Doris Benson, "a member of Garland's first enterprise in Massachusetts and a member of the April Farm colony when the expose came". . .James Slovick, "said to have been a former member of the Russian Army". . .and Paul Scott, "manager of the farm who was to have been head of the experimental school for orphans which Garland was eager to establish at April Farm to carry on his and Scott's ideas on education."

But Boyle said he wasn't worried. He had sufficient affidavits to prove his case.

At the brink of trial, **The Morning Call** conceded, "Local

interest in the case, while it is somewhat aroused again, is nothing towards what it was during the early days of the April Farm scandal. The fact that Garland apparently will not put up a spectacular fight and that the other colonists have 'flown the coop' somewhat takes the edge off things."

The New York Daily News created its own boomlet with the information that Barley and his wife had become reconciled and the speculation that, consequently, Boyle was considering dropping the charge against Garland.

Sandwiched between sessions of a murder trial, Garland with his attorneys appeared before President Judge Claude T. Reno and pleaded "nolo contendere" -- no defense -- to the adultery charge.

Reno asked: "Do I understand there has been a reconciliation here of husband and wife?"

"Yes, sir," replied Philadelphia attorney David Wallerstein, co-counsel with Allentown attorney Lawrence Rupp for Garland in this case.

Reno: "Then, we will impose sentence usual when there has been a reconciliation."

Reno's usual was 60 days in jail and a \$500 fine. With court costs, the total was \$824.71. The whole courtroom procedure took less than five minutes.

The Morning Call story of the plea and sentencing described Garland as a "nationally known figure in the news by reason of his soulmate philanderings." The Philadelphia Tribune, a black-owned weekly, described him as the one "who contributed to the cause of uplift the money which constitutes the Garland Fund, which among other benefactions has aided the NAACP."

Garland entered his plea particularly to spare Bettina and Mary Wrenn any likelihood they would be called upon to testify.

Just where Wallerstein came off in saying there had been a reconciliation is a mystery. Three days before the court session, Mary Wrenn in a letter to Paul Scott still proclaimed her love for Barley, but also talked divorce.

Mary told Paul, "You have worked hard to help Barley, I know, and if you are discouraged, I don't blame you. From almost anyone's point of view, what he wants to do is nothing less than crazy. But Barley just isn't like anyone else. It is these very things about him that endear him to the hearts of those that know him: this ingenuousness -- naivete.

"I both long and dread to have this over. What next? I guess that so long as I'm in love with Barley -- divorce or no divorce -- that will always be the question. In any case, I love him with all my heart always.

"I'll never feel I have a real home, Paul, until Barley is in it, too."

Two days after the sentencing, Mary Wrenn issued a public denial that there had been a reconciliation. She did this from her bed at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, there to have her tonsils removed.

"There is absolutely no truth in the (reconciliation) report," she said in a "special to **The Morning Call**" story carrying a Boston dateline.

Obviously infuriated by years of newspaper misinformation about her and Barley, she proclaimed: "Ever since my husband became so popular in the press of the day, this report and that report have been circulated without approval, confirmation or denial by me. In this case, however, I would state that I have no intentions of being reconciled with my husband."

She said she had been a good wife and mother, plus everything "that a woman ought to be all through this terrible

affair and that at April Farm. Long ago, I tried to have my husband see the folly of his theories on love, but to no avail, and long ago I gave him up."

Yet, her closing words seemed to leave the marital door slightly open: "I am still his wife, and I do not know what may occur when he is released from jail, for no one has authority to make such a statement of fact. I should have to consider the matter a long time now."

Her father, millionaire broker Philip Wrenn, making a rare public comment, said he knew of no reconciliation. "Mrs. Wrenn and I have kept out of the affair. But I am sure if such a reconciliation was even being considered by our daughter, we would know of it."

The Call had a scoop with this story -- obtained right in the backyard of The Boston Globe. And the Globe publicly acknowledged it got beat. April 19, the day after the Call story ran, The Globe carried a "special dispatch to the Globe" with an Allentown dateline, citing the Call as the source of the quotes it was repeating from Mary Wrenn from her hospital bed in Boston.

By April 20, Mary Wrenn was writing again to Paul Scott, this time from the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles. In a six-page letter, she conceded she was still obsessed with thinking about

what to do, but claimed she was toughening herself emotionally for divorce.

She said that "the only way I could live happily with that boy would be to submerge myself in his personality." She could have seen herself doing that and returning to Barley up until the birth of their daughter Mary "Polly" in September 1924. But with him not there at Polly's birth, "I steeled myself to the idea of his not being with me. I've grown further and further from him."

Life's experiences do toughen you. "It's like getting callouses on your hands from rowing. They're inevitable unless you give up rowing, and I'm not going to do that. Don't worry about me falling in love with anyone else. I thought I could, but I guess I'm too calloused even for that."

Meanwhile, Garland, once his sentencing was complete on April 15, was then led down the street to Lehigh County Prison, a formidable red-stone building that had been constructed in the Civil War era. There, he gave his occupation as farmer, his nativity as American and his color as white. Whoever typed his prison record didn't know how to spell either adultery or bastardy -- "adultry & basterdy."

The "convict's description record" listed his hair and eyes as brown, height 6-2, weight 180 and having birth marks on his



cheeks. Parent or guardian intemperate? No. Home influence good or bad? Good. Garland answered that he was able to read and write, attended private school until age 18 and had a good education.

Attended Sunday School regularly? Yes. Habitual Sabbath breaker? No. Total abstainer? Yes.

The form listed him as married with four children living. Actually at that time, he had five children living -- daughters Margaret and Mary and sons Peter and Christopher by Mary Wrenn and son Mowgli by Bettina.

The form also asked: Number of times punished? First.

His arrival in a prison population of about sixty inmates brought another round of newspaper stories on The-Millionaire-in-Jail -- though he had long ceased being a millionaire.

He played basketball with the other inmates in the prison yard during their exercise hour. He was reading the Bible. "He has other books, but he seems to prefer the Bible," said Warden Irvin Schaeffer. Garland won't be assigned any work for at least two weeks, the warden said.

Like a kid talking about a typical-day-in-camp, The

Associated Press spread across the nation the routine of a typical day in Lehigh County Prison. Surely, it must have been of national import because papers like *The Boston Globe* and *The New York Herald-Tribune* carried it:

"The prisoner begins his daily routine with breakfast furnished by the jail authorities. This is followed by an hour's exercise, and he has permission to read until 11 o'clock when dinner is served.

"During the afternoon, Garland is again privileged to read and at 5 o'clock is ready for supper. After that, there is nothing for him to do but read until 9:30 when the lights go out."

The Allentown paper simply said Garland was following the same routine as other prisoners "and at the end of the first day he seemed perfectly satisfied with his lot. In the early evening, he spent an hour writing letters to relatives and friends."

Bettina got letters from him while he was in jail -- letters she treasured enough to hold onto them across her life, only to have them destroyed in a fire that heavily damaged her home several years before she died.

That April 30, Garland and his "free love" colony got more

than a mention at a hearing in Washington before the House Military Affairs Committee, according to **The New York Times**. The subject was a bill introduced by Pennsylvania Republican Congressman George A. Welsh, a Quaker, limiting military training in institutions of learning.

The Times said that those protesting the bill, including Lehigh University President Charles Russ Richards and former President Henry S. Drinker, blamed the American Civil Liberties Union and recipients of \$12,400 Garland Fund money with attempting to spread anti-military training propaganda among American colleges.

Meanwhile, back at Lehigh County Prison, Garland disclosed he had another occupation besides farming -- short story writing. And he had a publisher, **The Sunday Call-Chronicle** of Allentown.

A May 2 headline proclaimed: CHARLES GARLAND WRITES STORY DURING STAY IN JAIL. The subhead said: April Farm Head Puts In Time In Literary Work -- One of His Manuscripts Appears Today.

An introduction explained that Garland in his jail cell is having more time for writing and the expression of his thoughts than he did while busy with his orchards, livestock and chickens at April Farm.

"All along it has been known that the young man has a gift for language. Moreover, he has a background of very excellent heredity and a life of scholarly pursuits. All his life he has yearned for communion with nature and it has been this desire largely that has driven him into the farming experiments which he loves."

Down at April Farm, while he worked, he plodded along silently, deep in thought. As ideas came to him, he made notes. Then, at night, he amplified them on paper. "Already, he has written quite a sheaf of short stories in which allegory plays an important part, testifying to his nature and his mood -- that of philosopher and mystic."

With Garland's permission, *The Call* was providing one of those stories, "told in shamingly simple style."

It unfolded as a story told to him by a man he met on a train. The man and his wife were relocating to a distant city because of his job. On the way, their train derailed. The woman was seriously injured and her face was disfigured. Eventually, she recovers, though her hair had turned grey and her facial features were now vastly different. Happiness returns.

"There is evidently a bitter taste after every sweet drink," wrote philosopher Garland.

That bitter taste took the form of a scoundrel from their old hometown -- the type who likes to look through a crack in his neighbor's fence and count the weeds in his neighbor's garden. Seeing the woman with her grey hair and altered features, he spread the word that she wasn't the woman the man had married. The couple were ostracized -- even to the point of being barred from their church.

But no matter what the adversity, they still had their love for each other -- "Forever! Forever!"

The week this saga appeared, **The New York Times** carried a piece that the 16th annual report of the NAACP disclosed the organization created a legal defense fund of \$71,000 -- including \$26,552.80 from the Garland Fund.

That same edition had the announcement that James Weldon Johnson was one of the recipients of its Spingarn Medal, given annually "for the most distinguished achievements by negroes." (The **Times** of 1926 didn't capitalize Negro.) Johnson was chosen for being the author of a book of Negro spirituals. The story made no mention that Johnson was a board member of the Garland Fund.

The other recipients were tenor Rowland Hayes, Tuskegee

agricultural chemist George Washington Carver and Charles Gilpin, who played the title role in Eugene O'Neill's play, "Emperor Jones."

The next issue of the **Sunday Call-Chronicle** brought ANOTHER STORY FROM PEN OF CHAS. GARLAND. Subhead: Head of April Farm Indulging Bent for the Literary While in Jail.

In this one, the author is questioned by a little girl about what it means to be married and why her father no longer loves her mother. He answers, then walks away, only to return to tell her he doesn't understand anymore than she does.

Like the one the Sunday before, this piece was not destined for an O. Henry short story award.

The **New York American** devoted almost a page of photos, drawings and text in its May 23, 1926, issue to the Garland saga under the banner headline: The Baby's Grave that Blighted Mr. Garland's Free Love Farm. This treatise purported to reveal: How the Second Experiment of the Young Boston "Advanced Thinker," Who Gave Away \$1,500,000 Because He Doesn't Believe in Money, Has Failed Because He Doesn't Believe in Marriage Either -- Now He Has Sixty Days in Jail to Think It Over.

The **American** characterized the rebellious Garland as someone

who doesn't believe in morals, marriage and money. Once finished with jail, Garland was to tour the country, lecturing on the idea of starting small colonies to be brotherhoods --no longer co-eds.

Garland was a direct descendant of Henry VIII, "so he comes honestly by his polygamous tendencies," the article said. Fiction was generously mingled with fact. It claimed that April Farm, envisioned by Garland as "a moneyless marriageless Eden," was done for. And it repeated the ugly fiction that Barbetta's body was exhumed by Lehigh County authorities three months after she was buried.

It was all soap opera -- never mentioning the Garland Fund, its radical board members or the word Communist or Socialist.

Barley, meanwhile, was facing the reality that his wife was soon to file for divorce. Boston attorney Richard M. Russell, representing Mary Wrenn, traveled to Allentown to meet on May 27 with inmate Garland about the contemplated action.

As a result, Barley sent a note to Paul before the day was out: "I have already told you that I would be willing to have you make any statement in this matter, and I feel the same way now since it would help Mary carry out her wish."

Russell also made arrangements to interview Paul Scott, the

intention being to call Paul as a witness to Barley's cohabitation with Bettina.

Just days before Barley was to finish his jail sentence, Mary filed for divorce at Barnstable, Massachusetts. "Misconduct was charged," **The Associated Press** said.

Garland was called away from a prison yard baseball game where he was playing third base to be shown **The AP** dispatch. His fellow prisoners protested. Once he read the dispatch, he said, "I will not contest the case. Further than that, I will have nothing to say."

Upon his return to the prison yard, he was cheered and shifted to center field where he smoked cigarettes between running for balls going out his way.

**The New York Daily Mirror** -- duplicating the format of its 12-part series in February -- accompanied its story with photos of Barley, Mary and Bettina plus a strip of drawings across the top of the page purporting to show highlights of Barley's "caveman fashion" lifestyle. The headline over the drawings said: **Free Love's Greatest Exponent Discovers at Last That His Wife Doesn't Believe in It.**

George L. Wrenn, Mary's sister, was the personal emissary to



serve the divorce papers upon Garland at Lehigh County Prison two days later.

Barley was released from jail June 13. He stepped into a waiting automobile and was driven to April Farm. But before he left, he handed a statement to a **Morning Call** reporter:

"I would like to correct a statement made by my attorney, Mr. Wallerstein, when I was in court to answer the recent charge against me. As a result of a misunderstanding, he stated there that my wife and I had been reconciled. This is untrue in its implications and would make it seem I were lying to avoid penalty for what I have done or pretending to feel a repentance which I in no way feel.

"I sent word to Judge Reno that I was not satisfied with what Mr. Wallerstein had said. In my opinion, this whole matter should have remained private. But since it has been dragged into public attention, I want to feel I have met it perfectly honestly."

The same page of **The Morning Call** that carried the story on Garland's release also had a three-paragraph item about the arrest in Bethlehem of Red-baiter Harold Lord Varney, writer and labor specialist of Washington, D.C.

Varney was "seriously charged" on information of 17-year-old Joseph DiNoto of Rochester, New York -- the "seriously charged" being the local newspaper euphemism of the day for unmentionable sexual offenses. Varney and the boy were arrested in a Bethlehem rooming house by city detectives and put in Northampton County Prison at Easton.

Several weeks earlier, Varney arrived in Bethlehem under the auspices of the Constitutional Educational League to sound the alarm of the dangers of communism at streetcorner gatherings and before groups like the Allentown B'nai B'rith. His message was that "the Red movement in America is an imported alien force, directed by the hand of the Third International at Moscow."

The press made no comparison of the relative criminal severity of an anti-Communist adult male actually bedding down with a 17-year-old boy in Bethlehem versus a hypothetical 18-year-old male bedding down with a hypothetical 16-year-old girl at April Farm.

Garland's jailing got a second go-around before the House Military Affairs Committee on June 15 over the Welsh bill to bar compulsory military training in land-grant colleges.

Proponent John Nevin Sayre of New York admitted to the committee that propaganda against military training in colleges

and universities had been financed in part by the Charles Garland Fund. This included \$1,595 to a Committee on Militarism in Education, which he headed.

GOP Rep. John Philip Hill of Maryland pointed out that Garland recently completed a jail sentence "for running a free love colony on Soviet Russian principles."

Sayre countered that Garland had no connection with the Fund for the last three years.

President Calvin Coolidge entered the fray the same day the committee met by issuing a statement that he opposed compulsory military training for school or college students and anything that stimulates a military spirit in the youth of the land. Rather, he endorsed the physical training that comes with military drills.

Meanwhile, back at April Farm, former athlete and pugilist Nev Campbell spent two days working on the place and then sharing his reactions with *The Evening Graphic* of Philadelphia. What he found was altogether different from what he expected.

The *Graphic* said that contrary to reports that April Farm was a place devoted to licentious pleasure and riotous living, it is a colony of hard-working, sincere and self-sacrificing

idealists. Arduous labor is the dominating note. Garland's plan demands it. There is no time for orgies and debaucheries. If any members find leisure, they spent it in artistic pursuits, such as music, painting or writing.

"Garland worked all day in the fields and never appeared to tire," Campbell said. "He must have a wonderful constitution. He was enthusiastic about everything.

"I asked him about free love. From his expression, I honestly believe Garland now realizes it can't be done. If he can come down to earth, he will be a wonderful man." He said Garland had no ill will to those who hounded him into prison.

Campbell said he thought he would have to work only six hours a day, but found he was obliged to toil from dawn to twilight -- this at a time of the longest days in the year. When he finished his chores, he was too weary to sit down and write.

On August 10, it took only twenty minutes in a Barnstable courtroom to end the marriage of Charles Garland and Mary Wrenn. Mary was granted an uncontested divorce on the grounds of Barley's adultery. Judge Collen Campbell awarded her custody of their four children with the proviso Barley could see them at reasonable times. "The matter of alimony was not before the court," the **Boston Globe** said.

Paul Scott testified that Barley and Bettina openly shared a cottage at April Farm in Pennsylvania. Mary testified briefly.

But the spotlight of the proceedings was upon a letter Barley wrote to Mary on May 5 while he was in Lehigh County Prison. It said in part:

I feel as I have told you that it is unfortunate for us to be legally married. So far as a divorce is concerned, I should want to get one if you feel it would be for the best. I am not as concerned with divorce as I am about what our relations would be afterward. Nothing should bind us in the future.

All of this has little to do with my feeling toward you personally, and you must not take it as a measure of my affection. My affections would perhaps grow more freely if all the laws of our ancestors, together with the memory of those laws, were cast into the sea with a millstone attached to their necks.

It is more important to maintain a relative indifference toward laws than attempt to be technically correct. The law is a weapon only and has ceased to have moral significance.

I lean more and more to the conclusion the law as

it is practiced today is a wolf in sheep's clothing. This opinion is strengthened by recent experience with two respectable gentlemen of the law.

Perhaps some day you will realize that I have cared for you not less than you had expected but more than you had hoped. . .that while our old life has died, perhaps through neglect, a much greater life has been born through sorrow and devotion -- perhaps.

I think lots of the kids, too, and feel ripped inside from being so much away from them. I think they will be much better off with you.

Lots of love.

This was page one news in *The Morning Call*, page eleven in *The New York Times* and at various locations in other papers in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Providence and other big cities around the nation -- the last major shot in Garland's direction for the year.

All this public attention upon Garland personally -- from a rustic farmhouse in rural Lehigh County to the marbled halls of Congress -- in just seven months time.

## DISILLUSIONMENT

The regular members worked very hard, at least at first.

Esther Walters, 1972

Historian Paul Avrich encountered a second woman who harbored bitter memories of April Farm in Pennsylvania while he was collecting material for his book on "The Modern School Movement," particularly its colony at Stelton, New Jersey.

Esther Walters of New York City shared her recollections with Avrich three years before her death in 1975. And Avrich passed them along for inclusion here:

Walters said she was 21 when she arrived at the April Farm colony. "It was a small colony, with about thirty or thirty-five regular members, including many anarchists, two or three of whom (including myself) came from Stelton.

"We had beautiful peach and apple orchards, a vegetable garden and a communal dining room. The first spring there was the happiest of my life, so I was all the more hurt and disappointed when the colony fell apart.

"The regular members worked very hard, at least at first.

But there were many, many visitors who came for a weekend or a summer. For them, it was a vacation. They ate, slept, sat under a tree philosophizing and didn't work. Under such circumstances, a colony cannot survive.

"Marital problems arose and bitter personal quarrels, and the community fell apart. I left in 1929, and it failed a year or so later.

"To this day, I remain bitter and disillusioned. Most people are parasites."



## MOMMY, DEAREST

I find him confused, in a fog most  
of the time.

Marie Garland on Barley, 1928

Olive (Jenkins) Garland, the wife of James Albert "Bee" Garland III, was giving a dinner party for twelve on November 21, 1928. She was Barley's sister-in-law, married to a Garland who would die three months later.

By then Barley's mother was Marie Garland Green Hale Rodakiewicz, and from what she wrote just before the dinner party, Barley was visiting -- just where the text doesn't reveal. And though Barley signed his nickname to numerous letters to his mother, she spelled it Barly in this piece.

Marie wrote:

Olive giving a dinner of twelve tonight. All family. Am hoping Barly will stay over and go to it, just to see what his family is like. He feels they do not like him. This may show him he is after all just one of us.

I find him confused in a fog most of the time. Urged him to find and listen to his own soul and stop battling at ideas, pure

and abstract, emanations of the brain when awareness of life stops.

Told him his every movement would be a song if his soul was triumphant in him, that his eyes would pour forth something we could all feel and they would not look hunted.

Told him he needed to go unafraid along in search of what his soul needed, i.e. a mate, not to spend himself on wenches crying at the moon.

Told him all of beauty that he found in life, in thought, in dreams, was in himself, not in any pure idea which had nothing to do with life.

I said M. (Mary, Barley's first wife) said this and he said that, but he had never succeeded in making a woman love him. So he went apart and sang of himself and supermen and of his own strength, which as a man he never proved.

Mothers are brutal things. They have to be. God knows why He made them so and makes all men gentle and tender of heart, with only a bluff to swell their chesta with manly attributes.

Guess I am running off the trolley line but feel I'll bust if Barly goes on living so desperately unhappy looking -- his

eyes a tragedy.

## BETTINA'S REMEMBRANCES

Garland was very idealistic, very inexperienced

Bettina Hovey, 1978

"The idea was not revolution, not trying to overthrow the government.

"It was to give an alternative way of life. . .to have a more human relationship. . .a more family relationship among people."

This was the way Bettina Hovey at age 75 evaluated the April Farm colony in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, and the one before it at North Carver, Massachusetts, in the 1920s. After some prolonged coaxing from a longtime friend, she agreed to an interview, the first of several, three months after Barley's death.

Bettina was a member of both colonies. She had three children by Garland, a daughter dead in infancy, a son who went through Lehigh University and then took his own life in early adulthood and a second son who lived into his 50s.

She said Garland was a "very shy man, very sensitive, subjective. He was influenced by Tolstoi and Walt Whitman and that tax guy in New England, Thoreau.

"He was tremendously influenced by what he read, in a mental way. He was very much an aristocrat. He got these fancy ideas that it was wrong to exploit. He took these things seriously.

"He didn't realize how difficult it was to do anything about them -- and he took a terrible shellacking on all this stuff."

Bettina first met Garland while she was an apprentice reporter for a Boston newspaper, assigned to do a story on him. "I had a terrible time getting near him," she said. This was at the first April Farm.

She said she never turned in her story because she felt Garland was being maligned by the press. "I got fired off my job. After six months, I went and joined the group."

Her father was Carl Hovey, former editor of Hearst's **Metropolitan** magazine and later a Hollywood story editor for Cecil B. DeMille.

Her father's attitude was that he had "a crazy daughter who ran around with a nut like Garland. His attitude was anger, cut it out, behave yourself, disowning me completely," Bettina said.

"It never really bothered me," she claimed. But to not even be told when her father died in 1956 or not being included among

the survivors in his obituary had to hurt.

Bettina said the April Farm communes were unlike the ones fifty years later. "The modern ones are for escapists, though maybe I'm wrong.

"Barley had a really creative feeling, to have a more family relationship among people. He wasn't a particularly sexy guy. But he cared about the people he had a relationship with.

"In North Carver, people would come to see us from New York, Jews. The local residents felt they were being invaded. They were going to come and burn us out."

Friends persuaded Barley to get a bigger place, and the move was made to rural Lehigh County in Pennsylvania.

"Most of us in the group didn't want to come. We thought it was a bad move," Bettina said.

Garland still had quite a bit of money -- at least \$15,000 a year from a trust fund from his paternal grandfather -- despite what he had bestowed upon the Garland Fund and his first wife.

But Bettina contended the colonists didn't want to use Garland's money. The idea was to make a living collectively

working the land and selling the products of those labors.

"We lived mostly on turnips and strawberries. We dug our own well. Here was a bunch of people, mostly wealthy, shucking off their wealth.

"We weren't faddists. We didn't have to grow the carrot in a special way. Our idea was just to get the damned carrot somehow.

"In the winter, we lived on stewed turnips and cut firewood to be warm. There were maybe 10 people.

"In the summer, the flowers came out and it was nice to be in the country. Suddenly, everybody had social consciousness. There were maybe 25-30 people."

Those guests included Roger Baldwin, Scott Nearing and Sidney Hillman, all members of the Garland Fund board for various periods of time, Baldwin for the entire time.

Others who visited included conscientious objectors who had spent years in Leavenworth for refusing to serve in World War I.

"I felt it was a mistake to try to get a charter. It was an awful mistake. I don't think Garland ever wanted it. Paul Scott wanted that.

"Garland was a man who could be manipulated. He was very idealistic, very inexperienced. He was all aristocratic and not very well related to the realities of the world. He thought other people were idealistic.

"He was a pacifist -- very much -- and a vegetarian. He didn't believe in taking life.

"He was generous to people in financial difficulty. He was nice to people in trouble, yet he was very much against charity because he said it weakened people. Rather, he was for giving people the tools to defend themselves."

Bettina said Garland was deeply hurt by the press attention to his legal troubles in Lehigh County and by the fact that people didn't seem to care about his ideas. He retreated more and more into himself.

The last thing Barley wanted was publicity, Bettina said. "He was such a dope. He was not compassionate about the poor, and yet he couldn't imagine a rich man being a good man.

"He never seemed to care about people. He wanted dignity for the human race and believed people should handle their own lives. To him, life was a creative process, and you should be creative."



April Farm broke up in 1930, parts of it going to colonists Doris Benson and Herbert Holt and another tract to local resident Charles Urffer. Yet another segment was bestowed upon Promenade Holding Corporation in Manhattan, apparently an arm of the Communist party. It became the home of Communist agitator Mother Bloor and the site for Communist gatherings in the 1930s.

Bettina said there was always a certain degree of jealousy among the women at April Farm -- though it was not encouraged. "You can't outlaw it. Our relationships were all one of consideration rather than of combativeness. There was no vampire element."

Bettina's story is that though she was still very much in love with Barley, she got fed up with April Farm and left. "Ursula was one girlfriend I couldn't get along with. But Barley got along quite well with Ursula.

"Garland had plenty of money. He educated our two children," Bettina said. "He was never irresponsible."

Bettina said metaphysics greatly occupied Barley's later years. "He felt he couldn't change the world in a material way. He felt we were under the control of a spiritual world.

"Three months before Barley died, he came to see Nicky

(their younger son) and me. He stayed three days.

"All the money he had was tied up in that trust fund from his grandfather. He was living on the income of the trust fund. Upon his death, it had to be broken down among the legitimate children. He wanted Nicky and Carl to be included. He said he had a meeting with those running it and they agreed.

"The night before he died, I had such a strong feeling. I phoned and Ursula said he had died. He had been out making hay, had overdone it making this hay.

"He was an extraordinary man. I was very, very fond of him. He had a different vision of what man can be. I feel a great loyalty to Barley, to his social point of view.

"Garland and I always cared a great deal about each other. But it was more practical that we each live out our lives in our own ways.

"It was remarkable to find a man like Barley, who did seem to give a damn."

## FIRST WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION LAW FOR MISSOURI

Thanks for your support.

Missouri Labor Federation telegram

November 3, 1926

So many projects the Garland Fund aided involved longterm struggles, oftentimes faltering, frequently failing.

That's why the 1926 campaign of the Missouri State Federation of Labor for the state to adopt its first workmen's compensation law stands apart as such a joyous triumph.

The federation succeeded in a statewide referendum against what it called "the sinister influence of the damage suit lawyers and the crooked element in the labor movement" where twice before it had known defeat.

And to publicize its campaign, the federation received \$15,000 Garland Fund money under a matching gift formula far more liberal than any it had required before from any labor group.

The matching money could come from any source, not just trade union sources, the Garland directors said.

The federation leaders couldn't quite believe it. They wrote

back to doublecheck and were reassured the Fund meant any source.

Federation President R.T. Wood and secretary-treasurer George R. Patterson outlined their request for help in a three-page letter to the Fund on January 28, 1926.

The federation has been laboring diligently for the enactment of a workmen's compensation law for Missouri for twelve years, they began. Tremendous personal effort by its members and officials and spending of at least \$75,000 have been invested to enact three laws "in the interest of the injured and killed workers in industry and their dependents."

But all have been submitted to referendum by the damage suit lawyers, the federation leaders explained.

"Our 1919 and 1921 laws ranked among the highest in their beneficent features of any law in the United States," they said.

But the crooked element in the labor movement from St. Louis and Kansas City -- for selfish reasons -- and the damage suit lawyers brought about the defeat of these laws in statewide referendums.

Wood and Patterson said, "In each instance, we received a substantial majority for ratification in every industrial

center." But the opponents conducted "a vicious campaign of vilification and misrepresentation" that cut down that majority in the cities to such a degree making it impossible to overcome the expected adverse majority from the rural districts.

In 1925, the federation was successful in getting the General Assembly to enact a workmen's compensation law which ranked third best in the nation in its features. It was set for referendum in the November 1926 election.

"If this law meets with defeat, we are certain that many years will elapse before the workers in Missouri will be able to enjoy the benefits and blessings of a workmen's compensation law," Wood and Patterson said.

They said the reason for the ratification defeat of the 1919 and 1921 laws was lack of funds to carry on a campaign large enough get the truth to the voters. "Our membership has been bled white in the past ten years in our attempt to finance the various campaigns for a workmen's compensation law."

What the federation can raise this time from its membership will be entirely inadequate to even start a statewide campaign necessary to overcome the opposition.

They outlined a plan that included ads in the two most

important local newspapers in each of Missouri's 115 counties, plus ads in the 20 large city newspapers.

Eight speakers should be employed three months prior to the election -- two speakers each for St. Louis and Kansas City to cover the Democratic and Republican campaign meetings, one for Springfield, St. Joseph and Joplin, two for the counties across the state and one to cover the towns of Hannibal, Moberly, Jefferson City, Secalia, Cape Girardeau and Poplar Bluff.

With postage and other expenses thrown in, the federation estimated the cost at \$30,750 and that is what it asked for from the Fund -- in either a grant or a loan.

Wood and Patterson concluded, "We feel no more worthy cause could merit the earnest consideration of the American Fund than the protection of the unfortunate dependants, widows and orphans of the injured and killed workers in industry through the enactment of a workmen's compensation law."

They enclosed a printed statement of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, who urged passage even though he found the law was neither perfect or entirely satisfactory. And they said Green would make several appearances in the state during the year in behalf of the legislation.

When the Garland Fund directors approved a grant of \$15,000 hinging on matching money from any source, the federation leaders were pleased. They said they stood a better chance of getting substantial money from outside sources with the matching inducement than they did from their own members.

They got the full \$15,000 from the Garland Fund.

And on November 3, 1926, federation president George Patterson sent the following telegram to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn as secretary of the Garland Fund:

"Our workmen's compensation law has carried by one hundred and fifty thousand. Many thanks for your support."

## UNITY HOUSE

A workers summer recreation and  
rest place. . .

ILGWU letter

October 1925

A New York City local of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union purchased nearly 700 acres with a complex of buildings plus an 85-acre lake in the Poconos of eastern Pennsylvania for a summer vacation haven for its union members in 1919. They called it Unity House.

Soon turned over to the ILGWU itself, Unity House served its members and their families for the next seventy years.

And according to Eastern Pennsylvania chronicler Ron Devlin, at revered moments across that time, Eleanor Roosevelt lectured, Marian Anderson sang Negro spirituals and Danny Kaye performed there in its 1,150-seat theater. The Glenn Miller and Guy Lombardo orchestras played for dances. Sometime in the Depression, a series of murals on working people done by Mexican artist Diego Rivera made its way from Communist hands in New York City to the walls of Unity House, only to be destroyed in a fire



in 1969.

Although the place was used for training union leaders as late as 1989, its primary purpose was to provide a low-cost serene resort for union workers.

What killed it off was a combination of things. . .foreign competition in the garment industry which brought about a decline in American companies and, in turn, a decline in ILGWU membership. . .the serenity of Unity House itself which appealed to the older workers but not to the younger ones. As the 20th century winds to a close, the property stands closed and the buildings deteriorating.

A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, co-editors of **The Messenger**, visited the place in 1921 and wrote glowingly about it. . .the lake for swimming and boating, the hundreds of acres for wandering about, the fellowship of the dining hall.

"The Labor Day concert of Unity was a rare treat," they wrote. "S. Goldenberg, baritone and actor of the Jewish Theatre, sang. Marcel Silesco of the Vienna Opera House graced the occasion with his dulcet tenor."

One of **The Messenger** editors was pressed into service -- not to sing, but to speak -- to appeal for funds for starving Russia.

After some debate, Owen was saddled with the task. He collected \$256.65.

Randolph and Owen said two things stood out at Forest Park -  
- no locks on rooms and the absence of race prejudice.

"No rooms were locked, no keys. The workers were here for vacation, not to steal from fellow workers.

"No race prejudice. The malicious leer of its breath was not to be seen, heard or manifested in any way. We were the first colored guests they ever had, but they welcomed all races. Race, creed and color were not the issue. We were all hand or brain workers, struggling for a new social order, fighting for a more abundant life, battling for a better world.

"The organized workers have bought and are running one of the choicest cloistered retreats of millionaires -- running it ably and without race prejudice, whether in the dance hall, in the bathing pool, on lake pier or in the dining room.

"And this, let it be remembered, in America, the America of the lynching bee, the Jim Crow car, the Ku Klux Klan, the disenfranchised Negro, the black peon, the proscribed!"

Unity House came to the Garland Fund for financial assistance in the mid-1920s.

The property as a resort began in 1870 as the Forest Park Hotel under the Oppenheimer family -- who lived in both the Poconos and Manhattan and owned the Lloyd Steamship Lines. According to a **Pennsylvania Heritage** article by Kenneth Wolensky, it catered to East Coast families of German origin. In another version, these people were Prussian nobility enjoying a hunting retreat before World War I.

One yarn is that when it was thought to be a hideout for pro-German sympathizers, it was seized by the government during the war. Another is that with anti-German sentiment running high in the Great War, the owners were pressured by the federal government to sell the property.

Yet another version is that this retreat of hotel, hunting lodges and fishing cabins, was owned and used by a group of bankers and businessmen, most of them of German descent. During the war -- with its growing anti-German feeling in the area -- these people stayed away, and the place deteriorated.

Whatever its past, when the ILGWU local bought it for \$85,000 in 1919, it was in the hands of New York shipping and

hotel magnate Arthur Lederer. The settlement involved a \$20,000 downpayment and a \$65,000 mortgage.

The following year, the Socialists bought next door -- acquiring 2,100 acres for what they billed as "the largest summer school and camp for workers in the world." They called it Tamiment.

In 1924, the ILGWU asked Stroudsburg attorney and real estate man William A. Shafer to appraise its property. He sought assistance from lumberman and landowner George Nyce, Bushkill boarding house owner Harry Peters and "practical carpenter" George Smith, who helped erect some of the original buildings on the property.

They put the market value at \$100,000 -- but said its replacement cost would be far more. "Nearly all the lakes in Pike County have been bought up," the report noted.

It was the kind of property that would attract only a limited number of potential buyers -- those interested in running a commercial lodge or a recreation camp like the ILGWU.

The property covered 698 acres with a lake of 85 acres. The complex included a hotel building, a dozen cottages, dance hall, bowling alley, building for female help, ice house and bathing

pavilion.

"The buildings will accommodate 400 guests," the report said. "They show evidence of lack of repair for quite some time and need an overhauling, and a large sum will have to be spent."

It was with those needs that the corporation known as Ladies' Garment Workers' Center Inc. at Forest Park, Pennsylvania, approached the Garland Fund in October 1925 for a \$25,000 loan "to pay off bills and for improvements (to be) secured by a mortgage."

Secretary Harry Maurer and treasurer Abraham Baroff of Unity House described the place as "a workers summer recreation and rest place, accommodating 600 to 700 persons and is open to members of all trade unions and progressive workers organizations and their families at a reasonable price."

They said the center spent about \$100,000 since the property was purchased to improve the place. They valued the complex at up to \$225,000. The outstanding indebtedness was only a \$40,000 mortgage to the ILGWU.

Maurer and Baroff noted, "Unity House has given tens of thousands of workers an opportunity to have a few weeks of rest in the midst of a brotherly atmosphere and beautiful

surroundings."

They said nothing about being unable to get loans elsewhere, nor that the project was failing, nor that they were on the edge of bankruptcy. Rather, they took the approach that "we're one of the organizations your fund is very much interested to help."

The same month the Garland directors were asked, they approved the loan -- for a term of two years secured by a second mortgage and carrying interest at 6 percent.

The interest payments came regularly, but not the principal. There was a \$10,000 repayment in 1929 when a replacement \$15,000 loan agreement was floated for a three-year term. Sometime later, the ILGWU turned over to the Garland Fund several thousand dollars in gold bonds of the Pike County Hotels Corporation -- saying the Stroudsburg Trust Co. had consented to buy them back. But it took several years of prodding and then the threat of a lawsuit before the bank kept its word.

There were the usual rancorous letters to a debtor from Roger Baldwin through the early 1930s, saying the Garland Fund needed the loan repaid to meet its current obligations. Replies were few -- and evasive -- from Unity House, which added to Baldwin's frustration.

When all was said and done, the ILGWU repaid a total of \$18,250.

In 1934, a kitchen explosion gutted the main house and various bungalows. That was about the time the Garland Fund cancelled the remaining \$6,750 on the loan.

Beyond the Depression, Unity House flourished particularly under the eye of ILGWU President David Dubinsky. Politicians by the score, including John F., Robert F. and Edward M. Kennedy, visited the place. It hosted numerous labor conventions.

But probably the greatest recollection story of the Dubinsky era occurred during heated contract negotiations in 1948. A strike -- the first in fifteen years -- appeared imminent.

As Wolensky described in his *Pennsylvania Heritage* piece, Dubinsky invited more than 200 employers from throughout the East Coast to Unity House for a free weekend of relaxation and discussion. His aim was to show factory owners how workers benefited, in part, from employer contributions of the ILGWU health, welfare and vacation funds.

Many accepted. Some brought their families, some their lawyers, to dine on prime rib and lobster, enjoy theater performances and dance in the ballroom. The strike was averted

and event led to other employer weekends at Unity House.

As the century ends, longtime caretaker Nelson Whittaker told author Wolensky: "It's hard for a place like Unity House to stay open in this era. At least, they have good memories."



ASSOCIATED TEXTILES, MINNEAPOLIS

It is a downright bunko game.

James P. Warbasse, chairman  
Cooperative League of America  
December 13, 1926

The Garland Fund got taken in 1926 by phony documents and its own failure to check with reliable experts in approving a \$50,000 loan to a supposed cooperative known as Associated Textiles at 612 First Avenue N. in Minneapolis.

Even Roger Baldwin was chagrined -- and he wasn't around when the loan was okayed.

The Fund was able to recoup -- through a receiver in bankruptcy -- only about \$9,000.

Associated officers were president Sander Genis, vice president Ole Ogg and secretary-treasurer T.E.Latimer. Those three and Albert Bastis, J.F. Emme and John Synnes made up the Associated board.

This ugly story began with Latimer and Emme and some mutual friends approaching Garland director H.H. Broach who lived in

Minneapolis.

Associated was portrayed as "cooperative distributors of general merchandise" that bought goods from manufacturers in spring that were not paid by members and customers until fall. It needed money during this hiatus.

Banks previously gave Associated loans during this period, but had become antagonistic because it had become a cooperative. Broach, however, was impressed that banks dealt with the company in the past.

Documents from Associated were sent to the Garland Fund and, in turn, forwarded to CPA Stuart Chase for his advice.

Chase concluded, "I am inclined to think that the loan is a sound one." He listed the good and bad of what he gleaned from the figures. Among the pluses was that current assets were five times as great as liabilities. The negatives were that the bank refusal might presage the same for sales and that the balance sheets carried large amounts of intangible assets.

A real estate company, Naftalin Holding Co., with the same address as Associated, signed a document guaranteeing repayment.

No one questioned the figures Associated supplied. The usual

prudence of checking with Dr. James P. Warbasse at the Cooperative League of America was not done.

Baldwin, the penny pincher, was away in California when the matter came before the board. And Broach talked up the proposal. Chiefly at his urging, the board approved it.

Six months later when the first \$10,000 note was due and no payment arrived, the board gradually learned the horrible financial truth.

Then, they hired attorney George Leonard in Minneapolis and then also they contacted Warbasse at the cooperative league, who had saved the Fund from making some bad blunders previously.

Leonard wrote, "I regret before making the loan you did not drop me a line. I might have saved you the embarrassment you find yourself in."

Leonard visited Associated and found what was supposed to be \$350,000 in clothing stock wasn't worth \$25,000. He also learned large sums and property were diverted to interlocking companies to pay exorbitant salaries and commissions to the perpetrators of the scheme.

This constituted gross fraud and, more likely, criminal

conduct, the lawyer concluded.

Warbasse had equally cheery news. "It is an outright bunko game. Naftalia is notoriously tinctured with fraud. . .one of the most atrocious humbugs who has ever attempted to impose himself upon the cooperative movement."

Baldwin replied, "It is a deplorable situation and one which I trust you will keep as quiet as possible. No good would be served by having our carelessness exposed."

But as time passed, Baldwin apparently had second thoughts about secrecy over this blunder. The Fund's printed report for 1925-28, released in February 1929, revealed the Associated Textiles fraud -- "the only case of bad faith in our six years' experience."

JUDGE BEN LINDSEY

I must raise at least \$5,000 to start with  
in the Klan suit to oust me.

Ben Lindsey to Roger Baldwin

April 30, 1925

Judge Ben Lindsey of Denver, ordinarily an easy winner for re-election as juvenile court judge, was in trouble in the aftermath of his narrow victory in the 1924 election.

The Ku Klux Klan had targeted him for defeat for several years. Now, the Klan was taking him into court to challenge his 137-vote victory over the Klan-backed Royal Graham out of 90,000 cast.

Lindsey's survival rankled the Colorado Klan which was victorious with every statewide candidate it backed in that same 1924 election. Like the Religious Right in the 1990s, the takeover target was the Republican Party. Lindsey was a Democrat and a particularly outspoken one.

Lindsey needed financial help for his court fight, and he was getting little of that from his home city that seemed

terrorized by the Klan.

Just how he came to Charles Garland's Personal Service Fund isn't clear. But that fund gave him \$500 in early 1925 "to help in his fight in Denver against the Ku Klux Klan." The \$500 was the largest contribution he had gotten up till then.

Henriette Lindsey, the judge's wife and helpmate in his court work, wrote same day thank you letters on February 10, 1925, to Roger Baldwin and Anna Davis, who constituted half the Personal Service Fund board, the others being Garland and A.J. Muste.

"The situation here is most critical," she said in both letters. Her husband was in a bitter and dangerous fight against a combination of big business and religious fanaticism, she told Baldwin.

A month later, the Rev. Richard Hogue, director of the education department for the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, wrote Baldwin to alert him to Judge Lindsey's fight against the KKK. Hogue said he didn't feel he could pass on what information he had, but suggested Baldwin write to the judge.

Baldwin assured Hogue he was already in contact with Lindsey right along "and we have helped him financially."

The "we" at that point was the Personal Service Fund. The Garland Fund added \$1,000 of its own to the cause within weeks.

That lifted the judge's spirits, particularly considering the meager response he was getting in his home city.

"So far in Denver, after three weeks of effort, we raised \$300," the judge wrote.

"I spent an hour today with a millionaire businessman. He sympathized with me, praised my **courage** but gave me nary a penny." The businessman told Lindsey, "You see, if it ever got out, it would just about ruin me to be connected with you."

Lindsey was the originator of much that is humane in juvenile court in America. He moved the procedures from the courtroom to his chambers and an atmosphere of an informal family affair with everyone seated around a table.

In 1903, he appointed a woman as an assistant judge or referee to aid him. He had everything related to children placed under the same court -- including custody, delinquency, adoptions and dependent children.

In criminal court, the defendants in paternity cases generally denied the charge. The result was 80 percent were

acquitted. Moved to the relaxing confines of Lindsey's court, 90 percent admitted the paternity.

The list of his innovations as a juvenile court judge are lengthy. They earned him an international reputation.

He said distribution of birth control information should be permitted through the mails and condoms should be available to anyone who wanted them. The public schools should teach sex education, he said.

He advocated the "Companionate Marriage" in a 1926 article in **Red Book Magazine** -- "legal marriage, with legalized birth control, and with the right to divorce by mutual consent for childless couples, usually without payment of alimony."

That stance earned him a quip from humorist Will Rogers, condemnation by preacher Billy Sunday and -- in the 1930s -- fictional damnation from a Father Shannon in his sermon in **The Young Manhood of Studs Lonigan** by James T. Farrell.

But Lindsey also was one who spoke out fearlessly against corruption, Fundamentalism, "one hundred percent Americanism," the law-and-order crowd, censorship of textbooks and, with its frightening rise in the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan.



He called them the "Blue Menace," at a time the superpatriots of the Right were warning of the "Red Menace." His battles in many ways seem to be much the same as those at the end of the century who are battling the Religious Right.

According to Lindsey biographer Charles Larsen, Denver at the time was a city where shop keepers posted signs in their windows stating they were "one hundred percent American" or even proclaimed their Klan membership.

One klansman posted a sign in his restaurant reading, "We serve fish every day -- except Friday." And like in many other communities throughout the nation, some Protestant clergymen embraced the Klan in Denver and opened their churches to its ceremonies.

In describing the men and women who joined the Klan, Lindsey said, "They paid ten dollars each to hate somebody, and they were determined to get their money's worth."

Of the Fundamentalists, he said that "if the record had said that Jonah swallowed the whale, they would have believed that."

Lindsey's lawyer told him he needed at least \$5,000 for the Klan suit. The judge figured \$2,000 more for pamphlets "for propaganda to show up the Klan as the ally of privilege, capital,

etc. and why I am opposed -- because I refuse to be 'just a juvenile judge' in the conventional platitudinous way."

The Klan decided to challenge the ballots in a heavily Jewish district, where Lindsey had lived as a boy and maintained contacts. There, he had won 548 to 15.

In court in March 1925, election official William Unter claimed for the first time he had been bribed by a member of Lindsey's court staff to help swing the Jewish district in Lindsey's favor. Graham, the losing Republican and also the plaintiff, revealed he was a Klan member.

Presiding Judge Julian Moore eventually ordered a recount of the entire city. He rejected the Klan request to throw out the returns from the Jewish district. He declared Lindsey the victor -- by 35 votes.

Graham said he would appeal to the Colorado Supreme Court. But he committed suicide several months later -- rather than face fraud charges in connection with a public office he held in a nearby county.

Graham's widow refused to let the case die. And the State Supreme Court in January 1927 unanimously ruled all ballots in the Jewish district were invalid. Lindsey appealed to the U.S.

Supreme Court, which refused to hear the issue.

So on June 30, 1927 -- in the words of biographer Larsen -- "the best known juvenile court judge in the world stepped down from the position he occupied for almost a third of a century."

Lindsey shook the dust of Colorado from his feet and moved to California where he also had a distinguished career on the bench until his death in 1943.

One footnote: Unter met with Lindsey in a Los Angeles hotel on August 1, 1927, and signed a statement saying he lied in court in Denver when he testified he had been bribed by an officer of Lindsey's court.

## THE SCOPES CASE

Underwrite the defense up to \$2,000?

ACLU treasurer to Garland Fund, 1925

The Garland Fund had a financial hand in the defense of John T. Scopes for the high crime of teaching evolution in a public school in Tennessee.

In 1923, the Garland directors established a revolving emergency loan fund for civil liberties cases to be administered by the ACLU. The fund would be used for "emergency defense work, propaganda concerning issues, litigation and the like."

The initial allocation was \$2,000, with a total of \$5,000 more added in subsequent years. Under the joint agreement, the ACLU determined which of its cases needed loan money immediately. All loans were for no longer than a year. "Good" collateral was required, though any defaults were the loss of the Garland Fund, not the ACLU.

Several items relating to the Scopes trial show up in the Garland Fund records on this ACLU emergency fund.

The agreement didn't outright require Garland Fund clearance

on individual loans. But on some loans, the ACLU kept the Fund closely informed, in the Scopes case even asking the Fund for its blessing in advance.

In a letter dated May 16, 1925, ACLU treasurer Helen Phelps Stokes wrote to the Fund:

"We have interested ourselves in getting a test case into the courts under the recent Tennessee Anti-Evolution Law and have succeeded in getting one started in Dayton, Tennessee, with the arrest of a high school teacher, J.T. Scopes, whose case will come before the grand jury in August.

"This matter is of such widespread public interest that we think we can raise the funds necessary to carry on the defense.

"But to be sure that we will not run the risk of having to take funds from our regular receipts for that purpose, may we ask the American Fund for Public Service to underwrite the defense up to \$2,000? We would prefer to have the approval of the American Fund in advance."

In a reply dated May 28, 1925, Garland Fund director Elizabeth Gurley Flynn tersely informs the ALCU:

"Your request for authorization to use \$2,000 of the revolving loan fund to underwrite the defense of J.T. Scopes was acted upon favorably by our board."

The emergency fund's records show that \$1,400 of the authorized amount was quickly sent to Arthur Garfield Hays, one of the lawyers working with Clarence Darrow to defend Scopes, and \$500 more soon after.

CAROL WEISS KING

"An intelligent woman and  
a good sport. . ."

Walter Nelles, 1925

The January 23, 1952, obituary of Carol Weiss King in *The New York Times* said in its headlines that she was a noted lawyer and an expert on deportation and civil rights cases.

The obituary said she had defended such controversial figures as Harry Bridges, West Coast longshoreman; Earl Browder, former national secretary of the Communist Party; Gerhart Eisler, internationally known Communist leader, and the "Scottsboro Boys."

It said she was active in the founding of the International Labor Defense, which was the Communist Party's legal defense organization, which played such a major role in the Scottsboro case. ILD got Garland Fund money.

But the only hint of the Garland Fund was a mention that early in her career she was associated with the New York law firm of Hale, Nelles and Shorr.

That, of course, was Swinburne Hale (the Socialist who was

one of Marie Garland's husbands), ACLU attorney Walter Nelles (who did much of the legal work in establishing the Garland Fund) and Isaac Shorr, who for a time was associated with Clarence Darrow.

The obituary made no outright mention of either the Garland Fund or the American Civil Liberties Union.

But what the Fund papers show is that she was called upon repeatedly to aid both the Fund and related projects with the ACLU.

King was enlisted to do a pamphlet on contempt of court in 1925 for the ACLU, with the Garland Fund picking up the tab.

The Garland Fund papers give examples showing the need for such a pamphlet, including this case involving a Lynchburg, Virginia, barber:

U.S. District Court in Lynchburg issued an injunction in 1922 against the International Association of Machinists, enjoining the union from striking against the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. The injunction was brought by the railroad.

Soon after it was issued, L.A. Taliaferro, owner of the



Ideal Barber Shop in Lynchburg, displayed a placard in his window which read: "No Scabs Wanted in Here."

He was asked by federal authorities to remove the sign. When he refused, he was cited for contempt of court. The document with the charge revealed nothing -- beyond refusal to remove the placard -- to show Taliaferro was in any way associated with the enjoined union.

He was arrested that September 4 for contempt for allegedly violating the temporary injunction order which forbade the labor union "and the officers, agents and members thereof and all persons conspiring or associated with them from abusing, intimidating, molesting, annoying or insulting any person in or desiring to enter the employe of the Chesapeake & Ohio on their way to and from their work or while engaged in any service of or for the railway company."

Taliaferro was found guilty and fined \$200.

At the suggestion of Nelles, the Fund made an advance payment of \$100 to King for her injunction project on her total fee of \$300.

Nelles wrote to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn at the Fund in a letter that both heralds King's skill and decries the sometimes

cheapskate ways of Roger Baldwin:

"I am glad the Fund made advance payment to Mrs. King that I suggested. Mrs. King is an intelligent woman and a good sport -- but she is temperamental, and she carries a chip on her shoulder in dealing with Roger, who has consequently received provocation to deal stiffly with her.

"My suggestion of an advance payment to her was due to (1) information that she was temporarily embarrassed by delayed collection of various moneys due her, including money from the ACLU and (2) a conviction that she wouldn't want herself to ask Roger for relief."

Baldwin had urged Nelles to press King to get her hourly rate. Nelles balked, saying that for the time she was putting in, it would probably be less than \$5 an hour.

But if Roger persisted, she would probably quote a higher hourly figure and then cut her work off once she reached the \$300. Nelles clearly didn't want that kind of hassle from Roger, who was a notorious penny-pincher.

"She'll do the job, and it won't be necessary for me to prod her," Nelles assured Flynn.

Like some aides and advisors who rose to exalted positions in Congress and, in the case of Felix Frankfurter, to the U.S. Supreme Court, King was another of the highly talented people who helped the Garland Fund and achieved fame in the years beyond that service.

## BLACKLISTING

I think public laughter will soon take care  
of the (D.A.R.) blacklist.

President William H.P. Faunce  
Brown University, 1928

The regular business of the Garland Fund seemed so devoid of humor.

Applicants pleaded grimly of their desperate need of funds. Fund directors argued the merits of the projects, sometimes consulting outside experts for a second, third or fourth opinion. Some decisions were by one vote.

Grant rejections seemed to outnumber approvals. But even with approvals, the Fund often tied conditions -- like requiring matching money or two dollars from labor union sources for every dollar you get from us or that Fund accountant Stuart Chase gets to examine your books.

This often led to exchanges of letters with the applicant stuck with the tedious business of providing sometimes monthly lists of those outside contributors (some as low as a dollar) and then the Fund replying with a check to match that portion of the total allocation. For matching money for the NAACP legal defense

fund in 1926, the typed list of contributors ran to more than twenty pages single spaced.

With loans, particularly ones that were slow in being repaid, the borrowing organization was treated to the dunning letters of Roger Baldwin. And officialdom of the borrower, claiming unforeseen expenses, again and again pleaded for more time.

A lot of this took the joy out of the project.

Then, along came the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1928 with its blacklist and unwittingly put some fun back into life for the leading liberals, radicals and even some mainstreamers who were named.

The D.A.R. didn't discover the blacklist. Such a scurrilous tactic had been used by employers and even various levels of government for years.

Fund director James Weldon Johnson in his autobiography mentions he was a victim in 1926. He and Arthur Garfield Hays were to be among four speakers at a mass rally in Morris High School in New York to celebrate Peace Week.

The school board revoked permission because Johnson and Hays

were on the program. The ACLU stepped in, charging the board with keeping a blacklist. The school board denied it.

As a test, the ACLU quickly filed a request to use the auditorium at Stuyvesant High School for a discussion of "Old Fashioned Free Speech" with the speakers to include Johnson and Hays. Permission was denied.

With Morris Ernst as counsel, the ACLU took its case first to the board of education and then to the courts. The ACLU won and got its meeting at Stuyvesant -- though the case took two years until it was resolved.

Johnson said so much time had elapsed that he had recovered from the shock of being looked upon as a dangerous and un-American character.

The D.A.R. furore was spread upon the national landscape in early 1928 by a D.A.R. descendant of Anne Adams Tufts, a Revolutionary war heroine who nursed wounded at the Battle of Bunker Hill. There had been some rumblings in the previous year about the D.A.R. becoming the captive of what came to be called "the Blue Menace," those superpatriots of white America.

But the issue really took off on April 1, 1928. Mrs. Helen Tufts Bailie announced before the Boston Ethical Society that the

D.A.R. was being used "in a tremendous conspiracy to crush free thought, free speech and even liberty itself."

She said Massachusetts D.A.R. officials were distributing lists of "doubtful" and Communist speakers who were supposedly unsafe to address the organization.

The press jumped all over this. So did magazines like *The Nation*, *Outlook*, *The Literary Digest* and *Harper's Magazine* and what fun they had.

The podium undesirables included Chief Justice William Howard Taft, President Mary E. Woolley of Mount Holyoke College, President William A. Neilson of Smith College, historian Will Durant, the Young Women's Christian Association, the League of Women Voters, editor William Allen White (that pillar of Kansas Republicanism) and three U.S. senators. The list went on and on.

Then, of course, there were some of the usual suspects -- the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Clarence Darrow, Harvard Law School Professor Felix Frankfurter and Garland directors Roger Baldwin, Scott Nearing, Freda Kirchwey and James Weldon Johnson.

Article after article zeroed in on professional superpatriot

Fred R. Marvin of the Key Men of America as the bigot in the woodpile.

The Nation called Marvin's group people "who make a living out of intolerance, providing the more extreme section of the Klan, the Legion, the D.A.R. with blacklists and false biographies of men and women who dare to think for themselves."

Marvin denied it all.

This is the same Fred Marvin invited to Allentown by leading men of that city in early 1926 who, after denouncing Garland, said that every radical leader, both here and abroad, has been educated in American colleges and universities.

With that kind of thinking from Marvin, no wonder so many leaders in the academic world wound up on the blacklist.

Mrs. Bailie for her trouble of exposing the blacklist was drummed out of the D.A.R.

But others turned it into light-hearted entertainment.

William Allen White, editor of the Emporia Gazette, said the blacklist was a Klanish list. Jewish, Catholic and Negro organizations were prima facie suspect. Besides the NAACP, the



list included the National Catholic Welfare Conference, League for Jewish Women, American Christian Fund for Jewish Relief and African Blood Brotherhood.

White also declared that Mrs. Alfred J. Brosseau, D.A.R. president-general, "accepted this list from a bunch of professional witch-burning Red baiters in Washington. The D.A.R. has thus yanked the Klan out of its cow pastures and set it down in the breakfast room of respectability."

He suggested that if the D.A.R.'s Revolutionary ancestors were as timid as the current leadership, the society today would be known as the Daughters of American Tories.

W.E.B. DuBois in his "Postscript" section at the end of the May 1928 issue of the *Crisis* mocked his inclusion:

"The Editor has had the honor to be blacklisted by the Daughters of the American Revolution, along with President (Mary E.) Wooley, Felix Frankfurter, Anna Louise Strong, Clarence Darrow, Stephen Wise, Norman Hapgood, Frank P. Walsh, David Starr Jordan and most other Americans with either brains or backbone. The Editor is deeply obliged and begs to express hereby his sense of the honor conferred."

Harper's quoted Thomas Jefferson that a little blood

spilling in America every twenty-five years would be a good thing so the government in Washington might remember who were its masters.

Mrs. Brousseau maintained the D.A.R. never issued such a list. But the Springfield (Massachusetts) Republican disclosed that she was on the advisory council to Marvin's organization that sold copies of his list of undesirables and subversives.

The Nation for the sheer fun of it sponsored a Blacklist Party of mockery and merriment in New York for those included in the D.A.R. blacklist, in the list of radical individuals and organizations of Marvin's group or in any similar "honor roll."

James Weldon Johnson was master of ceremonies in a gathering that attracted nearly 1,000 people. Newspaper columnist Heywood Broun, Groucho Marx, Norman Thomas and Johnson himself were among those who gave speeches and performed stunts.

Others sent greetings, including:

Isabelle Kendig, a great-granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin: "Count me with you to the full in whatever program you adopt. I'd rather be a live radical on the blacklist than -- in the D.A.R. - - merely a worshiper of dead ones!"

Clarence Skinner of the Community Church in Boston: "I should gladly attend the meeting of the criminals listed by the Daughters of the American Reaction, but I cannot -- for on that night I am billed to plant bombs under one Governor, two Senators, six Congressman, eight churches, eleven banks and one Social Order. My duty must come first, so please accept my best wishes for a bloody and murderous party."

Mrs. Bailie and Mrs. Josepha Whitney of New Haven, who led a group of about a dozen protesting members out of the D.A.R., were among the guests of honor.

The NAACP's William Pickens introduced a resolution noting that whereas the members of the D.A.R. assumed themselves to be the daughters of the one and only justifiable and respected revolution, the assembled gathering hereby declared that the revolution of the Earth about its axis shall be another respected and tolerated revolution.

## RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION FARMS

In Russia, nothing is more potent than the plow  
in establishing the right to use the land.

Harold Ware, manager in Russia  
1928 report

The American Fund for Public Service broke its own rules in helping a project outside the United States -- the Russian Reconstruction Farms -- with \$30,000 in loans and a stock purchase in the mid-1920s.

The excuse was that it involved an "emergency." And this emergency encompassed such a noble pioneering cause -- to eliminate famine by using tractors and American experts to demonstrate modern farming methods to Russian peasants.

The Garland Fund files proclaim the program far exceeded expectations -- with the ultimate consequence that the Russian government shoved the American company out of the operation.

And in forcing Russian Reconstruction Farms from the scene, the Russians returned to the Garland Fund only \$13,000 -- a decade later. The rest was written off as a bad debt. Not a cent of interest was ever received.

A famine in 1921-22 sparked the project. Russian Reconstruction Farms started with the personal endorsement of Roger Baldwin, the chief engineer of the Garland Fund, and ended with Baldwin's humiliation, anger and sense of betrayal at the hands of Communist Harold Ware, the chief engineer of the Russian project, about the money.

As outlined in a December 1924 letter to the Fund, Ware described the proposal as three-fold -- to operate with American machinery and scientific methods 15,000 acres in the Russian government farms, to establish an agricultural school there and to prevent famine. Russian peasants were using crude tools and oxen to farm.

The acreage was at Maslov Kut in the Caucasus midway between the Caspian and Black seas -- some segments of it twenty miles apart.

RRF's letterhead proclaimed: "A Constructive Philanthropy to prevent future famines by educating Russian Peasants in modern American farming methods."

It listed Ware as manager in Russia, Garland Fund accountant Stuart Chase as treasurer and Jessica Smith, Ware's wife, as executive secretary.

Ware initially asked the Fund for a loan of \$39,000.

And he included endorsements.

One came from Lenin, hailing "your tractor organization, headed by Harold Ware. No other kind of assistance is so important and opportune as this work carried out by you."

Another was from Dean R.R. Watts at the School of Agriculture at what is now Penn State University, where Ware had studied. "The proposed plan is sound, especially under your able leadership," Watts wrote.

Ware had already committed his organization to a contract with a Russian counterpart to operate the program as a joint venture when he approached the Garland Fund. A stipulation was that Russian Reconstruction Farms had to raise \$103,000 in the first six months of 1925 to meet its share of the financial commitments to buy tractors and other machinery and supplies.

Baldwin, Ware and a Paxton Hibben put their signatures to fund-raising letters for the project in early 1925. Later, Baldwin's name appeared in brochures for the proposal. Besides Baldwin, Garland directors Robert Morss Lovett and Norman Thomas would lend their names to RRF's lengthy advisory board that also

included Jane Addams, Clarence Darrow, Professor Jerome Davis and Dr. Alice Hamilton.

Jessica Smith was to travel about seeking contributors. At one point, she reported, "Margaret Sanger has pledged \$500 and is arranging a special meeting at her apartment next week for rich ladies who will contribute."

No further report reveals what came of that meeting. But what the Garland Fund records show is that the money failed to come in with anything near expectations. Looming ahead were first one and then a second date for payments of \$39,000 each toward that \$103,000 obligation.

The whole project would fall through if RRF didn't come up with the money. And that made for the "emergency."

As was the policy of the Garland directors, they kept quiet at board meetings on any proposal they were personally involved with. So Baldwin kept silent when the topic of the Russian Farms came up. But in a letter to one of the RRF people Baldwin wrote, "I regard it as a matter of almost personal honor that a loan to an enterprise in which I am interested should be fully repaid."

The inducements from Ware were that subsequent fund-raising

and profits from the farms would produce the money to repay the loans.

But as RRF attorney Walter Hinkle would tell Baldwin five years later when things went financially sour, "Like Pontius Pilate, all I can say is that I am glad I was not the one to induce the American Fund to make loans on Ware's promises."

And as project supporter Karl Borders of Chicago told Hinkle at that time in late 1929, "It seems a perfect shame to simply let an undertaking involving as much money and human values as that did to expire by default and leave so many bitter memories in its train."

The Garland Fund approved two loans of \$10,000 each to RRF in early 1925 and also bought \$10,000 in stock in the organization that June -- then fretted for a decade about getting repaid. Along the way it converted the loans into RRF stock, figuring it would get nothing back on the loans but possibly some return on the stock at liquidation.

The Fund did come out successfully in early 1926 on a \$3,000 loan to RRF. It was made on the anticipation of a \$3,000 contribution from a Mr. and Mrs. Leonard K. Elmhirst. The Elmhirst money arrived actually sooner than expected at the office of Hinkle representing RRF and he quickly sent it on to



the Fund.

Meanwhile, the project itself was thriving, despite squeaking by financially, according to Ware.

In an October 1926 report, Ware beckoned Baldwin: "Every once in awhile, something happens which makes me wish you would come to Russia. Why don't you?"

Ware gave a laundry list of problems that had to be adapted to by the American machinery, methods and families encountering a new land, new language and new climate. . .hail. . .drought. . .a plague of locusts. . .lack of credit. . .the natural skepticism of the local population. . .red tape. . .and "in Russia as elsewhere the bankers all come from Missouri."

But then he added, "When we landed here, these farms were operated by the most primitive tools and oxen. Practically all the houses are built without plumb bobs or plans. The streets are as crooked as the walls."

RRF introduced tractors and modern machinery, which, in turn, increased the acreage under cultivation. "Industrial farming has come to stay," he concluded.

His people also taught seventy local peasants the operation

of the tractor and modern machinery, plus ten students from the Evangel School through an agreement with the American Christian Missionary Society and ten young Communists from Moscow.

The Russian national press is full of plans, Ware said. "All we are doing is marching in the rear of this great hullabaloo and quietly putting their theories into practice."

In 1928, a report from Ware was printed up as a brochure to American supporters in a quest for more contributions.

"The mixed company which we have formed with the Russian Department of Agriculture is now operating four of the 4,000 state farms which are scattered through the Soviet Union.

"Our problem was to take over four of these big state farms in a rundown condition, cultivated with oxen and primitive tools, poorly equipped buildings, with communication between farms impossible more than once or twice a month because of bad roads and lack of transportation.

"Our organization has tied the work together by improving the roads, introducing motor transport and telephones and carrying on all the processes by modern motor machine. .

"Farms have been surveyed. Crop rotation has been

established. Each year, our tractors have ploughed the field of the village poor. After three years of persistent effort, we have earned the good opinion of our neighbors. They consider us their friends and helpers."

And as an introduction to the report, Roger Baldwin and five other individuals put their word of endorsement to the picture presented by Ware. This message from "Friends of the Russian Reconstruction Farms" assured supporters that "the whole organization is in good working shape." The brochure noted that these six endorsers were either there in Russia or had visited the project -- which indicated that Baldwin had responded to Ware's 1926 invitation to visit.

Baldwin and his associates were assuring RRF's supporters in America "that their aid and encouragement have made possible an experiment already of great significance to Russian agriculture." To illustrate how well things were going, the brochure said two American workers had settled in with Russian wives.

But behind the scenes were the growing frustration and anger, particularly by Baldwin, at Ware for failure to provide financial reports, answer letters or meet with his creditors or RRF's lawyer during his visits to America.

Ware had written in 1928 that it was impossible to pay off

the Garland Fund loans because of payments due the American workers in Russia and other debts. He talked of RRF having to liquidate.

Ware was in America in early 1930, but ducking both Baldwin and RRF attorney Walker Hinkle.

Baldwin tried to reach Ware in a letter sent to him at the single-tax community of Arden, Delaware.

"The board is opposed to liquidation," Baldwin said. "We are the single largest creditor in this country.

"This money is needed in the United States for working class enterprises, and we do not feel we can contribute it to Russian agriculture, particularly since the farms experiment has been so successful. If it failed, we would have accepted our losses. Since it didn't, all the money should be recovered."

Shortly after that, he did meet with Ware who convinced Baldwin he was returning to Russia to work out a deal for RRF to withdraw from the operation. And Baldwin sent out a letter to that effect to RRF stockholders and that they wouldn't be getting the full dollar back on their investments. He also noted the farm program was being adopted by all Russian agriculture.

RRF had 49 percent of the mixed company at the start. The Russians had whittled that down to 20 percent.

Baldwin told RRF attorney Walter Hinkle to shift the Garland Fund loans to RRF stock, then offered this high-sounding comment: "Both Mr. Ware's reputation and the standing of Russian-American enterprises would be seriously affected if there were any ground for thinking that the money put in by American investors had been merely taken over by the Russian government in its new industrialization program, without fair compensation."

In this, Baldwin seemed primarily concerned about his own reputation, not Ware's. And by Ware's evasions, it seemed Ware could care less.

In October 1930, an exasperated Baldwin wrote to Ware in Moscow: "What the hell happened to your business deal about the Farms? Here we are, your biggest creditor, in the dark.

"For heaven's sake and the sake of the auditors as well as the good faith of all of us engaged in this job, give me the dope and give it to me quick."

And in January 1932, he wrote to Ware at an address in Cambridge, Massachusetts: "We have never heard a word from Russia

about the final action of the Farms. What do you advise?"

There were attempts in the final years of this RRF business to reach the elusive Ware by sending letters in care of Charles Garland in Washington. . .at the Daily Worker in New York. . .in care of his wife at the Soviet Information Bureau in Washington. . .at Farm Research in Washington.

The settlement -- roughly 43 cents on the dollar -- finally arrived in June 1934 from Amtorg Trading Corp. in Manhattan, the agency for Soviet trade and business in America.

By then, Ware and Garland had been busy for several years with Communist farm organizations in America. And in August 1935, Ware would be killed in a traffic accident in Pennsylvania.

## BIG NAMES

The latest New York plays will be reviewed  
by Alger Hiss of Johns Hopkins University.

Loan applicant Green, 1925

The Garland Fund turned down some rather prominent people -- some of them the Fund's own consultants and friends. But at the time, some of these people may not have been big names in American history that they became later.

-- Calvin Coolidge on his stationery as vice president of the United States put his endorsement on an educational program for "mountain people" around Spartanburg, South Carolina, in 1922.

President David E. Camak of the Textile Industrial Institute in Spartanburg asked the Fund for what was probably the largest request it ever got -- for \$500,000.

The institute provided a "Christian cooperative education for near-illiterate adults of the cotton mill section of the South." It was supported by the Methodist Episcopal Church South.

The students were mountain people sent to work too early to get a proper education -- "as fine Anglo-Saxon and Scotch-Irish

blood as there is anywhere." They attended school on alternating weeks and during the intervening weeks they worked at nearby mills or at the institute's own cotton mill.

Supporting the application was a letter from Coolidge, admitting he hadn't seen the place but would should he get to Spartanburg. Based on what he heard from Camak, Coolidge added, "You are offering a unique opportunity to young men and women to secure an education through their own efforts and are teaching them that high ideals have a place in business and industry."

-- Felix Frankfurter, then a professor at Harvard Law School and later a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, sought Garland Fund help in 1925 for a two-fold public health project in Russia to prevent epidemics and to educate a new generation of sanitarians.

Frankfurter was actually trumpeting a proposal from Dr. Hans Zinsser, head of the Bacteriology Department at Harvard Medical School, who had visited Russia two years earlier.

None of the regular foundations would touch it just because it was Russia -- even though they are doing the same thing for other countries, Frankfurter said. He called Zinsser's proposal "permanently useful, humane, dramatic and totally (free) of the usual political and economic prejudices."



In reply, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn wrote, "The Fund has not attempted to deal with projects outside the United States." Besides, the project would involve a large appropriation.

Frankfurter shot back: "If the Russian situation affords a great need and a great opportunity for doing something that none of your hated 'capitalistic' funds will touch, what's the money of the American Fund for except to do it?"

The Fund didn't relent. But contrary to Flynn's statement, the Fund shortly after provided money for a Russian Reconstruction Farm project.

-- Ernest Gruening, then lobbying Congress for the Haiti-San Domingo Independence Society and later a U.S. senator from Alaska, asked for \$7,500 for the society in 1923.

He said the coming year would probably be the last chance to get something positive out of Congress leading to withdrawal of U.S. troops from that country. U.S. aggression in Haiti "has no parallel in American history for shamelessness and indecency, ruthlessness and cynicism," Gruening said.

Though the Fund turned down \$7,500, it set aside \$1,500 under its imperialism studies so Gruening and Minnesota Sen.

Henrik Shipstead (Farm-Labor) could visit Haiti to gather material for a book Gruening planned to write.

-- The name of then-student Alger Hiss appears in a 1925 application for a \$25,000 loan to launch **College Life**, "a national monthly magazine for college folks."

This was long before his State Department career and then his subsequent trial and conviction for espionage in the so-called "pumpkin papers" case.

In March 1925, editor and publisher C. Rolland Green of Lancaster, New Hampshire, requested a \$25,000 loan to start what would be the "only national undergraduate publication." He said he was assembling the best undergraduate talent in America's universities to work for it, including a play reviewer.

"DRAMATIC REVIEWS -- The latest New York plays will be reviewed by Alger Hiss of the Black and Blue staff, Johns Hopkins University. Mr. Hiss has the opportunity of seeing plays worked out in Baltimore before going to New York."

For the Fund, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn replied that **College Life** failed to come under the requirement of a pioneering enterprise in labor and radical movements.

## CORRUPTION

Of only passing interest to the Fund.

Roger Baldwin, 1922

The Women's Clean Government Association with temporary headquarters at 5419 41st Street N.W. in Washington , D.C., was not quite what it seemed when it came to the Garland Fund in 1922. It sought \$50,000.

Yes, it did have women officers, headed by Miss Elizabeth Malott Barnes as president. And, amid the Teapot Dome era, it trumpeted its cause as "now taking its place on the firing line to fight graft, corruption and crooked politics which have become entrenched in our national government."

But the spokesman was its attorney, H.L. Schaife, a male and a former Justice Department lawyer who had quit the department when it failed to act on his findings of government corruption.

Roger Baldwin questioned whether Scaife was using the women as a front. Further, in offering free unsolicited advice, he said there would be no way to succeed as a woman's organization without the backing of the major women's groups in the country.

Then, in saying no to the request, Baldwin wrote:

"Corruption in the government service as such is a matter of only passing interest to the Fund."

## STANDARD DENTIFRICE

This beats them all.

Fund director Morris Ernst

March 1926

Dr. C. E. Holt of Brewer, Maine, proclaimed to the Garland Fund that "the world needs a standard dentifrice." He based that conclusion on his dental training -- 1896 graduate of Philadelphia Dental College -- and his 30 years as a practicing dentist.

In his letter in March 1926, he requested \$2,000 from the Fund to put his standard tooth powder into large-scale production so it could be placed "in every store where soaps are now sold." He had created his company, Dr. Holt Tooth Powder Inc., at Brewer specifically for this purpose.

"It would do a great service to the public," he said.

Holt contended paste forms weren't the answer. They are decidedly injurious to tooth enamel and don't really clean the teeth, he claimed.

And as a bonus he threw in directions on how to administer

his dentifrice: "Powder should always be poured in the palm of the left hand, taken up on a wet brush and applied wet."

The letter supplied no alternative method for left-handers.

Application rejected.

## FOOL'S GOLD

Persons advancing this discovery are  
all Americans of unassailable integrity.

Applicant Peterson, 1925

Elmer Peterson of 3659 Bainbridge Avenue, New York City, offered the Garland Fund a chance to invest in what he called a "most extraordinary discovery."

In a letter to the Fund in October 1925, he predicted the increase in earnings would permit the Fund to expand vastly its work in the fields of education and the alleviation of social conditions.

What Peterson submitted was a method based on the Electronic Theory, "unbelievable as it may seem," to turn base metals into gold, platinum and iridium. The procedure would "reduce metals to a primal base and, in turn, change them back by a different arrangement of their component electrons into other forms, or by activating primal matter to allow its being transmuted from a substance of inconsequential value into metal of the first order -- such as gold, plutonium and iridium along with precious stones as a byproduct."

Peterson assured the Fund this transformation was not limited to just the three precious metals he mentioned. And, without asking for a specific dollar amount, he further assured the Fund that "the persons engaged in advancing this discovery are all Americans of unassailable integrity whose sole intent is to deal fairly and liberally with any person or group with the proper degree of faith and good intent."

He said he would be pleased to submit "proofs of our claim" on reasonable notice.

Application rejected.



## DEATH DEFYING

Evenings spent with much reading,  
much writing and some thinking.

Applicant Spear, 1936

Grocery clerk Milton Spear of Philadelphia asked Garland Fund help to enable him to solve the ultimate problem that still eludes medical science -- death.

In a January 1936 letter, Spear explained that he was 23, a 1930 dropout from Temple University's School of Commerce and, because of financial woes, been working 50 hours a week as a grocery clerk ever since. But now he plans to go to medical school.

Spear said he spent his evenings "with much reading, much writing and some thinking. My investigations have drawn me to the conclusion the only happy path is devotion to scientific research.

"One reason for selecting medical research as my life work is my belief that modern conditions make possible the discovery of the solution of the problem of death.

"You cannot imagine how much this inspires me!"

## MARGOLD REPORT

Appropriation of \$8,082.76 for preliminary survey in connection with a campaign of court cases for Negroes' rights.

Garland Fund papers, 1931

The Garland Fund had high hopes in the early 1930s of what it could do for the NAACP and particularly toward equal rights in public education.

Its directors had approved an allocation of \$100,000 for such work on November 8, 1929 -- after first voting down a proposal from its subcommittee on Negro work that the figure be \$500,000. But even the \$100,000 was an amazingly optimistic gesture coming just about a week after the great Stock Market Crash.

After all, rejection letters from Baldwin and other Fund leaders had been going out to virtually all applicants since 1926 with the excuse that its treasury was broke. This was true when it came to cash in the bank or even the precious few shares of stock it clung to from that bank where Garland's grandfather had been vice president.

But there was a bundle of outstanding notes and loans to organizations that were long overdue on their payments, including one for an agricultural project in Russia. Figure those as income and, on paper at least, the Fund still had some money to give away.

Then, there were those discouraging letters that had come back to a selected mailing of 90 people by Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, seeking an evaluation of the equal rights project.

Anson Phelps Stokes of Washington, D.C., replied, "Public opinion will control. Laws are not enforceable except where public opinion supports them.

"I can conceive of such a campaign as you are undertaking accomplishing a very large amount of good for the colored man in this country and for interracial relations. I can also conceive such a campaign accomplishing a great amount of harm for both."

Stokes concluded that "there should be no discrimination based on color alone in so far as the political status of anyone in this country is concerned."

Howard Kester of the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation in New York said: "I am of the opinion that more harm would

result than good."

Howard W. Odum, director of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, wrote: "Personally, I have been much pained by some of the methods which is NAACP has used, many of which did not seem to me at all necessary."

Guy B. Johnson, also from that institute, called the program a worthy one. But citing the hard times, he said that in some states, notably Mississippi and Georgia, things are in a terrible condition. "In many of the state schools, teachers salaries have not been paid in a year."

David H. Pierce of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, warned, "You are starting your campaign at a period in history when the thoughts of millions are concentrated on the problem of getting work, and they will not be in the mood to worry about the Negro."

Pierce said that even if the Negro gets a few additional dollars for his education, "I fear he is going to be too hungry to be interested for the time being in his own formal schooling, for I view the present economic depression as the beginning of one of the major tragedies in world history."

New York Attorney L. Hollingsworth Wood cautioned, "Perhaps

I am unduly timorous. But I visualize, particularly in the present economic stress, a great increase in roughneck tactics of the mob as the competition for what jobs there are becomes keener."

Principal W.A. Robinson of Austin High School in Knoxville, Tennessee, added: "You will find much opposition even among the Negroes, and you may expect to get but little aid from them. So many of the Negroes in high places are there as reward for faithlessness to their own people." He called these Uncle Tom's spineless.

George Foster Peabody of Saratoga Springs, New York, said his first reaction "is that too extensive a campaign in the matter of simultaneous suits. . . would seem to be more likely to stir up a mass antipathy among the so many ignorant voters throughout the South.

"The result might be a delay of 10 years longer or more in reaching helpful results for the children who are so outrageously starved as regards the mental food they should have."

Several others who replied cited the injustices in particularly communities. But they offered no ringing endorsement of what was proposed.

The Garland board went ahead anyway, just as it had so many times in the past with many of its other controversial projects. It seemed to be virtually immune to outside criticism. These directors had lived with public villification from enemies most of their adult lives. What would a few discouraging private letters matter from supposed allies.

The board might just as well have approved the \$500,000 as the \$100,000 because it didn't have either amount. What the work actually got was more like \$30,000 through the mid-1930s.

But what magnificent service it received for that \$30,000.

-- First was the Margold Report, a 218-page study and analysis of the state and federal laws and court decisions dealing with segregation prepared by Attorney Nathan Margold, an immigrant Jew from Roumania who had done work in the past for both the NAACP and the American Indians.

His study was in response to a joint Garland-NAACP committee's request that he devise a plan that would include bringing suit in the various states "to force equal if separate accommodations for Negroes and whites" in the school system. The committee suggested suits in the seven worst states -- South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Alabama and Arkansas.

Margold disagreed with that approach.

In his opening words, Margold hit head on what Brown vs. Board of Education would eventually achieve more than 30 years later:

The American Fund memorandum "apparently assumes that the constitutional validity of compulsory segregation of white and colored children in public schools is too well established to be challenged by litigation," Margold wrote.

"Probably no intelligent and informed person today -- whether a judge, lawyer or layman -- would hesitate to make the same assumption.

"He would find a large number of state court decisions expressly upholding statutes providing for compulsory racial segregation in public schools and at least one important occasion when the Supreme Court of the United States itself indulged in this very assumption to help justify its approval of compulsory racial segregation on common carriers.

"Despite this, I believe the assumption unwarranted.

"The Supreme Court, so far as I have been able to ascertain,

never has been called upon to pass on the constitutionality of any statute providing for compulsory racial segregation in public schools."

In a letter cited by Herbert Hill and Jack Greenberg in their 1955 "Citizen's Guide to De-Segregation" and again by Genna Rae McNeil in her 1983 book "Groundwork," Margold said at the time that it would be a great mistake to fritter away the committee's limited funds on sporadic attempts to get equal money for the education of black children where such attempts might be expected to succeed.

"At the most, we could do no more than eliminate a very minor part of the discrimination during the year our suits are commenced.

"We should not be establishing any new principles, nor bringing any sort of pressure to bear which can reasonably be expected to retain the slightest force beyond that exerted by the specific judgment or order that we might obtain.

"And we should be leaving wholly untouched the very essence of existing evils."

With the thunder of an Old Testament prophet, Margold continued, "If we boldly challenge the constitutional validity of



segregation if and when accompanied irremediably by discrimination, we can strike directly at the most prolific source of discrimination."

Samuel Walker in his 1990 book on the history of the ACLU called the Margold Report "the single most important report ever sponsored by a private foundation." It laid the foundation for the subsequent legal assault on racial segregation.

Mark Tushnet in "The NAACP's Legal Strategy Against Segregated Education, 1925 - 1950," concluded, "All in all, the Margold Report was a powerful piece of work."

-- Then came the hiring with Garland Fund money of Charles Hamilton Houston, the dean of the Howard University School of Law, as the first full-time lawyer for the NAACP.

As NAACP executive secretary Walter White would say in the immediate aftermath of the Brown vs. Board of Education decision, the presence of Houston put the NAACP on the offensive in the courts for the first time in its history.

As McNeil pointed out, with Margold's report completed in 1933, Margold himself was figured to be the one to direct the legal campaign he had proposed.

But with the arrival of the administration of Franklin Roosevelt, Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes had asked Margold to be the department's solicitor. That made Margold unavailable to direct the legal campaign.

The joint committee offered the post to Karl Llewellyn of Columbia University, who was also white. He declined.

Then the committee asked Houston, a man that Harvard law professor Felix Frankfurter called "one of the most brilliant and able students at Harvard within his memory. Frankfurter had been repeatedly called upon by the Garland board for his evaluations.

Margold seconded the endorsement of Houston, who had been a year ahead of him at Harvard Law School. "He is well equipped to overcome, in large measure, the unreasoning prejudices which he would encounter in the course of the campaign."

-- The first steps by Houston and then by his successor, Thurgood Marshall, on that long road to Brown were in cases challenging segregation in higher education, again, the initial moves with Garland Fund money.

As Hill and Greenberg pointed out, Houston's assault on graduate and professional schools promised several advantages over going after the public schools:

-- Inequality in higher education could easily be proved. The southern states provided virtually no graduate or professional schools for Negroes.

-- The duplication of higher education facilities would be phenomenally expensive for the states, particularly in view of the small enrollments at graduate schools.

"An extreme case, which never had to be brought, would have been an attack on segregation at a graduate school of nuclear physics, requiring a 'separate-but-equal' cyclotron."

-- Judges would be more apt to reach favorable decisions than with lower levels of education, and they understand legal education.

-- Whether states admitted Negroes to white graduate schools or established new "equal" schools for them, more Negro leaders would be educated than ever before.

Even before these steps in higher education -- that eventually led down the education ladder to the public schools -- were the detailed studies of various southern and border states by W.E.B. DuBois in the late 1920s of what they spent on public education for the white child compared to that allocated for the

black youngster. There, too, the Garland Fund had been the financial angel.

Yet the Fund and its contributions to the early work of the NAACP seemed to have been lost or blurred in the recountings of black history written at the Afro-centric end of the 20th century. . .even before the vaunted NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., touted its 50th anniversary at the end of the 1980s as if all courtroom battles in behalf of America's blacks began with its incorporation.

After the late 1929 vote to allocate \$100,000 for "Negro work," the Garland board took six months to name its three people who would serve with two members appointed by the NAACP to be the joint Garland-NAACP committee to oversee that program.

They were lawyer Morris Ernst, book critic Lewis Gannett and Roger Baldwin, "Mr. Baldwin agreeing to serve temporarily," the Garland Fund records note. For the NAACP, the choices were Arthur B. Spingarn, vice president and chairman of its legal committee, and secretary-on-leave James Weldon Johnson.

In announcing the NAACP choices, its acting secretary, Walter White, noted the NAACP board sent its deep appreciation to the Garland Fund for its generous appropriation of \$100,000 for a "sustained, uncompromising and dramatic campaign in the courts of

law and public opinion against evils of long standing and fundamental nature."

Johnson, wearing his NAACP hat for this committee post, really made it four Garland directors and Spingarn. Such double roles were a frequent practice in Garland Fund projects.

The records show that on June 17, 1931, "The board noted an agreement with Nathan Margold, attorney, to pay a total fee of \$10,000 for legal work of which \$6,000 is due now, this being the only obligation incurred to date from the appropriation."

Years later, Baldwin said that "you have to select lawyers to fit the case." And in Margold, the Fund had a brilliant young man who had already championed the causes of American Indians before he came to this work on legal rights for blacks.

At age two, Margold emigrated with his parents to this country in 1901 from his native Roumania. He was educated in New York City schools, graduating from City College of New York in 1919.

He was head of his class at Harvard Law School in 1923, where he was editor of the Harvard Law Review for three years. Upon graduation, he took a position teaching criminal and insurance law at Harvard University.

He served as an assistant U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York during 1925-28 and was special counsel for the New York Transit Commission in the city's fight for a 5-cent fare during 1928-29.

Also during the late 1920s, Margold was retained as legal advisor by the Brookings Institution and acted as special counsel to the Pueblo Indians in their fight for lands lost under a 1924 Act of Congress.

As to his service to the Garland Fund and the NAACP, Margold's 1947 obituary in the **Washington Post** tersely said: "For three years, until 1933, he was counsel to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." Special counsel is what he actually was to research and write that report on racial segregation which, decades later, was consecrated by the courts and the law.

Like so many others associated with the Garland Fund, Margold would go on to further distinguished achievements -- perhaps not greater than his work for the Garland Fund, but more recognized, more sanctified in the American mainstream.

The **Washington Post** in 1937 called him at 36 "one of the youngest of the men who may be considered for a Supreme Court

post under the Roosevelt judicial rejuvenation plan" -- that ill-conceived project of Franklin Roosevelt to pack the nation's highest court.

The writeup noted that Margold "carried on a survey of the rights and disabilities of the Negro race" on behalf of the NAACP.

By then, Margold had been solicitor for the Department of the Interior for three years, going there directly after his Garland Fund project upon appointment of Interior Secretary Harold Ickes. He would remain with Interior until 1942.

At Margold's death, Ickes said of him: "To date, he has been the outstanding solicitor of that department."

Margold left Interior in 1942 to become a municipal court judge in the nation's capital.

At the urging of Ickes, President Roosevelt again sent Margold's name to the Senate for confirmation in 1945, this time for a judgeship in U.S. District Court.

But, according to an account at the time in the **Washington Times-Herald**, "The Washington Bar Association, composed of Negro attorneys, wants nothing less than choice of one of their own for

District Court."

Further, the Bar Association of the District of Columbia was polled in secret in an unprecedented action on a presidential appointment. Members voted 804-200 against the nomination.

"Anti-Semitism raised its ugly head," Ickes charged. "Utterly false charges were made against him. Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada was allowed to smear and crucify a man who had honored the Municipal Court and who would have more greatly honored the District Court."

Ickes, Attorney General Francis Biddle and former Senator A.B. "Happy" Chandler staunchly defended Margold, to no avail.

Attorney Jean M. Boardman, who headed the opposition, hit at Margold for taking fees for performing 260 marriages the previous year on court time and for his "pettiness." Some critics also contended he was still doing many of Ickes' chores.

McCarran as self-appointed head of a subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee stalled the nomination until the Senate adjourned. The nomination fell. By then, Roosevelt was dead and President Harry Truman declined to send the nomination in again.

Throughout, the newspapers of Washington, including the



Washington Post, which was second to none in fairness and integrity, stood by or worse while McCarran attacked Margold, Ickes charged in a letter to the editor in the Post. He called Margold "a great judge and outstanding citizen, who was cruelly punished because he had the misfortune of being born as a member of the wrong race."

It was the only defeat in a distinguished career.

Like so many connected with the Garland Fund, Margold takes on added stature beyond his lifetime.

Both Richard Kluger in his 1975 two-volume work "Simple Justice" and Genna Rae McNeil in her 1983 book "Groundwork" provide extensive accounts of the developments in the NAACP's work across the final two decades leading to Brown vs. Board of Education.

The part of the Garland Fund played was basically this:

According to NAACP secretary Walter White, the initial Garland Fund money in this campaign "permitted us to alter our entire method of operation."

With Margold's research, the NAACP had amassed "the most complete and authoritative study of the legal status of the Negro

which had been conceived and executed," White said.

Besides those cases dealing with distribution of school funds, the Margold Report delved into decisions involving property owners' covenants discriminating against Negroes solely on their color, disenfranchisement, Jim Crow transportation, peonage and other civil liberties

But with Margold gone to the federal government and that proposed \$100,000 from the Garland Fund severely trimmed back, Houston took the stance that the campaign should focus on calling for separate but equal school facilities, a standard set forth in 1896 in Plessy vs. Ferguson. The concentration would be first upon graduate schools in the South.

The NAACP efforts in test cases would "arouse and strengthen the will of local communities to demand and fight for their rights," Houston reasoned. He recognized it would be a protracted struggle that would continue long after the Garland Fund money ran out. And the last of that money came in the mid-1930s, \$6,500 in 1936 and a final \$700 in 1937.

The 1935 annual report of the NAACP said in its forward: "The American Fund for Public Service financed in large part the struggle for educational equality."

Then in the body of the report, a chapter on education began with these words:

"The renewal of the grant of \$10,000 from the American Fund for Public Service and the retention of Charles H. Houston, former vice president of the school of law at Howard University, as special counsel enabled the Association to begin a sustained drive against educational barriers."

The segment cited in detail the case of Donald G. Murray of Baltimore, 21-year-old colored graduate of Amherst College, who was trying to get into law school at the University of Maryland.

It was part of Houston's strategy to pick a border state for such an early test case. Further, Houston looked with favor upon cases involving graduate schools. And in Murray he had a virtually ideal plaintiff, a well-qualified young man from a prominent family.

As the NAACP annual report outlined:

In April 1935, Murray filed a petition for mandamus ("we demand") against the university, a tax-supported institution, to compel it to consider his application as a first-year law school student for the school year beginning that September 25.

On June 18, Judge Eugene O'Dunne of Baltimore City Court ruled the university could not deny Murray admission because of his color and ordered him admitted in September, pending an appeal by the school. Murray was represented by Houston and Thurgood Marshall, who was described as a "Baltimore attorney."

In an effort to keep Murray out entirely, the university asked that hearings on its challenge before the Court of Appeals be advanced to August. The court ordinarily didn't convene until October, and the university wanted a decision before school opened.

In its appeal documents, the university noted that several other Negroes had applied for admission in response to the lower court ruling on Murray.

The school said that since 500 of the 2,000 students at Maryland were white women, it wouldn't assume responsibility for what might happen if Negroes were admitted to the university.

The university claimed it was threatened with extensive loss of students and consequent loss of income, thus seriously curtailing its educational program. Any break in the traditional Jim Crow policy of Maryland might affect "the present amicable and cooperative" relations existing between the races, the school alleged.

In reply, the NAACP said constitutional rights were involved, which could not be measured in dollars and cents nor obscured by raising the sex issue.

The university's petition was denied on September 20. Murray was admitted to the law school on opening day, September 25.

Contrary to predictions of university officials, law school enrollment was up ten percent above 1934, and there was also an increase in the general student body.

The university's appeal was argued that November 8.

The school argued that:

-- Murray had no right to call on the state for a legal education under the 14th Amendment.

-- Maryland has a right to erect a university for whites while excluding Negroes, without erecting a similar university for Negroes.

-- Under Maryland's Scholarship Act of 1935, the state would pay the tuition of certain qualified Negroes in professional schools outside the state. Thus, Murray would be furnished an

equivalent law school education when the state would pay his tuition in a school such as Howard University School of Law.

In January, 1936, the appeals court ruled, affirming Judge O'Dunne's earlier decision.

The Murray case was just one example of the courtroom by courtroom fight the NAACP faced in those depression years and beyond. But at least with Houston the organization had a staff attorney to wage the battles.

Thurgood Marshall succeeded Houston as NAACP counsel in 1938. He and those working with him would have 16 more years of struggle to reach Brown vs. Board of Education -- the head-on assault that Margold advocated upon racial segregation in the public schools.

How prophetic was Garland director Morris Ernst as the Fund wound up business in June 1941. He was asked by a reporter what he considered the Fund's most valuable accomplishment.

"The promotion of equal rights for Negroes," he promptly replied.

## THE SCOTTSBORO CASE

"Justice" is only rendered as a result  
of massed pressure coming from the oppressed.

Communist pamphlet, 1931

The Garland Fund in a small way had several parts in the defense in the historic Scottsboro case in Alabama that arose in 1931 and sprawled across much of the decade and beyond.

It provided money in 1931 for what turned out to be a heavy-handed pamphlet on the case written by Communist Robert Minor and issued by the Communist International Labor Defense, which represented the nine black boys and young men charged with raping two white women in their second trial.

That same year, the Fund also financed through the ACLU the work of investigator Hollace Randsdell in checking out the checkered reputations of supposed rape victims Victoria Price and Raby Gates -- who determined that they were what some came to call cut-rate prostitutes, hardly the flowering womanhood of Alabama.

Then in 1935 the Fund provided a \$5,000 loan to an amalgamated group, the Scottsboro Defense Committee, that took over the defense from the exploitive Communists. That group was

headed by Allan Knight Chalmer, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Congregational Church in New York City. It comprised representatives of the NAACP, ILD, ACLU and the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

The \$5,000 was turned over to Garland director Morris Ernst to hand out as the committee's needs arose. At one point in 1936, Baldwin noted that \$2,900 was released because "the defense committee has to raise a large sum in a short time and apparently cannot get enough together" before an upcoming trial.

The Fund wiped out the loan as uncollectible as one of its final acts in closing out its operation in 1941.

The irony is that the Fund financed the ILD pamphlet which included a vicious attack on the inept stance of the NAACP, whose leaders had sputtered and delayed any real help in the aftermath of the first trials.

On the other hand, the 1935 loan went to a recently-formed defense coalition that included both the NAACP and the ILD, though the Communist role had been severely muted by then.

As to Miss Ransdell's investigation, she found in talking to the "victims" in their run-down neighborhood that both looked upon sexual intercourse with both whites and blacks as part of



their existence. Her findings were used by the defense throughout the case -- though repeated Alabama juries in their defense of white womanhood no matter how degenerate found the black defendants guilty and sentenced to death.

Scottsboro was in some ways the Sacco and Vanzetti case of the 1930s. In it, nine black youngsters -- one only 12, one near-blind and one riddled with syphillis -- were accused of raping two white women on a freight train in the black belt of Alabama.

Eight of them were convicted in 1931 in three separate trials held one atop the other and all were sentenced to death on the same day -- unparalleled in American courts. The ninth was the youngest, which resulted in a hung jury because some jurors wanted to give him the death penalty, too, even though the state asked for a life sentence.

Often, the rhetoric surrounding these cases shoved the falsely accused defendants into the background.

On the one hand, there were the Communists who were more interested in proclaiming this a working class struggle against Judge Lynch and the "ruling classes" than they were in the defendants. The ILD attacked virtually everyone else -- including some who were sympathetic -- in their zealotry.

They hired New York attorney Samuel Liebowitz as chief defense counsel for the second trial -- to some, a latter day Clarence Darrow. He was an immigrant Jew from Eastern Europe. And that led the prosecutor for Alabama to inflame the jurors in his closing address with the unashamed line: "Alabama justice cannot be bought and sold with Jew money from New York."

And then Liebowitz himself inflamed the situation upon his return to New York after the convictions by blasting the "lantern-jawed" bigots who rendered the guilty verdicts.

Further, the involvement of the Communists and their outrageous rhetoric turned off friend and foe alike to the cause of the Scottsboro boys. At one point, three Communist operatives were caught trying to bribe prosecution "victim" Victoria Price. And the southern press contributed more than its share to the hysteria -- with perhaps justified attacks upon the Communists and unjustified advance verdicts that the defendants were guilty of crimes too unspeakable for print.

But even critics of the Communists later grudgingly admitted that it was Communist efforts that saved the lives of those boys. And Roger Baldwin heaped praise upon the ILD for doing "a job that no other agency could or would do, not only in arousing world-wide opinion and protest, but in the selection of counsel for skillful handling of the moves in the court."

The Fund financed the International Labor Defense, the Communist legal defense group, in a screaming 1931 pamphlet entitled "Lynching Negro Children in Southern Courts" in behalf of the nine illiterate black defendants. Subtlety was rarely the Communist approach and it wasn't here. This was a roaring polemic, attempting to expand the racial issues to a class struggle across America.

And it showed the beginnings of the tug-of-war with the NAACP over who would defend the Scottsboro boys for their second trial.

Roger Baldwin told the ILD in early 1930 that the Fund had "no money for general propaganda for the legal defense of the rights of Negroes."

But obviously this modest grant of \$150 to the ILD for 10,000 copies of its pamphlet was satisfactory because it was in a specific case -- and ILD action that Baldwin personally supported.

A sample from the ILD attack: "The International Labor Defense warns that unless all protest is united -- massed and hurled against the lynch courts of Alabama -- the nine boys will be murdered.

"The ILD, out to build up the strongest united front possible, with the help of such organizations as the League of Struggle of Negro Rights, must make the sharpest attack and expose those leaders of the NAACP who are trying to split the united front to save the boys.

"The action of the leaders of the NAACP rejects building up a mass defense movement. They expect to obtain a 'fair trial' in a Southern courtroom without mass pressure from the determined and fighting toiling masses. 'Justice' is only rendered as a result of mass pressure coming from the oppressed.

"The action of the NAACP is therefore one that will mean death to the boys if it succeeds. The NAACP leaders are out to divide mass protest -- to dampen its fire. This would directly play into the hands of the ruling class in its plans to lynch these Negro boys."

Then, in the mid-1930s, the Fund provided a \$5,000 loan to what was finally a united and toned-down Scottsboro Defense Committee, headed by Rev. Chalmer. In it, the ILD would remain silent during the trials and that Leibowitz would stay in the background.

By then, a good segment of the Garland Fund board was personally involved in the Scottsboro defense -- Roger Baldwin,

Norman Thomas, James Weldon Johnson and Robert Morss Lovett.

At the risk of gross oversimplification, the case is basically this:

Some blacks males and white males on a freight train from Chattanooga to Huntsville, Alabama, got into a fight and the blacks forced all the whites but one off the train. The ejected whites complained and word was sent ahead to the northern Alabama town of Paint Rock, where various black males found at various locations on the train were hauled off.

Also found on the train were Lucy Bates and Victoria Price, white women, who at first seemed to be fleeing from authorities but when taken into custody said they had been raped by the blacks.

At a first trial in Scottsboro, the nine were represented by a drunken incompetent who met only briefly before trial with the defendants and offered no closing statement. Eight were sentenced to death, and the ninth had a hung jury because the jurors were split on the death penalty or life imprisonment.

The International Labor Defense then took control of the case after a wrestling match with the NAACP. It succeeded primarily because of the bungling of Walter White, then the

NAACP's executive secretary. Even some black newspapers attacked White. For the first time, Communist speakers were given a forum in Negro churches. And numerous protest marches were held.

The best Walter White could do was claim that there were more Scottsboro mothers touring the country than there were Scottsboro boys.

The ILD got Walter Pollak to represent the defendants in an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. Pollak had handled some immigration cases for the Garland Fund in the 1920s.

The U.S. Supreme Court overturned the convictions on the grounds that the constitutional right to counsel had been denied -- a first for the high court to step in a state case because the death penalty was involved.

Then with Samuel Leibowitz as defense counsel -- serving without fee and insisting on being apart from the ILD -- he took over for the second trials.

Here, the Supreme Court set aside the convictions because blacks had been systematically excluded from jury service.

Alabama found a tougher judge in Decatur in 70-year-old

William Callahan. He presided as virtually an additional prosecutor in 1936 and 1937.

Again, there were guilty verdicts and death sentences. When there were long-term jail sentences for some rather than death, that came to be looked upon as a victory.

Ultimately, no one was executed.

Four, after being held in jail for six years, had their cases dropped -- faced with the same evidence that had convicted four of their fellow defendants.

The last defendant, Andrew Wright, was freed in 1950. In all, the defendants combined had spent 100 years in Alabama jails and prisons for a crime the evidence showed they did not commit.

A blot on Alabama for its bigotry. A blot on the NAACP for its bungling. A blot, too, upon the Communists, even though in their self-hypnosis and zealotry they considered their method a badge of honor since their rule-or-ruin approach was the way they unabashedly did business.

In all, a blot upon America.

It was a miracle the Scottsboro boys escaped with their

lives -- what was left of them after their supporters, their enemies and the Alabama jails got done with them.



## GASTONIA, OTHER CAUSES

Local paper brands strike leader an East  
Side Russian Jew who knew as much about  
American ideals as a Hottentot.

There is a multitude of other projects that the Garland Fund aided. The list of grant recipients at the end of this book gives an index of those which were helped outright.

That, of course, doesn't include those that got loans and repaid them -- like the \$25,000 to **Minnesota Daily Star**, repaid thanks to its successor, or approximately \$400,000 in other loans to groups that repaid them. . .giving the Fund the chance to recycle that money for other causes.

And the 36 reels of microfilm of the Garland Fund papers also stand as testimony to just how far the Fund reached in people, causes and geography.

Preceding chapters have tried to cite examples of the many radical and liberal side streets and alleys the Garland Fund journeyed along -- certainly roads less traveled by. A full recitation on all the recipients with explanatory background would take volumes.

Yet, there are many of those other Garland Fund causes that deserve at least a mention, maybe even a bit more. Every reader determined enough to trudge through the Garland Fund papers would probably come up with a different list of honorable and perhaps dishonorable mentions.

The Fund put money in the hands of several organizations to enable them to take aggressive action in the courts.

The one already expounded upon is the NAACP -- with Garland Fund money in the mid-1920s as an incentive for matching contributions so the NAACP could establish a healthy legal defense fund for the Sweet case and others and in the early 1930s with an outright grant so it could hire Charles Hamilton Huston as its first full-time lawyer.

Then, there were moneys -- \$58,311 in all -- to the American Civil Liberties Union, which Roger Baldwin ran with a national board that included virtually all the Garland Fund directors. That included an emergency loan account, financed and later replenished by the Fund, that found use in the Scopes monkey trial and a host of other cases.

Another group working the same side of the street was the International Labor Defense, a Communist-led group that included

Garland directors Scott Nearing, William Z. Foster, Benjamin Gitlow, Clarina Michelson, Robert Morss Lovett and Robert Dunn on its national committee. For a time, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was its chairman.

ILD received \$23,555 from the Garland Fund. Its aim was to defend all workers at a time of virulent opposition by company owners and police, and it issued a militant publication called the *Labor Defender* that carried articles tracing the latest causes it embraced of injustices to labor leaders and picketers alike. Karl Reeve, Mother Bloor's son, was its editor.

Listed separately in the accounting as "Gastonia cases" was the relatively huge sum of \$52,279 -- which was also an ILD cause. More than half went for bail forfeiture when five of the seven convicted murder defendants skipped the country and wound up in Russia. That, in turn, resulted in a Fund policy of no more bail for Communists.

Gastonia was one of those ugly stories involving workers trying to organize versus the greed of absentee management aided by the strong-arm tactics of local law enforcement.

Briefly, the AFL's United Textile Workers tried during 1919-21 to organize workers in the Piedmont. There were waves of strikes, broken by the owners thanks to the help of the state

militia.

The Depression hit the southern textile industry long before it encompassed the rest of the nation. Lucrative foreign markets were lost due to the Harding administration's tariff policies. Foreign competition was growing. Women's skirt styles went from the ankle to the knee.

More mills fell into fewer hands. Outside owners took over what started as locally-owned plants. Company spies were hired.

In 1927, a new superintendent, J.A. Johnstone, was installed at the Loray Mill at Gastonia, North Carolina, the largest in the entire South. His orders from the owners in Rhode Island were to cut costs.

Author John A. Salmond in his study of the Loray Mill strike said men and women workers were replaced by machines and those remaining were called upon to operate an increasing number of machines -- a system branded as the "stretch-out." Cheap labor replace skilled craftsmen. Women particularly were put on piece-work. The workforce went from 3,500 to 2,000.

Protest strikes in the spring of 1928 died within a few days.

Salmond recounts how later that year a group of workers paraded down Gastonia's main street bearing a coffin purporting to contain the body superintendent Johnstone.

Periodically, the corpse would rise up and ask: "How many men are carrying this thing?"

The marchers shouted back, "Eight."

The corpse replied, "Lay off two. Six can do the work."

Enter Fred Beal, an organizer for the Communist National Textile Workers Union, on New Year's Day 1929, traveling by motorcycle from New York. A strike called that March 30 was broken in two weeks.

Beal maintained the Communist party policy that there must be no division between white and colored workers. Albert Weisbord, who masterminded the Passaic strike in 1926, now as national secretary of the National Textile Workers Union, insisted that Gastonia strike leaders integrate black and white workers into the union.

Like Scottsboro, this generated virulent racism and anti-Semitism in the local press. Dee Garrison in "Mary Vorse Heaton: The Life of an American Insurgent," writes that the Gastonia

paper called Weisbord an East Side Russian Jew who knew as much about American ideals as a Hottentot.

Strikers were evicted from their homes, setting up in a tent village. And since the police offered the strikers no protection, they had their own armed guards at the tent village. Beal continued to organize.

The evening of June 7, Gastonia Police Chief O.F. Aderholt and four or five armed officers arrived at the village without warrants. A guard asked to see a warrant and the policemen refused. One officer tried to disarm one of the village guards and a struggle ensued. The guard fell and the gun went off. Other shots were fired.

Alderholt was killed. An officer and a striker were wounded. "The shooting occurred very quickly and under circumstances of extreme confusion," ILD lawyer Joseph Brodsky reported days later to Garland directors. Beal was inside strike headquarters when all this was going on outside, Brodsky said.

A so-called citizens committee descended on the tent colony, routing all the strikers who had taken cover, beating and disarming them. Dozens were arrested. Later, city official razed the tent colony.

Beal and 15 other National Textile Workers Union members were charged with first-degree murder. Amid the trial, Ella May Wiggins, a worker well-known as the bard of the strikers and one who handed union cards to black workers, was killed by vigilantes -- who were later tried and acquitted.

The first trial against Beal and the workers ended in a mistrial when a juror became deranged. In a retrial, the prosecution dropped the first-degree murder charges and dismissed nine of the defendants, including three women. The remaining seven were quickly convicted of second-degree murder.

The Garland Fund was involved in the cases on two fronts.

It approved \$15,000 to the ILD on June 19, 1929, for legal expenses in the Gastonia cases and an additional \$10,000 for the same purpose that September 25 -- though only \$20,475 of the total was released.

Meanwhile, the Garland Fund was also providing bail for the defendants while their convictions were on appeal.

About two weeks after the gun battle, the ACLU announced that bail would be easier to get for those arrested for exercising their constitutional rights or for participating in labor activities of which police disapprove -- starting that

July.

The ACLU said the Garland Fund was supplying \$100,000 collateral to the ACLU whereby a total of \$500,000 worth of bail bonds may be issued. The ACLU would decide who would get bail.

The ACLU cleared Garland money for bail for five of the seven Gastonia defendants.

But when their convictions for murder were confirmed by the North Carolina Supreme Court in August 1930, Beal and fellow defendants Clarence Miller and K.Y. Hendricks were nowhere to be found. Reports were that they might be in Russia. Beal and Miller were to serve 17 to 20 years and Hendricks 5 to 7 years.

The ACLU issued a report in November 1930 on its "Bail Policy in Relation to the Communists" -- leading off with the Gastonia situation.

"In the Gastonia case involving seven defendants convicted of conspiracy to murder the chief of police, the ACLU authorized bail for five. Our interest in the case was due to the fact that the trial in substance involved the anti-religious and radical views of the defendants. We participated in the appeal to the Supreme Court of North Carolina, employing ex-Senator Thomas Hardwick of Georgia to argue it.



"Before the court handed down its decision, five of the seven defendants left the United States.

"They were first heard from in Germany and later in Russia. Several intended to return and requested money for their passage. They failed to show up. Reports indicate they are still in Russia."

The ACLU said in fairness to the Communist Party and the ILD neither had any part in the bail-jumping and did what it could to prevent it.

But since then, the only pronouncements from both were that they did not advise or advocate bail-jumping. They have issued no condemnation of bail-jumping. Further, editorial comments in the party's *Daily Worker* justified the "escape of the Gastonia defendants" because they face brutal and unmerited sentences.

The losses to the Garland Fund were \$28,500 and to the ILD \$9,000.

In the face of this situation, the ACLU board refused to authorize further bail in Communist cases "until satisfactory guarantees against bail-jumping are provided by the Communist movement."

And the ACLU directors said the Garland board shared their view.

One additional bit of immediate fallout was that William Z. Foster, secretary to the Communist Party, resigned in protest from the ACLU National Committee, where he had been a member since 1920.

Beal returned from Russia in 1936 an embittered anti-Communist, according to writer Martin McLaughlin in his review of Salmond's book. Beal turned himself in to North Carolina authorities in 1938, served four years and then embarked on a speaking tour as an anti-Communist expert.

McLaughlin noted, "In 1948, Beal's citizenship rights were restored at a ceremony in Gastonia attended by many of the same dignitaries who howled for his blood 20 years before."

Amid all the Gastonia doings, the ILD asked the Garland Fund for \$1,500 to launch a campaign against racism -- and were turned down flat. To their credit, the Communists were outspoken in their championing of this cause.

In January 1930, ILD executive director J. Louis Engdahl wrote to the Garland directors that ILD was planning to launch "an increased campaign in the struggle against lynching,

segregation, discrimination, Jim Crowism and other forms of white oppression against Negro workers and farmers." The money would be for pamphlets and a field worker.

Engdahl cited a recent ILD national convention in Pittsburgh "where a tremendous and inspiring demonstration was organized against the Monongahela Hotel which refused to register both Negro and white delegates."

Roger Baldwin replied, "It isn't an immediate issue like the defense cases which you have in hand. We would rather confine ourselves to specific cases where the rights of Negroes are involved. Propaganda is another matter."

On a more modest scale, the General Defense Committee -- which had the same New York headquarters address as the International Workers of the World (IWW) -- received \$6,712. The IWW itself -- the early champion of industrial unions -- got \$25,652.

Loans to labor organizations cost the Garland Fund dearly.

The Fund provided credit for an Amalgamated Bank loan of \$100,000 to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in a disastrous 1926 strike. This came amid internal dissension in

which the union ran up debts of more than a million dollars. This loan was money that in subsequent years the Fund had already committed to Brookwood Labor College.

When repayment didn't come, the Fund put itself in the position of asking Brookwood to harass the ILGWU to repay the money. And since the ILGWU was also into Amalgamated Bank for \$200,000, the Fund felt it necessary to badger the ILGWU to repay the Fund as the same pace as it repaid the bank.

Here, it took the hard-nose bargaining of ILGWU leader David Dubinsky in the early 1930s to get a settlement with the Fund to repay \$61,585 (interest included) and have the remaining \$55,945 considered a gift.

The Furriers Union Joint Board in New York was another union organization that stuck the Garland Fund for a bundle.

As manager Ben Gold outlined, most of its 12,000 members had been unemployed for twelve weeks when the Fur Manufacturers Association declared a lockout in February 1926.

The association's announced intent was to smash the union, Gold said. Picketing had been met with police brutality, beatings, fines and jail.

The union was paying \$5 a week strike benefits. And to continue that, it needed \$50,000 from the Garland Fund. With that money, victory would be assured, Gold said, noting the union paid off \$150,000 in bills after its 1920 strike.

The Garland Fund endorsed loans to the union of \$10,000 a week for five weeks from Amalgamated Bank. When the union repaid only \$5,000, the Fund had to make good with the bank on the rest.

Then, it learned the union was paying off other creditors to the detriment of the Fund. And the union had multiple excuses for not paying: It had a split in its ranks and was being reorganized. Next, it ceased to exist, becoming amalgamated with the dress and cloakmakers into the Needle Trades Industrial Union. The needle trades group said it assumed no assets or liabilities of the furrier workers.

In 1930, secretary-treasurer Julius Portnoy of the Needle Trades Union tried to caroom off Fund complaints with the diversion that "practically every gang in New York City was mobilized in an attempt to terrorize our workers. Notorious characters of the underworld, such as 'Soldier Bartfield,' and others of the type of the so-called chauffeur Ashkenazy created a reign of terror." Four union men were in prison, he said.

In December 1934, general manager B.C. Vladeck of the powerful **Jewish Daily Forward** wrote after he saw a Fund report listing \$45,000 still due from the furrier workers. "I wonder if you know that this money was used for fostering a Communist union by means of terror and gangsterism hired and paid for."

A second \$5,000 was paid on this loan in 1939. The Garland directors wrote off the remaining \$40,000 when it went out of business in June 1941.

In the same era of the 1920s, striking textile workers of the Passaic area -- in protest to a pay cut -- received a total of \$30,061 from the Fund. This was a 1926 strike that involved nearly all the Garland Fund directors personally in challenges to police violations of the right to free speech and assembly. And Garland Fund money provided the security for bail for those arrested picketers. That list of names of those granted bail numbers several hundred.

As Garrison outlined in her biography of Mary Heaton Vorse, the strike was led by Albert Weisbord, a young Communist organizer who was a graduate of Harvard Law School -- the first strike in American history in which workers accepted Communist leadership.

In February 1926, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in behalf of the Garland Fund hired Vorse as publicity director for the thousands of strikers.

That March 1, police descended upon unarmed strikers marching around the Botany Mill with the same kind of brutality that civil rights marchers faced in Birmingham and other southern cities a generation later -- complete with fire hoses. Passaic became a national sensation.

Conservatives blamed the Communists, saying they deliberately engineered the police riots. And Fred Marvin, the sexual intellectual of the right wing superpatriots, from his vantage point at Concord, Massachusetts, accused Vorse of being on the Communist payroll in Passaic. Her writings and those of others like her had caused the police to lose their heads.

What Vorse had done was turn out issues of a strike bulletin that recounted stirring reports of the picket lines, police assaults and outside support for the strike. They also included touching stories on women strikers and strikers' wives, poems by children of strikers and even humor.

Further, the bulletins totally avoided those contentious Communist party line thunderings about the great class struggle - like they dogmatically used a decade later in Scottsboro.

Garrison said the publicity methods Vorse developed at Passaic "helped set the pattern for the successful labor uprisings of the next decade." Vorse coordinated the flow of information to the national and world press as well as to the labor papers.

Her human interest stories evoked sympathy for the workers and their families. She also assembled endorsements for the strike from liberal leaders, political figures, artists and intellectuals.

Garrison wrote that Vorse's approach would serve as a model for CIO-led strikes in the 1930s.

Vorse accomplished all this in little more than two months. The Garland stipend ran out at the end of April, and there was to be no renewal.

More than a year after it began, the strike ended with the wage cut rescinded by most mills and union recognition granted in some cases.

In a far different direction, the League for Industrial Democracy -- the educational arm of the Socialist party --



received a total of \$40,066. Some of this was used for speakers like Norman Thomas and Roger Baldwin at conferences at Tamiment in the Poconos, the resort the Socialists owned next door to the ILGWU's Unity House, and for sending speakers to colleges and universities around the country.

The Garland Fund paid for about 20 percent of the cost of that through much of the 1920s.

Other money went for special studies of such concerns as the conditions in southern textile mills, the coal industry and power companies. In these ventures, the Fund footed the entire bill.

And in one instance in 1924, with Garland money, the League and the ACLU combined to conduct a publicity campaign to raise funds and obtain donations of clothing for striking miners in West Virginia.

In a pamphlet, the League described itself as a "membership society organized nationally and locally to promote 'education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit.' Its primary function is in the realm of ideas and information."

It claimed no other organization was doing this educational

work. Some groups may deal with particular phases of a problem, like the right of labor to organize. But only the League tries to bring into the field of thought and discussion all phases of the movement toward a social order putting human need, not private profit, as its organizing principle.

The League's letterhead explained it was formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society.

Paul Blanshard, probably better known for his controversial writings on the Catholic Church in his later years, served as field secretary for the League from 1925 to 1933.

Norman Thomas was one of two executive directors, the other being Harry Laidler. Robert Morss Lovett was president, and Nellie Seeds Nearing, Scott Nearing's first wife, was on its board of directors.

In 1926, for example, Blanshard spoke at 66 colleges, addressing some 38,500 students, and gave 58 addresses before city groups numbering over 13,000. Norman Thomas delivered 79 addresses before 5,700 college students.

That June, 270 guests gathered at Tamiment to hear such Garland board members as Scott Nearing and Robert W. Dunn as well as Garland Fund accountant Stuart Chase and Professor Harry Elmer

Barnes expound upon "Newer Defenses of Capitalism in America."

The League's annual intercollegiate conference over the Christmas holidays in New York devoted itself to what opportunities were open to college students and college graduates in the cause of democracy and social progress.

There, the speakers included Harry Ward, Norman Thomas, Robert Morss Lovett and Lewis Gannett. Nearly 300 undergraduate and graduate students attended.

The League put out new editions of pamphlets on "What is Industrial Democracy?" by Thomas, "How America Lives" by Laidler and "The Challenge of Waste" by Chase.

During the year, the League organized -- in cooperation with the ACLU -- the American Committee on Strikers' Relief that raised more than \$25,000 for the Passaic strikers. Thomas headed the committee and Clarina Michelson, another Garland Fund director, served as secretary.

The Garland Fund made two consecutive annual allocations of \$5,000 each to the League for a study of coal and power -- conducted by H.S. Rausenbush, a graduate of Amherst, a former coal mine worker and someone who worked as an economic assistant to the anthracite miners.

The League's reasoning for doing the study was that "facts about the miners' demands circulated by a body not a party to the controversy will have more weight with many of the general public than those gathered and published by miners' organizations."

Of course, as a Socialist group, the League -- once the current coal crisis was over -- would conduct a "thorough, scientific investigation of a coordinated plan for the nationalization of super-power, coal and railroads."

Rausenbush would look into such things as:

-- The location of water falls that might be used in the generation of hydro-electric power.

-- The development of steam driven plants at the mouth of the mines.

-- The development of a coordinated system of interstate transmission lines throughout the country and their relation to the country's hydro-electric and steam-driven power plants.

-- Suggestions regarding the electrification of the railroads.

What the League sold was ideas, many of them far ahead of their time -- particularly to college students. So just how deeply they became imbedded in the minds of those young people and what results that produced in their later years for our nation are impossible to assess.

And then tie those ideas to the charm and speaking skill of someone like Norman Thomas. They take on far more than simply the recitation of League topics and meeting headcount.

## Farm Projects

I knew Garland intimately for a number of years.

Communist Lem Harris

1979 interview

Charles Garland immersed himself in Communist farm organizations in the 1930s. But it's highly unlikely that he became a Communist.

When he was in his 90s, Roger Baldwin contended Garland was too much a dreamer and mystic to wrap himself in the cloak of any political group, particularly a hard-line bunch like true-believers in the American Communist Party. "He was not the joiner type, nor in any sense an organization man," Baldwin said.

That was somewhat the same assessment he gave in the early 1930s when Garland was working with two dedicated Communists. Then, Baldwin wrote that Garland had been living the simple life on the soil "until recent years when he became convinced that the Communist movement alone offers hope of achieving a 'classless society,' and though not a party member, has become identified with a national farmers movement sponsored by the party."

Ursula, Garland's second wife, in her recollections obviously oversimplified those times spent in the Washington area by saying they featured friends sitting around discussing ideas. Barley was not a Communist, she insisted in an interview 15 years after his death.

Nonetheless, Garland was deeply aligned with Communist leaders Lem Harris and Harold Ware and their farm organizations until mental illness struck him down in 1939. For a unit called Farm Research Inc., which operated out of Washington, D.C., and was what its name implied, Garland was both the financial angel and an employee who took no salary.

The Garland Fund files are replete with letter after letter involving both Harris and Garland in their request for Garland Fund money for various farm projects during the Depression.

Yet, Lem Harris in his biography, "My Tale of Two Worlds," and an occasional paper he wrote on Ware never mentioned Garland -- though he writes at length on Farm Research.

And in testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1951, Harris tried to distance himself from Garland. He was shown May 1933 minutes of a Farm Research meeting in which he resigned as president, typist Lillian Gales as secretary and Jerry Ingersoll as treasurer.

"Webster Powell was elected president and Charles Garland secretary-treasurer," the minutes said. "The board empowered Mr. Garland as secretary-treasurer to handle the finances of the corporation and draw checks in the name of the corporation and exercise all powers normally incident to the office."

Committee attorney: Did Garland make any financial contribution, directly or indirectly, to Farm Research?

Harris: "Well, this is something of a memory test." (Confers with counsel.) "I really don't have a clear memory."

Attorney: "How long had you known Charles Garland?"

Harris: "I think a short time."

Attorney: "Were you at Harvard with him?"

Harris, Class of '26: "No."

Attorney: "You recall that the father of Charles Garland was a very wealthy person? And that he left this estate which Charles Garland refused to accept?"



Harris: "Yes, I heard that."

Attorney: "Were the funds of that estate used in any manner in connection with defraying the expenses of operation or any other type of expense of Farm Research Inc.?"

Harris: "I am quite sure they were not during the period when I had association with Farm Research," which he claimed was up to 1933.

Attorney: "What about the period after 1933? Weren't you yourself instrumental in soliciting funds from that source for these various enterprises in which you were interested?"

Harris: "I don't recall soliciting funds from that committee established by Garland for Farm Research."

Yet in a personal interview 17 years after his HUAC testimony, Harris admitted that he "knew Garland intimately for a period of years. I worked with Barley Garland during the thirties."

Like Garland, Harris came from money. His father established grain elevators along the rail lines in Nebraska and became the largest exporter of grain in America. The father was also a founder of Texaco and later had a stock brokerage firm on Wall

Street.

Lem was educated in private schools and waited on by servants in the family home and on ventures to exotic places around the world. He was Harvard 1926, another Harvard man that touched Garland's life, and for three years after graduation, he worked on a Quaker farm at New Hope, Pennsylvania.

Unlike Garland, Harrris joined the Communist Party and was subsequently disinherited by his father. Garland was still a child when his father died and left him more than a million that he was to receive upon turning 21.

Both liked farming and were skilled in dealing with farm machinery. Both spent time in Russia, Harris beginning in 1929 when he helped introduce modern American farm equipment into the new Soviet collective farms.

According to Lem's biography, it was Roger Baldwin who introduced him to Harold Ware, a son of Communist agitator Ella Reeve Bloor, aka "Mother Bloor." And it was at Ware's behest that Harris, armed with his box of tools, took off for Russia in June 1929.

Harris said he didn't remember who introduced him to Roger Baldwin. But in that meeting he quoted Baldwin as telling him:

The person for you to meet is Harold Ware, who for the last eight years has been conducting farm operations in the Soviet Union. You have been doing some farming; Ware is your man. He will be here in my office in a couple days. I will introduce you. Ask him for a job on the farm he will be running in the North Caucasus area this season.

When that introduction actually came, Baldwin introduced Harris as someone not afraid to work.

And as other documentation shows, Garland in the early 1930s gave away most of his April Farm in Pennsylvania to the Communist Party -- the deed listed Promenade Holding Corp. of 100 Fifth Avenue -- where it became the final homestead for Mother Bloor and husband Andrew Omholt and a haven for Communist gatherings.

Mother Bloor called it a great windfall. In her letters remaining from the late 1930s, she wrote: "One of Hal's friends, Barley Garland the millionaire who gave up all his millions (keeping enough to live on comfortably with his family) to progressive movements -- like Vanguard Press, Civil Liberties Union, farm organizations -- gave his farm home, 60 acres of bearing peach and apple orchards, 100 acres of woods, 20 acres of

vegetable and garden planting direct to the C.P. (Communist Party).

"They have turned the whole thing over to us (including) two good houses. We have just moved in. For the first time in 20 years, we have a home. You ought to see what a snug warm place we have."

But there was no opportunity for her son, Harold Ware, to share in his mother's joy of having a home of her own. He was killed in a traffic accident in 1935 that Garland dispassionately described in a letter that is part of the files of the American Fund for Public Service.

The ties and cross-connections are such to be almost political incest. . . sort of a left-wing answer to the inbreeding of interlocking bank and business directorates of the righteous right.

In the only time the Garland Fund lent money to an organization outside the United States, Harold Ware was the arranger, the manipulator, the business agent. That was \$20,000 to Amtorg for the development of the Russian Reconstruction Farms in the mid-1920s.

But to paint the setting of Barley's involvement with this

business of left-wing farm organizations in the 1930s, Ursula provided some of the background in a 1989 interview.

Ursula said that in leaving the April Farm in Pennsylvania, Barley gave parts of it to Doris Benson, one of his mother's adopted children who had been a faithful follower of his for more than a decade and a good farmer in her own right; Herbert Holt, a member of the Pennsylvania colony, and Max Shulman of New York.

Only Doris would hold onto her tract and remain, developing a cold frame and greenhouse business in plants that continued to expand under the direction of her son, Ted, after Doris's death in 1978. Neither Doris nor Ted, who was born in 1928, would talk about April Farm for this book.

In outlining Barley's comings and goings after April Farm, Ursula said, "First, we moved to the Bronx, 2300 Bronx Park E., a cooperative across from the Botanical Gardens. From there, Barley went to the Soviet Union. In the 1930s, Russia was opening up," Ursula said.

"Misha Bogart, a good mechanic who was at April Farm, went to Russia to stay -- him, his wife and three kids. He and Barley were good friends. He kept in touch with Barley."

The upshot was that Barley left with a group on what was

supposed to be a three-week trip to Russia. "And then he took a job in a tractor factory. He seemed to like it," Ursula said.

She got a wire from him. "Pack up everything and come over with the kids," Barley beckoned. She shipped off the furniture first.

Then comes another wire from Barley: "Better not send things. Come for a visit."

Ursula in a letter to Marie, Barley's mother, in May 1932 thanked Marie for offering to take care of the children while she went to join Barley.

She regretted that she hadn't gone with him in the first place. "I recently tried to get my re-entry permit so I could still go. But as I am neither an American nor a German citizen now, it will take me over a month to get my papers straightened out." She figured by then Barley would be on his way home.

She told Marie she had some letters from Barley from Germany and Russia. Barley had visited her parents and brother in Berlin, but he wrote little about Russia. She was anxious for his opinion.

"I have heard so much about Russia from people that are

fundamentally opposed to communism and from Communists that would approve anything Stalin suggests no matter how much it might be against the laws of nature." She figured that Barley's view would be "more impartial."

Then on June 5, Ursula wrote again to Marie, who was still in New Mexico: "I was just packing letters and came across some that you had written to Barley. I feel a close friendship between us and long to see you and tell you so."

Barley had mentioned that Marie might be coming east that month. Ursula asked: "If you come before June 14, will you get in touch with me? I am going to Russia on midnight of June 14. Barley cabled us to come. Of course, I am taking the children. We intend to stay six months to a year."

Ursula recalled, "When I got there, the kids had to have shots and be shaved. I didn't like that at all. We stayed in a hotel. They gave you the best. The people got nothing."

Misha was privileged because he was a skilled worker. "He could put us up, too. The prices were unbelievable. Moscow was dirty then."

Barley couldn't leave right away. Ursula couldn't remember how long he stayed on. Meanwhile, Ursula took the children to

Berlin where her father and step-mother lived.

When Barley arrived to join them, he wasn't well. "The food didn't agree," Ursula explained. He sought help from a homeopath. "The furniture was in Leningrad. We had it shipped to Berlin."

They took an apartment in Berlin. "These were upsetting times with Hitler's commotion and Hitler Youth driving around in trucks, " Ursula said. "New Year's Eve, Hindenberg put Hitler in.

"We found out a lot through a woman at a nursery school. People couldn't talk directly to each other. They would say things as they passed."

Ursula said Kay, Lem Harris's wife, was working at Farm Research in Washington at the time. "Barley gets a telegram from Lem Harris, congratulating him on something. He got it in Berlin. . .for something in the political field we had nothing to do with. It was crazy. Lem invited Barley to come to Washington."

Lem Harris's version is that Garland was in Europe in early 1933 when Hitler was appearing on the scene raising hell. Harris at the time was attending a conference of farmers in North Dakota. "We passed an anti-fascist resolution, and I sent Garland a copy of it, asking him to have it printed in the German press. He didn't because it might endanger his life."



The Garlands returned to America. Webster Powell, former research director for the Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare who was a key factor in Farm Research, and his wife, Alice Coe Mendham, hunted an apartment for them.

"Barley was working with Powell to help southern tenant farmers," Ursula said. "The Department of Agriculture doctored the figures -- when these people were actually working like slaves." Hal Ware was also a part of the operation. The material originating from Farm Research went out for free, Ursula said.

Ursula and Alice Coe started a nursery school in Brookview, Maryland. "We had ponies and a few children," Ursula recalled. "We lived in this place together. The next year, we rented a medical doctor's house without running water.

"With the school, Barley decided he didn't like what was happening to his children by Mary Wrenn. They went to private school. We moved to Silver Spring, Maryland, and our girls went to the public school."

Lem Harris and his wife, Kay, came to visit them a few times. "There were group meetings in our house. There were a group of government workers that met. We read books together, like Marx and Engels. It was theoretical, very much mental.

"No, they weren't Communist groups," Ursula insisted. "This wasn't known as Communist. John Seeger, Pete Seeger's father, was in the group.

"A young couple came, FBI spies. They were so enthusiastic. The spies looked too healthy. They wanted to know: Couldn't they rent our house? They wanted to go through our things when we went to Chesapeake Bay for the summer. But we didn't know until later that they were spies.

"I think the spies couldn't find anything. . .except that we read some radical books."

But if what Ursula said is correct, it isn't supported by Garland's much-excised and woefully incompetent file compiled by the FBI investigating him for possible espionage. It says nothing about a young couple spying on the Garlands in Maryland.

The first item in his FBI file was dated May 20, 1940, in response to a report from some woman who understood that Garland was a "radical." That came at a time Barley, Ursula and their kids were no longer in the Washington area, but rather had relocated to Mount Vernon, New York.

But, back to Ursula's remembrances.

The Garlands were in the Washington area during 1933-39, she said. "The Washington setup was so insulated. I was the head of the women's committee for the Spanish Civil War. It was always called medical aid, always money for starving children -- no matter what the money was used for."

Barley didn't like the Washington atmosphere -- though "it wasn't that he ever said it was terrible, not that he had a grudge," Ursula said.

The Garland Fund and particularly Roger Baldwin as its major spokesman perpetuated the myth that once Barley handed over his nearly \$1 million in 1922 and issued his letter on how he thought the money should be used, he then walked away, never to interfere again. That just wasn't so.

The April Farm in Pennsylvania in 1924 asked the Fund for a loan of \$5,000 so it could expand by buying some neighboring acreage. Paul Scott as secretary to the April Farm organization rather than Barley handled the correspondence for the farm.

The Garland Fund directors recognized the spot it put them in. Board member Morris Ernst expressed this in a hand-written memo: "This is neither a social program coming within our field, or a prime business investment. If we do go in, let's do it

frankly on the basis that Garland is interested. It's the only honest basis for our action if we take any favorable to the proposition."

The loan was approved. Half was repaid in 1928 when the board forgave the remaining \$2,500. But Garland personally repaid the forgiven \$2,500 in November 1931.

And there was a letter from Barley left about the same time he was repaying the April Farm loan that said the directors had become too conservative in their choices of Garland Fund recipients.

Roger Baldwin explained in an accompanying note: "The following from Charlie Garland to the board is sent for your information. Mr. Garland came to me to express his views and I suggested he put them in the form of a letter, which he was a little reluctant to do, not desiring at this late date in Fund affairs to seem to criticize."

Reminding the directors of his original letter to the Fund in 1922, Barley said in a Dear Friends letter, "If my purposes carry any weight with you, I should like to see chosen the most radical of the enterprises which the Fund is asked to aid."

For example, he was not pleased with money to the NAACP --

"whose conduct in the Scottsboro case has been anything but advanced or radical." Better the money for Negro work should have gone to the League of Struggle for Negro Rights and the International Labor Defense.

But it was with his association with Lem Harris, Harold Ware and Farm Research in the 1930s that turned Barley prolific -- for him -- in letters to the Fund endorsing requests for allocations for various left-wing farm organizations.

The first such request arrived in February 1934 from the Farmers National Committee for Action with listed offices at 1627 N. 16th St., Philadelphia. This 10-page treatise was signed by Lem Harris as executive secretary. But under the closing "sincerely yours," it also carried the typewritten names of Charles Garland and Harold Ware as representatives of Farm Research Inc.

The Garland Fund had invested \$20,000 in a loan and \$10,000 in stock a decade earlier in the Russian Reconstruction Farms "to demonstrate to the world the possibilities of socialized farming," the Harris-Garland-Ware letter said. And it showed the writers had the inside information that nearly \$13,000 of that money was finally about to be repaid -- right in the heart of the Depression when such a sum was gold.

"The technique demonstrated by the Americans was adopted by the Soviet Grain Trust and is now in practice in thousands of Russian farms," this American troika wrote. And they pointed out that it was "through the efforts of Harold Ware," the director of the project, that the Soviet government had authorized the repayment of \$12,818 to the Garland Fund.

How magnanimous that Ware, who secured the loan for the Russian project, should slap himself on the back for getting some of it repaid. What the letter, of course, doesn't mention is the nagging for years that the Garland Fund did about getting the loan repaid.

In any case, Harris, Garland, Ware & Co. urgently requested that this money should continue to be used for the purpose for which it was originally appropriated -- the cause of socialized farming. Give it to the Farmers National Committee for Action to put the various branches of its work on a permanent basis of operation, they recommended.

And they presented a 10-page double-spaced treatise on their work of information and agitation in an era when hundreds upon hundreds of farmers across the nation were evicted from their land in foreclosures.

Harris sent a covering letter to Baldwin, suggesting that

Roger have the 10-pager mimeographed. "Do it on elite type, single spaced with lines dropped between paragraphs. This will reduce the whole to about four pages and not seem so long to the tired board members."

Harris said he was leaving the next day for the west for six weeks. "Garland is available at any time if chores have to be done -- address 515 Mills Bldg., Washington."

And in a postscript, he said he had just gotten a telegram from South Dakota "stating that 17 farmers have been arrested on a charge of rioting in connection with a sale and eviction. It is a spot where we are well organized, and I expect that it is going to mean some hot action in the community."

Within a year, when the trio were back with a request for a second-year grant of \$7,900, Baldwin in a letter to fellow board member Lewis Gannett was praising this farm work to the skies.

"I have seen Harris, Ware and Garland repeatedly and believe they are doing an excellent pioneering job," Baldwin wrote on March 26, 1935. "I hear reports from all over the country. It seems to me their use of the funds has been economical and well directed, and I think we ought to grant the second-year requests."

Near the end of their lives, however, Baldwin and Harris did not seem to be bristling with admiration for each other.

Roger Baldwin called Harris "an awfully nice fellow, an idealist. I think he trained to be a minister and went to theological school."

But then he added, "He's a firmly convinced Communist, one of the most firmly entrenched party members. You have to look out for those people. They find heaven some place it isn't. I saw him just recently. He's still the same fellow he was when he seduced Garland into contributing to their left wing affairs from his own money."

For Harris, his assessment after 30 years was: "Roger Baldwin's done me favors and done me dirt. He's a damned scoundrel."

Baldwin in that 1976 interview at first said Garland never interfered with how the Fund money was spent and that there never was any controversy or split among the directors on where the money went. "He was dissociated from us. He never gave us advice. He never attended a single meeting."

For many of us in our older years, the memories of tumultuous bygone days -- like Baldwin's -- seem to acquire a



sweetness they didn't have at the time.

But Baldwin did add that "it was not until towards the end, the last five years, that Garland even indicated he wanted some of the money -- for causes. And it was to the farm workers organizations that he got interested in in Washington that we gave money to.

"Farm Research was the name of the organization. Garland actually went to the office and did office work. What he did I don't know. And he personally asked me to help him out with a grant. Very modestly, you know. He was apologetic for asking me. But he did. And, of course, we didn't want to refuse him. It was in line with what we were doing, anyway.

"And I've forgotten how many grants we made. But they weren't heavy. Anyhow, we helped him out. And I think they did a fairly good job."

In his interview in 1979, Harris said Farm Research was the brainchild of Harold Ware, Jerry Ingersoll of Amherst and himself, incorporated in 1932. As a research agency, it put out a paper of facts for farmers.

In his occasional paper on Ware, Harris said it was Ware's idea for the two of them to make surveys of American farms, that

Ware first broached the idea over a meal in a restaurant in Moscow in the fall of 1930. Ware said he had already talked it over with Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, and gotten his endorsement.

"Before long, Garland agreed to work with Webster Powell, primarily through the Communist Party, and he and his wife and children moved to the Washington area for this purpose. I had already gone west and was not in Farm Research," Harris said.

Harris was woefully vague about what Garland did for Farm Research. But his recollections and the Garland Fund files indicate that whatever Garland did, his work took him around the country.

"I'd see him in Minnesota and other places, gathering material for Farm Research. He would talk with farmers about their conditions. I don't think he signed reports, and I don't think what he compiled was a treasure trove," Harris said.

The Garland Fund files, according to Lem Harris's own words, indicate Harris and Garland were working together in Minnesota at one point in October 1936.

On the letterhead of the Farmers National Committee for

Action, with headquarters then listed as in Minneapolis, Harris informed Roger Baldwin that "Barley is out here now, to spend some time going around with me. I am visiting various people who are working for the (organization's) paper. Barley will get a good view of the way we operate."

Four days later, Lem and Barley sent a joint letter urging action on the Farmers National application for \$2,000. Both Lem and Barley signed this one.

And that October 13, Barley in a handwritten letter on the stationery of the Hotel Martin in Waterloo, Iowa, said he had run into Norman Thomas there who was on his latest presidential campaign tour on the Socialist ticket. Garland said the upshot was that Thomas authorized him to wire Thomas's vote for the Farmers National application.

"I hope you will do all in your power to get this through immediately," Barley said in a less than apologetic approach. "They are putting anti-freeze in their autos already, and winter may soon make travel impossible."

The Garland board approved the grant that December.

The original 1934 letter from Harris, Garland and Ware outlined the scope of what was proposed.

Harris had assembled 238 delegates in a farmers national relief conference in Washington in December 1932 "to mobilize and coordinate the power of the mass of ruined farmers." The delegates took the name Farmers National Committee for Action, elected Harris as national secretary and authorized the founding of a national weekly.

To super-patriotic critics, this had to be Communists once again exploiting another of the festering sores that oozed from America's body politic -- like racial discrimination.

The conference demands included \$500 million for relief to the distressed farm population, regardless of race, creed or color. . .government purchase of surplus food to aid the unemployed in the cities. . .a moratorium on farm mortgages. . .and a declaration by Congress that all foreclosures and evictions are illegal.

Harris said one result of the conference was "the stimulating of mass demonstrations against forced sales and evictions." Because of this campaign against evictions, "thousands of families still have homes who otherwise would be dispossessed."

In his autobiography, Harris describes how a group called

the Farmers Holiday movement in Madison County, Nebraska, decided to oppose each farm foreclosure sale by calling on farmers to come in large numbers and hold all bidding down to a maximum of five cents for any machinery or animal.

"Soon, there were key men in many townships ready to make emergency telephone calls," Harris wrote. "One general call on a party phone line would reach up the twenty homes, and the farmers responded."

One Nebraska man recalled Harold Ware driving into his farmyard, saying he was from the Communist Party and offering to help with publicity in stopping farm evictions.

"We said we did not care where he was from, so long as he was on the side of the farmers," Harry Lux is quoted in the Harris autobiography. "We told him we needed all the help we could get. This was the first time any of us had any contact with the Communist Party."

The 1934 letter claimed to espouse a general plan relatively new to the radical movement. "We have insisted that the organizing work must grow from the bottom up with no superimposed leadership."

Of course, there has to be superimposed leadership to set

down conditions like that.

"All leaders have appeared out of activity in the field, men and women ready to go into action," the letter said, though admitting, "This great and widespread response has all the awkward and loose-jointed qualities of an overgrown boy. Our task is to coordinate."

The Farmers National Committee was operating a traveling school for farm organizers, holding three-week sessions in Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska and Pennsylvania. Housed in a closed Ford truck containing a library and three organizers, the school "has been leaving behind a trail for farm leaders strengthened by economically sound convictions," the letter said.

The school was financed by one of the organizers "who is giving all his time and money to it." No name mentioned.

Secondly, the national committee developed -- with "independent financing" -- Farm Research Inc. in Washington. Again, no name mentioned.

"Charles Garland is operating this office, giving his full time to it, along with Harold Ware and Webster Powell," the letter said.

A third project was to merge three divergent farm publications into one farmers weekly. Yet another project was to organize some three million agricultural workers -- "the only part of the plan not already underway."

Admitting the permanent answer was financing by the farmers themselves, the letter asked \$12,790 from the Garland Fund -- just \$48 short of what was coming back from the Russian Reconstruction Farms.

Director Norman Thomas announced he opposed anything to this Farmers National Committee because it "is definitely a Communist controlled organization. The only case I see for giving to them is that Garland wants it and originally it was his money."

The Garland directors agreed to \$5,000 for 1934.

The Farmers National Committee did better by the Garland directors in 1935. It was bolstered by that letter from Roger Baldwin praising the work it was doing. It got all it asked -- \$7,900.

This time, the strategy was for Garland to forward the application and hand-write the covering letter. And this time also, Garland, Harris and Ware -- in that order -- signed the letter.

Then came the unexpected death of Harold Ware on August 13, 1935, at the age of 45.

Barley outlined what happened in a dispassionate letter to Roger Baldwin:

Hal was killed in a collision with a loaded coal truck. He was going away for a delayed weekend with Alice and Web Powell. They -- Alice and Web -- were driving in their car and Hal was alone in his car following them by only a short distance.

They left Washington about midnight on their way to Harrisburg, about twenty miles still to go, when a coal truck came over toward their side of the road, sideswiped Alice's and Web's car, taking off the fenders and a wheel and turning directly into Hal's path.

Since there was little or no time for applying brakes, Hal swung to his right, struck the truck and was thrown with the side of his car up against the truck. The belief is that his head struck the truck through his open window.

The driver of the truck claims to have been blinded by their lights, but he admitted he had



been driving for eight or nine hours, and he may have been dozing and unwilling to admit it.

With the details of the accident over with, Barley asked, "Among Hal's other responsibilities, which we must carry on as best we can, was the distribution of the American Fund contribution to farm work. How is this to be handled now?"

A third distribution was due on the year's grant. Would it be all right to allocate it to the three phases of the work to comply with what was in the original application? "I have not talked this over with Lem since Hal's death, but I am quite sure he will concur in this," Barley wrote.

Except for that "we must carry on as best we can," not a line of feeling about the early and sudden death of a colleague and repeated house guest.

Roger Baldwin was much more sanguine in his letter to Garland:

"Hal's tragic end is a blow to all of us, most of all you who have been so closely associated with him. He furnished a leadership in strategy such as I have rarely seen anywhere on the Left and quite irreplaceable.

"Please give my sympathy to all on the staff. I shall write his family."

Barley took a different approach in December 1935 in a letter to Garland Fund chairman Lewis Gannett: Give me what's left in the Fund "to use in furthering the united front work among farm organizations, the cause in which I am most interested and in which my personal convictions are most deeply involved -- and a cause to which the Fund has recently contributed."

He said his first thought was to send in another application similar to the last one in behalf of "the most oppressed and exploited farmers and farm workers."

But then he realized that was not in keeping with his original understanding with the board -- "that I should leave the distribution of the funds entirely in the hands of the board and should not attempt to influence their decision."

He asked: Which carried the most weight -- his original understanding to keep out of board business or the cause in which he most deeply believes and wishes to assist to the best of his ability?

He answered his own question: "My concern for this cause outweighs my desire to hold to this original understanding."

And rather unashamedly, he added, "I want to plead for a cause, and I want to get as much from the Fund for that cause as I can."

He also asked to attend the next board meeting and explain more fully -- seeking privileges the board prohibited from its start.

As Roger Baldwin explained at one point, "We never risked compromising our judgments by permitting applicants to appear in person before the board. We were pretty well free of the pressure of lobbying for our votes in advance, and though the Fund members were often actively interested in some of the projects on which we passed, they usually refrained from voting or urging them. We could turn down one another's project with as much objectivity as if they had come by mail."

The board didn't buy Garland's request for the rest of the money in the Fund nor his wish to appear before the board to sell the idea.

The year 1936 was the last the Farmers National Committee got any money from the Garland Fund, perhaps because it didn't ask for any more. Thereafter, requests came from Farm Research, the Farmers National unit that Barley had been financing out of

his own pocket at \$325 a month (\$3,900 a year).

In a Dear Roger letter of August 1937, Barley said Farm Research was running about \$115 a month short on its regular monthly expenses of \$325.

This happened rather suddenly, he said, explaining that the trustees handling a trust fund from his grandfather which provided his income failed to carry out an agreement he made with them.

Until recently, part of that income had provided an allowance for his mother, Marie. It seems all the Garland children from time to time helped support Marie.

That had been stopped -- apparently because Marie had married again, this time in Boston to Allen Fiske in October 1935, a businessman from Peoria, and he was apparently caring for her financial needs. Their marriage was announced belatedly by Barley's brother Hamilton in *The New York Times* in July 1936. It got more space than the overhauling of the liner Queen Mary in the next column on page 17.

Marie and daughter Hope had a furious disagreement over Marie's choice of her latest husband. In a blistering letter of December 1935 to Hope, Marie described this latest -- and last --

husband this way:

None of Allen's people signed the Declaration of Independence. Nor did any of them come over on the Mayflower. They came with Lief Erickson, about 1,000, in an open boat. There is no finer blood, nor brain anywhere than Allen has. I am proud to be his wife and bear his name.

Barley's allowance for his mother -- once it was stopped -- was supposed to be held by the trustees. Instead, they sent it to him. "This created with me the illusion of a new prosperity," he wrote. As a result, he increased his contribution to Farm Research and undertook other expenses.

He said he was reluctant about getting help for Farm Research from the Fund, knowing it would reduce badly needed money going into organizational work among the farmers. He asked Roger: How do you feel about it?

Baldwin found no problem with the idea. And if the Fund couldn't manage it, Roger offered to take it out of his own pocket. The Fund did provide \$625 for the rest of the year and then \$1,500 in 1938. Director Webster Powell said \$2,400 from Barley and the \$1,500 from the Fund would almost meet Farm Research's entire expenses for the year. Garland's contribution

in 1937 had been \$3,400.

Again for 1939, the Garland Fund approved \$1,500 for Farm Research. Roger Baldwin, however, warned the group that the Fund was just about out of money.

Barley himself was to provide \$2,400.

New supervisors of Farm Research, Bob Coe and Bob Handschin, explained their general mission was to supply factual information to farm leaders and organizers in progressive farm organizations and to attain as wide a circulation of such materials as possible through existing farm newspapers. Some 153 newspapers regularly reprint Farm Research material, they said.

Research requests have included such things as the Wisconsin Farmers Union asking help in drawing up changes in the state's tax system, a cooperative in New York State seeking assistance in drawing up a marketing agreement on grapes and an Oregon Grange leader looking for figures on price-fixing of farm implements.

"There has not been, and there is not now, any other agency on the national scene to supply a farm research service of this character," they claimed.

There were other requests from farm organizations where

Barley acted as a mediary or cheerleader. These were pittance, really, when set against the nearly \$2 million the Fund gave in grant and loans across twenty years. But they illustrate how deeply Garland became enmeshed in the business of the Fund as it wound down operation.

Financial records show that in the final five years of the Fund, 1936-41, the directors "dispensed" gifts of nearly \$180,000. But about \$130,000 involved writing off loans deemed uncollectible going back to the mid-1920s. The most egregious of those were \$40,000 that had gone to the Joint Board Furriers Union of New York City in 1927, \$27,000 in notes in exchange for the sale of stock in Vanguard Press, \$20,000 in stock of the Oklahoma Leader at Oklahoma City purchased in 1925 with the understanding the paper would buy it back and \$15,110 on the Lennox Building in Washington, D.C., in a sure-thing real estate deal that went sour.

The remaining \$50,000 meant actual new grants in those six years, about \$10,000 a year with nearly all of it going to those farm programs backed by Charles Garland and a few urged by director Norman Thomas.

In one, Andrew Omholt, the North Dakota farmer married to Mother Bloor -- Omholt then with varied addresses in Bucks County, Pennsylvania -- wrote to the Garland Fund in 1937 for \$35

a month for five months for gas and oil for solicitors enrolling members for the Pennsylvania Farmers Union.

He said he was doing this on the advice of Charles Garland and Lem Harris.

Simultaneously, Garland wrote a personal letter of the endorsement for this modest request. "I am all for it. I believe their prospects for getting a large enough membership for a charter are good and a dollar here will go as far as any place that I know of in building a good farmers union.

"The applicant is an honest-to-god farmer, finely equipped for this job."

The board agreed to the application, but only shelled out for three months because the rest wasn't needed.

In another, the Share Cropper Film Committee in 1937 sought a \$300 loan to complete the recording of sound and for film reproduction costs on its film depicting what it called "the appalling conditions among the sharecroppers and their struggles at unionization."

And by that time, the office secretary to the Garland Fund was sending to Barley copies of applications from farm



organizations.

To this one, Barley wrote a suggestion that the \$300 be taken temporarily from the money destined for another organization because it would be repaid before that group needed it.

The Garland directors authorized the loan. But nothing came of it because the Share Croppers Film Committee dropped its request.

Then, mental illness struck Barley in late 1939. Bits and pieces of this show up in the Garland Fund files of those times.

Roger Baldwin wrote to Farm Research leaders on December 21, 1939: "Mrs. Garland tell me that during her husband's illness it is impossible to make his usual contribution to Farm Research and that no contribution has been made since November." He asked: How can we help?

That was a busy day for letter writing -- more about what to do absent Barley's \$200 a month contribution than about Barley himself.

-- Farm Research executive secretary Robert Hindschin wrote Baldwin: "Barley is quite sick, and though we had been hoping for

an early recovery, this now seems unlikely. Barley's wife, despite her desire to do so, is in no position financially to take over his venture."

Spreading on a liberal layer of applesauce -- "in keeping with Barley's wishes. . .you and others on the Fund have always given earnest consideration to Barley's wishes in the distribution of the money" -- Hindschin asked the Fund to "pinch-hit for Barley" with \$200 month. Obviously, baseball terms had already crept into the hard line of the Political Left.

-- Hindschin again to Baldwin in a shorter letter, noting he had already mailed the longer one: "We received a wire from Ursula saying that you thought the Fund could give us some aid. This is the best Christmas present which we have received."

He poured it on: "We wish to thank you for assisting Farm Research in its hour of need. We will do everything possible to continue Barley's work as he would want it to be done."

-- Baldwin in a letter to the Garland board: "Charles Garland has had a mental breakdown which has put him in the hospital beyond the reach of even his family."

He relayed Ursula's message that Farm Research, which Barley had been largely financing, was in trouble because he can no

longer support it.

"I think we are under an obligation to see to it that Farm Research is carried during his illness." He suggested \$200 a month for that November and December -- over the \$125 a month it had allocated for the whole year.

Norman Thomas balked, doubting the board's "duty" to Garland and Farm Research.

"I am terribly sorry to hear of his breakdown," Thomas wrote. "And I suppose, since it was originally Garland's money, we ought to be guided by what would be his wishes.

"But I am not by any means clear what Farm Research is doing and whether it is simply another indirect aid to a Communist movement to which I am utterly unwilling to give aid."

Despite the pointed questioning of Thomas, the Garland board approved it -- and \$325 a month for all of 1940 and partway into 1941 until the Garland Fund called it quits.

A June 1940 letter from Farm Research mentions "the recovery of Mr. Garland" and the expectation he would resume helping the organization by the end of the year.

In an interview shortly before her death, Mary Wrenn, Barley's first wife, said she didn't know what caused his mental breakdown, nor what hospital he was in. "But I went to see him."

She was still furious about one happening in connection with this. "Barley had given me a diary of his, dreams, a diary of dreams, ghastly . It would curl your hair if you could read it. It was gory, sort of mad. I gave it to the doctor because I thought it would help him. I never got it back."

She offered a guess that what brought on Barley's mental collapse "was an accumulation of everything. I'm not a doctor, but that's the way I felt about it."

In a 1976 interview, Roger Baldwin said that Garland was taken to an institution sometime in the early 1940s when he was living in Mount Vernon. "I don't know which one it was. He had shock treatments and he was off his rocker. And whether he really got back on I don't know. I never saw him after that time. He didn't get in touch with me. And I felt perhaps I wasn't wanted. Ursula didn't want to see me, so I didn't interfere."

According to Baldwin, this was after the Fund was dissolved in 1941. So what Baldwin recalled seemed to be a second breakdown by Barley. . .or, in old age, Baldwin got confused about the time.

Garland had shown signs of aberrations prior to that, Baldwin said. "He had grand delusions about himself. He thought he had inherited Manhattan Island."

But Baldwin, even at the end of his life, couldn't understand why Garland was beset by those mental troubles in his 40s.

In a 1981 note from Puerto Rico, Baldwin said: "I thought Barley a mystic, an idealist about society, selfless and lonely at heart -- but not mentally ill, as he became.

"I can understand why he never finished college and why he took to the soil like Tolstoi, his moral authority. But I cannot understand why he broke down mentally when he had so satisfactory a home life."

Garland was in attendance by invitation at the meeting of Garland board members to dissolve the Fund, held June 18, 1941, in the Cooperative Cafeteria at 54 Irving Place in New York City. And his quotes in **The Associated Press** dispatch of the event sounded like coming from a rational human being, someone who had recovered from whatever his earlier trouble were:

The trustees did a much better job than I could do. If I had to do it over again, I don't know that I'd be as dogmatic as I was in disposing of this fortune -- but I suppose I'd do pretty much the same thing.

I think I've gotten more out of my inheritance this way. I think the person who lives like the average man gets more out of life than the one who lives on a large income. I still feel that large inheritances should be spent not on personal living but on something of more social value.

Garland mentioned the trust fund established by his grandfather. "I have an income sufficient to live on. It covers the necessities of life."

And obviously to a reporter's question, he said, "No, I don't give money away anymore."

## FBI Probing

He (Garland) keeps his shades drawn at night.

FBI report

May 20, 1940

Charles Garland and his second wife, Ursula, and their four children moved out of the Washington, D.C., area to Mount Vernon, New York, in late 1939 -- and, with rare exceptions, into obscurity.

The *Saturday Evening Post* in its February 15, 1941, issue ran a feature on "MUDDLED MILLIONS: Capitalist Angels of Left-Wing Propaganda" that included Garland. This is the issue that had so upset Mary Wrenn when it arrived at her home that she cancelled her subscription.

The piece labelled Garland the Saint Francis of Buzzards Bay. And the text carried with it a photo of Garland with a neighbor boy, taken and published in the mid-1920s at the first April Farm in Massachusetts.

The closing of the Fund in June 1941 was another of those more infrequent exceptions. Beyond the news stories of the final

gathering, the event generated a press flurry of related material.

The *New York Times* editorialized: "As philanthropic foundations go, the Garland Fund was a modest enterprise, but its history of twenty years is a record of many good causes. It started out with something under a million dollars and through capable management succeeded in accumulating total resources of two millions."

The closeout gave *Time* magazine a chance to fantasize about life at the two April Farms. Over the one-word heading of RADICAL, the article said, "One of Garland's ideas was that people ought to live together in simple peasant communes, sharing love and money. To carry out that idea, he organized two April Farms, first in Massachusetts, then in Pennsylvania. In both there were girls in gay embroidered dress, young intellectuals in sturdy work clothes, living as free spirits, the most exotic peasantry that ever came out of the better Eastern colleges."

The *New York Journal-American* in August 1941 saw fit with pictures, drawings and lengthy text to devote a page to the Garland soap opera -- including ancestor Henry VIII and Barley's much-married mother, listed as Mrs. Marie Tudor Garland-Garland-Green-Hale-Rodiewicz-Fiske, who supposedly had finally "settled down."



The layout included a drawing purporting to show Barley and Bettina secretly burying their infant daughter at night in 1925 at Great Swamp Church Cemetery about a mile from April Farm in Pennsylvania. The **Journal-American** used the same drawing of the burial and a bit of the same material it originally published on May 23, 1926. Much of the later version, however, skewered the Garland Fund for giving a big slice of its money to the Communist Party.

Both accounts were riddled with fiction. One example from the 1941 treatise: James A. Garland Jr., the father, blamed the attitude of his sons Charles and Hamilton about money on "their education at Harvard and the influence of his wife, their mother."

The only problem with that is that James Jr. died in 1906 when Charles was only seven and Hamilton was four.

But notwithstanding the distortions and outright falsehoods of the **Journal-American**, that was really the last press firestorm on Garland.

Oh, the East Coast press brought Garland out from "obscurity" in September 1943 in a one-shot story.

**The New York World-Telegram and The New York Journal-**

American both carried accounts that September 17 that Garland was found running an engine lathe for a New York company turning out parts for the U.S. Navy.

"Left Wingers' Ex-Angel Runs a War Plant Lathe," proclaimed the **World-Telegram**. "Left-Wing Millionaire in War Job," headlined the **Journal-American**.

And in a rippling effect, **The Philadelphia Record** two days later heralded: "Heir Who Scorned Million  
Runs Lathe at 60c an Hour"

Soon after, the Allentown papers put their own spin on the story. "Chas. Garland Now Obscure Machinist," **The Morning Call** headline said.

The **World-Telegram**, which had the most complete piece among those papers, said Garland was operating the lathe in a two-story brick machine shop on E. 106th Street. He was wearing blue denims and a machinist's apron, and the place was covered with metal shavings.

A.E. Edwards, proprietor of the shop, was away when he learned by phone that someone was interviewing Garland. He raised cain, the paper said.

"Garland's my best machinist, and I won't have you stealing him away. I've lost other good men like that," Edwards warned the reporter, mistaking him for some industrial pirate.

Then, the reporter, explaining why he was there, revealed Garland once gave away \$900,000.

"I'd like to have some of that \$900,000 now," Edwards said.

Garland, described as "quiet-spoken," discussed himself only with the utmost reluctance, the **World-Telegram** reported.

He said he had no regrets about giving away the money. "In the light of events now, when you see everything in big proportions, it didn't cut much ice. It did as well as could be expected. I haven't any ideas of its over-importance."

To a question about whether he had changed the views in his youth that private property is the source of most evil and that marriage is hypocritical convention, he replied, "I have nothing enlightening to say about that -- except that I was misquoted a hell of a lot."

At the Edwards plant, he was working six days a week, 48 hours, belonged to the CIO and returned every night to his home in Mount Vernon. He got union scale, between 60 cents and a

dollar an hour, but wouldn't say how much. His boss said he had missed only four or five days work in the two years he'd been there.

Garland said he picked up his skills as a machinist "turning out hobby stuff" in his shop at home. Too old for military service, he put it to use in the defense shop at 223 E. 106th St., the **World-Telegram** said.

That was a bit of an understatement since Garland had worked with machinery since at least his days on the first April Farm.

The interview, of course, was an opportunity for the **World-Telegram** to review some of the Garland Fund history -- that it was "the financial angel of liberal, labor and left-wing movement of America." It mentioned a cross-section of organizations aided, included Communist groups, and board members, including extreme-left William Z. Foster.

The **World-Telegram** reporter wound up his account with this passage:

The last public uproar arose over his April Farm near Allentown, Pa., which was run on a . Communistic, co-operative basis. In that era of gaudy journalism, the front pages debated

whether the Garland clan were "nuts and boobs," "mammals of iniquity" or "early martyrs." One staid New York paper called him "an exponent of social science."

It seems pretty remote from the E. 106th St. machine shop.

In its rewrite of the New York papers, the **Evening Chronicle** of Allentown, Pennsylvania, added its local angle -- namely, that Garland's April Farm colony in nearby Lower Milford Township "provided lurid and sensational reading in the mid-twenties."

Further, the story said that in an attempt to provide a charter for the colony, "revelations concerning activities at the farm were disclosed. Subsequently, the body of a child, whose paternity Garland acknowledged, was discovered."

Not only Garland, but some of the April Farm record "was misquoted a hell of a lot."

On the quiet, the FBI, being "most discreet," began some checking on Barley in the early 1940s for possible World War II espionage and subversive activities courtesy of tips from suspicious local informants. The FBI operatives even interviewed those who knew what his kids said in school.

In 1950, the FBI was back again, this time checking Garland's loyalty as a government employee -- only to discover that he had never been a government employee. The probing of Garland or the Fund continued on and off until 1957.

(My first request for FBI files on Garland was made in February 1975 in a letter on the stationery of the **Call-Chronicle Newspapers** of Allentown to Director Clarence Kelley. The information was being sought for a newspaper story on the death of Garland the previous fall.

(Kelley replied within two weeks in a signed letter:

Because of privacy considerations, it is requested that you obtain a notarized authorization from the family of Charles Garland for disclosure of any available information which we may have in our records concerning him. Further consideration will then be given to your request. As Mr. Garland was the founder of the American Fund for Public Service and disclosure of information concerning the Fund would necessarily include the activities of Mr. Garland, that phrase of your request will be held in abeyance until determination can be made regarding disclosure of the data on Mr. Garland himself.

(At the time, I had either no idea where most Garland relatives were and had been rebuffed by any contacted for assembling a lengthy obit on Charles Garland, published May 18, 1975, in the **Sunday Call-Chronicle** in Allentown. Until this book, it remains the only published obit anywhere on Garland.

(A much-blackened FBI file on Garland was provided in 1981 through a regular Freedom of Information request -- which required no notarized authorization from anyone. An accompanying memo from the FBI explained that Garland was the subject of two main files or investigations and was mentioned in the file of another individual.

(The two files contained five pages, all excised for release. The other covered eleven volumes involving the investigation of a third party. Only those documents pertaining to Garland or the Fund were being released, also excised.)

The pages supplied carry dates running from May 20, 1940, to February 19, 1975. The irony is that the last two documents were my request that February 6 to see the Garland files and Clarence Kelley's reply, asking that I get permission from the Garland family.

The actual final FBI item in the file related to probing of Garland or the Garland Fund was dated March 19, 1957 -- which

included copies of the Garland Fund reports for 1928-30 and 1930-34, reports available since 1941 at New York Public Library for anyone who cared to see them.

The FBI excisers blacked out the name of the individual or organization which provided copies of those Fund reports to the FBI.

But to retrace the FBI file, a male informant on May 20, 1940, gave the following information for whatever value it might be to the Bureau: "One Charles Garland who appears to be of German origin moved to 23 Rock Ridge Road, Mt. Vernon, N.Y., about a year ago with his wife, first name unknown, and four children."

The informant said wives in the neighborhood while visiting Mrs. Garland were informed that Garland was a writer and inventor. However, when the Garlands' 9-year-old daughter enrolled in Pennington Public School at Mount Vernon and was being interviewed by the school nurse, the daughter made the statement that her father was engaged in agricultural research work. The informant said the 9-year-old recently told "school authorities" her father was engaged in statistical research.

The informant said Garland draws his shades after dark. Further, in November 1939, a car containing three or four men had



been seen at the Garland home. Garland left with them and was gone several days. While he was away, his wife claimed he was sick. But when he returned, he did not appear to have been ill or confined to a hospital.

Further, the informant reported Garland drives a Ford roadster, license number unknown, has a motorcycle and claims to own an airplane. "He (the informant) said Garland doesn't mix with the neighbors and that in view of the contradictory remarks as to his occupation, the fact he keeps his shades drawn at night and the further fact he is of German descent, the neighbors became suspicious of him."

Garland spoke broken English, the informant said.

Pity the poor FBI agent L.M. Chipman in New York who had to listen to this drivel and then type it up.

To his credit, Chipman concluded: "In view of the fact that no definite information was obtained indicating that Garland may be involved in espionage activities, no further investigation is being conducted." But that didn't end it.

About the same time, some female informant said she was desirous of furnishing information on Garland whom she understood

to be a "radical."

This well-informed informant said she understood Garland was in the floor-covering business, that he had radical tendencies and at one time gave away a huge fortune because he did not think an individual should have such an amount of money.

This memo has a half page blacked out on what aroused her suspicions.

"The indices of the Bureau (always capped) show numerous references to Garland in general subversive activity files," agent J. K. Mumford reported.

"A brief review indicates Garland established the American Fund for Public Service, commonly known as the Garland Fund, in 1935. This fund was supposed to have consisted of money inherited by Garland and placed by him in this fund because of his communistic belief that an individual should not control or have for his personal use such amounts of money. Some two million dollars from this fund had been given to radical causes and organizations in the next year or two after its founding and a comment in **Fortune Magazine** in 1937 indicated the fund was practically exhausted."

What a collection of misinformation. But, oh, how John Edgar

Hoover must have loved that "communistic belief" label on Garland.

Agent Mumford said the FBI file showed Garland had served a term in the penitentiary for operating a "free love farm," that he had taken an active part in promoting such enterprises and also that in 1930 and 1931 he participated in street demonstrations of different kinds.

Mumford said there was no recent reference to Garland in FBI files, but agency reports during 1935-37 "seemed to indicate the Garland Fund was established as a bequest and that, therefore, Garland was dead." But he couldn't verify that.

Rather, his own probing indicated Garland established the Fund at the time he inherited it by will from "some relative" and that he was living at the time and subsequent to his making of the gift.

Mumford checked the World Almanac since 1935 and the **New York Times** index and found nothing.

Like Chipman, Mumford concluded the facts do not justify "investigative action."

John Edgar Hoover (he was not J. Edgar in those days) was

not to be deterred.

In a multi-assignment letter on June 6, 1940, Hoover ordered:

-- The Boston office to locate the headquarters of the Communist Party in Boston.

-- The Baltimore office to conduct "a very discreet investigation with a view towards establishing the exact location of the Charles Garland Farm, the identities of the owner and frequenters as well as all information that can be discreetly obtained concerning activities taking place there.

"The Bureau files contain no record of a Charles Garland Farm. However, they do reflect that one Charles Garland after inheriting a huge estate from his father in the early 1920s established a fund known as the Garland Foundation for carrying out of Communist principles. Garland has been reported as deceased but the Bureau is in possession of no data which would verify this."

-- The Los Angeles office was to learn the type and extent of Communist activities reportedly taking place around Gaviota, California.

-- All three report back by June 20 at the latest.

In response, some agent got hold of the Garland Fund printed report for 1930-34 that included a summary of gifts and loans for a 12-year period. He was sending it along to Washington.

He mentioned April Farm, Vanguard Press, Brookwood Labor College, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Unity House among the groups helped by the Fund. Nothing in the report indicates the agent recognized that April Farm was the "Charles Garland Farm" that Hoover so avidly sought.

The agent did explain, however, that Unity House was an International Ladies Garment Workers center at Forest Park, Pennsylvania, and that Joe Spivak received \$200,000 as a loan toward publishing a book on chain gangs in Georgia in 1930 and 1931.

Actually, the loan to author Spivak was \$200.

The report went on at length on Garland Fund board member Robert Dunn, his pro-labor writings, his strike activity, his arrests.

From the West Coast came word that Communist publications available at Los Angeles have never mentioned a Communist farm or

a farm operated by the Garland Fund as being in existence at Gaviota or Goleta, California. But there was an "undeveloped lead" at Santa Barbara, someone who will determine whether that farm exists.

From the Baltimore office came reports of its futile search for the Garland Farm. . .at Elton, Conowingo, Rising Sun and Belair in Maryland, at Wilmington in Delaware and Lancaster in Pennsylvania,

Again, from Los Angeles, now into mid-August 1940, an FBI report found no evidence "that the Communist Party or those maintaining the Garland Fund are operating a Communist farm near Gaviota or Goleta, California. No evidence that negroes (no capital N here) operate a Communist group in that vicinity."

Not sure if John Edgar Hoover had the community right, the Los Angeles office explained that Goleta was a community of 1,500 seven miles north of Santa Barbara and that Gaviota was a community of a hundred, with one store and one garage, 32 miles north of Santa Barbara.

The report said the residents of these communities were all permanent ones. Checking with old-timers, the FBI agents found no evidence of a Communist farm. "Neither was there any evidence that any negroes (still without the capital N) in these

communities were engaged in Communist activities."

At that point, the Garland FBI file doesn't disclose how blacks got thrown into the checking of the Fund established by that Germanic-appearing Garland with his broken English.

October 8, 1940, the Philadelphia office in this espionage investigation reported it found no information in Lancaster County of a Charles Garland Farm. Agents had searched land records to pre-Revolutionary days and interviewed an oldtimer at Quarryville who said no such farm existed in the county.

This prompted the FBI's Boston office, the origin of the inquiry, to conclude on November 4, 1940, that "the investigation of this case has failed to develop any information of value and it does not appear further investigation is necessary."

The Boston field office added a name (blacked out) to its espionage investigation but was dropping Garland, the Garland Fund and the American Fund for Public Service on April 15, 1941. Most of that page was blacked out, including the name of the person who wrote it.

FBI official J.C. Buckbee on stationery of FBI headquarters in Washington wrote on June 28, 1941, that the current issue of **Time** magazine carried a photo of Garland and a story that the

Fund had been dissolved.

And about two weeks later, again on the letterhead of FBI headquarters, a memo regarding the Garland Fund quotes "the following information obtained from an outside source unknown."

The memo then proceeded to repeat -- word for word -- the story carried June 20, 1941, in *The New York Herald-Tribune* of the closing out of the Garland Fund.

That stationery included a new name on the right hand border of those to get copies -- Hoover's longtime companion and right hand man, Clyde Tolson, who held the position of assistant to the director. And Tolson went from nowhere on the list two weeks earlier to the top of the list on July 12, 1941.

An FBI report dated November 15, 1941, on the Garland Fund was the first in the file in which an agent did some genuine research. The writer was FBIman E.H. Winterrowd. His report shows evidence that he actually went to the manuscript room of New York Public Library and read some of the voluminous records of the Fund.

It took the usual FBI slant by emphasizing the ultra-left on the Garland board and the left-wing organizations it helped.



The board's early luminaries included "William Z. Foster, who later became national chairman of the Communist Party. . . .Scott Nearing, who is said to have been in and out of the Communist Party on several occasions. . . .Reverend Harry F. Ward, professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, who was later the leader of the Communist front organization, the American League for Peace and Democracy. . . .Benjamin Gitlow, admitted former member of the Communist Party. . . .Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, known Communist functionary. . . .Robert W. Dunn, known Communist Party member who had figured prominently in the Party movement since its inception in this country."

This was an agent who had obviously done his homework.

Among recipients, the Daily Worker, the Communist Party newspaper, got more than a mention. The paper was started with a subsidy of \$35,000 from the Communist International, the agent wrote. Thereafter, the Garland Fund provided the paper with close to \$50,000 between 1924 and 1928 -- "some in the form of loans, though it was clear at the time that 95 percent of them would never be repaid, as indeed they were not."

Agent Winterrowd noted that the Garland Fund set up its own publishing house -- Vanguard Press -- in 1926 with an initial outlay of more than \$105,000, later increased to almost \$145,000.

Vanguard published books, among which were cheap pocket editions of various revolutionary classics, Marx, Engels, Kropotkin, Ruskin. It published a series of books on the Soviet Union, edited by Dr. Jerome Davis, who operated annual tours to the Soviet Union.

That series "was a mere rehash of Soviet propaganda," Winterrowd wrote in providing a one-sentence review of the books.

"By 1930, Vanguard Press had proved an unsuccessful financial venture, and it was sold to James Henle, under whose management it has become a sound commercial publishing firm," the report said.

The file then skips to January 1949 when the FBI was again looking at the records of the American Fund for Public Service, AKA Garland Fund, on a "security matter."

The memo begins: "In connection with a loyalty investigation conducted of" (then the next line is blacked out that would contain a name or names).

What the agent provided was a copy of the Garland Fund's 1925-28 report, noting among those getting grants were Commonwealth College, New Masses, the Daily Worker and other organizations on which there are references in Bureau files as to

"questionable activities."

The agent recommended that the copy of the 1925-28 report be transmitted to the supervisor in the Internal Security Section handling Communist front organizations.

The FBI's Philadelphia office took a new look at Garland in March 1950 regarding "loyalty of government employee."

Some badly misinformed informant (name blacked out, of course) advised that Garland -- "founder of April Farms, R.D. 2, Coopersburg, Pa., the present home of Ella Reeve Bloor" -- was reported approximately five years ago to be an employee of the U.S. government at Washington, D.C.

"Garland's present employment and whereabouts are unknown to the Philadelphia office," the memo said.

"The files of the Philadelphia office reflect that Garland is the father of Carl Garland (line blacked out) and of Nick Garland, (line blacked out). Garland's former consort, Bettina Hovey Tiesler, mother of Nick and Carl Garland, is (rest of sentence blacked out)."

The memo provided several paragraphs of mostly accurate material on Garland and the Fund.

"Garland's first wife was Mary Wrenn Garland, who bore him two children and from whom he was divorced while residing at April Farms," one half-accurate sentence said. Mary Wrenn bore him four children.

But what's curious about this memo is that it brings in Bettina and Mary Wrenn -- a generation after they split with Garland. And the heavily excised paragraph on Bettina seems to indicate the FBI was looking at her and perhaps some of her left-wing friends.

The Philadelphia FBI office asked the Washington field office to check the Civil Service Commission to see if Garland was presently employed by the federal government.

And in a prompt response, Washington replied that nothing in its files indicated Garland had ever been employed by the government.

Next, in July 1953, during the heart of the Joseph McCarthy witchhunt to root out supposed Communists in the government, the Los Angeles office of the FBI sent to Hoover what it learned from an informant about Garland, who at that point was under investigation for a "security matter."

But what the informant provided were recollections about

Garland that were twenty years old -- from the summer of 1933.

(Blacked out lines) "advised that Garland, his wife and two daughters lived in a residence in Falls Church, Virginia.

"Bureau letter requests that (blacked out) be reinterviewed regarding Garland and his wife as the Bureau files fail to reflect investigations identifiable with them."

Next, three lengthy paragraphs all blacked out.

The informant said that "Garland worked for Harold Ware in connection with a farmers organization and in making surveys. He suspected that Garland may have been an 'angel' for Ware but says he has no proof. He did not know how Garland met Ware.

"He was advised that Garland had been left a substantial amount of money and apparently did not have to work hard."

The key part of this report -- albeit of the whole Garland file -- is that this is the only informant who said that he never knew Garland or his wife as ever being Communist Party members and had never heard of them as Communists.

"Looking back, he suspected the Garlands of being 'angels' to Communist causes and enterprises. He had no information

concerning the Garlands since the summer of 1933."

He described Garland as white, about 45-50 years of age in 1933, having gray hair -- "a big, tall, rangy, gawky, but gentle person."

Garland was actually 34. But how marvelous someone finally acknowledged in an FBI report that this was a "gentle person."

The informant described Ursula -- in 1933 -- as about 35, having blonde hair and "being rather well filled out." The Garlands had two daughters, about four and six years of age, the report concluded.

Correct, Barley and Ursula had just the two daughters by 1933. It wasn't until September 1935 that their son Roger was born and February 1938 that James Albert arrived -- their last. Roger was the one named after Roger Baldwin and James Albert after Barley's father and grandfather.

The final file item dealt only with the Garland Fund. It said someone (name blacked out) provided printed reports of the fund for 1928-30 and 1930-34. The cover page of the 1928-30 report carried this hand-written advice: "Ask your Congressman or Senator for a report on this Communist-connected organization and the identified Communists who were officers or directors."

Whoever wrote it didn't include his name.

The recipients of Garland Fund money "were predominantly organizations associated with the Communist Party," the agent reported.

He noted that aid had gone to the **Daily Worker**, the NAACP and "other organizations which were used to the decided advantage of the Communist plot in furthering its overall scheme to conquer the United States from within."

Ah, yes, in Hoover's eyes, helping the NAACP in its quest to obtain equal rights for America's blacks had to be part of a Communist plot to take over the nation.

Barley's Children Have Their Say

There's a long line of no-father  
influence in the family.

Margaret (Garland) Brown

1981 interview

There's a ripple of sadness running through the recollections of Garland's two daughters from his first marriage, the marriage to Mary Wrenn.

Their first-born, Margaret "Peggy" (Garland) Brown, agreed to an interview in September 1981 at her home on Dedham Street, Dover, Massachusetts, which was in the woods next door to her mother's home. Her mother had died that January.

Peggy sent a warning earlier that summer: "I know practically nothing of my parents early life, just bits and pieces that I've heard here and there.

"Being so young at the time and the fact that he was my father made the whole thing come to me from quite a different point of view. Growing up in a broken family, and, at the time I was a teenager, there were still many articles appearing in papers and magazines that were quite traumatic at that age, which made us all quite resentful.



"In fact, I felt I was just beginning to know my father as a person shortly before he died."

But she did consent to the interview.

A month after the meeting, just after the funeral of her brother, Christopher, she wrote that she wanted no further correspondence. "I don't regret having had a talk with you, but that's as far as I'll go."

She said after seeing the young relatives for two days at the Cape, "it made me surer than ever that I don't see any point in writing a book on Barley. It would undoubtedly spark another siege of -- as you yourself said -- stories and misinformation. The children are in their teens and twenties -- and mostly named Garland. If anything started up again, it would hurt too many. I can't be a party to that."

Peggy died shortly afterward.

On the other hand, Mary "Polly" (Garland) Brubaker, Peggy's sister, phoned out of the blue from West Fork, Arkansas, in November 1982 and said, in effect, "I don't know about the rest of my family, but I want to know my family history." She was on the phone for an hour.

And in the years since, she has been tremendously helpful with a family geneology and extensive material in letters. She didn't seem to share Peggy's fears about reviving her parents early years.

Jay, one of Garland's sons by Ursula, said at one point he thought a book on his father might ease some of the mental troubles that have arisen within the family.

Mary Wrenn's four children by Garland always called him Barley. Ursula's four called him Dad.

In her interview, Peggy began with this terse early recollection of her father: "Well, I remember he was not around much. That's a good beginning, isn't it?"

"There's a long line of no-father influence in the family, and that's been part of the disaster of the whole family. My father's father died when my father was young and his mother, as you know, married and married and married."

Peggy said she and one of her brothers visited April Farm in Pennsylvania when she was about seven or eight. The last part of the trip was on her father's motorcycle. "My brother and I were plunked into this sidecar, and we went all the way from near

Newark to the farm in a sidecar. Great experience.

"We stayed in a little cabin with Bettina and the two children and Barley. Even at that age, I thought it was strange we were living with Bettina. She did sort of go around breaking up marriages -- plural. She didn't seem to mind doing it.

"Later, when I was about ten, we all went and spent the summer. He was married to Ursula then, and we spent the summer with her. We were all crazy about her. All four of us were close to her."

She said she never thought of either visit as a happy experience. "We enjoyed ourselves at times. The second time was definitely nice.

"We did what kids do in the summer on a farm. We played. There were other kids there. We ate hearty from the garden. And we went following my father around. The grownups were working, doing peaches. We were little, not old enough to be helpful."

Peggy recalled that Ursula's two daughters, Susan, born in April 1929, and Brunhilda, born in September 1930, were there. So that visit may have been in 1931.

"Barley didn't associate with his children as a father,"

Peggy said. Barley was friendly, but not affectionate. He wasn't one to pick up her up, hug her and kiss her.

When Peggy was in her teens, her fatherless family lived in Cambridge, Massachusetts. They seldom saw Barley. "He just sort of appeared once in a great while and stayed overnight. Mostly, as we got older, he did things with my brothers, making them model airplanes or taking them out on a motorcycle."

And the way Peggy described it, she and her siblings didn't have a close relationship either with their mother, Mary Wrenn. "My mother had her first great-grandchild just before she died. But my mother wasn't a grandmother either. She wasn't the grandmotherly type."

As to raising four, Mary Wrenn always had help, Peggy said. "She wasn't there any more than she had to be, to put it bluntly. This was a running-away attitude.

"She went away to school (in the early 1930s) and had someone there. She went away every summer and sent us to camp. Oh, she said she couldn't have stood staying around."

As a teenager, Peggy saw stories about her father in Sunday newspapers and magazines. "Somebody would give away money, and anybody who had given away money, especially the more colorful

ones, would have big articles written about them. And then they'd harp back to Barley -- with pictures."

She was already a young woman of twenty when the *Saturday Evening Post* on February 15, 1941, published a lengthy article entitled "Muddled Millions: Capitalist Angels of Left-Wing Propaganda" by Benjamine Stolberg.

Peggy explained, "I've had rheumatic fever and as a result of that I've had open heart surgery three times and a few other things. But when I had rheumatic fever, that was before they had all the modern medicines, I used to just plunk in bed and go over the *Saturday Evening Post*, the serial stories. All I could do was read. And they had an article in there, a story I was reading.

"All of a sudden, my mother said, 'I just cancelled the subscription.'

"I said, 'You can't. I'm in the middle of a story.'

"And she said, 'They published an article I didn't like about your father, and I called them up and told them what I thought about it.'

Peggy said she did get to see the *Post's* piece on her father and the Garland Fund. But she never did see the end of the serial

she was following.

The Post's excuse for the belated history on Garland was the September 1940 death of Robert Marshall, branded by the magazine as "a Communist fellow traveler for radical causes."

Marshall, a scientist with the U.S. Forest Service, mapped northern Alaska for the Geological Survey.

He died at age 38, leaving \$1.5 million with a quarter each of that to civil liberties and preserving American wildlife and the other half for "the promotion of advancement of an economic system in the United States based upon the theory of production for use and not for profit."

The article said the trustees of that money would include his brother, George, "an orthodox Stalinist," and others it described as a "Stalinist busybody. . .one of the heroes of the Communist Daily Worker. . .fellow-traveling member of the National Labor Relations Board" and that notorious Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

For the Post, it was a short jump from Marshall to Garland, especially since both had Baldwin on the board.

Author Stolberg called Garland a philosophical anarchist,

anarcho-millionaire and the Saint Francis of Buzzards Bay. Then, he dredged up all those old Communist, pinko, left-wing, fellow-traveler labels used by the super-patriots and conservative labor leaders of the 1920s and hurled them anew at various Garland board members and selected projects they help bankrolled and the board members of those organizations. Garland Fund directors who failed to rate the label of Red were either "dupes" or "naive" or both.

A sampling of some Stolberg lines on Baldwin catch the flavor of the article:

"Roger Baldwin is primarily a promoter of left-wing enterprises which have no base in popular movements. His ambition is to be the man who pulls the strings behind left-wing America. He is forever maneuvering himself into strategic positions of all sorts of pink and red committees, whose cumulative failures have given him a reputation as a professional idealist.

"For two decades, he has been the idol of left-wing innocents and the philosopher and guide of revolutionary debutantes of both sexes."

It purported to quote Baldwin as saying he probably picked the members of the Garland board. To this, author Stolberg observed: "If he did, he anticipated by years the Krelim

technique of 'amalgamating' Communists and their stooges with professional liberals and left-wing dilettantes."

Apparently, writer Stolberg hadn't talked to Baldwin directly. Baldwin picked the members of the Garland Fund board and hadn't been shy about admitting it.

The *Post* article also carried with it a picture of Garland and 9-year-old neighbor George Wrightington, taken at the first April Farm, a photo which appeared in the *New York Evening World* on January 22, 1922. It published no picture of the recently deceased Robert Marshall.

No wonder Mary Wrenn was furious with the *Saturday Evening Post*. Besides the magazine's attack on Barley, it skewered Roger Baldwin, who continued as a family friend to her and her children.

Peggy Brown recalled, "We were all very fond of Roger Baldwin. We used to see a great deal of him in the 1930s when we lived in Cambridge. His brother or his mother or his sister or somebody lived in Cambridge and a brother in Fairmont, which are right near.

"Oh, I remember once he came in and scooped up all his nephews and nieces and some of us and took us all up Mount



Manadnock. He was a great guy. Until he was hard at work and did all that traveling, he used to stop in here every year on his way back to Nantucket to see if any of us were here."

From Mary "Polly" Garland Brubaker of West Fork, Arkansas, the second daughter by Mary Wrenn, comes these observations:

"My father was known to us (Mary Wrenn's children) as 'Daddy Barley.' He was already gone from our family when I was born in 1924. But he would come to visit about once a year -- over night or for a weekend.

"From 1924 to 1929, I lived with my brothers and sister at Shore Cottage at Buzzards Bay, and I'm sure he came to visit us during those years, but I don't remember his being there. . . nor my mother. We were left in the care of a housekeeper who we called 'Mother'!!

"My mother was broken up over the divorce. Much later, she told me that Barley loved children so she kept having them, hoping to win him back, even though she wasn't interested in having children herself. She traveled to Europe and other places, trying to run away from the situation. In my first five years of life, I saw little, if anything, of either of them.

"When I was almost six, my mother had remarried and was

living in Cambridge and was delivering my half-brother. Barley was living in Pennsylvania at April Farm. That summer of 1930, he came, picked us up and took us to his home where he was living with Ursula. These were my first strong memories of him."

Barley and Ursula were living in a two-story frame house and were in the process of painting the rooms. "I recall sleeping in a freshly painted room (I can still smell the paint) with only a bed in it. The only other room I remember is the kitchen.

"I must have been a very difficult child as I remember Ursula scolding and spanking me. After being spanked, I cried and ran out into the tall grass, lying down to hide and trying to figure out how I could run away. But I don't remember Barley ever raising his voice, scolding or punishing us.

"The area was a park-like setting, with few other houses around it. I never had the feeling it was a group all connected to one farm.

"It had a stream from a spring running through it and several large trees, making it a shady, pretty, peaceful place. Over the spring was a springhouse to store food, keeping the food cool with the cold spring water.

"Barley worked up a fun project for my brothers and me --

white washing this springhouse. It is one of my happiest memories of the farm. He was so good to us and made it a real fun bit of work. I don't remember his telling us how to do it or complaining about the way we did it. He just handed us big cans of white wash, big brushes and let us loose. I know we must have made a terrible mess, but that seemed to be all right.

"Not far from the house was a small murky pond, our swimming hole. This was a fun spot for us even when we had to pull off loads of bloodsuckers every time we crawled out of the water.

"There was an old broken down dock overhanging the pond. Barley came down with his tools to work on it while we swam around, anticipating a new dock to jump off of. He had to go out into the water to work on the end of it. He thought he was standing on a rock, but suddenly he began to move. The excitement began when he realized he was on a large snapping turtle. The next thing was to capture the turtle and take it to one of the neighbors who, he told us, would cook it for turtle soup. We were all part of the adventure and loved the excitement of the event."

Barley had a vegetable garden behind the house. He took pride in it, she said. For Polly, this was the first time she saw asparagus growing, cut, cleaned, cooked and on the table the same day.

At one time that summer, Barley took the children up the Hudson River to go sailing. While sailing down the river, Polly fell overboard and was carried away by the current. Years later, Barley told her it really gave them a scare since it took quite a while to get her back on board. She remembered the trip, not the fall.

That summer was the only long period she ever had with Barley.

The rest of his visits were a weekend or an overnight once a year. "The thing I remember most about them were his night-time stories as we all gathered around the bed of one of my brothers. Barley was a fabulous story-teller, at least that's what we thought, making up great adventures that kept us on edge.

"When I was about nine, the story he told that night began with an exciting adventure. But suddenly he stopped right at a crucial spot and told my brother Peter he was to continue the story. Peter, despite being caught off guard, really did quite well and kept up the suspense. Suddenly, Barley told Peter to stop, that Chris was to continue. Fortunately, Chris didn't do too well and I fell asleep, saving me from having to create a story, which I felt unqualified to do.

"Barley was simply trying to get our creative minds going.

He and his brothers had been raised to do for themselves, working on their mother's farm, building their own cabin, always encouraged to pursue solutions to their own problems."

In these recollections, Mary Brubaker repeatedly described events where the ones getting the major attention from Barley were her brothers, Peter and Chris. She admitted, "Even though we saw little of Barley, he made a big impression on me, mostly because I was a tag-along with my brothers and anything that thrilled them made me happy. Barley's visits thrilled them!"

On one visit, Barley arrived on a motorcycle. "How thrilled the boys were as each got his turn riding in the back with Barley touring them around Cambridge.

"About the time my brothers were in their early teens, Barley flew a plane to Boston for a visit. He took the boys up in the plane, letting them take over the controls. Another thrill for them. We heard about it for weeks. This so impressed Chris that he saved up his allowances for a long period of time, then used that to take flying lessons in Boston. None of us knew he was doing this until he had his license, which was as soon as he was old enough."

Another time, Barley brought along "Swimbo," a toy he had invented. It was a jointed fish which swam powered by a rubber

band. "Barley never did anything with this fish, but years later gave the patent to Chris, who tried to market it, but couldn't compete with Japanese toys," Polly said.

Barley seldom wrote to any of Mary Wrenn's children. When he did, they were short impersonal notes for gifts at Christmas time or such. Polly said that once he wrote a long letter to Peggy when she got married, almost an apology for not having been a better father to her. "She was the only one who ever received such a letter."

Looking back across the nearly fifty years she and Barley shared on this earth, she said, "Everyone who knew Barley seemed to adore him. Even the help in the house loved him and looked forward to his visit. He was so quiet and kind. To me, he was just a gentle, kind, caring, thoughtful person."

But at an earlier point, she was less than glowing in her praise:

"In my mind, the man who takes good care of his own family and raises his children to become good citizens to society with good moral and mental background is more benefit to that society than the one who neglects his family and donates that -- which he didn't earn in the first place -- to the country, especially when he has created many children to be responsible for.

"Everyone of us has responsibilities which should be taken care of first, then do for one's society what one can. This should not be reversed or the first neglected. Maybe I'm too close to the situation."

James Albert "Jay" Garland, Barley's youngest who was born in 1938, remembered his father writing, writing, writing. There was a tremendous volume of material, Jay recalled, a lot of it dealing with how people create.

"Most of us believe in an outside world. But we grew up in a very isolated way in Mount Vernon. I rarely saw my father with friends and acquaintances, relatives and friends from the past. He didn't have friends. There was no family outside the immediate family. We lived this isolated life, 1939 to 1956 in Mount Vernon. I don't remember ever seeing Peter (his half-brother) until he gave me a tour of Harvard."

Jay said he wrote a fair amount of poetry in college. "Poetry was trying to talk about what was going on inside me. Barley had an absolute block about poetry. He didn't understand. He said, 'I don't get poetry.' It's been a frustration to me.

"I had a hard time at college, Harvard. Over a Chinese meal for a couple hours, I poured my heart out to him. When I asked him what he thought, he said he was kind of tired and wasn't

taking much of it in."

Toni, Jay's wife: "Barley was there for everybody that ever needed him. He was the only man I knew who could give things with zero strings attached. That looks kind of thoughtless, but he was just the opposite."

Jay: "He was not much in touch with his own feelings. I never heard him raise his voice."

Toni: "I did, once. It was 3 a.m. We were all haying. You pulled the wrong lever and all the bales came out."

Jay: "He was very caring, but he wasn't affectionate. He was really cut off from his own feelings and that was sad to me. . .and painful."

Toni: "Our kids were really in touch with him emotionally. He was not an austere man."

Jay: "He was more open with kids. I don't ever remember him telling me what to do. He had a hard time being a father. It was a dilemma to all his children."

"One time, I came in late in Mount Vernon. He pretended to be angry. He grabbed me, lifted me up and pretended to spank me."



But I thought how awkward he was in doing that."

Toni: "He was wonderful in how to do things, like operating a chain saw. He taught all the kids how to drive the tractor. He had a high regard for what you were doing. He was an interesting combination of a person."

Jay: "He was always looking up the roots of words. He was quite an inventor, working on things. He had a large wooden fish in five or six sections, a wind-up with a rubberband. **Swimbo** it was called. He had a large boat, made of reeds. He'd weave it through the winter and then he couldn't get it out of the basement.

"He was working on windmills. When the wind got too strong, the windmill blades just fold up."

Mary: "I knew Barley at a far less turbulent time. I admired him very much. He was the saddest person I ever met, to have so many strong and intense ideas and ideals and nothing he believed in deeply had come to pass, such idealism who didn't see anything happening.

"He was able to relate to people in ways of body and mind rather than the heart. Only once when he spoke to me was he close to his feelings. He read a great deal. He gave me advice as far

as Peter was concerned. He cared every much what was happening."

Jay: "He was very angry about the government. He could just harangue the government."

Mary: "Whole Sundays he would talk against the medical profession, the AMA. He could go on for quite a long time.

"Peter was touched by one incident. They were haying in New Ipswich. Aaron (Peter's son), about 9, was driving the truck, and it started to get away down the hill. Barley dove for the truck, got in and managed to get the truck stopped. It was the first time Peter felt he adored Barley.

"Peter's only trip to April Farm, him and Peggy in a sidecar of the motorcycle. They spent the better part of the summer there."

Jay: "Barley's compulsion was in writing."

Mary: "He was difficult to understand. Sad, always this feeling of how negative everything in the world was.

"It's difficult to connect Barley with the portrait Rosamund did, with women leaping in and out of his bed. . .with the austere man in 1951 in Mount Vernon.

"None of Mary Baird's four kids felt loved by Barley. He was always presented by Mary Baird as an idol to be worshipped. He never lived with Mary Baird. Before Margaret (his first child) was born, he told Mary Baird: 'If you go to the hospital, I will never see you again.' They walked through the orchard all night long trying to get her to have the baby.

"He always expected her to sleep with him. She would not have divorced him on her own. The push was from her father.

"It was so obvious she never got over him. After she was 80, she said she and Barley almost. . . 'I often wondered, if his mother had stayed out of our lives, if we wouldn't have had a good life together.' She drank heavily.

"The tragedy of his life was that it was really unrelated to other human beings."

Jay: "Why bother to relate to individuals when you say you love mankind."

Mary: "The children must have been so hurt by their mother -  
- Marie. It goes generation to generation, like the Bible says."

## FINAL YEARS

Barley was living the Bible. . .

Ursula (Feist) Garland, 1989

Ursula (Feist) Garland, Barley's longtime second wife, finally shared her story one night in November 1989 at the home of her son Jay who lived "next door" outside Peterborough, New Hampshire. Next door was perhaps three city blocks away, but it was the next house from Jay's along Middle Hancock Road.

For perhaps 15 years, Ursula had not responded to letters, clippings and even 1920s copies from Pennsylvania of her daughters birth records. Once, she simply hung up on a phone call after making it clear: "Look, I don't want to talk to you."

Yet, now at 83, with sons Jay and Roger in their 50s sitting with her, Ursula agreed to an interview. Some of the things she talked about -- particularly her early years with Barley -- were revelations to Jay and Roger.

Some of that has already been entwined in the chapter on the few years she and Barley spent at the second April Farm before it ceased and then on to the 1930s when he was involved with Communists in farm organizations.

But she also touched on her growing-up years in Germany. Ursula said she had two older sisters in the youth movement. "They hiked, overnight hikes. With guitars, they collected songs in the country that had not been published. First, it was only girls.

"Then, it became more radical, though it was not rebellious. They had ideas of what to do with young people who got in trouble. My sister Ericka was in one of these groups.

"We had a stepmother who came from narrow Catholic circumstances. Ericka was the ground-breaker. She sneaked out for an overnight hike.

"She was kicked out of the house as a disobedient daughter. Her attitude about Ericka was: She doesn't need an education, she's no good.

"My stepmother never had a child of her own, but she took over five kids. My father had to keep the peace, and he needed her -- with his five kids.

"Ericka had to finish the last year of teachers college. She was pregnant by Hans Tiesler, who studied agriculture and who had been in reform school."

Ursula said John Rothschild, an American, had a program for students called Open Road. "He picked two from Germany to come to America. Hans was one of the ones he picked. My other sister supported Ericka. Ericka's baby died.

"A social service worker helped Ericka come to America. As soon as Ericka arrived here, she was pregnant by Hans, who had a girlfriend.

"I was about 17. Ericka would ask: 'Would you come over? You can help me with my son, Robin.'

"I'd love to come. But I had to wait two years. At the end of 1926, I came to America. In November or December of that year, I met Barley. This was after he came out of jail and after his divorce.

"Each person at April Farm was paid \$10 month. Barley's idea was that this farm will provide for everyone. But Bettina had an understanding. She was the only one with private funds. She could go out and buy liquor. I called her Mrs. Garland. She said, 'I'm not Mrs. Garland.' But Barley didn't have a one-on-one with Bettina only. They all tried.

"There was a terrific jealousy between Bettina and Doris Benson. I think Doris had hopes. When I first met Barley, I

didn't know all these stories.

"In the L-shaped dining room at April Farm, Barley wrote a saying from the Bible on the blackboard -- **The kingdom of heaven is within you.** It impressed me very much. Barley was living the Bible -- not what society imposed on you, but your feelings.

"The group house had a library, and we had cabins in the woods, portable ones given by Barley's mother. I lived in one.

"Some people stayed just a short time at April Farm. The (David) Howatts were there, the father secretary to Upton Sinclair. He deposited the four kids and went off.

Ursula said that probably she was the reason Bettina and Barley split up.

"I was a kid. When Barley declared his love for me, I left. I didn't want to be around all those women at April Farm.

"I worked for a medical doctor in New York as a receptionist for two-three months. I think he was an illegal abortionist and had to have a kid who knew nothing working for him.

"I got letters from Barley. I went back. I wanted to get married. I didn't care how we lived. Roger Baldwin said common

law was legal in Pennsylvania. So we declared that we were married. Much later, in 1946, we had a legal marriage. I was never quite sure how the court would decide about the first one."

She claimed that Barley wouldn't have gotten any jail sentence in Pennsylvania if he had said his relationship with Bettina was wrong. "But he didn't think a marriage paper meant anything."

Ursula said that Barley gave Bettina a nest egg for her kids -- perhaps \$10,000 -- when Bettina and Hans left April Farm. "Bettina burned her cabin. She set fire to it and left. She was bitter."

Back to her current situation, Ursula resumed, "We moved up here in 1957 and still kept Mount Vernon." Here was a farm near Peterborough, the community that supposedly was the model for Thornton Wilder's "Our Town."

"Barley wanted to get out of the city," Ursula said. "As soon as Jay was 18, he wanted to move to the country. First, he went up. I was in college. I went up very late."

"I went to college in the 50s, first NYU, literature, and then literature at Columbia. My two girls were in college at the time. I lived in Mount Vernon. I drove every day."



Ursula and her sister, Ericka, traveled to New Hampshire. "We found this farm, isolated at the end of the road. You couldn't see the other house. A Finnish community. Barley went and liked it. So we bought it."

Jay said Barley was haying the last day of his life. "The weather was threatening. Coming up the hill to the barn, he was running and picking up bales of hay. He had a pacemaker."

Ursula said, "The day Barley died, a friend of mine came over. Barley had been reading Yevtushenko, a Russian poet. We had dinner together. It was so relaxed. Just before midnight, he had a heart attack."

Barley died October 2, 1974.

Ursula instructed the local funeral home not to give anything to the newspapers. Even the two weeklies in the area carried nothing on Barley's death. There was no viewing. The body was cremated, and Ursula took the ashes.

Grandson Aaron Garland said the family later gathered for a memorial service.

Ursula said, "My father and Barley had a lot in common. They valued relationships, not money. My father was immersed in music.

We always had a balcony with flowers. He figured that if you have enough money to survive, that was fine.

"There was a similarity between my father and Barley. It made our marriage last.

"Barley was a serious person. He read Kant a lot. Regarding the education of the children, if they didn't want to be bookworms, he said to let them choose freely, that it can't be imposed from outside. It must be your own motivation. Otherwise, there's no evolution."

Ursula went on, "In 1970, coming back from Boston or the Cape, we stopped at Concord at a chain restaurant. We always had something to talk about, a common interest.

"Someone came over and said, 'I'm amazed at the likeness of you two.'

"It's just amazing how things in this life happen -- a miracle in a way."

## EVALUATIONS

What is a failure and what is a success?

Roger Baldwin, 1976

There are all shades of opinion on the value of the American Fund for Public Service (a.k.a Garland Fund) in the heat of its existence and in the longer view of American history.

And the same can be said of the impact of the life of Charles Garland -- whose inherited money created the Fund in 1922 -- upon history, upon the women who loved him, the children he sired and the colonists he attracted.

At the outset of the Fund in speaking for its board, Roger Baldwin predicted: "The results may not be tangible as measured by dollars and cents, but the public will get its money's worth in the development of ideas that are certain by the law of percentages to be valuable to mankind in a fair proportion of cases. This is Charles Garland's goal and ours."

By 1934, when most of the money had been allocated, Baldwin said, "On the whole, I doubt if a wiser arrangement could have been made for doing the job we set out to do. Spending a million or two well is a tough job any time for anybody and hardest of

all for pioneering social causes which may or may not have survival value.

"Though we spent it in a era of decline of those movements, we succeeded in putting out a large amount of useful research. We aided a host of workers' schools, the strongest of which survive, and we helped finance many successful defense cases in the courts. These are the chief credit items only.

"Garland's million has had a brilliant career -- two, in fact -- one in Wall Street and the other on the road to kingdom come."

As to Garland himself, Baldwin said, "Most large givers to pioneering causes are either intrigued by some pet project or confused by sentimental appeals. Charles Garland at least had sense enough to leave the job to others.

"Garland was not an isolated eccentric. He was one of many beneficiaries of a system whose morality he challenged to the point to putting his money to work to undermine it."

To biographer Peggy Lamson, Baldwin conceded the Fund directors "yielded too often to friendship and passing pressures."

And in an interview in his lower Manhattan home in 1976, Baldwin admitted, "We made a lot of mistakes. You're bound to make mistakes when you speculate on the worth and merit of people who are doing some kind of pioneering work. You take chances, big chances.

"I figure that the Garland Fund did about 60-65 percent investments that -- from the point of view of hindsight -- paid off. Probably almost a third of them we wouldn't have given them the money if we had realized the capacity of people to carry out their intentions. They're rather intangible estimates."

Scott Nearing in his 1972 autobiography, "The Making of a Radical," said the Garland Fund did more harm than good. It was supposed to put left-of-center institutions on their feet. But he claimed that what the grants did was make the recipients permanent beggars from the Fund and other foundations.

Nearing branded the Fund "a wonderful object lesson in the futility and iniquity of private giving."

Giving a hungry person a meal temporarily takes care of the hunger, but that doesn't answer the problem of poverty, he said. But the one receiving the food has been taught to live parasitically and to return for repeated handouts. Thus, "beggary is institutionalized, poverty made tolerable."

Nearing claimed that when he resigned from the Fund, he posed the question to his colleagues: Have we done more harm than good?

But his resignation letter of December 12, 1929, said nothing of that. Rather, at age 46, he said he was backing off after 25 years of public life to do some serious and consecutive research and writing.

"The determination of policy belongs in the hands of younger men and women. Forward looking movements need young blood," he wrote. "In filling my place, if you can, pick someone under 25. Avoid anyone over 30.

"Success to the American Fund for Public Service. All power to the organized workers," he concluded.

Nearing asked for a copy of that 1929 letter in a brief note in 1979. He explained why he didn't have a copy of that or any of his other correspondence:

"In the summer of 1917, I was teaching sociology in Chautauqua Summer School, New York. My home was in Toledo, Ohio, where I taught at Toledo University. In my absence, agents of the USA federal government visited my home and cleared out my office,

taking unopened mail, files of correspondence, etc.

"At that point, I stopped keeping records of correspondence, etc., unless absolutely necessary. Since then, I have no files for the FBI or anyone else to pillage. What records I have and leave are nearly all published in my articles and printed books."

James Weldon Johnson said his experience on the Garland board taught him that giving away money -- if it is to be done judiciously -- is a difficult job.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, hardly an impartial source since he headed the Imperialism Study for the Garland Fund, chided the Carnegies, the Rockefellers and such for shying away from endowing foundations "aimed honestly to uncover the weaknesses in our civilization and suggest radical improvements."

Barnes bylined piece in the **New York City Telegram** of September 25, 1930, also said:

"Only one foundation exists which will back unconventional and challenging research -- and this came about as a fluke.

"Charles Garland, a highly unusual young Harvard millionaire, refused to accept his heritage from his father. Whereupon a group of American liberals seized the opportunity to

establish the American Fund for Public Service.

"This little foundation is all that liberalism can boast of. Against it are arrayed the billions devoted to preserving the existing order intact.

"We can substitute orderly and scientifically directed progress for revolution only through proper support of courageous research and statesmanship. We can hardly afford to stake the future of our country on so slender a reed as the evaporating assets of the Garland Fund."

At the time the Garland Fund ceased in 1941, **The New York Times** said on its editorial page, "As philanthropic foundations go, the Garland Fund was a modest enterprise, but its history of twenty years is a record of many good causes."

Professor Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin was able to locate a number of former Garland directors for his study of the Fund in 1959. They offered a wide range of opinions -- as wide as the different assessments of Baldwin and Nearing.

Curti pointed out that pioneering experiments and movements don't last long. "Some pave the way for more enduring institutions. Some fail to do so and thus prove their futility or at least their lack of timeliness. Some serve a temporary need



which disappears with changed conditions."

The Garland Fund operated amid the prosperity of the 1920s and then its economic collapse. Then in the 1930s, when organized labor and the government had to assume responsibility for pioneering in social welfare, the Garland Fund had little money left to help.

Brookwood and other labor colleges subsidized by the Fund eventually failed. Yet, the support to Brookwood "helped provide training for young men and women who later became prominent in workers' education in the unions and in the labor movement as a whole."

Help given to the ILGWU's Unity House in the Poconos "strengthened one of the most important developing programs in workers' education," Curti said.

"Workers education has become an important force both within many unions and at several institutions of higher learning. One cannot claim that the movement would not have developed without the support of the Fund, but one can say the Fund aided pioneering enterprises that have proved viable."

Curti found it difficult to assess the aid given in the field of civil liberties. Aid to Sacco and Vanzetti case and to

the Scopes trial in Tennessee were relatively small.

"In helping the American Birth Control League, the Garland Fund encouraged an organization which has hardly been a lost cause. In aiding the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Fund was on solid ground."

Curti said the Fund-financed studies of American imperialism documented a point of view that had little support in the 1920s, but has increasingly come to be recognized as sound.

In establishing Vanguard Press, the Fund made "the free competition of ideas more possible in a time that was in many ways discouraging to those wanting to publicize liberal and radical points of view."

Professor Gloria Garrett Samson in her recent study of the Fund differed markedly from Curti in her evaluation of the board.

Samson contended there were no original thinkers among them. . .that they were radicals rather than reformers. . .that they failed to understand that revolutions are not efficient. . .that their decisions often were quite unscientific, inefficient and slapdash. . .that they had no strategy, no concrete vision in mind. . .that they were too decorous to fight for their own

beliefs. . .and that they awarded too much to research and not enough to actual activities.

Curti, on the other hand, said in reading the voluminous records of the Fund, he was impressed that so diverse a group of personalities holding varying ideologies could work so well together.

It demonstrated the capacity and willingness of people "committed to experimental and radical approaches to the problem of improving social welfare to give as generously of themselves as do others engaged in the most valued and respected philanthropic enterprises."

Curti cited a comment of Roger Baldwin's that "encouraging democracy and minority rights and liberties is never a losing fight so long as faith in progress lasts, however great the setbacks."

## FUND GRANTS

Here are the grants -- some of them involving cancellation of uncollectible loans -- during the 1922-41 history of the American Fund for Public Service:

Affiliated Summer Schools	\$ 30
Agricultural Workers Union of Alabama	500
Alabama Farmers Union	900
All-American Anti-Imperialist League	1,000
Amal. Assn. of Street & Electric Railway Employees	1,700
Amal. Textile Workers of Patterson & Passaic	850
American Birth Control League	13,456
American Civil Liberties Union	58,311
American Committee for Chinese Relief	2,000
American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born	150
American Employers Offensive Study	4,399
American Federation of Teachers	2,000
American Indian Defense Committee	500
American League Against War & Fascism	2,000

American Shoe Workers Union	16,448
American Student Delegation to Russia	555
Anti-Imperialist League of the United States	813
Associated Textiles Inc.	40,767
Baltimore Labor College	389
Billings, Warren	205
Boston Trade Union College	1,700
Brockton District Shoe Workers	915
Brookwood Labor College	199,835
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters	17,924
Bureau of Industrial Research	2,841
Burlington Defense Committee	300
Centralia cases	3,870
Central Labor Union of Salem	7,300
Central Trades & Labor Council	2,000
China Monitor	1,000
City Committee, Socialist Party	149
Colorado Committee for Promotion of Workers Education	1,500
Colorado & Wyoming State Federations of Labor	5,750
Committee on Coal and Giant Power	19,007
Committee on Militarism in Education	12,400
Commonwealth College	27,780
Conference for Progressive Labor Action	4,865
Cooperative Glove Association	1,000

Cooperative League of America	3,103
Cultura Obrera	1,075
Daily Worker	17,606
Denver Labor College	2,798
DuBois Study of Negro Education in the South	5,000
Eastman, Max (Russian film)	100
East Side Educational Center	325
Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief	8,520
Farmers Educational & Cooperative Union	5,750
Farmers National Committee for Action	7,950
Farmers National Weekly	8,750
Farm Research Inc.	9,875
Farmers Unity Council (Lem Harris)	5,300
Federal Labor Union of St. Thomas, V.I.	100
Federated Press	81,092
Fellowship of Youth for Peace	88
General Defense Committee	6,712
Gastonia cases (International Labor Defense)	52,279
Greco-Carillo Defense Committee	7,514
Il Martello Book Shop	4,700

Il Nuovo Mondo	15,592
Independent Shoe Workers Union	2,800
Imperialism Studies	40,090
Industrial Espionage Study	1,345
Injunction Study	15,707
International Committee for Political Prisoners	1,527
International Labor Defense	23,555
International Ladies Garment Workers Union	55,945
International Pamphlets	2,800
International Publishers	3,394
International Workers of the World	25,652
Investment Bankers Study	988
Joint Amnesty Committee	1,000
Joint Board Furriers Union	40,000
Labor Age	20,765
Labor Defense Council (England)	500
Labor Organizations Directory	661
Labor Press Directory	821
Labor Research Association	3,750
Ladies Auxiliary, International Association of Machinists	6,000
Lauck, William Jett	15,700
League for Industrial Democracy	40,066
League for Mutual Aid	5,000
Liberator	500

Lindsey, Judge Ben	1,000
Macklem case	2,037
Mahler case	300
Manumit School at Pawling, NY	19,743
Marine Workers League	600
Memphis Labor Review	500
Messenger Publishing Co.	1,425
Midland Empire Cooperative Publishing Association	1,500
Minneapolis Federation of Teachers	250
Missouri Federation of Labor	15,000
Modern School Association at Stelton, NJ	3,000
Mooney-Billings case	7,150
National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People	68,201
National Child Labor Committee	2,500
National Consumers League	3,945
National Committee for Unity of Ag. & Rural Workers	14,050
National Farm Holiday News	2,375
National Textile Workers Union	6,015
National New York & Brooklyn Urban Leagues	5,000
National Women's Trade Union League	5,189
Negro Labor in the United States	1,500



Newark Labor College	180
New Leader	2,700
New Masses	31,900
New Republic (book subsidy)	741
New Student	720
New York Call & Leader	54,500
New York Women's Trade Union League	2,500
Northern States Cooperative League	1,000
Northwestern U. & Garrett Bible Institute Students	497
Novy Mir	3,500
Oklahoma Leader	20,000
Optional Military Drill League	250
Paper Box Makers Union	3,000
Passaic Central Labor Union	600
Passaic Strike (1926)	30,061
Patterson Silk Workers Joint Committee	2,000
Pennsylvania Farmers Union	105
Pennsylvania Federation of Labor	8,151
Pennsylvania System Federation #90	7,500
Peoples Lobby	4,800
Peoples Reconstruction League	1,000
Personal Service Fund	10,000
Philadelphia Labor College	10,510
Pioneer Youth of America	36,517

Pittsburgh Educational Forum	1,700
Pittsburgh Labor College	52
Polish Peoples Publishing Co.	3,084
Political Prisoners Defense & Relief Committee	1,500
Portland Labor College	6,200
Power Publishing Co.	1,000
Progressive Library of West Philadelphia	3,670
Radical Library of West Philadelphia	1,000
Radio Broadcast Station	600
Rand Book Store	800
Rand School of Social Science	40,026
Revolutionary Age	583
Rochester Labor College	75
Russian Reconstruction Farms	18,097
Russian Studies	15,109
Sacco & Vanzetti case	13,900
St. Paul Trades & Labor Assembly	150
Scottsboro Defense Committee	5,000
Seattle Labor College	5,350
Seattle Union Record	5,000
Shields-Lowell trip	2,000
Share Croppers Union	2,700
Southern Farm Leader	250
Southern Tenant Farmers Union	12,820

Southern Summer School for Women Workers	12,080
Speakers Service Bureau	12,500
Spivak, John	200
Survey of Radical Organizations	694
Teachers Union	6,672
Theatre Union	505
Trade Union Committee for Organizing Negro Workers	3,035
Trade Union Educational League	2,400
Union Health Center	10,000
United Anthracite Miners	500
United Mine Workers	21,469
United Cannery, Ag., Packing and Allied Workers	7,500
Unity House	6,750
Vatjauer case	1,900
Vanguard Press	141,453
Virgin Islands Committee	160
Wabash System Federation Shop	300
Who's Who in Labor Movement & List of Radicals	10,339
Women's International League for Peace & Freedom	5,343
Workers Education Study	10,996
Workers Health Bureau	26,042
Workers International Relief	1,000

Workers Library Publishers	800
Workers School	12,623
Work Peoples College of Duluth	1,250
World Tomorrow	9,000
World War Veterans	1,150
Wyoming State Conference of Methodist Church	300
Young Workers League (Chicago)	1,200
Young Workers League of America (Superior, Wisc.)	3,200
<b>TOTAL, ALL GRANTS AND LOAN FORGIVENESS</b>	<b>\$ 1,855,943</b>