Mary Heaton Vorse

Garrison, Dee

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Notes

Archives and Manuscript Collections
and Abbreviations

AJL    Jones Library, Special Collections, Amherst, Massachusetts
AMSS   Amherst, Massachusetts, Superintendent of Schools, High School Records
CHS    Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois
   AW    Albert Weisbord Papers
   VBW   Vera Buch Weisbord Papers
CU     Columbia University, Oral History Collection, New York, New York
   MHV   Mary Heaton Vorse
FBI    Federal Bureau of Investigation Case Files, in possession of author
   EGF   Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
   RM    Robert Minor
   MHV   Mary Heaton Vorse
FBI-IR Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, 1902–1922, Record Group 65, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
FDR    Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York
   GJ    Gardner Jackson Papers
HI     Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace Archives, Stanford University, Stanford, California
   ARA   American Relief Administration Papers
   TTGG  T.T.C. Gregory Papers
NMPR Probate Records and Deed Records, County Courthouse, Northampton, Massachusetts

NPL Northampton Public Library, Special Collections, Northampton, Massachusetts

NYSL New York State Library, Albany, New York

LC Lusk Committee Papers, New York State Committee to Investigate Seditious Activities

PHS Pottsville, Pennsylvania, Historical Society, Archives

PU Princeton University, Archives, Princeton, New Jersey

ACLU American Civil Liberties Union Papers

AB Arthur Bullard Papers

SC Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

EB Emily Balch Papers

WILPF Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom Papers

UC University of California, Archives, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California

ASWW Anna Strunsky, William Walling Papers

UNA United Nations Archive, New York, New York, Personnel File, Mary Heaton Vorse

UV University of Vermont, Archives, Burlington, Vermont

UVAL University of Virginia, Alderman Library, Archives, Charlottesville, Virginia

JDP John Dos Passos Papers

JL Jett Lauck Papers

WSU Wayne State University, Walter Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan

ACB Ann Craton Blankenhorn Papers

HB Heber Blankenhorn Papers

RD Robert Dunn Papers

CH Carl Haessler Papers

MVK Mary Van Kleek Papers

DHK Dorothy and Henry Kraus Oral History

HK Henry Kraus Papers

HO Harvey O’Connor Papers

VR Victor Reuther Papers

UAW United Auto Workers Papers

MHV Mary Heaton Vorse Papers

YUB Yale University, Beinecke Library, New Haven, Connecticut

NBHH Neith Boyce and Hutchins Hapgood Papers

JH Josephine Herbst Papers

MDL Mabel Dodge Luhan Papers

EW Edmund Wilson Papers
Interviews

Jeannette Andrews        Emily Hiebert
Martha Stone Asher      Phyllis Higgins
Justin Avelar            Clingnan Jackson
John Bebout              Dodie Jackson
Jerry Beck               Antoinette La Selle
Gay Blake                Steve Nelson
Betty Bruce              Jill O'Brien
Toby Bruce               Joel O'Brien
Vera Buech               Sally O'Brien
Catherine Cabral        Harvey O'Connor
Angela Campana           Jessie O'Connor
Nea Colton               Myra Page
Grace Cullinson          John Patrick
Sam D'Arcy               Gail Poltrack
Len DeCaux                Ed Salt
Peggy Dennis             Warren Silva
John Dewitt               Helen Tierney
Miriam Dewitt            Ernest Vanderburgh
Joseph Dutra             Heaton Vorse
Sophie Melvin Gerson     Adelaide Walker
Mary Hackett             Isabel Whelan
John Hammond             William Weinberg
Nat Halper               Hazel Hawthorne Werner

Chapter One: Amherst

1. “Deed of Sale,” Hiram Heaton, Book 350 (1879), NMPR; Dr. Roger Denio Baker to author, June 30, 1980; the Heaton house was sold after Mary Vorse's father's death to the author Ray Stannard Baker. MHV, “Footnote to History,” Boxes 1, 2, WSU-MHV; unless otherwise cited, quotes in this chapter are from this source.

2. Edward W. Carpenter and Charles F. Morehouse, The History of the Town of Amherst (Amherst: Press of Carpenter and Morehouse, 1896); Alice M. Walker, Sketches of Amherst History (Amherst: Press of Carpenter and Morehouse, 1901); Essays on Amherst's History (Amherst: Vista Trust, 1978); for Amherst Woman's Club yearbooks, city directories, Amherst Valuations of Taxes and Insurance, see AJL.


4. MHV, “Conflict,” Box 18, WSU-MHV.


7. Orlando Pond to Hiram Heaton, August 25, 1904, Box 49, WSU-MHV; Heaton Treadway to author, July 11, 1980. MHV, "New York Childhood," Box 27, WSU-MHV. Throughout her adult years, MHV habitually misstated her correct age. For example, her passport of 1915 gives 1879 as her birthdate, while her passport of 1921 cites the year 1881. Her tombstone in Provincetown, Mass., lists 1882 as the date of birth. The evidence for the correct date of her birth is in, U.S. Census Bureau, Manuscript Census, 1880, Population Schedules, Amherst, Massachusetts; Hiram Heaton to MHV, October 10, 1900, Box 48, WSU-MHV; Amherst High School Records, 1894–1897, AMSS; Daily Notes, Box 86, Hiram to Ellen, Box 46, WSU-MHV, and in Plumb, The Blackmans.

8. MHV, Daily Notes, January 1930, Box 81; Daily Notes, 1945, Box 86, WSU-MHV.

9. Ellen Marvin Heaton, "Four Feet on a Fender," Box 40, WSU-MHV.

10. MHV, "Serene Plateau," Box 10, WSU-MHV.

11. MHV, "Older Woman's Leisure," Box 10; Daily Notes, 1926, Box 79, WSU-MHV.

12. MHV, "Three Ages of a Young Lady," Box 32, Ellen to MHV, undated, Box 48; Ellen Marvin Heaton, "Miscellaneous," Box 40; MHV, "Conflict," Box 18; MHV, "Old Age," Box 115, WSU-MHV.

13. MHV, Daily Notes, 1944, Box 86, WSU-MHV.

14. Ellen to MHV, Box 49, Hiram to MHV, Box 49, "Notes on Time and Town," Box 14, WSU-MHV.

15. MHV, Daily Notes, Box 93, WSU-MHV.

17. MHV, Daily Notes, Box 93; Time and Town Notes, Box 14; “Serene Plateau,” Box 10, WSU-MHV.
18. The writer Josephine Herbst once expressed Vorse's ability to push back disturbing images in her thoughts. Herbst's 1949 short story was a thinly disguised representation of her experience as a summer boarder in Vorse's beachtown home. “Something was lacking” in Vorse, Herbst wrote, something that made Vorse shrink, not just from coming out in active criticism of others which might clear the air, but also from examining the sources of her anger and despair. Herbst recognized the source of Vorse's unexamined fear when she envisioned Vorse imposing upon another the crushing revenge of the formerly abandoned—"who in every disaster first hear their far-off terrified cries for help." See Josephine Herbst, “A Summer with Yorick,” Tomorrow, June 1949, 31–36. I am indebted to Elinor Langer for this reference. Also see Ann Craton Blankenhorn to Herbst, June 2 and 19, and MHV to Herbst, undated, in YUB-JH, for reaction to Herbst's portrayal of Vorse. MHV thought the short story "witty and amusing."
20. MHV, Daily Notes, 1926, Box 79; “Serene Plateau,” Box 10, WSU-MHV.
Chapter Two: La Bohémienne


3. MHV, “Grandmother Is a Fraud,” Box 21; “Hybrids,” Box 36; “Art School Story,” Box 157; “Newspaper Articles,” 1896–1899, Box 36; “Miscellaneous untitled Stories,” Box 35, WSU-MHV.


5. MHV, “Conflict,” Box 18; “Footnote to History,” Box 1; “Confessions of a College Woman,” Box 24, WSU-MHV.


10. MHV, “Miscellaneous Fragments,” Box 157, WSU-MHV.

11. MHV, “Grandmother Is a Fraud,” Box 21, WSU-MHV.

12. MHV, Sketchbook, Box 154; Daily Notes, 1896, Box 92, WSU-MHV.

Notes
Chapter Three: Completed Circle


3. MHV, “Forerunners,” Box 20, WSU-MHV; MHV, “Bohemia as It Is Not,” Critic, August 1903, 177–178; MHV, “Grandmother Is a Fraud,” Box 21, WSU-MHV.


5. MHV, “Miscellaneous untitled Stories,” Box 35; “Completed Circle,” Box 17, WSU-MHV.


7. MHV, “Working Mother,” and “Writing for Popular Magazines,” Box 34, WSU-MHV; MHV, A Footnote to Folly: The Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), 30; MHV, “Footnote to History,” Box 1, MHV to Hiram Heaton, May 20, 1904, Box 49, and Daily Notes, 1925, Box 79; MHV to parents, May 1904, Box 49, WSU-MHV.


9. MHV, “Molasses Seven,” Box 26, WSU-MHV.


12. MHV, “Miscellaneous untitled Stories,” Box 35; “His Irritable Vanity,” Box 21, WSU-MHV.

13. MHV, “Working Mother,” Box 34, WSU-MHV. Steffens quoted in CUMHV.


15. Bert to Mary, April 16, 1904; John Hay to Bert, August 25, 1904, Box 49; MHV, Daily Notes, 1925, Box 78; Bert to Mary, 1905, Box 49, WSU-MHV.

16. MHV, Daily Notes, November 28, 1926, Box 80, WSU-MHV. Also MHV, “How I Kept My Husband,” Good Housekeeping, November 1913, 611–619, featured as “true confession”; and MHV, “Battle in the Dark,” Box 15, WSU-MHV.


18. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 32.


20. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 34.

21. Interview, Warren Silva, Provincetown, 1980. The teenage driver, Mr. Silva, was able to pinpoint the date of this occurrence because he soon after moved from Provincetown. His memory of the event was still fresh because he was greatly impressed by the intensity of Mary’s jealous anger and Bert’s chagrin. Also see MHV, “Affairs of the House,” Box 15, and “Footnote to History,” Box 1, WSU-MHV. Bert to MHV, June 18, 1907(?), Box 50, and April 4, 1907(?), Box 52, WSU-MHV.


23. MHV, Daily Notes, 1923, Box 78; Carmela Corea,” Box 16; Daily Notes, 1925, Box 78; WSU-MHV.

24. MHV, Time and the Town, 39, 41; “Affairs of the House,” Box 15; “What Age Would You Like To Be?” Box 34, WSU-MHV.


31. MHV, “Audience with a Sultan,” Box 112; “Moroccan Story” and “Road to Arzila,” Box 113, WSU-MHV.

32. Interview, Heaton Vorse, 1982; Bert to MHV, Box 52, WSU-MHV.


34. MHV, Correspondence, undated, Box 73, WSU-MHV.

35. MHV, “completed Circle,” Box 17, WSU-MHV.

Chapter Four: Crossroads


2. Probate Records, Hiram Heaton, Box 383 #34, Docket 10889, 11350; Book 135, 106; Book 139, 22. Ellen’s will in Probate Records, Book 126, 4, 16, 1910; Book 170, 215; “Inventory,” Box 365 #45, Docket 9605; NMPR.


Box 22; “Real Race Suicide,” Box 29, WSU-MHV; New York Times, January 24, 1910, 6:2; April 16, 1910, 6:5; September 18, 1910, 6:2; June 12, 1910, 6:2; MHV, A Footnote to Folly: The Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), 39.


10. Joe to MHV, February 15, 1912, letter placed in old ledger, Box 36, and MHV to Joe, Box 53, WSU-MHV.


16. MHV, Daily Notes, 1926, Box 79, WSU-MHV; MHV, Footnote to Folly, 21.


18. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 18.

19. Ibid., 21.

20. Ibid., 14.
21. Ibid., 40; Marriage License, April 16, 1912, married in Hoboken, Box 145, WSU-MHV.

Chapter Five: Banner of Revolt


4. MHV, Daily Notes, October 1936, Box 84; “Notes, Time and the Town,” Box 14, WSU-MHV.


15. MHV, Oral History, 1957. CU-MHV.
25. MHV, *A Footnote to Pally: The Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1933), 42, MHV to mother, Box 78, WSU-MHV.
26. MHV to Joe, Box 53, WSU-MHV; MHV, Time and the Town: A Provincetown Chronicle (New York: Dial Press, 1942), 95, 96, 97; MHV, “Footnote to History,” Box 1, WSU-MHV.


28. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 47; MHV, “Freedom for Little Children,” Woman’s Home Companion, October, November, 1913, and February, April, 1914, Box 112, WSU-MHV; Floyd Dell, Love in Greenwich Village (Freeport, N.Y.: George H. Doran Co., 1926), 29.


30. MHV to Arthur Bullard, February 7, 1913, Box 54; also her series in National Post, 1911, Box 36, WSU-MHV.

31. MHV, “Women at Armageddon,” Metropolitan, September 1913, Box 34, WSU-MHV. Also Joe O’Brien, “Women’s Congress,” Colliers, August 2, 1913, Box 42, WSU-MHV.

32. MHV, “Women at Armageddon,” Box 34, WSU-MHV. Gloria Steinem’s grandmother from Toledo was also present at Budapest in 1913.

Chapter Six: Women’s Peace, Men’s War

1. Interview, John and Miriam (Hapgood) Dewitt, 1952; Michael D. Maraccio, The Hapgoods: Three Ernest Brothers (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977), 157; Hutchins Hapgood, Story of a Lover (published anonymously by Burt and Liveright, New York, 1919), 29, 48; MHV to Hapgood, Box 54, WSU-MHV; Hutchins Hapgood, A Victorian in the Modern World (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1939), 395; MHV to Hapgood, Box 54, WSU-MHV; Boyce to Hapgood, July 23, circa 1912, circa 1911, circa 1916, Correspondence, YUB-NBHH. Boyce wrote Hapgood in July 1913, that Mary was sometimes cross because Joe “didn’t work enough.” Mary, said Boyce, made Joe’s “elopement to go fishing” into “an elegant discussion on the way the world exploited her, etc.”


4. Hapgood, Victorian, 379-380;
5. Ibid., 373.
8. Boxes 141, 35, 138, WSU-MHV. Also see MHV, “The Case of Adolph,”


15. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 80; MHV to Joe, April 1915, Box 55; copy of Wales’s plan in Box 162, WSU-MHV.

16. MHV, ms. in possession of Grace Cullinson, Provincetown, Mass.


18. The meeting is described by MHV in Footnote to Folly, 79–88, and in Hague Congress of Women, Box 132, WSU-MHV. Also see Jane Addams, Emily C. Balch, and Alice Hamilton, Women at The Hague (New York: Macmillan, 1915).


20. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 67.

21. MHV’s trip through Europe is described in “Getting Arrested,” and “Europe, France, WWI,” in Box 104, WSU-MHV. Also see MHV, “Picture of the Swiss Women,” Box 29, WSU-MHV; and “The Sinistrees of France,” Century Magazine, January 1917, 445–450; “Les Evacuées,” Outlook, November 10, 1915, 622–626; Footnote to Folly, 90–127.

22. MHV, Box 1; MHV, “Not in Vain,” an unfinished novel on worldwide campaign of women to end war, WSU-MHV. Also see Paul Fussell, The Great War and Modern Memory (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).


27. Boyce to Hapgood, 1915 Correspondence, YUB-NBHH.

28. *Masses*, January 16, 1920; MHV to Joe in 1914; on Joe's illness, Boxes 53, 54, 58, WSU-MHV.

29. Hapgood to Boyce, Correspondence, November 2, 1915, YUB-NBHH.

Chapter Seven: Down the Road Again

1. MHV, *A Footnote to Folly: The Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), 130; Box 154, MHV-WSU.


5. MHV, Daily Notes, 1925, Box 78; Correspondence, Boxes 55, 56, WSU-MHV. One of Verse's new admirers was Don Corley, a young architect working with the playhouse group. Much given to solitary leave-takings after early arisings, Corley dropped pillow-notes behind. At August's end, Corley's affection was abruptly transferred to another. "I have been selfish in my own joy, Mary dear," he wrote, "or I would have written last week. Sunday Harriet and I were married. ... I knew that I loved her when first I saw her, the Wednesday before... I know you will understand, as you always do." Harriet was not so friendly. "I tore your picture to bits and spit vigorously in your face," she wrote Mary, "and I shall do it to you if I see you."


8. EGF to MHV, July 24, 1916, Box 55; Tresca to MHV, from jail, Box 56, WSU-MHV.

9. MHV, Daily Notes, Box 78, WSU-MHV.


11. Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 326.


16. Vorse was involved briefly with Edward E. Free, a chemist she met in Washington. In 1917, Free asked her to marry him. The affair dissolved when Vorse and Free quarreled over the justice of the IWW arrests. Correspondence with Free, Box 56, WSU-MHV.


20. Robert J. Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America, 1870 to Present* (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1978), has full bibliography. Also see H. C. Peterson and


22. Interview, Heaton Vorse, 1986.

**Chapter Eight: Footnote to Folly**


5. MHV, “Failure,” Box 19, WSU-MHV.

6. MHV, “Footnote to History,” Box 2, WSU-MHV.

7. MHV, “Abandoned Lands and Patchwork Quilts,” Box 15, WSU-MHV.

8. MHV, *Footnote to Folly*, 198, 201.


10. MHV, *Footnote to Folly*, 209, 212.

11. MHV to Selway, March 14, 1918, Box 56, WSU-MHV.

12. MHV, *Footnote to Folly*, 218.

13. Ibid., 223, 224.


**Chapter Nine: The Left Fork**


4. MHV to Knobby, February 19, 1929, Box 81, WSU-MHV.

5. MHV to RM, Correspondence, Box 59, WSU-MHV.

6. MHV to Selway, Box 56; Credentials, Box 104; Hoover to MHV, May 28, 1919, Box 104, WSU-MHV.


9. Correspondence, Box 56; “Footnote to History,” Box 2; “Budapest: The Heart of Communism” and “Notes,” Box 106, WSU-MHV; CU-MHV, Travel Orders, Gregory to MHV, Box 104, WSU-MHV, instruct MHV to proceed to Budapest and “carry out verbal instructions.”

10. MHV, *Footnote to Folly,* 252; MHV, “Footnote to History,” Box 2, WSU-MHV; ARA European Operation Papers, Folder, Hungary #2, April-June 1919, HI-ARA, HI-TTCG; Mayer, *Politics and Diplomacy of Peacemaking,* 828.

11. MHV, *Footnote to Folly,* 252.

12. MHV report on Károlyi, Box 106, WSU-MHV.


15. MHV, *Footnote to Folly,* 272.

17. Daily Summaries, 1919, Box 77; MHV to RM, note dated June 21, 1919, located in ledger, Box 36, WSU-MHV.

18. New York Times, July 15, 1919, 1:2; also see ibid., June 12, 1919, 5:4; June 15, 14:1; June 16, 15:2; June 22, 3:4; July 1, 15:2; Robert Minor, “The Spartacist Insurrection,” Liberator, August, September 1919, 22-25, 31-39; Lincoln Steffens, The Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958), 841-842; Steffens to Hutch Hapgood, December 21, 1919, YUB-NBHH; R. B. Minor to House, June 27, 1919, and House to R. B. Minor, July 25, 1919, YUS-EH. House tells Minor's father he did what he could but was criticized for it. Also see Robert Minor, “I Got Arrested a Little,” Liberator, December 1919, 28—an inaccurate account of events, probably because Minor preferred to believe that his own courageous integrity and the protest of angry workers, rather than the efforts of American liberals, saved him from trial. Also see New York Times, July 4, 1919, 5:2; July 7, 15:7; July 9, 17:5; July 11, 11:2; July 12, 2:7; July 13, II, 1:6; July 15, 1:2; July 16, 12:6; September 30, 21:7; October 11, 13:3; October 13, 12:6; October 19, II, 1:7; October 24, 10:1; October 25, 10:5; and Cases 202 600-1754; 202 600-166; OG 208 369; OG 208 369-A, FBI-RM.

19. Robert Minor to Leo Kaplan, Box 57; also see Box 41, WSU-MHV. Minor’s articles are in New York World, February 4, 6, 1919. Max Eastman, “Bob Minor and the Bolsheviks,” Liberator, March 1919, 5-6. The most imaginative judgment is by Albert Weisbord who, after his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1930, decided that Lenin and Minor conspired on the World articles so as to mislead the American bourgeoisie and thus hasten withdrawal of American troops, CHS-AW. The general lack of information about Lenin’s government or intent brought much attention to Minor’s articles. Minor was one of the first American writers to talk to Lenin, who had granted Minor an interview because he knew and admired Minor’s work on behalf of Mooney. According to Don Levine, Eyewitness to History: Memoirs and Reflections of a Foreign Correspondent for Haifa Century (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1973), 65, Lenin was “especially hard on American journalists” after Minor’s report in the World.


22. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 273-274.

23. MHV to Walter Pettit, August 25, 1919, and Marot to MHV, August 4, 1919, Box 56, WSU-MHV; interview, Joel O’Brien, 1984, who was at the farmhouse when it burned.

24. MHV to Gregory, August 6, 1919; MHV to Gutterson, August 6, 12, 1919; Gutterson to MHV, August 8, 1919, in Box 56, WSU-MHV. Gutterson to Gregory, August 14, 1919, Correspondence, General, A-Z, HI-TTCG. Also see Carl Parrini,

Chapter Ten: Union Activist


3. MHV, Men and Steel (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1920), 67; MHV, A Footnote to Folly: The Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1935), 280. Newdick had worked as a social worker, a newspaperman, and a writer for the Committee on Public Information.


6. MHV, Men and Steel, 36, 37, 64–67, 178; MHV, “Slovak Parish,” and “Steel” in Box 31, WSU-MHV. In Monessen, after the strike was broken, strikers could not return to work unless they offered an apology to the local Catholic priest who was a friend of the superintendent of the steel mill. John Bodnar, Worker's World: Kinship, Community and Protest in Industrial Society, 1900–1940 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 93. Interchurch World Movement, Public Opinion and the Steel Strike, 163–220; William S. Haddock to W. R. Rubin, October 17, 1919, Box 120, WSU-MHV; MHV, Fraycar's Fist (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924), 9–32.


8. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 288–289; MHV, Miscellaneous, Box 154, WSU-MHV.


12. John Dos Passos, *The Big Money* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1961; originally published 1936). Series I, Box 4, “The Big Money,” UVAL-JDP. The manuscript notes show that Dos Passos was also thinking of Mary Vorse’s later activity at Passaic in 1926, when he mentions that Mary French recovered there after a long slide downward, caused by her lover leaving her for another woman, just as Robert Minor would leave MHV for Lydia Gibson in 1922.

13. MHV, Steel 1919, Notes, Box 120, WSU-MHV; Dos Passos, *The Big Money*, 125, 150–51.

14. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 298–299.


17. Weinberger to MHV, November 6, 1919, and R. B. Spence to Frank Burke, Department of Justice, November 11, 1919, FBI–MHV.


21. Box 5, WSU-CH. Haessler served as managing editor of the Federated Press...
Chapter Eleven: Smashup

2. Interview, Heaton Vorise, 1986.
5. MHV to RM, Box 59; MHV, "Daily Summaries, 1920," Box 77, WSU-MHV.
6. Robert Minor, "I Change My Mind a Little," Liberator, October 1920, and "Answer to My Critics," ibid., November 1920. After the postmaster general's suppression of the Masses, Max Eastman and his sister, Crystal, began publication of the Liberator, which reported the socialist movement here and abroad. Also see Leo Caplan to RM, June 22, 1920, in possession of Joel O'Brien, Provincetown. RM to Caplan, Box 57, and RM to Tom Mooney, Box 56, WSU-MHV.
7. MHV to RM, undated 1920, Box 57, WSU-MHV.
8. CU-MHV.
9. MHV to RM, Box 59, WSU-MHV; Daily Notes, Box 78; RM to MHV, September 13, 1919, Box 57, Time and Town Notes, Box 14, WSU-MHV; interview, Heaton Vorise, 1984.
10. Correspondence, August 1920, between RM and LG in possession of Joel O'Brien; RM to Binnochicia (LG), August 11, 1920, Box 56, WSU-MHV; telephone interview with Peggy Dennis, 1984; and interview with Steve Nelson, for impressions of LG, 1984.
11. MHV to RM, Boxes 57, 59; MHV to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Box 56; MHV, Daily Notes, Box 78, WSU-MHV.
12. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 350-351; Daily Notes, Box 78; MHV, "Men, Some Reflections On," Box 23; passport, Box 145; documents concerning passage in and out
of Germany in June 1921 and January 1922, Box 57, WSU-MHV, YUS-HW, for MHV’s will and power of attorney to Josephine Ham, June 7, 22, 1921.


17. MHV, “Russian Pictures,” Laborator, July 1922; Footnote to Folly, 362–392; “Russian Famine,” Box 107, WSU-MHV; Duranty, I Write as I Please, 122–138, reached Samara a few days after Vorse, as did Floyd Gibbons, “Polyglot Hordes Congest Samara,” New York Times, August 30, 1921, 5:3; Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts, Through Starving Russia (London: Methuen, 1921).


21. MHV, Daily Notes, Box 78, WSU-MHV. Vorse mentions the annulment in 1922 of her marriage to Minor, Box 92, WSU-MHV.

22. MHV, Footnote to Folly, 394, 395; MHV, Second Cabin (New York: Horace Liveright, 1928).


Chapter Eleven
Chapter Twelve: The Long Eclipse

1. MHV, Daily Notes, 1923, Box 78; MHV to Mary Simkhovitch, Daily Notes, 1927, Box 80, WSU-MHV.
2. MHV, Daily Notes, 1925, Box 78, WSU-MHV.
3. Ibid., 1923, 1926, Box 79, WSU-MHV.
6. MHV, Daily Notes, 1923, 1925, Box 78, WSU-MHV, says of Linda Gibson, “She had no charity nor did she keep the rules. Her idea was to separate me from RM and to make me as unpleasant in his eyes as possible. I think she was mighty wise.”
7. Ibid., 1923, Box 78; MHV to RM, and Griffin Barry to MHV, Box 58, WSU-MHV.

Notes
8. Hutchins Hapgood to MHV, cited Daily Notes, 1928, Box 80, WSU-MHV.
9. MHV, Daily Notes, 1923, Box 78, WSU-MHV.
10. MHV, "Drink, a Very Human Document," Cosmopolitan, March 1924, 36; Daily Notes, 1923, Box 78, WSU-MHV.
12. MHV, Daily Notes, 1926, Box 79, WSU-MHV.
13. Ibid., 1925, Box 79, WSU-MHV.
14. Ibid.
17. MHV, Daily Notes, 1926, Box 79, WSU-MHV. The host, Lewis Cannett, was a newspaperman and book critic for the New York Herald Tribune.
18. MHV, "Passaic," Box 116, WSU-MHV.
25. MHV, "Passaic Strike Notes," Box 118; MHV, "Passaic," Box 116, WSU-MHV.
26. Isabelle Kendig to Forrest Bailey, May 6, 1926, and Bailey to Kendig, May 8, 1926, vol. 310, PU-ACLU; Kendig to Bailey, May 6; Correspondence, Box 58, WSU-MHV, for letters between Kendig, Margaret Larkin, Pauline Clark, MHV, on Washington lobbying effort.
27. Proceedings, Seventh Biennial Convention of The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, May 13, 1926, 307–309, for speech by MHV to convention, in
Chapter Thirteen: War in the South


5. MHV, “Gastonia Strike,” Box 122, WSU-MHV.


13. See newspaper clippings, including Federated Press, in vol. 367, PU-ACLU.

14. MHV, Strike Journal, Gastonia, Box 155, WSU-MHV. Also see Box 156 for clippings, dispatches, notes, and correspondence about strikes in Gastonia and Elizabethon. In my interview with Vera Buch, in 1984, she remarked that she was embarrassed to have the workers read the Daily Worker, so inaccurate were its reports of the prospects for victory at Gastonia.

15. Weisbord, A Radical Life, 206.

16. MHV, Strike Journal, Gastonia, Box 155, WSU-MHV.

17. Ibid.

18. Weisbord, A Radical Life, 218; CHS-VBW in Box 6, CHS-AW.


20. MHV, Miscellaneous Notes, Box 155, WSU-MHV.


24. MHV, “Elizabethon Sits on a Powder Keg,” New Masses, July 1929, 6; MHV, Box 156, WSU-MHV; telephone interview, Sophie Melvin (Mrs. Si Gerson), 1984; letter to author from Broadus Mitchell, February 7, 1985. I am indebted to Rita Heller for this last citation.


26. Daily Notes, 1929, Box 81, WSU-MHV.

27. MHV, “Affairs of the House,” Box 15, WSU-MHV.

28. Daily Notes, Box 81; Miscellaneous Notes, Box 156, Correspondence, Box 156, WSU-MHV; MHV to Forrest Bailey, June 11, 1929, vol. 367, PU-ACLU.

29. Edmund Wilson, The Shores of Light: A Literary Chronicle of the Twenties and Thirties (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Young, 1952), 497–498. Wilson said the New Republic sent a young man to Gastonia who reported back that there was nothing of interest there. Wilson later marveled that the young fellow had been there on the day Ella May Wiggins was killed. Also see Dos Passos to MHV, 1929, Box 60, WSU-MHV.

32. See Boxes 155, 156, WSU-MHV, for Vorse's press dispatches and for newspaper clippings on the trial.
33. MHV, “Gastonia,” Box 155, WSU-MHV.
34. MHV, Daily Notes, 1929, Box 81, WSU-MHV.
35. MHV, Dispatches, Box 155, WSU-MHV.
37. MHV, Daily Notes, September 14, 1929, Box 81, WSU-MHV.
38. MHV, “Songs Live On: Ella May Dies, Mob’s Victim,” New York Evening Graphic, September 16, 1929, Box 155, WSU-MHV; interview, Vera Buch Weisbord, 1984. According to a letter I received from Randall H. Tolbert and Tish Merril on November 20, 1983, Wiggins was pregnant when she was murdered. Vera Buch wrote me in November 1983 that she believed the puzzling box of “luxry women's clothing,” found in Wiggins's home after her death, had been given to Wiggins by MHV. Buch added: “It was a great mistake on [Vorse's] part to imagine that poor despised textile workers coveted these luxuries women have. . . . The gift of it was Vorse’s feeling of guilt that she had all these lovely things while the strikers were so dirt poor.” No one was ever tried for Wiggins's death.
39. Dispatches, Box 155, WSU-MHV.
41. Tom Tippett, “Mill Boss Gloats over Massacre,” dispatch to Federated Press, Box 156, WSU-MHV.

Chapter Fourteen: Holding the Line

1. Mary Austin, Earth Horizon: Autobiography (New York: Riverside Press, 1932), 279; Dodge to MHV, January 6, 1929, and Austin to MHV, December 31, 1929, Box 59; Austin to MHV, Box 54; MHV, Daily Notes, 1930, Box 81; Daily Notes, 1929, Box 82; WSU-MHV; MHV, “Deer Dance in Taos,” Nation, August 13, 1930, 179; MHV to Boyce, Correspondence, circa 1929, YUB-NBHH; Henry C. Schmidt, “The American Intellectual Discovery of Mexico in the 1920s,” South Atlantic Quarterly, Summer 1978, 333–351; MHV, Daily Notes, 1930, Box 81; Ellen to MHV, December 30, 1929, Box 59, WSU-MHV; MHV to Dodge, YUB-MDL.

2. MHV, Daily Notes, 1930, Box 81, and Daily Summaries, 1930, Box 77, WSU-MHV; MHV, “Mexico the Beautiful,” Good Housekeeping, April 1931, 42–43; MHV, “Mexican Adventure,” Box 26, WSU-MHV.

Dorothy Day: A Biography (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1982), 211–212; Dorothy Day, “Picture of M-H-V,” Box 40, WSU-MHV.

4. MHV, Daily Summaries, 1930, Box 77, and Daily Notes, Box 81, WSU-MHV; Betty Bruce to author, 1980; MHV to Neith Boyce and Hutch Hapgood, 1929, YUB-NBHH, MHV, Daily Notes, 1939, Box 82, WSU-MHV.


6. MHV, Daily Notes, 1930, Box 82, WSU-MHV.

7. MHV, Strike! (New York: Horace Liveright, 1930). MHV spoke on Strike! to Heterodoxy in January 1931; see Inez Irwin to MHV, November 18, 1930, Box 60, WSU-MHV. Carl Reeve, “Gastonia: The Strike, The Frameup, the Heritage,” Political Affairs, April 1984, 23–31, denies that only women were on the picket line.

8. Roger Baldwin called her novel “an enduring memorial to a great strike,” in Baldwin to MHV, November 3, 1930, Box 60, WSU-MHV; Sinclair Lewis, “A Novel for Mr. Hoover,” Nation, December 10, 1930, 474; Haessler to MHV, Box 59, WSU-MHV.


10. EGF to MHV, May 16, 1930, and MHV, Daily Notes, 1931, Box 82, WSU-MHV.

11. MHV, Daily Notes, 1931, Box 82, WSU-MHV.

12. Ibid., September 21, 1931, Box 82, WSU-MHV.

13. Ibid., “England and Germany, 1931,” Box 82; MHV, “Ellen Wilkinson Is Dead,” Box 19; MHV, Daily Notes, 1931, Box 82, WSU-MHV.

14. MHV, “Reinhardt and Revolution,” New Yorker, December 26, 1931, 37–39; MHV, “Davis Cup at Zagreb,” Box 18; MHV, “Germany, 1931, Notes,” Box 105; letters from MHV to Ellen and Heaton, Box 60, WSU-MHV.


18. MHV, Daily Summaries, 1932, Box 77; Daily Notes, 1931, Box 82; Daily Notes, 1932, Box 83, WSU-MHV.

20. MHV, Daily Notes, 1932, Box 83, WSU-MHV; Wilson, The Thirties, 161.
23. Wilson, The Thirties, 166–167. MHV, “Rendezvous,” Box 29, WSU-MHV, is a fictionalized account of her trip to Pineville.
25. Cowley, Dream of the Golden Mountains, 71; U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Manufacturers, Conditions in Coal Fields in Harlan and Bell Counties, Kentucky, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Manufacturers, on S.R. 178, 72d Congress, 1st sess., 1932; Wilson, The Thirties, 175–176; “Flogged on Way from Kentucky,” New York Herald-Tribune, February 12, 1932. Herndon Evans, who filed the false report, was also editor of the Pineville Sun and then the Bell County correspondent for the Associated Press. MHV, “Harlan County,” Box 109, WSU-MHV; “Kentucky Ejection Told to Senators,” New York Times, February 13, 1932, 15:7; Draper, “Communists and Miners,” 387. Wilson, The Thirties, 184–185, remembered that after their visit to Pineville, he, Dos Passos, and MHV sat in a New York speakeasy accusing each other of not being far enough left and that Vorse “announced solemnly that she had thought about her Provincetown house being confiscated [by the federal government].”
26. MHV, Daily Notes, 1932, Box 83, WSU-MHV.
29. MHV, Daily Notes, 1932, Box 83, WSU-MHV; Elinor Langer, Josephine Herbst (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984); MHV, Daily Notes, 1932, Box 83; Daily Summaries, 1932, Box 77, WSU-MHV.


35. Day offended many right-wing Catholics with her stand against the Vietnam War and nuclear weapons, and her support of Cesar Chavez's unionization of migrant workers. Her last years were spent at a Catholic Workers' hospice on the lower East Side.


39. MHV to Joel, May 1933, Box 61; MHV, Daily Summaries, 1933, Box 77; Daily Notes, 1933, Box 83; MHV to Ellen, May 1933, Box 61; clippings and notes on Europe–Germany, 1933, and Economic Program, Box 105, WSU-MHV; MHV to Katy and John Dos Passos, Box 19, UVAL-JDP; MHV to "Bunny" Wilson, June 23, 1933, YUB-EW; MHV, "Berlin Letter," Box 105, WSU-MHV; MHV, "Getting the Jews out of Germany," *New Republic*, July 19, 1933, 256.


42. MHV, "Do You Know These People?", *McCall's*, 1934, 35, 25; MHV, Moscow Article, Box 107; Daily Summaries, 1933, Box 77; WSU-MHV; James William Crowl, *Angels in Stalin's Paradise: Western Reporters in Soviet Russia, 1917 to 1937: A Case Study of Louis Fischer and Walter Duranty* (New York: University Press

Chapter Fifteen: Washington Whirl

1. MHV, Daily Notes, Boxes 83, 90, WSU-MHV.
3. MHV, Daily Notes, Box 83, WSU-MHV.
4. MHV, "Washington Whirl," McCall's, June 1934, 16, 130; also see draft in Box 34, WSU-MHV. The note of high glee expressed here was considerably softened by the McCall's editors for publication.
5. MHV, Daily Notes, Box 84, WSU-MHV.


14. FBI-MHV; U.S. Congressional Hearings, Before the Committee on Indian Affairs, House of Representatives, 74th Congress, 2d sess., 1936, May 9, April 26, 121–122, 122–124.


19. Telegram, David Dubinsky to MHV, December 5, 1936; MHV to Julius Hochman, December 13, 1936; Julius Hochman to MHV, undated, Box 64; MHV report to Hochman in Box 127; MHV to Ellen, 1956, Box 63, WSU-MHV.

20. Katy Dos Passos to "Casper" (MHV), undated from Key West, Box 62, WSU-MHV; interview, Toby and Betty Bruce, 1984.

Chapter Sixteen: Labor's New Millions

2. MHV, “Flint Sitdown Strike,” Box 109, WSU-MHV. Unless otherwise indicated material in this chapter on the Flint sit-down is from this source. Also see MHV, Labor’s New Millions (New York: Modern Age Books, 1938), 67-69.


6. Hallie Flanagan planned the didactic plays called Living Newspapers as part of the Federal Theater Project. The first Living Newspaper was censored by Washington authorities in 1935. Before the federal government closed down its program, in June 1939, five Living Newspaper plays reached the stage. See Hallie Flanagan, Arena: The History of the Federal Theater (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce, 1940). Morris Watson describes the wild rehearsals and delivery of Strike Marches On in “Sitdown Theater,” New Theater and Film, April 1937. Also see Box 109, WSU-MHV.


9. Milton Siegel to Harry Poth, February 24, 1937, PU-ACLU; MHV, on Anderson strike, Box 94; Federated Press releases, Box 36; Victor Reuther to MHV, April 5, 1937; EGF to MHV, March 22, 1937; KDP to MHV, March 8, 1937, Box 64, WSU-MHV. The UAW paid Heaton’s medical and legal fees.


12. See, for example, "Johnstown Situation Tense: Mary Heaton Vorse Is Shot in Deadly Youngstown," Boston Sunday Globe, June 20, 1937, 1; MHV, radio interview, July 24, 1937, Box 113, WSU-MHV; MHV, Labor’s New Millions, 144. According to the La Follette Committee investigation, Vorse was treated at the Youngstown Hospital when "struck by a brick or stone." Matthew Josephson in Infidel in the Temple: A Memoir of the Nineteen-Thirties (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1967), 415, reports Vorse was grazed by a submachine gun bullet. Murray Kempton describes the incident in Part of Our Time: Some Ruins and Monuments of the Thirties (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955), 216, as: "She was clubbed by a policeman’s billy." Professor John C. Tamplin credits the reports of a Youngstown Vindicator columnist and the examining physician who said Vorse suffered a head laceration, not a bullet wound; John C. Tamplin to author, August 23, 1984. I am grateful to Professor Tamplin for sharing his research paper, "Mary Heaton Vorse, Journalist: Victim of Strike Violence?" before its publication in Labor History, Winter 1987, 84–87. Tamplin also has produced an edited collection of her fiction in his book manuscript, "Lollypops and Bullets: A Mary Heaton Vorse Reader."

13. MHV to Ellen, July 3, 1937, Box 64, WSU-MHV; Marquis W. Childs, "Foreword," in MHV, Labor’s New Millions, 2–3; Federated Press to MHV, June 20, 1937, Box 64, WSU-MHV.

14. MHV, Daily Summaries, 1937, Box 77; League of American Writers, Box 166; Ellen Blake to MHV, July 6, 1937; League of American Writers to MHV, September 23, 1937; Myra Page to MHV, undated 1937, Box 63, WSU-MHV.


16. MHV, Daily Notes, 1938, Box 85; Daily Notes, 1937, Box 84, WSU-MHV.

17. MHV, Daily Notes, 1938, Box 85, WSU-MHV. John Dewey, upon his return from interviewing Leon Trotsky in Mexico, stayed with MHV for a few days in the house within the Navy Yard.


19. MHV, Labor’s New Millions, 172.

20. Bruce Bliven to MHV, September 29, 1937, Box 64, WSU-MHV.

21. The description of her private concerns in this period are based on evidence in MHV, Daily Notes, 1939–1943, Boxes 85, 86, WSU-MHV.

22. MHV to Neith Boyce, Correspondence, YUB-NBHII; interview, Nea Colton, 1982; interview, Heaton Vorse, 1985.

23. MHV, "January, 1941 folder," Box 86, WSU-MHV.

24. MHV, Time and the Town: A Provincetown Chronicle (New York: Dial Press, 1942), 337; MHV, Daily Notes, 1939, Box 85, WSU-MHV.
Chapter Seventeen: The Last Lap


2. MHV, Daily Notes, July 1943, Box 86, WSU-MHV; unpublished ms. outline, “Wartown,” by MHV, FDR-GJ.

3. MHV, Daily Summaries, 1943, Box 77, WSU-MHV. Herbst was accompanied by Clare Lanning when she came to MHV’s house the day she was fired. That evening the group commiserated with Mildred Straight. For a complete description of firing of Herbst, see Elinor Langer, *Josephine Herbst* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984), 245–260, 287–289, 268–276. Langer demonstrates that the author Katherine Anne Porter gave the federal authorities a totally fanciful account, which falsely accused Herbst of serving as a Communist courier. Fleeta Springer would also be affected by Porter’s diatribe, when Springer’s husband, Robert Coe, temporarily lost his security clearance as a physicist for the Atomic Energy Commission—solely because the FBI interrogators reported him to be the same man as another: “Bob” Coe whom Herbst had known in Washington in 1934.

4. MHV to JH, undated letter, YUB-JH.
5. Cordell Hull to Allen T. Treadway, March 25, 1944, Box 67, WSU-MHV; MHV, Daily Notes, 1945, Box 86, WSU-MHV.

6. UNA-MHV, N.Y.; MHV, “Old Age Came to Me,” Box 115, WSU-MHV.

7. The FBI Field Office files, containing the raw data that expose the sloppy and often illegal methods of gathering information, were allegedly destroyed by the FBI in the late 1940s. A larger destruction of field-office files began in the early 1970s, just before the Freedom of Information Act went into effect. The Boston Field Office sent me approximately two-thirds of the pages, many heavily censored, in MHV’s file. MHV-FBI. The Washington Field Office reported that her file was destroyed in 1972. The New York Field Office, which probably held the bulk of FBI “evidence” against Vorse, reported to me that it possessed no “information identifiable with Mary Heaton O’Brien Minor Vorse,” even though I was able to give the New York office the number of her file there, which I had found referred to in other FBI documents. During the Reagan administration FBI files released under the Freedom of Information Act were often censored, to an extreme, as FBI officials made use of notions of “national security” and “classified material” to justify their failure to honor the spirit of the act. These files are so heavily censored that they become all but useless to the researcher, or to the many victims of FBI investigations of “subversives” during J. Edgar Hoover’s long reign. My several formal appeals to the FBI to release more information were denied.

8. Building on data collected during the Red Scare of the 1920s, the FBI established a “Custodial Detention List” in 1939. In 1943, the attorney general ordered the termination of this list. Hoover secretly directed FBI officials to continue the program under the new name of Security Index. This list eventually became the attorney general’s Portfolio Plan, in operation from 1948 until the mid-1960s. At its peak in 1955, the FBI Security Index included twenty-six thousand individuals.

9. George Woodbridge, UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (prepared under direction of Columbia University Press, 1950); MHV to Arthur Fletcher, February 6, 1946, Box 68, WSU-MHV. For her writing and notes on UNRRA work, see Boxes 124–127, WSU-MHV.

10. MHV, “Serene Plateau,” Box 10; MHV, UNRRA Notes, Boxes 125, 126, WSU-MHV.

11. B. Ashford Russell to Mission Executive Officer, January 14, 1947, UNA-MHV, indicates his disappointment with her work; MHV postwar articles in Box 36; “German Series,” Box 20; “Reflections of an American Woman in Germany,” Box 29, WSU-MHV; MHV to JH, April 3, July 29, 1947, YUB-JH; Daily Notes, 1947, Box 87, WSU-MHV.

12. MHV, Daily Notes, 1947, Box 87, WSU-MHV.

13. Ibid., 1948, Box 87, WSU-MHV.

14. MHV to JH, April 18, 1949, YUB-JH; Truman cited in Jack Salzman, Albert Maltz (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 103. For a full discussion of Jo Herbst and the Hiss case, see Elinor Langer, Josephine Herbst (Boston: Little, Brown, 1984). Pertinent correspondence between Herbst and MHV is in Boxes 68, 69, 72, WSU-MHV, and in Correspondence, YUB-JH. While in Mexico, MHV talked with John Herrmann, Herbst’s ex-husband, who had moved to Mexico to avoid questioning by the FBI. To judge from MHV’s heavily censored FBI file, and from the surviving Chapter Seventeen
correspondence, the FBI did not attempt to question MHV about her connection to the Ware group. In 1954, Herbst, who had been denied a passport on the grounds she was a subversive, successfully cleared herself from the charge. Herbst asked MHV for an affidavit stating that Herbst had been with MHV in Provincetown during the summer of 1934, the time in which Whittaker Chambers claimed he had developed some film of stolen government documents while staying in Herbst’s Washington apartment.

15. MHV, Correspondence, November 1951, Box 69; Daily Notes, 1952, Box 89; Daily Notes, 1949, 1950, Boxes 87, 88, WSU-MHV.
16. MHV to Carmela, Daily Notes, Box 88, WSU-MHV.
17. MHV, Daily Notes, Box 89, WSU-MHV.
18. MHV, Correspondence, Boxes 70, 68, WSU-MHV.
22. Interview, Jeannette Andrews, 1982; MHV’s experience at Yaddo described in Daily Notes, 1954, Box 89, WSU-MHV.
23. Ann Craton Blankenhorn to Jo Herbst, November 13, 1958, and January 10, 1958, in YUB-JH.
24. John Dos Passos, Chosen Country (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951), 226–243. In his early draft of Chosen Country, JDP entitled the chapter about Anne Comfort “The Girl on the White Horse.” The draft also contains a section showing Carl Humphries’ (Robert Minor’s) involvement in the Spartacist movement and mentions that the British and French intelligence were after him in Paris in 1919, in Box 9, Series I, UVAL-JDP Townsend Luddington, John Dos Passos: A Twentieth-Century Odyssey (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1980), agrees that MHV was the model for Anne
Chapter Eighteen: Serene Plateau

1. MHV, Daily Notes, 1956, Box 90, WSU-MHV.

2. MHV, “The Care and Treatment of the Aged,” Box 16, WSU-MHV. During these years she also revised an old manuscript, “Women’s Lives,” and retitled it “Men: A Gentle Inquiry into Why They Are Not So Hot,” Box 25, WSU-MHV.

3. MHV, “Serene Plateau,” Box 10, WSU-MHV.

4. MHV, Box 71, WSU-MHV. I am grateful to Rosalyn Baxandall for the knowledge of this last meeting between MHV and EGF.


6. MHV, “Henderson Strike,” Box 122, WSU-MHV.

7. Interview, Miriam and John Dewitt, 1982; Henry Robins to MHV, September 30, 1958, Box 72, WSU-MHV.

8. Correspondence, Box 72, WSU-MHV.

9. ACB to MLM, WSU-ACB.


