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WILLIAM GROPPER AND FREIHEIT: A STUDY OF HIS POLITICAL CARTOONS, 1924 - 1935

by

Patricia Phagan

Volume One

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2000

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

WILLIAM GROPPER AND FREIHEIT: A STUDY OF HIS POLITICAL CARTOONS, 1924-1935

by

Patricia Phagan

Adviser: Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long

The author examines a selection among the thousands of political cartoons William Gropper drew for the New York Yiddish newspaper Freiheit (Freedom), later known as Morgen Freiheit (Morning Freedom), during the first eleven years of his career on the paper, from late 1924 when he became full-time to mid-1935 when he began his painting career in earnest. An organ of the radical Jewish left, Freiheit (1922-1988) promoted Yiddish culture, or Yiddishkeit, and supported most official Communist positions during these years. While the author focuses on these years in Freiheit, she also looks at earlier drawings and cartoons by Gropper, beginning in 1917, that led, in part, to the development of his cartoons for the paper.

This is the first art historical study of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit. It contributes to the literature on

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Gropper and American political art of the 1920s and 1930s through investigating a neglected but major source of Gropper's cartoons, analyzing selected works according to leftist ideological concerns, studying the drawings in the context of radical cartoon styles, and uncovering the importance of Freiheit for his most noted painting, The Senate.

The dissertation is divided into two parts. Part One examines the artist's early life, including his childhood in the Lower East Side of New York, the effect of the tradition of social consciousness among the Jewish immigrants there, the lasting effects on Gropper of Robert Henri's teachings at the Ferrer Center, and the evolution of humanistic themes and related cartoon styles in his student drawings. This part provides the first overviews of his cartoons in the New York Tribune, the Labor Defender and Rebel Worker, Revolutionary Age, New Yorker Volkszeitung, and Advance.

Part Two chronicles the history of Freiheit and examines three major categories of ideologically-driven cartoons Gropper drew for the paper--the capitalist, the antiradical Jewish socialist, and cartoons against fascism. Indeed, Gropper's cartoons of Mussolini, Pilsudski, Hitler, Japan, and American "fascists" are a major contribution to antifascist art. This part concludes with the author citing

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a new source for Gropper's painting, The Senate, of 1935, in drawings made for Freiheit a year earlier. She ends this study by discussing the importance of the war-driven capitalist for radical ideology at the time.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1987, I found that my first dissertation topic, on the German artist George Grosz and his reception in America in the 1930s, could not develop as I wished because of a related dissertation topic, at Northwestern University, announced first and already well under way by Barbara McCloskey. A pleasant afternoon spent talking with the late Milton Brown, Professor of Art History at City University of New York Graduate School, on American artists inspired by Grosz has given forth the present study. I am indebted to Professor Brown who in this meeting and in subsequent conversations suggested I narrow my focus and take a look at Gropper, Grosz's "most direct descendant in satirical cartooning," especially Gropper's cartoons for Freiheit, a much neglected but good subject, according to Brown.

In his younger days, the art historian had greatly admired these black and white drawings--the first modern style in cartooning, according to Brown--and, in his conversations with me, relayed that they were long overdue for attention. Looking at the cartoons in microfilm copies

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of Freiheit convinced me to proceed. Professor Brown also put me in touch with Sophie Gropper, the artist's widow, who, in an interview, told unforgettable episodes from her life with Gropper and showed me cartoons and paintings by the artist at her home.

At the City University of New York Graduate School, I am also indebted to Professor Rose-Carol Washton Long, my steadfast advisor who shares with me an abiding interest in American and European cartoons published in radical magazines and newspapers. My deep gratitude also goes to Professor Marlene Park, who gave me advice in lengthy correspondence, and Professor Diane Kelder, also of CUNY Graduate School, second and third readers, respectively. The fourth, outside reader was Professor Paul Buhle of Brown University to whom I wish to thank for his enthusiastic support and gentle criticism as well. Very early in this project, Professor Buhle, who had worked at Freiheit in its last years, encouraged me to dive into translating the Yiddish text on my own, and I am thankful for his advice.

Though my reading knowledge of Yiddish grew dramatically, in the beginning I relied on professional translators. Shulamis Levin Friedman, my major translator of Yiddish articles and cartoon texts, deserves praise for her clear, smooth translations and thanks for her

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institutions in an effort to locate early cartoons, prints, and paintings by Gropper. I am indebted to the following for their replies: Eric Lawing (Weatherspoon Art Gallery, University of North Carolina at Greensboro), Lisa A. Philp (Newark Museum), Sarah Hilsman (Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University), Althea H. Huber (Art Institute of Chicago), Paul Goldman (British Museum), Terri O'Hara (Brooklyn Museum), Sally McGee (Carnegie Museum of Art), Rod Bouc (Columbus Museum of Art), Susan P. Colaricci (Evansville Museum of Arts and Sciences), David A. Brenneman (Fogg Art Museum), Margo Mondschein (Hudson River Museum), Carey Adler (Los Angeles County Museum of Art), Marie Via (Memorial Art Gallery, the University of Rochester), Edith Schmidt and Karen L. Otis (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), Robin Beckett (Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts), Heather D. Northway (Phoenix Art Museum), Lisa M. Leary (Rose Art Museum, Brandeis University), Kristin Makholm (Saint Louis Art Museum), Dolores F. Kincaid (Stanford University Museum of Art), Domenic J. Iacono (University Art Collection, Syracuse University), Carmen Erickson (University of Arizona Museum of Art), Maria T. Ciski (Edwin A. Ulrich Museum of Art, Wichita State University), Ellen Lynch (Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University), Diane Vandegrift (Washington University Gallery of Art), Kelly Williams (Montclair Art

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A Luce Dissertation Fellowship in American Art near the beginning of this project allowed a generous amount of time away from my position as Curator of Prints and Drawings at the Georgia Museum of Art at the University of Georgia to start writing Part One. Many years later, two short leaves from the museum permitted the completion of the section on antifascist cartoons and the writing of the last section, on The Senate. Throughout these years, I have enjoyed the support and confidence of the directors of the Georgia Museum of Art, first, Jane Bledsoe, and, second, William U. Eiland. At the University of Georgia, the

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On a personal note, the dissertation would never have been completed without the independent thought fostered by my parents, Leonard and Frances Phagan, and the thoughtful support of a friend, the artist Beverly Buchanan.

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129. "Norris, of Nebraska, in a Frenzy; and Johnson, of California, in Doubt," Vanity Fair, May 1934.

130. "Senator McKellar of Tennessee presents a bill to limit the C.W.A. and P.W.A. to 960 million dollars -- and he talks about the good work Hopkins is doing for the unemployed," Morgen Freiheit, February 11, 1934.

131. "But the same Mr. McKellar is strongly opposed to the inclusion of the point about compensation, which the workers should have been receiving up to now," Morgen Freiheit, February 11, 1934.

132. "Ah, boy! What roaring activity!; The Senate at Work, by William Gropper (see his article)," Morgen Freiheit, February 11, 1934.

133. "For the Unemployed -- a Sigh; For War -- Billions,"

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Morgen Freiheit, January 6, 1934.

134. "A Two-Sided Machine; (From the front, peace is flying; from the rear, battleships are being baked)," Morgen Freiheit, January 10, 1934.

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INTRODUCTION

During the Jazz Age and the Great Depression, the American artist William Gropper created a large body of political cartoons for a radical newspaper little-known today. The author will examine a selection among the thousands of works Gropper drew for the New York Yiddish newspaper Freiheit (Freedom), later known as Morgen Freiheit (Morning Freedom), during the first eleven years of his career on the paper, from late 1924 when he became full-time to mid-1935 when he began his painting career in earnest. A lengthy period of turmoil among the fractious political left, many in American society during these years experienced traumatic economic change; at the same time, fascist activities abroad and currents of reaction and conservatism at home gathered momentum. While the author focuses on these years in Freiheit, she also looks at earlier drawings and cartoons, beginning in 1917, that led, in part, to the development of his cartoons in Freiheit.

An organ of the radical Jewish left, Freiheit promoted Yiddish culture, or Yiddishkeit, and supported most official Communist positions during these years. At the beginning of this period, Gropper, not a member of the

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Communist Party, became the paper's chief political cartoonist, and throughout these early years in Freiheit, he created some of his most critical and vital political cartoons. They involve issues central to the paper, such as international and national politics, big business, the garment industry, Soviet Russia, a Jewish homeland, and lynching.

Using caricature and satire to express his points, Gropper adapted progressive cartoon styles, including the European satirical journal tradition as well as a modernist approach to cartooning using flat areas of black and white. As the 1930s approached, he changed to a softer, more modeled style of representation.

Norma S. Steinberg in her dissertation of 1994 on Gropper noted that at the time of her study the artist was little known because blacklisting during the McCarthy era had omitted him from texts of art history.[1] However, while his name is not a household word today, many historians of American art are aware of some of his work, especially his frequently reproduced painting of social realism, The Senate, in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art in New York.[2] Far less well-known are his cartoons in the leftist press, such as New Masses, which he co-founded in 1926.[3] However, through his drawings in this and other sources, many writers by the early 1930s considered him a

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major social artist.

For instance, in 1934, Holger Cahill, writing in Art in America in Modern Times, called Gropper's cartoons "the most powerful social caricature today."[4] His social realist paintings became widely known only later, beginning in 1936, at Gropper's exhibition at American Contemporary Art Galleries in New York. Before the 1930s, artists in America rarely criticized the political and social mainstreams in their paintings; rather, like Gropper, they used the printed mediums of magazine and newspaper illustrations and political cartoons to critique the status quo.

The cartoons studied here stem from a lengthy critical tradition of cartoons used as journalistic weapons and skewers. These art forms thrive especially during controversial political and social periods when the press interprets and analyzes events and issues with sufficient freedom.[5] Political caricature, first called "cartoons" in the British magazine Punch in 1843,[6] was particularly rich in France in the early and mid-nineteenth century with the lithographs of Honoré Daumier and, again, in the 1880s and 1890s, when censorship of French periodicals was lifted. In the United States, political cartoons, published early as individual prints and illustrations for magazines, became more significant around the time of the Civil War. For example, through wood engravings translated from his ink

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drawings, Thomas Nast in Harper's Weekly became nationally known and helped to popularize political cartoons in this country, particularly after the appearance of those works denouncing the Tammany Ring of the New York City government in the 1870s.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, lithographic political cartoons in humorous American weeklies such as Puck and Judge overtook the popularity of wood-engraved cartoons in magazines in the United States. Gradually, daily editorial cartoons emerged as features in newspapers across the country. Especially good in political campaigns, these drawings, usually created in pen and ink and under heavily pressured deadlines, voiced immediate messages that could be understood even if the viewers could not read or, rather, chose not to read written editorials. However, as the perceptive curator and writer Frank Weitenkampf said of the turn of the century, "the spirit of journalism pervades cartooning," but it was a spirit of humor, not satire, he added.[7]

In the early years of the new century, when an increasingly literate populace in the United States found more and more reading material available to them, political cartoons became more popular. A new expressive emphasis in American cartooning emerged when a few artists such as Boardman Robinson borrowed the sweeping lithographic crayon

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style and direct messages of Daumier and other nineteenth-century French social artists to create vigorous cartoons often critical of social mores and government policies. Too, from 1912 to 1922, an American monthly periodical, Cartoons Magazine, reproduced cartoons from foreign and national papers along with articles and news items of interest to cartoonists.[8]

During these years, freely drawn cartoons could also be more easily reproduced for a mass public. Photo-chemical processes sped up production of daily cartoons, with the artist no longer having to have his work translated into a wood engraving or having to spend days working on a lithograph. Pen and ink or crayon drawings could be more easily translated into print using half-tone or photo-relief processes.[9]

During late 1924 to mid-1935, the period under review, Gropper drew for critical newspapers and magazines as well as for more mainstream American publications. The latter include the New York World, where in the 1920s he published comical, lighthearted cartoons--for a column by Ring Lardner; for a series called "Taking the News at Face Value" (caricatured figures dressed in cut-outs of recent newspaper articles); and for a series on actors and actresses, for example.[10] During the same decade, in the mass circulation Bookman and New York Evening Post Literary

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Review, he published caricatures of popular authors like H. L. Mencken and Sinclair Lewis,[11] and in Dial appeared his jazz-inspired drawings and witty vignettes from daily life in Greenwich Village.[12] These works may be seen within the caricature-hungry fashions of this period of stylish satirical cartooning, made popular in the pages of Vanity Fair and New Yorker. In the 1930s in mainstream publications, he published always humorous, sometimes critical cartoons, for instance, in a column by Robert Benchley in the New York Journal-American, and for popular magazines such as Fortune, New Republic, and Vanity Fair.

On the other hand, during these same years, Gropper followed in the footsteps of serious political cartoonists such as Nast who wished to change broad public opinion. Generally, during these years, Gropper's leftist cartoons supported a radical socialist ideology aimed at bettering the conditions of the working classes through action--strikes, demonstrations, and protests--rather than through arbitration, a "compromise" promoted by reformist socialists that radicals understood as cooperation with the capitalist system.

Before World War One, the political left in America had consisted of an amalgam of several different groups--socialists, anarchists, revolutionaries, and bohemians--oriented toward improving social conditions for the

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laboring classes. After the war and with the formation of Communist parties in the United States, the left became more doctrinaire, its two largest groups consisting of the democratic socialists, who opposed communism and sought societal change through working within the established political system, and the communists and radical socialists, who sought a more active means for restructuring society.

A fervent anticapitalist, Gropper had demonstrated his activist thinking and journalistic leanings in the earliest political cartoon by him that the author has found. His opposition toward the capitalist may be seen in this cartoon, Fig. 1. Here, Gropper presents a well-dressed, rotund System--the traditional cartoon symbol of the capitalist--hawking newspapers to a truth-seeking Citizen, a figure in political cartoon history familiar to readers due to Frederick Burr Opper's popular character, "The Common People" (see Fig. 28). The scratchy, vigorous drawing with its air of corruption and conceit is of a raw, rather unsophisticated quality. Dated 1917, it appeared in the Liberator in October of the following year.[13]

Published in this cartoon-filled monthly inspired by European satirical magazines, the drawing derives from this European tradition as well as from a political cartoon symbolism more well-known by American readers. Many

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radical, satirical cartoons of the period appeared in this magazine and in the later magazine, New Masses, which counted among its cartoonists Robinson, Robert Minor, Art Young, and Maurice Becker, and among the younger generation, Gropper, Hugo Gellert, and Fred Ellis. Many of these same artists also published leftist cartoons in Freiheit and in the Daily Worker, a Communist daily begun in Chicago in 1924.

This is the first art historical study of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit, and this examination specifically explores activist ideology and issues--the conceptual springboards for his work--as well as radical cartoon styles in his political drawings for the paper from the mid-1920s through the mid-1930s. The author notates the origins and history of Freiheit, discusses the purpose of the paper, and examines Gropper's cartoons through analyzing potent, recurrent symbols and subjects dressed in a succession of current radical styles.

Thus, the author expands upon the dissertation in history completed by Joseph Anthony Gahn for Syracuse University in 1966 who wrote a well-documented, descriptive narrative on Gropper's life and cartoons, probing the artist's views on social issues while touching upon many publications including Freiheit.[14] This present study also contrasts with the informative appreciation in Yiddish by

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Melech Epstein of Gropper's cartoons for Freiheit. Published in 1927, this source gives valuable information on the artist's family background but little specific information on the cartoons.[15] Nevertheless, Epstein's essay is an important document, for it is the earliest discussion of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit that the author has found and it expands significantly on the artist's memoirs of his childhood and youth.

In the contemporary art historical literature on radical cartoons, little attention is given to Gropper's drawings in Freiheit or to the role of Freiheit in the history of American radical cartoons.[16] Rather, art historians have tended to focus on cartoons in leftist magazines rather than in daily newspapers.[17]

Furthermore, the standard monographs on Gropper by August L. Freundlich (1968) and Louis Lozowick (1983) cover Gropper's cartoons in a general manner with little specific mention or discussion of Gropper's cartoons for Freiheit.[18] Milton W. Brown, in his American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression (1955), does not mention Freiheit in his text, but he introduces Gropper's cartoons of the 1920s and 1930s critically (concentrating on New Masses) and suggests Gropper's importance as a model for socially conscious artists in the U.S. in the 1930s. Writing almost thirty years later, in his foreword to Lozowick's book,

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Brown praises Gropper's political cartoons in general for their wit and sophisticated style, describes their roots in the traditions of the Ashcan School and American political cartooning, and mentions the outlet he found in Freiheit.[19] More recently, Norma Steinberg offered a brief overview of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit.[20] It is clear from reading all of this literature, however, that a focused study of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit is necessary in order to uncover their importance for his work as a whole and for the history of American political cartoons in general.

The dissertation is organized in two parts: the first concentrates on the sources of Gropper's development as a radical cartoonist, while the second focuses on Gropper's work for Freiheit from 1924 to 1935. A lifelong theme in Gropper's work, from his student drawings to his later cartoons, prints, and paintings, is social injustice. The first section of Part One examines the artist's childhood in the Lower East Side of New York and the effect of the tradition of social consciousness among the Jewish immigrants there. It presents information not published in English before and concludes with discussion on the lasting effects on Gropper of Robert Henri's teachings at the Ferrer Center and the evolution of humanistic themes and radical cartoon styles in Gropper's previously unknown student drawings. Henri's dictum on art's responsibility to

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society served Gropper well throughout his years of drawing cartoons for Freiheit. In writing this section, the author also wished to begin a more precisely documented, fuller history of Gropper's childhood and youth.

The second section of Part One examines Gropper's early critical cartoons for, primarily, political and labor publications. Here, too, the author attempted to establish more precisely and fully the artist's activities. This section provides the first overviews of his cartoons in the New York Tribune, the Labor Defender and Rebel Worker, Revolutionary Age, New Yorker Volkszeitung, and Advance.[21] His experience with these publications prepared him for the topical and political issues and ideas he would confront in Freiheit and provided a training ground for his engagement with the formal language of leftist cartoon styles.

The first section of Part Two chronicles the beginnings, history, and important political issues of Freiheit and examines three major categories of ideologically-driven cartoons Gropper drew for the paper. The author studies selected cartoons from the autumn of 1924, when he joined as regular cartoonist, to the summer of 1935, before the broad changes in policy of the Popular Front and before his important show at ACA Galleries in February of the next year.

In cartoons for Freiheit, Gropper occasionally used

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conventional symbols such as Uncle Sam and John Bull. However, with his frequent cartoons of the capitalist, his provocative drawings of the antiradical Jewish socialist, and his timely antifascist cartoons spanning this period, Gropper contributed significantly to social protest art. In part, he critiqued mainstream politics and powerful monopolies, supported the Soviet Union and the far left in the American labor movement, criticized Abraham Cahan, Morris Sigman, and other Jewish socialists opposed to the radical policies of Freiheit, and lambasted war and militarism abroad and civil oppression and anticommunism in the U.S. Indeed, during this period, he contributed significantly to antifascist cartoons, findings that conflict with the conclusion drawn by Cecile Whiting that American artists produced few antifascist cartoons before Hitler's rise to power in 1933. After 1935, with the critical successes of his oils, he began in earnest the transition toward painting. All in all, the subsequent wide, positive recognition in the press and acquisition of paintings by major museums seemed to boost his involvement with the medium. Finally, in 1950, he ceased cartoon work for Freiheit altogether.[22]

In the concluding section of Part Two, the author focuses upon Gropper's most noted painting, The Senate, of 1935, and cites a new source for the canvas in drawings

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made for Freiheit a year earlier. She ends this study by noting the painting's relationship to Gropper's earliest interpretations of the capitalist in his cartoons for the paper and by discussing the particular importance of the war-driven capitalist for radical ideology at the time.

This study contributes to the literature on Gropper and on American political art of the 1920s and 1930s through investigating a neglected but major source of Gropper's cartoons, analyzing selected works according to certain leftist ideological concerns, examining the drawings in the context of radical cartoon styles, and uncovering the importance of Freiheit for the painting, The Senate.

As stated above, in Part One, the author surveys the artist's Jewish background in the Lower East Side, the tradition of social consciousness found there, and his introduction to radical art in the Ferrer Center. She presents new material in English on Gropper's family background and discusses several student drawings and early leftist cartoons by him which have received little or no attention. With this part, she draws especially upon the William Gropper Papers at Syracuse University, the William Gropper Papers at the Archives of American Art, and the IWW Collection at the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University. All in all, this tradition of

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social consciousness and his early training in radical cartoons prepared him for the ideological subjects he would confront in Freiheit.

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1. Norma S. Steinberg, "William Gropper: Art and Censorship from the 1930s through the Cold War Era," Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1994, p. 10.

2. See, for example, Reba White Williams's review of Emiliano Sorini, William Gropper: Catalogue Raisonné of the Etchings (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy Fine Arts, 1998), in which she states that this painting won Gropper his "fifteen minutes of fame." Reba White Williams, "William Gropper," Print Quarterly XVI (March 1999): 98-99 (quotation is on p. 98).

3. The first issue of New Masses carries the date of May 1926. Gropper is listed as a member of the executive board. See New Masses 1 (May 1926):3.

4. Holger Cahill, "American Painting 1865-1934," in Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr, Jr., eds., Art in America in Modern Times (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1934), p. 45.

5. For general studies on caricature and social satire, see Ralph E. Shikes, The Indignant Eye; The Artist as Social Critic (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); and Mittel und Motive der Karikatur in fünf Jahrhunderten; Bild als Waffe (Munchen: Prestel-Verlag, 1984). For American political cartoons see, particularly, the following: William Murrell, A History of American Graphic Humor, 1747-1865 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933); William Murrell, A History of American Graphic Humor, 1865-1938 (New York: Published for the Whitney Museum of American Art by Macmillan, 1938); Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf, A Century of Political Cartoons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1944); Stephen Becker, Comic Art in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959); Stephen Hess and Milton Kaplan, The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons, revised ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.; London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1975); Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., Peter Selz, and Seminar, The American Presidency in Political Cartoons: 1776-1976, exh. cat., University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1976; Ron Tyler, Image of America in Caricature and Cartoon, 2d ed., rev. and enl. (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1976); and Bernard F. Reilly, Jr, American Political Prints, 1766-1876; A Catalog of the Collections in the Library of Congress (Boston, Massachusetts: G. K. Hall, 1991).

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6. John Leech's satirical renderings in Punch of the exhibition at Westminster Hall of cartoon drawings used for decorating Parliament were entitled "cartoons," thus beginning a tradition of political, satirical drawings being called cartoons. For a brief account of these cartoons by Leech, see Simon Houfe, John Leech and the Victorian Scene (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 1984), p. 50.

7. Frank Weitenkampf, American Graphic Art, new ed., rev. and enl. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), pp. 241, 243.

8. Cartoons Magazine was published under various titles. See the information for it under the entry for Wayside Tales in Edna Brown Titus, ed., Union List of Serials, 3rd ed., v. 5 (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1965), p. 4460.

9. On the reproduction processes, see especially the following: Dick Spencer III, Editorial Cartooning (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State College Press, 1949), pp. 29-32.

10. Clippings of cartoons by Gropper reproduced in the World may be found in Gropper Papers, Box No. 3, Folders: Published Material-Illustrations-Newspaper Clippings and Published Material-Illustrations-Newspaper Clippings-Ring Lardner's Columns; and Box No. 2, Folder: Published Material-Caricatures-Famous People, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

11. From October 1921 until September 1924, Gropper published in Bookman 33 crisp, linear caricatures of authors prominent in the New York literary world. Several bold black and white caricatures--designs for "suggested bookplates"--appear c. December 1924 in the New York Evening Post Literary Review. Clippings of the latter are found in Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings-Cartoons (Gropper) in English; and Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings-Book Plates, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

12. Gropper published sketches in Dial beginning in July 1920.

13. "Citizen: 'I want a newspaper that contains the whole truth.' The System: 'Mister, your ration has been reduced to 5% in each newspaper,'" Liberator 1 (October 1918):41.

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14. See Joseph Anthony Gahn, "The America of William Gropper, Radical Cartoonist," Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1966. Gahn's study surveys Gropper's cartoons in radical publications throughout the artist's life. Gahn's narrative approach is organized according to theme, for example, the Industrial Workers of the World, the capitalist, the worker, Wall Street, non-political cartoons, the right-wing socialist, and the American Federation of Labor. Discussion of Gropper's cartoons for Freiheit is scattered throughout the text, but is concentrated in pp. 95-106. In these pages, Gahn describes several of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit of socialist and labor leaders Abraham Cahan, Sidney Hillman, Norman Thomas, Samuel Gompers, William Green, Morris Sigman, and of others such as Raphael Abramovitch and the cartoon character Chauncey Critch.

15. Melech Epstein, foreword to William Gropper, Die goldene medinah (New York: Freiheit Publishing Association, 1927), unpaginated. The author consulted the volume in the Jewish Division, New York Public Library.

16. For example, Bernard F. Reilly, Jr., in 1992, mentioned Freiheit alongside the Liberator and New Masses as an outlet for social commentary for American artists in the 1920s. Bernard F. Reilly, Jr., In Good Conscience: The Radical Tradition in 20th-Century American Illustration, exhibition catalogue (Katonah, New York: Katonah Museum of Art, 1992), p. 4.

17. See Rebecca Zurier, Art for the Masses: A Radical Magazine and Its Graphics (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Cecile Whiting, Antifascism in American Art (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), where she describes two cartoons by Gropper in the Daily Worker in 1937 (see pp. 152-153); Mary Lee Muller, Imagery of Dissent: Protest Art from the 1930s and 1960s, (Madison: Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989); Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt, "New Masses and John Reed Club Artists, 1926-1936: Evolution of Ideology, Subject Matter, and Style," Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 12 (Spring 1989): 56-75; Francine Tyler, "Artists Respond to the Great Depression and the Threat of Fascism: The New York Artists' Union and Its Magazine Art Front (1934-1937)," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1991; and Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt, "Art on the Political Front in America; From The Liberator to Art Front," Art Journal 52 (Spring 1993): 72-81.

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18. August L. Freundlich, William Gropper: Retrospective, exhibition catalogue (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press; in conjunction with the Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery, the University of Miami, 1968), pp. 14, 31; Louis Lozowick, William Gropper, foreword by Milton W. Brown (Philadelphia: The Art Alliance Press; New York and London: Cornwall Books, 1983), pp. 8, 13, 14, 34, 52, 70, 71. In his book, Lozowick translates numerous passages from Gropper's serialized autobiography that appeared in Morgen Freiheit in 1948.

19. Milton W. Brown, American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 189-190. See Brown's foreword to Lozowick, William Gropper, pp. 7-9.

20. Steinberg, "William Gropper...," pp. 13-14, 18-19, 45-46.

21. In illustrating Gropper's interests, Gahn described numerous cartoons from these publications. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 71-72, 83, 90-92, 94-95, 99, 106, 111-112, 115, 117-118, and 120.

22. See Whiting, Antifascism in American Art, esp. pp. 8-33. On Gropper's departure date, see Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 279. Although Lozowick states that Gropper resigned from Freiheit in 1948 (Lozowick, William Gropper, pp. 34 and 52), the newspaper continued to consider the artist part of the staff when he left in 1948 for his trip to Europe. See, in this regard, the cartoon in Morgen Freiheit of 27 June 1948, p. 3. Gahn confirms this in his text of 1966 where he states that when the artist returned to America in 1950, "the Morning Freiheit was unable to afford Gropper's salary and the cartoon engraving expenses" (p. 279).

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PART ONE: SOURCES

Gropper as a Youth: His Social and Artistic Backgrounds

The social environment in which William Gropper lived as a child and his youthful introduction to radical politics and socially conscious art contributed to his becoming a political cartoonist for left-wing publications. This section examines the early background of this artist, an important social critic in twentieth-century American art, and it surveys the development of humanistic and provocative themes in his student drawings. In these early images by the artist, injustice emerged as a prominent issue, in part, because of a social consciousness rooted in the culture of the Jewish Lower East Side where he lived as a child.

Growing up in the area shaped his belief that environment molds a child's thinking,[1] a creed demonstrated in his life-long engagement with the theme of social injustice. At the time, during the first decade of the

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century, the East Side was populated largely by immigrant East European Jews, many of whom, like his parents, impoverished and unskilled, worked in the garment trades. The concerns for community and workplace found among the Jewish working class in this area form a frame of reference for Gropper's political cartoons in Freiheit, champion of the Jewish workers movement. This background is also important in understanding his strongly ideological social commentary as a whole.

In regard to social principles, Gropper's immediate family affected him profoundly, especially his father, Harry Gropper, whose outlook on social values admittedly made a "deep impression."[2] The following account of Gropper's early life incorporates autobiographical and biographical material not published in English before. These sources are Gropper's set of autobiographical articles published in 1948 in Yiddish in Morgen Freiheit, only a few portions of which have heretofore been translated and published by Lozowick in his book on Gropper of 1983.[3] The other source is the foreword in Yiddish by Melech Epstein, the editor of Freiheit in the middle 1920s, which discusses Gropper's early years, published in Gropper's Die goldene medinah (The golden land), a compilation of the artist's cartoons from the conflict between the right wing and the left wing in the garment

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trades.[4]

According to Gropper, his father immigrated to the United States in rebellion against the confining, middle-class pretensions that were so much a part of family life in Bucharest in Rumania. In America he had "expected to live a free life--with equal rights for everyone, where religion is a private matter and where the highest belief is the belief in justice."[5] Gropper's father found his vision of America corrupted, however, by what he saw as the deleterious effects of capitalism on society.

William Gropper, born 3 December 1897 in a tenement on Pitt Street,[6] described his father as a Rumanian intellectual who had come to the United States largely to escape the influence of his father. Harry Gropper saw his father as hypocritical, having given money, for instance, for the construction of new Orthodox synagogues and study houses in Bucharest and keeping "a strict Jewish home," only for the purpose of "'buy[ing] back'" the sin of marrying outside the faith.[7] Gropper's father also intensely disliked those synagogue leaders who obligingly accepted his father's money out of respect for his wealth.

Harry Gropper, educated in European universities, spoke several languages but was not trained in a craft or trade and could not find a suitable job when he arrived in New York.[8] Like thousands of others, he turned to the

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garment industry, where, according to one source, he worked in sweatshops for almost twenty years,[9] until the threat of contracting tuberculosis led him to find less strenuous work. In Gropper's memoirs, the artist tells of the time when his father was looking for a new job and the two of them were home playing cards, waiting for Gropper's mother to give birth. According to Gropper, it was one of the few times that his father had offered him his views on social values. In between games, Gropper's father expressed the fruitlessness of growing wealthy through one's own labors, saying that persons

> ... get rich when others work for them. That is, they buy the labor of men, women and children for as little money as they can get away with and then they sell the things which the others have produced for as much money as they can get. It is called 'profit.' It is legal, even esteemed.... And, if they are successful in accumulating a lot of money, they put it away to ensure that they will continue to have money. ... With time they get old and tired and they can't benefit from their money anymore. They take it to heart and eventually ask themselves: what good is all this money? And they realize that the money has no more value than these [employment agency] receipts we are playing for now.... It seems to mean so much but it really has so little value....[10]

Gropper's father may have attempted to channel his disillusionment toward America and its capitalism into constructive action. The early biographical essay on Gropper by Epstein, editor of Freiheit when the essay was published in 1927, notes that Gropper's father, who finally found a job at David Kessler's theater on Second Avenue,

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was "the first to organize the bill posters and theater ushers into unions" and he would often talk of "exploiters" and "bosses."[11] Epstein points out in the same essay, however, that, while growing up, Gropper was not interested in discussing social movements, but was "completely devoured" by his love for art.[12] Gropper's preoccupation with drawing as a child, however, should not discount the significance of a father involved in labor organizing (if, in fact, Epstein was reporting accurately, and attempts at corroborating this have been fruitless) for an artist who would become so concerned for the worker.

The circumstances of Gropper's maternal grandfather and mother also illuminate this social artist's formative years. While in Russia, Gropper's grandfather, Shmuel Natan, had heard stories from landsleit (townsfolk) about die goldene medinah, the popular name Jewish immigrants gave America. After escaping the pogroms of the early 1880s in Russia, Natan had immigrated to America where he settled on the Lower East Side. Upon arriving, he worked as a cloak finisher in a sweatshop "constantly being rushed--sewing until you couldn't see anymore--from daybreak 'til late at night at a dim gaslight, breathing dust, swallowing dirt, slowly succumbing to the 'proletarian disease,'" in Gropper's words.[13] Eventually, like Gropper's father, he had to quit the sweatshop because his health was

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deteriorating due to the bad air, long hours, and fast pace.[14] His daughter, Gropper's mother, worked at home sewing garments for the New York clothing industry. Gropper recalled that because of this incessant "homework" Jenny Gropper had no time to spend with her children.[15] Earlier, upon her arrival at Castle Garden, the point of entry for East European immigrants before 1892, her father had already arranged a job for her in a sweatshop, a typical practice.[16]

Gropper's own experiences helping his parents in their work guided his childhood conceptions of the garment industry. As a child, he sewed on buttons, made buttonholes, and created suspenders and, when he was around eight years old, he began carrying heavy bundles of clothes to and from the sweatshop.[17] His childhood idea of heaven, conceived while attending cheder (religious school), was of a peaceful Garden of Eden where clothes and, therefore, sweatshops were not necessary.[18] Too, the death of a favorite aunt, Reizel, a recent immigrant who was killed in the devastating fire at the Triangle Waist Factory in 1911, left "indelible marks" on Gropper's memory.[19]

Talking about oppressed workers, in later years he said: "That's my heritage. I'm from the old school, defending the under-dog. Maybe because I've been an under-dog or still am. I put myself in their position. I feel for

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the people."[20] In elementary school, his readings of American history sharpened these feelings. The study of the country's founding ideals and the stories of heroic deeds by its early leaders "had a profound effect" on Gropper and his schoolmates, the cartoonist noted, becoming their "dreams" and "fantasies," nourishing their "love of liberty and justice."[21]

Gropper's immediate background and his daily life as a child seemed to affect him overwhelmingly as an artist. His future cartoons, prints, and paintings of seamstresses and tailors, for example, are rooted in memories of family members at work in the garment industry of the Lower East Side. Likewise, his future cartoons in Freiheit are grounded in the anticapitalism of his father and in the social consciousness of Jewish garment workers in the area.

His family, like thousands of other Jewish families, was part of the mass migration to the United States in the 1880s and 1890s of Jews fleeing poverty and repression in czarist eastern Europe or those seeking greater personal freedoms such as Gropper's father. These thousands inundated the ready-to-wear garment trade, centered in this area of Manhattan.[22] The migrations, which began in 1881 with the start of anti-Jewish pogroms in the Russian empire, persisted until the passage of the American immigration quota laws in the early 1920s.[23]

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The craft of tailoring as practiced by male Jews in eastern Europe underwent tremendous change in the "new world."[24] Beginning in the 1870s, Jewish tailors emigrated from Poland, settling in the Lower East Side around Canal Street, where most of the garment wholesalers had their offices. These immigrants joined short-lived locals of the Knights of Labor, a national labor union for unskilled and semi-skilled workers formed in Philadelphia in 1869. However, the union lost its strength by the mid-1880s to the recently created American Federation of Labor, organized for skilled craft workers.[25]

In the 1880s, many Jewish immigrants (reportedly 11% of whom had been tailors in their native lands)[26] ventured first to the East Side largely because of the feelings of community with other landsleit, the opportunities for work among the mostly German Jewish-owned clothing shops,[27] and because the semi-skilled tasks involved in what had quickly become an industrialized business could be learned in about two months.[28] Indeed, from the 1880s through World War One, recently arrived Jewish immigrant men and women dominated the work force in the ready-to-wear garment trade, concentrated in the Lower East Side before 1920.[29] They worked in factories; in sweatshops, where contractors, who had been or were workers themselves, typically set up shops in their own cramped tenement apartments; or they labored

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in their own homes, where the immigrant and oftentimes his/her family worked on garments supplied by a contractor or subcontractor.[30] Traditional tailoring, at one time performed by artisan tailors who had sewn entire suits at home often with the assistance of family, had been transformed into a season-driven garment industry of mass production where low salaries, long hours, and poor hygienic conditions became commonplace.[31]

These Jewish immigrants from eastern Europe brought with them social traditions and beliefs which Gropper absorbed as a child. Settling into older German and Irish neighborhoods in the Lower East Side, by the 1890s the newcomers dominated the region, defined as the area bounded by the Bowery on the west, the East River on the east, the Brooklyn Bridge on the south, and 14th Street on the north. By 1910 the Lower East Side experienced its largest concentration of immigrant Jews, the greatest density in the area between East Broadway and East Houston Streets.[32] A rich and vital Yiddish society and culture ensued; the "Jewish quarter" had a common language, a growing secular literature, its own fraternal and hometown organizations and synagogues, as well as Yiddish poetry, thriving newspapers, and theaters.[33]

Shtetl (village) culture of eastern European Jews generally denigrated wage labor. Even after the May Laws of

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1882, which forced villagers to move to cities in the Pale, relatively few Jews worked in large, regulated factories, settling, instead, into small businesses, especially traditional crafts such as tailoring or shoemaking.[34] As Arthur Liebman points out, the oppression and impoverishment felt at the turn of the century by these workers and artisans, members of a new working class, were major influences in turning Russian Jews toward a radical ideology that fostered changes in the political state.[35]

Out of necessity, newly-arrived Russian Jewish immigrants to the U.S. entered garment factories and sweatshops and became wage earners, although many, like Gropper's father, resisted the dominant ideologies of success and materialism. With social outlooks based on the "communal values" of shtetl culture, as Hadassa Kosak puts it, they proceeded, in their new country, to organize landmanshaftn (hometown aid societies), their own religious organizations, specialized schools, and labor associations. For example, the Jewish Workers Association, a short-lived labor organization formed in 1885, guided immigrant workers and helped to form early unions for the Jewish bakers, printers, capmakers, and theater choristers.[36]

The burgeoning socialist ideology among Jews in monarchist and capitalist Russia touched many in the new and impoverished Jewish working class in America. Youthful

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immigrant intellectuals like Forward editor Abraham Cahan, stirred to socialism by the underground revolutionary movement in Russia, instilled the belief in a socialist commonwealth in the United States.[37] The attraction of Jewish immigrants to socialism sprang, according to Joseph Brandes, from an optimism among them that economic conditions could be changed[38] and, as Kosak believes, it developed from the traditional shtetl cultural values of social justice and mutual aid. According to Liebman, essentially, Jews in Russia and America were attracted to the left out of opposition to capitalism, accompanied in Russia by virulent anti-Semitism.[39]

The lingering presence of the social democratic politics of the Germans who had settled the Lower East Side earlier and the example of their labor daily, the New Yorker Volkszeitung, nurtured these traditional Jewish values of social renewal and change. Indeed, an early but short-lived socialist association formed in 1882 by a small group of East European Jewish intellectuals was named Propaganda Verein after the German associations.[40]

Still another small Jewish socialist organization during this period was the Jewish Workers Association, formed in 1885, which the next year affiliated with the largest socialist body in America at the time, the then German-dominated Socialist Labor Party (the organization

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from which a conservative faction joined with the Social Democratic party to form the Socialist Party in 1901). The following year, after the fatal split between socialists and anarchists within the association, about 25 members formed a Jewish section within the SLP. Branches of the party's Jewish section were formed in Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago.

According to one of the historians of the Jewish section of the SLP, its most important task was the organization in 1888 of the United Hebrew Trades, a central federation of Jewish-dominated unions in New York City, modeled after the United German Trades. Among its major goals were promoting mutual aid among Jewish unions, helping form new unions, and educating Jewish workers about socialism. By 1890, as Nora Levin states, there were 22 Jewish unions with 6,000 members within the central body. In 1899, the United Hebrew Trades affiliated with the AFL.[41]

Among other socialist-oriented Jewish groups in America were the Workmen's Circle and members of the Bund. Formed in 1892 in the Lower East Side, the Workmen's Circle grew into a powerful mutual aid society providing sick benefits, death insurance, and funeral expenses for members.[42] After the turn of the century, the Bundists were also influential in promoting socialist viewpoints among

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Jewish immigrants. The Bund, organized in Vilna in 1897 by Jewish socialist groups from Russia, Poland, and Lithuania, had coordinated strikes and fought for better working conditions for Jewish workers in the Pale. In the early years of the new century, many of its members escaped to the United States, fleeing the Kishinev massacre of 1903 in southern Russia, the defeat of the 1905 Russian revolution, and its subsequent pogroms. After arriving, Bundists revitalized the Jewish labor movement through their involvement and leadership in Jewish unions.[43]

The Socialist Party of America, originally a far-flung mix of native-born Americans with a small Jewish immigrant component, dominated socialist activities in the U.S. in the early part of the twentieth century. According to Daniel Bell, the party, formed in 1901, blossomed and experienced its "golden age" in the United States from 1902 to 1912, during the Progressive era. Signs of the party's influence could be seen in state and national elections. For instance, in 1910, the former SLP member and Jewish immigrant Victor Berger became the first Socialist U.S. Congressman, representing Wisconsin. In the 1912 presidential election, Socialist candidate Eugene Debs, former head of the Social Democratic Party, polled almost 900,000 votes. Across the U.S., party members increased to 150,000 and Socialist mayors, council members, city police

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officials, and others took part in local and state governments.[44]

Two wings within the Socialist Party gradually emerged. Morris Hillquit, a Jewish immigrant, former SLP member and corresponding secretary of the UHT, and an authority on Marxism, led a dominant reformist group which sought power patiently through working within traditional avenues, such as winning elections and working with the AFL. Debs, former head of the Social Democratic Party, spearheaded the socialist "left wing" which emphasized actively promoting the welfare of workers through organizing the unskilled, especially by forming industrial unions, and supporting a more confrontational approach to capitalism.

Newly-formed organizations of Eastern European immigrants became crucial to the evolution of radical socialism. In 1912, former Bundists opposed to social democratic politics helped form a Jewish Socialist Federation which affiliated with the Socialist Party the following year. Like the Jewish branch, many foreign-language associations--Hungarian, South Slavic, Polish, Bohemian, Scandinavian, and Italian--affiliated with the party. By 1917, the foreign-language associations accounted for 40 per cent, or 32,894, of the 80,126 members in the Socialist Party.[45]

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The influx of socialist Jewish immigrants supported and strengthened the trade unions, particularly Jewish-dominated garment unions, such as the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, whose leaders strongly supported socialism in the early part of the century. Unlike the single craft-oriented AFL, the ILGWU began as an industrial union, that is, an organization which encompasses workers of all tasks within an industry.[46]

Ostensibly more difficult to organize, the ILGWU began slowly. With the aid of recent European arrivals, it and other Jewish garment unions finally gained real effectiveness through a series of successful strikes from 1909 to 1914. Throughout all of these important strikes, the influential socialist Yiddish daily, the Forward, edited by Cahan, championed and guided the rising Jewish labor movement.[47] Organized by leaders of the ILGWU and UHT, the combative strike of around 20,000 dressmakers and waistmakers in New York City in 1909-10 achieved a 52-hour week, 4 paid holidays, and other beneficial terms for the mostly female strikers. The immense strike of cloakmakers in 1910 resulted in many benefits, among them a board of arbitration, a preferential union shop, a 50-hour week, minimum wages, and no inside contracting. The Triangle Fire of 1911, in which Gropper's aunt perished, provoked the formation of a State Factory Investigating Commission to

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examine shop conditions. In 1913, the strike of the men's clothing workers preceded a split from the United Garment Workers and the formation in 1914 of the Amalgamated Garment Workers of America.

Garment strikes animated the years Gropper spent as a child in the Lower East Side. His years there exposed him to a tradition of social consciousness among Jewish workers which may be considered when discussing his radical cartoons for Freiheit, which itself was geared toward Jewish garment workers in New York. In a sense, then, when he began drawing for Freiheit, he was returning to his roots in the Lower East Side and the garment industry. Likewise, his introduction as a teenager to an intelligentsia engaged in radical notions of society and art also exerted a profound influence on him.

When Gropper was a youth, in the early 1910s, radical thought in the United States consisted of loosely-knit movements of leftist social and cultural thought, which opposed the traditional forms and signs of a Victorian society considered stiflingly materialistic and genteel. Progressive Republicans such as Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, Socialists such as Eugene Debs, members of the Industrial Workers of the World such as William D. Haywood, and others, including progressive clergy, made up the mixture that formed the early left. In New York,

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radicals tended to gravitate toward three major areas within the city. While the Lower East Side generated Jewish political and social radicalism, Greenwich Village attracted radicals and reformers from diverse backgrounds bent on revitalizing American society, culture, and education. At the same time, socialists, anarchists, and syndicalists made the Ferrer Center in Harlem, an area with a growing Jewish population, a magnet for rebels seeking social change.[48]

It is unclear when Gropper studied at the Ferrer Center, for the author has been unable to locate pertinent records. Evidence suggests he took classes there from c. 1913 to c. 1916.[49] It is clear, however, that the instructors and lecturers there stimulated his mind toward a vigorous, critical way of thinking. The Ferrer Center opened in 1911 in Greenwich Village and relocated in the fall of 1912 to 63 East 107th Street in Harlem, just a "few doors" from the tenement where fourteen-year-old Gropper had recently moved with his family.[50] It offered libertarian childhood and adult education and became a nucleus for revolutionary thought. Named after Francisco Ferrer y Guardia, a Spanish anarchist and educator who had been executed by the Spanish government in 1909 for allegedly inciting insurrection, the Ferrer Center in New York was organized by prominent social and cultural

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radicals including Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Leonard Abbott.

Ferrer's Escuela Moderna (Modern School) in Barcelona inspired the establishment of the Ferrer Center in New York. Created in 1901, the Escuela Moderna embodied its founder's ideals of teaching children in a free and open atmosphere, where their intellects could develop without the constraints and dogma often associated with conventional education; or, in Ferrer's words, "I will teach them not what to think but how to think."[51] This philosophy extended to classes and lectures for adults at the Barcelona school, for Ferrer saw education as a lifelong process where "intellectual independence is [a person's] supreme power."[52] Ferrer hoped that, ultimately, libertarian education would spread outward and free the authoritarian repressions of society, thus, yielding a better life for the individual.

These liberal principles guided classes and lectures at the Ferrer Center in Harlem. Intellectuals with radical and progressive social outlooks taught evening classes and Sunday afternoon lectures for adults and a day school for children. Will Durant directed the day school in 1912 and 1913 and Abbott, Berkman, Goldman, Margaret Sanger, Louis Levine, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Hutchins Hapgood, and Hippolyte Havel, for instance, lectured on the burning

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topics of the day such as radical literature and theater, modern art, revolution, birth control, and syndicalism. Debates and symposia, recitals, readings, and dances enriched the center's activities.

Robert Henri and George Bellows taught the art class, reportedly the center's most popular adult course.[53] Emma Goldman later declared of the instructors that "they helped to create a spirit of freedom in the art class which probably did not exist anywhere else in New York at that time."[54] Henri, the leader of progressive American painting in the decade before the 1913 Armory show, taught from 1911 to 1918 at the center where his classes were considered "even more progressive" than those at his own art school in the Lincoln Arcade Building.[55] Henri led The Eight, a group of American painters who in 1908 organized a successful "independent" exhibition in protest against the conservative jurying of exhibitions at the powerful National Academy of Design. Their rebellious show set an inspiring example for future group exhibitions outside the academy, and it offered evidence to the public that perhaps, finally, an indigenous American art (rather than a foreign-influenced one) was being developed.

Rather than following the dictates of the academy, Henri, Arthur B. Davies, Maurice Prendergast, Ernest Lawson, and the newspaper and magazine illustrators John

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Sloan, William Glackens, George Luks, and Everett Shinn, took "life" as their subject and individualism as their mode of expression.[56] Theorizing that "polite" society found it easier to disguise emotions and personality, Henri and, especially, the newspaper-trained artist-recorders generally sought to transcribe what they considered the more "honest" aspects of the city, especially street life, leisure, and entertainment in the poorer sections.[57] Luks put it succinctly, "Down there [in the Lower East Side] people are what they are. In more polite circles it is easy to pose and deceive, but in the slums a man must stand upon his merits."[58] Because of the treatment of slum life, later writers popularized the title, the Ashcan School, for these artists and followers of Henri who displayed similar tendencies in their work.[59]

Henri outlined his liberal views in an essay published in the Craftsman in 1909, two years before he joined the Ferrer Center. In the article, Henri stated his belief that art students should create purposeful work which expresses ideas beneficial to society. They would find these "ideas of value," as he called them, by studying everyday life.[60] A mission-oriented philosophy, Henri's view on the social nature of art paralleled the Ferrer Center goal of engendering social change, and they both underlie Gropper's goal in his political cartoons of bettering conditions for

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the working class.

Further, the Ferrer belief in the development of the individual corresponds to Henri's emphasis on developing individual expression within a free, spontaneous atmosphere. Indeed, under Henri and Bellows, students would evolve their own innate styles rather than be dictated by academic canons, for, as Henri stated, a teacher "cannot impose education on anyone." He proclaimed: "The school is not a place where students are fitted into the groove of rule and regulation but where personality and originality of vision is encouraged, and inventive genius in the search for specific expression is stimulated."

In the winter of 1913-1914, Henri restated this in a letter to Manuel Komroff. Referring to the Ferrer art class, Henri wrote: "The one great thing in the art class is to establish the idea that each student is his own teacher using the faculties that students so doing can learn from each other, from the instructor of natural accident."[61] Years later Henri's thoughts were echoed by Gropper who remembered that in the Ferrer class was "the first time I heard that art-drawing was a language, an expression of thoughts, feelings, life experience and, therefore, must not be automatic and non-human like a camera."[62] Bellows, a former student of Henri and a vital painter whose critical popularity has been well documented,

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co-directed the adult class, alternating with Henri two evenings a week, until the United States entered the war in 1917.[63]

The Ferrer art class exerted a gradual and profound ideological influence over Gropper's thoughts. Indeed, he noted in his memoirs, "it was only years later that I clearly understood what was being taught at the Ferrer School and could benefit from the fruits of knowledge which were planted in us there in that small class."[64] In later years, remembering Henri's belief in the social role of art, Gropper could have been talking about himself: "...if an artist, like an art lover, looks at art as an expression of life, he must also have a love for and understanding of life. To really understand life one must be a part of life, not just an observer or one who sits in an ivory tower."[65]

During this period at the Ferrer Center, it appears that Gropper had little support for his art from his family. He had had to pursue art on his own, because his parents, like many other Jewish immigrants, as Epstein notes, had had little exposure to pictorial art,[66] a situation rooted in the limited shtetl tradition of ritual art.[67] Neither, according to the artist, was there a history of painters or sculptors in the Gropper family.[68] Rather, his parents looked upon art as frivolous, removed from the everyday need for making a living. "Artists don't

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produce any meaningful product," his father reportedly said. "Better to be a shoemaker, a carpenter, and make an honest living."[69] Thus, Epstein reports, Gropper's family forbade him to draw, although, as a child, he took up the pencil while recuperating from a gang fight in his neighborhood.

It is unclear why Gropper wished to pursue art; in his memoirs he gave no specific reasons. Perhaps a natural ability and the attention received from others while still so young encouraged him initially. In any event, drawing created an outlet from the stifling pressures of his environment.[70]

K. D. Marchand, an associate of the Ferrer Center, invited Gropper to the Tuesday evening art class after discovering that he wished to become an artist. In his memoirs, Gropper noted that at these classes he met some of the most stimulating artists in America, including Henri, Bellows, Luks, Davies, Man Ray, and the political cartoonist Robert Minor. In another source, he recalled often seeing another liberal cartoonist, Oscar Cesare, as well as the sculptor Adolf Wolff.[71] Gropper related that at the time he was an avid young art student seeking initially the techniques of drawing and painting,[72] and so was confused at first by the class's "concentration on basic theory and the meaning of art," on the questions posed by

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Henri and his circle, queries such as "What is my place in this world? Do I understand my society? Do I know myself? If not, I have to go out and find myself...." The dictum, "Go find yourself," Gropper said, "remained a thought which kept me looking and searching almost all the years of my life." Gropper, acknowledging his debt to this creed, added that he had "found that the ideal life condition for an artist is when he finds his artistic endeavors in harmony with his thought and convictions, when he is natural, doesn't play a role as if life were a theater piece, but goes with the pure truth."[73]

Though at fourteen Gropper did not fully understand what he heard in the Ferrer classes, his thoughts were stimulated and he "would often stay up all night thinking in expressions and concepts which [he] had never heard before." Thinking back upon those youthful years, Gropper remembered that the Ferrer Center art class "was my first awakening. I began to think, the wheels of my brain began turning."[74]

Henri, in his thoughts on art and its responsibility to society, often illustrated his theories by references to artists whom he thought best expressed the ideas of their time. In his discussions, Henri often talked of Rembrandt, Hals, Daumier, Goya, Manet, and Cézanne, among other masters.[75] Gropper appears to have absorbed this lesson,

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for several drawings he made as a student during World War One suggest that he was looking at socially critical works by artists whose messages corresponded to his own themes of brutal aggression. These drawings have not been discussed in the art historical literature.

American Art Student in its April 1918 issue reproduced "The Storm" (Fig. 2) as the first place winning entry in illustration for the Second Art Students' Exhibition, a national competition held at the John Wanamaker Store in New York City from March 18th to the 30th of that year.[76] Gropper's drawing was reproduced courtesy of the New York School of Fine and Applied Art where he was a student from late 1915 or early 1916 to probably 1918.[77] In the work, a circle of figures in civilian dress, some carrying farm implements, cling together on a barren landscape, shielding themselves from death-threatening bayonets.

This brooding subject and its compositional format suggest that the young art student found inspiration in an impression or a reproduction of No se puede mirar (One can't look) (Fig. 3), by the Spanish artist Francisco de Goya, from the series, Los Desastres de la Guerra (Disasters of War), a set of eighty etchings first published posthumously in Madrid in 1863.[78] The series has been written about widely and it is acknowledged that it

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largely concerns the Napoleonic War in Spain.

Both Gropper's illustration and Goya's print focus on the emotions and suffering of war victims and the correspondingly small but deadly displays of weapons belonging to unseen enemies. Gropper places his circle of shrieking, clambering figures on open ground with sky looming above; in contrast, the more resigned figures in Goya's print appear to be hiding in a cave or under an arch, the opening bathed in bright light. Echoing the etching process itself, where the image in the plate is printed in reverse, the scene in Gropper's drawing reverses Goya's composition. Goya's stark, bitten lines, so appropriate to the subject, lend a blunt power to his etching, in contrast to the soft and more fluid drawing by the young Gropper.[79]

The nature of the subject matter in Gropper's drawing, the work's compositional and thematic relation to the Goya print, and the period in which (as an entry in an annual competition) it was most likely executed--1917 or early 1918--suggest that Gropper responded to either the general theme of war or to a specific event of the world war, which the United States had entered in April 1917. The drawing, like Goya's etching, vehemently criticizes the imminent murder of the innocent; in effect, it fulfills Henri's belief in the mission of the artist to create art that

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would comment on and ultimately benefit society.

Henri may have influenced Gropper in his choice of Goya as a model. The progressive teacher revered the Spanish artist and, as Gropper recalled, Henri brought reproductions of art by Goya to the Ferrer art class and hung them on the wall.[80] Perhaps Bellows inspired Gropper as well, for it has been shown that Bellows, through Henri, was inspired by the Spanish artist.[81] In an article by Gropper written in 1939, in reaction to criticism of the social content of his art, the artist asks the reader: "Can you imagine anybody calling the works of such masters as Brueghel, El Greco, Rembrandt, Goya, or Daumier, propaganda or political art? Yet in their own time, these artists had their hands full struggling with the same type of crackpots we have today."[82] In an article written in 1945, when Gropper had gone through a feverish period inspired by several different sources, he expressed his opinion on influences: "I'm not going to thumb my nose at the old masters. I take the best of them: Flemish, Spanish, Persian, Chinese, Italian, French--Goya, Breughel, Daumier, Degas, Renoir, Picasso."[83] Finally, in a March 1976 reply to an inquiry about the artistic influences on Gropper, Benjamin Horowitz, Gropper's longtime gallery dealer in Los Angeles, stated that "William Gropper says that the artist whose influence was all pervading was Goya."[84]

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In drawing "The Storm," Gropper may have also been looking to Daumier. The fluid style, slight caricature of figures, and direct message in the illustration are due to, in part, Gropper's probable study of the Frenchman, another artist praised by Henri in his art classes. Henri instructed students to study drawings and lithographs by Daumier, for in the latter his "fancy is free. His statement is assured."[85]

The frightened figure, shielding his face from attack, near the center of Gropper's drawing, though apparently not based on a specific figure by Daumier, nevertheless recalls the caricaturist's cogent figure types. Exaggerated and forceful grainy lines in the face and body express shock and resemble marks made with a lithographic crayon, the medium used by Daumier and taken up by a new generation of political cartoonists in liberal American magazines and newspapers immediately before and during the war.

In fact, several examples of Daumier's cartoons of the Franco-Prussian War, from the series Actualités, were discussed in the June 1917 issue of Arts and Decoration, an American journal that regularly reported on the paintings of Henri and his circle. The unidentified writer discussed Daumier in the light of what he/she saw as the French artist's superficial influence on American cartoonists, "aping his attitude, his gestures and his language" but not

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evincing his "patriotic fervor." Continuing, the author wondered whether or not originality and passion would finally emerge from these "imitators" when the country became embroiled in war in the coming months.[86] It is not suggested here that Gropper read this article, only that Daumier's cartoons, particularly the war cartoons, were being discussed in America at the time. Then, too, Rebecca Zurier, in her study on the Masses, has demonstrated the spiritual and stylistic kinships that many artists associated with that magazine and with Henri, had for Daumier's political and social cartoons.[87] Finally, Sophie Gropper, the artist's widow, declared that Daumier was Gropper's "bible and God."[88] Thus, it appears that the artist's life-long attachment to Daumier sprang from early knowledge of his work.

There is perhaps another European source for "The Storm," although at present the author has found only visual evidence. In the besieged group at the right in Gropper's drawing, a figure prays, his arms directed toward the heavens; nearby are two farm tools, a rake and pitchfork, tilted toward the aggressors. Aufruhr (Fig. 4), an etching from 1899, by the German artist Käthe Kollwitz, represents a thematic precedent for the drawing by Gropper.

In the print, Kollwitz presents rebellious peasants marching away from a burning castle, their scythes,

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normally used for harvesting wheat, held defiantly against the sky. In both works, interlocked groups of desperate civilians are placed dramatically close to the picture plane. The begging figure in Gropper's drawing, standing with arms stretched up and mouth arched open, strikingly resembles the peasant who cries skyward and reaches toward an allegorical figure in Kollwitz' print, an apparition who encourages the marchers in their fight.

Apparently, there were no public exhibitions of Kollwitz' prints in New York during the war years.[89] Neither is Kollwitz mentioned (as are Goya and Daumier repeatedly) in interviews and writings by Gropper; nor is there reference to her in Henri's The Art Spirit, which records his advice to students. Nevertheless, perhaps Gropper had access to the print itself or to a reproduction of it while a student at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art.[90] It may have been the case that her work was discussed among the radicals at the Ferrer Center. All in all, by the time Gropper was a student at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art, Kollwitz was an established artist whose work was well-known for its social content, and in his student works, Gropper apparently often looked to socially critical works by established artists. It is conceivable, then, that he may have turned to Kollwitz; however, it is difficult to determine how he might have

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seen her work during the time America was engaged in the war.[91]

According to a label originally attached to a reproduction of "The Storm," Melomime Publications reproduced the composition as one in a "series of photographic prints of the works of modern American artists." The author has located six other labels with titles of works by Gropper from the Melomime series alongside five other photographic prints which, because of visual affinities with "The Storm," belong or appear to be part of the series. Though the dates of these works are uncertain, stylistically they appear to have been done early, around the same time as "The Storm." The reproductions themselves may have been published around 1922, the year for which there is evidence that the publisher, Melomime Publications, was extant.[92]

Like "The Storm," these images are among Gropper's earliest known works on social concerns. A second drawing, whose original title is lost, is Untitled I (Fig. 5). Another youthful work imbued with European influences, it closely relates in composition, mood, and style to "The Storm," and suggests that Gropper executed the two drawings not very far apart in time.

As in the previous image by Gropper, the action of the scene occurs on a thin strip of land in the foreground,

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beyond which is an open expanse and deep horizon. Again, a group of figures is placed on high ground; but in the untitled work, the figures struggle among themselves. Two men, one wearing a cap, the other balding and in shirtsleeves, gather around another figure whose frightened expression and upraised arms imply an attack. An oppressive air, expressed through a range of dark tones, envelops the scene.

In drawing the victim, Gropper compressed the forehead and pushed the eyes upward to exaggerate the look of surprise or horror on the victim's half-hidden face. His/her outstretched arms, capped with oversized and distorted hands, recall the upstretched beggar in "The Storm" as well as the stick-like limbs of an allegorical puppet figure in Daumier's La Nouvelle Assomption (Fig. 6), a lithograph that appeared in the Actualités series.[93]

In another Melomime reproduction, Untitled II (Fig. 7), Gropper appears to have been inspired by the American political and social cartoonist Robert Minor. Untitled II features two men, one plunging a sword into the other in a frontal attack, the scene taking place in a bleak landscape with what appears to be a crude fence on the right. The drawing strikingly recalls the cartoon, "Pittsburgh" (Fig. 8), by Minor, published in the August 1916 issue of the radical magazine, the Masses.[94] In the latter, Minor

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sketched a uniformed guard driving a bayonet through the body of a reeling worker.

Gropper had met Minor, a political cartoonist for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the New York World, and, later, for the Masses, in the art class at the Ferrer Center where, very probably, Gropper became acquainted with the Masses.[95] As a teenager he collected copies of the magazine and studied them avidly.[96] A powerful drawing, the Minor cartoon may have inspired Gropper to transform Minor's indictment against strike violence into a critique against the brutal aggression and injustice of war.[97]

These works, linked by destruction themes and similar compositional formats, may be contributions to a wave of cartoons, drawings, and prints by European and American artists concerning the brutalities and atrocities of World War One. The most popularly acclaimed of these commentators was Louis Raemaekers, the Dutch political cartoonist whose works, beginning with those inspired by Germany's invasion of Belgium in 1914,[98] were exhibited widely and reproduced extensively in mainstream newspapers around the world and in special book editions which were first published in the United States in 1916. Between 1915 and 1918, numerous magazine articles appeared in the U.S. on Raemaekers, the "war's greatest cartoonist."[99]

Recognizing the propaganda value of art, especially

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cartoons, the United States Government during the war formed the Division of Pictorial Publicity which commissioned cartoons and designs for posters, placards, advertisements, buttons, and other objects. The division operated under the aegis of the federal government's Committee on Public Information, created when President Wilson declared war on Germany in 1917.[100] According to an interviewer, Gropper contributed posters to the committee and, because of this association, avoided the draft.[101]

Gropper's former instructor, George Bellows, created a series of war lithographs in 1918, the year after Bellows left the Ferrer Center. They contribute to a substantial body of works by him related to the war, particularly the German invasion of Belgium.[102]

Cartoons about the war saturated American newspapers and magazines and they appeared in special anthologies during and after the hostilities.[103] Vigorous anti-war cartoons often pointed to brutalities and were published in socialist newspapers and magazines, such as the New York Call, the Appeal to Reason, and the Masses.[104]

All in all, Gropper's exposure to progressive political cartoon traditions, by way of the Ferrer Center and the Masses, encouraged his ambitions to be a political cartoonist, especially a political cartoonist who expresses critical ideas beneficial to society, per Henri's

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teachings. Thus, the Masses tradition of brusque and lively political cartoons and drawings are the artistic roots of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit. In turn, his cartoons in Freiheit are built upon an ideological framework established during his youthful years of drawing for radical publications before he began drawing regularly for the Yiddish newspaper. Many of these publications and several of these early cartoons are discussed in the following section.

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1. In referring to the lack of artistic interest among his family and the circumstances in his childhood that led to his decision to be an artist, Gropper concluded that: "Creative ability is not inherited. However, I think that environment plays an important part in a child's development." William Gropper, "Gropper Speaking," Direction 2 (March-April 1939): [1]. In his conclusion on the influential nature of environment, perhaps Gropper's early exposure to libertarian ideas of education at the Ferrer Center in New York had some influence on him. Gropper attended art classes at the center from c.1913 to c.1916 (see n. 49), though the exact years of his stay are not clear. One of the mainstays of libertarian philosophy is the theory that environment molds a child's character. On this, see Paul Avrich, The Modern School Movement (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), p. 12.

2. William Gropper, "Groper dertseilt" (As Gropper Tells It), Morgen Freiheit, 25 April 1948, sec. 2, p. 3. The artist recalled his childhood and youth in a lengthy series of articles in Yiddish with the translated title, "As Gropper Tells It," published in Morgen Freiheit from February 15 to June 20, 1948. I am thankful to Shulamis Levin Friedman for translating the series for me. Previous translations for portions of a few of the articles were made by Louis Lozowick and are found in Lozowick, William Gropper, pp. 14, 16-17, 19, 23. The original manuscript of Gropper's articles is in English and is lost, according to Lozowick, ibid., pp. 13-14.

After a reorganization of Freiheit in 1929, the title of the paper was changed to Morgen Freiheit. See the section on "A Chronology of Freiheit," below, in Part Two.

3. See n. 2, above.

4. Epstein, foreword to William Gropper, Die goldene medinah (New York: Freiheit Publishing Association, 1927), unpaginated. A copy of the publication is in the Jewish Division at the New York Public Library. I am indebted to Shulamis Levin Friedman for her translation of the essay by Epstein.

5. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 28 March 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

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6. See newspaper clipping and resumés listing biographical information, William Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frames 6-11, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The reference to Pitt Street is found in Emery Grossman, "A Visit with William Gropper," Temple Israel Light 7 (March 1962):4.

7. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 28 March 1948, sec. 2, p. 3; Grossman, "A Visit with William Gropper," p. 4; and Epstein, Foreword to Gropper, Die goldene medinah, unpaginated.

8. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 6, 8. Gahn drew upon his dissertation for his later overview, "William Gropper, a radical cartoonist; his early career, 1897-1928," New York Historical Society 54 (April 1970):111-144.

9. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 8.

10. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 25 April 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

11. Epstein, Foreword to Gropper, Die goldene medinah, unpaginated.

12. Ibid.

13. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 15 February 1948, Week-End Section, p. 3. The "proletarian disease" was tuberculosis, also known as the "tailors' disease" and as "a Jewish disease." By 1906, 12 out of every 1000 Jews on the Lower East Side were diagnosed with tuberculosis. See Irving Howe, World of Our Fathers (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), p. 149.

14. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 29 February 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

15. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 9 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

16. Castle Garden was the entry point for immigrants before 1892 when Ellis Island became the main entry. See Irving Howe and Kenneth Libo, How We Lived (New York: Richard Marek Publishers, 1979), pp. 16-17.

17. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 29 February 1948, sec. 2, p. 3; 14 March 1948, sec. 2, p. 3; 30 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3. Also see Grossman, "A Visit with

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William Gropper," p. 4; and Abram Lerner, ed., The Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1974), p. 698, where a letter from Gropper to Lerner indicates that Gropper's father also did "homework."

18. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 14 March 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

19. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 4 April 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

20. William Gropper, "William Gropper: His Statements," in Freundlich, William Gropper: Retrospective, p. 28.

21. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 7 March 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

22. Joseph Brandes, "From Sweatshop to Stability: Jewish Labor Between Two World Wars," YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science 16 (1976):5. Brandes states that over 70 per cent of the workforce in the needle trades industry in New York before World War One were Jews.

23. On the significance of the events in 1881 in the evolution of Jewish history, see Jonathan Frankel, "The Crisis of 1881-82 as a Turning Point in Modern Jewish History," The Legacy of Jewish Migration: 1881 and Its Impact ed. David Berger (Brooklyn, New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1983), pp. 9-22. Also see Brandes, "From Sweatshop to Stability," p. 5. Immigration laws included the Emergency Quota Law of 1921 and the National Origins Act of 1924.

24. Ezra Mendelsohn, "The Russian Jewish Labor Movement and Others," YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science 14 (1969):90, note 8. Mendelsohn states that 90 per cent of the approximately 200,000 Jewish workers in the "North-West" region of European Russia, i.e., "the six provinces (Minsk, Vitebsk, Mohilev, Vilna, Grodno, Kovno) of White Russia-Lithuania" around 1900 were artisans; relatively few Jewish workers were employed in factories (Ibid., p. 87, note 1).

25. See Ronald Sanders, The Lower East Side (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1979), pp. 4-7; Nora Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, 1871-1917 (London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), pp. 83, 86; and Theodore Draper, Roots of American Communism (New York: The Viking Press, 1957), p. 14.

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26. Judith Greenfeld, "The Role of the Jews in the Development of the Clothing Industry in the United States," YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science 2-3 (1947/1948):203. Liebman states that more than 25 per cent of the Jewish craftsmen in Russia were tailors. See also Arthur Liebman, Jews and the Left (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1979), p. 82.

27. Gerald Sorin, The Prophetic Minority: American Jewish Immigrant Radicals, 1880-1920 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 55. Sorin states that over 95 per cent of the garment shops in New York in 1888 were owned by German Jews, but "as early as the 1890s the industry began to pass from the hands of German-Jewish to Russian-Jewish manufacturers" (Ibid., p. 77).

28. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 172.

29. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 166.

30. Ibid., pp. 59, 61; Greenfeld, "The Role of the Jews," p. 183; and Hadassa Kosak, "The Rise of the Jewish Working Class, New York, 1881-1905" (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 1987), pp. 100-101. Subcontractors, hired by contractors, in turn hired immigrants "for the unskilled operations of finishing, button sewing and felling" (ibid., p. 101). Contracting and subcontracting were widespread in the garment trade. Kosak notes that in 1892 "out of 350 major wholesale clothing manufacturers in New York, only five had their work done on their premises..." (ibid., pp. 102, 129 [n. 27]).

31. Kosak, "The Rise of the Jewish Working Class," pp. 94-98, 111-12. For a history of the first waves of Jewish immigrants (1881-1905) and their relationship to the garment trade in New York, see ibid., pp. 94-134. For contemporary reports of working conditions in the garment trade by workers who would become active in the socialist movement in America, see Sorin, The Prophetic Minority, pp. 55-63.

32. Moses Rischin, The Promised City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 10, 80-81, 93; and Allon Schoener, ed., Portal to America: The Lower East Side, 1870-1925 (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967), p. [10]. Joseph Brandes notes that there were only 200,000 Jews in America in 1870 and that these were of Sephardic and German origin. Between 1880 and 1930, he adds, nearly three million Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe came to the

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United States. See Brandes, "From Sweatshop to Stability," p. 1. Irving Howe estimates that there were around 60,000 Jews in New York in 1870, but by 1910, the figure was around 1,100,000. See Howe, World of Our Fathers, p. xix.

33. Standard texts on Jewish immigration and life in the Lower East Side are Howe, World of Our Fathers; Howe and Libo, How We Lived; Rischin, The Promised City; Schoener, Portal to America; Ronald Sanders, The Downtown Jews (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969); and, for a book-length contemporary account, Hutchins Hapgood, The Spirit of the Ghetto (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, Company, 1902; reprint ed., Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983). The text of the original edition of Hapgood's book was first published in articles appearing in the Atlantic Monthly, the New York Commercial Advertiser, and other Boston and New York publications between 1898 and 1902. For a guide to the remnants of Jewish culture in the Lower East Side in the late 1970s, see Sanders, The Lower East Side.

34. Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, p. 75; and Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 80.

35. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 29 ff.

36. Kosak, "The Rise of the Jewish Working Class," p. iv. Also see Kosak's Chapter Six, "The Politics of Morality: Jewish Workers and the Ethnic Community," pp. 227-267; and Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, pp. 70-71, 86-89. Levin states that the Jewish Workers' Association met its demise in 1887 under pressure of anarchists who caused a split in the group. For a study of the landmanshaftn and their relationship to the Jewish labor movement, see Daniel Soyer, "Landmanshaftn and the Jewish Lbor Movement: Cooperation, Conflict, and the Building of Community," Journal of American Ethnic History 7 (Spring 1988):22-45.

37. Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, pp. 72-74. On the relationship of Jews to socialism in the U.S., see ibid.; Aaron Antonovsky, The Early Jewish Labor Movement in the United States (New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1961); Rischin, The Promised City; and Howe, World of Our Fathers, pp. 287-359. Also see Jacob Sholem Hertz, The Jewish Socialist Movement in U.S.A. (1954) (in Yiddish), cited by Melech Epstein, The Jew and Communism (New York: Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, [1959]), p. 420, ref. 53.

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38. Brandes, "From Sweatshop to Stability," p. 15.

39. On this point and on the significance of these traditional values for immigrant Jewish socialists in the U.S., see Sorin, The Prophetic Minority, Chapter Five, pp. 105-23. See Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 1-37.

40. Sanders, The Lower East Side, pp. 8-9; and Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, p. 78. Levin states that the Jewish Propaganda Verein existed for about a year (ibid., p. 81). See Liebman for discussion of these small Jewish vereins in the 1890s in America. Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 40, 44.

41. Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, pp. 89-93, 184. On the history of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party of America see Daniel Bell, "The Background and Development of Marxist Socialism in the United States," in Donald Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., Socialism and American Life, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), 1:213-405; Egbert and Persons, eds., Socialism and American Life, 2:140-153; Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, pp. 196-197.

42. Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, p. 168. See the memoir by Israel Kugler, "A Life in the Workmen's Circle: Reminiscences and Reflection," Labor's Heritage 3 (1991): 36-49.

43. On the Bundists, see Rischin, The Promised City, pp. 43-47, 288 (nn. 16-18); Jacob Sholem Hertz, Jewish Labor Bund; a pictorial history, 1897-1957 (New York: Farlag Unser Tsait, 1958); and Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 111-133.

44. Bell, "The Background and Development of Marxist Socialism," p. 267. Also see Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, p. 167; and Draper, Roots, pp. 41-42. For a study of the decline of American Socialism and its close relationship to the American Communist movement, see James Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984).

45. See Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, pp. 197-200; Draper, Roots, pp. 32-33; Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 46, 52, 212.

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46. Sorin, The Prophetic Minority, p. 86; Howe and Libo, How We Lived, p. 161; and Bell, "The Background and Development of Marxist Socialism," pp. 308-311.

47. See Joel Seidman, The Needle Trades (New York and Toronto: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1942), pp. 102-107, 121-126; Melech Epstein, Jewish Labor in U.S.A., 2 vols. (New York: Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, 1950, 1953), 1 (1950):387-419; Benjamin Stolberg, Tailor's Progress (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1944), pp. 59-91; Levin, Jewish Socialist Movements, pp. 181-95; and Jack Hardy, The Clothing Workers (New York: International Publishers, 1935), pp. 5-84. For an informative and illustrated contemporary article on the 1910 cloakmakers strike, see S. A. Stodel, "The Cloakmakers' Strike," International Socialist Review 11 (September 1910):168-171.

48. On the Ferrer Center, see Avrich, Modern School Movement; Ann Uhry Abrams, "The Ferrer Center: New York's Unique Meeting of Anarchism and the Arts," New York History 59 (July 1978):306-325; Ann Uhry Abrams, "Catalyst for Change: American Art and Revolution, 1906-1915," (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1975); Francis M. Naumann, "Man Ray and the Ferrer Center: Art and Anarchy in the Pre-Dada Period," Dada/Surrealism 14 (1985):10-30; and the periodical of the Ferrer Center, The Modern School Vols.1-8 (February 1912-August 1915; May 1916-Summer 1922). On the development of the "intellectual class" in early twentieth-century America, see Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), pp. vii-xviii. On Greenwich Village, see Caroline F. Ware, Greenwich Village 1920-1930; A Comment on American Civilization in the Post War Years (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935); and Leslie Fishbein, Rebels in Bohemia: The Radicals of The Masses, 1911-1917 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982). On radical centers in New York City, see Avrich, The Modern School Movement, pp. 128-129.

49. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 30 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3. It is difficult to know precisely when Gropper attended the Ferrer Center. In the above autobiographical article, he states that he began studying at the Ferrer Center in 1913. However, because he was frequently inaccurate in regard to dates of early events, this date must be taken as approximate. Freundlich states that Gropper studied art at the school for three years. If Gropper and Frendlich are both correct, this would make his last year there c. 1916 (that is, around the time that he

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started studying art at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art [see n. 77]). See Freundlich, William Gropper, p. 12.

50. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 16 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3. Gropper states in the same article that when the family moved to Harlem they lived on 107th Street between Madison and Park Avenues. According to Gahn, the Gropper family moved to Harlem in 1911. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 16-17.

51. Avrich, Modern School Movement, p. 20.

52. Ibid., p. 23.

53. Ibid., p. 145.

54. Ibid., p. 149.

55. William Innes Homer, Robert Henri and His Circle (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1969), p. 173.

56. Ibid., p. 131. On The Eight, see Giles Edgerton [Mary Fanton Roberts], "The Younger American Painters: Are They Creating a National Art?" Craftsman 13 (February 1908): 512-532; Homer, Robert Henri; and Brown, American Painting, pp. 9-38.

57. The themes of leisure and entertainment in the works of Henri and the newspaper illustrators relate them to many works by Edouard Manet and the Impressionists and thus situate these American artists within an art historical context that is generally not afforded them. Compare, for example, Sloan's The Haymarket (Brooklyn Museum) and Glackens' Chez Mouquin (Art Institute of Chicago) with Manet's The Plum, 1877 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) and The Bar at the Folies-Bergère, 1882 (Courtauld Institute of Art); Shinn's London Hippodrome (Art Institute of Chicago) and Glackens' Hammerstein's Roof Garden (Whitney Museum of American Art) with Edgar Degas' Miss La La at the Cirque Fernando, 1879 (National Gallery, London). Numerous other comparisons can be made.

58. See comments by George Luks in Louis Baury, "The Message of Proletaire," Bookman 34 (December 1911):403.

59. The label, "Ashcan school," is quoted by Helen Appleton Read in her introductory essay to the exhibition catalogue, New York Realists, 1900-1914, published by the Whitney

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Museum of American Art for an exhibition of the same title that took place in New York from February 9th to March 5th, 1937. In her discussion, Read also mentions the other titles thrust on Henri, the artist-illustrators, and their associates (Bellows, Coleman, and Guy Pene du Bois)--"Black Gang" and the "Apostles of Ugliness" (ibid., p. 8). Homer says that it was probably this 1937 exhibition and the publicity it received which popularized the Ashcan School label. It is widely held that Art Young was the first to apply the description, "ash can," to Henri's circle, having done so during quarrels with Henri's followers on the Masses. See Homer, Robert Henri, pp. 280-281, n. 18. For discussion of a possible source for Young's usage, see Robert Hunter, "The Rewards and Disappointments of the Ashcan School: The Early Career of Stuart Davis," in Lowery Stokes Sims, Stuart Davis, American Painter (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), pp. 31-44.

60. Homer, Robert Henri, pp. 158-159.

61. The first statement by Henri is cited in Avrich, Modern School Movement, pp. 150-151. The letter from Henri to Komroff is quoted in part in Manuel Komroff, "Our Art Class," The Modern School 1 (1 July 1914): 5-6.

62. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 16 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

63. Avrich, Modern School Movement, p. 149. The evening art classes "with living models" met on Tuesday and Friday evenings. In spring 1913, tuition for 12 sessions cost $2.00; for 6 sessions, $1.10; and for 1 session, $.20. See the notice in The Modern School 1 (Spring 1913):2. Beginning November 10, 1914, two evening art classes were added. John Weichsel taught "the principles of art" on Wednesday and Henri advised on composition and criticised home assignments on Thursday. See "Extension of Our Art Class," The Modern School 1 (November 1914): 11.

64. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 16 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

65. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 23 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

66. Epstein, Foreword to Gropper, Die goldene medinah, unpaginated.

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67. See Cecil Roth, ed., Jewish Art: An Illustrated History (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1961); and Alfred Werner, "Ghetto Graduates," American Art Journal 5 (November 1973):72-73. German-Jewish philanthropists founded the Educational Alliance on the Lower East Side in 1889; it offered art instruction almost from its inception. An art school at the Alliance was established around 1917 under the directorship of Abbo Ostrovsky. Ibid., p. 76; Howe, World of Our Fathers, p. 230; and Norman L. Kleeblatt and Susan Chevlowe, eds., Painting a Place in America: Jewish Artists in New York 1900-1945; A Tribute to the Educational Alliance Art School (New York: The Jewish Museum, 1991).

68. Grossman, "A Visit with William Gropper," p. 4.

69. Epstein, Foreword to Gropper, Die goldene medinah, unpaginated.

70. Ibid. Also see William Gropper, "Gropper Speaking," [p. 1]. Sophie Gropper says that her husband started to draw at the age of six. Interview by the author with Sophie Gropper, Harrison, New York, 16 November 1988, transcription and audiotape in author's files. Gahn notes that at six, Gropper drew picture stories of cowboys and Indians on the sidewalks. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 5.

According to Manuel Komroff, K. D. Marchand and Marie Yuster assisted Henri and Bellows in coordinating the evening art classes. Manuel Komroff, "Our Art Class," pp. 5-6.

71. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 16 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3. Gropper recalled Cesare and Adolf Wolff, in an interview with Ann Uhry Abrams, 11 May 1974.

72. In his quest for art instruction, Gropper, in July 1913 had registered for a summer class at the National Academy of Design under a scholarship from a Mr. Jones. His stay, according to academy records, was very brief. Letter to the author from David B. Dearinger, Assistant Curator of Paintings and Sculpture, National Academy of Design, dated 14 August 1989.

As told by many authors, Gropper, a rebellious art student, was expelled shortly after he entered the academy for sabotaging the slow, methodical exercises in the drawing classes. See varying accounts of the situation, in Harry Salpeter, "William Gropper, Proletarian," Esquire (September 1937), p. 105 (reprinted in David Shapiro, ed., Social Realism: Art as a Weapon [New York: Frederick Ungar

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Publishing Co., 1973], pp. 191-202); Sarah Lansdell, "A Maverick ... in Words and in Paint: William Gropper," Louisville Courier-Journal Magazine, 7 November 1965; Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 21; and Freundlich, William Gropper, p. 13.

73. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 16 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3.

74. Ibid.

75. Homer, Robert Henri, 163-164.

76. "The Storm" is reproduced with this title in "Second Art Students' Exhibition," American Art Student 2 (April 1918):3. The drawing was reproduced as "The Power of Logic" in Carlo de Fornaro, "The Groping of Gropper," Arts and Decoration 18 (March 1923):14.

77. Registration records, if extant, for the New York School of Fine and Applied Art could not be obtained by the author. Gropper probably began study at the school around this time. In a letter, dated 3 April 1916, to Gropper from Frank Alvah Parsons, president of the school, Parsons congratulates Gropper upon winning a competition and adds, "I cannot tell you how glad I am that you have really won something so quickly after you began to study." Letter, Frank Alvah Parsons to William Gropper, dated 3 April 1916, Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frame 491, AAA. A brief biographical sheet on Gropper in the AAA lists Gropper's years at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art as 1916-1918. See Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frame 10, AAA. Gropper's prize-winning drawing, "The Storm," was exhibited at the Wanamaker store in March 1918 (see above). From this fact, one can conclude that he was still a student at the school in early 1918. In his memoirs, Gropper recounts how he was able to obtain time away from his job at George Benjamin's clothing store to study at the school. See Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 13 June 1948, sec. 2, p. 3. Also see Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 25-26. Gahn gives a 1915 date for when Gropper began study at the school.

Salpeter mentions the following as awards Gropper won as a student at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art--the Pirie MacDonald, Kellerman, Collier, and Wanamaker awards. See Salpeter, "William Gropper," in Shapiro, Social Realism, pp. 195-196.

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78. No se puede mirar, cat. no. 146, in Tomas Harris, Goya; Engravings and Lithographs, 2 vols. (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1964), 2:216. For a recent, insightful study on Los Desastres de la Guerra, see Janis A. Tomlinson, Graphic Evolutions; The Print Series of Francisco Goya (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 25-34.

79. One of the earliest known images by Gropper, The Storm has received scant critical attention. The author has located the image in the aforementioned student magazine and a 1924 reference to it as one of Gropper's "cartoons drawn during the early days of the war." The quotation is from Joseph T. Shipley, "'Knowing a Man Through His Face'; The Art of William Gropper," Guardian 1 (November 1924):11.

80. See, for instance, Henri's comment on Goya, that the "realities" that he painted were "immeasurable," recorded in Robert Henri, The Art Spirit, comp. by Margery Ryerson (Philadelphia and London: J. P. Lippincott Company, 1923; reprint ed., with an Introduction by Forbes Watson, Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1960), p. 95. John Sloan, a colleague of Henri, reports that Henri brought him "a set of Goya's aquatints." John Sloan, Gist of Art (New York: American Artists Group, Inc., 1939), p. 1. Gropper's comments on Henri bringing reproductions to the class were made in the Abrams interview, 11 May 1974.

81. See Charles H. Morgan, George Bellows, Painter of America (New York: Reynal and Company, 1965), pp. 67-68, wherein Morgan mentions Bellows' indebtedness to Goya in the drawing Dance in a Madhouse. This theme is explored in two articles. See Eleanor M. Tufts, "Bellows and Goya," Art Journal 30 (Summer 1971): 362-368; and Eleanor Tufts, "Realism Revisited: Goya's Impact on George Bellows and Other American Responses to the Spanish Presence in Art," Arts 57 (February 1983):105-113. See Marianne Doezema's comments in "The Real New York," in Michael Quick, Jane Myers, Marianne Doezema, and Franklin Kelly, The Paintings of George Bellows (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1992), pp. 124, 133 (n.72).

82. William Gropper, "Gropper Speaking," p. 24.

83. Fern Marja, "Jack-of-All-Arts--Master of Satire," New York Post, 3 August 1945, Daily Magazine and Comic Section. Clipping, William Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings about Gropper-the Japanese affair, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

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84. Letter, Benjamin Horowitz, Director, Horizons Gallery, Los Angeles, California, to Joseph Czestochowski, dated 6 March 1976, Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frames 1155-1156, AAA.

85. Henri, Art Spirit, pp. 270, 183. Sloan had purchased twelve volumes of Le Charivari, containing about 800 of Daumier's lithographs. He had been introduced to Daumier's prints by Henri who had mailed Sloan a few from Paris in 1899. Also of note is the fact that Henri "spent many evenings at Sloan's house doodling little caricatures of people in Daumier's style." The quotation is from Francine Tyler, "The Impact of Daumier's Graphics on American Artists: c.1863-c.1923," Print Review 11 (1980):109-26. On Daumier's influence on American art, also see Ben Goldstein, "Daumier's Spirit in American Art," Print Review 11 (1980):127-44.

86. "Some War Cartoons by Honoré Daumier and a Note on His American Disciples," Arts and Decoration 7 (June 1917):408-409, 428. Daumier's influence on American cartoonists is surveyed in an article by Frank Weitenkampf, "American Cartoons of To-Day," Century Magazine 85 (February 1913):540-552. Also see Goldstein, "Daumier's Spirit." John A. Henderson writes of Daumier as the source of the "modern" cartoon with all of its directness, in "Daumier--Father of the French Cartoon," Cartoons Magazine 13 (May 1918): 668-677.

87. Zurier, Art for the Masses (1985), pp. 108-112. Zurier's text was revised in Zurier, Art for the Masses (1988).

88. Goldstein, "Daumier's Spirit," p. 139, wherein the author states that "Gropper's widow remarked that Daumier had been her husband's bible and God."

89. See E. R. Hagemann, German and Austrian Expressionism in the United States, 1900-1939: Chronology and Bibliography (Westport, Connecticut; London, England: Greenwood Press, 1985).

One does know that some of Kollwitz's graphic works were shown much earlier, in 1912, when three to four hundred drawings, etchings, lithographs, and woodcuts by almost 80 German contemporaries were chosen by Martin Birnbaum in Berlin for an exhibition at the Berlin Photographic Company in New York. See W. H. de B. Nelson, "German Art: Berlin Photographic Company," International Studio 49 (March 1913):XIX-XX. This exhibition would appear to be too early for Gropper, however, who began studying

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art at the Ferrer Center around the time of the exhibition.

90. Little is known of Gropper's course of study at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art. While there, he studied under Howard Giles, a popular illustrator, obscure today but well-known during these years. Giles frequently contributed paintings and monochrome washes for reproduction in travel articles in Scribner's during 1913 and in Harper's during 1916-1917. Giles began teaching at the New York School of Fine and Applied Art around 1916. A notice on the school's upcoming summer session, published in March 1916, states that the "school has been fortunate enough to enlist the services of Mr. Howard Giles, whose work in illustration in Harper's Bazaar and Scribner's Magazine, is too well known nationally to need comment." See "Summer School Notes," Arts and Decoration 6 (March 1916):212-214. Giles is listed as one of Gropper's instructors in a resume found in the Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frame 7, AAA.

91. The pictorial theme of rebellious workers marching and carrying farm tools as weapons is seen earlier. See, for instance, Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen's lithograph, Les Combattants, 1894, which is reproduced and briefly compared with Kollwitz' treatment of this theme, in Käthe Kollwitz 1867-1945; The Graphic Works, exhibition catalogue (Kettle's Yard, Cambridge, in association with the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art and the Institute of Contemporary Arts, 1981), p. 30.

92. Two of these five photographic prints are illustrated here as Untitled I (Fig.5) and Untitled II (Fig.7). These black and white reproductions are located in the Gropper Papers, Series No. 2, Box No. 1, Folder: Subject File-Photos-Gropper's Work, Arents Library, Syracuse University. Little is known of Melomime Publications except that it published in 1922 a limited edition book with drawings by Gropper and poems by Gladys Oaks. According to the copyright page, the company's offices were at 192 West 10th Street, New York. See Gladys Oaks and William Gropper, Chinese White (New York City: Melomime Publications Inc., 1922). Because of the obscurity of Melomime Publications, the photographic prints may be dated c.1922.

Unfortunately, many of the photographic prints do not have labels, and labels themselves exist without being affixed to photographs, making it difficult to identify titles of images. The titles that are printed on existing labels and their numbers within the series are as follows: No. 8-"Clothes Line Alley"; No. 10-"Survivors"; No. 11-"The Storm"; No. 12-"Victory"; No. 13-"Friends"; No. 15-"Billy

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Sunday's Tabernacle"; and No. 16-"The Lusitania."

93. La Nouvelle Assomption, in Loys Delteil, Le Peintre-Graveur Illustré, vol. 10: Honoré Daumier (Paris: Loys Delteil, 1926), cat. no. 3783.

94. "Pittsburgh," in Masses 8 (August 1916):21. Reprint ed. (Millwood, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1980). For an insightful and thorough study of art in the Masses, see Zurier, Art for the Masses (1985). See also her revised text and Leslie Fishbein's Introduction in Zurier, Art for the Masses (1988). Other helpful studies on the Masses are Leslie Fishbein, Rebels in Bohemia; Richard Fitzgerald, Art and Politics: Cartoonists of the Masses and Liberator (Westport, Conn. and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1973); Daniel Aaron, Writers on the Left; Episodes in American Literary Communism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), pp. 18-45; an anthology, William L. O'Neill, ed., Echoes of Revolt: The Masses, 1911-1917 (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966); Don D. Walker, "American Art on the Left, 1911-1950," Western Humanities Review 8 (Autumn 1954):323-346; and a brief overview in Karl-Ludwig Hofmann, "Der Kunstler als Publizist," in Amerika: Traum und Depression, 1920/40, exhibition catalogue ([West] Berlin: Neuen Gesellschaft fur Bildende Kunst, 1980), pp. 215-231.

95. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 16 May 1948, sec. 2, p. 3. For information on Minor's years as a political cartoonist, see the biography by Joseph North, Robert Minor, Artist and Crusader (New York: International Publishers, 1956). Also see Fitzgerald, Art and Politics, pp. 79-119.

96. Richard Cox, "The New York Artist as Social Critic, 1918-1933," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1973, pp. 58, 115.

97. Other drawings by Gropper that appear to be related to works in the Melomime photographic print series are reproduced in the following: Pagan 3 (November 1918):32 (on Pagan, see Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, The Little Magazine; A History and a Bibliography (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 249-250; "a Berlin!," in Quill (September 1918):5 (on Quill, see Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, Little Magazine, p. 252); and "Gallows," in Liberator 7 (January 1924):21.

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98. On American art during the war, see Brown, American Painting, pp. 71-76. The American public was incensed by reports of atrocities against civilians in Germany's August 1914 march across Belgium, a neutral country. The Bryce Report on the invasion was printed in the New York Times in 1915. See "German Atrocities are Proved, Finds Bryce Committee," New York Times, 13 May 1915, pp. 6-8. See also the series of articles on the invasion by Brand Whitlock in Everybody's Magazine in 1918-1919.

99. See Raemaekers' Cartoons (Garden City and New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1916). Subsequent volumes published in America during the period include Louis Raemaekers, Kultur in Cartoons (New York: The Century Co., 1917) and Louis Raemaekers, America in the War (New York: The Century Co., 1918). See the articles on Raemaekers' cartoons in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, vol.4 (1915-1918), pp. 614-615. See also "War's greatest cartoonist," Literary Digest 51 (11 September 1915):526.

100. On the Division of Pictorial Publicity, see George Creel, How We Advertised America (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920), pp. 133-141.

101. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 26-27. Inquiries made to the National Archives and Records Administration by the present author have failed, unfortunately, in locating posters in their files attributed to Gropper. Letter to the author from J. H. Trimble, N. A. R. A., Washington, D.C., dated 7 September 1989.

102. On this, see Krystyna Wasserman, "George Wesley Bellows' War Lithographs and Paintings of 1918," M.A. thesis, University of Maryland, 1981; Jane Myers and Linda Ayres, George Bellows; The Artist and His Lithographs, 1916-1924 (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1988), pp. 61-67; and George Bellows and the War Series of 1918 (New York: Hirschl and Adler Galleries, 1983).

103. See, for instance, George J. Hecht, comp. and ed., The War in Cartoons (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1919; reprint ed., New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1971). Anthologies of cartoons on the war by individual artists include: Oscare Cesare, One Hundred Cartoons (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1916); Boardman Robinson, Cartoons on the War (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1915); and Robert Minor, War Cartoons (New York: The New York Call, 1916).

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104. On the Appeal to Reason, see Paul M. Buhle, "The Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kansas, 1895-1917, 1919-1922; New Appeal, Girard, 1917-1919," in Joseph R. Conlin, ed., The American Radical Press, 1880-1960, 2 vols. (Westport, Conn. and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1974), 1:50-59; and John Graham, "Appeal to Reason," in Mari Jo Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Dan Georgakas, eds., Encyclopedia of the American Left (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990), pp.51-52. Anti-war cartoons in the Masses include works by Robinson, Art Young, Kenneth Chamberlain, Henry Glintenkamp, Minor, and M. A. Kempf. See individual issues of the Masses, 1914-1917. On the Masses' editorial policies on WWI, see Zurier, Art for the Masses (1985), p. 41.

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The Early Political Cartoons of Gropper, from the New York Tribune to the Advance

As Frank Luther Mott states in his authoritative study on the history of American journalism, political cartoons became a staple in the American daily press during the McKinley-Bryan presidential campaign of 1896.[1] In that election, the cartoonist Homer Davenport created for William Randolph Hearst's daily New York Journal (a supporter of the Democratic candidate Bryan), an exaggerated and popular image of Mark Hanna, the Republican campaign manager, as a greedy, manipulative business man wearing a checkered suit covered with dollar signs (see Fig. 52). In his numerous cartoons of Hanna, Davenport relied on the contemporary example of political cartoon series printed in weekly magazines, a practice which had gained widespread popularity with the publication of anti-Tammany cartoons by Thomas Nast, who died in 1902.

Nast, the first great American political cartoonist, had set a precedent in the United States, attracting a huge following with Civil War illustrations and thousands of political cartoons for Harper's Weekly.[2] In 1870-1871 he

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relentlessly attacked William Marcy Tweed, "boss" of the Tammany Hall Democratic government of New York City, thus ruining the re-election of the Tweed Ring and gaining more admirers for his cartoons and Republican political ideals.

Inspired by the popularity of Davenport's series of cartoons on Hanna, daily newspapers at the turn of the century rushed to hire cartoonists, draining the humorous weeklies and monthlies of many of their political artists. However, the crowded, detailed, and "finished" lithographs so familiar in contemporary periodicals had to be replaced with easily grasped symbols, such as Davenport's, that took less time for the pressured daily newspaper artist to render.[3] For example, the cartoonist Frederick Burr Opper of Puck made the successful transition from lithographic stone to the more favored pen and ink when he joined the New York Journal in 1899.[4]

While many prominent cartoonists made the transition from magazine to newspaper, others began their careers on the dailies. For instance, in 1903, John T. McCutcheon began his long career on the Chicago Tribune; he is remembered most often for homespun, light-hearted cartoons of contemporary politics and society. McCutcheon influenced a number of cartoonists in the Midwest,[5] which became a center of political cartooning in the 1900s and 1910s.[6]

In 1913, Frank Weitenkampf noted that the "fiercely

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corrective function of the cartoon [seen as such in works by James Gillray or Thomas Nast] is not too often apparent today," and he characterized the spirit of cartoons as one of "kindliness."[7] Weitenkampf and others, however, had noticed the new appearance of a vigorous and more "unfinished" method of drawing which combined the American newspaper tradition of political cartooning with a European graphic heritage of political and social protest. The approach had emerged around 1907 in cartoons by Boardman Robinson for the New York Morning Telegraph.

While on a visit to Paris in 1898-99, Robinson had admired the lithographs of Daumier as well as the political cartoons of Jean-Louis Forain in Le Figaro. Forain, who had worked on the popular Paris newspaper off and on since 1891, drew in ink and crayon with a quick, spare line that captured the essence of a scene or figural type. The freshness and energy of Forain's sketches attracted the mid-Westerner, and on returning to the U.S. Robinson evolved a lively method of drawing quite different from the polished effect of contemporary American illustrations and detailed, cross-hatched pen and ink cartoons.

In 1910, after leaving the Morning Telegraph, he joined the New York Tribune where he worked until 1914, about three years before Gropper became a staff cartoonist for the paper.[8] As may be seen in his cartoon, "New York's

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Calamity: Heavens! We must dine at HOME!" (Fig. 9), published in the Tribune in 1912, a sweeping, painterly quality created with restless lines of crayon or ink, or a combination thereof, distinguishes Robinson's cartoon style.[9]

In the early years of the twentieth century, this painterly approach to American cartooning was also seen in works by Robert Minor (see Fig. 8, of 1916). Minor, as chief cartoonist on the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, had evolved, through his study of Daumier, a direct crayon technique by 1911. During his 1911-13 sojourn in Paris, he renewed his study of Daumier, frequented the city's slums, and discussed anarcho-syndicalism with the railroadmen he met. The syndicalist idea of a society based on the trade union attracted Minor, who more and more disagreed with the right wing leadership of the Socialist party. During 1914 and 1915, Minor worked on the New York Evening World, but he left the paper when it ceased to have an anti-war policy.[10]

Both Robinson and Minor were socially concerned artists living in an age of reform who wanted their cartoons to have immediate impact. At the time, their social messages were apparent to others. In 1912, a writer remarked that these vigorous drawings by Robinson, Minor, and others, including Cesare of the New York Sun, Clive

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Weed of the New York Evening Sun, and Rollin Kirby of Harper's Weekly, were both vital and "strongly social."[11] The crayon-like style and critical, social content of cartoons by these artists forged a new cartoon tradition in the American leftist press. Robinson, Minor, Cesare, Weed, Young (who drew crayon cartoons on occasion), Bellows, John Sloan, Maurice Becker, Stuart Davis, and later, Gropper, Hugo Gellert, Jacob Burck, Fred Ellis, I. Klein, and Phil Bard all followed and contributed to this tradition.[12]

The new method of cartooning slowly infiltrated the monthly American magazines. The older, more meticulous cartoon style lived on into the early twentieth century in such magazines as Puck, Life, and, on occasion, the Masses. The intricate, crowded format of the old-fashioned nineteenth century cartoon survived in this latter magazine, the most iconoclastic one of the day, through the finely controlled ink-drawn cartoons of Art Young.[13] For example, in "The Triumph of Militarism" (Fig. 10), published in the Masses in 1914, Young, in a cartoon typical of his more detailed style, addresses the dominance of militarism on the world stage and its threat to monarchism and capitalism.[14]

In 1911, the monthly Masses had begun as the champion of the socialist co-operative movement in America and as a "general ILLUSTRATED magazine of art, literature, politics

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and science." According to the editorial in the first issue, cartoons and illustrations "by the best artists in the country" would be reproduced.[15] In the premiere issue, crisp cartoons by Art Young and a polished cover design by Charles Winter appear. The front design, a curvilinear frame bordered on left and right by well-modeled hands grasping the Socialist torch, is rooted in turn-of-the-century art nouveau and academicism; the essay and story illustrations are grounded in popular illustration--altogether, a pattern that varied little in these earliest issues. Literary contributions characteristically include an article by Tolstoy, a labor poem by Herbert Everett, an exhortation by Eugene Wood for working men to join unions, an overview of German Socialism by Paul Louis, and articles on the American co-operative movement by W. J. Ghent and Piet Vlag, founder of the magazine.[16] In future issues of this early version of the magazine, articles on labor and socialism join ones, for example, on militarism and the Boy Scout movement, revolutionary Mexico, and a review of a new collection of plays by George Bernard Shaw.[17] Only two political cartoons by Robinson appear in these early issues.[18]

A change in editorial control infused many lively cartoons and drawings into the Masses, now modeled after advanced European magazines such as Punch and

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Simplicissimus. In August 1912, low circulation had led to the demise of the early Masses. Vlag had resigned, but the unpaid artists and staff rebounded, elected left wing socialist Max Eastman as editor, and re-organized the magazine to be nondoctrinaire and "popular." Its new design was inspired by the "radical art and freedom of expression [found in] the foreign satirical journals" and it was now "hospitable to free and spirited expressions of every kind--in fiction, satire, poetry and essay."[19]

In veering away from its old aim of championing the socialist co-operative, the magazine published writings on various forms of anticapitalist thought and philosophy, including socialism, anarchism, and syndicalism. It also reproduced more reportorial drawings of non-academic, non-conventional scenes from working-class city life.

John Sloan, a former student of Henri, joined the cartoonists and illustrators. Occasional art editor on the Masses,[20] Sloan, in the first issue of the newly redesigned magazine, published a satirical drawing of an episode from New York urban life. The urban scene is printed full page, a regular element in the magazine from then on.[21] In following issues, Young, Sloan, Robinson, and Becker, and associates of Sloan from the Ashcan School--Henri, Bellows, Glackens, Davis, Henry Glintenkamp, and Glenn Coleman--contributed social satires of the working and middle

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classes. Reportage of the area's poorer citizens and districts continued in drawings, principally by those trained in the Ashcan School tradition.

Energetic political cartoons by Young, Sloan, Becker, Chamberlain, Davis, Glintenkamp, Minor, Cesare, and M. A. Kempf also enlivened the pages. The Masses, now "based on a study of [the satirical European magazines] Le Rire and Punch, Jugend, Simplicissimus and other papers and the work of Daumier, Steinlen, Charles Keene and Forain,"[22] attained rigorously high standards of quality in the reproduction of art and in magazine design.[23] For American journalism, such aesthetic, political, and social concerns combined into one magazine was new.

Conflicting ideas about the "purposes" of their drawings ultimately forced several of the Masses artists to leave the magazine. In 1916, Sloan, Davis, and Coleman were among five artists who resigned after much dismay over what they considered editorial control over the captions for their drawings. The Masses artists split into two camps. Young and Chamberlain, both trained as newspaper cartoonists, valued the propagandistic role of their cartoons while the artists who resigned wished to keep politics out of their "slice of life" drawings.[24] After their departures, Robinson and Minor became contributing editors and published political cartoons more frequently in

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the publication.

Finally, however, because of the magazine's anti-war position, the federal government found the publication in violation of the newly passed Espionage Act of 1917. Suppressed, the Masses ceased printing with the November/December 1917 issue.

As an educational stimulant, the example of the Masses most likely had considerable influence on Gropper's decision to pursue political cartooning. The present author has found no evidence to suggest that Gropper contributed drawings to the Masses, but as a teenager, he had collected the cartoon-filled periodical and had thought of it as "the most liberal and exciting magazine on the horizon politically."[25]

Robert Henri, Gropper's teacher at the Ferrer Center, may have influenced Gropper in this direction, too, for the charismatic art teacher admired the lithographs of Daumier and discussed them with his students. As a young man Henri had collected political cartoons by Opper, Bernard Gillam, and others from the weeklies Puck and Judge.[26] Finally, in The Art Spirit, in discussing the insights artists may give into the life of their time, Henri notes the importance of British cartoonist John Leech of the satirical magazine Punch, who "is one of the greatest artists England has had, and because he was so interested in life as he found it his

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works have a great historical value."[27]

By 1916, Gropper was pursuing study that would lead to a career as a newspaper artist. As he said many years later about this period, drawing newspaper cartoons and illustrations, as he saw so many artists do in the Ferrer and Masses circles, offered him an alternative to traditional Lower East Side occupations such as teaching or working in a shop.[28]

An indication that he may have been seriously interested in cartooning this early appears in a letter[29] from the spring of 1916 written by Frank Alvah Parsons, president of the New York School of Fine and Applied Art. The previous year, an advertisement for the school had emphasized the close association between the programs at the school and professional trades in the city.[30] Following this practice, Parsons wrote Gropper that he had invited a Mr. Mahoney to view Gropper's work. Mahoney, a Washington daily newspaper illustrator and cartoonist, according to Parsons, had expressed such an interest in the student's work that he was probably "anxious to see more of it." The Washington cartoonist, Parsons said, "reported that he was greatly pleased and greatly interested and believed [Gropper] had a future."[31] More than likely the cartoonist was Felix Mahoney.[32]

Industrious and impoverished, Gropper had worked long

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hours at mundane tasks before becoming a professional cartoonist. In 1917, when he accepted the offer to be a cartoonist on the Sunday New York Tribune, he left George J. Benjamin's prominent mens clothing store, where for four years he had worked full- and then part-time at a variety of low-paid positions--"bushel boy," custodian, "stock boy," sign maker, shipping assistant, elevator operator, and Mr. Benjamin's office helper. He had also addressed sales postcards which he occasionally decorated with caricatures of the salesmen.[33]

In October 1917, Gropper began contributing cartoons to the New York Tribune's Sunday Review, an eight-page summary and analysis of world news events. The section featured diminutive caricatures produced by the staff and large, timely cartoons reprinted from national and international magazines and newspapers. During the year and a half Gropper worked for the paper, the Review published political cartoons by prominent artists, including Hermann-Paul in La Victoire, Forain in Oui and L'Avenir, Daniel Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and Clive Weed in The New Republic, as well as regular, highly detailed syndicated cartoons by Jay N. "Ding" Darling.[34]

Gropper's cartoons for the New York Tribune have not been studied in the literature on the artist. Although it is not the intention of the author to present a definitive

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history here, a brief chronicle and description is helpful for understanding the relationship between his cartoons for the mainstream paper and those he did around the same time for radical publications.

In essence, during his stint at the Tribune, Gropper created a variety of informative and humorous cartoons for the newspaper. His first contributions, published on 14 October 1917, are small caricatures of political and military newsmakers symbolically acting out events described in the text.[35] Drawn with undersized stick-men bodies, the cartoons are interspersed across a front-page column reviewing the week's most significant developments bearing on the war. Untitled III (Fig. 11), for example, shows Alexander Kerensky, the provisional government head in Russia, standing atop a figure representing the Bolsheviks--the extreme left wing socialists under the leadership of Lenin. This modest cartoon is typical of the artist's caricatures published almost weekly in the column for an entire year, through October 1918.

After the armistice was signed in November 1918, Gropper regularly published feature drawings and more lighthearted contour line drawings in the Review and other sections, that is, until June 1919 when his last drawings for the paper appeared. During this period, he most often used the contour line to illustrate lighthearted essays and

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prose. For example, in four drawings, including Untitled IV (Fig. 12), he interpreted a satirical story on the anti-climactic New Year's Eve celebration following the end of the war.[36] With a contour line technique and satirical approach, this work and others of the time by him recall contemporary cartoons in influential European magazines, especially Simplicissimus (see Fig. 13), although Gropper's cartoons lack the political and visual complexity of the latter.[37]

Occasionally, in the last months of his tenure at the Tribune, Gropper published his more complicated political cartoons for the paper using the contour line technique. With their symbolic cartoon language, these drawings appear to have developed from the tiny caricatures he created earlier in the paper. These later cartoons are also reminiscent of the linear, satirical cartooning found in the European publications. For example, Untitled V (Fig.14), published on April 20, 1919, presents a giant "Holland" hesitating to serve food to a long table of unruly men. An accompanying article explains that Holland, which furnishes Germany with much of its produce, is afraid of the Sparticists gaining control over the German government because of the revolutionary change such would have on Holland's own government.[38]

At the end of 1918 and in 1919, Gropper occasionally

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used a more vigorous, scratchy drawing style, particularly in conjunction with articles on controversial political leftist groups. Until late 1918, cartoons in the Tribune targeted few radical movements. However, after the armistice was signed, the number of anti-Bolshevik cartoons increased in tandem with the paper's virulent anti-"red" policy.[39] In contrast, during Gropper's first year on the paper, cartoons in the daily and Sunday issues had emphasized patriotic and anti-German sentiment.[40] By the time Gropper's unusually vital drawings on leftist subjects were published in the Tribune, however, he was already contributing drawings to the radical press.

During his second year on the Tribune, Gropper began his long, steadfast association with the left, supporting the political philosophy which promotes working class and minority empowerment through radical political and societal change. This association began when Gropper and a reporter for the Tribune sought to cover a story on the Industrial Workers of the World's new headquarters on St. Mark's Place in New York City. During the visit, Gropper was introduced to and became a member of the IWW.[41]

In 1905 in Chicago, socialists and labor leaders, frustrated with management's opposition toward the rights of labor and with the AFL's apparent neglect of unskilled workers, had planned the syndicalist organization, still in

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existence today. Members from the radical American Labor Union led by William D. Haywood, the Socialist Labor Party, and the Socialist Party helped form the IWW during a period when American industrialists were at their most powerful. In 1912, at the height of the socialist and Progressive eras, the radical organization reached its greatest strength. By the mid-twenties, it had lost so many members, however, that it ceased to be a viable radical force.[42]

The founding manifesto of the IWW called for a revolutionary working class movement of strong, cohesive industrial unions and a socialistic society of worker-owned industries. Its members wished to organize the unskilled and use the "direct action" general strike or boycott rather than organized, socialist political action.[43] "Wobblies" profoundly opposed war and strike arbitration and stubbornly supported the welfare of all workers, regardless of nationality. These socialist principles, imbedded in the promise of a democratic, industrial society, and the acts of anarchistic sabotage suspected of IWW members led to a heated, war-time campaign against the radicals.

During the U.S. engagement in the war, conservative American newspapers publicized the IWW as unpatriotic and a threat to the production of manufactured goods.[44] This harsh publicity encouraged the hostility of the American

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public and promoted the repression of radicals from 1917 through early 1920.[45]

During the early period of the Red Scare, Gropper joined the IWW and drew for two of its publications. The organization had opened headquarters in New York while 166 members awaited trial in Chicago on charges of interfering with the war effort. In mid-February 1918 the New York office began publishing the Labor Defender, organ of the New York Defense Committee.[46]

Soon afterwards, Gropper and a reporter for the Tribune sought their story on the "wobblies." Newspaper staff had told the two of an upcoming raid on the IWW headquarters, and that they wanted to "prepare a strongly patriotic, sensational story for its readers before the raid." But, as Gropper recalled, he and the writer met a surprisingly friendly group of young men at the hall. Instead of following their assignment, the two newspapermen listened for hours to anti-war lectures. They finally left, according to the artist, "with a pack of literature and with red membership booklets in [their] pockets."[47]

IWW publications in New York provided the training ground for Gropper's radical cartoons in future papers, especially Freiheit, though little attention has been given in the literature to his work in these IWW periodicals.[48] About two weeks after "city officers" raided IWW

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headquarters, the Labor Defender published Gropper's first documented drawing for the organization, printed on the cover of the July 15, 1918 issue (Fig. 15).[49] Before this number, the journal appeared in newspaper form illustrated with political cartoons and comic strips by obscure artists.[50] "Z.," for example, drew the unsophisticated cartoon, "Before the Bar of Judgment [sic]: Who's the Criminal, Worker or Profiteer?" (Fig. 16), for the paper during the early days of the IWW trial in Chicago.[51]

With Gropper's first drawing for the IWW Labor Defender, a new journal format boasted a prominent title and ambitious space for a front cover illustration. Perhaps Gropper was involved in the re-design of the publication, for he published more cover drawings for the Labor Defender than any other artist, including the more experienced cartoonist Art Young.[52]

Gropper created four cover drawings for the Labor Defender. The first drawing (Fig. 15), a ruggedly executed ink sketch, portrays two figures, one grasping a tool box and mallet, the other a rake and pitchfork as in "The Storm." Both workers stride harmoniously and larger-than-life in front of an open sky.[53] The IWW drawing contrasts vividly with the themes of conflict and injustice in Gropper's student drawings, but it recalls the treatment of land and sky in those works. Although slightly caricatured

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with their large hands and wide gaits, Gropper's freely drawn workers in this sketch are rooted in the journalistic tradition of the Ashcan School and the new, leftist style of cartooning identified with Robinson and Minor.

This cover was published during the lengthy trial in Chicago of the IWW, lasting from April through August 1918. With its enthusiastic message of workers joining together to pursue common goals, the cover illustration underscores the journal's mission of rallying support for imprisoned IWWs and jailed sympathizers in Chicago, Sacramento, Wichita, and Omaha.[54] In contrast to the artist's lighthearted caricatures in the Tribune, this exuberant drawing suggests that Gropper reveled in the freedom of expression granted by this new outlet for his political cartoons.

Gropper's cartoons for the Labor Defender document the outlook of IWW members during and after the Chicago trial. For instance, this first cover by Gropper appeared above the headline, "I.W.W. Defense Batters Prosecution," a reference to the IWW view that the defense was going well.[55] The cover of the next issue, two weeks later (Fig. 17),[56] presents a foreground group of three realistically sketched workers, identified as such by their casual dress and workman's mallet, looking at the low Chicago horizon and consoling one another about the trial.

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Ninety-nine of the IWWs, including Haywood, were subsequently convicted of violating the Espionage Act. Fat "trusts" toast the guilty verdict in the third cover drawing, called "Delighted" (Fig. 18), a satirical cartoon of mostly rotund, greedy businessmen, the traditional cartoon symbol for trusts and capitalists.[57] One of the earliest satirical political cartoons in Gropper's work, it demonstrates that the young artist was applying radical politics to an established cartoon language. This is a case not unlike that of Art Young, whose own cover cartoon, "On Trial at Chicago" (Fig. 19), pictures George Vanderveer, the IWW defense attorney, turning the tables and presenting "Evidence" against a bloated, nervous "Capitalism."[58] "Labor Rises Out of the Mire Despite Its Chains" (Fig. 20), published in mid-October, concludes the cover drawings by Gropper for the Labor Defender and depicts an earthy, pugilistic laborer wearily pulling up the chains that bind him,[59] a contrast to the uplifting first cover drawing by Gropper.

Like the Masses, the Labor Defender was eventually censored. The 15 November 1918 number of the IWW paper carries a cover drawing (Fig. 21) by the little-known radical artist Benjamin Greenstein of a well-dressed woman facing a crucified figure of labor. Under the Espionage Act of 1917, the New York City Postmaster declared the issue

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unmailable.[60] Thereafter, the journal changed back to newspaper form and published one or two more numbers.[61] It was now greatly expanded and a more aggressive, hortatory tone ranged through its articles, editorials, reports, and cartoons.

After a lapse of a few weeks, the semi-monthly reappeared on February 1, 1919, under the new title, the Rebel Worker.[62] Gropper, its chief cartoonist, drew critical cartoons for the front page and occasional cartoons within the body of the paper, almost up to the last issue of December 15, 1919. Throughout his cartoons in the semi-monthly, Gropper never signed his name, suggesting a growing danger of being identified by editors at the Tribune.[63] Feature cartoons by others--Robinson and Leland Chumley, for example--usually identified the artist.[64]

"The Land of Promise" (Fig. 22),[65] published in February 1919, cuts across the front page of the first number of the Rebel Worker. Its cynical title recalls Gropper's memories of his father's disillusionment with "the golden land."[66] The drawing presents a briskly sketched and vehement Statue of Liberty holding an armload of money bags and kicking a figure marked "Deportation" into the waters. From the base of the monument, caricaturish and humorous images of Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson and AFL President Samuel Gompers smile

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approvingly. Gropper signed the cartoon "Slave 450622," referring to the artist's identification with workers in the "American Slave Market" of capitalism and to perhaps Gropper's membership number in the IWW.[67]

Frederick A. Blossom, who edited the Labor Defender and Rebel Worker, wrote decades later that he had suggested the idea of "The Land of Promise" cartoon to Gropper when IWW member John Meehan was deported back to Ireland. In a letter to the artist, Blossom also recalled "suggesting that you draw [the Statue of Liberty] after the pattern of the besotted old women I used to see draped over benches in Chelsea 'Park'.... You and I agreed that, in place of the tablets on her left arm, the Goddess of Liberty should hold a bag of gold, subtly labeled 'Wall Street.'"[68] In fulfilling this essential idea in his own original way, Gropper drew a muscular, energetic "Liberty" grasping bags marked with dollar signs.

On December 10, 1918, Meehan, a member of the Construction Workers Industrial Union 573, had been deported. According to a notice in the Rebel Worker, he had been arrested for displaying IWW "stickerettes" during the lumber workers' strike in Spokane, Washington.[69]

The underlying caption, "Making America Safe for Wall Street and Gomperism," spoofs the famous war slogan of President Woodrow Wilson, that is, "Making America Safe for

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Democracy." At the same time, it refers to the deportation during the Red Scare of allegedly dangerous radical foreigners so as to sooth business and labor during the immediate post-war uncertainty.[70] In October 1918, Congress had passed the Alien Law which barred radicals from entering the country and which deported, through the U.S. Department of Labor, any foreigner who professed radicalism upon or after entering the country.[71]

Samuel Gompers, head of four million members of the AFL, became a champion of the antiradical crusade, and he would also become a target in Gropper's cartoons in the early Freiheit. The labor leader was a member of the patriotic National Civic Federation, which by the end of the war had switched its energies from labor-management mediation to persecution of IWW members, Socialists, and other radicals.[72] In February 1919, he declared that American labor opposed radicalism "completely, finally and for all time." The AFL believed in negotiating for better wages and conditions for workers through the capitalist structure of society. However, by backing numerous strikes during 1919 (though its leadership denounced the general strike), even the AFL came under suspicion by the American public and press.[73]

In the eyes of radical leftists, the federal government and the AFL together conspired against them

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during these years. For example, in 1917, the Labor Department, as Melvyn Dubofsky points out, felt threatened by the IWW's revolutionary claims and by its refusal to halt strikes. On the other hand, the Department had little reason to feel threatened by the AFL because the "conservative" craft association supported the war effort.[74]

In the case of the strike-ridden West, the Labor Department understood that the root of IWW discontent was over working conditions, low wages, and the slow progress of traditional arbitration. The Department worked closely with the AFL to find the causes of worker unrest. For instance, it unsuccessfully tried to get the Western lumber owners and mine operators to negotiate with the AFL for shorter workdays. Gompers and the Department contended that if the employers negotiated with the AFL, then the IWW "would disappear,"[75] labor would be peaceful, and war production would be increased. In February, 1918, through the skillful mediation of an American military officer, Lieutenant Colonel Brice P. Disque, called by General John Pershing to survey the spruce industry, lumber owners finally gave workers the eight-hour day. In the end, the newly-formed company union, the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen, substantially stemmed the IWW threat in the Western lumber industry.[76]

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In another example of anti-IWW policy, Gompers had negotiated in 1917 with the Labor Department in its attempts to resolve worker uprisings in the Arizona copper mines. The efforts at banning IWW members from working in the mines backfired, however. Employers ultimately rejected anyone considered "disloyal," even members of the AFL.[77]

Therefore, the Labor Department and the AFL tried to lessen the influence of the IWW by attempts to organize workers into unions affiliated with the craft association. Rather than these attempts, however, the lengthy sentences received by many IWW leaders finally robbed the radical organization of its strength.[78]

Gropper contributed front-page cartoons in subsequent numbers of the Rebel Worker. His drawings addressed several themes: the Seattle and Butte strikes of 1919, the conservatism of Gompers, the repression of radicals, the strength of the IWW, the antiradical press, capitalism, and the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union.[79] Most of these feature drawings are in crayon or ink, sketchily executed in the Robinson manner, and they suggest that the young cartoonist followed the leads of Minor and Robinson in their own cover drawings for the Labor Defender and the Rebel Worker.[80]

Gropper saved his contour line style for smaller political and humorous cartoons within the body of the

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Rebel Worker. Only rarely was this contour line technique used in his feature cartoons on the front page of the paper.[81] One can conclude that at this time Gropper thought the Robinson style more appropriate for the more "serious" and prominent front-page radical cartoons.

"Gompers--Friend of Labor" (Fig. 23), published on the cover of the April 15, 1919 number, typifies the vigorous quality of Gropper's cartoons on the front pages of the Rebel Worker. A successful cartoon, it fuses technique and content into one unambiguous and powerful message.[82] In slashing pen strokes underneath the headline "Revolution!," Gropper presented a malicious Gompers, who had reportedly largely ignored the Seattle strikers, aiming a dagger at the back of a thoughtful worker. Thus, Gropper indicts what IWW members thought was Gompers' betrayal of the working class.[83]

Gropper's drawings for the Labor Defender and the Rebel Worker express the IWW ideology of a worker-centered, social radicalism, one that opposed capitalism and the craft orientation and antiradicalism of Gompers and the AFL. His future cartoons in Freiheit--especially his frequent anticapitalist cartoons and the provocative, often inflammatory cartoons of the right-wing, antiradical socialists--are indebted to his early experience with these themes in the IWW journals.

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After Gropper became a member of the IWW, his cartoons in the New York Tribune regarding radicalism carry ambiguous messages and do not fully support the newspaper's vehement antiradical position. An untitled drawing (Fig. 24) published on March 2, 1919, may be interpreted, for instance, depending on the reader's attitude.[84] A freely sketched IWW member towers above a government building graced with humorously drawn, linear figures which symbolize the federal government, the military, the church, and capital.

In this cartoon, Gropper experiments with two formal methods which both carry conceptual meanings. The cartoon characters of "officialdom" are executed in contour line while the resolute "wobblie" is drawn in the brusque, scratchy Robinson manner. Because the IWW member is not drawn as a monster but as a ruler-carrying, overall-wearing, serious worker, he may be read as non-threatening. On the other hand, the figures adorning the capitol are caricatures. Therefore, Gropper juxtaposes the method of his humorous cartoons in the Tribune with a cartoon technique identified at the time with social protest.

Gropper's cartoons in the New York Tribune of Bolsheviks also underwent change when he became involved in radical activities. The Bolshevik image appears occasionally in Gropper's cartoons for the Tribune,

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initially through whimsical caricatures in the Review and Magazine. For example, Fig. 11 appears, as noted, in the first column Gropper illustrated, in October 1917. The cartoon, which depicts Kerensky standing upon a defeated Bolshevik, easily summed up the political situation according to the Tribune--that Kerensky had successfully rebuffed the Bolsheviks in their early protests against a coalition government.[85] After the Bolshevik revolution in early November, Gropper continued publishing this type of humorous cartoon regarding Russian news events, such as German attacks on Russian forces and plans for a Bolshevik-directed armistice with the Central Powers.[86]

With this subsequent armistice, Russia, an ally of American forces, left the war, a decision that made many Americans feel betrayed. As Richard Gid Powers recently explained, President Wilson had entered the war to make the world "safe for democracy" only after the pre-Bolshevik revolution of March 1917 had installed a social democratic government in Russia. By Russia pulling out of the war, thus eliminating the eastern war front, American troops on the western front would be threatened with more German troops.[87]

In January, 1919, the New York Tribune published in its magazine an untypical, thunderous drawing by Gropper on Bolshevism. In this untitled work (Fig. 25), an upright and

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giant burly worker crashes through a metropolis, carrying a torch marked "Bolsheviki." The cartoon accompanies an article which outlines the history of Russian left-wing socialism and its relation to the radical German Spartacist movement.[88] The aggressive work was probably interpreted by Tribune editors and readers as the artist's negative reaction to the revolutionary Bolsheviks.

However, the cartoon can be seen as an homage to the new workers' government in Russia. This cartoon on Bolshevism differs from many others produced at the same time in mainstream newspapers around the country. For instance, in cartoons printed in the Tribune, artists generally pictured the Bolshevik as the personification of evil; typical symbols include the reptile, octopus (Fig. 26), slavedriver, Angel of Death, and wild-eyed, moustached maniac.[89]

Gropper is one of the few artists whose works did not share in this negative attitude.[90] Rather, his cartoon relates and goes beyond the idealist goal expressed in the first cover drawing for Labor Defender (Fig. 15), of workers united and making great strides together. In Gropper's cartoon of the Bolshevik, the triumphant worker, sketched by Gropper in the Robinson tradition, now threatens the structure of established society, symbolized by toppling churches and government buildings, which are

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depicted whimsically in the artist's contour line technique.

During early 1919, while trading in Wall Street accelerated and labor strikes across the country increased, the New York Tribune continued waging war against radicals. On 25 May 1919, the Review printed a portion of the front page of the April 15th issue of the IWW Rebel Worker to demonstrate to its readers the seditious plans of radicals in the U.S.[91] The title "Revolution!," an accompanying article, and Gropper's anonymous cartoon, "Gompers--Friend of Labor," thus reappeared. The radical cartoonist had been contributing political cartoons and humorous drawings to the anti-red Tribune for the past two years. As Gahn relates, the Review editor "soon discovered that the cartoon was Gropper's work and warned him to limit his drawing to the Tribune." According to Gropper, he refused and "fired the Tribune."[92] Whether Gropper quit the paper or was fired, only a few more drawings by him appeared in the publication. Two cartoons published on 15 June 1919 were his last.[93]

After departing from the Tribune, Gropper's radical activities expanded. Three weeks later, on 5 July 1919, the Revolutionary Age, the organ of the left wing of the Socialist Party, published the first of seven cover drawings by him.[94] As noted above, from its beginnings in

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1901, the Socialist Party had had an amorphous left wing. In 1912-13, the party ousted IWW leader Haywood and any member who advocated violence and sabotage, and it moved toward a more stringent reform policy that further alienated radical members. The radical leftists published their opposing views in the International Socialist Review, the New Review, and, after socialist Max Eastman became editor in 1912, the Masses.[95]

In outlining the development of the Revolutionary Age, one follows the historic events involved in the evolution of the Socialist left wing in America, important to the history of Communism in the U.S. and significant in understanding Gropper's role as cartoonist for the radical organ when it was based in New York. The radical ideology he had encountered and learned in the IWW was now made more programmatic with the cartoons for this new publication, and, in turn, this more programmatic approach informs the radical ideology of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit.

In 1914, Louis C. Fraina, former member of the Socialist Labor Party and the IWW, joined the editorial board of the New Review and became a vociferous spokesman against Hillquit and the Socialist right wing.[96] In January 1917 the editor attended the historic meeting of prominent left wing Socialists who met in Brooklyn to discuss the future of the radical wing. Leon Trotsky, leader of the

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1905 Russian revolution, Nikolai Bukharin, a high-level Bolshevik, and Ludwig Lore, associated with the social democratic New Yorker Volkszeitung, were also present. According to Lore, Trotsky proposed that the left wing stay within the Socialist Party and publish a separate political organ. His proposal won over Bukharin's suggestion that the radicals sever relations with the Socialist Party altogether.[97]

In April 1917, Fraina began editing the newspaper The New International which he made into the first American left wing organ. Soon after, in May-June, the first issue of the new magazine of the left wing, The Class Struggle, edited by Fraina, Lore, and Louis Boudin, appeared.[98]

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 galvanized the spirit of the American left wing, however. With its coming, the "physical as well as the spiritual relation between the American Left Wing movement and the Russian Bolshevik Party was firmly established."[99] Within the American left there emerged a new optimism, a new faith in social revolution. Conservative members of the Socialist Party, including Morris Hillquit, at first also praised the revolution. Forward editor Cahan delighted in the triumph of "the Socialist spirit" in Russia.[100]

The Revolutionary Age, the successor to The New International, encapsulates within its pages the

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theoretical development of the Socialist left wing's move toward Communism. The new journal, which appeared immediately after the armistice in November 1918, was in the beginning based in Boston. Its fourth issue listed it as the organ of the local branch of the Socialist Party.[101] The journal consists of glowing reports and theoretical analyses of "revolutionary" socialism in Europe.[102] It also contained messages to the American people from the new Soviet government. For instance, Lenin's letter, "To the American Workers," appeared on December 28, 1918 in the paper.[103]

The antiradicalism of moderate European socialists engendered a growing sense of urgency among American left wing Socialists for a U.S. party position on the revolutionary changes taking place in Europe. The "conservative" leadership of the Socialist Party in the U.S. supported political action to attain its goals, not the open rebellion called for by the leftists.[104]

In early February 1919, the "Left Wing" of the Greater New York locals was officially formed and by the middle of the month its revolutionary manifesto had been revised at a convention of New York leftist members and delegates from Boston and other locals. At that meeting, the New York left wing endorsed the Revolutionary Age.[105] In April, the journal published a call by Boston, Cleveland, and New York

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City leftists for a national conference of left wing Socialists to discuss plans for "conquering" the Socialist Party.[106]

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party expelled the Michigan party members and suspended seven foreign language federations. Following these oustings, the National Left Wing Conference was held in New York from June 21 to 23, 1919.[107] At that meeting, the Revolutionary Age became the official organ of the movement and the journal was moved to New York City. The paper published the convention manifesto, which upheld the principles of the Communist Third International, in the first New York number, on July 5th. For this issue Gropper created his first cover drawing for the journal (Fig. 27).[108] His contributions to the publication are reviewed here for the first time.

A thin, sometimes loose line characterizes his drawing style for Revolutionary Age, a manner which has its origins in Gropper's contour line cartoons for the New York Tribune. The switch to this linear style for cover and interior cartoons appears to represent an effort by Gropper to evolve a clear and unified style for all of his cartoons in the journal. His first drawing, "'Nothing Doing!,'" presents a statuesque worker standing over "the right wingers," one a small man who holds the emblematic torch of

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the Socialist Party and gestures to the worker to join him, the other a crouching businessman, representing capital, who supports the smaller man with his hand. Gropper's little man is rooted in the well-known cartoon symbol of "The Common People," created by Opper (see Fig. 28) at the turn of the century to represent the American public.[109]

Gropper's towering worker, a motif he used a few months earlier in the Tribune to represent the Bolsheviks and the IWW, symbolizes "revolutionary socialism" in the U.S. In a small drawing, "The Upsurge of Socialism" (Fig. 29), published inside the issue, this same worker breaks out of the top of the world.[110] As with the earlier "The Land of Promise," where the impulse for the cartoon came from an editor, the concept for this small sketch may have been suggested by the opening sentences of the printed manifesto: "The world is in crisis. Capitalism, the prevailing system of society, is in process of disintegration and collapse. Out of its vitals is developing a new social order, the system of Communist Socialism...."[111]

In the left wing, factional disputes arose between the Michigan Socialists and suspended federationists, who wanted to form a Communist party immediately, and leftists who wanted to take control of the Socialist Party. The majority of radical leftists soon swung in favor of forming

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a new party; however, a few, including John Reed and Benjamin Gitlow, remained unconvinced. In its 23 August 1919 number, the Revolutionary Age printed the call for a convention on 1 September 1919 to form a Communist party; the National Council of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party and the Federated Russian Federations made the call jointly. An editorial announcement in the issue stated that because three staff members, including Reed and Gitlow, had resigned in the factional disputes and because the paper was in "financial disorganization," the issue had to be reduced to half its size, to eight pages. The financial difficulties appear to have been insurmountable, for this was to be the last number of the journal.[112]

After the journal's move to New York in the summer of 1919, there had been greater emphasis on graphics in the Revolutionary Age. In contrast, in the first volume of the paper, published in Boston, illustrations were few. There are photographs of Karl Marx, Karl Liebknecht, and Rosa Luxemburg; a cartoon by Will Dyson reprinted from The Herald of London; a poster on prisoners; and three cartoons reprinted from L'Avanti, organ of the Socialist party of Italy.[113] Perhaps indicating his growing reputation as a radical cartoonist, Gropper provided all of the illustrations in the second volume. In particular, he contributed cover drawings--a new feature--for all of the

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issues of the Revolutionary Age published in New York.

As in Figs. 27 and 29, the remaining illustrations by Gropper in the journal are rooted in the principles of left wing socialism and in its relationship to current world events. For example, for the issue of 12 July, a giant worker leans over a desk and points a finger at peace treaty signers; the cartoon is entitled "Peace is signed--now for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (Fig. 30), a reference to the final goal of control of government by the workers, an essential principle of Marxism. A robot wearing a crown and a breastplate labeled the "League of Nations" holds a hatchet over the head of a bound worker in the drawing, "Guaranteed to cure all Wars, Corns, Bugs and Protect Capital" (Fig. 31), from July 19th, in regard to the unpopular League of Nations and the left's negative viewpoint toward it as capitalistic and war-driven. A strongman labeled "Capitalism" is inflated with so much air from pumps marked "the press" that air spews from the top of his head, a reference to mainstream newspapers and magazines promoting capitalism and opposing radical socialism; this last, in a cartoon entitled "Hot Air" (Fig. 32) from the July 26th number.[114]

When the Revolutionary Age had moved to New York in the summer of 1919, it had merged with the New York Communist, a non-illustrated paper edited by Reed. First

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published on 19 April 1919, the latter paper championed the left wing section of the Socialist Party locals in New York City.[115] Reed may have suggested that Gropper draw covers for the Revolutionary Age, for he and the artist had recently returned from their joint visit to the AFL convention. The meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, convened on June 13th, 1919, three and a half weeks before the first New York issue of the Revolutionary Age appeared.[116] Reed and Gropper attended the meeting together to do an article in the Liberator. At the meeting, the federation, the majority of its members moderate, voted for numerous antiradical measures. Reed wrote a critical article, "The Convention of the Dead," which was published in the August issue of the Liberator, illustrated with drawings by Gropper of AFL President Gompers and convention delegates.[117]

A new magazine of leftist thought edited by the radical socialist Max Eastman, former editor of the Masses, the Liberator first appeared in March 1918. It embraced the Bolshevik Revolution and succeeded in form and outlook the suppressed Masses. The new magazine adopted for about four years the former's nondoctrinaire blend of leftist and aesthetic elements; it departed from it in an increased emphasis on politics.[118] By 1921, however, Eastman was questioning the battle-ready rhetoric of American

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communists, whom he said increasingly ignored the realities of American society and imitatively followed the statements of the Soviet Communist leadership.[119]

In the Liberator, Gropper executed the cartoons of the AFL convention in the linear manner seen in his drawings in the Revolutionary Age. "Around the Throne" (Fig. 33) thus pictures a caricature of the AFL president surrounded by his "chief lieutenants." The image differs considerably from the harsh, vigorous "Gompers--Friend of Labor" (Fig. 23) published the previous April in the IWW's Rebel Worker.[120] In the former, Gompers is not thrusting a dagger into the back of a laborer; rather, he sits calmly and confidently upon a throne, squeezed between caricatures of his supporters. The technique is not the agitative Robinson gesture, but the sure contour line of his Revolutionary Age cartoons. Perhaps the difference in tone between the two cartoons demonstrates that with this more relaxed view of Gompers Gropper may have still been immersed in the discipline of his linear cartoons for the Revolutionary Age.

The assignment with Reed obviously meant a lot to Gropper, for years later he included the occasion in an outline for an autobiographical book, which consisted of a list of events highlighting Gropper's youth and early career.[121] Gropper would have admired Reed's eye-witness

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accounts of the Bolshevik revolution. They had been published in the Liberator beginning in the first issue, March 1918. When Reed returned to the U.S. that spring, the writer gave a number of lectures and continued publishing articles in the magazine about the revolution.[122]

After Gropper's involvement with Revolutionary Age, he became a frequent contributor to the Liberator. Beginning in October 1918 he published drawings almost every month in the magazine. It appears that Crystal Eastman, managing editor, solicited serious and symbolic, witty cartoons similar to his first contribution (Fig. 1).[123] However, not until January 1921, after Gropper was made a contributing editor of the Liberator, would these political cartoons appear on a regular basis in the journal. Until that time, Gropper most often published satirical gag drawings with terse lines and humorous caricatures which jabbed fun at church, business, law, the pretensions of the middle class, and the patriotic Red Scare.[124] For example, "Law and Order" (Fig. 34), published in the April 1920 issue, presents five comic strip-like scenes of a peace-professing brute ironically squashing a citizen (Gropper's "white collar slave") whom the ogre considers a dangerous Bolshevik. The last scene shows the brute alone, turning to the viewer with "Can you beat it? Guys like that preaching violence!"[125] Gropper continued to publish comical drawings

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in this manner in the Liberator until the journal merged with others in 1924. In Enjoyment of Laughter, Max Eastman tells how, upon seeing the first of these comical ink sketches, he was mesmerized with their "intrinsic" humor; so inherently comical were they that he felt captions--which were often supplied by the editors--were supplemental.[126]

Gropper's early cartoons for the Liberator and several smaller circulating magazines critiqued the martial and nationalistic spirit of the times. While working on the Tribune, Gropper had begun contributing occasional serious cartoons and humorous drawings to lively non-polemical magazines. For example, in 1918, "à Berlin!," a dark but vigorous drawing of a phalanx of men marching into the distance, was reproduced along with comical sketches in Quill, a "little magazine" of Greenwich Village.[127] In the same years he also began publishing critical and humorous drawings in Pagan, another "Village" periodical.[128] In January 1919, cartoons and lighthearted drawings by Gropper began appearing in Playboy, a "portfolio of art and satire" edited by Egmont Arens and printed at his Washington Square Book Shop. Gropper had been associated with Arens at least since June 1918 when the artist exhibited a group of monotypes at Arens' bookstore.[129] Beginning in May 1919, Gropper's cartoons and drawings were published in Good

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Morning, a new journal of humor and satire published by Art Young.[130]

Gropper created these cartoons for the Liberator, Playboy, Good Morning, and others in a conformist, antiradical political atmosphere that restricted the actions of leftists. Any group which had opposed the war was suspect, including the Socialist Party which had vociferously protested America's involvement in the war. This repressive atmosphere, accompanied by exaggerated reports of bolshevism in America, enveloped the nation in patriotic hysteria, particularly in 1919-1920, as noted with the discussion on the IWW.

The state and federal courts and governments acted dramatically to stem radical activity in the United States in this period. Socialist leaders, including Berger and Debs, accused of violating the Espionage Act, were sent to prison. In January 1919, Berger was sentenced to twenty years in Fort Leavenworth; Debs received a ten year term upheld by the Supreme Court in March 1919.[131]

After the general strike in Seattle in February 1919, radical activities appeared to spread as bombings, riots, and strikes followed throughout the country.[132] On 8 November 1919, the Lusk Investigating Committee of the New York State Legislature raided radical centers in New York City. Reportedly, authorities during these raids questioned

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Gropper about his reasons for drawing for "radical" papers, but they released him after he explained that he drew for them only because he needed the money.[133]

In December 1919, the Department of Labor deported 249 foreign-born radicals, including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. In early January 1920, U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer directed raids against Communist party halls and centers across the country.[134] According to Gahn, who interviewed Gropper, police during the Palmer raids broke into and searched his family's home where he still lived.[135]

In the same month, the New York State Legislature disbarred its five Socialist members for their membership in the Socialist Party, a "revolutionary" organization. In April 1920, the New York Assembly passed a bill that outlawed the Socialist Party. Disagreement among individuals and the press over the assembly's extreme actions, according to Robert Murray, spelled the beginning of the decline of Red Scare hysteria, however.[136]

Two new Communist parties, which bore the brunt of the January 1920 raids, had recently emerged from the factional left wing of the Socialist Party. The conference of the National Left Wing in September 1919 had resulted in the formation of the Communist Party, led by Fraina, Charles Ruthenberg, and the foreign language federations. When the

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opposing group led by Reed, Gitlow, and others had met at the Socialist Party convention at the end of August, they failed to take over the party and subsequently formed the Communist Labor Party. With the creation of these new parties, the membership of the old Socialist Party dwindled from 108,000 to around 30,000, which weakened the organization.[137]

The Red Scare attacked the radical and progressive papers of the day. In contrast to what he told Lusk Committee authorities, Gropper contributed drawings to some radical papers without being paid, presumably out of concern for social justice. In its report, the Lusk Committee listed "seditious" publications such as the Rebel Worker, the Liberator, the Revolutionary Age, and Good Morning--which all carried drawings by Gropper.[138] In his memoirs, Max Eastman asserts that when he was editor, the Liberator paid contributors. However, Art Young seldom paid contributors to Good Morning. And, as Frederick Blossom noted, Gropper volunteered his drawings for the Labor Defender, later the Rebel Worker.[139] It is not known if Revolutionary Age paid Gropper for his drawings.

Presumably after the Lusk raids in early November 1919, Gropper visited Cuba for four months, during the winter of 1919-20, until news of his father's impending death forced the artist's return. Settling in Greenwich

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Village in the summer of 1920, according to Gahn,[140] Gropper became involved in local social life, often spending afternoons at the Penguin Club and evenings at cafes with Henri and Bellows.[141] In 1920 Gropper began contributing to Dial, another Greenwich Village "little" magazine. In the July issue, there appears the first of several humorous line drawings Gropper sold to the magazine until the fall of 1924 when he became the regular cartoonist for Freiheit.[142]

For Gropper, the period of the early 1920s is rich in entertaining, non-political caricatures and cartoons printed in a wide range of publications, in magazines such as Bookman, Broom, folio, Pearson's Magazine, New Pearson's, The Younger Set, Shadowland, and Motion Picture Magazine; in newspapers such as the New York World and the Literary Review of the New York Evening Post;[143] and in his books, Ye Creepy Tape and Chinese White, the latter a collaboration with poet Gladys Oaks, to whom Gropper was married from 1921 to 1924.[144] He also exhibited at the Humorists' Exhibition at the National Arts Club in 1921, and in 1923 Gropper published a portfolio of "sandprints" and line drawing reproductions.[145]

In the early 1920s, after the Red Scare, Gropper contributed political cartoons regularly to three principal publications devoted to socialist ideology and workers'

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issues--the Liberator, the New Yorker Volkszeitung, and Advance. These publications further prepared him for the anticapitalist, pro-Soviet, and garment trade issues he would meet in Freiheit.

Gradually, Gropper gained greater visibility on the Liberator. At last, he was made a special contributor to the latter magazine and was listed as such in the January 1921 issue.[146] A year later, Gropper became an editor of the periodical. The 25-year-old artist then published cartoons on full and double pages, which in earlier years had been filled with works by the more experienced cartoonists Robinson, Minor, Becker, Weed, and Young. Michael Gold--the proponent of proletarian art--and the poet Claude McKay became executive editors and Dell, Eastman, Minor, Robinson, Hugo Gellert, and Arturo Giovanitti, along with Gropper, were listed as "editors."[147]

In its last two years of operation, the Liberator moved swiftly further to the left. Art Young reports that a meeting called in October 1922 about the future of the magazine was held in Gropper's studio.[148] Because of a financial crisis, the staff decided that the Liberator would need to gain the support of the Workers Party, the legal organization formed in December 1921 by underground Communists and a new group of leftist Socialists.[149]

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Eastman had suggested this alternative course should the magazine run into monetary difficulties after he left as editor.[150] With the November/December 1922 issue, Robert Minor and Joseph Freeman became executive editors of the magazine, which stated its intention of emphasizing political issues and, in particular, the Workers Party.[151] A change in the May 1923 masthead reflected this arrangement. "Political" associate editors include Workers Party leaders Ruthenberg (secretary of the WP), Lore, William Z. Foster, James P. Cannon, J. Louis Engdahl, Jay Lovestone, Max Bedacht, and Moissaye Olgin of Freiheit.[152] A Comintern-guided United Front campaign infuses the political content of remaining issues, until the paper merged with others in November 1924 to form the Workers Monthly.[153] After the Liberator had gained the support of the Workers Party, the magazine more frequently printed drawings and lithographs by the leading European social critical artist George Grosz.[154] The magazine's old, bohemian nature was still felt, however, through occasional contributions "aesthetic" in nature such as love poems and sketches of nudes.

Most of Gropper's cartoons in the Liberator exude a sense of ironic comedy, not unlike those of Art Young. Even in Gropper's later, more ambitious cartoons for the magazine, wry humor draws the viewer's attention. For

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instance, in "The Wage Cut Drive" (Fig. 35) from the April 1922 issue, Gropper's first double-page cartoon for the magazine, Wall Street capitalists dressed as bandits raid a worker's household, stealing groceries, and rummaging through the room while the family, even the baby in its crib, is kept at bay.[155] The unlikely situation and caricaturish drawing of the capitalists ridicule what was seen by leftists as the criminal greed of Wall Street. A complex composition reminiscent of George Grosz in its linear detail, the detailed interior distinguishes this cartoon from others by Gropper in the magazine.

Gropper rarely lost this humorous edge in his satirical cartoons for the Liberator and it is infrequent that a drawing by him of the ferocity of "'Vive Poincare!' 'Lebe Stinnes!'" (Fig. 36) appears there. Published in February 1923, the vigorous double-page sketch pits two skeletons, representing France and Germany, against one another in a battleground littered with graves. The cartoon recalls the brusque force of Gropper's drawings for the Rebel Worker and points forward to the possibility of another war between the two countries. Related to the drawing is an editorial which pondered the outcome of the recent French invasion of the German Ruhr.[156] This blunt crayon style in the Robinson tradition was used occasionally by Gropper in the pages of the Liberator, but

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his linear style of satire is seen more often in the periodical's pages, due perhaps to the development of his cartoon style in the Revolutionary Age and, perhaps, to the wry approaches to his subjects so often seen in the Liberator.

In the winter of 1921-1922, Gropper advertised in the Liberator for the "Gropper Cartoon Syndicate," a short-lived attempt to distribute cartoons on a wide basis to labor and radical papers. Though the syndicate was apparently not successful,[157] Gropper had found other avenues for his critical cartoons.

Beginning in November 1920, Gropper's drawings were published in the New Yorker Volkszeitung, an independent socialist daily and a champion of the trade union movement. The paper was the labor daily of the social democratic German Jews who had settled the Lower East Side earlier.[158] According to Theodore Draper, it was "generally considered the best Socialist paper in any language in the country." The historian notes its strong international outlook as a major difference with socialist papers in English.[159]

Ludwig Lore, mentioned above, was executive secretary of the German Federation of the Socialist Party and in January 1919 he rose as editor of the New Yorker Volkszeitung.[160] A supporter of the left wing, Lore was briefly a member of the Communist Labor Party,[161] and he

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helped to found the above-ground Workers Party in December 1921. Under him, the New Yorker Volkszeitung remained apart from doctrinaire Communist policies, however.[162] Of an independent mind, Lore often disagreed with Comintern policies and, because of this, in 1925 he was expelled during the Comintern's reorganization of the Workers Party.[163]

Although Gropper's cartoons in New Yorker Volkszeitung have received scant attention,[164] he drew numerous cartoons for the newspaper frequently between 1920 and 1924. Relaxed, gently critical approaches, such as his first cartoon for the paper, characterize much of his work for the publication. This cartoon, "Wrangel Goes the Way of All Counter-Revolutionary Russian Generals" (Fig. 37),[165] from November 1920, refers to the defeat by the Soviet Red Army of Baron P. N. Wrangel. The general led a counter-revolutionary advance of the White Army into southwestern Russia late in the 1918-1920 civil war period in Soviet Russia after the Allies had called off their blockade in January 1920.[166] Gropper's earthy but witty contour drawing--a Bolshevik is pictured flushing Wrangel down a toilet--contrasts considerably with the detailed, labor-intensive though formally flatter, more experimental Soviet color lithographic posters on the Wrangel threat and demise, these discussed by Stephen White in his study on

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posters created during the Russian civil war.[167] For example, Dmitri S. Moor, one of the best known of Soviet poster artists at the time, produced a passionate red and black lithograph entitled Wrangel is still Alive! Finish him off without Mercy (Fig. 38), in which a sword-wielding Red soldier threatens to cut off Wrangel's oversized hand as it reaches toward Russian soil.[168] In contrast, Gropper's drawing is humorous and technically uncomplicated[169] and can be likened to his contemporary cartoons in the Liberator.

Though there are occasional hard-hitting political cartoons by Gropper in the New Yorker Volkszeitung, most cartoons by him in the newspaper are in this moderate manner, jesting, for instance, at capitalists and scabs, Gompers, and President Wilson. Throughout his Volkszeitung cartoons, the artist switches, with no conceptual differences, between the contour line and the gestural crayon method.[170]

Finally, though little has been written on Gropper's cartoons for the Advance,[171] the organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Gropper became a prominent cartoonist for the paper. Because of its commitment to garment workers, the Advance serves as a major bridge to his involvement with Freiheit, the leftist paper dedicated to building a radical political movement among Jewish

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garment workers.

Before Gropper became a cartoonist for the Amalgamated, the pages of the ACWA weekly newspaper, begun in 1917, regularly printed cartoons by the leading leftist and liberal cartoonists, including Young, Robinson, Minor, Weed, and Fitzpatrick. During the period from November 10, 1922 to March 21, 1924, however, Gropper, whose work was featured nearly every week, published all but one of the drawings in the paper.[172]

The industrial union for men's clothing workers, who were largely Jewish and Italian, was formed in 1914 as a radical breakaway movement from the more conservative United Garment Workers.[173] By 1920, the new union, the first to negotiate a 44 hour week, had grown to 177,000 members.[174] Managing editor of the union's organ when Gropper began contributing cartoons was Horace M. Kallen, a student of the philosopher William James and from 1919 a teacher at the New School for Social Research.[175]

Like Sidney Hillman, the reformist socialist president of the union, many of the Amalgamated members were Eastern European immigrants. Thus, the welfare of post-civil war Russia was a major issue in the paper during the years Gropper contributed cartoons. The Russian-American Industrial Corporation, or RAIC, became a consistent subject for articles. A joint program aimed at building

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clothing factories in Russia, the RAIC developed after Hillman had witnessed first-hand the critical conditions abroad. An untitled drawing (Fig. 39) published in Advance in December 1922 when Hillman had returned from his second Soviet trip[176] pictures a gigantic Amalgamated worker shoveling "credits" into a funnel leading to a Russian factory. A grateful, towering Russian worker and a miniature President Hillman look on approvingly.[177]

Of all the early leftist publications for which Gropper drew, the Advance is of particular importance for this study because a majority of his drawings for that weekly focus on pro-labor and, more specifically, needle workers issues. For example, in 1922, during the early struggles between radical leftists and moderate socialists in the garment unions, Gropper in one cartoon drew a large man symbolizing ACWA Union Strength. His coattails are pulled in opposite directions by men representing "Left Wing Political Views" and "Right Wing Political Views." The title, "Not Right, Nor Left, But Forward--To Self-Government in Industry!" (Fig. 40)[178] refers to Hillman's stated belief in non-partisanship among members in reaching his ultimate goal for the union. Hillman believed in "training the workers for assuming control of production and accepting the social and economic responsibility which such control involves."[179]

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The main issues between left and right wings in the needle trade labor movement revolved around the degree of activism to better workers' lives: the left called for immediate changes while the right-wing socialists preferred to work and make compromises within the parameters of established American organizations. As Joel Seidman observes, the left wing had seen an opportunity for growth in the Amalgamated after the 1920-1921 New York lock-out by the clothing manufacturers. But with the union's support of Progressive candidate La Follette in the 1924 Presidential race, the Workers Party, hitherto an admirer of the ACWA and its industrial goals, began to wage a campaign against it.[180] The Amalgamated leadership considered these tactics and that of the right disruptive and it steadfastly opposed this factionalism as a "wrecker" of the union.[181]

In another example from the Advance, Gropper drew an "open" shop garment boss at 2 a.m. sweating profusely before a foreman who orders him to quicken his sewing pace. The boss's lady friend, dressed in an evening gown, appears to be hurriedly sewing on buttons while a "bushel boy" brings more garments for the two. "If the 'Open' Shop Boss Took a Job in His Own Shop" (Fig. 41)[182] addresses the ACWA's view that the proliferating open shop, where both union and non-union members work, would not protect non-union members from what were seen as unreasonable demands

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by the bosses. A whimsical cartoon, like many of Gropper's drawings in the weekly, it is reminiscent in style and spirit of his contributions in the Liberator and New Yorker Volkszeitung.

During the fall of 1924, before the rift between the Amalgamated and the Workers Party, Gropper joined the staff of the Workers Party Jewish newspaper, Freiheit, as regular cartoonist. The paper championed the Communist-left wing in the needle trades industry. Gropper, in his cartoons for Freiheit, developed a large, substantive body of work supporting the paper's radical ideological aims, thus building upon his own history of anti-war student drawings and radical, progressive cartoons created for IWW and other socialist publications.

Part Two consists of a chronology of the history and policies of Freiheit, a study of the development of certain themes and radical cartoon styles in Gropper's cartoons for the paper from 1924 to 1935, and an examination of drawings in Freiheit that are a source for his painting, The Senate. Though Gropper through his previous cartoons was already well versed in the topics of anticapitalism, anti-war, working class solidarity, civil oppression, conservative labor, and Soviet Russia, with Freiheit, he became further immersed in the ideologies of radical politics and radical art, creating numerous cartoons a week on issues important

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to the radical Jewish left.

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1. Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism; A History: 1690-1960, 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), p. 587.

2. Hess and Kaplan, The Ungentlemanly Art, pp. 93-102. On Nast, see Albert Bigelow Paine, Th. Nast; His Period and His Pictures (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1904); J. Chal Vinson, Thomas Nast, Political Cartoonist (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967); and Morton Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). The Thomas Nast Society in Morristown, New Jersey, publishes a Journal with helpful information on the artist's life and career.

3. Hess and Kaplan, Ungentlemanly Art, pp. 120-134; and William Murrell, A History of American Graphic Humor (1865-1938), 2 vols. (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1933-38), 2 (1938):129-130. See also Charles Press, The Political Cartoon (Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1981), especially pp. 263-300. A valuable contribution on the state of American political cartoons immediately preceding WWI is the article by Weitenkampf, "American Cartoons of Today." Important for the study of gag and strip cartoons is Thomas Craven, ed., Cartoon Cavalcade (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943).

4. Hess and Kaplan, Ungentlemanly Art, pp. 124-126; Murrell, A History, 2:175-177.

5. See Press, Political Cartoon, pp. 272-278; Hess and Kaplan, Ungentlemanly Art, p. 133; Murrell, A History, 2:146-149; Stephen Becker, Comic Art in America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959), pp. 305-307. See also Mott, American Journalism, p. 587, who, contrary to the writers listed here, notes McCutcheon's cartoons "varying from quiet humor to fierce attack."

6. Hess and Kaplan, Ungentlemanly Art, pp. 125-126.

7. Weitenkampf, "American Cartoons of To-Day," pp. 543-549.

8. On the development of Boardman Robinson's cartoons, see Albert Christ-Janer, Boardman Robinson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), particularly pp. 9, 15-26. On Forain, see Alicia Faxon, Jean-Louis Forain: Artist, Realist, Humanist, exhibition catalogue (Washington, D.C.:

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International Exhibitions Foundation, 1982).

9. Boardman Robinson, "New York's Calamity; Heavens! We must dine at HOME!," reproduced in the New York Tribune (1 June 1912):1.

10. On Minor's development as a cartoonist, see North, Robert Minor, pp. 44-70; and Fitzgerald, Art and Politics, pp. 79-119. See also the helpful comments in Draper, Roots, p. 418, n. 13.

11. "The Cartoon as a Means of Artistic Expression," Current Literature 53 (October 1912):461-464.

12. Zurier has done the most work on this issue. See Zurier, Art for the Masses (1985), pp. 105-119. See also "The Cartoon as a Means of Artistic Expression" and Brown, American Painting, pp. 30-32. On Minor's admiration for Daumier (and Goya) and his experimentation with the crayon and brush, see North, Robert Minor, pp. 57-59, 68.

A full history of the Daumier tradition in the American leftist press has not been written, however. Neither is there a definitive history on the cartoonists of post-Masses leftist publications, such as the Liberator and New Masses and various radical newspapers.

On the contemporary issue of popular magazine illustration versus the more direct, "every-day life" cartoons of the Masses, see Max Eastman, "What is the Matter with Magazine Art," Masses 6 (January 1915):12-16.

13. Young, as a youthful cartoonist in the late 1880s and early 1890s, was stimulated especially by the works of Nast and Joseph Keppler. See Young's remarks in Art Young, Art Young; His Life and Times (New York: Sheridan House, 1939), pp. 54-55, 118, 122-23.

14. Art Young, "The Triumph of Militarism," reproduced in Masses V (September 1914):21.

15. "Editorial," Masses 1 (January 1911):1. It appears that only one American socialist magazine before the Masses was devoted to art and literature. The Comrade had started publication in 1901, but was soon absorbed into the International Socialist Review. See Aaron, Writers on the Left, pp. 18-19; and Joseph R. Conlin, "The Comrade, New York, 1901-1905," in Conlin, American Radical Press, 2:527-531.

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16. Leo Tolstoy, "Must It Be So?" Masses 1 (January 1911):2, 11; Herbert Everett, "Who Can Blame?" p. 5; Eugene Wood, "Unite in Buying as in Selling," p. 10; Paul Louis, "The Tendencies of German Socialism; A Prominent French Author's Impartial Review of the Present State of German Socialism," pp. 12-14; W. J. Ghent, "The American Co-operative Movement; How Co-operation Can be Made Successful in the United States," pp. 6-7; P. [Piet] Vlag, "Why Socialists Should Join Co-operatives; A Talk by the Manager of the American Co-operative on the Benefits to be Derived by Socialism from the Co-operatives," p. 9.

17. George R. Kirkpatrick, "The Boy Scout Movement; To Perpetuate Docility, Stupidity and Brutality," Masses 1 (February 1911):17; Carlo de Fornaro, "Revolutionary Mexico," 1 (March 1911):5-6, 18 (first of a series by de Fornaro on revolutionary Mexico); Edwin Bjorkman, "The Immortality of Bernard Shaw; The Subversive Opinions of the Great Englishman on Medicine, Marriage and Religion," 1 (April 1911):16, 18.

18. See his "The Miner Emerges," Masses 3 (June 1912):4; and "The Cross Breakers," Masses 4 (July 1912):6.

19. "Editorial Notice," Masses 4 (December 1912):3.

20. Zurier, Art for the Masses (1985), p. 17.

21. The drawing, entitled "His Country's Flag," appears in Masses 4 (December 1912):4.

22. Van Wyck Brooks, John Sloan, A Painter's Life (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1955), p. 95. On the nineteenth-century satiric press in Europe, see Ralph E. Shikes, The Indignant Eye: The Artist as Social Critic in Prints and Drawings from the Fifteenth Century to Picasso (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969); Ralph E. Shikes and Steven Heller, The Art of Satire: Painters as Caricaturists and Cartoonists from Delacroix to Picasso (New York: Horizon, 1984); and Norman L. Kleeblatt, ed., The Dreyfus Affair; Art, Truth, and Justice (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1987).

23. On the reproduction techniques employed in the Masses, see Zurier, Art for the Masses (1985), pp. 112-19.

24. On this, see ibid., pp. 35-40; and Hunter, "The Rewards and Disappointments," p. 36.

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25. Letter, from Gropper to Robert Hunter, dated 9 August 1973, Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frame 1040, AAA. Gahn states that Gropper contributed to the Masses and that he had been brought to one of the monthly meetings by some young artists. Although it is likely that Gropper may have attended an editorial meeting, the present author has found no evidence in the publication itself to suggest that Gropper contributed to it. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 27.

26. Homer, Robert Henri, p. 19.

27. Henri, Art Spirit, p. 218.

28. Abrams interview, 11 May 1974.

29. Cited here for the first time; letter, from Frank Alvah Parsons to William Gropper, dated 1 May 1916, Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frame 492, AAA.

30. "Service is the mission of art. The New York School of Fine and Applied Art desires not only to fit persons to work, but it aims to make their work worth while. Its courses in architecture, interior decoration, poster advertising, illustration, textile and costume design are all practical art courses, recognized, respected and patronized by representative people in our best trade circles. Direct connection with these trades makes it possible for students in many instances to work and study at the same time. This also helps to solve the problem of positions for its graduates." From "School Notes," Arts and Decoration 5 (September 1911):411.

31. See n. 29.

32. A photographic portrait of him is reproduced in Cartoons Magazine 12 (December 1917): 859.

33. Gropper, "As Gropper Tells It," Morgen Freiheit, 6 June 1948, sec. 2, p. 3; 13 June 1948, sec. 2, p. 3; and 20 June 1948, sec. 2, p. 3. Also see varying accounts in Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 22-26; Freundlich, William Gropper, pp. 11-13; Lansdell, "A Maverick"; and Salpeter, "William Gropper," in Shapiro, Social Realism, p. 195.

34. For Hermann-Paul's cartoons, see the following issues of the New York Tribune: 7 October 1917, Part 3, p. 2; 9 February 1918, p. 10; Review, 17 March 1918, p. 1; and Review and Magazine, 20 October 1918, p. 5. For cartoons by

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Forain, see the issues: 23 February 1919, p. 4; Review, 30 March 1919, p. 6; and 10 April 1919, p. 10. Forain was praised for his strong line and satiric wit in a review by Royal Cortissoz, art critic for the Tribune, of an exhibition at the Arden Gallery of drawings, lithographs, posters, and etchings by Forain and Theophile-Alexandre Steinlen from the collection of the American collector A. E. Gallatin. See Royal Cortissoz, "Some Great Masters of Black and White; Forain, Steinlen and Lepère--The Late Frank Duveneck," New York Tribune, 19 January 1919, Part 5, p. 7.

Fitzpatrick's cartoons were occasionally reprinted in the newspaper. See, for example, his cartoons in the following issues: Review, 20 January 1918, p. 1; and Review and Magazine, 24 November 1918, p. 7. Weed's cartoons were infrequently reproduced. See, for example, Review, 14 April 1918, p. 1.

35. "The Week," New York Tribune Review, 14 October 1917, p. 1.

36. Untitled IV is printed in Sanford E. Stanton, "Oh, Well - It was a Pretty Good Time," New York Tribune Magazine, 5 January 1919, p. 8.

37. K.A., "Through Reuter's Spectacles; How Our Internal Politics Really Are and How They Appear to the Outer World," reprinted in Cartoons Magazine 13 (February 1918): 362, from Simplicissimus.

38. Untitled V accompanies the article by Samuel Crowther, "Peace Problems of Holland, After the Problems of War," New York Tribune Magazine, 20 April 1919, p. 3. From September 1918 through May 1919 there appear a few political cartoons (as opposed to "humorous") by Gropper in the Tribune. See "Me und Gott," in Review and Magazine, 15 September 1918, p. 5; and the untitled cartoons in the following issues of the Magazine: 2 February 1919, p. 1; 9 March 1919, p. 1; 23 March 1919, p. 2; 18 May 1919, p. 4. See also the Institute Section, 6 April 1919, p. 7.

39. Three anti-Bolshevik cartoons are reproduced from the Russian anti-Bolshevik journal, Novyi Satirikon, in the New York Tribune Review, 24 March 1918, p. 1. On this Russian magazine, see Stephen White, The Bolshevik Poster (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 10. Numerous anti-Bolshevik cartoons appear in the Tribune from November 1918 to April 1919.

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40. See, for instance, Clive Weed's cartoon, "So This Is the Way to Paris!", reprinted from the New Republic, depicting a German officer and soldier surveying a battlefield littered with bodies. New York Tribune Review, 14 April 1918, p. 1. Also see "Ding" Darling's cartoon, "One Cannot Negotiate with a Reptile," portraying "German Military Power" as a giant reptile destroying everything in its path. New York Tribune, 3 March 1918, p. 1.

41. There are slightly diverse accounts of this event. See, for instance, Herman Baron, Introduction to Gropper (New York: A.C.A. Gallery Publications, 1938); Salpeter, "William Gropper," in Shapiro, Social Realism, pp. 196-197; Epstein, foreword to Gropper, Die goldene medinah. Gahn states that the reporter was Robert Rees. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 32.

Gahn, through interviews conducted with Gropper, states that Gropper contributed drawings to the Irish Worker around 1917-1918. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 27. The Irish Worker was a left-wing socialist paper published in Ireland and edited by James Larkin, an Irish radical who traveled to the United States in 1914 and was subsequently deported during the Red Scare. Emmet Larkin states that there are no extant copies of the American edition of James Larkin's paper. See Emmet Larkin, James Larkin, Irish Labour Leader, 1876-1947 (reprint ed., London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 215. The American edition of the Irish Worker was based in Chicago. Jack Carney, associated with the American edition, described it as "16 pages in small 8 point type" (ibid.). The American version, in accordance with Larkin's biographical text, would seem to have been started in 1916 or 1917.

42. Joyce Kornbluh presents an invaluable history of the IWW, quoting contemporary IWW sources and printing little-known songs, poetry, and cartoons, in Joyce Kornbluh, ed., Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1964). Also see the thorough bibliography by Dione Miles, comp., Something in Common--An IWW Bibliography (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1986). Other helpful studies are Paul Frederick Brissenden, The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University et al., 1920); John S. Gambs, The Decline of the I.W.W. (New York: Columbia University Press; London: P. S. Kling and Son, Ltd., 1932); Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All; A History of the Industrial Workers of the World, 2nd ed. (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

The official depository for IWW historical records is

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the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University, in Detroit, Michigan. According to the Archives' IWW collection guide, IWW material from c.1917-1921 is scarce because material was seized and later burned during raids on IWW offices.

43. "Manifesto," reprinted in Kornbluh, Rebel Voices, pp. 7-9.

44. Kornbluh, Rebel Voices, pp. 316-317.

45. Many prominent anarchists and socialists were arrested in the early months of the suppression. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Ferrer Center founders, were arrested in June 1917 for opposing conscription. They were subsequently deported. Eugene Debs, a respected leader of the Socialist Party in America, was arrested the following year and sentenced to prison for ten years. On the Red Scare, see Robert K. Murray, Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955; reprint ed., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980); and William Preston, Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1963).

46. See the Labor Defender 1, No.1 (February 16, 1918):2. The last issue of the semi-monthly publication, before it changed its name to Rebel Worker, appears to be Vol. 1, No. 19 (December 15, 1918). Most of the issues of the Labor Defender are available on microfilm at the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit. This publication is not to be confused with the magazine of the same name published by the International Labor Defense from 1926 to 1937.

47. Gropper, quoted in Epstein, foreword to Gropper, Die goldene medinah. See also the varying accounts in Salpeter, "William Gropper," in Shapiro, Social Realism; and Donald Oresman, "Gropper Seeks to Improve World for New Generations," Ossining (N.Y.) Citizen-Register, 23 July 1947 (clipping, Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings about Gropper-Japanese Affair, Arents Library, Syracuse University).

Salpeter contends that one of the first things Gropper did for the IWW was to help organize the Printer-Publishers Union. He states that Gropper was its secretary. This may have been so, but searches through the IWW historical files proved fruitless in this regard. A union was announced in the Rebel Worker, 1 April 1919, p. 2, as the Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union No. 1200, but there is

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no mention of Gropper.

48. See Freundlich, William Gropper, p. 13; Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 33, 35, 71-72, 90-92; Lozowick, William Gropper, pp. 23, 27; Steinberg, "William Gropper...," pp. 12-13.

49. Gahn discusses briefly six of Gropper's IWW cartoons, in "America of William Gropper...," pp. 71-72, 90-92. See Gahn's remarks on this cover of Labor Defender, in ibid., p. 90.

50. The front page cartoons in early issues were signed by "Z" and are reminiscent of the flat, satirical cartoons from the foreign magazines Simplicissimus and L'Assiette au Beurre. A humorous cartoon strip, "The Scissorsbills," by Leland S. Chumley of New York IWW headquarters also appeared in early issues of Labor Defender, before Gropper's work started appearing in July 1918. Gahn states that Chumley was the person whom Gropper and the reporter first approached in the IWW hall and that Chumley explained the ideas of the organization to them. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper," pp. 32-33. Jack Carney, associated with the American edition of the Irish Worker, wrote that the "first page [of that paper] was a cartoon drawn by one L. S. Chumley, who was then drawing for Solidarity, the official organ of the I.W.W." See Carney's reminiscences of the paper in Larkin, James Larkin, p. 215.

IWW cartoons generally tend to be relatively undistinguished. On IWW cartoons, see Kornbluh, Rebel Voices; Philip P. Mason, "Notes and Documents; Joe Hill, Cartoonist," Labor History 25 (Fall 1984):533-557; and Douglas M. Haller, "I.W.W. Cartoonist Ernest Riebe: Originator of the 'Mr. Block' Series" (M.A. thesis in History, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1982). For viewing original IWW cartoons, see Boxes 142-143 and 181 (folders 3, 4) in the IWW Collection, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit. "Stickerettes"--stickers imprinted with cartoons--are also located in the IWW files at Reuther Library. See Box 142.

51. Z., "Before the Bar of Judgment [sic]: Who's the Criminal, Worker or Profiteer?", Labor Defender (15 April 1918):1.

52. The cover drawing by Art Young for Labor Defender appears on the front of the August 15, 1918 issue. It is discussed briefly below and is reproduced as Fig. 19. In another issue, a drawing by Robert Minor entitled "Open the

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Jails!" presents an angry worker heaving a mallet onto the side of a jail. The caption below the drawing reads "Fellow Workers! Hundreds of men are in jail for having fought for the working class. Use your power to set them free!" Minor's drawing appears on the front page of the Labor Defender, newly subtitled "Organ of Revolutionary Unionism," 1 (15 December 1918). With this issue the paper was reformatted again in newspaper form.

53. Labor Defender 1 (15 July 1918):1.

54. See "Our Mission," Labor Defender 1 (16 February 1918):2. On the IWW trials, see Dubofsky, We Shall Be All, pp. 423-444.

55. See the article, "Two Days at the Chicago Trial," Labor Defender 1 (30 July 1918):3 ff.

56. Labor Defender 1 (30 July 1918):1.

57. Labor Defender I (1 September 1918):1. See Gahn's description in "America of William Gropper...," p. 71.

58. Labor Defender I (15 August 1918):1.

59. Labor Defender 1 (15 October 1918):1. See Gahn's remarks in "America of William Gropper...," p. 90. For a related drawing by Gropper, see the cover for Pagan 3 (August/September 1918) which depicts a muscular male choking a prostrate figure.

60. The caption below Greenstein's cartoon is "Labor's Crucifixion," Labor Defender 1 (15 November 1918):1. On the illegality of this number of the journal, see the notice in the Labor Defender 1 (15 December 1918):1. According to the announcement, the newspaper had received a letter dated 27 November 1918 from the New York City Postmaster informing the paper that the issue violated the 1917 Espionage Act.

61. One issue of the reformatted Labor Defender has been found by the author: 1, No. 19 (15 December 1918). Vol. 1, No. 20 could not be located by the author, although it is given in the Union List of Serials as the last number of this publication. Union List of Serials 5 vols., 4:3540.

62. The Rebel Worker ran from 1 February 1919 to 15 December 1919. Ibid.

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63. Gropper signed his cartoons in Rebel Worker in the following various ways: Slave 450622, Rebel 450622, Wob 450622, 450622, and GR. Only infrequently were his cartoons in the publication unsigned.

64. See Robinson's cartoon, "The Hero's Return," in Rebel Worker 2 (15 February 1919):1; and Chumley's cartoons, "Safe for 'Democracy,'" in Rebel Worker 2 (15 March 1919):1, and "The Harvest Worker Finds a Place in the Sun," in Rebel Worker 2 (1 September 1919):1.

65. Rebel Worker 2 (1 February 1919):1. See Gahn's description in "America of William Gropper...," p. 71.

66. See above, pp. 21-23.

67. A column entitled "News from the American Slave Market" appears in the Labor Defender 1 (15 December 1918):2. With the changeover to the Rebel Worker, the column is published regularly.

68. Letter, from Frederick A. Blossom to "Will" Gropper, dated 10 November 1944, Gropper Papers, Scrapbook, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

69. See "Hell's Island," Rebel Worker 2 (1 February 1919):1.

70. See Murray, Red Scare, p. 14. On the economic uncertainty and everyday concerns of the post-Armistice days, see Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday; An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1931), pp. 1-14.

71. Ibid., pp. 14, 297 (n. 15), 196.

72. See Richard Gid Powers, Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism (New York: The Free Press, 1995), p. 11.

73. Samuel Gompers, "The Truth about Soviet Russia and Bolshevism," American Federationist 27, pt. 11 (February 1919):167, cited in Murray, Red Scare, p. 301. On the AFL during the Red Scare, see ibid., pp. 105-121.

74. Dubofsky, We Shall Be All, p. 401.

75. Ibid., p. 411.

76. Ibid., pp. 412-414.

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77. Ibid., pp. 414-419.

78. Ibid., p. 444; and Murray, Red Scare, pp. 30-31.

79. See the following feature cartoons by Gropper on the front pages of the Rebel Worker: "Seattle and Butte, February, 1919," 2 (1 March 1919):1; "The Guardian of Capitalism," 2 (1 April 1919):1; "The 1919 May Pole," 2 (1 May 1919):1; "Some More Foolishness," 2 (15 May 1919):1; "The Last Trench," 2 (1 June 1919):1; "Sure--He Did It!!," 2 (15 June 1919):1; "Sammy and His Machine," 2 (1 August 1919):1; "The 'Mac' and His Victims," 2 (15 September 1919):1; "Strike!," 2 (1 October 1919):1; "'The Thinker,'" 2 (1 November 1919):1.

80. See Minor's front page cartoon, "Open the Jails!," cited in n. 52. See also Robinson's feature cartoon, "The Hero's Return," cited in n. 64.

81. For instance, in "Contempt of Court," published February 1, 1919, Gropper depicted the Sacramento courtroom in which IWW members on trial had refused to have counsel or to take part in the proceedings. The district attorney is depicted railing with anger while the "wobblies" are engrossed in reading and sketching. The humorous drawing is executed in the familiar contour style of Gropper's Tribune cartoons. "Contempt of Court" is printed above the article, "Capitalists Urge Lynching of I.W.W.'s," Rebel Worker 2 (1 February 1919):4. Humorous line drawings by Gropper of fat policemen and profiteer types are published occasionally in the paper.

The contour line method was used once by Gropper in his cover drawings for the Rebel Worker. See "Sammy and His Machine," showing Gompers standing proudly by a grinder crammed with people but spewing out money. Cited in n. 79.

82. "Gompers--Friend of Labor," in Rebel Worker 2 (15 April 1919):1.

83. The first appearance of an IWW theme in Gropper's cartoon work occurs in an amusing caricature published in December 1917 in the Tribune Review. Accompanying a paragraph on the close relationship between the Bolsheviks and the "wobblies" is Gropper's drawing of a Bolshevik and an IWW member standing side by side, conspiring together; the paragraph concludes with news of the widespread rumor that insurgents throughout the world were threatening to overthrow existing governments. See "The Week," New York Tribune Review, 30 December 1917, p. 1.

On Gompers and the Seattle steel strike, see the brief

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explanation in Harold C. Livesay, Samuel Gompers and Organized Labor in America, ed. Oscar Handlin (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1978), p. 179.

84. The cartoon appears within a report on an upcoming trial of IWWs in Wichita, Kansas. See Geoffrey Parsons, "Wichita's Way With a Wave of I.W.W. Bolshevism," New York Tribune Magazine, 2 March 1919, p. 3. The defendants were all found guilty. See Dubofsky, We Shall Be All, p. 442.

85. See "The Week," New York Tribune Review, 14 October 1917, p. 1.

86. See the weekly column on the front page of the New York Tribune Review from 21 October 1917 through 11 August 1918.

87. Powers, Not Without Honor, pp. 3-4.

88. "Germany's Price for the Czar's Fall and Trotzky's [sic] Rise," an article "made from advance proofs of 'The Firebrand of Bolshevism,' a book by Princess Catherine Radziwell," New York Tribune Magazine, 12 January 1919, p. 4.

89. Fig. 26 is reproduced along with several other anti-Bolshevik cartoons from American newspapers in a half-page presentation, "Those Bolsheviki," in the New York Tribune Review, 2 February 1919, p. 1; the octopus cartoon was reprinted from the Dallas Morning News (the other cartoons were reprinted from the Baltimore Sun, the Chicago News, and the San Francisco Bulletin). Among other anti-Bolshevik cartoons in the New York Tribune are a cartoon by Frank Nankivell, "The New Freedom!," with Lenin pictured throwing a whip at a Russian worker, in the New York Tribune Magazine and Review, 1 December 1918, p. 1; and the inflammatory cartoon of a raging half-monster with African features, placed above the line, "Is Bolshevism coming to America?" in an advertisement for the Christian Herald in the New York Tribune, 26 March 1919, p. 18. On caricatures in the U.S. press of African-Americans, see Steven Heller and William Eric Perkins, "Dirty Pictures," Print XLV (March/April 1991): 104-113, 138.

90. The liberal cartoonist, Daniel Fitzpatrick, in a cartoon entitled "The Other Extreme," reprinted from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch in the New York Tribune Review and Magazine, 24 November 1918, p. 7, drew a tall, proud Russian worker carrying a club labeled "Bolshevism" and

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standing next to ruins where lay the German throne and crown. The figure in Fitzpatrick's drawing is forcefully executed in the direct, realist style of Minor, his mentor, and in this way resembles the drawing of the Bolshevik in Fig. 25. The worker, with head held high, in Fitzgerald's drawing symbolizes Bolshevism but, like the Gropper drawing, it does not ridicule it.

91. "They'd Like to Make Us Think We're All Crazy," New York Tribune Review, 25 May 1919, p. 8.

92. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 35. Gropper listed "I fired the Tribune..." as one of the topics for his proposed autobiographical book in words and pictures. A typescript copy of the outline for the book is located in the Gropper Papers, Series No. 1, Box No. 1, Folder: Biographical Material, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

93. The two lighthearted cartoons illustrate "Concerning Husbands--Their Care and Training," New York Tribune, 15 June 1919, Institute sec., p. 3. In accord with Gropper's habits so far, the drawings are in his contour-line, humorous style. After Gropper left, Denys Wortman became the regular featured cartoonist in the Sunday supplement sections.

94. Revolutionary Age 2 (5 July 1919):1. On the Revolutionary Age, see Martin Glaberman and George P. Rawick, "The Revolutionary Age; Boston and New York, 1918-1919," Conlin, American Radical Press, 1:155-158. See the reprint of the journal (New York: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1968).

95. See Draper, Roots, pp. 11-49. On the International Socialist Review, see Herbert G. Gutman, "The International Socialist Review, Chicago, 1900-1918," in Conlin, American Radical Press, 1:82-86; Allen Ruff, "International Socialist Review," Buhle et al., Encyclopedia, pp. 374-375; and the reprint ed. of the journal (New York: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1968). On the New Review, see discussion of it in David Brown, "Class Struggle, New York, 1917-1919," in Conlin, American Radical Press, 1:139-40; and the reprint ed. of the journal (New York: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1968).

The New Review is not illustrated. However, the International Socialist Review is frequently illustrated with half-tones of photographs of workers and labor leaders, reprinted cartoons from socialist and progressive newspapers, and a large number of cartoons reprinted from

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the Masses. Both cartoon traditions--the older pen and ink method and the new Robinson technique--are represented in this journal.

On Eastman, see the biography by William L. O'Neill, The Last Romantic: A Life of Max Eastman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) and Eastman's autobiographies Enjoyment of Living (New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1948) and Love and Revolution; My Journey through an Epoch (New York: Random House, 1964).

96. Draper, Roots, pp. 60-64.

97. Ibid., pp. 80-81. See also Sen Katayama's account in his article, "Morris Hillquit and the Left Wing," Revolutionary Age 2 (26 July 1919):6.

98. Draper, Roots, pp. 86-87. On Class Struggle, see n. 95.

99. Katayama, "Morris Hillquit," p. 6.

100. Draper, Roots, pp. 109-110; Murray, Red Scare, p. 36.

101. Revolutionary Age 1 (16 November 1918) is the first issue of the journal. Germany signed the armistice with the Allies on November 11, 1918. The fourth number of the paper was published on 27 November 1918.

102. On the early development of Communism in the United States, see Draper, Roots; Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, The American Communist Party; A Critical History (1919-1957) (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957); James Oneal and G. A. Werner, American Communism, rev. ed. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1947); and Melech Epstein, The Jew and Communism (New York: Trade Union Sponsoring Committee, [1959]).

103. N. Lenin, "To the American Workers," Revolutionary Age 1 (28 December 1918):4-5, 7.

104. See the notice in Revolutionary Age 1 (30 November 1918):1. Also see "The Necessity of an Emergency National Convention," Revolutionary Age 1 (18 January 1919):1.

105. See Draper, Roots, pp. 144-147. The date of the mid-February meeting in New York is unclear. Draper, following Maximilian Cohen's account, chooses a February 15 date. See ibid., pp. 145, 422 (note 42) and Maximilian Cohen, "The Growth of the Left Wing," Revolutionary Age 1 (9 March 1919):7. A notice published with the revised version of the manifesto states that the conference was on February 16. See "Manifesto of the Left Wing Section of New York City,"

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Revolutionary Age 1 (22 March 1919):4-5.

106. See the notice in Revolutionary Age 1 (26 April 1919):1; and the expanded notice in the following number (3 May 1919):1.

107. See the notice in Revolutionary Age 1 (7 June 1919):1. The notice lists the federations as the Russian, the Ukrainian, the Lithuanian, the Lettish, the Polish, the South Slavic, and the Hungerian.

News of the N.E.C.'s expulsion of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts was published in "Another Expulsion," Revolutionary Age 2 (5 July 1919):2. On the national conference, see "The National Left Wing Conference," ibid., pp. 4-5. The "Left Wing Manifesto" is published in ibid., pp. 6-8, 14-15.

108. "'Nothing Doing!,'" Revolutionary Age 2 (5 July 1919):1.

109. See Hess and Kaplan, Ungentlemanly Art, p. 39 (ill.). The wide-eyed little man, wearing a suit and a stiff oversized collar, also appears in a drawing by Gropper in the Rebel Worker where this cartoon figure is bound to an iron ball and chain. This latter sketch accompanies a letter from the Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union on the "'white-collar' slaves of industry." See Rebel Worker 2 (1 July 1919):3.

The capitalist figure in "'Nothing Doing!'" represents the increased prominence that profits from war-time production had brought to businessmen after they had experienced a period of relative unpopularity during the Progressive era. On this note, see Murray, Red Scare, pp. 8-9.

110. "The Upsurge of Socialism" is printed on the first page of the article, "The National Left Wing Conference," Revolutionary Age 2 (5 July 1919):4.

111. On "The Land of Promise," see Fig. 22 and above. For the quotation from the manifesto, see "The Left Wing Manifesto," Revolutionary Age 2 (5 July 1919):6.

112. See "The Left Wing Unites," Revolutionary Age 2 (23 August 1919):3. Also see Draper, Roots, pp. 164-175; Howe and Coser, American Communist Party, pp. 36-37.

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113. See Revolutionary Age 1 (4 January 1919):1; 1 (1 February 1919):1; 1 (8 February 1919):8; 1 (22 February 1919):5; and 1 (24 May 1919):1.

114. "Peace is signed--now for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in Revolutionary Age 2 (12 July 1919):1; "Guaranteed to cure all Wars, Corns, Bugs and Protect Capital," 2 (19 July 1919):1; "Hot Air," 2 (26 July 1919): 1.

The remaining cover drawings by Gropper are "The Peace That Passeth Understanding," 2 (2 August 1919):1; "Still Feeding Russia," 2 (9 August 1919):1; and "The High Cost of Democracy," 2 (23 August 1919):1.

115. See James Weinstein, "The New York Communist, New York, 1919," in Conlin, American Radical Press, 1:145-154. John Reed was editor, Eadmonn McAlpine was associate editor, while Maximilian Cohen was business manager.

116. Cited in Murray, Red Scare, pp. 109, 305 (n. 7).

117. John Reed, "The Convention of the Dead," Liberator 2 (August 1919):12-20.

118. Aaron, Writers on the Left, p. 82. On the Liberator, see ibid., pp. 82-96; Joseph Freeman, An American Testament; A Narrative of Rebels and Romantics (New York: Farrar & Rinehard, Incorporated, 1936), pp. 242-325; Fitzgerald, Art and Politics; Richard Fitzgerald, "Masses, New York, 1911-1917; Liberator, New York, 1918-1924," in Conlin, American Radical Press 2:532-538; and David Peck, "The Liberator," in Buhle et al., Encyclopedia, pp. 425-426.

119. See Max Eastman, "An Opinion on Tactics," Liberator 4 (October 1921): 5-6, cited in Guenter Lewy, The Cause that Failed: Communism in American Political Life (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 8, 309 (n. 14).

120. "Around the Throne," in Reed, "The Convention of the Dead," p. 14; see "Gompers--Friend of Labor," Fig. 23.

121. Cited in n. 92, above. The book as proposed never materialized. Apparently, the earliest dated account of Gropper planning an autobiography is the short notice in the New Masses 5 (February 1930):22. The next reference to an aubiography is a contract, dated 29 October 1936, between Gropper and Covici-Friede Publishers, New York, for An Illustrated Biography by Gropper. Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frames, 70-76, AAA. However, only in 1948 were

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portions of Gropper's autobiography published. See n. 2, p. 46, above.

122. Aaron, Writers on the Left, pp. 37-41.

123. Three political cartoons by Gropper were published in the May and June 1919 numbers of the Liberator and the AFL drawings were published that August in the magazine.

Crystal Eastman, managing editor, expressed her admiration for the "unique and irresistible" drawings of his that had been published in the Liberator. In a letter to the artist, she added that she also hoped that Gropper would send them some drawings for their March 1919 number, that they "particularly [wanted] cartoons now but there is a steady demand for your humorous drawings too." The distinction between the two types was recognized at the time. Letter, from Crystal Eastman to William Gropper, dated 25 January 1919, Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frame 494, AAA.

124. In December 1918, comical line sketches by Gropper began to be published in the Liberator. These appear frequently in the magazine in 1919 (January, March, April, June, July, August, October, December) and in 1920 (January, February, March, April, June, October, December). Though he began publishing more political cartoons in April, he kept contributing the softspoken humorous drawings frequently until the magazine was absorbed into the Workers' Monthly in 1924.

125. See "Law and Order," in Liberator 3 (April 1920):39. The cartoon was reprinted with a French translation in Le Populaire (9 August 1920) (clipping, Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings-Cartoons in French, Arents Library, Syracuse University).

126. Max Eastman, Enjoyment of Laughter (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936), p. 72. Eastman specifically mentions the cartoons "'You're a Liar!'" and "'An' you mean to tell me that that dog ain't got no fleas?,'" published in Liberator 1 (December 1918):13 and 2 (January 1919):35, respectively.

127. On "à Berlin!," see above, n. 97, p. 68. Gropper's drawings in the Quill appear in the July, September, October, and December numbers.

128. On polemical drawings by Gropper published in Pagan in 1918, see above, n. 97, p. 68; and n. 59, above. Gropper contributed critical and comical drawings in the August-

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September, October, and November 1918 numbers; one sketch of a nude in the June 1919 issue; and the cover design for the May 1921 issue.

129. Gropper's contour line political cartoon, "The Parliament of the People; Being a Chapter out of 'The New Freedom,'" pictures President Wilson, who at this time was negotiating a European peace settlement, carrying an armload of protesting citizens. The drawing appears as the frontispice in Playboy 1 (January 1919) (p. 4). A series of three humorous drawings on "The Vampire Vamped" also appear in the first number. In March-April, a linoleumcut by Gropper of two dogs in a decorative frieze was published. Drawings by Gropper appear next in Playboy in 1923 and 1924.

See Playboy (reprint ed., New York: Reprint Corporation; and London: Johnson Reprint Company Ltd., 1967). Also see Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, Little Magazine, p. 257. Playboy spanned the period from January 1919 to July 1924, when its first and last issues were published. Egmont Arens founded it in order to bring vigorous and individualistic American art to the public's attention. In its pages are reproductions of drawings and prints by many prominent American artists, including Max Weber, John Sloan, William Zorach, John Storrs, Stuart Davis, Abraham Walkowitz, and Alfred Frueh.

For the announcement of Gropper's exhibition of monotypes at the Washington Square Book Shop, see Quill (June 1918).

130. A humorous line cartoon, "That Elusive League," on Wilson and the controversial League of Nations, is printed in the first issue of Good Morning (8 May 1919):5. A few political cartoons and less polemical humorous drawings appear in issues in May, June, and October 1919; a drawing appears in the 15 September-1 October 1920 issue. In 1921, in numbers from January, February, March, April, May, June-July, and August, linear cartoons and drawings by Gropper are published. See the reprint ed. (New York: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1968).

131. Murray, Red Scare, pp. 20-26. Berger, sentenced by Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis, the presiding judge in the IWW trial in Chicago, was released on $25,000 bail pending review of the case. Debs was pardoned by President Warren Harding on Christmas Day, 1921.

132. Ibid., pp. 58-67.

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133. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 35; de Fornaro, "Groping of Gropper," p. 15. The report of the Lusk Investigating Committee is a seminal document of the period. It was published as Revolutionary Radicalism, 4 vols. (Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, Filed April 24, 1920, in the Senate of the State of New York) (Albany: J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, 1920).

134. Murray, Red Scare, pp. 190-222.

135. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 35.

136. Murray, Red Scare, pp. 236-246.

137. Draper, Roots, pp. 176-84; Howe and Coser, American Communist Party, pp. 37-40; Murray, Red Scare, pp. 48-52.

138. Revolutionary Radicalism, 2:1211-1212, 1252-79, 1322-28, 1329-30. The volume gives the Rebel Worker a circulation figure of 12,000. It also lists Leland Chumley as the editor and business manager of the Rebel Worker (p. 1211). This conflicts with the information contained in the letter from Frederick Blossom to Gropper (see p. 91 and n. 68, above) where Blossom states that Gropper made his services available when Blossom "was editing the New York I.W.W. paper, 'The Labor Defender', which we soon renamed 'The Rebel Worker'." As has been seen, Chumley was also an amateur artist whose drawings were reproduced in IWW publications.

139. Max Eastman, Love and Revolution; My Journey through an Epoch (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 72; and Young, Art Young, p. 361; and letter, from Blossom to Gropper, Scrapbook, Gropper Papers, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

140. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 35-38. According to Gahn, Gropper and Rees (the Tribune reporter who had gone with him to the IWW hall in 1918) went to Cuba for four months in the winter of 1920. There they reportedly harvested sugar and supervised the laying of track for the Sinclair Oil Company. Also see de Fornaro, "Groping of Gropper," p. 15, for a description of the places Gropper visited on the island; and the letter by Gropper to Robert Hunter, Gropper Papers, AAA, where, in reply to Hunter, the artist cites proximity as a major reason why many American artists went to Cuba instead of Paris or Rome during these years.

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141. Cox, "New York Artist," p. 68. Gropper, in his letter to Robert Hunter (Gropper Papers, AAA) mentioned the Penguin Club as an organization created by Greenwich Village artists and writers and that "Walt Kuhn, Wood Gaylor, Horace Brodsky, quite a number of artists were members, I think Stuart Davis was one also." The Penguin Club is mentioned in Judith Zilczer, "'The World's New Art Center': Modern Art Exhibitions in New York City, 1913-1918," Archives of American Art Journal (1974):5.

142. See Gropper's reminiscences regarding the first time his drawings were reproduced in Dial, in Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 39-40. These drawings recall in subject and style the mild nature of many of the Liberator cartoons. In Dial, Gropper jests at "spittoon philosophers" and "radicals in a tea and pastry shop," among other things. David Seltzer, a printer-apprentice at the Dial who later worked at the Freiheit, tells how he met Gropper in September 1924 at the offices of the magazine and how the artist came to illustrate Seltzer's Portraits from Soroki, in "How Gropper Illustrated My Book of Stories," Morgen Freiheit, 10 April 1977, p. 16.

143. See the series of line caricatures by Gropper of famous contemporary authors in the monthly feature, "The Literary Spotlight," in Bookman from October 1921 to September 1924.

In 1922, illustrations by Gropper appeared in Broom 1 (January) and 2 (July) (Marion Sader, ed. Comprehensive Index to English-Language Little Magazines 1890-1970, [Millwood, New York: Kraus-Thomson Organization, Limited, 1976), 3:1787. folio was a cooperative magazine published in New York, a venture between writers and artists, each of whom was responsible for one page. There was only one issue published, in 1923. See Hoffman, Allen, Ulrich, Little Magazine, pp. 268-269.

Clippings of cartoons by Gropper in Pearson's Magazine and New Pearson's are found in the Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3502, frames 575-592, AAA. Clippings of his cartoons from New Pearson's, Younger Set, Shadowland, the New York World, and the New York Post Literary Review are found in the Gropper Papers, Box No. 3, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

144. William Gropper, Ye Creepy Tape, unpublished book (1923), Horace Gregory Papers, Box No. 6, Folder: Correspondence-William Gropper, Arents Library, Syracuse University. The handwritten book, a whimsical tale of two recent arrivals in New York and how they almost met, was given to Horace Gregory, the writer and a contemporary of

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the artist.

Oaks and Gropper, Chinese White. The lyrical poems by Oaks and white-on-black line drawings by Gropper were inspired, in part, by dance, music, the senses, and nature. On the short marriage between Oaks and Gropper, see Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 49-52.

145. Humorists' Exhibition, exhibition catalogue (New York: National Arts Club, 1921). Gropper Papers, Box No. 2, Folder: Published Material-Exhibitions 1921, 1936-1939, Arents Library, Syracuse University. The catalogue lists 317 works of art by obscure and well-known artists, the latter including Bellows, Fitzpatrick, Henri, Sloan, Frueh, Edward Hopper, and Marguerite and William Zorach.

See the two portfolio covers of Sandprints, By Wm. Gropper, 1923, Gropper Papers, Box No. 3, Folder: Published Material-Magazines-Various-Cartoons; and Gropper Papers, Series No. 2, Box No. 1, Folder: Subject File-Photos-Gropper's Work, Arents Library, Syracuse University. On the inside back cover of the latter is written "27 sandprints printed from the original plates, 23 line drawings." Steinberg, "William Gropper..." listed sandprints from c.1922 found in the Gropper Estate. See her pp. 291-292.

Perhaps for these sandprints Gropper used the sandpaper monotype process, whereby a lithographic drawing, made on fine sandpaper, is transferred onto a turpentine-swathed paper when going through an etching press. For an explanation of the process, consult Felix Payant, Design Technics (Columbus, Ohio: Design Publishing Company, n.d.), entry no. 26.

146. See the masthead and the "Announcement," Liberator 4 (January 1921):24. With this issue, Max Eastman announced his resignation as co-editor, but two months later he had returned to the magazine. Along with Eastman, Floyd Dell, Robert Minor, and Claude McKay were now the co-editors. See Max Eastman, "Editorials," Liberator 4 (March 1921):5.

147. See the masthead, Liberator 5 (January 1922):9. Eastman's resignation was precipitated by a growing dispute between Eastman and Gold over the issue of independent or doctrinaire thought in the magazine. On the dispute, see Eastman, Love and Revolution, pp. 268-69 and Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 47-48. For Michael Gold's earliest article in the Liberator on "workers' art," see Irwin Granich [Michael Gold], "Towards Proletarian Art," Liberator 4 (February 1921):20-24. On Gold's background and early years on the magazine, see Aaron, Writers on the Left, pp. 84-94. In his February 1921 article, Gold cited the Soviet movement of proletarian culture, or proletcult,

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as a model for workers' art and literature. On Soviet proletcult and the proletcult movement in the U.S., see Arthur Hughes, "Proletarian Art and the John Reed Club Artists, 1928-35," M.A. thesis, Hunter College, 1970. On Claude McKay and his years on the Liberator, see his aubiography, A Long Way from Home (New York: Lee Furman, Inc., 1937), pp. 95-150.

148. Young, Art Young, p. 391. According to Young, Gropper's studio was located on the third floor of 149 West 14th Street. Young recalled that those at the meeting included Gellert, Freeman, and Ruthenberg.

149. On the formation of the Workers Party, see Draper, Roots, pp. 341-43; Theodore Draper, American Communism and Soviet Russia (New York: Viking Penguin, Inc., 1960; reprint ed., New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, 1986), p. 22; and Howe and Coser, American Communist Party, p. 90.

150. Eastman, Love and Revolution, p. 269.

151. See "Editorials," Liberator 5 (November-December 1922):7.

152. See the masthead, Liberator 6 (May 1923):14.

153. Workers Monthly (1924-1927), edited in Chicago by Earl Browder, combined the Labor Herald, Liberator, and Soviet Russia Pictorial. The new magazine was the organ of the Workers Party and the Trade Union Educational League. Gropper contributed several humorous drawings and political cartoons to the magazine in 1925 (January, February, March, November, December) and 1926 (May).

154. Reproduction of drawings by Grosz and an article on him appear earlier in the Liberator, in 1922. See the images (from Grosz's 1921 portfolio Das Gesicht der Herrschenden Klasse) reproduced in George Granich, "One Day's Work," Liberator 5 (March 1922):12-13. For the article, see Hi Simons, "George Grosz, Artist-Communist," Liberator 5 (July 1922):28-29. A satirical drawing by Gropper, "Congressmen" (p. 29), accompanies the article, which appears alongside a letter by Boardman Robinson on art as propaganda.

In 1924, many more reproductions of Grosz's works appear in the Liberator. Drawings from his 1923 portfolio Ecce Homo are reproduced within A. Thalheimer, "The Present Situation in the Communist Party of Germany," Liberator 7 (March 1924):20-26; and John Noble, "Reparations,"

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Liberator 7 (April 1924):24-25. Reproductions from Grosz's portfolios Die Räuber and Ecce Homo are among those found in Jay Lovestone, "Coming--The Bread Line," Liberator 7 (August 1924):10-12; and Karl Radek, "The Face of the Earth After the War," Liberator 7 (September 1924):14-17. See the catalogue raisonné by Alexander Duckers, George Grosz: Das druckgraphische Werk (Propylaen Verlag, 1979).

155. "The Wage Cut Drive," in Liberator 5 (April 1922):18-19.

156. "'Vive Poincaré!' 'Lebe Stinnes!'", in Liberator 6 (February 1923):18-19. In the same issue, see "The Second World War" under "Editorials" (p. 5). At the time, Raymond Poincaré was premier of France; Stinnes was a powerful German coal magnate.

157. The advertisement, "Gropper's Cartoons," appears in the Liberator 3 (December 1920):2; 4 (January 1921):34; and 4 (February 1921):2. Louis Ratnofsky is listed as the business manager and the offices in December and January were located at 857 Broadway; in February, the address is listed as 138 West 13th Street. There are no further advertisements for the syndicate in the Liberator. Perhaps in this venture Gropper was inspired by Art Young, who around this time had started an unsuccessful cartoon service established to support Young's journal Good Morning and aimed at reaching labor papers throughout the country. Though the labor papers used the cartoons that were supplied, Young recalls that they found it difficult to pay for the service. See Young, Art Young, p. 360.

158. See pp. 24-25, above.

159. Draper, Roots, p. 76. The New Yorker Volkszeitung existed from 8 January 1878 to 12 October 1932. See Winifred Gregory, ed., American Newspapers 1821-1936 (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1937), p. 481. On the paper's early years see Carol Poore, Introduction to Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika by Herman Schluter (Stuttgart: Verlag von J. H. W. Dietz Nachfolger, 1907; reprint ed., New York; Berne; Frankfort on the Main; Nancy: Peter Lang, 1984), pp. 5-7. Herman Schluter was editor of the paper from 1890 until his death in 1919. See also Morris Hillquit, History of Socialism in the United States, 5th rev. and enl. ed. (New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1910), pp. 206-207. Paul Buhle presents an overview of Ludwig Lore and the paper in "Ludwig Lore and the New Yorker Volkszeitung: The Twilight of the German-American Socialist Press," in Elliott Shore, Ken

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Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky, eds., The German-American Radical Press; The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940 (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 168-181. See also Dick Hoerder, "New Yorker Volkszeitung," in Buhle et al., Encyclopedia, p. 528.

160. The New York Call on 31 January 1919 stated that Lore replaced Schluter, the editor, when he died in January 1919. Cited in Draper, Roots, p. 420, n. 7.

161. Howe and Coser, The American Communist Party, p. 66.

162. See Paul Buhle, "Lore, Ludwig (1875-1942)," in Buhle et al., Encyclopedia, pp. 434-435. Lore was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party when it was formed. See Draper, Roots, p. 450, n. 28. He also became a member of the new Executive Council of the WP in 1923. Ibid., p. 457, n. 32. For a brief discussion on the New Yorker Volkszeitung and the Workers Party, see Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 110.

163. See Harvey Klehr, "Ludwig Lore," in Bernard K. Johnpoll and Harvey Klehr, eds., Biographical Dictionary of the American Left (New York; Westport, Connecticut; London: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 252-53; and Draper, American Communism, p. 87. Draper states that Lore "did not hesitate to criticize the Comintern's blunders, and Zinoviev's high-handed methods especially annoyed him." Lore was expelled from the Workers Party during the Comintern's reorganization of it into the Workers (Communist) Party in 1925. See Draper, ibid., pp. 148, 160-162; and Howe and Coser, The American Communist Party, p. 160. Lore resigned as editor of the New Yorker Volkszeitung in 1931 and joined the New York Post in 1934 (Klehr, "Ludwig Lore," pp. 252-253). Also see Buhle, "Lore," Encyclopedia, pp. 434-435.

164. Gahn refers to a few in "America of William Gropper...," pp. 117-118.

165. "Wrangel geht den Weg aller gegenrevolutionaren russischen Generale," in New Yorker Volkszeitung, 21 November 1920, p. 4. Clipping of cartoon in Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings-Cartoons in German, Arents Library, Syracuse University. Gahn describes the cartoon, in "America of William Gropper...," p. 117.

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166. Larry Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War: Fascism, Anti-Fascism, and Marxists, 1918-1939 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 14.

167. White, Bolshevik Poster, p. 100. See plates 3.25, 3.35, 5.22, 5.23, 5.24, and 5.25.

168. Vrangel' eshche zhiv. Dobei ego bez poshchadi, ill. in color in ibid., p. 102, plate 5.23.

169. Stephen White illustrates a cartoon poster by V. N. Deni of the graves of Wrangel and others. At the Grave of the Counter-Revolution (Na mogile Kontrrevolyutsii), from 1920 (White, Bolshevik Poster, p. 58, plate 3.25), is, like the Gropper cartoon, lighthearted in approach. In contrast, this composition of a priest and a capitalist (according to White) sobbing at the graves of Wrangel and others is a detailed arrangement of flattened forms produced through time-consuming, multi-color lithographic printing.

170. See, for example, the gestural drawing by Gropper of two harmless-appearing Russian anti-Bolshevists seeking U.S. recognition in "Before the Gate of America" (Vor den Tor Amerikas, [caption] Zeitungsnachricht: Die russischen Antibolschewisten werden bei den Ver. Staaten um offizielle Anerkennung nachsuchen), in New Yorker Volkszeitung, 13 February 1921, sec. 2, p. 9. Clipping of cartoon in Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings-Cartoons in German, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

171. Some of his cartoons for the Advance are briefly described in Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 91-92, 94-95, 106, 111-113, 102, and 115.

172. Advance began publication in 1917. See Union List of Serials, 1:67. In 1922, 12 drawings by Gropper appeared; in 1923, there were 40; and in 1924, 10 drawings by the artist were published in the Advance.

173. See above, p. 34.

174. Hardy, Clothing Workers, p. 86; and Matthew Josephson, Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1952), p. 242.

175. See Alfred J. Marrow, "Introduction," in Horace M. Kallen, What I Believe and Why - Maybe; Essays for the Modern World (New York: Horizon Press, 1971), p. 10. Kallen would contribute to the 1923 publication, folio, in which

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Gropper would also publish work. On folio, see Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, Little Magazine, pp. 268-269.

176. Untitled X (Fig. 39), Advance, 8 December 1922, p. 1. Details of Hillman's trip to Russia are found in the article, "President Hillman Reports on R.A.I.C. Contracts," ibid. Clipping of cartoon from Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings-Cartoons (Gropper) in English, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

177. For Gropper's campaign in cartoons against anti-communist Jewish labor leaders, see the section, "Cartoons Against the Antiradical Jewish Opposition" in Part Two, below.

178. "Not Right, Nor Left, But Forward--To Self-Government in Industry!," in Advance, 15 December 1922, p. 12. On the history of the conflict between the right and left wings in the Amalgamated in the early 1920s, see Charles Elbert Zaretz, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (New York: Ancon Publishing Company, 1934), pp. 250-252.

179. See Seidman, Needle Trades, p. 175, wherein he states that until "1924 the national leaders [of the Amalgamated] did not take sides in the struggle between Socialists and Communists for control in New York, but sought instead to get the rival factions to co-operate in a sort of coalition government." In another source, Hillman, c.1923-1924, stated that "the Amalgamated will not permit outside bodies--right, left, or otherwise--to transact business and make decisions for it." From the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America Documentary History (1924), pp. 16-19, quoted in Josephson, Sidney Hillman, p. 274.

The quotation in the main text ("training the workers...") is found in J. M. Budish and George Soule, The New Unionism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), p. 172, quoted in Josephson, Sidney Hillman, p. 244.

180. Seidman, Needle Trades, pp. 175-76. The Workers Party had strongly disapproved of the Amalgamated's inaction during the ouster of Workers Party delegates at the Progressive Party convention in Cleveland in July 1924. See also Josephson, Sidney Hillman, p. 274.

181. See Josephson's discussion of the Communist-left's attempts to gain control in the ACWA. Josephson, Sidney Hillman, pp. 274-281. As a biography of Hillman, the account is shaped by the union leader's thoughts on the matter. See also Seidman, Needle Trades, pp. 174-178. Leftist interpretations of events are given by Hardy,

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Clothing Workers, pp. 102-4, and Zaretz, Amalgamated, 252-258.

182. "If the 'Open' Shop Boss Took a Job in His Own Shop," in Advance, 20 July 1923, p. 8.

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WILLIAM GROPPER AND FREIHEIT: A STUDY OF HIS POLITICAL CARTOONS, 1924 - 1935

by

Patricia Phagan

Volume Two

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PART TWO: FREIHEIT AND THE CARTOONS

Gropper and Freiheit, 1924 - 1935

A Chronology of Freiheit

Seen as a whole, one may discern in the cartoons Gropper drew for Freiheit events and ideas that propelled the radical paper's feverish campaigns. One may also see in these political drawings a succession of styles and topical subjects which convey Gropper's engagement with the idea of an art that would help re-shape society.

From the time Freiheit first appeared in April 1922, the radical Yiddish newspaper occasionally published cartoons by both established and younger social artists, including Minor, Young, Becker, Gropper, Hugo Gellert, Fred Ellis, and, later, Jacob Burck. In the first two years of Freiheit, the social protest tradition of the crayon drawing, familiar from the pages of the Masses and the Liberator, dominated the style of the cartoons. However, the paper during this period also reprinted black-and-white expressionist woodcuts, political cartoons in the

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Simplicissimus tradition, and cartoons by Dmitri Moor, Viktor Deni and other Soviet Russian artists. Reprintings of cartoons by Soviet artists would continue throughout the period under review here. Beginning in April 1924, Freiheit began publishing cartoons regularly; these were signed by the little-known leftist cartoonist, Gomberg.

In mid-October 1924, Gropper took over as chief cartoonist for Freiheit after having published cartoons sporadically in the daily. The first of these earlier cartoons (Fig. 76) had appeared in June 1922 when he was contributing drawings to the New Yorker Volkszeitung and the Liberator.[1] However, from the time he became the paper's major cartoonist until he went abroad in 1948, Freiheit printed cartoons by Gropper almost daily, although works by others such as Morris Pass, Yosel Cutler, and Zuni Maud appear now and then and sometimes for long stints due to Gropper's occasional lengthy trips.

During Gropper's first eleven months as staff cartoonist for Freiheit, single cartoons by him appear on the front page, while beginning in September 1925, single cartoons by him began to appear usually on pages 6 or 8. Additionally, until his departure for his first trip to the Soviet Union, in 1927, an entire page or most of a page was frequently devoted on Sundays to a number of drawings by the artist.

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Gropper published in Freiheit about ten cartoons a week on the average, although the actual number varies. A paid staff member, he was promised complete independence from editorial control, a "free hand" as he often put it.[2] The artist was not a Communist, but he found that the "only place where I have been able to get that [complete] freedom is in the 'left wing' press, but I would draw for [the anticommunist newspaper publisher] Hearst if he would use my work."[3]

The staff of Freiheit most probably knew of Gropper's cartoons through his work in the socialist New Yorker Volkszeitung, whose presses printed the earliest issues of Freiheit,[4] and from which Gropper's first regularly published cartoon in Freiheit was reprinted, on October 18, 1924.[5] They also may have become more knowledgeable of his work through the Liberator, which Moissaye Olgin, president of the Freiheit Publishing Association, Inc., joined in 1923 as a "political" associate editor and where Gropper was a contributing editor.[6]

In 1940, Moishe Katz, the editor at Freiheit on Jewish affairs, recollected how Gropper joined the staff of the Yiddish newspaper. As retold by Gahn,

> The editors sought his services without knowing how they could pay him. Gropper, youthful and unpretentious, seemed less interested in the money and more intent on drawing; he sketched a political cartoon showing an angry couple--France and Germany--under a tree with John Bull hiding behind it. Gropper

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> impressed Katz with three essential characteristics: his readiness to work like a true "revolutionary laborer"; the speed of his work; and the artistic accuracy of the picture expressing the idea. Katz noted that Gropper's work had political content as well as living, moving creatures who "made you want to chase them."[7]

An enthusiastic and sympathetic cartoonist, Gropper generally discussed a subject with the editors before beginning a political cartoon. Gahn notes that "the creation of a cartoon was a cooperative effort between Gropper and one of the staff: Paul Novick and Melech Epstein in political affairs; Paul Yuditz in labor affairs; and Moishe Katz for Jewish human interest topics." Continuing, Gahn recorded that Gropper "came to the office two or three times a week to draw the cartoons for seven issues" and that for "years Gropper, Novick, Yuditch, and Katz occupied the same office and through their informal discussion and banter developed the ideas that appeared in the paper's editorials, articles, and cartoons."[8]

This collaborative effort among Gropper and the editors at Freiheit was confirmed by the cartoonist Cutler. Writing in a review of paintings and sketches by Gropper exhibited at the John Reed Club in December 1931, Cutler wrote that Gropper is ernst far interesirt in unzere kamfn (seriously interested in our struggles), listened to the editors, and then developed his cartoons uif zein eigenem orgineln uifn (in his own original manner.)[9]

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In his contributions to Freiheit, Gropper developed drawings imbued by a critical vision rooted in the tradition of social consciouness of Jewish immigrants in the Lower East Side. Further, his cartoons in the paper are grounded in a radical ideology developed during his early years as a leftist cartoonist.

In an early group photograph of the Freiheit staff (Fig. 42), the young, fashionably-dressed Gropper appears seated at the far left on the second row. At the time of the portrait, he was the leading cartoonist of the paper, a position he held until 1950, after a visit to the Soviet Union and Europe.[10] Undated, the photograph may have been taken close to late September 1926, when the paper announced that the poet and writer Abraham Reisen, sitting next to Gropper, would be a contributor.[11] Later, in 1929, with Freiheit's pro-Arab stand of that year in a conflict in the Middle East, Reisen would resign from the paper as would H. Leivick and Menachem Boraisha, in the row behind Gropper, and poet Leonid Feinberg, in the upper row.[12]

In the staff photograph, near the center of the second tier, Olgin, the influential writer and president of the Freiheit Publishing Association, peers straight ahead at the camera. Born in Kiev in 1878, Olgin had composed the Bund's leaflets during the 1905 Russian Revolution, translated many of Lenin's writings into Yiddish and

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English, and worked on the staff of the Forward which in 1919 published his Yiddish translation of Ten Days that Shook the World by John Reed.[13] Melech Epstein, editor of Freiheit in the mid-1920s and former labor editor of Tog as well as writer for Zayt and Kampf, sits to his right, head cocked slightly to the side.

Other staff members pivotal to the paper pose nearby. They include labor editor Yuditz, on the second row, and news editor Novick, on the third.[14] A former writer for the Jewish Socialist Federation's Naye Welt, Novick had also edited the Bundist Unzer Shtime, co-edited the Vilner Tog, belonged to the staff of the Lebns-Fragn in Warsaw, and, for about a year, contributed to the Forward.[15] Katz, who in 1920 had published a biography of Lenin,[16] was out of the country when the photograph was taken, according to an accompanying legend; so also was Moishe Nadir, the prolific poet and essayist who had co-edited long before, in 1910-1911, a humorous journal entitled The Yiddish Bandit and whose first collection of poetry, The Wild Roses, appeared in 1915.[17] The writer Moishe Leib Halperin, the biographer Kalmen Marmor, and a young Michael Gold, future editor of New Masses, pose among other Jewish writers and intellectuals whose efforts have been less well-documented.

Freiheit, published from 1922 to 1988, lived a long life to the left of the social democratic and popular

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Forward.[18] The radical paper, targeted for Yiddish-speaking garment workers, had partial origins in Di Yunge (The Young Generation), an influential movement of writers founded in 1907 which was committed to poetical high literature in the "coarse" language of Yiddish.[19] These writers became an important element within the "golden" era of Yiddish literature, a period which lasted from the end of the nineteenth century until World War Two.

By 1917, Di Junge dominated American Yiddish literature.[20] Publishing their novels and poems in anthologies and annuals, they were among the newer immigrants, the "1905ers," who wholeheartedly embraced Yiddish, wishing to preserve it and seeing it as a form of self-identity. Turning against the proletarian poetry of the "sweatshop poets" of the earlier generation, the young shopworkers of Di Yunge often diverted their short stories and novels away from realism to write more idealistically and personally. Influenced by Baudelaire and European symbolist poets such as Rimbaud and Verlaine, these Jewish writers frequently used sensuous and lyrical words to write of inner worlds, dreams, and quests for the universal in their immigrant lives. As member Zisha Landau stated, "The prophet, the preacher, the politician, have distant goals; distant and often obscure. ... Only we, the aesthetes, have no goals and no purposes. ... The tree blooms--the tree is

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beautiful." Irving Howe put this aestheticism in a different light, that Di Junge "wished to free Yiddish writing from the crushing weight of ethicism...."[21]

As one reader said of Freiheit, "I found something I couldn't find in any other paper, culture and politics. They took us by the hand in every struggle. It became part of my life."[22] Freiheit was a vibrant part of Jewish leftist culture. Members of Di Junge identified closely with Yiddish and Yiddish culture (Yiddishkeit), some basing their works on traditional Jewish folk songs and stories.

At the same time, the class-conscious, Yiddish radical left also identified closely with Yiddish and Yiddishkeit. Freiheit thus supported and provided a forum for not only Yiddish culture but both modern literature and radical socialism, in contrast to the labor-based literature and moderate, less partisan socialism found in the more assimilationist Forward.[23]

Known for its high literary content in its early years, Freiheit featured stories and poems by Di Yunge writers Leivick, Halperin, Nadir, Boraisha, David Ignatoff, Mani Leib, and Isaak Raboi.[24] Writings by Soviet Yiddish writers were also published, while essays on Jewish artists and art reviews of exhibitions at the Jewish Art Center in the Lower East Side were printed frequently, along with regular columns on theater, music, and movies. In addition,

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in an effort to become closer to its audience, members of the Freiheit staff also promoted Yiddish culture by establishing a chorus and a mandolin orchestra.[25] Reading groups, dramatic societies such as the Arbeter Teater Farband (Worker's Theater Group), or Artef, and summer camps were also associated with the paper.[26]

Up until the mid-1950s, Freiheit, though written specifically in Yiddish for Jewish workers, adhered generally to the broader, anti-nationalist ideology of the Third International, or Communist International (Comintern). As Bat-Ami Zucker writes, before the Comintern's Popular Front policy of 1935, Jewish communists saw the Jewish worker in political terms as part of the universal working class and the tools of Yiddish and Yiddish culture were used as avenues to reach the Jewish worker. In other words, Yiddish was seen as a means "to develop the international revolutionary spirit."[27] Afterwards, with the broader change in party line in 1935, Yiddish and Yiddish culture seem to have been given more special meaning. Party doctrine then called for Yiddish and Yiddish culture to be appreciated as the expression of a specifically Jewish culture worthy of preservation. Consequently, discussion of Jewish heritage and history increased in Jewish leftist publications.[28]

The radical political and literary paper was founded

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by the combined left-wing and communist Workers Party of America in order to propel a revolutionary movement in the largely Jewish garment trades. The creation of the Workers Party in December of 1921 was shepherded by the Comintern, founded in Soviet Russia in March 1919 during the Western blockade of that country and formed to organize and guide developing communist groups and parties throughout the world. Like the Socialist Party with its affiliated foreign-language associations, in the beginning the new American party was composed of thirteen semi-autonomous federations, most of them non-English-speaking. In April 1923, the Workers Party and the underground Communist party were unified and the latter dissolved.[29]

Until its own dissolution in 1943, the Comintern proposed statutes and resolutions which called for strict adherence and discipline for all national communist parties in creating a common revolutionary world movement, with the trade unions of central importance as a base for world-wide revolution. Through its complex policy of the United Front, the Comintern called for unity among the working classes and opposition toward the Socialist Second International and its social democratic leadership of trade unions, the trade unions being crucial to Communists' interests, according to Lenin.[30]

Until 1928, the United Front "from above" permitted

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communists occasionally to join in fights with social democratic leaders for workers' gains. With the "leftward" turn in 1928 of the Sixth Comintern Congress and the subsequent extremism of the "Third Period" (1928-1935), only the United Front "from below" (the aim being a workers' government, not a Socialist-bourgeois coalition government, as Larry Ceplair clearly notes) was acceptable; it staunchly attacked social democratic leaders for their support of capitalism (seeming to consider them at the time to be more dangerous to the labor movement than fascism) and forbade collaboration with them. From 1935 to 1939, under the Popular Front, the United Front "from above" was re-instituted in a broad stance that embraced social democrats, democrats, liberals, pacifists, and others.[31]

Opposition to socialist leadership of workers' organizations was a prominent, reappearing theme in the course of the Comintern, however, even in the seemingly more tolerant years before 1928. This antagonism played a central role in the life of Freiheit in the middle 1920s, reaching an emotional high point during the left- and right-wing socialist conflicts over control of the largely Jewish garment unions in New York.

Unlike the independent socialist and far less ideological Forward, the Freiheit was read by a minority of Yiddish workers.[32] Melech Epstein notes a beginning

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circulation of under 8,000.[33] In contrast, in 1923, the Forward had a comparatively overwhelming circulation of 153,639.[34] Reportedly, neither did Freiheit reach the circulation of the other three existing Yiddish dailies of New York City that year.[35] Epstein notes that even during the needle trade conflicts of the 1920s the Freiheit's paid circulation in the U.S. and Canada never went above 14,000.[36] However, in 1977, Novick recalled that in the 1920s the paper's circulation reached its highest, between 40,000 to 50,000,[37] a figure perhaps including newsstand and street sales.

Nonetheless, Freiheit became part of a lively Jewish-American journalistic tradition. The radical paper developed from roots in American Jewish papers begun in the first half of the nineteenth century that printed accounts of news and Jewish affairs as well as poetry and fiction.[38] In the latter part of the nineteenth century, with the influx of Eastern European immigrants and the emergence of a large Jewish working class, a radical Yiddish press evolved in the Lower East Side, part of the efflorescence of Yiddish literature in America, particularly in New York City. As Paul Buhle notes, Jewish cultural expression in the Old World had been severely repressed,[39] but in the New World, secular Yiddish journals and newspapers extended the Jewish-American newspaper tradition, printing articles on

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Jewish affairs alongside Yiddish literature, criticism, poetry, and radical political thought.[40] The Yiddish labor press grew rapidly with the founding of several papers, including the weekly Volks Zeitung (1886-1889), the weekly Arbeiter Zeitung (1890-1902) of the United Hebrew Trades, the daily Das Abendblatt (1894-1902), paper of the Socialist Labor Party, and the Forverts (Jewish Daily Forward), begun in 1897.[41]

The Forverts (Forward), an independent socialist paper still published today (now in Yiddish, English, and Russian editions), became the most influential of these Yiddish labor publications. A leading supporter of Americanization and unionization, the Forward, edited by Abraham Cahan from 1902 to 1951, defended and gave political advice to the Jewish worker and in the 1920s became a staunch opponent of Communism.[42] The paper printed news of the garment trades, socialist party politics, national and foreign affairs, Jewish affairs, and local events, along with letters from readers ("A Bintel Brief"), contributions from popular Yiddish writers, and photographic sections. It became the most widely-read Yiddish newspaper in the world,[43] boasting, in 1916, close to 200,000 readers. The frequently nostalgic or socially realistic works of Sholem Asch, Morris Rosenfeld, and other immigrant storytellers and poets often appeared in the paper.[44]

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In the early twentieth century, there were Yiddish papers of far-ranging political views in the United States. For example, Kampf (1919-1920), a weekly of the Jewish left wing, folded during the Palmer raids.[45] The Naye Welt (1915-1922), organ of the Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party, offered modern literature, Yiddish poetry, and theater reviews in addition to political and social thought.[46] New York papers, such as the liberal Tog, begun in 1914, the Labor Zionist Zeit (1920-1922), and the long-lived Freiheit (1922-1988), championed increasingly more diverse political sectors of the Jewish population. In addition, while Olgin was associated closely with Freiheit, he also edited Der Hammer (1926-1939), a monthly magazine published by Freiheit, which featured cartoons, political analysis, and criticism on literature and theater.

With some exceptions, Irving Rosenthal states, cartoons had traditionally garnered little attention in European-produced Jewish publications.[47] In the early decades of the twentieth century, however, some Yiddish papers in America followed the daily newspaper trend in this country in featuring political cartoons. For example, Tog published caricatures by Joseph Foshko[48] while the Forward printed cartoons by Maurice Sievan and Zuni Maud, among others. Novick of Freiheit mentioned in an interview the "vicious" struggles at the turn of the century between

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cartoonists of the Orthodox-Zionist Tageblatt, which represented contractors and some manufacturers, and the Forward,[49] which represented the nascent Jewish trade union movement. Then, too, Der Groyser Kundes (The Big Stick) (1909-1927), a satirical New York Yiddish weekly, published satirical cartoons aimed at Lower East Side types and personalities, such as "allrightniks" (Jewish immigrants turned manufacturers) and leaders such as Cahan,[50] and it reprinted cartoons from the European satirical magazines Punch and Simplicissimus.

Of these Jewish publications, Freiheit, with its early mix of radical politics and modern prose and poetry, published the most vigorous cartoons--those by Minor, Ellis, Burck, and, especially, Gropper. The paper, appearing for the first time on 2 April 1922,[51] was founded by the Workers Party, formed the previous December in New York from a coalition between the underground Communists and the Workers Council, a new splinter group from the Socialist Party.[52] More broad than the underground party, the Workers Party served to attract radicals of diverse backgrounds, "to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of the Workers' Republic."[53]

A powerful body within the Workers Council consisted of members of the Jewish Socialist Federation, a majority

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of whom in 1921 had voted to leave the Socialist Party.[54] Many of these latter dissidents were former Bundists opposed to the conservatism of the Socialist Party in the United States and troubled by the diluted form of socialism represented in the Forward.[55] Led by Olgin and J. B. Salutsky (Hardman), former head of the federation and editor of Naye Welt, these radical federationists argued against what they considered the growing, stagnant bureaucracy of the labor union leadership.[56]

Since membership in the Socialist Party was required of writers for the Forward, Olgin was fired from that paper when he left the party.[57] According to Melech Epstein, Olgin, Salutsky, and others had immediately set about raising money for a daily socialist paper of the radical left wing. Not able to raise enough funds on their own, and in the meantime having formed an alliance with the underground Communists, the former federation members negotiated with the Communists in creating a new paper devoted to the class struggle among Jewish workers. After some discussion, the group decided to name the paper Freiheit, after the organ of the German Independent Socialist Party.[58]

Even before the conflicts of the 1920s between moderate socialists and the far left in the garment unions, a revolutionary sentiment existed among many of the needle

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trade workers, generated in large part by a disturbing tradition of silent agreements between union leaders and manufacturers.[59] In the 1920s, many of these workers supported the left in the "civil war" in the garment unions.

From the radical left's point of view, the "civil war" was fought "on the basis of democracy" where "the members have a right to organize themselves into groups and fight for a policy and fight against the bureaucracy and fight against corruption...," so said Charles Zimmerman, a leader in the mid-1920s of the left wing Joint Action Committee and the Dress and Cloak Joint Board. He noted in the same interview that there "was strong dissatisfaction among the opposition groups long before the communist party was organized...it was merely carried over...."

Zimmerman described the central issue of disagreement as the system of representation of the traditional Joint Board where representatives from smaller, more conservative locals with as few as 50 members outnumbered representatives from the larger, more liberal, New York-based locals with as many as 12,000 members. Zimmerman also recalled the attitudes of some union administrators who "became so intrenched they don't have to pay any attention to what the rank and file wants or doesn't want...."[60]

The uneasy economic situation of the garment industry

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in the 1920s fed these emotions about union bureaucracy. The recession of 1921-22 and the gradual shift of major portions of the garment industry to rural regions of the country brought about increased unemployment in the New York City area, where the largest locals were centered. The needle trade business reverted to piece-rates (rather than hourly wages) and sub-manufacturers, and it suffered from numerous strikes and lock-outs and the usual seasonal (spring and fall) unemployment.[61]

As a whole, most American unions in the 1920s lost strength and numbers. During this decade, big business and the open shop drive, in which workers need not be union members, dominated America while union activity was often viewed and propagandized as disloyal and Communist-influenced. Judicial action also weakened the unions. In the 1920s, several decisions by the Supreme Court cut the strength of the Clayton Anti-Trust Act of 1914, which had benefitted labor by restricting the use of the injunction and by allowing strikes and boycotts. Despite the "Roaring Twenties" and "Jazz Age" labels of the decade, difficult times hit the unskilled, whose pay contrasted sharply with skilled workers, even in the same industries.[62]

Freiheit, as a "direct action" paper and mouthpiece of the radical leftists in the largely Jewish needle trades, attracted workers sympathetic to socialism, and even though

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the paper became an unofficial Communist party organ, thousands of readers were not party members. Thus, during the decade of the 1920s when labor unions suffered from open shops, fewer members, and suspicious citizens, these radicals encouraged a minority of needle trade workers to hope for better working conditions and wages and a greater say in decision-making. As Benjamin Gitlow, a leading Communist and at one time during the decade the editor of Freiheit, remarked, "the rank and file who followed us earnestly believed that they were engaged in a great mission of reform."[63]

The first editorial for the paper placed the publication within the context of the radical Jewish left: "The Freiheit seeks to enlighten the minds of the Jewish working class in the spirit of revolutionary socialism." The paper "seeks to stir up their political, economic and social concepts...."[64] It was to be a non-theoretical paper with direct, clear language understandable by the workers,[65] not a theoretical paper nor one filled with "cheap and vulgar" news, probably a reference to the sometimes sensational articles printed in the Forward.[66]

The unsigned editorial stated that the publication would defend the platform of the Workers Party and support industrial unionism and democracy in the unions. In reference to conservative, sluggish union leadership, it

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asserted, in unsparing propagandistic language, the paper's intentions to criticize the leadership of the needle trade unions, if need be. "Where the leadership is sitting on the backs of the masses, trying to satisfy their own ambitions for power and gain, this paper will, mercilessly, expose the irresponsibility and the scandalous actions of those leaders." Continuing, "This paper will fight with the ammunition of truth and will make no exceptions--not for any institution nor any individual." Following tradition in the Yiddish press, the paper would also present stories, serialized novels, poetry, literary criticism, bibliographies, and articles directed toward children.[67]

The editors intended Freiheit to revive the heroic spirit of the Jewish garment union movement of the 1910s and renew the fight for workers's gains. The paper's stated intention to be a champion of a revitalized Jewish workers movement[68] was supported in the early 1920s by daily news articles on working conditions and union activities for tailors, capmakers, and other garment workers, articles on immigration legislation, and reports on Jewish organizations, such as the Workmen's Circle. These were complemented by news and information of national and international focus, written from a left-of-center perspective, such as strikes across the U.S.; news from Soviet Russia; news of colonial countries, such as India;

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reports of revolutionary activities world-wide, especially in Germany and Ireland; the growth of fascism in Italy and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan in the U.S.; and governmental policies and political corruption in America.

A chronology of Freiheit is helpful for studying Gropper's cartoons for the paper. A careful history of Freiheit still needs to be undertaken, however, for there are only brief, incomplete accounts. The following has been created from readings of Freiheit and of these brief histories.[69]

During the unsettled and less clearly documented early years, a succession of leftist intellectuals edited the daily. A study of the first issue finds that Olgin and Joseph Berson, pen name for Shachno Epstein,[70] co-edited the paper, and editorial staff included Nathaniel Buchwald, Alexander Bittelman, Katz, Marmor, Novick, and Melech Epstein. Regular contributors included Ignatoff, Halpern, Leivick, Nadir, Raboi, and Robert Minor.[71] Olgin represented the radical Jewish federationists within the Workers Party and Shachno Epstein[72] represented the Communists. In May 1923, the Communists, reportedly unable to change the non-doctrinaire messages of Olgin and the radical socialists, seized power of the Freiheit and instituted Gitlow as editor, who was followed in that position by Melech Epstein.[73]

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In 1925, the Comintern reorganized the Workers Party into a communist organization, the Workers (Communist) Party, and it designated the new party officially as the "American section of the Communist International." With this change, Yiddish radicals lost a degree of journalistic freedom.[74]

Freiheit subsequently became an unofficial organ of this newest radical party, and the paper generally followed guidelines and policies of the Comintern for the next thirty years, evidenced by the Comintern-sanctioned campaigns fought by the daily (such as the Popular Front), its reprinting of official Central Committee declarations, its publishing of news affecting the Communist parties in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and its printing of the activities of the Communist International. Before the revelations in 1956 about Joseph Stalin's killings of political figures and Jewish intellectuals, the paper was "close to the policies of the Communist Party," noted Novick in 1977; however, the editor added that Freiheit was never an official organ of the Communist party.[75]

The middle 1920s proved to be a tumultuous period in the life of Freiheit, for the newspaper became the center of the radical left campaign to wrestle control of the garment unions away from the anticommunist social democrats, a struggle in the middle of the decade that

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became the direct source of many of Gropper's most vigorous, modernist cartoons. During these spirited years of the garment union campaign, especially from 1925 to 1927, Melech Epstein edited Freiheit. In 1928, Olgin, who had remained the president of the Freiheit Publishing Association, resumed as editor.[76] Meanwhile, several additional staff joined the paper. The photograph of April 1929 (Fig. 43) shows Olgin with several new members, including the cartoonist Cutler, seated at the far right on the first row, next to Gropper.[77] The photograph was taken shortly before the re-organization of the paper in June 1929 which changed the publication to a morning daily, thereafter formally called Morgen Freiheit.

As stated before, up until the mid-1950s Freiheit generally adhered to official Communist policy. During the Stalinist "Third Period," from 1928 to 1935, the Comintern's hard-hitting, "leftward" approach to labor bureaucracy forged the policy of dual trade unions and the anti-right-wing-socialist theory of "social fascism," both of which became essential propaganda campaigns of Freiheit. This more rigid political move had begun at the end of 1927 when the Comintern, under Stalin's guidance, decreed that the United Front "from below" had become policy in the "overwhelming majority of cases."[78] During this ultra-leftist period, emphasis on Jewishness was downplayed by

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the Comintern and American Communists. According to a female ILGWU shop leader about this period, "We weren't allowed to be proud that some great public figure was Jewish.... They used to laugh and complain about our having a bar mitzvah or celebrating the holidays.... We knew this was a wrong attitude."[79]

Though published for Jewish garment workers, during the Third Period, Freiheit showed allegiance to Soviet Comintern policy in Jewish community issues. For instance, in August 1929, Freiheit ultimately took a Communist, pro-Arab stand concerning a violent encounter between Arabs and Jews in Palestine, a direction in agreement with the Comintern's approach.[80] Consequently, the radical newspaper met drastic opposition from the Jewish community (see Fig. 89), and several prominent writers, including Reisen, Leivick, Boraisha, and Ignatoff resigned.[81] As one Yiddishist recalled, "We were wrong. We could hardly appear on a street and defend our position [on Palestine] in the Jewish neighborhoods. Most of our great writers left us. The loss for the Freiheit was irreparable...."[82] As Liebman notes, however, with the policy change in the mid-1930s of the Popular Front, the Comintern and the Freiheit would encourage pro-Jewish sentiment and support the establishment of a Jewish state.[83]

In 1930, Freiheit, the Daily Worker, and the offices

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of the Communist Party moved to a building on East 12th Street, reportedly in part, as Epstein notes, because of the result of "gross mismanagement of the party papers."[84] Epstein also recalled that, beginning in 1930 the International Workers Order (IWO), the left-wing alternative to the Workman's Circle, became an important fund-raiser for the Yiddish paper.[85] A significant shift occurred that year in Gropper's personal life as well as he and his family moved to Croton-on-Hudson,[86] an artists' community in Westchester County, north of New York City.

In 1935, a vast change in Comintern policy effected Freiheit. With the Communist International's new policy of the Popular Front, made official at the July-August conference, communists sought temporary alliances with liberal and socialist leaders, a goal linked with new fears as Hitler in Germany and other fascist leaders abroad rose as perceived threats to the security of the Soviet Union.

During the 1930s, before and after the Comintern's new policy, the staff of Freiheit had directed much attention toward a campaign of opposing war and fascism in Europe and Asia, the twin goals of the new position. The paper's anti-fascist direction extended back to the early 1920s with its critical reports and cartoons on European political and military dictators, especially Mussolini and Pilsudski. From those early days, attention in the paper had also been

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directed toward reactive, "fascist" behavior in the United States with articles and cartoons, especially on the lynching of African-Americans.

During the 1930s, the movement against war and fascism dominated Freiheit as the paper generally followed the Comintern's political slogans and objectives. In 1939, the year Novick became editor at Olgin's death, this campaign received a jolt. Freiheit again demonstrated its allegiance to the Soviet Union and angered several staff members when Stalin signed the non-aggression pact with Hitler. When the paper defended the agreement many members of the staff who had been ardent supporters of the campaign against war and fascism left the publication, including Nadir, Melech Epstein, and Louis Hyman.[87]

Freiheit's relationship to official Communist policies gradually shifted, however. In 1956, after Stalin's death and the revelation of many of his crimes against Jews, Freiheit began to take an increasingly critical stance toward the policies of the Soviet Communist government, thereby becoming more of an independent, pro-Jewish paper. As Liebman points out, that same year, after the Suez War, Freiheit openly supported the statehood of Israel, a position that put its staff at growing odds with the position at that time of the Soviet Union.[88]

After 1956, Freiheit attacked the cold war and

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enthusiastically reported on the new state of Israel and on Yiddish culture in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.[89] In the 1960s and 1970s, the feisty nature of the paper continued to be felt, for instance, in sharp rebukes of the Vietnam War and the nuclear arms race. Throughout these later decades, it continued to be a "prolabor" and "proradical" paper.[90]

Finally, however, the American Communist Party openly charged Novick and Freiheit with contrary policies. The party opposed the paper's pro-Israel stance and other contradictory positions it had taken, predicting in a letter sent in early 1969 to the party's clubs that the daily's policy could "end up in a blind alley of Jewish nationalism," so far was it from the "Marxist internationalism" of support of Arab lands and their peoples.[91] In 1972, the American party finally expelled Novick because of "opportunistic capitulation to the pressures of Jewish nationalism and Zionism" and "an increasingly anti-Soviet path," among other charges.[92] Novick, attacked again in 1977 by the party, declared the paper's continued support of "the Soviet Union the way it was during the Lenin period when Jewish culture flourished," and he called for detente between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as for the co-existence of Israel and a Palestinian Arab state.[93] In the end, in

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the 1980s, the radical paper existed as an independent leftist weekly which continued a humanitarian approach to world issues.[94]

In 1977, Freiheit reportedly held a circulation of 5,950 copies, a staff of twenty, and publishing costs of $560,000.[95] A little more than ten years later, in September 1988, the leftist paper ended publication due to "soaring expenses, shrinking circulation and the deaths of longtime benefactors." In his last editorial for Freiheit, Novick spoke of the longtime aims of the paper, reiterating its roles of "fighting for a better life for the workers in the factories and shops and a better life style; a newspaper for the fostering of Yiddish culture and Yiddish cultural institutions and organizations."[96]

It is appropriate that in a highly ideological paper such as Freiheit that the cartoons William Gropper drew for it would also be highly idealistic. In these topical cartoons, Gropper featured many conventional symbols such as America's Uncle Sam and England's John Bull and caricatures of well-known politicians like Calvin Coolidge and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. However, Gropper's frequent interpretations of the time-worn theme of the capitalist, his provocative treatments of the antiradical Jewish socialist, and his timely antifascist cartoons form some of his strongest contributions to the paper. Apart from the

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antifascist cartoons, Gropper's approaches to these subjects evolved in part from his handling of them in earlier leftist publications or from earlier cartoon traditions. Finally, the succession of cartoon styles Gropper used in Freiheit from 1924 to 1935 shows an engagement with the contemporary dialogue on how to create a radical art that corresponded with radical politics.

Anticapitalist Cartoons

Passionately anticapitalistic, with a childhood grounded in the lower levels of the garment trade, Gropper found in Freiheit a place where he could draw with artistic freedom and an outlet that stimulated his memory and imagination. It is no surprise that the bloated, frequently top-hatted figure of the capitalist reappears throughout his cartoons for Freiheit, for the paper vociferously opposed the private enterprise principles of capitalism. This opposition was an essential policy of the paper whose articles, particularly after the demise of the Workers Party in 1925, stemmed generally from a Comintern-guided Marxist-Leninist opposition to capitalist economic systems, particularly that of the United States but also those of European nations.

As cited by Kermit McKenzie, the early Comintern

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divided post-World War One capitalism into distinct periods,[97] the first ending in 1923 with the failed political revolutions in Germany and Bulgaria. The second, from 1924 to 1928, entailed both a certain degree of economic recuperation among capitalist countries and a temporary setback for revolutionary prospects. The Sixth Comintern Congress in 1928 forecast the coming of a third stage, that of an ultimate destabilization of capitalist economies, a return to political agitation, and the threat of fascism. This last stage became particularly timely, given the stock market crash of Wall Street in 1929.

Trained in earlier political cartoon traditions, Gropper employed the capitalist as the nemesis of the worker. However, the inventive Gropper frequently injected his anticapitalist cartoons for Freiheit with humor and wit often found lacking in didactic cartoons by his contemporaries and by younger artists. Indeed, his anticapitalist cartoons are rooted in childhood memories of his father's anticapitalism, the pre-doctrinaire radicalism of the Ferrer Center and the IWW, and the more didactic radicalism in the pages of the Revolutionary Age, reviewed in Part One.[98]

By the 1920s the capitalist figure had already become a stock caricature for Gropper and left-wing cartoonists. The New York artist had consistently targeted big business,

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as seen in a very early cartoon, from 1917 (Fig. 1). In this drawing which combines anticapitalism with Jewish caricature, a dual approach found in Yiddish newspapers of the time, a Citizen beseeches a Jewish System for a truthful newspaper.[99] However, the latter, with his stereotypically thin, round spectacles and pronounced, high forehead, disregards the other's concern for total truth. The cartoon is a mild precursor to Gropper's later caricatures in Freiheit of Jewish social democratic leaders and institutions.

The capitalist is a primary, almost ever-present theme among Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit, and these cartoons of the capitalist follow a long tradition in political cartoon history. The author presents here a summary of major currents of the capitalist in the history of cartoons.

The prototype of the fat, pompous businessman dressed in modern, tailored business attire emerged in European political cartoons in the early nineteenth century. Honoré Daumier, the most important cartoonist of the period, delighted in satirizing social pretensions and excelled in caricaturing King Louis-Philippe and the conservative businessmen and professionals who supported his July Monarchy, formed in 1830 (see Le Ventre législatif [The Legislative Belly] (Fig. 44).[100] Across the English Channel, in the detailed, wood-engraved illustrations of

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Punch, the leading cartoonist John Leech several years later rendered the political symbol of the English people, John Bull, hitherto a rather modest farmer, as a large, well-fed, and conservative country gentleman, an enduring symbol of England (see Fig. 45).[101]

These figures by Daumier and Leech are close relatives of the capitalist seen in European and American cartoons decades later at the turn of the century. At that time, with the growth of capitalism and industrialization and the spread of socialism and anarchism, opposition toward the industrial capitalist and banker emerged in a flowering of cartoons in European left-wing magazines. They appeared perhaps most prominently in L'Assiette au Beurre, a slim Parisian weekly of usually full-page cartoons carefully printed in color and most often addressed to specific social, political, or labor topics. An important document of the period published from 1901 to 1912, L'Assiette au Beurre contains zinc-etched and photogravured cartoons, many of which carry the linear, flowing lines of Art Nouveau. In "Liberté" (Fig. 46), for example, František Kupka, an illustrator, harsh social critic, and several years later pioneer abstract painter, drew a throned, gargantuan capitalist safeguarded from factory-bound, wearisome workers. Kupka, who published occasional cartoons in the magazine from 1901 to 1904, drew this critical work

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as part of an issue drawn solely by him entitled "L'Argent," published on January 11, 1902.[102] Printed in black and golden yellow inks, this particular number centers around the story of Argent, the greedy capitalist and master manipulator who sports an animalistic appetite for money.

In Germany, nurtured by the anti-bourgeois, stylized Jugendstil cartoons in turn-of-the-century issues of Simplicissimus and Ulk and stimulated by his own childhood and wartime experiences, George Grosz became one of the most celebrated anti-capitalist cartoonists, furnishing some of the twentieth century's most pithy cartoons during the post-war period in Berlin. The leftist artist skewered the military and the bourgeois society of the Weimar Republic in his book illustrations, print portfolios, and in drawings published in radical journals and newspapers. For example, in July 1924 in the Communist weekly Der Knüppel, edited by his colleague John Heartfield, Grosz attacked rising German nationalism and the powerful military in "Fürs Vaterland--zur Schlachtbank" (For the Fatherland--To the Slaughterhouse) (Fig. 47), a didactic, anti-war drawing featuring a sternfaced industrialist, a grim general, and a child-sized Adolf Hitler, drawn in thick black inky lines, sitting comfortably atop a trove of cannons; beneath the threesome lurch a mist-laden group of

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blindfolded and tethered men--future soldiers--pulled by a German officer.[103]

At the turn of the century in the United States, both leftist and mainstream cartoonists attacked the capitalist, the first out of socialist conviction, the second out of fervor against the powerful trusts of the day. The American prototype for the cartoon figure of the capitalist had emerged earlier, in 1870-71, with the first great political cartoonist in the U.S., the Republican Nast, whose series of powerful works in the youthful Harper's Weekly exposed the corruption of the Tweed Ring. Nast caricatured its bulbous-shaped leader William Marcy "Boss" Tweed as "The 'Brains'" (Fig. 48) behind the New York City government's control of the Rochester Democratic State Convention of 1871.[104] In this wood-engraved cartoon, influenced by the swelling, cross-hatched lines of Leech and John Tenniel in Punch, Nast drew Tweed's head as a money bag, reminiscent of the pear-shaped face of Louis-Philippe in Philipon's famous caricature.[105]

Many early socialist cartoonists in the U.S simplified Nast's style and clothed the image of the well-fed, corrupt politician with sentiment against the capitalist system. In the beginning years of the American socialist press, the magazine The Comrade, like the older radical paper Appeal to Reason, frequently printed anticapitalist cartoons, in

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contrast to the text-bound, more theoretical journal International Socialist Review. In the non-doctrinaire, literary Comrade, a new, non-threatening magazine written for the middle class and published from 1901 to 1905, reproductions from leftist sources such as Simplicissimus and L'Assiette au Beurre and flowing, allegorical contributions by British artist Walter Crane were paired with critical cartoons by staff artists such as Ryan Walker. His contour line cartoon, "The Spirit of 1903 (and 1776)" (Fig. 49), published in July 1903, ironically places Uncle Sam bowing to the lord of "Greed, Grab, and Blood," a capitalist who sits upon a throne of money bags.[106] Carrying the crushing club of Monopoly, Ryan's rotund, sated capitalist was published in numerous mainstream magazines and newspapers of the period which exposed the inflated, domineering, industrial trust.[107]

From the late 1880s until U.S. involvement in World War One, American mainstream cartoonists relished attacking the trusts, most often using the familiar guise of the overfed, greedy capitalist.[108] A conglomerate of manufacturers which fixes prices and limits production of a particular good such as steel, copper, or sugar, the trust wielded considerable political power in the nation during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the twentieth, a situation lampooned

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by innumerable cartoonists. In one of the more well-known cartoons on this subject, Joseph Keppler drew on stone "The Bosses of the Senate" (Fig. 50), published in 1889 in his humor weekly Puck, in response to the influence of trusts and monopolies on U. S. Senators.[109] Reminiscent of Daumier's Le Ventre législatif, Keppler's lithograph displays an array of officials conversing, ruminating, reading, and writing from their desks in a government chamber. In Keppler's highly detailed cartoon, however, elephantine capitalists identified as various trusts enter through a special entrance to the chamber and stand hawkishly behind the unruly, pawn-like senators; meanwhile, the "People's Entrance" in the balcony remains closed.

Frederick Burr Opper, with humorous, critical cartoons in the New York Journal and several other popular papers, honed this image of the trust to its simplest thus far. With deft, scratchy ink lines he drew "The Trusts" (Fig. 51) as a smiling, buffoonish businessman, seen here dipping into the pocket of the wide-eyed, inane "The Common People," the origin of Gropper's "Citizen" in Fig. 1.[110] In 1905, when the "muckraking" journalists were at their height,[111] editor B. O. Flower in his reformist magazine Arena called Opper one of the most influential cartoonists in America, especially gifted at portraying the incessant battles between the trusts and privilege on the one hand

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and the masses and democratic principles on the other.[112]

American cartoonists continued to use the figure of the money-driven, overfed capitalist to caricature specific individuals. As noted in Part One, the Presidential campaign of 1896 between Republican McKinley and Democrat Bryan spotlighted the rise of the daily newspaper cartoon in a memorable series in the New York Journal by Homer Davenport.[113] The artist drew numerous cartoons of Hanna, the Republican Party chief and a skillful fundraiser, in a suit festooned with dollar signs. In one of these cartoons, "Wall Street Wishes a New Guardian of the Treasury" (Fig. 52), capitalists drag away a statue of George Washington and replace it with one of Hanna standing beneficently above a human skull marked "Labor."[114]

During the Progressive era and up until America's entrance into World War One, the trust continued to be a target for artists in the popular American press, while the capitalist per se remained fodder for contributors to socialist papers. The socialist Masses, under the new editorship of Max Eastman beginning in 1912, carried the most vital cartoons of the time in either press. In one of the more well-known examples from the monthly, "Having Their Fling" (Fig. 53), from 1917, Art Young drew a spirited cartoon of a dancing capitalist, editor, politician, and minister, directed by a baton-twirling

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devil flanked by an orchestra of bursting cannons and fighting men. Young's blasphemous crayon drawing commented on the widely held perception among radicals that the "pillars of society" were promoting or justifying the war, an attitude apparent in numerous other anti-war cartoons by Young and others in the socialist monthly.[115] An artist trained in the tradition of Nast, Young published his cartoons widely, in IWW periodicals, Socialist publications such as the Call and Metropolitan Magazine, in the Jewish humor weekly Der Groyser Kundes, and in more mainstream papers such as American Magazine and Collier's.[116]

Clearly, by Gropper's day the capitalist had become a conventional symbol in political cartoon vocabulary and a didactic one in leftist-oriented circles. Throughout those first years of professional cartooning for Gropper, this socialist-minded cartoonist had returned again and again to the essential image of the capitalist. As we have seen, in 1918 his sketchily-drawn fat trusts toast the guilty verdict in the IWW trial in Chicago (Fig. 18). The following year, in Revolutionary Age, Gropper pictured a capitalist prodding a socialist right-winger, based on Opper's figure of "The Common People," to stand up to a radical leftist and try to convince him of right-wing views (Fig. 27). In 1922, the Liberator published The Wage Cut Drive (Fig. 35), a drawing by Gropper which pictures

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capitalist-bandits robbing a worker's home.

When Gropper became staff cartoonist for Freiheit, his first interpretation of the capitalist was as a whimsical, slightly sinister conniver whom the artist drew in smooth outline (see Fig. 54). An amalgam of the gently humorous critiques of Opper and the satirical lines of Grosz and other Europeans represented in the illustrated satirical magazines, this image emerged as well from Gropper's lighthearted versions of the capitalist as seen in the Liberator and the Advance (as in Figs. 35 and 41). However, throughout the years in the pages of Freiheit, his figure of the capitalist would change, gradually shifting to, finally, in 1935, a venal, tenacious creature swathed in black and gray shadows and often gargantuan in size (in this regard, see Fig. 69).

Gropper, in many of his cartoons for Freiheit, focused on ideological, anticapitalistic themes in keeping with the paper's Marxist-Leninist policies. The following discussion is a chronological study of selected anticapitalistic cartoons from when Gropper joined the paper in late 1924 to the Popular Front of mid-1935, each cartoon representing this theme clothed in a leftist cartoon style. Often, notices of related events in Gropper's life punctuate these discussions so as to give a broader framework.

In the October 20, 1924 issue, in his first

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interpretation of the capitalist for Freiheit, Gropper used a contour line to draw a capitalist who, accused of a deed, appears to feign surprise. As noted above, the thread-like drawing harkens back to his linear cartoon style in the Liberator which had been inspired by radical cartoons in European satirical magazines such as Simplicissimus. In "He Let the Cats Out of the Bag; (On the investigation into the million dollar campaign funds of the capitalist parties)" (Fig. 54),[117] Gropper's capitalist points to himself and opens his mouth as if to question why anyone would cast blame on him. He is surrounded by scampering black cats, a few frollicking animals still emerging from a large bag.

Like the editorial of the same day which called the campaign fund situation a "skandal" (scandal),[118] the cartoon brought attention to an issue of national interest during the political campaign. This involved the inquiry by the Special Committee on Campaign Expenditures headed by Senator William Borah into the multi-million dollar emergency campaign fund of the Republican Party, a fund "to be 'expended in buying the election in doubtful States,'" declared Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, quoted in The New York Times in early October.[119]

In power in the White House since 1920 with the overwhelming election of President Warren Harding, the Republicans dominated the decade politically, surviving, in

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1924, the Teapot Dome scandal, an affair that exposed the involvement of Harding administration officials in granting private oil companies the rights to government-owned oil lands. Prompted by La Follette, who had denounced the Communists earlier in the year,[120] the committee undertook the investigation and in February of 1925 finally reported on the fund sources of the three parties.[121]

La Follette's Progressive Party, which had emerged in the summer of 1924, developed out of early support from a coalition between labor, farmers, socialists, and others disgruntled with the two mainstream Republican and Democratic parties. The new party stood upon an anti-monopoly platform much in the muckraking spirit of prewar progressivism.[122]

For the next month Gropper focused time and again upon the capitalist, drawing increasingly smug or tenacious figures of "Wall Street" and the "Bakers' Trust" and prominent capitalists John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan Jr., and Henry Ford, for example. Gradually modifying the style of his cartoons in Freiheit, he began drawing brusque, uneven strokes with the brush, executing increasingly distinct shadows, and creating more active characters. With these changes, he had quickly made his cartoons for the newspaper more animated.

"Wall Street Celebrates Its Victory in the Elections"

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(Fig. 55),[123] for example, was published on November 14, shortly after Freiheit announced the purchase of a building, at 30 Union Square in the heart of the working district.[124] This and other new cartoons, with their more vital, gestural handling, stem from the Masses and Ashcan School tradition of crayon drawings, recalling the vigorous Daumier style of rough modeling, discussed above. This style, identified with social protest, is seen in many of Gropper's earlier works in the New York Tribune, IWW publications, and in the Liberator and in many of his colleagues' works, including Robert Minor (Fig. 8) and John Sloan (Fig. 9), all noted above.[125] This more energetic cartoon continues Gropper's tongue-in-cheek outlook of the capitalist as a triumphant winner in American society.

The day before the election, on the 3rd, the newspaper had urged voters to "mobilizatsie" (mobilize) and elect Workers Party candidates.[126] In Gropper's cartoon, he drew a capitalist jubilantly immersed in a sea of coins with money spilling from his raised hands and a ticker tape machine and other signs of Coolidge "prosperity" floating nearby, signs that the Republican candidate had been elected.

With weeks going by and the paper struggling to find funds, Gropper's style of cartooning for the newspaper rapidly metamorphosed again as it appears he was trying to

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find an even more graphically effective method for his cartoons. His capitalists continued to be involved with diverse subjects, with England, the B.M.T. trust, Wall Street, the Chamber of Commerce, and the "gele prese" (yellow, or sensationalist, press) among the protagonists, in stark contrast to his stylish linear caricatures of theater stars in the New York World of approximately the same time. These latter drawings were part of a larger body of humorous, madcap cartoons by Gropper, Milt Gross, and others drawn for the Sunday edition of that paper.[127]

During the late fall and winter of 1924-1925, modernist patterns of black and white, often defining shadows or texture or separating one prominent physical element from another, began appearing in Gropper's drawings for Freiheit. "The Dream of Our Militarists" (Fig. 56), for instance, casts a bureaucrat dwarfed by a mix of cannon barrels jutting here and there in numerous directions.[128] The black and white tubular forms of the cannons and their scattered, rhythmic placement dominate the drawing.

This new concentration on distinct areas of black and white soon developed into a system of sharp, woodcut-like shading that, together with radical anticapitalist messages, distinguish his cartoons for Freiheit for the next two years. This new treatment is seen early on in a cartoon published on 21 March 1925, "Mr. Senate: 'No

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Matter, Let It Be This One'; (On the confirmation of the new Attorney General, Sargent)" (Fig. 57).[129]

In this cartoon, a corpulent senator points to a scraggly, pencil-thin dog, candidate for Attorney General, John Garibaldi Sargent, held by President Coolidge. In Gropper's cartoons of the 1920s, the figure of a United States Senator, symbol of capitalist government, would be used occasionally by the artist. By the mid-1930s, the emblematic motif would become a favorite of the artist's, the most prominent example being his painting of 1935, The Senate, which became inspiration for numerous variations on canvas and paper.[130]

A friend of Coolidge's from Vermont and the attorney general for that state from 1908 to 1912, Sargent won unanimous approval from the Senate after it had rejected the previous candidate for the post, Charles Beecher Warren of Detroit. Head of the Michigan Sugar Company and chair of the Platform Committee for the Republican Party in 1924, Warren is represented in the cartoon by a watchful bulldog tethered to Coolidge's arm.[131] Freiheit frequently reported on the nomination and re-nomination of Warren, viewing it as a prime example of the administration's plans for gaining more power for business magnates.[132]

From mid-May to mid-September 1925, Gropper traveled with his friend, the artist Morris Pass, to visit Seattle,

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where the controversial general strike of 1919 had inspired Gropper's interest in seeing the city.[133] New Masses later reported that Pass had been the official artist for the workers in the Seattle strike.[134]

Around the time of Gropper's return, discussions took place among many New York liberals and radicals and several staff members of the old Masses and Liberator, including Gropper, about creating a literary and artistic magazine with "radical economic views."[135] The first issue of this new magazine, the May 1926 number of New Masses, listed Gropper on the executive board.[136] Gropper's early cartoons for New Masses were accompanied by a mix of drawings by others in progressive styles, i.e., the Daumier, Ashcan School, and modernist traditions. In large part, his drawings retained the frivolous air of his Sunday New York World cartoons and the anti-bourgeois focus of his work in the Liberator.

In Freiheit, however, Gropper resumed developing the patterned shadows in his cartoons and using the stock figure of the capitalist in various guises, as coal baron and bread trust, for example, in order to draw attention to anticapitalist issues dear to the far left. Clearly, Freiheit was Gropper's central arena for developing radical commentary cartoons.

In its pages, Freiheit increasingly attacked the

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right-wing socialist leadership of Jewish labor institutions. The opposition of the left against right-wing socialist Jews brought about a lengthy series of cartoons by Gropper, discussed below, emphasizing figures with stereotypical Jewish physical features. This new direction by Gropper had begun in earnest during the left-right polemics of 1926, and the artist's cartoons of capitalists were not unaffected by this change.

Gropper's capitalist during this critical period was often melded into a stark, corpulent, fleshy-nosed businessman whose suit is drawn with avant-garde patches of jagged blacks. For example, "Wall Street Magnates: The World is Laughing at Us. He Was Once Told to Bark But He Doesn't Know When to Stop" (Fig. 58), printed in November 1926,[137] contains both recognizable elements and abstract pattern.

Two towering capitalists in bulging, striated suits, convene and look down upon their barking dog, representing Matthew Woll, a vice president of the AFL and Acting President of the National Civic Federation. In a recent letter to Coolidge, Woll had criticized the report on Russia by Sherwood Eddy, of the International YMCA, and others, attacking their premise that Stalin had made fundamental changes in the Russian Communist government since Lenin's death in 1924 and asking Coolidge not to

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recognize the Soviet Union, a popular issue among many in the U.S.[138] The AFL, first under Gompers and then William Green, had vigorously opposed the Bolshevik government, reviled in Gompers' book of 1921 co-written with William English Walling, Out of Their Own Mouths: A Revelation and Indictment of Sovietism.[139]

Under Green, a history prevailed of opposition to any kind of communication that would bring less distance between the American and Soviet governments. For example, the year before, in 1925, the AFL leadership had been repulsed over the growing enthusiasm among some American labor union groups for a labor commission to visit the Soviet Union. To turn members against the idea, Green in a message of December 1925 to labor organizations implied that the banking community was ready to do business with the Soviet government in order to realize profits.[140] The commission issue was of central importance at the AFL's annual convention in 1926 where a special labor commission and American recognition of the Soviet Union were both rejected by the membership.

Woll, a consistent critic of the Soviet Union, continued his "barking" attacks into the summer of 1927 when a labor delegation finally departed for Russia.[141] Gropper's cartoon suggests that the bankers, seeing an opportunity for some trade, now desired for the AFL to stop

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its vociferous opposition.

Like the Freiheit with its diverse contents, Gropper drew an arsenal of cartoons having to do with various subjects and the capitalist was a central target. From day to day, Gropper drew the capitalist in various modes, shown, for instance, pick-pocketing the figure of "the Common People,"[142] exulting over the failure of the Geneva peace conference,[143] and, as an "owner," standing defiantly in front of a subway entrance.[144] One issue which Gropper frequented in his cartoons at this time and which symbolized for him and other leftists the hegemony of capitalism in America was the Sacco-Vanzetti affair.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1927, Gropper returned again and again to the theme of the incarceration of Nicolo Sacco and Bartolommeo Vanzetti, of major concern to Freiheit.[145] The two Italian immigrants and anarchists were accused of murder and robbery in a hold-up in South Braintree, Massachusetts, during the end of the Red Scare days of 1920. Because of contradictory evidence and strong alibis, many thought the accusations against the two were made because they were foreigners and anarchists and not of the American mainstream.[146] By 1927, as legal appeals gave way to sentencing and the execution date for the two approached, the Workers (Communist) Party had mounted an energetic campaign in defense of a second trial for the

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two.

On August 9th, 1927, workers in New York demonstrated at Union Square to protest the death sentences of the two radicals.[147] Gropper, who had drawn several previous cartoons on the two, published in Freiheit that same day a bold cartoon of a gigantic, grim-faced capitalist holding two tiny figures and trudging through a swarm of urban protesters. The drawing strongly implied the capitalists' role in condemning the two Italians, and it moves Gropper closer to the overpowering capitalist seen in so many of his later cartoons of the 1920s and early 1930s.

In "Give Us Back Sacco and Vanzetti!" (Fig. 59),[148] drawn before the execution on the 23rd of the month, Gropper drew the towering capitalist and vast crowds in abrupt black and white contrasts, visually symbolizing the emergency situation.[149] Like many European and American artists of the time, including Grosz, Heartfield, Fred Ellis, and, later, Ben Shahn,[150] Gropper recorded his sympathy for the two immigrants. His cartoons of pickets and cossack-like police and his written memoirs interpreted the spectacle outside the chamber on the night of the electrocution in Boston;[151] and his sketches and death masks made in the morgue the following day document its passing.[152]

Since November 1924, Gropper had drawn cartoons in

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Freiheit supporting the innocence of the two Europeans and castigating what he and others saw as the anti-immigrant, antiradical prejudices of the American justice system.[153] The trial, one of the most controversial of the era, was presided over by Judge Webster Thayer in Massachusetts. It brought radicals and liberals together to protest the presumed innocence of the men.[154] Indeed, the arrest, trial, subsequent appeals, and electrocutions, had evolved into an international affair. A sign of the residual impact of the case on American artists of the time can be seen in plans discussed later, in March 1930, in New York for an exhibition devoted to Sacco and Vanzetti.[155]

In late 1927, Gropper accelerated in his cartoons for Freiheit the theme of the powerful, self-consumed capitalist, drawn in a modernist style that, with its bold directness, paralleled the uncompromising air of radical socialism. In one of these cartoons, "His Labor Day" (Fig. 60),[156] an ironic cartoon published in early September, Gropper composed in spare black and white a cigar-smoking, obese businessman standing smugly in front of an urban factory scene dotted with hangman poles, coffins, and demonstrators.

In this cartoon, Gropper used stereotypical Jewish caricature--a bulbous nose, thick lips, and dark circles under the eyes--devices that stemmed from traditions of

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caricatured Jewish imagery, discussed below. This capitalist comes close to the stereotypical Jewish caricature Gropper used at the same time in his cartoons against right-wing socialists. In this cartoon, Gropper strongly implied that the capitalist, perhaps the Jewish capitalist, took advantage of the working class. Thus, Gropper here aligned capitalism with the socialist right wing, an entity which controlled most of the garment industry in New York and which vociferously opposed the left-wing politics of Freiheit.[157] In doing so, he combined two current targets--the capitalist and the Jewish labor bureaucrat--into one figure. In a related editorial that day, the writer questioned for whom this national holiday, originated by American labor organizations, was made, and concluded that the special day was the holiday of labor bureaucracy.[158] Thus, Gropper made an image of the labor bureaucrat as a sinister capitalist.

The new woodcut-style cartoons with their bold, rigidly distinct forms are moreso the equivalent of the written, radical messages of left-wing socialism than the earlier whimsical drawings such as "He Let the Cats Out of the Bag" (Fig. 54). These new black and white patterned works, invoking as they do a symbolic parallel to radical labor and political issues, also contrast with the frivolous circus subjects and other unthreatening,

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entertaining themes of Gropper's contemporaneous cartoons in the New York World where the new, bold style is occasionally seen. The flat, woodcut-like style the cartoonist newly employed from 1925 to 1927 represents his familiarity with modern European art, knowledge acquired from various sources, including Ferrer Center lectures and discussions,[159] the Armory show, and subsequent exhibitions, books, articles, and magazines available in New York City.[160]

In the 1920s, many American artists like Gropper borrowed from avant-garde European movements which focused on the abstraction and distortion of naturalistic or architectural form. For example, Max Weber created a series of woodcuts of figures with sharp angles and tribal mask forms, printed unevenly and reminiscent of the Expressionist group, Die Brücke (The Bridge).[161] Abraham Walkowitz, in his lithographs of New York City, created seething, dynamic views, which recall urban scenes by Expressionists, especially Ludwig Meidner and Grosz.[162] Charles Demuth, Charles Sheeler, Louis Lozowick, and other American Precisionist artists depicted monumental skyscrapers and industrial architecture in a formal language derived from Cubism and Futurism.[163] Gropper may also have been aware of the harshly-fractured, cubo-expressionistic, figurative drawings and woodcuts published

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in radical European magazines in the late 1910s and 1920s, such as the German monthly Die Aktion.

Perhaps Gropper thought he was being, in a sense, more radical by employing an avant-garde idiom, for his new emphasis on flatness and pattern corresponds with the notion put forth by Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt, that radical American artists of the mid-1920s equated abstracted, stylized forms in a vague intellectual sense with political radicalism.[164] Given Gropper's openness to developing his radical style, he may have been responding to a current in contemporary leftist thought, that the "Futurist" aesthetic of avant-garde Russian literature and art, that is, modernism, with emphasis on abstraction and "the machine age," was the most promising movement toward a revolutionary art.

This modernist aesthetic was discussed by Trotsky in his new book, Literature and Revolution, published in London in 1925[165] and reviewed in New Masses in the fall of 1926 by Michael Gold. Gold, in a follow-up announcement, praised the "boldly converted typewriters, radios, jazz, skyscrapers, revolution and machinery" of Soviet Russia.[166] Several artists in the radical New Masses contributed cover designs and inside drawings in a style of bold, interlocking, universal geometric forms inspired by Russian Constructivism, especially Hugo Gellert, a guiding art

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editor since the beginning of the publication, and Lozowick. A Russian-American artist, in 1924 Lozowick had returned to New York from a three-year trip to Europe, where the Constructivists' geometric art, created as an artistic parallel to the revolutionary government, influenced him profoundly.[167]

A gifted observer, Lozowick in the mid-1920s called for the "Americanization of Art," that is, abstract design inspired by the geometric forms and precise workings of industrial machinery, a sweeping concept seen in his drawings of "Machine Ornaments" (Fig. 61) and his paintings known as "American Cities" of this period. His contemporary description of the aims of the artist, that "he will organize line, plane and volume into a well-knit design, arrange color and light into a pattern of contrast and harmony and weave organically into every composition an all pervading [sic] rhythm and equilibrium," parallels the development of Gropper's modernist cartoons.[168] Gropper had known Lozowick at least as early as December 1925 when he drew Lozowick's portrait in a cartoon of the organizers of New Masses which appeared in the prospectus for the magazine.[169] Both were listed on the executive board in the first issue of May 1926.[170]

Gropper's new hard-edge method, with its stark black and white patterning and well-designed compositions, can be

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seen as an attempt at transmitting a radical message through a radical, though still highly "readable," approach, a combination that fit well his cartoons for Freiheit. Seen and "read" every day, they also corresponded to the Constructivist aim of marrying abstract art with daily life.

Even with these radical sources, a vogue for modernist-inspired black and white forms appeared in the fashionable American magazines of the period. For example, in Vanity Fair, one sees artists, especially Miguel Covarrubias and socialist Frans Masereel, working with a similar graphic boldness. Gropper's new treatment of shadows particularly corresponds to that used by Covarrubias, seen for instance in his caricature of U. S. Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes (Fig. 62). In January 1924 the Mexican emigree and cubist-inspired cartoonist began publishing in Vanity Fair strikingly distinctive caricatures using jagged forms and abstract elements. These works contrast with the elegant, stylish line drawings of celebrities and party-goers so often seen in the pages of the magazine during these years.[171]

Gropper's bold cartoons also recall aggressive black and white urban illustrations by Masereel,[172] a Belgian whose often trenchant, modernist woodcuts and drawings were reproduced in popular publications on which Gropper worked.

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For example, in "The Assassin" (Fig. 63), published in 1924 in Vanity Fair, the European presents a checkerboard-like metropolis punctuated by potential enemies who threaten the escape of a murderer.[173] Like Gropper in "His Labor Day," Masereel fills the pictorial space with harsh black and white contrasts and unsavory content.

It is difficult to know precisely the sources of Gropper's new style for he left no notes concerning this change. Perhaps he responded to the non-traditional, experimental atmosphere of the radical newspaper by forging an equivalently new modernist, experimental style. Nonetheless, his new approach, which lent his cartoons urgency, appears to be the result of an attempt to find the most effective graphic means for his critical cartoons and their pointed social messages. The change represents his movement away from the contour line cartoon style of the European satirical journals and the gestural approach of the Masses toward a modernist-inspired, new radical approach to cartooning.

With the dynamic flat areas and often sawlike patterns of black and white in these cartoons, these new formal means gave his anticapitalist drawings of manufacturers, senators, and other targets, greater solidity and a certain radiating power which heightened the visual effectiveness of his cartoons. They contributed to his standing as "a

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meister fun moderner grafik" (a master of modern graphic art), as Olgin characterized Gropper in a review from January 1928 of his album of recent drawings, Die goldene medinah (The Golden Land).[174]

The album, largely reprints from Freiheit of cartoons from the garment trade union struggles,[175] was advertised in the paper toward the middle of October 1927,[176] on the eve of Gropper's first trip to the Soviet Union. Olgin praised the artist for his "kompozitsie" (composition), "balans fun linien un masn" (balance of line and mass), and "origineln uifbui fun likht un shotn" (original construction of light and shade).[177] The combination of bold visual effectiveness and radical political content served Gropper and the paper in their identification with and drive for radical social change.

In 1927, Gropper traveled to the land of anticapitalism, the new Soviet Union. During that decade, several staff members of Freiheit, including Moishe Nadir in late 1926,[178] made a pilgrimage to the new Soviet Russia. Gropper and several artists and writers around the world, including Kollwitz, Lozowick, Diego Rivera, and Theodore Dreiser, were invited there to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, an offer that led the way to Gropper's one-year stay abroad, accompanied by his wife Sophie.[179] In October, Freiheit published articles

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announcing a farewell celebration for the cartoonist on the 14th of that month.[180] Until November 1928, the two traveled throughout the Soviet Union, Europe, and parts of the Middle East, Gropper sending occasional drawings and reports back to the paper.

Joining the Soviet Artists Union on his trip,[181] Gropper sold ink drawings and cartoons to Soviet and German periodicals including Young Worker, Gudok (The Horn), the daily newspaper of railroad and transport workers, Pravda, Young Leninist, Current Theater, all in the Soviet Union, and Der Morgen and Der Götz in Germany.[182]

In the fall of 1927, particularly during his trip abroad, Gropper modified his drawing style, a new approach that can be seen in his drawings sent to Freiheit. Though he had introduced a softer style in a few works before he went to the Soviet Union, he now began using this new style more frequently. A relaxed, more life-like line, flecks of black ink for a sculptural effect, and silhouetted forms of black characterize his Soviet drawings of smiling peasants and children, industrial areas, and political cartoons on Mussolini and others.

Upon coming back to the U. S., the change in Gropper's style took precedence. His gradual, all-inclusive embrace of more traditional silhouetted forms with gradations of tone can be viewed as his attempt to come to terms with

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currents of radical art in Soviet artistic circles. These included the AKhRR (Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia; in 1928 it changed its name to AKhR, Association of Artists of the Revolution) and OST (Society of Easel Artists), whose artists rejected abstraction as inaccessible to the broad Soviet public.[183]

Since the Bolshevik Revolution, proletarian culture had been a significant issue in the new Soviet Russia, with Communist Party members establishing an independent Organization of Proletarian Culture, or Proletcult, in 1917, whose goal was "to provide the masses with leadership in the cultural sphere."[184] As Arthur Hughes notes, debate on the role of the Communist Party in cultural matters arose between 1923 and 1925, led by "militant proletcultists," who pushed forward the doctrinaire perspective that the party establish the parameters of such matters, with art based upon Communist ideals, i.e., the experiences of the working class, and not founded upon middle-class models or "bourgeois culture."[185] By the mid-1920s, the role of culture as a vigorous tool and component of international revolutionary change had reached an intense point. The question of a revolutionary art had evolved into a growing, vital issue, as seen in Trotsky's book, Literature and Revolution. In opposition to the extremists, Trotsky at the time wrote that culture, a

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historical process, could not be directed by government, that the "domain of art is not one in which the Party is called upon to command."[186]

In 1928, the doctrinaire idea of a directed, proletarian art was finally made official. Indeed, the Stalinist "Third Period" of Soviet government, from 1928 to 1935, called for opposition to bourgeois ties of any kind for the working class. Thus, radical American artists, such as Gropper, seemed to retreat from the use of these bourgeois ties, in other words, from modernism.

In the mid-1920s, increased attention toward a realistic, non-avant-garde revolutionary art had pervaded the Soviet art world. The many members of the increasingly powerful AKhRR/AKhR held exhibitions with labor-related revolutionary themes of paintings executed in "heroic" and "documentary" realist styles.[187] In contrast, the painters of OST, formed in 1925, treated contemporary popular subjects by frequent incorporation of highly finished settings and patterns crisp with clarity. In his painting of 1927, Aleksander Deineka (Fig. 64), for example, placed softly rendered, silhouetted workers within a chamber of taut geometric shapes and lines.[188]

Freiheit occasionally discussed this Soviet debate on proletarian art through reports or reviews of certain points concerning revolutionary culture. For example, in

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the fall of 1926 the paper published a series of articles by Shachno Epstein on the current Soviet thinking on what constituted proletarian culture.[189]

Proletarian culture, however, received limited discussion in the U.S. in the 1920s. Michael Gold, an enthusiastic supporter of proletarian art since at least the early part of that decade,[190] proclaimed in 1926 in Red Cartoons, a compilation of drawings from the Daily Worker and other sources, that the beginnings of proletarian art could be found even in the United States through the cartoons in Communist-affiliated publications.[191]

In the U.S., the doctrinaire approach toward proletarian culture spread officially through the International Bureau of Revolutionary Writers and Artists, established in Moscow in 1927 after the tenth anniversary celebrations. Reportedly casual and non-dogmatic in the beginning, the 1927 conference had attracted about thirty foreign writers from eleven countries.[192] It has been reported that Gropper was the only American to attend the first plenum of the organization while on his trip abroad.[193] In the early 1930s, through the John Reed Club and the New Masses, the doctrinaire approach to proletarian art, that is, art based on Communist ideals, would gradually come to dominate the cultural sphere of the Communist-left movement in the United States.

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In November 1928, after returning to the U.S.,[194] Gropper resumed drawing the capitalist as a chief figure in his cartoons for Freiheit. Rather than abstract patches describing the ample suit of the capitalist, however, there are now flecks and ribbons of ink introducing detail and modeling on the face, suit, and hands. Gropper displayed this more rounded style early on in "'I Must Have a Full Load!'" (Fig. 65) of December 7, 1928, where a stubble-chinned capitalist bellows for a subway train to be full.[195] The cartoon refers to a report in the radical paper on rising profits subway companies accumulated from nickel fares.[196]

As with Lozowick, who in the late 1920s turned to incorporating realistic elements in his art, Gropper had now turned from his modernist woodcut style to a process that infused realistic, stylistic devices with ideological subject matter. With Gropper, localized, inky areas of black, sometimes supplemented with crayon, and swatches of staccato-like flecks or powdery clouds of ink gradually dominated his work and subsumed the abstract shapes and patterns of the mid-1920s. As in other drawings by him, active, adept lines of ink dance across the space of this cartoon.

This elastic approach evolved throughout the last weeks of 1928 and for the next few years. The spattered ink

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effects are reminiscent of the lithographic tusche technique of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, whose posters and prints of the 1890s popularized the process. Unlike the Parisian artist, who chose the cafe society of Montmartre as subject, Gropper focused on political events and the policies of the radical New York paper. In 1929 these included the activities of the Mexican Communist Party, the revolution in India, and the textile strikes in North and South Carolina which made repeated headlines in the daily. At the same time, in June, Freiheit underwent a re-organization that changed the paper to a morning publication with its new name, Morgen Freiheit (Morning Freedom).[197]

A quarrel ensued within the Communist Party over the state of capitalism in America. Soon after the Wall Street crash, Gropper drew "'The Golden Era of American Capitalism'-- Lovestone" (Fig. 66),[198] in response to the official Communist opposition toward Jay Lovestone. The cartoon plays upon the obvious irony between the current economic situation and Lovestone's positive opinions on the recent fiscal picture of the United States.

The cartoon pictures President Hoover and Lovestone trying to prop up a huge, toppling, bedraggled figure of Capitalism. In the second half of 1928, Lovestone, informed by readings of upward business statistics, believed that

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the U. S., though destined for economic decay, was in the midst of fiscal expansion rather than decline, an opinion that put him at odds with standard Communist thought.[199] In part for this belief in American "exceptionalism," in May 1929 he was ousted from the American party.[200] With Lovestone's ouster and Stalin's growing consolidation of power in the Soviet Union, the American party began to adhere to a more rigid, "leftward" political turn.

The debacle of the stock market spurred the development of the Great Depression of the 1930s, a period of prolonged unemployment and social unrest in the United States.[201] The early part of the decade especially seemed to speak to the predictions by the Comintern on the third phase of postwar capitalism, that of the decline of capitalism and the growth of fascism. At the beginning of the decade, many artists, increasingly concerned about the plight of workers across the country, became compelled by a sense of urgency to help improve working conditions for labor. Through the John Reed Clubs, many gathered to discuss the role of the artist in bettering the economic circumstances of workers.

The John Reed Club was formed in October 1929 in New York City with Gropper as a founding member.[202] The idea of a radical club with social and cultural activities may have been a familiar one to many of the club's writers and

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artists, many of whom were Jewish, since there existed in the 1920s a tradition of cultural clubs established by young, radical Jewish immigrants in metropolitan America.[203]

Socially-conscious "creative workers in art, literature, sculpture, music, theatre and the movies" organized the New York club, seeking to bring themselves and other anticapitalists "closer" together and to "maintain contact with the American revolutionary labor movement." Planned to be eventually a national organization, the club was organized to parallel the already existing writers' and artists' groups in France, Germany, Russia, and Japan.[204] After the Kharkov conference of late 1930, the John Reed Club became a leader in the ideological mission of forging a proletarian cultural movement in the United States, doing so in part through art exhibitions, lectures, classes, and poster-making for demonstrations.

Members of the John Reed Club, like many intellectuals and artists of the time, had been increasingly attracted to Marxism as capitalism appeared to be faltering during these earliest years of the Depression.[205] For instance, many American writers, artists, and composers, members of the newly-formed League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, presidential candidates from the Communist party,

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declared in a pre-election statement published on September 12, 1932: "We believe that the only effective way to protest against the chaos, the appalling wastefulness, and the indescribable misery inherent in the present economic system is to vote for the Communist candidates."[206] Affiliated with the American Communist party, the John Reed Club and its branches were eventually dissolved by the party when in a period of changing outlook leading up to the new Popular Front policy the party saw the clubs as too sectarian.[207]

As an ideological target and ironic visual statement, the capitalist endured and dominated as a symbol in Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit throughout the economically critical years of the early 1930s. The artist placed him in various roles: as the dictatorial and self-seeking "boss," the voracious Wall Street businessman, and the supporter of President Hoover and his "prosperity" platform, for example. In Gropper's cartoons, the capitalist controlled various structures of society, and current events often brought forth emblematic cartoons of the era by the artist. For example, on the occasion of a large, violent unemployment demonstration in Union Square on March 6, 1930, where several participants were arrested, Gropper drew "The Policemen's Clubs Do Not Frighten Us!" (Fig. 67).[208] In the scene, an irate, tense capitalist

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confronts a policeman and points toward a mass of demonstrators being met by club-wielding officers. He appears to be ordering the policeman to quell the demonstration.

Unemployment, with the slogan "Work or Wages," as drawn in the cartoon, had become a major issue in the pages of Freiheit. One of several unemployment demonstrations held across the country on that day, the event of March 6 reportedly drew 100,000 demonstrators to the Union Square working-class district.[209]

In 1930, American anticapitalists met increasing hostility from Congress, as seen in the hearings by the House of Representatives' Investigation of Communist Propaganda,[210] also known as the Fish Committee, after Representative Hamilton Fish, its chairman. The hearings would evolve into a major issue in Freiheit. At the same time, radical artists gave increasing attention to a more doctrinaire, Comintern-directed program of art and literature. Gropper participated prominently in this more structured movement toward proletarian art; however, his independent spirit often rebelled against the hierarchical arrangements of party organizers.

In 1930, Gropper again traveled to the Soviet Union, this time representing the anticapitalist John Reed Club. In November, Gropper, by now a veteran radical cartoonist,

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and Harry Alan Potamkin, secretary of the John Reed club, embarked together as part of the American delegation on a trip to the Second World Plenum of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature in Kharkov in the Ukraine.[211] They were armed with resolutions on art and literature from the club and with guidelines on working out the problems that had arisen between the members of the club and the editors of the New Masses.[212] The publication and the club were frequently brought up as subjects by many speakers in the conference who either questioned or defended the legitimacy of the JRC as organizers of revolutionary culture in the U.S.

At the Kharkov meetings, attendees broached a more programmatic approach to previously scattered attempts at revolutionary literature and art. The manifesto signed by the committee for the organization of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Artists (IBRA) blamed the international economic crisis on the propping-up of capitalism after the war. The group further declared that "bourgeois art, in both content and form, is passing through a period of decline and dissolution (nihilism and absence of content)." The "class struggle of the proletariat and of all oppressed peoples" and the "building of socialism in the country of the victorious proletariat, in the USSR" were seen as new sources of content for

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artists and "inspiration to search for new forms in art," and it was predicted that the development of this new art in the Soviet Union would serve as a model in other countries. The artists' manifesto outlined a list of things artists must do: fight against the threat of war against the Soviet Union and target colonial aggression, "the exploitation of labor," fascism, "social fascism," and social democracy. Further, revolutionary artists must create a "proletarian culture." They must seek "revolutionary content and new forms in art, intelligible to the broad working masses and based on the class struggle." Gropper, along with Fred Ellis, cartoonist for the New Masses and Daily Worker, signed the declaration as representatives of the "revolutionary artists" of the U.S.[213] At the conference Gropper was appointed to the commission for organizing an International Bureau of Revolutionary Artists, and he was also named to that commission's Presidium.[214]

As recorded in official documents, Gropper spoke during the conference, disagreeing with the Bureau's "general tendency" to overemphasize "certain" individuals at the expense of groups as a whole, and he specifically cited the little attention paid in official reports to the work of the John Reed Club.[215] His speech echoed A. B. Magil's in the first morning session and foretold

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Potamkin's of the second morning session where both defended the John Reed Club as a bonafide vehicle of the cultural revolutionary movement in the U.S.[216]

In his detailed account of Gropper's trip, however, Gahn states that Gropper in his speech to the delegates had actually criticized the contents and management of the conference and that his words had been mistranslated. Gahn further reports that Gropper, Potamkin, and others had disagreed with Gold who wanted to request funds from the conference leaders for assistance with publishing the New Masses. As Gahn reports, Gropper had had disagreements with delegation members from the start, refusing to travel first class with Gold and growing angry when Magil had complained that non-party members Gropper and Potamkin needed "guidance" if they were to go to the conference. Gropper had also learned on the trip that Magil had been assigned by the party to officially evaluate the JRC delegates.[217]

Unable to secure translators of their own, Gropper, along with Magil and Potamkin, reportedly left the conference before it was over.[218] Though there may have been disagreements on the trip, Gropper was celebrated by club members upon his return to New York.[219] He continued to be very active in the organization, exhibiting his Soviet drawings there[220] and making himself available to workers' groups to talk about "revolutionary art."[221]

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Gropper also substituted as art editor for New Masses while Lozowick visited the Soviet Union.[222] The following June, he was named to the Presidium of the Workers Cultural Federation, a new association organized by the New Masses and the John Reed Club and established to bring heretofore isolated American workers' cultural groups, such as the Brownsville Youth Center, the Freiheit Mandolin Orchestra, and the JRC, into a broad proletarian cultural movement as declared in the Kharkov conference.[223]

Gropper became increasingly frustrated, however, with the lack of independence of artists in the John Reed Club. In January 1932, Gropper's friend, Diego Rivera, who had been expelled from the Communist party as a Troyskyist and was seeking to rejoin, gave a speech at the club. He was severely criticized by Communist leader William F. Dunne and New Masses editors Michael Gold and Walt Carmon.[224] In another example, the following May, Gropper attended the Chicago national convention of the John Reed Clubs, but he reportedly declined to take part in the debates because of his growing discomfort with the attempts by the Communist party to control the clubs.[225] Gropper remained a participant in JRC activities, however. In early 1935 he was listed among the regular faculty and guest instructors for the John Reed Club School of Art.[226]

The draft manifesto of the national John Reed Clubs,

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written by the New York branch, described the capitalist system under current economic conditions: "The present crisis has stripped capitalism naked. It stands more revealed than ever as a system of robbery and fraud, unemployment and terror, starvation and war." Published in New Masses in June 1932, the document urged artists and writers to "unite in the common struggle against capitalism."[227] As stated in the Preamble adopted by the convention, the clubs "recognize the irreconcilable struggle between workers and capitalists as two contending classes, and believe that the interests of all writers and artists should be identified with the interests of the working class."[228]

The dictum from the Kharkov conference against bourgeois art and for "revolutionary content and new forms in art, intelligible to the broad working masses and based on the class struggle"[229] reinforced Gropper's turn from avant-garde elements to a more accessible realism. He continued to work in this more realistic vein even into 1934 and 1935 when the John Reed Club stance on proletarian art had softened considerably, the club then tolerating many varying stylistic approaches to revolutionary art.[230]

As the long years of the Depression followed, Gropper's capitalist in Freiheit oftentimes became more aggressive and domineering in size as he railed against

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workers and small depositors and relished wage cuts and bountiful meals. In a cartoon of banking magnate J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr., "The Morgan Octopus at Work..." (Fig. 68) of May 30, 1933, the artist portrayed the capitalist in one of the most flamboyant caricatures of the time.[231] In this drawing, Gropper drew a gigantic, prone figure of a heavily-eyebrowed Morgan as a money bag, hugging the U. S. Capitol and literally bursting at the seams. Made of 14 karat gold, a frowning Morgan drips blood from his mouth from which a figure is draped. With eight octopus-like hands, the financier grasps factories, workers, a cannon, a ship, and a train while his body crowds a backdrop of city buildings, graves, lynched figures, and hovering planes.

With this cartoon and others following closely upon it,[232] Gropper responded to contemporary, well-publicized disclosures on J. P. Morgan and Company. Well-known for financing the U.S. allies during WWI and for making post-war foreign loans, the company in February 1933 received renewed, harsh criticism from corporation lawyer Samuel Untermeyer of New York, counsel for the Senate's Pujo committee in 1912-1913 which investigated Morgan, Sr., and the financial banking establishment in New York City.[233] In his later appraisal, Untermeyer blamed America's entrance into the war on the Morgan firm, and he urged a

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Congressional investigation into the company's far-flung influence.[234] In May, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, as part of its inquiry into the failure of the stock market, heard testimony from Morgan and his office manager, Leonard Keyes, who stated that the head of the company and his partners had paid no income taxes for the years 1931 and 1932.[235] Freiheit, in a series of headlining articles, reported on the disclosures as they became public, citing them as "skandalen" (scandals).[236] Gropper continued his thrusts at Morgan with cartoons, including those for a satirical book by Larry Harr, In Gold We Trust (J. P. Morgan, Al. Capone & Co.), published later in the same year.[237]

The harsh economic realities of the Depression touched Gropper directly, and in early 1934 artist William Zorach wrote on Gropper's behalf to Juliana Force of the federal government's Public Works of Art Project: "He is in a very bad way financially. Both Gropper and his wife have always worked hard. She has just lost her job and the publications for which he works are unable to pay him for his work. They have two small children and feel quite desparate about the whole situation."[238] In February, Gropper became part of the PWAP program, executing a series of sports drawings for the city schools.[239] In March, in a letter to the PWAP he listed remuneration since January from New Masses ($10 in

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January, $8 in February), New York American ($20 in February, $35 in March), and the Whitney Museum of American Art ($100 in February). According to Gropper, "From the Freiheit I sometimes get $5 and sometimes $10. which is so irregular, that I don't know how to average it."[240]

Though in 1928 the Comintern had predicted the increasing threat of fascism, by the mid-1930s, opposition to fascism dominated Communist thought. Beginning early in 1933, reports on Hitler, his opposition to Communism, and news of demonstrations against fascism in Germany and elsewhere in Europe and Asia gained momentum in Freiheit. The paper also turned its attention to America and what the left considered its "fascist" personalities and organizations. For example, in Cleveland in April 1934, the American Communist party denounced President Roosevelt as a fascist.[241]

In 1934 and into the next year, the capitalist came to be seen more and more in Gropper's cartoons for Freiheit as the financial supporter of fascism and demagoguery. For example, "The Hamentashen; See 'Day In and Day Out,' p. 4" (Fig. 69),[242] printed on March 19, 1935, combines the theme of the capitalist with the paper's new focus on antifascism by clothing the capitalist in a jacket with pockets named for American "fascists," those public figures who manipulated public discontent through charismatic speeches

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and attractive plans for economic change. Here, Gropper drew a capitalist with a voluminous figure, his jacket pockets carrying Nazi swastikas and the names Long, Johnson, Hearst, and Coughlin, all controversial American personalities of the day.[243]

Huey Long, the flamboyant U. S. Senator from Louisiana, had recently denounced Roosevelt Administration policies, proposed his "share-the-wealth" movement, and begun campaigning for the Presidency.[244] Speaking out against these divisive maneuvers, General Hugh S. Johnson, former head of Roosevelt's National Recovery Administration, in a speech in early March labeled Long a "menace to the nation" and a partner in collusion with Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, the "radio priest" in Detroit who through provocative speeches urged economic security for workers in America. With a recent broadcast radio speech appealing nationalistically to "every solid American to keep America safe for Americans," the Catholic priest had also helped turn public opinion against the U.S.'s joining the World Court, a setback for President Roosevelt.

In his speech in March, Johnson cast Coughlin and Long as radicals who with their broadcast radio propaganda were aiding the divisiveness among Americans and, if successful, would promulgate chaos and dictatorship in the U.S.[245] Reporting on Johnson's speech, Freiheit labeled Coughlin

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and Long as Hitler-like "fashistishe demagogn" (fascist demagogues) and declared that, contrary to Johnson's appraisal of them as revolutionaries, they were reactionaries, with Coughlin distributing anti-Semitic propaganda and Long acting as a "faktishe diktatur" (actual dictator) in his state of Louisiana.[246] In a far less partisan response, a writer for the New York Times in a feature article published several days later described the two as "pied pipers" who manipulated a public seeking guarantees of economic security and "which for want of work sits idly before the radio...," especially the white-collar workers, who had suffered the most drastic economic changes.[247]

In "The Hamentashen," Gropper interpreted the capitalist as Haman, a government official in the Old Testament book of Esther who unsuccessfully plotted to exterminate the Jews in the kingdom of Ahasuerus.[248] The triangularly-shaped pockets on his jacket are a reference to tashen, three-cornered cakes eaten at the Feast of Purim, a Jewish holiday commemorating the downfall of Haman. Thus, the capitalist's pockets, or "Haman's pockets," carry the figures and names of American "fascists." As the writer Amkho states in an entertaining column published the same day the drawing appeared, the cartoon is Gropper's conception of the modern Haman, which

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is as a powerful, influential capitalist. As for the genesis of the cartoon, Amkho writes that Gropper, after receiving a package of Purim cakes in the mail, subsequently mused on what "Hamentashen" in contemporary terms meant to him and others.[249]

Drawn for a newspaper trying to attract the attention of Jewish left-wing workers, this cartoon combined symbols of anticapitalism, antiJudaism (Haman), and antifascism. It implied the dependence of American "fascists" on the American economic system and the equivalence of American capitalism with Haman, an ancient enemy of the Jewish people. This cartoon thus catapulted ancient "fascist" antiJudaism into the present, implying its continuity and age-old nature.

After the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, in July-August 1935, the chief enemy of Communism and the left remained capitalism; however, opposition to fascism became urgent and previous criticism toward Roosevelt now softened. In a reorientation, the congress called for a new political alliance--a Popular Front--of the left, Communists, liberals, and social democrats in a fight against war and fascism. The change is paralleled in Gropper's fewer damaging cartoons of the President, but his numerous assaults on big business and fascism continued.

The Popular Front campaign, announced in the summer of

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1935, with its emphases on antifascism and official alliance with socialism and liberalism, serves as a stopping point for this and the remaining sections of this study. After this period, Gropper became more involved in painting, holding his very successful one-person exhibition of paintings in February 1936 at ACA Galleries. Although Gropper continued to draw cartoons for Freiheit, another stage in his career, one that exceeds the limits of this study, had been introduced with this exhibition of paintings and its accompanying success.

Before 1936, Gropper's political cartoons were his primary means of visual expression and the capitalist was his most frequent target. In Freiheit, his deep-seated opposition to the capitalist was applied to the radical issues of the day, and his capitalist in that paper is a vehicle for leftist cartoon styles, from his early cartoons indebted to artists' styles in Simplicissimus and the Masses to later drawings geared toward abstract elements and, lastly, a more understandable realism.

In his early years on the paper, his capitalist is frequently witty and mild-natured. However, with the stock market collapse and subsequent depression, he is often tense and frantic or voluminously greedy and overpowering. Finally, Gropper identified his venal capitalist with fascism and demagoguery.

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Like capitalism, reform socialism was also seen as a threat to the freedom of the worker and a dangerous obstacle to radical social change. Before Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, social democracy was viewed in radical circles as more injurious to labor than European fascism and, indeed, a form of fascism in and of itself. During the period under review, 1924 to 1935, Gropper repeatedly drew cartoons for Freiheit castigating social democratic leaders, especially Jewish anticommunists. The next section discusses many of these cartoons and the radical political contexts in which they were created.

Cartoons Against the Antiradical Jewish Opposition

Freiheit, geared toward radicalizing the worker in the largely Jewish garment trade in New York, voiced sharp opposition toward influential antiradicals in Jewish labor, newspaper, and religious circles. Throughout the years of Freiheit and the Commmunist International, workers and labor unions were central to the ideology of social and, ultimately, political change. Early on, the Fifth Comintern Congress, in extracts of theses published in 1924, called for "a systematic, unyielding, prolonged struggle to capture the unions, a struggle which replies to splitting

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and to provocations by the social-democratic leaders...."[250] A year later, in April 1925, with the bolshevization of Communist parties, the Comintern Executive Committee (ECCI) pronounced that "a hundred times more attention than before must be devoted" to social-democratic and other trade unions; only then could the hold of reformist leaders on unions be broken.[251] This new emphasis would gain momentum in the garment unions in the U.S., especially the Jewish-dominated locals in New York.

In theses published in early 1926, the Sixth ECCI Plenum still clung to the idea of a United Front of workers against the bourgeoisie and saw social democratic union leaders as the great foilers of revolution and change. The Plenum also stated its support for a growing "left wing" in reformist trade unions in various countries.[252]

By 1928, at the Sixth Congress, the Comintern, with a new "leftward" swing, harshly branded social democratic leaders as counter-revolutionary supporters of capitalism and banned any collaboration with them. This severe attitude continued officially into the middle 1930s.[253] Rather than form coalitions with social democrats in fighting for workers's demands, as had often been the case before the new stand, the Communist party began promoting labor movement objectives like demonstrations, strikes, and radical unions independently.

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The labor movement was, indeed, essential to Communist policy. The Comintern Program of 1928 stated that the trade unions were to be the "main lever" of the Communist state, forging leaders from their ranks and keeping bureaucracy at bay.[254]

Gropper drew both gentle and searing cartoons of the antiradical Jewish opposition, and many of these are blatantly stereotypical of Jews. A study of his cartoons against the socialist right wing in the garment unions has not been undertaken except for description of a few cartoons in Gahn's dissertation.[255] It seems ironic that a newspaper written principally by and for Jews would publish cartoons with perceptible anti-Semitic imagery. However, the editors supported these often blasphemous cartoons for their propagandistic and emotional value to the activist, antibureaucratic goals of the paper, and the Jewish readership instantly recognized featured characters. Drawn by Gropper within the context of the radical politics of the day, his cartoons satirizing Jewish leaders stem from traditions of caricatured Jewish imagery by non-Jewish as well as Jewish artists.

Although caricatures of Jews very likely go back to the days of ancient Rome, according to John and Selma Appel, a physiological vocabulary for describing the Jew evolved in Europe only in the seventeenth century and

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coalesced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with what is known as the caricature Jew, a figure with an everpresent large, hooked nose, and in the case of a male, frequently open palms, and the "uncle's" or pawnbroker's sign of the three balls.[256] Eduard Fuchs in Die Juden in der Karikatur (1921) surveys depictions of Jews in European art commencing with many late Medieval and Renaissance Northern relief sculptures and woodcuts where Jews are often depicted sucking at the udders of sows. His study covers European etchings from the 1700s and 1800s where Hebrews display full-blown stereotypical features such as hooked noses, crafty eyes, round glasses, long flowing hair, accompanying money bags, and roles as boss, money lender, or long-suffering wanderer. For example, Fuchs published a color wood engraving from the 1850s after a design by the illustrator Gustave Doré (Fig. 70) of a Moses-like figure with flowing hair, prominent head, hooked nose, and squinty eyes. Drawn for the story La Legende du juif errant, written by Pierre Dupont, where it was printed full-page,[257] the image created an enduring portrait of the popular theme of the wandering Jew.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries radical European artists attracted to anarchism and inflamed by the financial establishment position of several prominent Jews pictured the Jewish businessman in the

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typical guise of the capitalist, with added stereotypical Jewish features. For example, in 1889 the avant-garde Jewish Impressionist painter and anarchist Camille Pissarro drew a statue of a Jew hugging a money bag and besieged by poor anxious crowds. The artist created this as one of twenty-eight social-critical drawings in a didactic series created for his nieces Esther and Alice Isaacson called Les Turpitudes Sociales.[258] With the image of the Eiffel Tower in the background, the setting in this drawing, Capital (Fig. 71), pulsates with Pissarro's scratchy ink lines. They activate the crowds and draw attention to the banker, the "golden calf, the God Capital," wrote the artist, "which represents the divinity of the day in a portrait of a Bischoffheim [sic], of an Oppenheim, of a Rothschild, of a Gould, whatever."[259] The figure's prominent nose and fat lips, obsession with money, and pear-shaped body combine to signify the negative stereotypes of the capitalist and the Jewish banker. The Jewish businessman was prominently represented in France by Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, director of the Bank of France and a force in the Bourse, or French stock exchange.[260] In another aspect, at the turn of the century, Rothschild jokes abounded among poor East European Jews.[261]

According to Philip Dennis Cate, by the beginning of the 1890s the Jewish businessman, like the laundress and

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the worker, had become a standard social "type" in Parisian art. As the decade wore on, however, a more malicious anti-Semitism often appeared in periodical illustrations, prints, and posters published in France.[262] In 1898 the Dreyfus Affair, the long and heated national debate over the guilt or innocence of a Jewish French officer accused of treason, exposed anti-Semitic feelings, and engendered new periodicals and scores of pro- and anti-Dreyfus images as well as anti-Semitic images, many documented in the exhibition catalogue The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, and Justice.[263] For example, in the fall of 1899 V. Lenepveu began drawing a series of fifty-one lithographic political posters entitled Musée des Horreurs (Freak Show) containing caricatures of Dreyfus, his prominent supporters, and Jews. In 1900, in one of these, Lenepveu published Nathan Mayer ou l'origine des milliards (Nathan Mayer, or the Origin of Billions) (Fig. 72),[264] number forty-two in the series, picturing banker Nathan Rothschild as a greedy dog reaping gold and Frenchmen's bones at the old battle site of Waterloo. The poster commented on the role of the founder of the Rothschild bank in London as financier for England in its war against Napoleon. Rothschild is shown pawing the earth, gleefully finding gold coins beneath the bone-strewn field.

During the 1890s many Americans again perceived Jews

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as controlling the wealth of the world,[265] a perspective rooted in older, stereotyped printed images. At the beginning of the nineteenth century American political cartoonists, mimicking their English counterparts, had depicted Jews in established stereotypical fashion. These stereotypes spread with the weekly newspaper boom in the latter part of the century, during the first waves of East European Jewish immigration. Reports on the "Jewish quarter" flourished then, and illustrations of caricatured Jews jostled and sparred with images of caricatured blacks, caricatured Irish, caricatured Chinese, and other groups making up the "new" unassimilated components of the American population. These segments of the population were potential competitors for jobs for established groups with more social and economic power. As Oscar Handlin and John and Selma Appel stress, the immigrant Jews were one "foreign" group among many in America during this period of widespread generalized caricature and prejudice.[266] Cartoonists in Puck and Judge, for instance, reused the huge, hooked nose, the tenacious eye for money, and the foreign accent, all formulaic Jewish signs written into characters in plays, vaudeville, songs, and comic strips of the era as well.[267] For example, Opper in the humor weekly Puck in 1881 published "A Hint to the Hebrews; How They May Make Themselves Independent of the Watering Place Hotels"

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(Fig. 73). Here, Jews, barred from adjacent beaches and hotels, enjoy their own resort--an overcrowded, tenement-like "Hotel de Jerusalem" and its small deck.[268] According to the Appels, although the weekly Puck generally offered a sympathetic treatment of Jews, the cartoons of Jews were satirical. Handlin adds that by the 1890s the satire presented in these cartoons of Jews in the comic magazines was, though satirical, non-hostile.[269]

The publishing boom in America at the turn of the twentieth century also encompassed Jewish periodicals and, with it, Jewish types rendered by Jewish artists. These cartoons followed in the tradition of self-mocking Jewish humor grounded in the close-knit daily life of the shtetl and in the irony between its destitute reality and the idea of "the chosen people."[270] Cecil Roth noted that the tradition of "internal" Jewish caricature reached back to the eighteenth century in Europe.[271] In more recent times, in the 1890s, the Jewish socialist comic weekly Der Yiddisher Puck, published by N. M. Schaikewitz, printed humorous caricatures of Jews.[272]

According to Steven Heller and William Eric Perkins, almost all Jewish stereotypes in popular art in America disapppeared by 1910 because so many cartoonists, based in New York City where there was a large Jewish population, refused to draw them.[273] However, as the Appels stress,

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Jewish characters began appearing in comic strips in 1914 with "Abie the Agent" and in the new popular magazines of the 1920s and 1930s such as New Yorker and Esquire.[274] In Jewish papers, including the weekly Der Groyser Kundes and the daily Der Tog and Forverts, cartoonists continued to use caricatures of certain personalities and specific types of Jews.

For example, cartoonists in Der Groyser Kundes, an "Illustrated Journal of Humor and Satire," contributed caricatures of Lower East Side institutions, personalities, and types such as the Arbeiter Ring, Cahan, and the rich American Jew. Indeed, Forverts itself is represented frequently in the paper by a capitalist with hook nose, swollen lips, and bulging eyes wearing a hat that was a replica of the well-known, tall and slender Lower East Side building that housed Forverts, shown here in a cartoon from December 1916 (Fig. 74).[275]

After World War One and during the 1920s, anti-Semitic imagery in cartoon and caricature in those countries that lost the war became more inflamed.[276] This contrasts with provocative imagery in Gropper's cartoons in the mid-1920s, where his Jewish caricature is tied to a long tradition of Jewish self-criticism. In particular, however, his new treatment of Jewish leaders is related to a more intense phase in the Comintern's campaign against the social

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democratic leaders in the trade unions.

Gropper's cartoons ridiculing antiradical Jews may also be seen in the broader political context of the internationalist approach of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. During the 1920s, the party apparently embraced anti-Semitism, despite its official policy, and it constructed intermittent campaigns against synagogue-oriented, traditional Jewish culture. In addition, many party members questioned the legitimacy of the controversial "nationalist" Jewish Sections, or Evsektsiya, of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia, which aimed for anti-bourgeois agitation among Jewish workers and the complete sovietizing of Jewish life.[277] Nevertheless, Soviet Russia's New Economic Policy, which operated from 1922 to 1927, tolerated ethnic groups and their cultures, with Soviet Yiddish literature and newspapers blossoming during these years of relative openness when Freiheit published Soviet Yiddish writers. However, this equivocal period was turned about-face, from 1928 to 1933, by Stalin's First Five Year Plan, a program of vast industrialization, which drastically opposed anything that deviated from the policy of a doctrinaire proletarian government and culture.[278]

Throughout the period under study, from 1924 to 1935, Gropper drew cartoons in Freiheit against anticommunist

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Jewish leaders and groups, and his approaches in these drawings parallel his stylistic treatments of the capitalist, that is, from contour line to abstract pattern to a softer realism. Beginning with sustained attacks against Gompers, president of the conservative AFL, Gropper targeted prominent Jewish labor leaders opposed to the radical politics of Freiheit and the Comintern.

By the 1920s, the diminuitive Gompers had become a favorite cartoon subject in radical as well as Jewish humor papers where he often appeared as an antiradical quite small in stature. For instance, in "He Cannot Become a Radical; Worker-Solidarity: Come, Mr. Gompers, and become 'red'!..." (Fig. 75), a drawing published in Der Groyser Kundes in 1917, "Worker Solidarity" grasps Gompers in one hand while pointing to a notice that English workers had voted to send delegates to the socialist conference in Stockholm. The Workmen's Council had denounced Gompers when he refused to send delegates to the meeting, this after the American government had refused to grant passports to delegates.[279]

Head of the organization formed in 1886 that would galvanize American craft unions, such as the streetcar workers and house painters, the practical Gompers favored the individual rights of the American worker and generally avoided radical labor movements. In the 1900s, having given

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up on the idea of organizing all workers, especially those semiskilled or unskilled in industrial jobs, from then on he focused upon the small, skilled trade unions and favored negotiation with big business and respectability among mainstream America. As Harold C. Livesay points out, the AFL's failure to develop industrial unions hampered labor's role at the turn of the century in helping workers in the fast-expanding, mass-production industries where the numbers of semiskilled and unskilled workers (especially immigrants, blacks, and women) increased dramatically.[280]

In 1919 Gropper had treated the AFL leader brutally in "Gompers--Friend of Labor" (Fig. 23), a vigorous ink drawing published in the IWW paper Rebel Worker where the artist agitatedly presents Gompers aiming a dagger at the back of a worker. Gompers, chairman of the organizing committee for the Seattle steel strike of that year, had resigned the post immediately before the strike had begun and, once it was underway, reportedly largely ignored the event, fearing it would imperil Americans' views toward the craft unions during a volatile period of antiradical hysteria. Therefore, in the minds of IWWs, Gompers had "betrayed" the working class. Livesay notes that Gompers thus became intransigent toward younger leaders seeking industrial unionism and became "more its [labor's] symbol than its leader."[281] Tellingly, in "Around the Throne"

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(Fig. 33), published in 1919 in an article by John Reed in the Liberator, Gropper drew a regal Gompers in smooth contour line seated at the AFL conference which had convened in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in June.[282] Stoic and larger than life, Gompers sits commandingly, surrounded by his "chief lieutenants" in what Reed called a "Convention of the Dead," which passed numerous antiradical measures.

In April 1920 the ECCI of the Comintern had sent a letter to trade unions of all countries remarking on the birth of a new trade union movement, one that rejected the old "craft spirit" and "labor aristocracy"--references to the AFL--and embraced instead revolutionary activity and union organization among all divisions of industry, not just a few.[283] According to radical dogma, industrial unionism was the vehicle for creating a mass movement of workers inclined toward social change. A Red International of Labor Unions, or Profintern, was soon established and the Communist policy of "boring from within," or working within the union to "capture" it, prevailed during the early 1920s.[284] Around 1921, American Communists formed their similar labor policy of "boring from within,"[285] relying on Lenin's recently published "'Left Wing Communism': An Infantile Disorder" and associating with the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL), which organized the

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opposition within the garment trades.[286]

Understandably because of its activist politics, Freiheit opposed the anticommunist Gompers. In April and May 1922, Gompers lambasted Lenin and the Bolshevik government, accusing them of manipulating labor groups in the U.S. and eastern Europe, and strongly opposing U.S. recognition of the new Soviet government.[287] Published in June 1922 as Gropper's earliest cartoon in Freiheit, "A Kosher Dance of the Holy Trinity" (Fig. 76) depicts Gompers hand-in-hand and dangling between the two "enemies" of the left wing--figures representing the reformist Socialist Party and a capitalist.[288] The caption, "Gompers, the member of the black capitalist Civic Federation, supported by the yellow 'Socialists,' does a Kosher Dance in Cincinnati,"[289] refers to Gompers's leadership in the National Civic Federation, an association of business and labor leaders who worked together to foster better relations between labor and big business.[290]

Published on June 17, 1922, the cartoon appeared during the annual convention of the AFL in Cincinnati where Gompers was re-elected president of the federation. In the editorial that day, the writer emphasized the notion that Gompers was at heart a capitalist, having been "so patriotic during the war years" that he "threw the entire American Federation of Labor into the war effort."[291]

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In November 1924, after Gropper had become a regular staff member, he published "Back to His First Love" (Fig. 77) which shows the AFL leader, dressed as an old woman, together with a capitalist labeled "Alte Parteien" (old parties), walking away from LaFollette, the Progressive party's presidential candidate.[292] Gompers had traditionally relied on the power of American trade unions and their accessibilty to the two major political parties in order to achieve gains for labor. He opposed the formation in the early 1920s of alternative political organizations, but decided to support LaFollette's candidacy, only to return to his traditional non-partisan stance when the Progressive candidate failed to receive an overwhelming number of votes in the November election.[293]

Like so many of Gropper's capitalists in the early years of his involvement with Freiheit, the artist's cartoons of the antiradical Gompers are lighthearted, though this may not have remained the case had Gompers not died in December of 1924, soon after Gropper had become staff cartoonist and before a more vital element entered the artist's work. Though his cartoons of the labor leader are, therefore, necessarily fewer than of many others, the messages of the drawings are tied to the left's early rejection of Gompers's labor politics.

The leftist movement against social democratic union

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leaders had gathered momentum in 1924. By that summer, the policy of the Comintern toward reformists was well-stated within a resolution adopted at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, that "...the main purpose of the united front tactic consists in the struggle against the leaders of counter-revolutionary social democracy and in emancipating social-democratic workers from their influence...."[294] In September, William Z. Foster, head of the TUEL, called for a more active organization, calling on the league to "crack the hard shell of official opposition against the progressive movements now surging among the rank and file," to remove the "usurping bureaucrats" if possible.[295]

Seen as enemies in the challenge to convert workers to the revolutionary cause, socialist bureaucrats in the Jewish-dominated garment unions were targeted virulently in Freiheit. In Melech Epstein's opinion, these older leaders had seen "solid organizations [develop] where before had been nothing but chaos. They now preferred caution and entrenchment. They were inclined to relax." Epstein also noted that younger Jewish Socialists, so many of whom had been trained in the Bund, opposed the conservatism of the older group. For instance, the Forward was seen as "diluting its Socialist content with large doses of 'human interest' stories, sensationalist headlines and a

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simplified, almost crude, form of Socialist propaganda."[296]

From 1925 to 1927, Gropper drew increasingly intense cartoons targeting social democratic reformists, especially Morris Sigman, head of the predominantly Jewish and Socialist International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Cahan, the reformist Jewish editor of Forverts. Attempting to undermine the credibilities of the two leaders, Gropper drew them in questionable situations and circumstances and transformed the two men through grotesque caricature.

Gropper invented these intense cartoons for the Freiheit's leftist, working class readers. Though the drawings were both celebrated and vilified at the time in Jewish circles, they did not bring him national attention nor have they received but little critical study because of the small readership of Freiheit, the small audience for Yiddish literature, and the limiting boundaries of the Jewish labor movement. However, Novick recalled how Gropper's powerful cartoons surrounding the garment union disputes between right and left "hurt...sometimes more than an editorial."[297] Chaim Suller, who read Freiheit from its inception, noted how Gropper was very famous as a cartoonist on the paper and especially popular with the paper's majority of readers, the left-wing garment workers. He also noted how Gropper's cartoons "hit home," that their style and message appealed.[298] Both Sophie Gropper and

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Suller revealed that workers would wait for Gropper's cartoons to come out in the daily even if the workers could not read them.[299]

As with Gompers, the early cartoons of Sigman are mild caricatures; however, this gentility would gradually change to a charged, harsh stereotype of the Jewish union leader. In Gropper's first cartoon of the ILGWU president (Fig. 78), printed on 10 February 1925, he gently pictures the anticommunist Sigman, elected head of the organization in 1923, seated on a padlocked hut labeled "Interneshonal" (International).[300] Sigman's head is in profile and his back is turned to a group of workers standing outside. A sign in the background gives an ironic message to them: "Don't be slaves; obey what our machine tells you to do." Drawn in sharp contrast with occasional inky areas of black, seen especially in the jagged forms of the sky, this cartoon demonstrates a transition towards Gropper's eventual use of abstract elements in his cartoons.

An East European immigrant who was a former officer of the ILGWU as well as a former Wobblie, Sigman in this cartoon ignores the workers, whom we learn, from reading text written below the workers, symbolize ones who had been thrown out ("aruisgevarfene") of the union. Charles Zimmerman, head of the Needle Trades Section of the TUEL, recalled Sigman as once having a progressive stance, who

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had "fought against corruption within the union and ... against the bureaucracy within the union."[301] However, by the time this cartoon was created, Sigman's progressive stance had hardened against the leftists.

Though Sigman had had a reputation for being progressive, with the "civil war" in the garment trades, he acquired a reputation for choosing to be non-democratic. According to Louis Pankin of Local 10, "the democracy [of the ILGWU] was a little bit shattered because of the fight between the Communists and the members. We had to sort of stay away from the demands of democratic rule. You had to in order to save the union...."[302] Only a few stereotypical Jewish features--rimless glasses and a high forehead--appear in Gropper's earliest cartoon of this former IWW member.

A complex succession of expulsions and reinstatements of leftwing leaders and members characterized Sigman's presidency of the ILGWU. The union had experienced a radical opposition movement within its ranks since 1919,[303] circumstances understandable because many union members were socialists and most were East European Jews inclined toward positive views of the Bolshevik revolution.[304] Liebman describes the ILGWU leaders' disparaging treatments of dissidents as contributing to the view among workers that their leaders were insensitive bureaucrats. Further,

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he notes that rank and file members were agitated by their leaders not keeping "unemployment, lower wages, and deteriorating working conditions" at bay during the post-war depression and the following economically stressful years for garment workers.[305] Liebman goes on to explain that the larger metropolitan areas had a more conducive atmosphere for a rising radical movement, moreso than the smaller locals which were more likely to be loyal to the ILGWU administration.[306]

In the early- and mid-1920s, during the increasingly tense right-left fight for control in the garment unions, Sigman frequently acted against the radical left in the New York City locals of the ILGWU. Because of its industrial organization and largely socialist, leftwing membership, the union became highly favored by the Communists. In 1923, under increasing threat to the stability of the ILGWU, the Sigman administration ordered locals and joint boards nationwide to purge members who were also members of the leftwing TUEL. This caused the expulsion of Communist-left officers on the executive boards of large, leftist-led locals. In a see-saw pattern, in the three large locals in New York, 22, 2, and 9, the left wing regained control of the executive boards in 1924, only to be cut off again by Sigman who in 1925 suspended them.

A Joint Action Committee of the suspended ILGWU

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members was formed and a fight for union "democracy" developed, led by leftwing officials who by 1925 represented the majority of the membership in the New York City locals.[307] In editorials and leading articles, the staff of Freiheit castigated the Sigman "mashin" (machine) and labeled Sigman's internal politics against the left a "pogrom," a language that had a special meaning for the paper's East European immigrant readership.[308]

Gropper, in a cartoon printed on February 23, 1925, cast Sigman in an obviously unflattering situation, though far from the blatant, inflammatory scenes of the next winter. "They Are Now One Warm Group of Pals" (Fig. 79) pictures a giddy, apparently intoxicated Sigman, arm-in-arm with right-wingers Sidney Hillman of the Amalgamated and Morris Kauffman of the International Fur Workers Union--all leaders within their unions, though majority membership in all three unions in New York City was leftwing.[309] Gropper drew the cartoon after Hillman and Kauffman had expelled or suspended leftist members from their unions.[310] The way in which Gropper drew these leaders very likely offended many Jews, but the physical caricature was not yet so stereotypical as to be blatantly offensive.

In August 1925, elections resulted in the left regaining control of the powerful three ILGWU locals in New York City. Thereafter, Sigman, reportedly under pressure

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from Morris Hillquit, head of the Socialist party, and from the Forward, reached a compromise with the left wing, an agreement which allowed varying degrees of radical political viewpoints within the union.[311] However, Gropper's trip from mid-May to mid-September to Seattle had prevented any further anti-Sigman cartoons by him in Freiheit until after the truce. This did not prevent substitute cartoonists in the newspaper's summer issues from rendering Sigman in uncharacteristic situations, mild caricatures, and derogatory guises such as a rat, a hungry dog, and a goat.[312]

The Freiheit staff often paired the right-wing socialist Sigman and democratic socialist Cahan of Forverts together in articles, commenting on their antiradical positions.[313] Like Sigman, Hillman, and Kauffman, Cahan opposed the Communist-left in the garment trades and supported arbitration principles for labor problems.[314] Throughout 1926, Gropper had created for Freiheit an increasing number of modernist-informed cartoons casting the editor as an enemy of the worker and an outspoken critic of Soviet Russia and the Communist-left wing in the United States.[315] For example, in "Just to Spite the Communists!" (Fig. 80),[316] printed in April, a gently caricatured Cahan balances the Socialist Party on his knees while the latter holds up a cloth against a glaring sun

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labeled May 1st, the traditional, upcoming, socialist holiday celebrating labor. The caption reads, "The S.[ocialist P.[arty] does not want a United Front in celebrating the 1st of May," referring to the Comintern's current policy.[317]

Later, with the lengthy cloakmakers strike, begun in July 1926, the Forward criticized the strike's Communist leadership. Though the right wing in the ILGWU had supported the strike in the first few months, these labor reformers grew increasingly concerned about the length of the strike, led by the New York Joint Board which was dominated by Communists and the left wing.[318]

This often violent strike of 40,000 cloakmakers began almost 16 years to the day after the historic and heroic cloakmakers strike of 1910, an inspiration for the left.[319] In the eighth week of this more recent strike, the Communist-left, after seeking Communist Party approval, turned down Governor Smith's offer to arbitrate, and the strike continued, although agreements with some contractors had been signed and thousands of their workers had returned to work.[320]

In late September 1926, an editorial in Freiheit on the allegedly inciteful role of the anticommunist Forward in the cloakmakers' strike appeared.[321] The editorial was followed by front-page exhortations against the so-called

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"provokatsie" (provocations) of the socialist paper in the strike.[322]

In mid-November, twenty weeks into the cloakmakers strike, with many workers arrested and the union's treasury exhausted, an agreement between the Communist-left and the "inside" manufacturers, those who employed workers in their shops, was signed.[323] Unfortunately, employers gained their main demand of the right to replace ten per cent of workers every year and there was still no agreement with the remaining contractors and the jobbers.[324] Throughout these deliberations, the Forward mounted a verbal attack against Communist involvement in the strike.

In turn, Freiheit responded again by printing articles on the Forward's opposition to the leadership of the cloakmakers strike, at one point calling the Forward the organ for Sigman and Dubinsky, manager of Cutters' Union Local 10, a Sigman stronghold.[325] Gropper's efforts at drawing cartoons of Cahan culminated on 24 November when Freiheit published "The Crone of the 'Forward,' Poor Thing!" (Fig. 81),[326] a departure in its ferociousness from his previous cartoons of the editor.

This cartoon of Cahan is one of the earliest cartoons by Gropper that presents extreme, anti-Semitic features instead of a gently caricatured portrait of a Jewish leader. It is a model for the artist for further biting

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cartoons of opposition leaders in the right-left debate. Cahan's wagging and spitting tongue, flattened nose, schoolmarm dress and body, and accompanying frying pan ridicule the authority of the well-respected Jewish leader and newspaper editor.

Like most of Gropper's anti-Cahan cartoons at this time, "The Crone of the 'Forward,' Poor Thing!" is in his new, more direct, modernist woodcut style of cartooning with its strong linear and decorative patterning which strengthen and animate the newspaper page. In this intense cartoon, Gropper drew editor Cahan as an old Jewish woman--a favorite device in Gropper's cartoons of Cahan--exhorting from the rooftops of the Forward building, in reference to Cahan's repeated anticommunist criticisms directed toward the leadership of the cloakmakers strike. The writer of the propagandistic caption gave voice to Gropper's cartoon, referring to a well-known performance arena in New York City: "Her voice is almost ripped apart from screaming against the leaders of the cloakmakers strike. Still her 'Hippodrome' pours on the curses, and she complains still: If only I could open my mouth just a little!..."[327]

Cahan's opposition toward the Communist leadership of the cloakmakers strike inspired Gropper's direct caricature of the Jewish editor. The artist carried this type of blatant attack into his upcoming cartoons of Sigman. With

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the uneasy truce between right and left in the ILGWU, Gropper had made few cartoons of the union leader.[328] This situation changed, however, in early December 1926 with Sigman's resolve to take over the now twenty-six week strike.

On December 1, the Sigman administration issued a statement criticizing the left for allowing the Communists to keep control over the long strike and urging union members to "rid themselves of their [the Communists'] irresponsible and ruinous leadership."[329] Almost a week later, he denounced the strike as Communist-directed.[330] Freiheit and the Forward responded with leading articles and editorials supporting or castigating the Communist leadership.

On December 8, Gropper drew the first of a series of scathing cartoons of Sigman as a corrupt union president, seen here hiding under his coat loyal union officials who take bribes and cheat at the ballot box. "The Election is Coming; All his hands are ready" (Fig. 82) presents a passionate Sigman pontificating while others do his "dirty work."[331] The figure's prominent hooked nose and business suit stereotype the union leader as a venal Jewish businessman, a type with a long tradition in non-Jewish and Jewish social caricature.[332]

On December 11, Sigman denounced the left wing in an

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address to cloakmakers published in the Forward.[333] On December 13 he and the General Executive Board finally took control of the strike and the Communist-left Joint Board.[334] The move and decisions leading up to it were announced in mainstream newspapers.[335] According to sources, the strike had cost over three million dollars.[336] Having taken over the costly walk-out, Sigman immediately set about making plans for "right wing" arbitration with the contractors. Reportedly, the strike ended with very little gained for the cloakmakers,[337] but the situation dominated the headlines of Freiheit throughout December.

The day after the takeover, a pro-left demonstration in front of the Forward building engendered Gropper's cartoon, "This Is How the Socialist Newspaper Met the Cloakmakers in the Square before the Forward Building; (To the cloakmakers demonstration against the Forverts last Tuesday)" (Fig. 83).[338] From the well-known landmark on East Broadway, police wear the insignia of the socialist torch and caps with the name of the paper. Nightsticks in hand, they coerce crowds to flee, while staffers and police in the building fire upon them or throw water and bricks.

Around the left corner of the structure appears a giant caricature of a policeman with features of Cahan, holding a nightstick, ready to strike. Gropper has drawn Cahan with a huge nose, a stereotypical Jewish element.

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Created during a tense period, the composition transmits the heightened emotions of the incident through frenetic black and white patterning and dramatic diagonals.

Here, as with his other cartoons of this passionate cycle, Gropper appears to have aimed for bluntness and urgency in his modernist drawing style, goals that parallel the militant ideological content and propagandistic editorial style of Freiheit. For a Jewish artist drawing for an audience familiar with the tradition of cartoons that poked fun at labor leaders and various "types" of Jews, the emphasis on stereotypical Jewish imagery added yet another layer to his radical approach to cartooning. It has not been recorded whether or not Gropper had taken direction from his editors on injecting provocative imagery, but the threat to a subject integral to Gropper's upbringing--the welfare of the cloakmakers--can be seen as a chief incentive to these particularly vehement caricatures.

These cartoons by Gropper which exploit Jewish stereotypes prefigure the recent discourse on Jewish identity by contemporary Jewish artists, sociologists, and cultural critics. Body stereotypes of Jews were prominent issues, for example, in works in the exhibition Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities shown at The Jewish Museum in New York in 1996. In the exhibition, Deborah Kass

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based her silkscreen series on Barbra Streisand on photographs of the movie star, and Dennis Kardon made a series of painted sculptures called Jewish Noses, modeled in an academically realistic manner after real Jewish noses of figures in the American art world. These and many other works in the New York exhibition delved into social, cultural, and ethnic issues, while they mimicked the "real" physical world through photography or mimesis. In contrast, the politically charged scenarios and grossly accentuated physical features of Gropper's figures manipulate Jewish stereotypes for purposes immersed in the leftist politics of Freiheit.[339]

Under Sigman, the Joint Board of cloakmakers and dressmakers and the leftist locals of the cloakmakers union were re-organized.[340] Cloakmakers were asked to register, beginning December 22, in re-configured locals and receive "official international union books" upon paying dues of 50 cents or five dollars, depending on the type of book held.[341] Gropper commemmorated this action in the cartoon "Morris, the Union-Seller, Dealing with Bargains; Sigman: Buy cheaply, Jews, union books, fifty cents each" (Fig. 84) where Sigman, as a Lower East Side peddler, hawks union books.[342]

The strike finally ended with the jobbers signing an agreement in January. Gropper commemmorated the occasion in

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"Morris, the Union-Seller, Is Peddling Settlements Now; Sigman realized that the business of 50-cent union books was no good, so he began peddling 50-cent settlements" (Fig. 85).[343] Here, Gropper presents a loquacious Sigman, with a bag of "slightly used" settlements, a favorite device, hawking bargains. Over a month later, after Sigman had revoked the charters of and expelled the left wing locals, Gropper again presented him as a street salesman hawking his wares. "Now Morris Is Peddling New Charters" (Fig. 86) presents the talkative union leader wearing three hats and selling guns, charters, and shoes.[344]

With the reorganization of the beleaguered union, the left, reportedly backed by many of the rank-and-file, renewed its fight against the national leadership of social democrats. However, many radical cloakmakers had been arrested and the leadership had obtained injunctions against the deposed, leftist Joint Board in New York as well as Chicago and Boston.[345] The fight against Sigman, Cahan, and the Forward continued to be a prominent theme in Freiheit, though with the ILGWU administration's purging of left members, the left wing had been weakened dramatically.

In July 1927 in Freiheit, however, much attention was directed to Sigman again as a series of articles on the union president appeared implying that he employed non-union workers in a morally questionable resort owned by him

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and his wife in the mid-West. Freiheit published three articles accusing Sigman of improper conduct, including the hiring of children, and suggesting union money was used to buy and improve the Casino Amusement Park in Storm Lake, Iowa, which his wife managed.[346] Gropper, apparently inspired by the story, drew his most blasphemous cartoon of Sigman in "Morris: Buy, buy cheap, everything here is a bargain--scab books, hot dogs, union, workers, hot mammas, etc., etc." (Fig. 87).[347] Here, Gropper renders Sigman, the devout reformer, passionately hawking "Sigman's Freak Show," prostitution, hot dogs, and a game of "Hit the Nigger and Get a Cigar," altogether an incendiary cartoon drawn to ridicule and belittle the labor figure's politics of arbitration.

This "Freak Show" cartoon and the corresponding articles on the amusement park became subjects in a libel suit brought soon after by Sigman against Gropper and staff members of Freiheit and others.[348] Printed in September, "He's Peddling Summonses..." (Fig. 88), the last of Gropper's intense attacks on Sigman, presents the labor leader in a patched-up suit, selling summonses of criminal libel, a reference to the lawsuit.[349]

The preliminary hearings were deliberated in the fall of 1927, immediately before and during Gropper's first trip to the Soviet Union. On December 9, the final session of

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these hearings, Gropper was ultimately cleared of charges, although Epstein, Novick, and the Freiheit Publishing Company were held for the grand jury, Epstein being held on three counts, one of which was for Gropper's cartoon.[350]

The passionate cartoons of the garment trades conflicts raised Gropper's reputation within the left. His caricatures found a receptive audience among readers of Freiheit, the Daily Worker, and New Masses, the latter two publications reprinting many of his Freiheit cartoons. They were considered of such significance that most of these drawings by Gropper were reproduced in the special publication, Die goldene medinah (The Golden Land), announced in mid-October 1927, when he and his wife prepared for their trip to the Soviet Union.[351] Recognizing the importance of these needle trade cartoons, Melech Epstein, then editor of Freiheit, had gathered and published them, writing an informative introduction on Gropper's life (as noted in the Introduction and in Part One) and remarking on the cartoons' role as a factor in the renewed Jewish labor movement.

Epstein emphasized the documentary nature of Gropper's "sharp and vibrant" cartoons when he said that "Gropper had the good fortune to be there to depict and reflect the greatest and most important battles in the Jewish workers' movement--such events as the strikes of the furriers and

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the cloakmakers, the struggles of the Joint Action Committee, ... and a series of other important and stormy events."[352] Together, these cartoons represent an era in the history of Freiheit and in the development of the left wing of the Jewish labor movement when their radical ideals found visual resonance in Gropper's vital, idealistic, and modernist cartoons against the antiradical opposition.

In 1928, membership in the ILGWU dwindled to 40,000, financial debts beset the union, and Sigman retired.[353] American Communists were being urged to consider dual unionism in organizing unorganized workers, a new strategy of the Red International of Labor Unions.[354] In late December, the Communist-left in the ILGWU finally formed a new independent union, the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union, made up of the left wing of the ILGWU and the left-led Furriers Union.[355]

After he returned from his trip abroad, Gropper found Freiheit supporting the new Communist International policy of independent radical unions. With the creation of the leftist needle trades union and the move away from fierce battles between right and left factions, Gropper abandoned his strenuous campaign of cartoons against the right-wing labor opposition, making fewer caricatures of social democratic Jewish leaders. Cahan continued to be a target in Gropper's cartoons, though another source of antiradical

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Jewish opposition rose suddenly.

In these early years, Freiheit and Gropper in his cartoons for the paper had consistently supported the colonization of Jews in Soviet Russia, not Palestine, and they both attacked the zionists.[356] When violence broke out in 1929 in the middle East, Freiheit in the end sided with the Comintern and repudiated the Jews involved. Thereupon, many writers and supporters broke with the Freiheit, including Abraham Reisen.[357] Gropper, in several ink-spattered cartoons rendered in his new, more realistic, rounded style, drew "Merciful Jews, Slaughter the Communists!" (Fig. 89), referring to the incident and to the zionists' passionate opposition to communist policy.[358] Immediately thereafter, Gropper made several cartoons targeting the fervent zionist supporters, whom he drew as greedy and as supporters of the antiradical Socialist Party.[359]

From late 1928 to 1935, the United Front "from below" policy strongly opposing collaboration with the reformism of social democracy still dominated the outlook of the Communist International. However, with the rise of Hitler to German Chancellor in January 1933, the Comintern began instructing its affiliated parties to begin to make conciliations with Socialist leaders, this two years before the new policy of the Popular Front, announced by Georgi

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Dimitroff at the Seventh Comintern Congress in July-August 1935, would publicly encourage collaboration with socialist leaders and advocate the New Deal of Roosevelt.[360]

However, in the United Front rhetoric of the Comintern in the late 1920s and early 1930s, as fascism became more widespread in Europe, democratic socialists were called "social fascists" and, in contrast, seemed to be more dangerous to the workers movement than the European fascist leaders.[361] As Earl Browder, general secretary of the American Communist Party, stated in the summer of 1933, "The united front is not a peace pact with the reformists. The united front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against the social fascists, for the possession of the masses."[362] In response, Gropper began drawing Cahan and other right-wing socialist Jewish leaders as Jewish fascists wearing the star of David emblazoned with the Nazi swastika, in hindsight a remarkably incongruous combination (Fig. 90).[363]

Concluding, we have seen that Gropper's cartoons of the antiradical Jewish opposition began early in Freiheit with images of Gompers, a target from preceding years, and reached a climax with the cartoons of the garment trade conflicts of the middle 1920s. Finally, the cartoonist allied the social democrat with the fascist. Fascism became an increasingly threatening factor to the development of a

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new world war, to the safety and philosophy of the Soviet Union, and thus to the communist movement worldwide. In the early 1930s in Gropper's cartoons for Freiheit, the fight against fascism developed into a persistent theme.

Cartoons Against Fascism

Soon after Hitler's appointment as Chancellor of Germany in January 1933, the German Communist Party was suppressed.[364] Threatened by his power, thereafter the Comintern Executive Committee (ECCI) placed greater emphasis on Hitler than any other fascist leader and declared his government a dictatorial offensive against workers' gains and the labor movement. The Soviet organization then promoted an alliance, a "united fighting front," with social democratic workers against fascism.[365] Up until that time, however, the Comintern seemed to regard social democracy as a more dangerous enemy to the workers' movement than fascism. Indeed, the Comintern in 1928 viewed social democracy as the great obstacle to abolishing imperialism "and establishing the proletarian dictatorship,"[366] and, still, in 1932, it called for "directing the main blows against social-democracy."[367] Though radical ideology was directed moreso toward social

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democracy in the 1920s and early 1930s than fascism, the Comintern in its statements (frequently translated in Freiheit) also opposed fascism, though fascism was not then its chief target. Subsequently, Freiheit reported and editorialized and published cartoons by Gropper and others on these rising movements.

Essentially, the Comintern viewed fascism as a counterrevolutionary movement of capitalism. In 1923, with the Comintern's first official view on fascism, the Third ECCI Plenum resolved that the movement "is a characteristic phenomenon of decay, a reflection of the progressive dissolution of capitalist economy and of the disintegration of the bourgeois State."[368] An inevitability of the end of capitalism, fascism accordingly attracted those whose financial security had been shattered by the war and whose hopes of socialist revolution had been dashed by the social democrats' "betrayal of the revolution," but it could be opposed by a united working class.[369] A "counter-revolutionary force," fascism had defeated the working classes in Italy and must be prevented from doing so elsewhere in the world, according to the Plenum. The resolution called on its representatives to document and organize against fascism nationally and internationally.

By 1928, the Sixth World Congress concluded that "more or less developed tendencies and seeds of the fascist

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movement are to be found today almost everywhere" and it named Poland and Hungary as countries where fascist governments were being "more aggressive."[370] The Program of the Comintern, which was adopted at the Sixth Congress, described fascism's combination of "social demagogy [including anti-Semitism], corruption, and active white terror, and the most extreme imperialist aggressiveness in foreign policy," the latter indicative of what the Comintern viewed as the build-up of preparations for an imperialist world war and war against the Soviet Union, this urgently emphasized. Indeed, this "terroristic dictatorship of large capital" was an indication of the capitalist crisis.[371]

The text of the Program from 1928 struck a crucial note when it characterized fascism as a major threat to communism. Accordingly, the chief role of fascism was "to annihilate the revolutionary vanguard of the working class, i.e. the communist strata of the proletariat and their leading cadres."[372]

In 1931, with the Eleventh ECCI Plenum, which dealt with the world economic crisis, social democracies, in this "leftward" phase, were attacked for their prominent role in paving the way for the further build-up of fascism.[373] Because of their consistent support of capitalism, social democrats were to be defeated, so stated here with a new

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sense of urgency.[374] The following year, the Twelth ECCI Plenum noted the spread of nationalism and chauvinism and, continuing in the anti-socialist philosophy, officially defined social democracy as social-fascism.[375]

In December 1933, with the Thirteenth ECCI Plenum, which took place after Hitler rose to power, the Comintern restated fascism as "the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital" and, recognizing the need to use the united front "from above," called for communists to ally with social democratic workers in the fight against war and fascism.[376] Finally, in the summer of 1935, with the Seventh World Congress, the increase in "war provocations" by Germany and Japan, the build-up of armaments by capitalist countries, and the threat of a new imperialist world war and a war against the Soviet Union led to a call for a "united people's front," a United Front "from above" that embraced social democrats, liberals, democrats, and pacifists in a major, broad campaign against war and fascism, especially the fascism of Hitler.[377]

The standard reference for antifascist cartoons in the U.S. is Cecile Whiting's history, Antifascism in American Art, where she located very few antifascist cartoons published in American radical newspapers and journals in the 1920s. She acknowledged the few cartoons against

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Mussolini appearing in the Daily Worker and New Masses by artists, including William Siegel and Art Young, concluding that during the 1920s American radical cartoonists must not have taken Mussolini seriously since there were so few illustrations of him by these artists. Only with the rise of Hitler in 1933 did she find evidence of a movement among leftist artists to render significant numbers of antifascist cartoons.[378]

During the 1920s, however, Gropper created numerous and varied antifascist cartoons for Freiheit which are little known today because Freiheit itself is little known outside Jewish literary and labor circles. Gropper's cartoons addressing the early years of European fascism, particularly that of the Italian ruler Mussolini and the Polish dictator Pilsudski, contribute toward a fuller understanding of the responses among radical American artists to fascism during this decade. In Gropper's words, "I was against reaction and fascism years before Hitler came to power, when Mussolini instituted Fascism in Italy, and even earlier, in the time of the intervention against the Russian people [the civil war]."[379]

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Cartoons of Benito Mussolini

Beginning in November 1924, soon after he became its chief cartoonist, and for most of the years of this study, Gropper drew anti-Mussolini cartoons in Freiheit. The paper regularly reported on the anti-leftist Italian leader, head and founder of the Fascist Party, who had been appointed Prime Minister in October 1922.[380] In these first few months as staff cartoonist and frequently thereafter, the artist treated him, irreverently, as a resolute ruler of an unstable government. Gradually, Gropper interpreted Mussolini, reproachfully, as a dictator and war mongerer seeking great military power. In 1935, with the Italian's moves to invade Ethiopia, Gropper's critiques grew vehement.

In the artist's earliest drawings of Benito Mussolini, Gropper contrasted the determination of the leader with the indeterminate nature of his new government.[381] In these modest cartoons, where we have yet to see the dramatic stylistic changes beginning in 1925, Gropper distinguished the Italian leader with a balding head capped with thinning tufts of hair over a stern forehead and thick, prominent eyebrows. These and his oversized eyes and (when drawn) set mouth transmit a disposition that suggests calculation.

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Yet, Gropper, in his earliest cartoons of Mussolini, in November and December 1924, has ironically placed a serious, resolute Mussolini in situations that suggest instability. In "The Political Horse Holds Itself Together" from November 16 (Fig. 91),[382] Mussolini rides a rickety wooden playhorse, its makeshift legs held together with what appears to be nails and string. One hind leg breaks, apparently due to the great weight of the rider.

In "They Are Sitting Atop a Volcano" (Fig. 92),[383] from November 18, Mussolini and King Alfonso of Spain are swept above an erupting volcano, symbol of unrest in both countries. Amid this turmoil, Mussolini, while grasping his chair, keeps the same serious facial expression, his caricatured head halfway visible but readily recognizable. By placing a serious Mussolini, seemingly in control of the government, atop these symbolic elements--a disintegrating playhorse and an erupting volcano--Gropper magnifies the leftist view of an unstable Fascist government in Italy.[384]

The new, unsettled government had experienced strong, popular resentment with the murder of an opposition leader, Matteotti, in June 1924, cause for subsequent secession within the Italian Parliament.[385] With the instability of the government, the Communist party saw conditions propitious for its overthrow by the working class.[386] Amid this turmoil, in November, Freiheit was reporting

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positively on mainstream opposition parties in Italy[387] and on the capacity for the growth in the number of Italian Communists, though Communists and leftwing leaders in Italy were then being arrested and the Marxist-Left was in a state of disrepair.[388]

From 1925 on, most of Gropper's cartoons of Mussolini are dressed in the more distinct styles in which the cartoonist worked, with a sharp modernist approach beginning that year. The Italian's physically prominent head, so marked in Gropper's earliest cartoons of Il Duce, in these further cartoons became part of a unified whole.

Such is the case with the highly stylized drawing, "Mussolini: I Am Sitting Firm, Woe Is Me (Fig. 93),[389] from November 1926, which pairs black ribbon-like lines representing bayonets with a capitalistic Mussolini drawn in the woodcut style. Clad in a capitalist's business suit, the Italian leader is caricatured with large, dark-circled eyes, only one element in a whole composition of lines, combs of black, and the white of the page. On his chest is a swastika, a new element in Gropper's cartoons of the leader in Freiheit.

Here, Gropper again commented on the theme of instability. With a threatening cluster of bayonets below a set, serious Mussolini in mid-air, Gropper gives the impression of an overwhelming threat to the leader. The

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cartoon was published three days after a front-page report in Freiheit on the sixth assassination attempt on the head of the government.[390]

Irony, so essential to satire and especially to Gropper's cartoons, is a strong element in this particular ink drawing, as he shows the determined Mussolini in an unsure, tender situation, that is, in mid-air above a band of bayonets sure to hit their mark when the leader (and his government) falls down to earth.

Whereas Gropper's early cartoons of Mussolini reflected the leftist view that the anticommunist Italian government was shaky, in 1926-27, the cartoonist began developing a new emphasis on Mussolini, this time as dictator, imperialist, war mongerer, and militarist.[391] This harder line reflected the leader's increasing power within the Italian state, his more trenchant opposition toward the forces of antifascism, and his role as an arms supplier for Central Europe.[392]

The different approach is clearly seen in "Mussolini's Dream" (Fig. 94), which is accompanied by the caption, "The Fascist dictator of Italy wants an army of five million soldiers,"[393] from June 1927. Here, Gropper posits the steadfast, authoritative Mussolini looking out a window through which appears a phalanx of bayonets beneath a black thundercloud alive with lightening. Arms akimbo, he appears

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to dream of a vast and vital army.

Dressed again as a capitalist, this time with a capitalist's jacket and pin-stripe slacks, Mussolini is caricatured with large, protruding eyes studded with small pupils above a wide, square jaw. Here, Gropper was at the height of his modernist style, creating, in abrupt patterns and swaths of black and white, a strong, bold composition, a visual parallel to Mussolini's ambitions for absolute authority and great military power.

From this period on, dictatorship, imperialism, war, and militarism continued to be dominant and, frequently, combined themes in Gropper's antifascist cartoons of Mussolini in Freiheit, an approach that also reflected the Comintern's obsession with imperialist preparations for a new world war and for war against the Soviet Union. These four themes are especially seen in cartoons that deal with the Italian's moves in mid-1935 to invade Ethiopia, sparking a war in October.[394] In these, Gropper placed a revitalized emphasis on Mussolini: he became a fiercer foe in the artist's cartoons.[395]

For example, in "The Drummer Boy of Death" (Fig. 95),[396] executed with touches of white and a mechanical patterning in tonal areas, a technique seen at this time in his cartoons for Freiheit, Gropper drew a skeleton beating a drum with long, smooth bones and wearing a belt labeled

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"Mussolini."[397] Executed with the now familiar phalanx of bayonets slashing through the landscape at the horizon, the abrupt, grisly scene indicts Mussolini, whose head has been transformed into a white skull of death.

Cartoons of Pilsudski

Mussolini, the head of the new Fascist government in Italy and the first antifascist target of the Comintern, was the major subject in the 1920s in Gropper's antifascist cartoons for Freiheit. The Polish government and the Polish dictator, Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, however, also became frequent antifascist subjects for Gropper in Freiheit during this decade. Emphasis in these particular drawings gradually shifted from the Polish government in a broad general sense to Pilsudski himself after he gained power.

In immediate response to the killings of two Soviet Communists by the Polish government, Gropper created the cartoon, "How Poland Frees Her Communist Prisoners" (Fig. 96), printed on April 3, 1925.[398] Here, he drew what appears to be a soldier, wearing a belt of bullets, shooting a falling prisoner in the back. The prisoner had been close to crossing a dotted line drawn on the ground.

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Gropper created this cartoon during the time when he began formulating his woodcut style of strong, sawlike patterns. Here, the fan-like shapes are less rigid, more elastic, and there is an occasional reference to the more relaxed, linear style of earlier drawings. The scraggly roughness of the prisoner's shadow and the gun's cloud of smoke, for instance, recall the brusque marks in earlier cartoons.[399]

This cartoon was published in Freiheit at a time when the Workers Party was calling for protest demonstrations against fascism in Poland and another killing, this time of a Communist deputy, Lantsutski.[400] The killing, however, by a Polish officer of two Communists was the immediate inspiration for Gropper's cartoon.

On April 1, 1925, Freiheit reported that a Polish convoy officer had murdered the two Communists while on their way to Soviet Russia.[401] A subsequent article in Freiheit, printed two days later alongside Gropper's cartoon, disclosed that demonstrations were taking place in Soviet Russia against the Polish government because of the killing of the two "barimte" (famous) Communists, Baginski and Vizerkovski.[402]

Gropper's attack on fascism in Poland gained strength with the seizure of power in May 1926 of Pilsudski, commander of the Polish army, now head of the Polish

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government. A previous enemy of the Soviet Union, the marshal had made an unsuccessful attack against the Soviet state during its civil war of 1918-1920.[403] Gropper began drawing numerous cartoons of the leader, most often sporting a heavy moustache and wearing a military uniform.[404] In the same pattern as Mussolini, in the beginning, Gropper treated Pilsudski comically, this time as a dictator placed in childlike situations, then much more seriously, as a persecutor of Jews in Poland.

Upon Pilsudski's rise to power, Gropper drew "The New President of Poland...," with the caption "Pilsudski (Sitting on Moscicki's back): Hurrah for our democratic republic!" (Fig. 97),[405] from June 1926. It pictures in Gropper's woodcut style a triumphant Pilsudki sitting on the back of the newly-elected president of the country, Ignacy Moscicki.

Through 1929, Gropper in his cartoons for Freiheit concentrated his antifascist messages on Pilsudski as the totalitarian head of the Polish government. For instance, "Leading the Government in the Polish Republic," with the caption, "Pilsudki, who called the Sejm [parliament] deputies thieves and prostitutes and keeps the government locked up, is now choosing a new premier" (Fig. 98),[406] depicts a gargantuan Pilsudski sitting on the house of the Polish parliament and testing a puppet to see if it works.

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At Pilsudski's feet are a chest marked "regirung" (government) full of puppets while two puppets are prone on the floor. A saber rests nearby. The drawing was created with the softer, modulated style Gropper used so frequently on his return to the U.S. from his first trip to the Soviet Union in 1927-28. Like the earlier drawing, where Pilsudski rides like a child on the back of Moscicki, this later cartoon places the dictator in an awkward situation, here, sitting and playing like a child with a collection of puppets. In both cartoons, Gropper poked fun at this leader whose fascism was, in the Comintern's words in 1928, becoming "more agressive."

Gropper's cartoons of Pilsudski would themselves become more agressive. Beginning in 1930 and appearing until 1934, his drawings of the Polish dictator are dominated by the theme of Polish anti-Semitism, a return to a subject Gropper treated once before in Freiheit, in 1925.[407] By the time of Gropper's cartoons on Pilsudski and anti-Semitism, the Comintern had linked hatred of Jews with fascism, characterizing anti-Semitism as part of fascism's "own peculiar brand of social demagogy."[408]

In the ironic cartoon, "'Help! Jews Are Being Beaten Up in the Soviet Union!'" (Fig. 99),[409] from March 1930, Gropper drew a snarling Poland, in the familiar figure of Pilsudski, with nightstick in hand standing over an elderly

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Jewish man wearing a prayer shawl. With the man calling out for help for beleaguered Jews in the Soviet Union, he himself ignores brutalities going on against Jews in Poland and appears to ignore this Polish figure's warlike stance upon himself as well.

Following this cartoon suggesting brutalities toward Jews in Poland are several cartoons by Gropper that treat Pilsudski and his relationship to anti-Semitism, interpreting him most often as a pogrom maker.[410] Sometimes Jewish figures are cast by Gropper as allies.[411] "It Does Not Wash Off!" includes the caption, "Protest today against the Polish henchmen and against those Jews who protect the Pilsudski pogrom makers" (Fig. 100).[412] Here, Gropper drew Pilsudski, his uniform scarred with blood and his hands dripping with it, holding a bloody ax. Washing his back is a member of the Jewish press in Poland, presumably an antiradical, while in the background are scaffolds with figures hanging and a burning village. Though a grim scene, here as with others of this series, Gropper injects humor with caricatures of the protagonists.

As with the cartoons castigating the antiradical Jewish socialists, studied above, this Jewish and Marxist artist often pictured antiradical Jews in a derogatory light, making the political, radical message the essential context of these and other such cartoons. Here, the

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presumably antiradical subject of the Jewish press in Poland supports the major subject of Pilsudski and anti-Semitism.

Cartoons of Adolf Hitler

The cartoons of Mussolini and Pilsudski by Gropper during the 1920s, especially, demonstrate that Gropper was engaged with these antifascist issues during that decade. In a sense, they helped to prepare him for his most frequent antifascist subject in Freiheit, Adolf Hitler. Like those of Mussolini and Pilsudski, most of Gropper's cartoons of Hitler that were published in Freiheit have not been documented or studied.

Gropper's first cartoon of Hitler printed in Freiheit appeared on 4 October 1930 (Fig. 101), a few weeks after Hitler's radical right-wing party had won 107 seats in the Reichstag, thereby becoming a major force in the German parliament.[413] The artist drew few cartoons of him again until 1933 when Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany and the Comintern increased its opposition toward him. Thereupon, Gropper's cartoons of the German leader increased dramatically, averaging several cartoons a month for the remainder of the period under review, that is,

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until the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in July-August 1935, when this study closes.[414]

Because Gropper did not draw Hitler until 1930 and afterwards, there are not the series of abrupt changes of styles in these drawings as one sees in his cartoons of Mussolini and Pilsudski. Rather, the softened lines of his more realistic style, adopted with the first Soviet trip, dominate from 1930 throughout the summer of 1935, the period when this study concludes.

Gropper's first cartoon of Hitler, "Hitler: War Against the Soviet Union!," thrusts the leader of the Nationalist Socialist German Workers Party between two cannon barrels, signs of war. With wide eyes and a gaping mouth, he lurches forward toward an unseen enemy, his hand like a paw digging into the air. Gropper has drawn a swastika on his chest and written "Hitler" across his back.

The flecks of ink scattered across his hand, shoulder, and jaw; the splotchy shadows on his cheek, nose, and forehead; and his shortened skull all suggest a grisly, unintelligent demagogue. This was Gropper's first view of Hitler. He is seemingly larger-than-life, and he dominates the space of the drawing. Unlike later cartoons of him by Gropper, however, Hitler here looks little like contemporary photographs and more like the Italian Mussolini, a familiar fascist target for the artist.

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Indeed, Gropper seized upon the topics of imperialism, war, and militarism, as with his cartoons of Mussolini, and applied them to a new fascist figure.

This first cartoon of Hitler by Gropper presents the Nazi leader as an enemy of the Soviet Union and, therefore, of the Communist-left movement. The message reflects the current thinking of radical ideology, that imperialist countries were making preparations for a new world war and for war against the Soviet Union, emphasized at the Comintern Congress in 1928.

Hitler's anti-Soviet rhetoric in this cartoon is doubled with the Freiheit's negative opinions on the social democratic Forverts, another anticommunist, anti-Soviet enemy and a voice of political and labor reformism which, according to radical thinking, paved the way for fascism. Thus, Gropper, in current ideological fashion, paired fascism and social democracy, obstacles to the victorious proletariat, in the ideology of the Comintern.[415] The caption reads, "Right after the German elections, the 'Forverts' wrote that the Soviet Union supported the Fascists with money. As you can see by Hitler's statement ["War against the Soviet Union!"], the story in the 'Forverts' was completely untrue."[416]

In this first cartoon, Gropper drew Hitler as a war mongerer, inciting violence and set for battle against the

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Soviet Union, part of the imperialists' plans for war against the socialist country. With this new fascist figure, the artist introduced an anticommunist target who would become, in only a few years, a major target of Freiheit and Gropper.

However, two weeks before Hitler's chancellorship (on 30 January 1933), Gropper did not draw him as a fervent, powerful figure as in the previous cartoon but, rather, as a tethered, thin dog (drawn with the recognizable head of the German leader), dependent on the German capitalist and "ready" to govern the country (Fig. 102).[417] In this early cartoon, entitled "Ready to Serve," Hitler begs for a bone labeled "4 million mark[s]" from a rich German who himself appears to have the fleshy face of an old, whiskered beast.

With this cartoon, Gropper implies that Hitler and his likely government are dependent on the capitalist, in the Comintern's view, the power behind fascism, fascism being the "terroristic dictatorship of large capital," as asserted in the 1928 program from the Sixth Comintern Congress.[418] Suggesting that the two figures are partners, the cartoon's caption reads: "Hitler receives 4 million from the German moneybag for not demanding the meeting of the Reichstag."[419]

The message of Hitler's dependence on the capitalist repeats that of a cartoon (Fig. 103),[420] by Jacob Burck, in

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the earlier pages of Freiheit, from 1930, where Hitler is depicted as a dandy who is subservient to the German capitalist. Gropper also pairs Hitler with the capitalist in earlier cartoons in Freiheit, in 1932.[421]

Gropper, then, in this change of approach to Hitler, began to address the radical view of Hitler's dependent relationship to capitalism. Occasionally, throughout 1933, Gropper shows Hitler with capitalist support.[422] In "Why They Kneel Before Him (Fig. 104),[423] from 1 February, immediately after Hitler's appointment, Gropper depicts Hitler, wearing a bloody sword, as an idol for German and American capitalists and American government officials, all asking him to save them from the Communist peril, symbolized to the right by a group of united workers carrying the Communist flag. Here, the newly appointed Nazi leader, a fervent antiMarxist, is shown once again as powerful and authoritative as with Gropper's first cartoon of him.

Later in February, on the 19th, Gropper again treated the theme of Communist opposition to Hitler and capitalism, in "Red Front Versus Black Front" (Fig. 105).[424] Here, the new German leader strides toward rows of workers with clenched fists who carry the Communist flag, repeating the earlier cartoon. Gropper now pits the radical group directly against fascist, capitalist, and monarch, with the

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artist transforming Hitler's face into a skull-like head, still recognizable as Hitler but carrying the symbolic language of death. The capitalist and monarch make up the other elements of this "black front," the monarch holding an upright sword sheathed in what is probably blood.

The caption of this cartoon urged readers to gather, "To today's meeting on the situation in Germany (at the Central Opera House)."[425] Therefore, Gropper places Hitler and what the left saw as his allies against the "red front," or German Communist Party (which Hitler suppressed soon afterwards), this in a dichotomy of communism against fascism that Cecile Whiting has commented upon as a recurring conceptual, visual strategy in American antifascist cartoons and in this cartoon, which she illustrates from New Masses, where it was also published.[426]

Communist opposition to Hitler, so prominent in the Comintern's pronouncements in 1933, thus became a major theme in Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit throughout the rest of the period under study, with the Communist-left represented by a worker, a group of united workers, or a symbol of them, such as a clenched fist,[427] and with Hitler often suggested or depicted as imperialist, war mongerer, and militarist. This latter view of Hitler, seen in "Red Front Versus Black Front," appears very frequently in

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Gropper's cartoons of Hitler in the Yiddish paper.

Gropper's frequent theme of Hitler as imperialist, war mongerer, and militarist reflects a central issue of the Comintern, that of imperialist preparations for a new world war, with Hitler as the "chief instigator" of war in Europe, as stated in a document from December 1933.[428] This subject is seen in Gropper's cartoons of Hitler very early, from March 1933,[429] and continues throughout the period of this present study. A later drawing, from October 1933, is particularly effective. "Hitler -- The Searcher for Peace" (Fig. 106)[430] presents the militarist weighted down with a chestful of weapons, including guns, swords, a cannon, and his bloody ax, while yelling, ironically, "Fridn" (Peace).

The earlier drawing "Red Front Versus Black Front," where Gropper drew Hitler with a skull-like head, foreshadows another leading theme in Gropper's cartoons of Hitler, however. Beginning in March 1933, anti-Semitism became a recurring subject in Gropper's cartoons of Hitler published in Freiheit. The cartoonist created numerous drawings depicting or implicating the German demagogue as beastly violent; for Gropper's cartoons of Hitler and anti-Semitism, however, the author has documented such cartoons only with Jewish references.[431]

Scholarship has focused on what were considered few artistic reactions in America to Jewish persecution in

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Europe during the 1930s, including works by Ben Shahn, Diego Rivera, George Grosz (after he immigrated to the U.S.), and Gropper. Ziva Amishai-Maisels, in her recent voluminous study on the Holocaust and visual art, cited Gropper's contributions in the 1930s as the painting, Refugees (The Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.), and certain cartoons in Freiheit, citing an issue in 1938 as illustrating an example of the theme of German soldiers and their victims.[432] A study of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit from the early 1930s, however, yields a rich source of images on the Holocaust that have not been discussed in the literature. It also reveals that though Freiheit in general followed Communist internationalist policies which relegated ethnic and nationalist questions to the goal of a united working class, through its reports and Gropper's cartoons the Yiddish paper, reflecting the Comintern's linkage of anti-Semitism with fascism, brought attention to the situation of Jews in Europe.

Most of Gropper's cartoons on Hitler and anti-Semitism published in Freiheit implicated the German ruler's brutal treatment of Jews and relate his actions to the theme of the pogrom. "One Pogrom Maker Protests Against Another" (Fig. 107),[433] from March 1933, casts the Polish fascist Pilsudski with whip in hand standing atop a prostrate male with a full beard and a lengthy jacket, or robe, Gropper's

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interpretation of a religious Polish Jew. Pilsudski, whom Gropper had drawn since 1930 in cartoons addressing anti-Semitism (see above), points to Hitler who with whip in the air stands above another prostrate male, bandaged and bearing the stereotypically Jewish feature of the hook nose. The caption, "Pilsudski protests against Hitler and in Poland pogroms take place,"[434] points to the irony Gropper has suggested between one fascist leader accusing another of the same crimes.

A few days later, there appeared the first cartoon by this Jewish artist to incorporate language in his drawings that directly opposed Hitler's treatment of Jews. In "Fight Against the Bloody Defenders!" (Fig. 108),[435] Gropper drew a protest sign, prominent among the plethora of signs on the right side of the drawing, that reads, "Protest Against Jewish Persecution." This group of signs directly faces the militarist Hitler who holds his whip and salutes, while behind him a threesome of Nazi soldiers sit upon a bound worker. The caption refers to Jews again: "Hitler minister, Goering, declared that they are arresting labor leaders, workers, and Jews so they can be defended."[436]

Irony is key to understanding Gropper's cartoons in general and no less so in his cartoons of Hitler and on Hitler's approach to the situation of Jewish people in Germany at the time. In "Hitler: Tell Them in America That

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I Also Have a 'New Deal'" (Fig. 109),[437] of March 1934, Gropper casts Hitler as an executioner dictating a "New Deal" that includes "no more pogroms" and "no more murders." Irony is caught in the situation itself where a bloody Hitler has just killed a man (his head is lying at Hitler's feet) while enumerating brutalities the leader will no longer conduct. Irony is also immediately apparent in the incorporation of Roosevelt's term of the New Deal, where the American president's use of the slogan as a positive rehabilitative agenda cuts squarely against the falsity and contradictions of its use by Hitler.

Few cartoons by Gropper commenting on Hitler's persecutions of Jews appear further until the summer of 1935 when this present study concludes. However, the grouping of cartoons from that summer brings forth a particularly effective drawing by Gropper on this subject. "Hitler: I Am Innocence Itself" (Fig. 110)[438] presents a weary, unshaven Hitler with finger in mouth and right hand dripping in blood. A bloody ax lies at his feet in a field dominated by a low horizon and wide-open sky, the latter reinforcing, it seems, the wide open mouth of the dictator.

Reference to Hitler's persecution of Jews and to the theme of the pogrom is made in the caption: "To the declaration by the Hitler government that the Jews are themselves guilty for the bloody pogrom which the Nazis

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made."[439] Irony, once again, plays a central role in understanding Gropper's objective of drawing the contradictions between words and deeds, in this case, between an official Nazi declaration and actual Nazi brutalities.

Anticapitalism, Communist opposition, and anti-Semitism, often combined with the very frequent topics of imperialism, war, and militarism, provide major currents in Gropper's cartoons of Hitler in Freiheit, fitting the newspaper's emphases on Comintern ideology and Jewish issues. With Gropper's very first cartoon on this fascist figure, the artist would transform his Mussolini-like Hitler, where he is depicted as an unshaven demagogue, to a far less powerful leader dependent on the capitalist. Finally, and for most of his cartoons on Hitler, Gropper created a violent, imperialistic demagogue threatening the movement of Communism and advancing the persecution of Jews.

Like the cartoons of Mussolini and Pilsudski, there is some lighthearted humor early on in Gropper's interpretations of Hitler, but only briefly. Gropper's view of Hitler as a tethered little dog, in "Ready to Serve" (Fig. 102), is perhaps his most lighthearted approach to this subject. (Although the artist's later caricatures of the leader are frequently humorous, they are laced with

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poignancy). Almost immediately, in "Why They Kneel Before Him (Fig. 104), Gropper went back to the more serious view of Hitler as threat, treating him as an authority figure opposing Communism and promoting violence.

Cartoons of Japan

Japan, in the guise of a bellicose military leader, is the last major foreign antifascist figure drawn by Gropper before the Comintern Congress in the summer of 1935, when this study closes.[440] Ironically, a cartoon related to this theme and published in a widely circulating American magazine brought Gropper the most fame of any single cartoon he had created throughout his career. For years and years he had worked closely with the leftist press, drawing cartoons for a small audience, but with this one episode, he became the subject of news articles across the United States and the world.

This famous cartoon appeared that August 1935 in the popular magazine Vanity Fair where the Japanese emperor, Hirohito, was caricatured by Gropper (see Fig. 113, below). Throughout the author's study of Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit, however, with the themes of imperialism, war, and militarism and Japan, Gropper did not picture Hirohito,

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but, most often, a symbol of the country, that is, a threatening, belligerent military leader in uniform who often carries a sword.

Gropper's cartoons of this militaristic Japan appear in Freiheit beginning in October 1931 soon after that country's invasion of Manchuria in September, a move the Comintern perceived as an imperialistic threat to divide and control China and to "mobilize ... forces for a war of intervention against the Soviet Union, the land of socialist construction."[441] As with the antifascist cartoons of Mussolini and Hitler, then, where imperialism, war, and militarism are crucial themes reflecting current radical ideology on preparations for a new world war and for war against the Soviet Union, these topics inform Gropper's cartoons on Japan as well.

Indeed, through the rest of the period of this study, Gropper's cartoons on Japan almost exclusively deal with the themes of imperialism, war, and militarism directed toward Manchuria, China, and Mongolia, and the potential Japanese threat toward the Soviet Union.[442] The imperialist issue in this area of the world was an old one for Gropper, who had drawn cartoons in the 1920s for Freiheit on the U.S.'s attempts to exert influence on China and on imperialist threats in the region.[443] Again, as with his antifascist cartoons in general, a major fascist figure or

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symbol in Gropper's cartoons for Freiheit--this time, militaristic Japan--is tied directly to a perceived anticommunist, anti-Soviet position.

In one of Gropper's early cartoons on Japan, "He Spreads the Imperialistic 'Law and Order' into China" (Fig. 111),[444] from January 1932, the artist drew a menacing, bare-armed Japanese soldier holding a drenched sword in one arm and pointing toward Peking in China with the other. Wearing a cap emblazoned with the Japanese emperor's symbol of the sun, he strides a cannon, aimed toward Peking and placed upon what appears to be the Great Wall of China, drawn as a slab of road leading into a grouping of towers and a landscape of gently rolling hills. To the right of the wall lies an area of land labeled Manchuria that is scattered with skulls.

The caption relates the news that the Nanking government in Manchuria has made an agreement with Japan for it to protect "law and order" in Manchuria,[445] this after the Nanking government reportedly had given no resistance to the invasion.[446] Keeping with his familiar strategy to reveal what he believed were the true intentions of fascist forces, Gropper in this cartoon again employs irony by casting his interpretation of a land-hungry, war-driven, angry Japan in direct contrast with Japan's intentions of promoting "law and order," and one

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would assume, peace, in Manchuria. Moreover, Gropper posits the idea that Japan, having invaded Manchuria, is now preparing itself to invade Peking.

The theme of an imperialistic, war-driven, and militarist Japan is once again featured in one of the most visually arresting cartoons on that nation, "Keep Up the Attack on the Soviet Union!," with the caption, "Japan sends new military to the Soviet borders" (Fig. 112).[447] Published in May 1932, the cartoon relates to what the Comintern perceived as the growing threat of Japan which had moved "an increasing number of its armed forces closer to the Soviet eastern frontiers...." Again, ultimately, the Comintern saw the move as "the prelude to military intervention against the Soviet Union."[448]

In this drawing, a vehement Japan, dressed in military uniform, appears to rush toward the reader. With bloody sword in hand, he marches in the direction of the Soviet Union. Japan's face has become that of an angry animal or monster with sharp, jagged teeth and flaring nostrils in a well-rounded head topped with Gropper's now familiar cap labeled "Japan." Behind the figure are a panoply of militaristic and imperialistic symbols--a pattern of airplanes in the sky, a phalanx of bayonets, a pair of tanks, and a group of capitalists with their tell-tale hats.

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From the beginning of these drawings on an imperialistic Japan, one or a group of capitalists, symbolizing the U.S. or the League of Nations, occasionally accompany the Japanese military leader.[449] Their inclusion tie the fascist, in radical terms, to capitalism, the source of his power. Drawn by Gropper as Japan's supporters, the capitalists reflect the Comintern's perception of the threat of America, England, and France to exploit China and, in so doing, prepare for war against the Soviet Union.[450]

The composition here is notable for its juxtapositions of strong patterns--the planes, bayonets, tires and guns of the tanks, jagged teeth, the belt of bullets around Japan's waist--which play against Gropper's fluid, smooth lines and the purposeful use of the white of the page in the foreground. The balance of elements in the upper part of the drawing, where Japan is situated, suggests a military complex that is a real threat to the Soviet Union, symbolized by the lone direction sign in the bottom right corner.

Imperialism, war, and militarism continued to be the dominating subjects in Gropper's further cartoons in Freiheit that are related to Japan. These topics also underlie the most well-known cartoon of his career, that of Emperor Hirohito pulling a rickshaw loaded with a document,

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noted in the title as the Nobel Peace prize. "Japan's Emperor Gets the Nobel Peace Prize" (Fig. 113) was not published in Freiheit, however, but in the mass circulation magazine Vanity Fair, in August 1935.[451]

Gropper's cartoon of Hirohito was printed alongside four other cartoons by the artist on a page with the series title, "Not on your tintype," with the further explanation, "Five highly unlikely historical situations by one who is sick of the same old headlines."[452] Along with the cartoon on Hirohito were cartoons entitled "Admiral Byrd Winters in Tahiti," "Huey Long Enters a Monastery," "J. P. Morgan Becomes a Soapbox Orator," and "William Randolph Hearst Is Appointed Ambassador to the Soviet."

In Gropper's cartoon of the emperor, Hirohito's face is only slightly caricatured and he is clothed in a tightly drawn and detailed, elaborate military uniform festooned with numerous medals, sashes, and sword. The uniform and sword recall those of Gropper's figure of Japan, though the complexity of the detail is new. Perhaps the elaboration was a consequence of the amount of detail owed this revered head of the government, but one may also assume that Gropper would have had much more time to work on this drawing than for cartoons he made for Freiheit. These latter cartoons generally were created under very tight deadlines, usually appearing only a few days after a lead

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article on the subject of a cartoon.

The figure of Hirohito in Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit cannot be found there before the Vanity Fair incident. In contrast to his well-known visual targets Huey Long, J. P. Morgan, and William Randolph Hearst, Gropper elected here to draw Hirohito, an unknown in his arsenal of cartoon images for Freiheit.

In a handwritten note executed many years later by Gropper to Irwin A. Silverstone, who purchased the original drawing, Gropper noted about the drawing that "The idea was 'Hirohito' receiving the Nobel Peace prize and taking it home in a rickshaw. At the time Japan was invading Manchuria and the Emporer [sic] was writing poetry on Peace."[453] This latter statement, thus, confirms the famous cartoon's roots in the notion of Japan as aggressor, citing specifically the country's invasion of Manchuria.

The idea for the cartoon of Hirohito, however, apparently originated with Frank Crowninshield, the editor of Vanity Fair who in a letter to Gropper, dated April 2, 1935, suggested to him: "What would you think of this idea: a page of five so-to-speak impossible situations--the Micado [sic] getting the Nobel Prize for peace...."[454] This then makes the sudden appearance of Hirohito as a cartoon subject for Gropper much more clear.

The underpinnings of this cartoon, that is, Gropper's

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engagement with the issue of Japan as a military aggressor, are found in the pages of Freiheit, however. As Gropper expressed at the time in Editor and Publisher, "...Japan has been at war for the last four years, raiding China and Manchuria, and is looking to the United States as a possible ally in other conquests aimed at the Soviet Union," an opinion that supported the contemporary outlook of the Comintern.[455]

The blasphemous cartoon of Hirohito stunned the Japanese government because of Gropper's drawing the emperor, considered by the Japanese people as divine and a descendant of the sun-goddess, as a laborer pulling a rickshaw. An international incident ensued with the Japanese ambassador to the United States, Hirosi Saito, visiting U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull to protest against the publication of the cartoon. Articles and parodies on the cartoon ensued, with reportage in mainstream and radical newspapers.[456]

In response to the incident, Gropper immediately created two cartoons for Freiheit, "Wow! Help! I Have Been Insulted! (Fig. 114)[457] and "Gropper Undressed the Mikado" (Fig. 115).[458] The first places the Mikado, flailing a copy of Vanity Fair, atop the gun of a military tank crushing figures lying upon the lands of Manchuria and China. Stylistically, the cartoon was executed using the distinct

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technique with which Gropper experimented around this time, where broad swathes of halftone are manipulated and interspersed with patterns and lines of white. The second cartoon, more modest, places the artist in a playful mood pulling a rickshaw filled with the Mikado's clothing with the divine emperor, now naked, standing behind it.

With this one well-publicized cartoon in Vanity Fair, however, Gropper's radical opinion of Japan became widely known, while since 1931 he had drawn around two dozen drawings on this theme in the leftist Freiheit. The ironic contrast underlines the relatively small audience of the radical Yiddish newspaper. It should be remembered, however, that the Freiheit gave Gropper "a free hand" in drawing his subjects, a departure from practices of editors at mainstream publications, including Vanity Fair. Specifically, in 1935, the staff at Vanity Fair strongly criticized specific cartoon ideas of Gropper's in correspondence with the artist.[459]

All in all, Gropper's major foreign fascist cartoon figures--Mussolini, Pilsudski, Hitler, and Japan--were rooted in the left's antifascist and pro-Soviet ideology, specifically the Comintern's rhetoric on fascism's dependence on capitalism, at times the linkage of fascism with anti-Semitism, and the imperialistic threat of another world war and a war against the Soviet Union. The editors

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of the radical newspaper, as from the artist's earliest days on the daily, discussed issues with him and gave him "a free hand" to create cartoons on these subjects. It was there that his cartoons on antifascism evolved over the years, drawing upon radical dogma in hundreds of cartoons that used irony and visual appeal to startle the reader and winnow the essence of a particular radical viewpoint. Though he also created antifascist cartoons for monthly leftist publications, including many for New Masses, it was in the daily Freiheit that a visual record of Gropper's frequent engagement with these issues developed. Freiheit, then, is an essential and rich source for Gropper's antifascist cartoons.

Cartoons on American "Fascism"

The label "fascism" in the extreme ideology of the Stalinist "Third Period" of the Soviet government (1928-1935) would be used to describe not only European militaristic movements but "all forms of reaction" and the methods used by countries and individuals to hinder the working class movement. These "forms of reaction" may be defined as religious, social, and political figures or bodies opposed to the policies of the Comintern.[460] This

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sweeping generalization applied to American subjects as well, and this adaptation is seen in Gropper's cartoons in Freiheit.

Gropper frequently drew these American subjects wearing or accompanied by the Nazi swastika, a sign that ties the figure or symbol to elements of foreign fascism, especially the themes of civil liberties and anticommunism. For Gropper, during the first half of the 1930s, the more frequent, major American "fascist" forces, thus drawn with the swastika, prove to be racial oppression of African-Americans, symbolized by the case of the "Scottsboro boys" in cartoons from 1931 to 1935, and newspaper publisher and anticommunist William Randolph Hearst in cartoons from 1934 and 1935.

In his earliest cartoon on the Scottsboro topic in the pages of Freiheit, from April 1931, Gropper drew the Nazi swastika on the robed chest of a Klansman (Fig. 116, see below). The group of nine young African-American men in Alabama arrested on March 25, 1931 and accused and quickly convicted of raping two white women became a famous legal case during the 1930s and a symbol of Southern civil oppression against blacks.

The Communist Party vociferously supported the release of the men and attracted much attention and sympathy from non-radicals for this cause, which was an opportunity for

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greater growth of the revolutionary movement.[461] The Comintern's views on self-determination for blacks in the American South and for "rally[ing] the broad masses of the white workers for active participation in this struggle" had become policy in 1928 at the Comintern's Sixth Congress. The Program from the Congress called for special attention to be paid to "organizing active resistance against lynching, Jim-Crowism, segregation and all other forms of oppression of the Negro population." By the following year, the party had become active in Alabama, opening its regional headquarters in Birmingham.[462]

This cartoon, "Whites and Negroes--Against the Lynchers!" (Fig. 116) is the first among several by Gropper on the Scottsboro theme.[463] Here, the artist drew a hesitant, robed, and hooded Klansman holding a coiled rope ending in a noose. The coiled end has settled in front of an angry, thick crowd of workers, their open mouths, raised arms, and similarly drawn heads creating a rushing pattern of tense black and white. The Klansman looks back at the throng and seems to have been surprised, caught in the midst of arranging the rope for a lynching.

The caption announced a protest demonstration on May 1 against "the attempt to lynch nine negroes in Alabama and against lynching in general."[464] A device used often by Gropper in other cartoons announcing demonstrations (see

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"Red Front Versus Black Front," Fig. 105, above), the dichotomy of an aroused, united crowd of workers against an adversary probably served to inspire readers to identify with the workers and to ultimately take part in these demonstrations.

The International Labor Defense, a communist support organization, arranged protests against the arrests of the men and described them, in radical terms, as workers who had been framed. "The Mass-Struggle of the Workers Will Smash the Lynch-Frame-Up in Scottsboro" (Fig. 117),[465] also from April 1931, casts a giant black worker representing the ILD holding a large hammer over his head while looking down at a clergyman who protests against stopping the mass lynching. At the same time, a lawman helping with the rope turns and scowls at this threat, while a Klansman continues to arrange the ropes.

Thereafter, Gropper presented cartoons on this theme sporadically,[466] until a resurgence in April 1933, during new trials for the Scottsboro defendants and the conviction by an all-white jury and subsequent sentencing to death of the first defendant, Haywood Patterson.[467] In "Smash the Ku-Kluxers!" (Fig. 118) of April 8,[468] Gropper drew a large fist labeled "I.L.D" in the foreground of a scene depicting swastika-clad Klansmen with bayonets forming a semi-circle around the state court house in Alabama, Gropper implying

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that the state government stood behind the conviction, or "lynching."

These cartoons, where lynching and the Klan are used as propagandistic devices to underscore the questionable incarceration of these youths, have roots in the Comintern's campaign of equal rights for blacks, stated in an ECCI resolution on "the Negro Question in the United States," from October 1930.[469] Here, the Comintern reiterated the right of self-determination for Southern blacks, that is, the right for themselves to decide whether to govern the area of black majorities in the South, the so-called Black Belt, or to stay a part of the U.S. The resolution reminded members that every "kind of national oppression which arouses the indignation of the Negro masses can be used as a suitable point of departure for the development of partial struggles...."[470] The Scottsboro case, then, was a rallying point for stressing the oppression of African-Americans and their struggle for equal rights, and Gropper used the heated devices of the Klan and lynching to underscore these issues.

These cartoons have artistic roots in Gropper's anti-lynching and anti-Klan cartoons for Freiheit which began soon after he became staff cartoonist in late 1924. These cartoons continued from time to time throughout the years leading up to the Scottsboro issue and within those

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critical years as well, and they constitute a newly uncovered source on American artistic responses to these subjects.[471]

In one of the earliest of these cartoons, "The Peaceful Town of Herrin, Illinois" (Fig. 119),[472] Gropper drew in startling black and white a city scene with cannons protruding from high-rise buildings protected by Klansmen shooting and carrying guns. In the center of the square, scattered bodies lie prostrate, while, closeby, figures dangle from gallows. The black contours of the figures and the Klansmen are overwhelmed by the strength of the modernist composition--cubes of white and patterns of black--describing the city scene. Created when Gropper had only begun experimenting with modernism in his cartoons for Freiheit, this drawing weds a direct message of a violent Klan with a direct, bold style.

Revived in the 1920s, so much so that it was the major issue at the 1924 Democratic National Convention in New York,[473] the Ku Klux Klan became powerful in Herrin, Illinois, with S. Glenn Young, the Klan leader in that city. Young and three other Klansmen were killed in a shootout there in late January 1925.[474] With its ironic title, then, "The Peaceful Town of Herrin, Illinois" grew out of an incident in that city where the Klan leader and three others were killed violently.

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Lynching, the practice so much identified with the Klan, gave Gropper a vital, humanistic theme. For example, in "Hooray for 'Civilization'" (Fig. 120),[475] from May 1927, Gropper retained his favorite strategy, irony, to emphasize the barbarous practice of lynching. A mob of excited Southern men, recognizable by their distinctive hats, surrounds a black body dangling from a noose, an American flag waving in the midst. Gropper drew this grisly subject in his now advanced modernist style with its crisp, abrupt patterns of black and white with distinct flecks and the sawtooth pattern here and there. Fluid-like against the whiteness of the newspaper page, the cartoon makes an ironic statement in contextual terms, pitting barbarity, in all of its boldness, against the gentility of the American South.

This cartoon sprang from a particular incident. Such was also the case with another example, from 1929, "The Spirit of Christmas Still Burns in the South" (Fig. 121),[476] inspired by a lynching on New Year's Day in Mississippi. The two latter cartoons, one from 1927 and the other from 1929, adroitly underline Gropper's change from modernism to a style Gropper found more acceptable to the current ideals of proletarian art, that is, that art for his audience--the working class--be non-modernist. Whereas the first drawing is a composition of inky black ribbon and

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flecks, the latter one, like the remaining cartoons on these subjects, exudes a more realistic approach with relaxed, curved lines, spattered ink, detailed faces, and a climactic scene of the body burning. A rhythmic arrangement of wavy lines and black speckles describes a horrific circumstance encompassing victim, unsavory characters, and hooded Klansmen in the background. This latter cartoon communicates perhaps a deeper level of human anguish and animalistic hatred.

With the Comintern's declaration in March 1933 of a "united fighting front" against fascism, soon after in early April a large meeting was held at Madison Square Garden in New York to support the campaign. Gropper recorded the occasion in "The Shining Beginning" (Fig. 122),[477] printed on April 7. Here, he shows a huge crowd gathered in the auditorium which was decorated with banners, reading, in part, "Protest Hitler Fascist Murder Terror," "For a United Struggle Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism," and "For Immediate Release for Scottsboro." Thus, here, major currents of foreign fascism and American "fascism" have been brought under the same rubric.

Toward the end of 1933, the American left's opposition toward fascism escalated, finding a voice in the newly organized Communist support organization, the American League Against War and Fascism.[478] During this period, the

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artist made a handful of cartoons with American subjects, including "The Shadow of Fascism over America" (Fig. 123), that relayed the message that "fascism" was covering the U.S.[479] They form the beginning of an increasingly energetic campaign against American "fascism" in 1934 and 1935 where Gropper targeted American political, religious, and labor subjects, usually accompanied by the Nazi swastika or drawn in the guise of a foreign fascist leader, implying the dictatorial methods used by fascist-like forces in the U.S.[480]

These cartoons included the National Recovery Administration (as anti-Semitic; as promotor of war, fascism, and Nazi terror),[481] Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia of New York (as the dictator Mussolini; as the dictator Hitler),[482] Representative Hamilton Fish of New York State (as the swastika-wearing, torch-bearing symbol of the Socialist Party),[483] the former governor of Louisiana, Senator Huey Long (who wears a crown with a swastika drawn above it while he rises aloft in the air holding a "pie in the sky"),[484] and Father Charles Coughlin (who spouts a cannon from his mouth and wears a swastika for a cross while standing on top of a safe labeled "Wall Street"; in another, he wears a robe with fringe decorated with swastikas),[485] only a few of the symbols for "fascism" in America.[486]

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However, during this period, the leading American protagonist in Gropper's cartoons for Freiheit whom the left associated with fascism was the anticommunist William Randolph Hearst. The artist made around 25 cartoons of him from October 1934 to the end of June 1935, more than any other American antifascist subject.[487]

"He Seeks to Wipe the Executioner's Ax Clean" (Fig. 124)[488] is the first cartoon Gropper made of Hearst in Freiheit that closely aligns him with fascism. Thus begins a prominent theme in the artist's cartoons on the publisher, that of the California magnate supporting Hitler through articles in the publisher's popular newspapers. Gropper drew Hearst (here without the swastika seen in most later cartoons associated with him) using his newspapers--including the New York Evening Journal, New York American, Daily Mirror, and San Francisco Examiner--to wipe the blood off of a large ax held by Hitler, who towers above both Hearst and a fallen figure, below. With a diminuitive Hearst cleaning the giant ax rather dutifully, the cartoon suggests that the publisher sanitized newspaper accounts of the Nazi leader.

In "His Master's Voice" (Fig. 125),[489], of January 9, 1935, the literal spokesman for Hearst is Nazism, as Gropper has drawn a swastika-laden snake easing out of the publisher's ample mouth toward a radio microphone. Hearst,

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drawn here in the soft contours and ink-spattered tones and shadows dominant in these years, holds papers marked "Lies" and "Bunk." The clever title of the cartoon alludes to the RCA Victor logo, that is, a dog who faithfully listens to "his master's voice" on the radio. The cartoon was a response to a national radio broadcast by Hearst three days earlier, on January 6, charging the Soviet Union with failures in agriculture.[490]

The left saw Hearst as a demagogue and a fervent anticommunist who with his attacks against Marxist theory, political and labor radicalism, and the Soviet Union had tremendous influence on opinion across the country. His newspapers constituted a virtual American empire during the years 1931-35, according to Rodney Carlisle, with the publisher's newspapers reaching 13.5 per cent of the national circulation in 1934.[491] The same year, Earl Browder, general secretary of the American Communist Party, charged that Hearst "attempts to turn the anti-Red crusade, of which he was pioneer and remains the sustained leader, into a mass movement...."[492]

In April 1935, a new element entered this fray as Gropper incorporated into several cartoons that month in the Freiheit the symbol of the Forward as an anti-Soviet supporter of Hearst and his newspapers.[493] Perhaps the most critical of these seven cartoons is "The Black Wedding

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Canopy" (Fig. 126),[494] where, in a Jewish ceremony, Hitler, acting as rabbi, marries Cahan, editor of Forverts, to newspaper publisher Hearst. The union appears to be sanctioned under Nazism, as the ceremony takes place under a canopy decorated with a large swastika held aloft by carriers bearing swastikas on their arms. According to the caption, "Hearst and the 'Forverts' have long since formed a 'marital' alliance. Now Hitler is the one who is marrying them. Let them enjoy their marriage -- but what does it have to do with Jewish workers?"

Both Cahan and Hearst in this cartoon are dressed in newspaper texts, a technique in Gropper's work that reaches back to the 1920s.[495] Cahan, outfitted as the woman, a treatment seen before in Gropper's cartoons of him (see Fig. 81), wears a gown covered in Yiddish newspaper columns, while Hearst sports a tuxedo covered in text in English, prominently, an article by Harry Lang, of the Forward, on the issue of widespread hunger in the Soviet Union. Gropper's spate of cartoons was prompted by Lang's writing anti-Soviet reports and articles for Hearst's newspapers.[496]

Gropper constructed this "wedding" as a marriage of forces embracing the destruction of the radical movement in America. Browder, speaking in 1934 at the Second Congress against War and Fascism, had declared, "As in Germany,

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fascism rises here under the slogan, 'Drive out the Reds.' It is no accident that Hearst, whose yellow press leads the anti-red campaign, visited Hitler a few weeks ago and now campaigns in his support."[497]

In this last cartoon and others from this particular series on Hearst and the Forverts, Gropper seemed easily to classify Hearst's anticommunism and Jewish anticommunism with the fascism of Hitler. In effect, they were all three targets of Freiheit and he "married" them under one canopy of anticommunism and anti-Soviet propaganda, prompted by the series of articles on the Soviet Union by the Forverts writer.

The Popular Front instituted formally by the Comintern at its Seventh World Congress in July-August of 1935 and in place until the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 was adopted by American Communists, and the prior United Front campaign "from below", which officially forbade collaboration with social democratic leaders, thus passed into history. So also would the radical movements of a sectarian, proletarian art, forged by the John Reed Clubs from 1930 to 1933 especially. In 1934, the Comintern had decided to disband the John Reed Clubs and propose new, broadly-based organizations of artists and writers. These became the American Artists' Congress and the League of American Writers. Both organizations were conceived to join in the

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fight against war and fascism, though the John Reed Club artists would not finally disband until January 1936.[498] With the new regime of Hitler poised to threaten world war, the "Fight Against War and Fascism" charge now filled the agenda of the Communist International.

After the Seventh Congress in the summer of 1935, Freiheit supported the Popular Front campaign against war and fascism through its articles and cartoons with Hitler, Mussolini, and American institutions and personalities as subjects; its opposition toward its traditional social democratic and labor union enemies such as Cahan and Green continued. For his part, Gropper concentrated his cartoons around supporting the new front and attacking foreign fascists and American "fascists" (such as Hearst and Wall Street), and he also continued to target Cahan of the Forverts and antiradical labor leaders such as Woll.

With these turning points in the direction of the Comintern--the change to a Popular Front that now sought temporary alliances with "social-democratic and reformist organizations (party, trade union, co-operative, sports, and cultural and educational organizations)...also with mass national liberation, religious-democratic and pacifist organizations")[499] and the change from a politically sectarian to a more broadly-based art against war and fascism--Gropper turned increasingly to painting. Indeed,

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his successful exhibition at ACA Galleries in February 1936 was still on view during the meeting of the first American Artists' Congress.[500] Herman Baron, owner of the ACA Galleries, remembered that Gropper visited the gallery to help organize the American Artists' Congress, the gallery being the site of the planning committee meetings. While there, Gropper "was under constant pressure for a show. When he finally yielded and began to paint for an exhibition, he became engrossed in the work and often spoke of it with enthusiasm."[501]

Gropper continued to contribute to Freiheit, ending his career with the paper in 1950, after his return trip from Europe. It was during the eleven years of the United Front, from 1924, when he became staff cartoonist, to mid-1935, when the switch to a more inclusive policy was made officially, that Gropper had developed a sequence of vital, imaginative cartoons for the paper, inventive drawings that engaged radical political issues, drew upon anticapitalist outlooks formed during his childhood and youth, and, in the end, contributed significantly to radical art in America.

The political cartoon during this period was his chief form of creative expression and Freiheit was his major outlet. Though, after 1935, he continued drawing cartoons for the paper and for other publications, he shared his artistic attention more and more with the art of painting.

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All in all, Gropper's cartoons from the 1920s in Freiheit strongly emphasized the struggles between the Communist-left and the democratic socialists for control of the garment trade unions. Gropper targeted the socialist leaders in these conflicts in memorable cartoons that traversed a succession of styles, especially the modernist woodcut style of the mid-twenties.

With the more doctrinaire changes in policy at the 1928 Comintern Congress, Gropper seemed to become more dogmatic in his cartoons, emphasizing moreso the ideology of the Communist International, moving toward a mandated anti-bourgeois style, and, especially, treating the themes of war and fascism which came to dominate his cartoons for Freiheit in the mid-1930s. Throughout all of these years, the capitalist lingered and haunted his cartoons in Freiheit, providing an underlying theme that appeared and reappeared and frequently accompanied the topic of fascism.

Ironically, for an artist who would become well-known for his social paintings in the 1930s and 1940s, one discovers that the foundation of arguably his most important early painting from this period, The Senate (Fig. 127), lies in drawings created for the far left, small circulation Freiheit. The last section examines these "new" drawings, noting their relationship to his anticapitalist cartoons for the paper and to the specific radical

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viewpoint toward capitalism at the time.

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1. Gropper's first regularly published cartoon in Freiheit, "Der moderner ienki dudl" (The Modern Yankee Doodle), was printed on 18 October 1924, p. 1. According to a caption, the cartoon was reprinted from the New Yorker Volkszeitung.

2. Interview by the author with Mrs. Sophie Gropper, 16 November 1988.

3. See Donald Oresman, "Gropper Seeks to Improve World for New Generation," Citizen-Register (Ossining, New York), 23 July 1947), page unknown. Clipping in Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material-Newspaper Clippings about Gropper-Japanese Affair, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

Gropper did actually work for Hearst when he contributed drawings to the New York American in the 1930s. For an accounting of his earnings from the magazine in early 1934, see discussion below.

4. See Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 111.

5. See above, n. 1.

6. See pp. 115-116, above.

7. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 244. Gahn notes Katz's recollection was published on "the occasion of Gropper's twentieth anniversary celebration" for being on the staff of Morgen Freiheit. The memoir was published in Morgen Freiheit, 11 February 1940, according to Gahn, p. 244, n. 1.

8. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 54-55.

9. Yosel Cutler, "Graper," Morgen Freiheit (13 December 1931): 5.

10. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 279. Gahn notes that when Gropper returned to the U.S., the paper "was unable to afford Gropper's salary and the cartoon engraving expenses." In May 1949, Gropper cabled an article to the Morgen Freiheit from Moscow. See "Hetse in Amerike vegn antisemitizm in Sovetn-Land ruft aruim tsorn in Moskve, keiblt Groper" (Incitations in America Regarding Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union Brings About Anger in Moscow, Cables Gropper), Morgen Freiheit (8 May 1949): 1, 10. There was occasional news of Gropper's trip abroad

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reported in the paper. See the following: Morgen Freiheit (9 April 1949): 6; and Morgen Freiheit (4 December 1949): 6. See, also, previous discussion in the present study, specifically n. 22 of the Introduction, above.

11. See the notice, "Abraham Reisen tret arein in der 'Freiheit'" (Abraham Reisen to appear in "Freiheit"), Freiheit (26 September 1926): 1.

12. Photograph is from Paul Novick Papers, Folder 333: Photographs-Freiheit, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York. For information on these changes within the staff, see Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 199-200, 229, 415 (n. 65).

13. John Reed, Tsehn teg vos hoben oyfgerudert di velt: vi azoy di Sovyetn hoben farhapt [sic] di makht un Rusland; translated by Moissaye Joseph Olgin, foreword by Baruch Charney Vladeck (New York: Forverts, 1919). On Olgin, see Harvey Klehr, "Moissaye Olgin," in Johnpoll and Klehr, Biographical Dictionary, pp. 297-298; M. J. Olgin; Leader and Teacher (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1939); and Paul Novick, The Character and Aims of the Morning Freiheit (New York: Morgen Freiheit, Inc.). This latter is found in the Novick Papers, Folder 190: Morning Freiheit, YIVO. For an informative though unflattering portrait of Olgin, see Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 382-389.

14. See Novick's obituary by Peter B. Flint, "Paul Novick Is Dead; Editor, 97, Helped Start Yiddish Daily," New York Times (22 August 1989): Section D, p. 23.

15. See the informative biographical sketch by Paul Buhle, "Paul Novick: A Radical Life," Radical America 17 (September-October 1983): 74. On Novick see also his obituary by Flint, "Paul Novick Is Dead" as well as the helpful chronology prepared by Daniel Soyer in his "Guide to Papers of Paul Novick, YIVO," YIVO. The Paul Novick Papers are extensive and include the valuable interview of Novick by Irving Howe.

16. Moishe Katz, Nikolay Lenin: zayn leben un virken, with essay by Isaac Aaronovich Hourwich (New York: 1920).

17. The accompanying legend lists the staff members and the information about Katz and Nadir. This listing appears on Fig. 42. Several of Nadir's poems are translated and presented in Aaron Kramer, ed., A Century of Yiddish Poetry (New York, London, Toronto: Cornwall Books, 1989), pp. 247-253.

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18. See Paul Novick, Jewish Life in the United States (New York: Morning Freiheit, 1957), for an appreciation of the contributions made by Freiheit from its beginnings up to the 1950s. For a summary of Freiheit's lengthy life, see Liebman, Jews and the Left, especially pp. 346-355.

19. On Di Yunge, see Benjamin and Barbara Harshav, American Yiddish Poetry; A Bilingual Anthology (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 33-34; Charles A. Madison, Yiddish Literature; Its Scope and Major Writers (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 294-306; Sol Liptzin, A History of Yiddish Literature (Middle Village, N.Y.: Jonathan David Publishers, 1972), pp. 100-111, 158-172; Howe, World of Our Fathers, pp. 428-439; and Kleeblatt and Chevlowe, Painting a Place in America, pp. 116-118.

20. Liptzin, pp. 100-101.

21. Howe, World of Our Fathers, p. 429.

22. Stated by a "one-time IWO functionary" in Paul Buhle, "Jews and American Communism: The Cultural Question," Radical History Review 23 (Spring 1980): 20.

23. Cahan, editor of the Forward, reportedly hoped for the demise of American newspapers printed in Yiddish. See Novick's comments, Howe interview, p. 5. See also Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 303.

24. The most up-to-date review of Freiheit's history is Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 346-355.

A definitive history of Freiheit has not been written. Melech Epstein, as an historian of Jewish involvement in the trade union movements of the 1920s and 1930s and as an editorial staff member during those years, wrote accounts in English of the early history of Freiheit. See his Jew and Communism and Jewish Labor in U.S.A. See also the interview (9 January 1974) of Epstein by Milton Cantor, Oral History of the American Left Collection, Tamiment Institute Library, New York University; and Alexander Bittelman, "Creative Years--The Freiheit Story," Jewish Life (May 1947): 1, 22-25. For accounts written in Yiddish, see J. Chaikin, Yiddish Leaves in America (New York: The Author, 1946), pp. 268-274; J. Gladstone, S. Niger, and H. Rogoff, eds., 75 Years Yiddish Press in the United States of America (1870-1945) (New York: Yiddish Writers Union, 1945), pp. 76-78; Paul Novick, ed., Moishe Katz Book (New

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York: Moishe Katz Book Committee, 1963). For a sketch of Raboi, see Madison, Yiddish Literature, pp. 300-301; for Leivick, see ibid., pp. 348-381.

25. See Novick, Jewish Life, p. 4; and Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 305-307.

26. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 346.

27. R. Saltzman, "Die Yiddishe Kinder Schulen Beim Internatzionalem Arbeter Orden," in Schul Almanach (Philadelphia) (April 1935), p. 152; cited in Bat-Ami Zucker, "American Jewish Communists and Jewish Culture in the 1930s," Modern Judaism 14 (May 1994): 175-185.

28. Zucker, "American Jewish Communists," p. 180.

29. Draper, American Communism and Soviet Russia, pp. 22, 26. Draper's history documents the inner organizational workings of the American Communist Party up to 1929. Another study of the history of the movement is Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, The American Communist Party, A Critical History, 1919-1957 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957). For an annotated guide to the histories and other critical writings on American Communism see John Earl Haynes, Communism and Anti-Communism in the United States (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1987).

30. Lenin had discussed this in his publication, "'Left-wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," noted by Kermit E. McKenzie, Comintern and World Revolution, 1928-1943 (London and New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 48.

31. See McKenzie, pp. 132-133; Jane Degras, ed., Communist International 1919-1943: Documents, vol.1 (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press), pp. 424-426. See also Draper, American Communism and Soviet Russia, pp. 32-35; and Ceplair's clarifying discussion on the sometimes confusing ideology of the United Front, in Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, pp. 33-43, especially p. 43.

32. Interview by the author with Chaim Suller, 21 December 1990.

33. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 112.

34. According to Mordecai Soltes, in 1923, Freiheit had a circulation of 49,875. See Mordecai Soltes, The Yiddish Press; An Americanizing Agency (New York: Teachers College,

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Columbia University, 1925), p. 184 (Appendix B). Epstein remarks that the circulation numbers reported to the post office were inflated because of the staff's embarrassment at not attracting more readers. Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 138, 412 (n. 36).

35. Tageblatt had a circulation of 59,149; Morgen Journal had 76,660; and Tog had 69,720. See Soltes, pp. 183-184 (Appendix B).

36. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 138. Paul Buhle states its circulation reached only 10,000. See his entry, "Yiddish Left," in Buhle et al, Encyclopedia, p. 867.

37. See "U.S. Communists Say Yiddish Paper Serves 'Imperialism,'" New York Times (15 May 1977): 43. Harvey Klehr estimated the Freiheit's readership at 22,000; see Harvey Klehr, The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade (New York: Basic Books, 1984), p. 166.

38. See Kenneth Libo, "A History of Jewish Journalism in America," in A People in Print: Jewish Journalism in America (Philadelphia: National Museum of American Jewish History, 1987), pp. 31-32, 34. On the Jewish labor press in the U.S., see the informative annotated bibliography edited by Dick Hoerder, The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s-1970s, vol. 2 (New York, Westport, Connecticut, and London: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp. 539-706.

39. Buhle, "Jews and American Communism," p. 9.

40. See Libo, "A History of Jewish Journalism in America"; Soltes, The Yiddish Press; Chaikin, Yiddish Leaves; Gladstone, S. Niger, and H. Rogoff, eds., 75 Years Yiddish Press; and Zosa Szajkowski, compiler, One Hundred Years of the Yiddish Press in America, 1870-1970 (New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1970).

41. See Soltes, The Yiddish Press, pp. 17, 182 (Appendix A).

42. See Soltes, The Yiddish Press, for his analysis of the Americanization approach of the Yiddish press.

43. On the Forward, see Howe, World of Our Fathers, pp. 527-543; and Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 326-346.

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44. See sketches of Asch and Reisen in Madison, Yiddish Literature, pp. 221-261, 197-220. In 1916, the Forward had a circulation of 198,982. See Soltes, The Yiddish Press, p. 185 (Appendix C).

45. See Howe, World of Our Fathers, p. 328.

46. Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 62-63.

47. I. R. [Irving Rosenthal], "Cartoonists," Encyclopaedia Judaica, vol. 5 (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica; and New York: The Macmillan Company, 1971), cols. 215-220.

48. Szajkowski, One Hundred Years, p. 15 (no. 274-288a).

49. Novick in Howe interview, p. 6; see Howe, World of Our Fathers, on these struggles, pp. 527-528.

50. On Der Groyser Kundes, see A People in Print, p. 71; and Aaron Lansky and Paul Buhle in "Groysser Kundes," in Buhle et al., Encyclopedia, pp. 283-284.

51. In 1922, according to Epstein, the business office of Freiheit was at 49 Christy Street, composition was done at the Up-to-Date Printing Co. on Canal Street, the editorial office was in a room at the back of this shop, and press work was delivered to the New Yorker Volkszeitung. See Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 111.

52. See Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 98.

53. Quoted in Draper, American Communism and Soviet Russia, p. 22.

54. Ibid., pp. 93-94.

55. Ibid., p. 56.

56. Melech Epstein, "Pages from My Stormy Life--An Autobiographical Sketch," American Jewish Archives 14 (November 1962): 145.

57. Novick in Howe interview, p. 4.

58. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 103.

59. Novick in Howe interview, pp. 16-17; Epstein, Jewish Labor in U.S.A, vol. 2, pp. 129-131; Epstein, "Pages," pp. 143-144 (revised slightly in his book, Pages from a

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Colorful Life; An Autobiographical Sketch [Miami Beach, Florida: I. Block Publishing Co., 1971], pp. 64-66); Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 125 ff.; Charles Zimmerman quoted in Stanley Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks: A Civil War in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union," New York History 66 (January 1985):50; and ibid, pp. 51-53.

60. Interview by Irving Howe with Charles Zimmerman, 13 November 1964, pp. 21-22; 20 November 1964, p. 29, 37-38; 11 December 1964, p. 63, 68-69. Typescript, Oral History Collection, YIVO Archives, New York.

61. Brandes, "From Sweatshop to Stability," pp. 37-44, 50.

62. See Irving Bernstein, The Lean Years, A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company; Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1960), pp. 68-69. For general surveys of America during the 1920s, see Frederick Lewis Allen, Only Yesterday; An Informal History of the Nineteen-Twenties (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1931); William E. Leuchtenburg, Perils of Prosperity, 1914-32 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958); and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Age of Roosevelt, vol. 1: The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919-1933 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company; Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1957).

63. Novick, Jewish Life, p. 11; Benjamin Gitlow, I Confess (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1940), p. 342.

64. "Unzer 'Freiheit'" (Our "Freiheit"), Freiheit (2 April 1922): 6.

65. Interview by the author with Suller.

66. Novick in Howe interview, p. 5.

67. "Unzer 'Freiheit.'"

68. See the first editorial, cited in n. 64. Melech Epstein in an article in this first issue also discusses the Jewish workers movement. See his "Far a beserer iunion" (For a Better Union), Freiheit (2 April 1922): 3.

69. See n. 18 and n. 24, above, and n. 73, below.

70. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 389.

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71. See the lists of names at the end of the front-page article, "Tog Ein--Tog Ois" (Day In--Day Out), Freiheit (2 April 1922): 1.

72. See the essay on Shachno Epstein by S. Levin in Morgen Freiheit (30 July 1970); cited in Nora Levin, The Jews in the Soviet Union since 1917; Paradox of Survival, 2 vols. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1988), vol. 2, p. 886, n. 20.

73. Melech Epstein states that in the early months of the paper, Olgin, who represented the radical socialist Workers Council, and Shachno Epstein, who represented the Communists, co-edited the Freiheit (Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 103, 389). A biographical portrait of Shachno Epstein is in ibid., pp. 389-394.

For the historical record, the early days of Freiheit need to be meticulously researched and documented. In the winter of 1922-23, according to Melech Epstein, Olgin resigned as editor amid party in-fighting and the Workers Party named Gitlow editor and business manager (ibid., pp. 107-111; and Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 160-162). Epstein says Shachno Epstein resigned along with Olgin (Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 111). Gitlow recalled Shachno Epstein as a Freiheit editor in August 1922 (Gitlow, I Confess, p. 146). In a later article discussing the meeting on May 7 and 8, 1923, of the Executive Council of the Workers Party on the party's United Front policy, Ruthenberg stated that Olgin's resignation had been accepted by the committee. See C. H. Ruthenberg, "Party United Front Policy Is Approved," The Worker (26 May 1923): 5.

Gitlow was unfamiliar with Yiddish, however, according to Melech Epstein, who became editor "de facto" (see Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 111; and Epstein, "Pages," p. 146), although Gitlow may have simultaneously headed the Communist campaign in the needle trade unions. Gitlow was reportedly Chairman of the Needle Trades Committee of the Central Executive Committee (see Gitlow, I Confess, pp. 337, 340).

Around 1925 (the date is unclear), Melech Epstein became the official editor (Epstein, "Pages," p. 146), but he reportedly resigned from the paper in 1928 after the sixth party convention in February (Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 414 (n. 57). Epstein states he was the "responsible editor during the second half of the decade (ibid., p. 412 [n. 36]). Epstein was named as editor in the Morris Sigman libel suit against Freiheit in 1927 (see below).

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74. Buhle, "Jews and American Communism," p. 21.

75. As reportedly stated by Novick in "U.S. Communists Say Yiddish Paper Serves 'Imperialism.'"

76. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 192.

77. This staff photograph was printed in Freiheit on April 6, 1929, p. 12.

78. Quoted in Draper, American Communism and Soviet Russia, p. 280.

79. Buhle, "Jews and American Communism," p. 21.

80. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 348.

81. Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 104, 229.

82. Quoted in Buhle, "Jews and American Communism," p. 21.

83. Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 350-351.

84. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 193. Epstein recalls there were rumors that the business managers of Freiheit stole from the paper, "amounting to dozens of thousands of dollars."

85. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 153.

86. Freundlich, William Gropper, pp. 15, 31; Grossman, "A Visit," p. 4.

87. Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 365-366. See Epstein's previous pages, 345-364, for his personal account of Jewish Communist and left-wing reaction to the Nazi-Soviet nonagression pact.

88. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 352.

89. See Novick's description of the later Freiheit in Novick, Jewish Life.

90. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 354.

91. See Peter Kihss, "U.S. Reds Assail 2 Jewish Papers," New York Times (30 March 1969): 51.

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92. See Peter Kihss, "Editor Fights Communists' Charges," New York Times (2 January 1972): 16; and "U.S. Communists Say Yiddish Paper Serves 'Imperialism.'"

93. "U.S. Communists Say Yiddish Paper Serves 'Imperialism.'"

94. See Buhle, "Novick"; and Novick, Character and Aims.

95. Novick reportedly supplied these figures. See "U.S. Communists Say Yiddish Paper Serves 'Imperialism.'"

96. As reported in Flint, "Paul Novick Is Dead."

97. See McKenzie, Comintern and World Revolution, pp. 118-123. See also "Extracts from the Theses of the Sixth Comintern Congress on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International," in Jane Degras, ed. The Communist International, 1919-1943; Documents, vol. 2 (London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 455-457.

98. See Part One for Gropper's training at the Ferrer Center and his early involvement with the IWW, its publications, and other leftwing publications to which he contributed as a young artist.

99. See below for information on Jewish traditions of self-caricature.

100. Delteil 131. See Duranty's description of the print in Gazette des Beaux-Arts (May and June 1878): 429-43 and 528-44. See also Roger Passeron, Daumier (New York: Rizzoli, 1981), p. 98; Howard P. Vincent, Daumier and His World (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), pp. 48-50; Oliver W. Larkin, Daumier, Man of His Time (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), pp. 23-25; and especially Edwin de T. Bechtel, Freedom of the Press and l'Association Mensuelle: Philipon versus Louis-Philippe (New York: The Grolier Club, 1952), pp. 29-30, plate XVIII.

101. The cartoon, drawn in pencil by Leech and engraved by a professional wood engraver, is illustrated in Punch 10 (1846): 119. In the same issue, p. 71, is a relevant article, "War with America," which criticizes John Adams' attitude toward the Oregon matter. On the history of Punch, see M. H. Spielman, The History of "Punch" (London, Paris, and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1895); Arthur

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Bartlett Maurice and Frederic Taber Cooper, The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1904), especially pp. 97-108; and Amanda-Jane Doran, "Drawing on Tradition," in Punch 150, exh. cat. (London: Punch, 1991), p. 34. On the development in English cartoons of the John Bull symbol, see Maurice and Cooper, History, pp. 114-117. On the allegorical, political pamphlets of 1712 introducing John Bull, see John Arbuthnot, The History of John Bull, ed. by Alan W. Bower and Robert A. Erickson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

102. The other two issues are "Religions" (May 7, 1904) and "La Paix" (August 20, 1904). For a general study on Kupka see František Kupka, 1871-1957: A Retrospective (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1975). On L'Assiette au Beurre, see Elizabeth and Michael Dixmier, L'Assiette au Beurre: revue satirique illustrée (Paris, 1974); Stanley Appelbaum, French Satirical Drawings from "L'Assiette au Beurre" (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1978); Ralph E. Shikes, "Five Artists in the Service of Politics in the Pages of L'Assiette au Beurre," in Art in the Service of Politics, ed. by Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 162-181; Ralph E. Shikes and Steven Heller, "The Art of Satire: Painters as Caricaturists and Cartoonists from Delacroix to Picasso," Print Review 19 (1984); Giselle Lambert, "Les illustrateurs de l'Assiette au Beurre," dissertation, Ecole du Louvre, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1975; and Jacques Lethève, La Caricature et la Presse Sous la IIIe Republique (Paris, 1961). Other journals of the period with cartoons by leftist artists include Le Chambard socialiste and the anarchist Les Temps Nouveaux and Père Peinard.

103. In Simplicissimus, Olaf Gulbransson and Theodor Heine published especially effective anticapitalist cartoons.

Grosz's drawing appears in Der Knüppel 2 (25 July 1924); reproduced in Hans Hess, George Grosz (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1985), p. 131, and John Willett, Art and Politics in the Weimar Period; The New Sobriety, 1917-1933 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 84. Grosz contributed regularly to this satirical weekly from 1924 to 1927. See Hess, Grosz, p. 260.

104. "The 'Brains'" is reproduced in Harper's Weekly XV (21 October 1871):992. See the related editorial, "The Tammany Victory at Rochester," ibid., p. 978. Two recent lengthy studies on Nast are Dann L. Pierce, "An Investigation of Thomas Nast's Graphic Satire of the Tweed Ring," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1985; and Puran Singh Khalsa, "Thomas Nast and Harper's Weekly: 1862-1886," Ph.D.

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dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1985. General histories of Nast include Paine, Th. Nast: His Period and His Pictures; Keller, The Art and Politics of Thomas Nast; and Vinson, Thomas Nast, Political Cartoonist).

105. A recent study on the image of le poire is Elise Kenney and John Merriman, The Pear: French Graphic Arts in the Golden Age of Caricature, exh. cat. (South Hadley, Mass.: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1991). See also James Cuno, "Charles Philipon and La Maison Aubert: The Business, Politics, and Public of Caricature in Paris, 1820-1840," pp. 197, 207, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985 (cited in Elizabeth C. Childs, "Big Trouble: Daumier, Gargantua, and the Censorship of Political Caricature," College Art Journal 51 [Spring 1992]: 37).

106. The Comrade II (July 1903): 217 (cover). See Joseph Conlin's introduction to the reprint edition of The Comrade (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1970), n.p.

107. See the informative article by B. O. Flower, "Ryan Walker: A Cartoonist of Social Protest," Arena XXXIII (April 1905): 392-406.

108. For an introductory history to the Gilded Age, see Sean Dennis Cashman, America in the Gilded Age; From the Death of Lincoln to the Rise of Theodore Roosevelt, third ed. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1993).

109. Puck (23 January 1889). See the related editorial on p. 356 of this number. On Keppler, see Richard S. West, Satire on Stone: The Political Cartoons of Joseph Keppler (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). On this cartoon, see his pp. 389, 400-401.

110. Opper's cartoon is illustrated in Murrell, History of American Graphic Humor 2: 131. For a recent study on Davenport and Opper, see Steven L. Piott, "B. O. Flower and the Muckraking Cartoonists," Journal of American Culture 10 (1987):53-58.

111. Standard histories on the "muckraker" era include Arthur and Lila Weinberg, The Muckrakers (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1961) and Louis Filler, Crusaders for American Liberalism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939).

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112. B. O. Flower, "Frederick Opper: A Cartoonist of Democracy," Arena XXXIII (June 1905): 586. Flower's article on Opper, pp. 583-593, reveals much information about the artist. See also Piott, "B. O. Flower and the Muckraking Cartoonists," pp. 54-55; he lists a brief bibliography in n. 9, p. 57.

113. See p. 71.

114. New York Journal (1 September 1896):1; reprinted in Hess and Kaplan, Ungentlemanly Art, p. 128. On Davenport, see Piott, "B. O. Flower and the Muckraking Journalists," p. 55 and n. 15, p. 58, where Piott lists a brief bibliography.

115. "Having Their Fling" is reproduced in Masses 9 (September 1917):7. Prosecutors chose this cartoon as part of the evidence against Young and the other Masses defendants in the U. S. Government's second suit against members of the Masses staff, a suit that went to trial in 1918. See Zurier, Art for The Masses (1985), pp. 41-45. Another anti-war cartoon in Masses by Young is "Two years ago he pretended to feel so sorry for Belgium...," in Masses 9 (November 1916):8-9.

116. See Young's recollections of his early years as a cartoonist in The Best of Art Young, introduction by Heywood Broun (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1936), pp. xiii-xix.

117. "Er hot aruisgelozt di kets fun zak; (tsu der unterzukhung vegn di milionike kampein fondn fun di kapitalistishe parteien)" (He Let the Cats Out of the Bag; [On the investigation into the million dollar campaign funds of the capitalist parties]), Freiheit (20 October 1924): 1.

118. "Men kuift nit di veyler, nor di geveylte," Freiheit (20 October 1924): 4. See also the article, "Cal's Friends Raising Big Slush Fund; Big Business Ready to Buy Election," in Daily Worker (20 October 1924): 1; and numerous subsequent articles updating Borah's investigation, in the Daily Worker.

119. "LaFollette Charges Republicans Raise Big Corruption Fund," New York Times (8 October 1924): 1, 2.

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120. See James Weinstein, The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 313-322.

121. See "Special Committee on Campaign Expenditures," in Monthly Catalogue, United States Public Documents no. 362 (February 1925), p. 560; see also Walter Stubbs, comp., Congressional Committees, 1789-1982: A Checklist (Westport, Conn. and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1985), p. 17. For a concise account of the Presidential campaign of 1924, see Chapter 24, "The Campaign of 1924," in Donald R. McCoy, Calvin Coolidge: The Quiet President (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), reprint ed., pp. 248-263.

122. See the Progressive Party platform printed in Schlesinger, pp. 2517-2523. See also David L. Waterhouse, "The Failure of Working-Class Politics in America: The Case of the Progressive Movement of 1924," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1982.

123. "Val-strit feiert ir zig bei di voln" (Wall Street Celebrates Its Victory in the Elections), Freiheit (14 November 1924): 1.

124. See "'Freiheit' kuift ir eigene heim af uinian skver in dem tsenter fun dem idishn shap distrikt" ("Freiheit" Buys Its Own Home on Union Square in Center of the Jewish Shop District), Freiheit (11 November 1924): 1.

125. See the Introduction and Part One.

126. See the lead article of that day, "Arbeter, shtimt morgn far di kandidatn fun der V. P." (Workers, vote tomorrow for the candidates of the W. P.), Freiheit (3 November 1924): 1, 2.

127. See the clippings of Gropper's cartoons from the New York World in the Gropper Papers, Box No. II, Pub. Mat.-Caricatures-Famous People, Arents Library, Syracuse University. On the cartoonists of the Sunday Metropolitan Section of the New York World, see Murrell, A History of American Graphic Humor, v. 2, pp. 208-209.

128. "Der truim fun unzere militaristn" (The Dream of Our Militarists), Freiheit (13 December 1924): 1.

129. "Mr. senat: Mila, zol shuin-zein der; (Tsu der boshtetikung fun dem neiem atuirni general, sargent)" (Mr. Senate: No Matter, Let It Be This One (On the Confirmation of the New Attorney General, Sargent), Freiheit (21 March

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1925): 1.

130. On the relationship between Gropper's drawings in Freiheit as a foundation for the painting, The Senate, see below.

131. See "J. G. Sargent Named Attorney General; Senate Confirms," New York Times (18 March 1925): 1, 3; Claude M. Fuess, Calvin Coolidge; The Man from Vermont (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1940), pp. 364-366.

132. See the editorial, "Kulidzsh krigt iber di hent" (Coolidge is disappointed), Freiheit (12 March 1925): 4.

133. From May 14 to September 15, 1925, no cartoons by Gropper appeared in Freiheit. For a description of the trip, see Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 56-57.

134. See the notice in New Masses (July 1931): 23.

135. The editors used this description of the magazine, in "Censored!" in New Masses 1 (July 1926): 3.

136. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 57-58; and Marquardt, "New Masses," p. 58; see New Masses 1 (May 1926): 4.

137. "Val Street magnatn: Di velt lacht doch fun unz im, az mihot amol geheisen biln veist er shoyn gornit ven zikh opshteln" (Wall Street Magnates: The World Is Laughing at Him. He Was Once Told to Bark but He Doesn't Know When to Stop"), Freiheit (18 November 1926): 8. The caption underneath the cartoon reads: (Metui vol, veis-prezident fun der ameriken federeishon ov leibor hat zik tsubilt af dem sovetnfarband) (Matthew Woll, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, keeps barking at the Soviet Union).

138. See "Woll Assails Eddy on Russian Report," New York Times (15 November 1926): 23.

139. Samuel Gompers and William English Walling, Out of Their Own Mouths: A Revelation and Indictment of Sovietism (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1921).

140. William Green to All Organized Labor, 24 December 1925, Green Papers, Manuscript Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin; cited in Simeon Larson, "Opposition to AFL Foreign Policy: A Labor Mission

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to Russia, 1927," Historian XLIII (May 1981), p. 349, n. 10.

141. Ibid., p. 356.

142. Freiheit (25 June 1927): 10.

143. Freiheit (26 June 1927): 10.

144. Freiheit (27 July 1927): 8.

145. For a recent study of Sacco and Vanzetti, see Paul Avrich, Sacco and Vanzetti; the Anarchist Background (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

146. Avrich, Sacco and Vanzetti, p. 4.

147. See Freiheit (9 August 1927): 1.

148. "Git unz op Sako un Vanzeti!" (Give Us Sacco and Vanzetti!), Freiheit (9 August 1927): 8.

149. In 1929 the cartoon, with the new title "Two Million Children Work in America", won a Harmon-Survey Cartoon Award. The cartoon had recently been reprinted in New Masses with this new title. See "Harmon-Survey Cartoon Awards," Survey LXIII (15 November 1929): 224-225.

150. See the article by Adam C. Oellers, "Fur Sacco und Vanzetti," Tendenzen (Munich) 28 (October - December 1987): 41-47.

151. See a montage of cartoons by Gropper, "Boston in der nacht fun mord" (Boston during the Night of Murder), in Freiheit (28 August 1927): 10; an article by William Gropper, "The Clock Strikes Twelve!" Daily Worker, nat. ed. (2 September 1927): 6, which is excerpted in William Gropper, "They Will Remember," p. 9, in the larger article, "Sacco-Vanzetti--A Symposium," New Masses (October 1927). Melech Epstein, in Boston for the Freiheit, recalled the demonstrations at the State House against the execution. See Epstein, Jew and Communism, n. 64, pp. 414-415.

152. The sketches are reproduced in Freiheit (28 August 1927): 7. Death masks of Sacco and Vanzetti are reproduced in the Labor Defender (October 1927): cover and p. 146. An announcement that the "well known cartoonist and sculptor" Gropper would make the death masks of the two anarchists was made in the Daily Worker, final city ed. (25 August

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1927): 2, with a photograph of Gropper and Glendower Evans, of the defense. Further information on the death masks can be found in the Daily Worker. See the photograph of the masks and the memorial pyramid designed by Adolf Wolff, in Daily Worker, nat. ed. (31 August 1927): 3. See also Michael Gold, "On the Death Masks of Sacco, Vanzetti," Daily Worker, final city ed. (31 August 1927): 5; and "Replicas of Sacco and Vanzetti Death Masks for National Tour," Daily Worker, final city ed. (1 September 1927): 1.

153. See Freiheit, 17 November 1924, p. 1; 19 January 1926, p. 8; 20 May 1926, p. 6; 26 June 1926, p. 8; 8 September 1926, p. 12; 17 November 1926, p. 7; 10 April 1927, p. 10; 14 April 1927, p. 8; 7 July 1927, p. 8.

154. See Michael Gold, "A Beautiful Day is Today," Freiheit (28 August 1927): 7. See also Robert D'Attilio, "Sacco-Vanzetti Case," in Buhle et al, Encyclopedia, pp. 667-670.
On Adolf Wolff, see Francis M. Naumann and Paul Avrich, "Adolf Wolff: 'Poet, Sculptor and Revolutionist, but Mostly Revolutionist,'" Art Bulletin 67 (September 1985): 486-500.

155. See the letter from Carl Zigrosser to Louis Lozowick, dated 29 March 1930, Louis Lozowick Papers, Folder: MSS, Lozowick Correspondence, 1923-1930, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

156. "Zein laybor dei" (His Labor Day), Freiheit (5 September 1927): 8.

157. See the section "Cartoons Against the Antiradical Jewish Opposition," below, for a discussion on the conflict between left-wing and right-wing socialists in the garment unions during the mid-1920s.

158. "Vemens ius-tub iz leybor dei" (Whose holiday is Labor Day), Freiheit (5 September 1927): 4.

159. See above, Part One.

160. For a listing of modern art exhibitions and articles in America in the 1920s, see E. R. Hagemann, German and Austrian Expressionism in the United States, 1900-1939 (Westport, Conn., and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 38-40. For a discussion of the criticisms of the different streams of modernism in New York during the decade, see Susan Noyes Platt, Modernism in the 1920s: Interpretations of Modern Art in New York from

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Expressionism to Constructivism (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1985). Informative as well is the checklist of modern art exhibitions in New York, 1910-1925, by Judith K. Zilczer, in Avant-Garde Painting and Sculpture in America 1910-1925 (Universiy of Delaware and Delaware Art Museum, 1975), pp. 166-170. It is also interesting to note that the New Art Circle, a gallery in New York City devoted to modern German and American art, advertised in New Masses and was probably frequented by many New Masses artists, of which Gropper was one; see advertisement, New Masses 1 (May 1926): 27. Gropper's awareness of modernism also recalls a principle espoused by Henri, his teacher, that "That which is occupying the center of the stage today should be watched, investigated. The student should inquire" (letter from Henri to Manuel Komroff, cited, in part, in Komroff, "Our Art Class," pp. 5-6).

161. See, for example, Barry Walker and Karen Zieve, Prints of the German Expressionists and Their Circle; Collection of The Brooklyn Museum (New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1988), p. 19.

162. Ibid., pp. 20-21.

163. See Milton Brown, American Painting, pp. 102-132; Abraham A. Davidson, Early American Modernist Painting 1910-1935 (New York et al.: Harper & Row Publishers, 1981), pp. 182-228, 302; Susan Lubowsky, Precisionist Perspectives; Prints and Drawings (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art at Philip Morris, 1988); Gail Stavitsky, Precisionism in America, 1915-1941: Reordering Reality (New York: Harry N. Abrams in association with the Montclair Art Museum, 1994).

164. Marquardt postulates that radical American abstract art in the mid-1920s evolved from this notion of abstract art as a parallel to radical politics. See Marquardt, "New Masses and John Reed Club Artists, 1926-1936: Evolution of Ideology, Subject Matter, and Style," Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 12 (Spring 1989): 56-75.

165. See Leon Trotsky, Literature and Revolution (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1925).

166. See Michael Gold, "America Needs a Critic; A Review," New Masses 1 (October 1926): 7-9; and Michael Gold, "Loud Speaker and Other Essays," New Masses 2 (March 1927): 6. For a contemporary critique of radical Soviet art of the mid-1920s, see Alfred H. Barr, Jr., "The 'Lef' and Soviet Art," transition (Fall 1928): 267-270 (reprint ed., New

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York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1967).

167. See Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt, "Louis Lozowick: An American's Assimilation of Russian Avant-Garde Art of the 1920s," in Gail Harrison Roman and Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt, eds., The Avant-Garde Frontier: Russia Meets the West, 1910-1930 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1992), pp. 241-274. See also Lozowick's essay, "A Decade of Soviet Art," Menorah Journal XVI (March 1929): 243-248.

For informative, helpful essays on Russian figurative art of the 1920s and 1930s, see Evgeniia Petrova, "Revolutionary Morning: Visions of a New Life," and Andrew Causey, "Art and Revolutionary Society: Factions and Debates," in Susan Causey, ed., Tradition and Revolution in Russian Art (Cornerhouse Publications, 1990), pp. 8-19 and 22-34.

168. Quoted in Marquardt, "Louis Lozowick: An American's Assimilation," p. 246. "The Americanization of Art" was published in the exhibition catalogue, The Machine-Age Exposition (New York, May 1927), pp. 18-19; source cited in Marquardt, "Louis Lozowick: An American's Assimilation," pp. 245, 271. Lozowick's text is quoted, in part, in Stavitsky, Precisionism in America, 1915-1941: Reordering Reality, Appendix, p. 153.

169. See Virginia Hagelstein Marquardt, ed., Survivor from a Dead Age; The Memoirs of Louis Lozowick (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), pp. 264-265. The cartoon is illustrated on p. 265.

170. See New Masses 1 (May 1926): 3.

171. The cartoon of Hughes appears on a page of cartoons entitled, "The Crew that Sails Our Ship of State," Vanity Fair (July 1924): 29. On Covarrubias's life and art, see Beverly J. Cox and Denna Jones Anderson, Miguel Covarrubias Caricatures, with essays by Al Hirschfeld and Bernard F. Reilly, Jr., and a foreword by Alan Fern (City of Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985); The Jazz Age as Seen Through the Eyes of Ralph Barton, Miguel Covarrubias, and John Held, Jr., with an introduction by Richard Merkin (Providence, Rhode Island: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1968); and Wendy Wick Reaves, Celebrity Caricature in America (National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, in assoc. with New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

172. For a survey of Masereel's life and art, see Roger Avermaete, Frans Masereel (New York: Rizzoli, 1977).

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173. Masereel's drawing is reproduced full-page (with brief commentary) in Vanity Fair 23 (October 1924): 66.

174. See M. Olgin, "Unzer Gropper" (Our Gropper), Freiheit (1 January 1928): 5.

175. Gropper, Die goldene medinah.

176. See the advertisement in Freiheit (12 October 1927): 8.

177. Olgin, "Unzer Gropper."

178. See "Moishe Nadir in Moskve" (Moishe Nadir in Moscow), Freiheit (8 September 1926): 1.

179. For accounts of the Groppers' visit, see Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 61-63; William Gropper, "Soviet Russia as Gropper Saw It," New York World (8 January 1929); and Lansdell, "A Maverick...." For a summary of the artists invited to the celebration in Moscow, see L. Aleshina et al, "Na Prazdnovanii Desyatiletiya Oktyabvya" (Celebrating One Decade of October), Tvorchestvo 10 (1984): 7-8. I am thankful to Margareta Thompson, Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages, University of Georgia, for the translation of this article.

180. "Hebr groper vet zik gezegenen mit 'Freiheit'-lezer far'n opfarn in sovetn-farband" (Gropper to bid farewell to Freiheit readers on departure to the Soviet Union), Freiheit (11 October 1927):1; "Hbr groper gezegnt zik zik heint mit "Freiheit" lezer far zein opfer in sovetn-farband" (Gropper bids farewell today to Freiheit readers for his departure to the Soviet Union), Freiheit (14 October 1927): 1. See also the announcement for the farewell celebration, "Gropper, Leaving for USSR, to be Honored at Farewell on Friday," in the Daily Worker (Final City edition) (12 October 1927):5.

181. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 61-62; and Gropper, "Soviet Russia as Gropper Saw It."

182. See Gropper, "Soviet Russia as Gropper Saw It." Numerous clippings of cartoons by Gropper from these papers are found in the Gropper Papers, Box No. 4 (File: Published Material - Newspaper Clippings - Cartoons in German) and Box No. 5 (File: Published Material - Newspaper Clippings - Cartoons (Gropper) in Russian), Arents Library, Syracuse University.

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183. On these groups, see Soviet Art, 1920s-1930s (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988), pp. 116-123, 150-165; and Andrew Causey, "Art and Revolutionary Society: Factions and Debates," in Causey, Tradition and Revolution in Russian Art, pp. 22-34.

184. "The Banner of the 'Prolet-Cult,'" Plebs (January 1921): 5; quoted in Arthur Hughes, "Proletarian Art and the John Reed Club Artists, 1928-35," Master's thesis, Hunter College, 1970, p. 13.

185. Hughes, "Proletarian Art and the John Reed Club Artists," pp. 13-14.

186. As cited in Hughes, "Proletarian Art and the John Reed Club Artists," p. 15.

187. Diego Rivera, invited for the October celebration, stayed in the Soviet Union for several months, making sketches and participating in exhibitions. See his article, "AKhRR and the Style of Proletarian Art," in Revolution and Culture 6 (1928); cited in Aleshina et al, p. 8. On AKhRR, see above, p. 202 and n. 183; see also Elizabeth Valkenier, Russian Realist Art: The State and Society: The Peredvizhniki and Their Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 149-155.

188. Aleksander Deineka, Textile Workers, 1927, oil on canvas, 67 1/4 x 76 3/4 inches (171 x 195 cm.), State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg. On this painting, see Soviet Art, 1920s-1930s, pp. 10 and 150 (reproduction in color); and Causey, "Art and Revolutionary Society," pp. 30, 31. Marlene Park has noted to the author the resemblance of this painting to Ben Shahn's panel in the Bronx Post Office, New York.

See also the following: Charlotte Douglas, "Terms of Transition: The First Discussional Exhibition and the Society of Easel Painters," in The Great Utopia: The Russian and Soviet Avant-Garde, 1915-1932 (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1992), pp. 450-465; and Art Into Life: Russian Constructivism, 1914-32 (Seattle, Wash.: Henry Art Gallery; New York: Rizzoli International, 1990), especially Christina Lodder's essay.

189. See Freiheit (17 October 1926):5; (31 October 1926): 7; (6 November 1926): 7; and (7 November 1926): 7.

190. See Michael Gold, "Towards Proletarian Art," Liberator (February 1921): 20-24.

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191. See Michael Gold's introductory essay, "Art is a Weapon," in Red Cartoons (Chicago, Ill.: The Daily Worker, 1926). The cartoons were reprinted from the Daily Worker, the Workers Monthly, and the Liberator, as stated on the title page of the book. Gropper was represented by three cartoons reprinted from the Daily Worker, two of which ("Coolie No Longer!" and "The Spirit of Peace in the Amalgamated") had appeared earlier in Freiheit (7 February 1926, p. 5, and 20 January 1926, p. 6, respectively).

192. Bela Illes, "Report of the secretariat of the I. B. R. L.," Literature of the World Revolution, Special No. (1931), pp. 14-23.

193. Hughes, "Proletarian Art and the John Reed Club Artists," p. 25.

194. See Morris Pass' cartoon of Gropper, Freiheit (25 November 1928): 12; and the article, "Gropper is do tsurik! Heint trefn mir zik mit im" (Gropper has returned! Today we meet with him), Freiheit (24 November 1928): 1.

195. "Ikh muz hobn a fule mas!"; A bild in niu-iorker sobvei ("I Must Have a Full Load!"; A picture of the New York subway), Freiheit (7 December 1928): 8.

196. "Di sobvei kompanies makhn rizige profitn fun a nikl feir" (The subway companies make gigantic profits from a nickel fare), Freiheit (3 December 1928): 1.

197. See the announcement to Freiheit readers on 5 June 1929, p. 2. For the purposes of readability and consistency, the earlier title, Freiheit, will be used in the remainder of this study in the text. The endnotes will specify whether the publication cited is Freiheit or Morgen Freiheit.

198. "'The Golden Era of American Capitalism' -- Lovestone; Hoover: He is falling and I can't hold him up. Lovestone: But look how large and mighty he grew" ("Di goldene epakhe fun amerikaner kapitalizm" -- Lovestone; Hiver: Er falt mir fun di pis! Lovestone: Aber vi gruis un tekhtig er iz es uisgevaksn!), Freiheit (22 November 1929): 6.

199. Draper, American Communism and Soviet Ruussia, pp. 382-383.

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200. See Draper, American Communism and Soviet Russia, pp. 405-429; and Howe and Coser, American Communist Party, pp. 144-174. At the summer 1927 convention in New York City of the Workers (Communist) Party, Lovestone had gained a majority. See Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 182. See also Robert J. Alexander, The Right Opposition: The Lovestoneites and the International Communist Opposition of the 1930s, Contributions in Political Science, Number 54 (Westport, Connecticut and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1981).

201. See Gilbert Burck and Charles E. Silberman, "Why the Depression Lasted So Long," Fortune (March 1955): 84-88, 189-190, 192, 194, 196, 199-200, an article found in the Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3502, frames 115-129, AAA.

202. On the formation of the John Reed Club see Michael Gold, "A New Program for Writers," New Masses (January 1930): 21; Oakley Johnson, "The John Reed Clubs of the United States," (unpublished manuscript, Oakley Johnson Papers, Special Collections, State University of New York at Stony Brook); Hughes, "Proletarian Art and the John Reed Club Artists"; Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 64; Cox, "The New York Artist," p. 332, n. 55; Malcolm Cowley, "A Remembrance of the Red Romance," Esquire LXI (April 1964): 78-79, 81; Walter Witherspoon Brayman, "Art and Politics: The Radical Artists' Movement, 1926-1945," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1973; John Czaplicka, "Der 'John Reed Club': Das Eintreten fur eine proletarische Kultur," in Amerika: Traum und Depression, 1920/40 (Berlin [West]: Neuen Gesellschaft fur bildende Kunst, 1980), pp. 173-181; and Marquardt, "New Masses," especially p. 56, n. 1.

203. Epstein, Jew and Communism, pp. 207-208.

204. See the letter from the secretary of the John Reed Club, printed under "Workers' Art," New Masses (November 1929): 20-21.

205. Guenter Lewy, The Cause That Failed: Communism in American Political Life (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 10-12, 41-59.

206. Quoted in Cowley, "A Remembrance of the Red Romance," p. 124. Among the writers who penned their names were Theodore Dreiser, John Dos Passos, Waldo Frank, and Erskine Caldwell.

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207. Lewy, The Cause That Failed, pp. 44-45. Lewy states that within the Communist party cultural campaign, the American Writers' Congress, the League of American Writers, and the American Artists' Congress were developed. See Lewy, pp. 44-48.

208. "Der politseiisher klob shrekt unz nisht op!" (The Policemen's Clubs Do Not Frighten Us!), Freiheit (8 March 1930): 6. See the several articles and photographs regarding the demonstration, in Freiheit (7-15 March 1930).

209. See "Iber 100,000 arbeter demonstrirt af union skver" (Over 100,000 workers demonstrate at Union Square), Freiheit (7 March 1930): 1, 2.

The event also engendered works by other artists. Peter Hopkins produced a painting, reportedly entitled Riot at Union Square, March 8, 1930, a detail of which was reproduced in the New York Times (27 August 1989): Sec. 2, p. 29B, in conjunction with an exhibition at the Museum of the City of New York entitled Window on Wonder City: New York in the World's Fair Era, held from August 28, 1989 to January 14, 1990. In addition, the John Reed Club artists held a one-day protest exhibition on March 15, 1930. See Walt Carmon's report in "Workers' Art," New Masses (March 1930): 21.

210. For mentions of Gropper in the texts of the proceedings of the investigation, see "Investigation of Communist Propaganda; Hearings before a Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States," Part 3, Vol. 1 (15 July-23 July 1930): 129, on Gropper's contribution of sketches to a banquet at the Workers' School, Union Street, New York; and ibid., Part 1, Vol. 4 (10 November, 24-25 November, and 5 December 1930): 318, where Gropper is among the list of contributing editors of New Masses.

211. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 127-130. Gahn gives a detailed account of the two's trip to the Kharkov conference. For a reminiscence on the Kharkov conference and trip, see Elinor Langer, Josephine Herbst (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1984), pp. 115-117, and Josephine Herbst, "Literature in the U.S.S.R.," New Republic LXVI (29 April 1931): 305-306. For the proceedings of the conference, see "Second International Conference of Revolutionary Writers," Literature of the World Revolution, Special Number (1931).

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212. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 127-130. Aaron notes that the delegation was "somewhat confused if not divided." See Aaron, Writers on the Left, p. 220.

213. Committee for the Organization of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Artists, "To All Revolutionary Artists of the World," in "Second International Conference of Revolutionary Writers," pp. 10-11. As a member of the American delegation, Gropper also signed his name to the "Resolution of the American Delegation on Proletarian and Revolutionary Literature in America," in ibid., pp. 121-122.

214. See Fred Ellis, Michael Gold, William Gropper, Joshua Kunitz, A. B. Magil, and Harry Alan Potamkin, "The Charkov Conference of Revolutionary Writers," New Masses (February 1931): 7.

215. See "Second International Conference of Revolutionary Writers," p. 166. Gropper spoke during the morning session, 9 November 1930.

216. For Magil's speech, during the morning session on 8 November, see ibid., p. 160; for Potamkin's, spoken during the morning session of 9 November, when Gropper also spoke, see ibid., pp. 183-184.

217. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 128-129.

218. Ibid., p. 129.

219. The return of Gropper and Potamkin was celebrated on December 27, 1930, by a party at the John Reed Club; the New Masses also reported that a more formal reception for the delegation would be given on January 8 with Gropper, Potamkin, Magil, and Olgin as the speakers. See Secretary, "The John Reed Club," under "Workers' Art," New Masses (January 1931): 22. However, Gahn states that when "Gropper and Potamkin returned home, their more fanatical associates treated them like traitors and deserters." See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 130.

220. Ibid.

221. See "John Reed Club Speakers," New Masses (February 1931): 22.

222. See the notice in New Masses (June 1931): 23.

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223. See A. B. Magil, "To All Workers Groups," New Masses (June 1931): 23; Michael Gold, "Toward an American Revolutionary Culture" and Anonymous, "The Workers Cultural Federation," in New Masses (July 1931): 13; and "Workers' Art: In the N. Y. Federation," New Masses (July 1931): 22.

224. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 137. See also John Reed Club of New York, "Diego Rivera and the John Reed Club," New Masses (February 1932): 31; and the article on Rivera by Robert Evans, "Painting and Politics: The Case of Diego Rivera," New Masses (February 1932): 22-25.

225. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 135-136.

226. "Revolutionary Art School," Art Front 1 (February 1935): 2. On the John Reed Club School of Art, see also "Training for Propaganda," Art Digest 9 (1 October 1934): 26; and "John Reed Club Notes," Partisan Review 1 (February-March 1934): 64.

227. "Draft Manifesto of John Reed Clubs," New Masses (June 1932): 3-4.

228. Oakley Johnson, "The John Reed Club Convention," New Masses (July 1932): 15.

229. Cited in n. 213.

230. See Hughes, "Proletarian Art and the John Reed Club Artists," pp. 51-57.

231. "Der morgan-oktopus bei der arbet...", Morgen Freiheit (30 May 1933): 6. The original cartoon, in ink and white pigment on what appears to be a toned paper, is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue William Gropper, Fifty Years of Drawing, 1921-1971 (New York: A.C.A. Galleries, 1971), no. 21, as Capitalist Cartoon #1. The dimensions given in the checklist are 12 1/2 x 17 inches. It is also reproduced in David Shapiro, Social Realism: Art As a Weapon (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Company, 1973), p. 212, as Capitalist Cartoon Number 1. The cartoon was published in New Masses in June 1933 (p. 5) with the title "Business Is Picking Up."

232. See also "'Unzer' kenig" ("Our" King), with the caption "Morgan zitst uif huifns gold, vos er hat aruisgeprest fun mentshlekhe kerpers" (Morgan sits on piles of gold which he has pressed out of human bodies), Morgen Freiheit (29 May 1933): 6; and "Der bos mitin karlikl" (The Boss with the Midget), Morgen Freiheit (4 June 1933): 8,

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where "the Midget" is President Roosevelt.

233. For a largely pro-Morgan discussion of the Pujo committee and Untermeyer's role, see the biography by John Douglas Forbes, J. P. Morgan, Jr. 1867 - 1943 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), pp. 70-74.

234. See "Untermeyer Urges Buying Railroads," New York Times (28 February 1933): 14.

235. See "Morgan Paid No Income Tax for the Years 1931 and 1932; Neither Did His Partners," New York Times (24 May 1933): 1, 16. For Morgan's reaction to the investigation, see Forbes, J. P. Morgan, Jr., 1867 - 1943, pp. 175-180.

236. See the headlining articles on Morgan in Morgen Freiheit, from 24 May to 30 May, 1933. "Di Morgan-scandalen" (the Morgan scandals) is found in the sub-heading for the article "Morgan hat farkhapt industrie fun gez un elektrie" (Morgan seized the gas and electric industries), Morgen Freiheit (27 May 1933): 1.

237. Larry Harr, In Gold We Trust (J. P. Morgan, Al. Capone & Co.), with cartoons by Gropper (New York: Humor and Satire Publishing Co., 1933). Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3502, frames 911-922, AAA. In 1933 another book illustrated by Gropper appeared. See William Seagle, There Ought To Be a Law (New York: The Macaulay Company, 1933).

238. Correspondence of the Region 2 Office (New York area) with artists, 1933-1934, Records of the PWAP, Record Group 121, National Archives, Roll No. DC113, frame no. 333, Archives of American Art.

239. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 144. See also Records of the PWAP, Roll No. DC113, frame 337, AAA where there is shown a form letter provided by the PWAP and filled in by Gropper regarding the sports project.

240. Records of the PWAP, Roll No. DC113, frame 335, AAA.

241. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 263.

242. "Di Hamen-tashn; ze 'tog ein tog uis' uif zeit 4" (The Hamentashen; See "Day In and Day Out," p. 4), Morgen Freiheit (19 March 1935): 6.

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243. For a contemporaneous drawing by Gropper on this same foursome, see "The Hearst-Wessel Quartette," in New Masses (19 March 1935): 7.

244. For a study on American "fascists," see Raymond Gram Swing, Forerunners of American Fascism, Essay Index Reprint Series (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1935; reprinted 1969). His discussion includes chapters on Coughlin, Long, Hearst, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, and Dr. Francis Everett Townsend. See also American Messiahs (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935), which includes discussion on Long, Coughlin, and Hugh S. Johnson; Morris Schonbach, Native American Fascism during the 1930s and 1940s (New York: Garland, 1985); and Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War.

On Long, see Glen Jeansonne, ed. by Oscar Handlin, Messiah of the Masses: Huey P. Long and the Great Depression (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1993); and Suzanne LeVert, Huey Long: The Kingfish of Louisiana (New York: Facts on File, 1995).

245. See "The News of the Week: 52 Yes, 36 No, The Court Loses," New York Times (3 February 1935): Section 4, p. 1; and "Johnson Attacks Coughlin and Long as Peril to Nation," New York Times (5 March 1935): 1, 10. The speech by Johnson is printed in its entirety in the New York Times (5 March 1935): 10.

246. "Fashistn koglin un long wern 'Revolutsionern' bei Jonson'en" (Fascist Coughlin and Long are "Revolutionaries" according to Johnson), Morgen Freiheit (6 March 1935): 1, 8. On Coughlin and anti-Semitism, see Sidney H. Kessler, "Fascism Under the Cross: The Case of Father Coughlin," Wiener Library Bulletin (Great Britain) 33 (1980): 8-12. On Coughlin and his anticommunism, see Marshall W. Fishwick, "Father Coughlin Time: The Radio and Redemption," Journal of Popular Culture 22 (1988): 33-47.

247. E. Francis Brown, "Three 'Pied Pipers' of the Depression," New York Times Magazine (17 March 1935): 3, 20.

248. See E. G. H., "Haman the Agagite," in The Jewish Encyclopedia (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1906), pp. 189-190.

249. Amkho, "Tog-Ein, Tog-Uis" (Day In, Day Out), Morgen Freiheit (19 March 1935): 4.

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250. See "2. Correct Communist Work inside the Trade Unions," from "Extracts from the Theses on Tactics Adopted by the Fifth Comintern Congress," in Degras, The Communist International, vol. 2, p. 149.

251. See "Extracts from the Theses on the Bolshevization of Communist Parties Adopted at the Fifth ECCI Plenum," in ibid., p. 192.

252. See "Extracts from the Theses on the Current Questions of the International Communist Movement Passed by the Sixth ECCI Plenum," in ibid., pp. 253, 255.

253. McKenzie, Comintern and World Revolution, pp. 132-133; see also "Programme of the Communist International Adopted at Its Sixth Congress," in Degras, The Communist International, vol. 2, pp. 483-484.

254. See McKenzie, Comintern and World Revolution, pp. 228-229.

255. Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," pp. 94-99.

256. See C.R. [Cecil Roth], "Caricatures," in Encyclopaedia Judaica, 5 (Jerusalem: Encyclopaedia Judaica Jerusalem; The Macmillan Company, 1971), cols. 171-176; John and Selma Appel, Jews in American Graphic Satire and Humor, exh. cat. (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1984), p. 15. Their essay is based upon a previous article by John J. Appel, "Jews in American Caricature: 1820-1914," American Jewish History LXXI (September 1981): 103-133.

257. See Eduard Fuchs, Die Juden in der Karikatur (Munchen: Albert Langen, 1921), pp. 192-193; and Gustave Doré, 1832-1883 (Strasbourg: Musee d'Art Moderne, Cabinet des Estampes, 1983), p. 235.

258. The dating of Les Turpitudes Sociales is in question. See Linda Nochlin, "Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite," in Norman L. Kleeblatt, The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth, and Justice, exh. cat. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1987), pp.97-98, 113 (note 13).

259. Ibid., p. 98; Capital, pen and ink, private collection, Geneva. Reproduced in ibid., p. 98.

260. See Ralph E. Shikes and Steven Heller, "The Art of Satire," pp. 24-25; Nochlin, "Degas and the Dreyfus

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Affair," pp. 109, 115 (note 75); and Phillip Dennis Cate, "The Paris Cry: Graphic Artists and the Dreyfus Affair," in Kleeblatt, ed., The Dreyfus Affair, pp. 68-69.

261. See Howe, who gives a few humorous examples, in "The Nature of Jewish Laughter," pp. 20-23.

262. Cate, "The Paris Cry," pp. 69-72.

263. Ibid. See the entire catalogue with its several informative essays and numerous valuable illustrations.

264. Kleeblatt, ed., The Dreyfus Affair, pp. 244-252; V. Lenepveu, Nathan Mayer ou l'origine des milliards, from the series, Musées des Horreurs, 1900, hand-colored lithograph. This poster is reproduced in ibid., p. 252, and is in the collection of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

265. Oscar Handlin, "American Views of the Jew at the Opening of the Twentieth Century," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society XL (June 1951): 329-330.

266. See Handlin, "American Views of the Jew," pp. 328-329. See also John J. Appel, "Jews in American Caricature: 1820-1914," American Jewish History LXXI (September 1981): 103-133; and John and Selma Appel, Jews in American Graphic Satire and Humor, exhib. cat. (Cincinnati, Ohio: American Jewish Archives, 1984).

267. See Howe, World of Our Fathers, pp. 395-405.

268. "A Hint to the Hebrews; How They May Make Themselves Independent of the Watering Place Hotels," Puck IX (11 May 1881): 178. The cartoon is illustrated in John and Selma Appel, p. 18.

269. Handlin, "American Views of the Jews," p. 328.

270. See the collection of essays on Jewish humor edited with an introduction by Sarah Blacher Cohen, Jewish Wry; Essays on Jewish Humor (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987). See especially Irving Howe, "The Nature of Jewish Laughter," pp. 16-24.

271. See C.R., "Caricatures," in Encyclopaedia Judaica, cols. 175-176.

272. Handlin cites the following in Der Yiddischer Puck: the character Hayyim Shmu'el, a peddler, pawnbrokers, and Cohn and Levy in Coney Island (29 November 1894), pp. 1,

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13; (14 December 1894), p. 1; (28 December 1894), p. 69; (25 January 1895), p. 129; (15 March 1895), p. 259. Handlin, "American Views of the Jews," p. 329, n.23.

273. Steven Heller and William Eric Perkins, "Dirty Pictures," Print XLV (March-April 1991): 110.

274. John and Selma Appel, Jews in American Graphic Humor, p. 23.

275. "Dem 'Forverts' arbeiter-freindlikhkeit" (The "Forward's" friendliness to the worker), Der Groyser Kundes (29 December 1916): 5. The pen and ink drawing is signed: LOLA.

276. See C.R., "Caricatures," col. 176.

277. See chapters 3 and 4, "The Collapse of Jewish Political Parties and the Rise of the Evsektsiya," and "The Campaign against Traditional Jewish Life, 1917-29," vol. 1, pp. 46-86, in Levin, The Jews in the Soviet Union.

278. Ibid., pp. 152-167 and 237-258.

279. "Er ken nit ruit veren; Arbeiter-solidaritet: Kukt, mr. gompers un vert 'ruit'! Uib nisht fun kein ander zof, iz khotsh fun shande!..." (He Cannot Become a Radical; Worker-Solidarity: Come, Mr. Gompers, and become 'red'!...), Der Groyser Kundes (17 August 1917): 5.

280. See Harold C. Livesay, Samuel Gompers and Organized Labor in America, ed. Oscar Handlin (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1978), pp. 1-8, 87-93.

281. Ibid., pp. 179-180. See also pp. 77-81, above.

282. See pp. 107-108, above.

283. "Extracts from a Letter from the ECCI to the Trade Unions of All Countries," in Degras, ed., The Communist International, vol. 1, p. 88.

284. On the role of Communism in the needle trades during the 1920s, see David Saposs, Left-Wing Unionism: A Study of Radical Policies and Tactics (New York: International Publishers, 1926); Epstein, Jewish Labor in U.S.A., Vol. 2; Epstein, Jew and Communism; Philip S. Foner, The Fur and Leather Workers Union (Newark: Nordan, 1950); Steven C. Fraser, "Sidney Hillman and the Origins of the 'New Unionism': 1908-1933," Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers

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University, 1983; Joel Seidman, The Needle Trades (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942); and Benjamin Stolberg, Tailor's Progress (New York: Doubleday Doran, 1944).

285. Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 54.

286. V. I. Lenin, "'Left Wing Communism': An Infantile Disorder," as noted in n. 30, above.

287. See issues of the New York Times, for example, during this time period.

288. "A Kosher Dance of the Holy Trinity" (A kosher-tants fun der heiliger drei einigkeit), Freiheit (17 June 1922): 4.

289. "Gompers, the member of the Black Capitalist Civic Federation, supported by the yellow 'Socialists,' does a Kosher Dance in Cincinnati" (Gompers, der mitglid fun der shvartz-kapitalistisher sivik-federeishon, untershtitst fun di gele "soshelists," geht a koshr-tants in sinsineti).

290. See Livesay, Samuel Gompers, pp. 149-157; also see p. 92, above.

291. "Er iz dokh, dertsehlt er, geven azui patiriotish in der tseit fun der milkhome." In "Gompers Feels He Has Been Wronged" (Gompers fihlt zik gekrivdet), Freiheit (17 June 1922): 4.

292. See a summarization of the American communists' opinions toward LaFollette, in Lewy, The Cause That Failed, pp. 14-18. See also Kenneth Campbell MacKay, The Progressive Movement of 1924 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947); James H. Shideler, "La Follette Campaign," Wisconsin Magazine of History 33 (1950); and Arthur Simson, "Communism and the La Follette Campaign," Political Affairs 53 (November 1974), all cited in Haynes, pp. 17-18.

293. Howe and Coser, American Communist Party, pp. 111-112, 118-127. La Follette received less than five million votes. Ibid., p. 141.

294. As stated within section VI ("Ruthless Struggle against Right-Opportunist Tendencies"), "Extracts from the Theses on Tactics Adopted by the Fifth Comintern Congress" (July 1924), in Degras, The Communist International v. 2, p. 150.

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295. Foster, as stated in The Labor Herald, September 1924. Cited in Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 60 and n. 27.

296. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 56.

297. Novick, as quoted in Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 99 and n. 71.

298. Interview by the author with Suller.

299. Interview by the author with Sophie Gropper; interview by the author with Suller.

300. Untitled XI, Freiheit (10 February 1925): 1.
On Communist participation in the ILGWU during the 1920s, see David Gurowsky, "Factional Disputes within the ILGWU, 1919-1928," Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York, Binghamton, 1978. See also James R. Prickett, "Communists and the Communist Issue in the American Labor Movement, 1920-1950," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975, cited in Haynes, p. 44.

301. Zimmerman's remarks are quoted in Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 56. Interview with Charles Zimmerman, November 1964, YIVO Archives, Oral History Collection. This particular passage is from p. 64 of the interview.

302. Louis Pankin, interview by Irving Howe, YIVO Archives, p. 21; quoted in Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 59.

303. Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," pp. 51-52. For the conflicts between right- and left-wings in the ILGWU, see especially the section "Left-Wing Dissidents" in Liebman, Jews and the Left, pp. 236-240.

304. See Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," pp. 51, 70-71. This article is the most helpful resource of information on the "civil war" in the ILGWU.

305. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 237.

306. Ibid., p. 239.

307. Liebman, Jews and the Left, p. 237; and Stolberg, Tailor's Progress, p. 129.

308. See, for example, the unsigned editorial, "Vemen vil di zigman-mashin fareiniken?" (Whom will the Sigman machine unite?), Freiheit (12 November 1924): 4.

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309. For the dispute between the left and right within the Amalgamated, see the bibliography in Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 54, n. 16: Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Documentary History, 1924-1926, 1926, General Executive Board Report, 45-90; Charles E. Zaretz, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America: A Study in Progressive Trades-Unionism (New York, 1934), pp. 250-255; Epstein, Jewish Labor, pp. 166-168; and Stanley Nadel, "The Communists and the Needle Trades, 1920 to 1928," M.A thesis, Columbia University, 1973, pp. 45-59.

310. See "Amalgameited-opereitors baveisen, az miken zei nit bahershn mit der hilf fun shtarke" (Amalgamated operators demonstrate that they will not dominate with the help of the strong), Freiheit (19 February 1925): 1, 2; and "Baamte fun fariers interneishanal baveisen az zei zeinen 'On di job'" (Officials of Furriers International prove that they are "On the Job"), Freiheit, (22 February 1925): 1.

311. See the quotation by Sigman, in Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 63: "I am aware of the danger lurking in the peace settlement, but what can I do? The Forward is threatening to cut off my support. Besides, I do not want people to accuse me later of being the cause of the ruin of the ILGWU." This was reportedly told to Melech Epstein (see his Jewish Labor, pp. 141, 451) by Simon Farber, editor of Gerechtigkeit, the Yiddish ILGWU paper. See Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 63, n. 34.

312. See the cartoons in the following issues of Freiheit: 21 June 1925: 8; 23 June 1925: 1; 26 June 1925: 1; 28 June 1925: 1; 19 July 1925: 8 (where Sigman is depicted as a rat); 23 July 1925: 6; 26 July 1925: 8; 7 August 1925: 6 (where Sigman is again depicted as a rat); 9 August 1925: 8 (Sigman is depicted as a hungry dog); 19 August 19 1925: 6 (Sigman is shown as a goat); 20 August 1925: 6; 23 August 1925: 8 (the cartoon concerns Sigman, although he is not pictured); 25 August 1925: 6 (Sigman again is depicted as a rat); 27 August 1925: 6; and 4 September 1925: 6.

313. See, for example, "'Forverts' un zigman viln aruifvarfn zeiere skebishe meshim af der 'Freiheit'" ("Forverts" and Sigman will throw their scab-filled machine onto the "Freiheit"), Freiheit (11 February 1925): 1, 2.

314. See the articles in 1-4 September 1925, Forverts, cited in Brandes, "From Sweatshop to Stability," pp. 56, 140 (n. 122).

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315. See the cartoons in the following issues of Freiheit: (9 January 1926): 10; (20 February 1926): 7; (4 March 1926): 6; (11 March 1926): 8; (22 March 1926): 6; (14 April 1926): 6; (18 April 1926): 12; (25 April 1926): 12; (29 April 1926): 6; (13 May 1926): 6; (24 June 1926): 6; (6 July 1926): 6; (17 July 1926): 8; (1 September 1926): 6; (14 September 1926): 6; (7 October 1926): 8; (7 November 1926): 10; (13 November 1926): 8; and (20 November 1926): 8.

316. "Just to Spite the Communists!" (Di komunistn oif tsu lehekheim!), Freiheit (14 April 1926): 6.

317. "The S.[ocialist] P.[arty] does not want a United Front in celebrating the 1st of May" (Di S. P. vil nit kein fareiniktn front tsu feiern dem 1st Mai), ibid.

318. Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 66.

319. The strike in 1926 began on July 1 whereas the earlier strike had begun on July 7, 1910. See Seidman, Needle Trades, p. 105. See the description of the lengthy 1926 strike in Gurowsky, "Factional Disputes," pp. 236-255. Freiheit and the Daily Worker frequently reported violent incidents involving the strike, including gangster-related shootings. For instance, in the early days of the strike, the "Little Augie" gang reportedly shot an ILGWU picketer. See "First Blood of I.L.G.W. Flows in N.Y.," Daily Worker (10 July 1926): 1.

Among the new demands were a limitation on the number of contractors used by the jobbers, a wage increase, at least 36 weeks of work yearly, the 40-hour week, and no more "reorganization" rights for employers. See "Forty Thousand Garment Workers on Strike in N.Y.," Daily Worker (2 July 1926): 1.

320. (Cloakmaker union says, settlement or strike, but no arbitration), Freiheit (1 September 1926): 1, 2; "Smith Scolds Garmnent Union for Rejection," Daily Worker (2 September 1926): 2. Stolberg notes that around 12,000 workers returned to their jobs (Stolberg, Tailor's Progress, p. 141). According to Zimmerman, during the eighth week of the strike, the parties had reached consensus on an agreement. The Communist party faction had accepted, then the larger faction rejected the proposed settlement because of factional in-fighting, where each group wanted to impress Moscow by appearing more "revolutionary" and continuing the strike. See Zimmerman interview, 11 December 1964, pp. 70-72.

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321. "'Forverts' makht a nebakh-pnimil vegn zeine meshim in coakmakher [sic]-streik" ("Forward" makes a poor show in its deeds in the cloakmaker strike), Freiheit (26 September 1926): 6.

322. See "An eklhafte 'Forverts'-provokatsie kegn di kloakmaker" (A disgusting provocation by the "Forward" against the cloakmakers), Freiheit (28 September 1926): 1.

323. See "Needle Trades Revolt Against Communism," New York Times (12 December 1926): sec. 9, p. 4; "Cloak Heads Agree to Arbitrate Strike," New York Times (15 December 1926): 29, col. 8; see Gurowsky, "Factional Disputes," p. 245.

324. For instance, see the article in Freiheit, "Klok-jobers krign di fule hilf fun 'Forverts'-klen un zei ervartn uif a farband mit asosieishon fun kantraktars" (Cloak jobbers receive full help from the Forward clan and they await a union with the association of contractors), Freiheit (24 November 1926): 1. See Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 67, for discussion on the settlement.

325. On Dubinsky at this time, see Epstein, Jewish Labor, pp. 129, 138-144, and 147. For the articles, see, for example, Ben Gold, "Der 'Forverts' in der opozitsie" (The "Forward" in the opposition), Freiheit (13 November 1926): 4; "Klokmaker streik komite fardamt di skeberei fun 'Forverts'" (Cloakmakers strike committee condemns the scabs of the "Forward"), Freiheit (18 November 1926): 1, 6. In the latter article (p. 1), the Forward is called the "klen-organ" (clan organ) of Sigman and Dubinsky, "klan" in this instance referring to Freiheit's name for the group of right-wing socialist leaders, namely, the "don't worry clan."

326. "Di Yente fun 'Forverts,' nebakh!; Ir muil iz shuin bald tserisn fun kuluh kegn di firer fun klokmakher-streik. Pun ir 'hipodrome' gist zik di sukhekheh, un zi klagt nokh: oi, ven zi ken khotsh a bisinke dos muil efenen!..." (The Crone of the "Forward," Poor Thing!; Her voice is almost ripped apart from screaming against the leaders of the cloakmakers strike. Still her "Hippodrome" pours on the curses, and she complains still: If only I could open my mouth just a little!...), Freiheit (24 November 1926): 8. Gahn discusses briefly Gropper's criticism of Cahan. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 102.

327. Ibid.

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328. See the cartoons in Freiheit of 21 October 1925, p. 6; and 25 April 1926, p. 12.

329. Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 67 and n. 47; as quoted in the ILGWU Convention Report (1928), pp. 83-89.

330. "Red Chiefs Call Parley on Cloak Warfare Here," New York Herald Tribune (8 December 1926): 44. col. 1.

331. "Getz im an elekshon, getz im; Di hentelakh shuin ongegreit ba im" (The Election is Coming; All his hands are ready), Freiheit (8 December 1926): 8.

332. See the beginning of this section for a review of visual stereotypes of the Jewish businessman.

333. See "Tsu di klokmakher!; fun Prezident Zigman fun der Interneshonal" (To the Cloakmakers! From President Sigman of the International), Forward (11 December 1926): 1.

334. For an account, see Report of the General Executive Board to the Nineteenth Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (1928), pp. 96-99, cited in Seidman, Needle Trades, p. 184, n. 14. See also Stolberg, Tailor's Progress, p. 142; Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 68 and n. 48.

335. "Garment Peace Seen as Sigman Replaces Reds," New York Herald Tribune (12 December 1926): 18, cols. 5-6; "Sigman Acts Today to End Red Control," New York Times (12 December 1926): 5; "Order Red Leaders Out of Cloak Strike," New York Times (14 December 1926): 9, col. 2.

Interestingly, two of Gropper's cartoons, one listed from Freiheit (mistakenly stated as Freihart) and one from the Daily Worker, were printed in an article on the conflict, written by Louis Stark, "Needle Trades Revolt," New York Times (12 December 1926): sec. 9, p. 4. The caption for the cartoon from Freiheit is printed as "Words of Peace Came From His Mouth and From His Pockets, Gangsters," whereas the cartoon from the Daily Worker, "The Spirit of Peace in the Amalgamated," had actually first appeared in Freiheit on January 20, 1926 (p. 6).

336. "Calls Strike Plan 'Vague,'" New York Times (13 December 1926): 40, col. 2; and Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 132. Seidman says about $3,500,000. See Seidman, Needle Trades, p. 165.

337. Stolberg, Tailor's Progress, p. 142.

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338. "At azoi bagegnt der sotsialistisher "peiper" di klokmakher in zein skver; (Tsu der kloukmakher-demanstratsie kegn "Forverts" vos iz fargekumen letstn dinstik)" (This Is How the Socialist Newspaper Met the Cloakmakers in the Square before the Forverts Building; [To the cloakmakers demonstration against the "Forverts" last Tuesday), Freiheit (19 December 1926): 10.

339. See Norman L. Kleeblatt, "'Passing' into Multiculturalism," in Norman L. Kleeblatt, Too Jewish? Challenging Traditional Identities (New York: The Jewish Museum; and New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1996), pp. 9-11, 138-139. The other essays in this catalogue are richly insightful and informative as well. See, particularly, Sander L. Gilman, "The Jew's Body," pp. 60-73.

Linda Nochlin's introductory essay, "Starting with the Self: Jewish Identity and Its Representation," in Linda Nochlin and Tamar Garb, eds., The Jew and the Text: Modernity and the Construction of Identity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), pp. 7-19, is especially illuminating in questioning the intention and context in the construction of Jewish imagery by Jewish artists (see p. 18, especially).

A sociologist, Sander Gilman is a major researcher on the historical theories centered around stereotypes of the Jew's body. See his Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); and The Jew's Body (New York and London: Routledge: 1991).

For a scholarly survey of anti-Semitism in the U.S., see Leonard Dinnerstein, Antisemitism in America (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). The history of anti-Semitism in America is complex with revisionist historians questioning the time-honored accounts of the broad acceptance of Jews by American society. For an introduction to the discourse, see David A. Gerber, "Anti-Semitism and Jewish-Gentile Relations in American Historiography and the American Past," in Gerber, ed., Anti-Semitism in American History (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp. 3-54.

Another very useful study in the history of Jewish stereotypes is Frank Felsenstein, Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830 (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

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340. "Arbiters Gather to Bring Peace in Cloak Trade," New York Herald Tribune (17 December 1926): 11, col. 1.

341. See the notice in Justice (7 January 1927): 3. Those holding "pink" books were to pay 50 cents; those holding any other colored books were to pay 5 dollars.

342. "Moriske mukhr-union handlt mit mtsius; Zigman: Kuift, idn, iunianbikhlakh, bilig, fuftsik sent a shik" (Morris, the Union-Seller, Dealing with Bargains; Sigman: Buy cheaply, Jews, union books, fifty cents each), Freiheit (22 December 1926): 8; reprinted in Daily Worker (8 January 1927): 6, as "Morris, the Union Auctioneer, Peddles Bargains"; and in New Masses (February 1927): 18, as "Labor Faker selling the Union."

343. "Moriske mukhr-union pedlt shoin mit setlments; Zigman hat eignezen, az di biznes mit 50-sentige iunion-bikhlakh tuig uif klog, hat er genumen pedlen mit 50-sentige setlments" (Morris, the Union-Seller, is Peddling Settlements Now; Sigman realized that the business of 50-cent union books was no good, so he began peddling 50-cent settlements), Freiheit, 14 January 1927, p. 8.

344. "Moriske pedlt shoin mit neie charters" (Now Morris is Peddling New Charters), Freiheit, 22 February 1927, p. 8.

345. Hardy, Clothing Workers, p. 50.

346. See "Sigman's kuni eiland in eiowa steit" (Sigman's Coney Island in Iowa State), Freiheit, 1 July 1925, p. 5; "Ikh bin ershtuint fun Sigman's farmegn" (I am amazed at Sigman's wealth), Freiheit, 8 July 1927, pp. 5, 8; and "Sigman's maiontek batreft hekher hundert tuiznt dalar" (Sigman's Resort Costs Above 100,000 Dollars), Freiheit, 15 July 1927, pp. 6 (4), 5.

347. "Moriske: Kuift, kuift, bilig, ba mir iz alts bilig: skeb bikhlakh, hat dogs, iunie, arbeter, hat mamas un nokh, un nokh, un nokh" (Morris: Buy, buy cheap, everything here is a bargain--scab books, hot dogs, union, workers, hot mamas, etc., etc.), Freiheit, 10 July 1927, p. 10.

348. Sigman filed a criminal law suit against Gropper, Melech Epstein, Olgin, Rubin Salzman, and Ben Lifshitz of the Freiheit, the Freiheit Publishing Company, Hyman, manager of the cloakmakers strike, Ben Gold of the furriers union, and Jacob Boruchovitz, the latter three reportedly editors of Einingkeit, in the slander of himself and his wife. See the articles, "Sigman is Trying to Jail Editors

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of 'The Freiheit,'" Daily Worker (National Edition), 27 August 1927, p. 5; "Sigman in Move to Put Ben Gold, Hyman in Prison," Daily Worker (Final City Edition), 10 September 1927, p. 3; "Left Wing Charges Denied by Sigman," New York Times, 4 October 1927, p. 20, col. 2; and "Cross Examine Sigman in Suit Against Lefts," Women's Wear Daily, 12 October 1927, sec. 3, p. 1.

Paul Novick of Freiheit was named as another editor of Einingkeit; see "Cloak Strike Communist-Led, Sigman Says," Women's Wear Daily, 18 October 1927, sec. 1, p. 2.

See summary of the hearings, in Gurowsky, "Factional Disputes," pp. 298-300.

349. "Er pedlt mit somonses..." (He's Peddling Summonses), Freiheit, 9 September 1927, p. 8.

350. The series of delays and dramatic accounts of testimony in the crowded courtrooms of the preliminary hearings of the suit spanned August to December 1927.

Sigman testified on October 3, 11, 17, and 18. See "Left Wing Charges Denied by Sigman," New York Times, 4 October 1927, p. 20, col. 2; "Workers Jeer at Sigman on Stand in 'Libel' Case," Daily Worker, 5 October 1927, p. 5; "Communist Scribes Fail to Disavow Guilt in Sigman Libel Charges," Justice, 7 October 1927, pp. 1-2; "Reds Hear Sigman Flay Them in Court," New York Times, 12 October 1927, p. 44, col. 1; "'I Got $100 a Week During Strike'--Sigman; Union-Wrecking Acts of Witness Bared at Trial," Daily Worker (Final City Edition), 12 October 1927, pp. 1, 5; "Sigman's 'kleininke properti' vakst uim in a gruisn kuni-eiland bam kreits-farher in zein protses gegn 'freiheit'" (Sigman's 'Little Property' Grows into a Big Coney Island Indicates Leader in His Suit Against 'Freiheit'), Freiheit, 12 October 1927, pp. 1-2; "Cross Examine Sigman in Suit Against Lefts," Women's Wear Daily, 12 October 1927, sec. 3, p. 1; "Communist Tales of Sigman 'Wealth' Exploded at Hearing," Justice, 14 October 1927, pp. 1-2; "Says Moscow Led Garment Strike," New York Times, 18 October 1927, p. 22, col. 3; "Sigman Caught Twisting Facts During Trial," Daily Worker, (National Edition), 18 October 1927, pp. 1-2; "Sigman varft in gerikht mit msirus gegn 'Freiheit' un firer fun klokmakher un farier" (Sigman Throws in Law with Misconceptions Against 'Freiheit' and Leaders of Cloakmakers and Furriers), Freiheit, 18 October 1927, pp. 1-2; Cloak Strike Communist-Led, Sigman Says," Women's Wear Daily, 18 October 1927, sec. 1, p. 2; "Charges Owners Aid Garment Left Wing,"New York Times, 19 October 1927, p. 23, cols. 5-6; "Sigman Fought Workers with Their $175,000," Daily Worker (National Edition), 19 October 1927, pp. 1-2; "Sigman git tsu beim protses gegn 'Freiheit'

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az gantser inshurens fond iz avek of pagrom-arbet" (Sigman Continues Suit Against 'Freiheit' as Whole Insurance Fund Goes to Pogrom-Work), Freiheit, 19 October 1927, pp. 1-2; "Sigman Ends Testimony Against Lefts," Women's Wear Daily, 19 October 1927, sec. 1, p. 2; and "Communist Defense Breaks Down at Sigman Libel Suit Hearings," Justice, 21 October 1927, pp. 1-2.

351. See announcement of book in Freiheit, 12 October 1927, p. 8.

352. Epstein, foreword to Gropper, Die goldene medinah, unpaginated.

353. Gurowsky, "Factional Disputes," p. 280; and Epstein, Jewish Labor, p. 375.

354. Fraser M. Ottanelli, The Communist Party of the United States; From the Depression to World War II (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1991), pp. 20-21; Howe and Coser, American Communist Party, p. 253; and Draper, American Communism and Soviet Russia, pp. 284-296.

355. See Nadel, "Reds Versus Pinks," p. 70. The forming convention took place December 29-31, 1928. See Gurowsky, "Factional Disputes," pp. 315-316, 324.

356. See, for instance, Gropper's cartoon from late 1924 in Freiheit contrasting the good farmer-colonist in Soviet Russia with crows overhead identified with zionism and the Forward, in "Wemen art es vos di kroen kraken!" (Who cares what the crows are cawing!), Freiheit, 20 December 1924, p. 1. Cartoons by Gropper in Freiheit with this dichotomy of Zionist versus Soviet colonist include the following: 16 September 1925, p. 6; and 31 October 1925, p. 10. Gropper created many drawings in Freiheit attacking zionism, including the following: 29 October 1925, p. 6; 26 January 1926, p. 6; 7 February 1927, p. 8; 4 September 1929, p. 8; and 6 September 1929, p. 8.

357. Epstein, Jew and Communism, p. 233.

358. "'Idn bni rhmnim, shlogt komunistn!'" (Merciful Jews, Slaughter the Communists!), Morgen Freiheit, 13 September 1929, p. 8. For another cartoon by Gropper on this theme, see Morgen Freiheit, 12 September 1929, p. 8.

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359. See, for example, cartoons in Morgen Freiheit from 25 September 1929, p. 8; 3 October 1929, p. 8; and 6 October 1929, p. 10.

360. See Lewy, The Cause That Failed, p. 19; also see Maurice Isserman, Which Side Were You On? (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), pp. 3-4.

361. Lewy, The Cause That Failed, pp. 18-19.

362. From Earl Browder, Communism in the United States (New York: International Publishers, 1935), quoted in Lewy, The Cause That Failed, p. 18.

363. "Der forvertsistisher 'mitin pnim tsum sovetn-farband'" (The Forverts' "With a face to the Soviet Union'"), Morgen Freiheit, 12 September 1932, p. 6.

364. Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, pp. 65-66.

365. "ECCI Statement on the German Situation and on the United Front," of March 5, 1933, published in Rundschau, ii, 4 (11 March 1933), p. 91, trans. in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, pp. 250, 252-253.

366. "Programme of the Communist International Adopted at Its Sixth Congress," of 1 September 1928, published in Protokoll, vi, 4, p. 45, trans. in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 2, p. 473.

367. "Extracts from the Theses of the Twelfth ECCI Plenum on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern Sections," from September 1932, trans. in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, p. 226.

368. "Extracts from a Resolution of the Third ECCI Plenum on Fascism," in Degras, The Communist International v. 2, pp. 41-43.

369. Ibid.

370. Extracts from the Theses of the Sixth Comintern Congress on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International," in Degras, The Communist International, v. 2, p. 459.

371. "Extracts from the Theses of the Sixth Comintern Congress on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Communist International," from 29 August 1928, in

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Protokoll vi, 4, p. 13, trans. in Degras, ed, The Communist International, v. 2, pp. 455-456; "Programme of the Communist International Adopted at Its Sixth Congress," ibid., pp. 485, 488, 513, 525.

On Gropper's cartoons associating fascism with anti-Semitism, see the discussions on Pilsudski and Hitler, below.

372. Ibid.

373. "Extracts from the Theses of the Eleventh ECCI Plenum on the Tasks of the Comintern Sections in Connexion with the Deepening of the Economic Crisis and the Development of the Conditions Making for a Revolutionary Crisis in a Number of Countries," in Degras, The Communist International, v. 3, p. 151.

374. Ibid., p. 162.

375. "Extracts from the Theses of the Twelfth ECCI Plenum on the International Situation and the Tasks of the Comintern Sections," in Degras, The Communist International, v. 3, p. 225. See also Ceplair, Under the Shadow of Fascism, pp. 47-51, on "The Origins of 'Social-Fascism.'"

376. "Extracts from the Theses of the Thirteenth ECCI Plenum on Fascism, the War Danger, and the Tasks of Communist Parties," of December 1933, trans. in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, p. 303.

377. "Extracts from a Resolution of the Seventh Comintern Congress on the Danger of a New World War," Degras, The Communist International, v. 3, pp. 375-376.

378. Whiting, Antifascism in American Art, pp. 8-33.

See also the following cartoons: Robert Minor, "Yes, Mussolini -- Red Guards!," published in Daily Worker (6 January 1925), reprinted in Red Cartoons (Chicago: The Daily Worker, 1926; and Miguel Covarrubias, The Four Dictators (Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, and Huey Long), watercolor on cardboard, 17 1/2 x 15 inches, the Swann Collection of Caricature and Cartoon, in Ron Tyler, Image of America, p. 133.

379. Abraham Kwaterko, "A gruiser kinstler un hartsiker mentsh" (A Great Artist and a Warm, Sincere Man), Folks-Shtime (26 March 1977), Paul Novick Papers, "Gropper" clippings file, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New

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York, New York.

380. See these cartoons by Gropper on Mussolini in the following issues of Freiheit: 16 November 1924, p. 8; 18 November 1924, p. 1; 27 December 1924, p. 1; 15 February 1925, p. 1; 24 February 1925, p. 1; 30 October 1925, p. 8; 11 April 1926, p. 12; 20 July 1926, p. 6; 19 September 1926, p. 10; 4 November 1926, p. 8; 14 November 1926, p. 10; 31 January 1927, p. 8; 10 May 1927, p. 8; 23 May 1927, p. 8; 6 June 1927, p. 8; 18 September 1927, p. 10; 27 March 1929, p. 8; 14 June 1929, p. 8; 4 May 1930, p. 8; 28 May 1930, p. 6; 2 February 1931, p. 6; 27 March 1933, p. 6; 17 May 1933, p. 6 (as a dog); 18 May 1933, p. 6 (as a dog); 24 August 1933, p. 6; 19 October 1933, p. 6; 23 February 1934, p. 6; 14 June 1934, p. 6; 28 July 1934, p. 8; 21 November 1934, p. 8; 14 February 1935, p. 6; 13 April 1935, p. 8; 16 April 1935, p. 8; 16 May 1935, p. 6; 24 July 1935, p. 6; 3 August 1935, p. 8; 9 August 1935, p. 6; 20 August 1935, p. 6. No anti-Mussolini cartoons by Gropper appear in Freiheit in 1928 (he was on his trip abroad for most of this time) and in 1932.

For an incisive analysis on fascism and leftist antifascism, see Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War.

381. See the cartoons published in Freiheit on 16 November 1924, p. 8; 18 November 1924, p. 1; and 27 December 1924, p. 1. According to Gahn, Gropper was very much influenced in his opposition towards Mussolini by his (Gropper's) friendship during the 1920s with the anti-Mussolini anarchist Carlo Tresca. See Gahn, "America of William Gropper...," p. 166.

382. "Dos politishe ferdl halt beim tsuzamenbrekhn" (The Political Horse Holds Itself Together), Freiheit (16 November 1924): 8.

383. "Zei zitsn af a vaulkan" (They Are Sitting Atop a Volcano), Freiheit (18 November 1924): 1.

384. See also Gropper's cartoon of Mussolini attempting to sit on a broken chair, in Freiheit (27 December 1924): 1. The cartoonist would return to this theme of a serious Mussolini atop an unstable situation, in Freiheit (19 September 1926): 10 (where Mussolini is shown atop a lit bomb); Freiheit (4 November 1926): 8 (Fig. 93, where he is aloft above a phalanx of bayonets); and Freiheit (23 May 1927): 8 (where he tries to keep a lid on an erupting volcano).

385. Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, pp. 26-27.

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386. See, for example, the articles: "Fascist Rule in Desperate Death Battle," Daily Worker (10 November 1924): 1; and "Mussolini Now Sees Workers' Power Growing," Daily Worker (15 November 1924): 1.

387. See, for instance, "Opozitsie vet zik nit bateilikn in Musolini's Parlament," Freiheit (11 November 1924): 1.

388. See, for instance, "Musolini dershrekt zik far vaksender opazitsie" (Mussolini Frightened by Growing Opposition), Freiheit (12 November 1924): 1; "Communist Attacks Mussolini; Charge Fascisti Are Murderers of Matteotti," Daily Worker (13 November 1924): 1. See Ceplair's discussion on the various leftist factions in Italy during Mussolini's rise to power and the early years of his rule, in Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, pp. 19-28.

389. "Musolini: Ikh zits fest, vei iz mir" (Mussolini: I Am Sitting Firm, Woe Is Me), Freiheit (4 November 1926): 8.

390. "Neier farzukh tsu tuitn Musolini; ongreifer gelintsht fun hmun" (New attempt to kill Mussolini; attacker lynched by wicked man), Freiheit (1 November 1926): 1.

391. See Freiheit: 14 November 1926, p. 10; 31 January 1927, p. 8; 10 May 1927, p. 8; 6 June 1927, p. 8 (Fig. 94).

392. Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, pp. 28-29.

393. "Musolini's truim; Der fashistisher diktator italie vil an armei fun finf milion soldatn" (Mussolini's Dream; The Fascist dictator of Italy wants an army of five million soldiers), Freiheit (6 June 1927): 8.

394. Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, p. 74.

395. See the cartoons in Morgen Freiheit for 16 May 1935, p. 6; 24 July 1935, p. 6; 3 August 1935, p. 8; 9 August 1935, p. 6; and 20 August 1935, p. 6.

396. "Der barabanshtshik fun tiut!" (The Drummer Boy of Death!), Morgen Freiheit (9 August 1935): 6.

397. The new technique also appears in Gropper's cartoon of Mussolini published on 29 November 1935, p. 8, in Morgen Freiheit.

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398. "Vi puiln bafreit ire kominist ishe gefangene" (How Poland Frees Her Communist Prisoners), Freiheit (3 April 1925): 1.

399. See, for instance, the cartoon, "How Wall Street Celebrates Its Victory in the Elections," Fig. 55, of November 1924.

400. "Pratest demanstratsies ibern gantsn land kegn puilishe henker" (Protest demonstrations across the land against Polish henchmen), Freiheit (30 March 1925): 1.

401. "Puilisher konvoi afitser hat ermardert 2 kamunistn af'n veg tsum grenits fun Sovet-Rusland" (Polish convoy officer has murdered 2 communists on the way to border of Soviet Russia), Freiheit (1 April 1925): 1.

402. "Gruise demanstratsies in Savet Rusland kegn puilisher regirung" (Great demonstrations in Soviet Russia against Polish government), Freiheit (3 April 1925): 1.

403. Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, pp. 14-15.

404. See the following cartoons of Pilsudski by Gropper in issues of Freiheit: 3 April 1925, p. 1; 3 June 1926, p. 6; 6 June 1926, p. 10; 24 July 1926, p. 8; 29 October 1926, p. 8; 17 April 1929, p. 8; and in Morgen Freiheit: 1 March 1930, p. 8 (as "Poland"); 10 June 1931, p. 6; 12 November 1931, p. 6; 23 November 1931, p. 6; 2 January 1932, p. 6; 10 July 1932, p. 8; 9 August 1932, p. 6 (as "Fascist Poland") 12 November 1932, p. 6; 3 December 1932, p. 6; 18 December 1932, p. 8; 26 March 1933, p. 8; 24 August 1933, p. 6; 20 June 1934, p. 6; 14 June 1935, p. 6.

405. "Der neie prezident fun puiln...; Pilsudski (zitsndik af Moshtshitski'n) Hura far unzer demokratisher republik!" (The New President of Poland...; Pilsudski (Sitting on Moscicki's back): Hurrah for our democratic republic!), Freiheit (3 June 1926): 6.

406. "Men firt di mlukhh in der puilisher republik; Pilsudski, welcher batseichnt di seim-deputatn als gnb'm un prustitutkes, un halt di regirung farpakt, kleibt zikh shuin tsu a neiem premier..." (Leading the Government in the Polish Republic; Pilsudski, who called the Szem deputies thieves and prostitutes and keeps the government locked up, is now choosing a new premier...), Freiheit (17 April 1929): 8.

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407. See Freiheit, 29 September 1925, p. 6, where a Polish nobleman, with whip in hand, stands over a religious Jew holding the "liberty agreement."

408. "Programme of the Communist International Adopted at Its Sixth Congress," translated in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 2, p. 484.

409. "Gevald, men shlogt i'dn in sovetn-farband!" (Help! Jews Are Being Beaten Up in the Soviet Union!), Morgen Freiheit (1 March 1930): 8.

410. See the cartoons in Morgen Freiheit for 10 June 1931, p. 6; 12 November 1931, p. 6; 23 November 1931, p. 6; 12 November 1932, p. 6; 20 June 1934, p. 6. See also Gropper's illustration for the pamphlet by Paul Novick, Der kesl-grub Puiln [The Whirlpool Poland] (New York: Yiddish Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States). The illustration is reproduced in an advertisement for the pamphlet in Morgen Freiheit (12 January 1933): 3.

411. See the cartoons in Morgen Freiheit for 10 June 1931, p. 6; 12 November 1931, p. 6; 23 November 1931, p. 6; and 10 July 1932, p. 8.

412. "Es vasht zikh nit op!; Protestirt heint gegn di puilish henker un gegn di echt-idishe bashitser fun di pilsudski-pogrom shtshikem" (It Does Not Wash Off!; Protest today against the Polish henchmen and against those Jews who protect the Pilsudski pogrom makers), Morgen Freiheit (23 November 1931): 6.

413. "Hitler: Milkhome kegn Sovetn-Farband!" (Hitler: War Against the Soviet Union!), Morgen Freiheit (4 October 1930): 6; Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, p. 57. See Ceplair's chapter on Hitler, "The Nazi Phenomenon," pp. 57-66, for a valuable summary of Hitler's rise to power.

414. See the remaining cartoons on Hitler by Gropper in the following issues of Morgen Freiheit for the period under review: 12 March 1932, p. 6; 22 March 1932, p. 6; 15 January 1933, p. 8; 1 February 1933, p. 6; 19 February 1933, p. 8; 2 March 1933, p. 6; 17 March 1933, p. 6; 21 March 1933, p. 6; 25 March 1933, p. 6; 26 March 1933, p. 8; 30 March 1933, p. 6; 5 April 1933, p. 6; 6 April 1933, p. 6; 24 April 1933, p. 3; 10 May 1933, p. 6; 17 May 1933, p. 6; 18 May 1933, p. 6; 28 May 1933, p. 8; 24 June 1933, p. 1; 25 June 1933, p. 8; 8 July 1933, p. 6; 15 July 1933, p. 6 (where Hitler's boot is shown); 31 July 1933, p. 6; 1 August 1933, p. 1; 21 August 1933, p. 6; 24 August 1933, p.

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6; 20 September 1933, p. 8; 21 September 1933, p. 6; 28 September 1933, p. 6; 11 October 1933, p. 6 (where the figure of Hitler represents "American Hitlers"); 12 October 1933, p. 6; 17 October 1933, p. 6; 19 October 1933, p. 6; 25 October 1933, p. 6; 3 December 1933, p. 8; 16 December 1933, p. 8; 24 December 1933, p. 8; 10 February 1934, p. 8; 23 February 1934, p. 6; 2 March 1934, p. 6 (where the dog symbolizes Hitler); 15 March 1934, p. 8; 23 March 1934, p. 8; 31 March 1934, p. 8; 17 April 1934, p. 6; 7 May 1934, p. 6; 28 May 1934, p. 6; 6 June 1934, p. 6; 13 June 1934, p. 6; 14 June 1934, p. 6; 17 June 1934, p. 8; 27 June 1934, p. 6; 3 July 1934, p. 6 (in the guise of a dog); 8 July 1934, p. 6; 12 July 1934, p. 6; 13 July 1934, p. 6; 15 July 1934, p. 8; 18 July 1934, p. 6; 21 July 1934, p. 8; 22 July 1934, p. 8; 28 July 1934, p. 8; 3 August 1934, p. 6; 4 August 1934, p. 8; 5 August 1934, p. 6; 16 August 1934, p. 6; 21 August 1934, p. 6; 7 September 1934, p. 6; 18 September 1934, p. 6; 2 October 1934, p. 6; 17 October 1934, p. 6; 20 October 1934, p. 10; 2 January 1935, p. 6 (where his hand is depicted); 17 January 1935, p. 8; 5 February 1935, p. 6; 13 February 1935, p. 8; 25 February 1935, p. 6; 2 March 1935, p. 8; 15 March 1935, p. 8; 16 March 1935, p. 8; 20 March 1935, p. 8; 25 March 1935, p. 6; 28 March 1935, p. 6; 30 March 1935, p. 8; 21 April 1935, p. 8; 15 May 1935, p. 8; 29 May 1935, p. 8; 1 July 1935, p. 6; 19 July 1935, p. 6; 21 July 1935, p. 8; 31 July 1935, p. 8; 1 August 1935, p. 6; 3 August 1935, p. 8; 8 August 1935, p. 6.

For a study of political cartoons, mostly European, on Hitler, see Zbynek Zeman, Heckling Hitler: Caricatures of the Third Reich (Hanover and London: University Pess of New England, 1987). This compilation reproduces David Fitzpatrick's The Source from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch (19 October 1930), on p. 29. For another early anti-Hitler cartoon by an artist in a mainstream American newspaper, see Edwin Marcus's The Misfit from the New York Times in 1933, reproduced in Draw! Political Cartoons from Left to Right, exhibition catalogue, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 1991, p. 14. See also Ziva Amishai-Maisels, Depiction and Interpretation: The Influence of the Holocaust on the Visual Arts (Oxford, New York, Seoul, and Tokyo: Pergamon Press, 1993), especially pp. 208-209 for pre-war depictions of Hitler and Nazis.

415."Alongside social-democracy, which helps the bourgeoisie to oppress the working class and blunt its proletarian vigilance, stands fascism." Quoted in "Programme of the Communist International Adopted at Its Sixth Congress," in Degras, ed, The Communist International, v. 2, p. 484. The thesis of pairing social democracy and fascism together came earlier, however, in

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1924 at the Fifth Comintern Congress. See Ceplair, Under the Shadow of Fascism, p. 49.

416."Gleikh nokh di deitshe voln hat der higer 'forverts' geshribn, az der sovetn-farband hot geshtitst di fashistn mit geld. Vi ir zet fun hitler'n derklerung, iz es hurkh lekshn" (Right after the German elections, the "Forverts" wrote that the Soviet Union supported the Fascists with money. As you can see by Hitler's statement, the story was completely untrue); see n. 413.

417."Greit tsu dinen" (Ready to Serve), Morgen Freiheit (15 January 1933): 8. Gropper also drew a number of cartoons in Freiheit that opposed the social democrats in Germany before and after Hitler's appointment. See the following: 16 September 1931, p. 6; 12 August 1932, p. 6; 15 September 1932, p. 6; 10 October 1932, p. 6; 14 March 1933, p. 6; 6 May 1933, p. 8; 4 April 1934, p. 6.

418."Programme of the Communist International Adopted at Its Sixth Congress," in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 2, p. 485.

419."Hitler krigt 4 milion fun di deitshe gelt-zek for nit fodern tsuzamenrufn dem reikhstag" (Hitler receives 4 million from the German moneybag for not demanding the meeting of the Reichstag), ibid.

420."Der deitsher bos un zein diner" (The German Boss and His Servant), Morgen Freiheit (26 December 1930): 6.

421.Morgen Freiheit (12 March 1932): 6; and (22 March 1932): 6.

422.See these cartoons in Morgen Freiheit: 1 February 1933, p. 6; 19 February 1933, p. 8; 5 April 1933, p. 6; 1 August 1933, p. 1; 11 October 1933, p. 6. A few further cartoons also address this: 17 June 1934, p. 8 (Uncle Sam represents Wall Street); 5 February 1935, p. 6 (France and England in the roles of imperialists); 16 April 1935, p. 8 (England, France, and Italy as imperialists).

423."Farvos zei knien far im" (Why They Buy for Him), with the caption, "Der deitsher kapitalist, vol strit, vashington, senator boro, hamilton fish, brisbein -- ale far hitlerin, vos darf rameven fun der gruiser gefar" (The German capitalist, Wall Street, Washington, Senator Borah, Hamilton Fish, Brisbane -- all for Hitler, who has to save them from a greater peril), Morgen Freiheit (1 February 1933): 6.

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424."Rot-front gegn shvartz-front" (Red Front Versus Black Front), Morgen Freiheit (19 February 1933): 8.

425."Tsum heintign miting vegn der lage in deitshland - in sentral opera huiz" (To today's meeting on the situation in Germany [at the Central Opera House]), ibid.

426.Whiting, Antifascism in American Art, pp. 17-18. She illustrates this cartoon as "Rot Front," published in New Masses 8 (February 1933). On the suppression of the German Communist Party, see Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, pp. 65-66.

427.See Morgen Freiheit, 17 March 1933, p. 6; 25 March 1933, p. 6; 3 April 1933, p. 6; 10 May 1933, p. 6; 24 June 1933, p. 1; 31 July 1933, p. 6; 1 August 1933, p. 1; 20 September 1933, p. 8; 21 September 1933, p. 6; 11 October 1933, p. 6; 12 October 1933, p. 6; 3 December 1933, p. 8; 16 December 1933, p. 8; 19 December 1933, p. 6; 22 December 1933, p. 6; 24 December 1933, p. 8; 23 March 1934, p. 8; 13 June 1934, p. 6; 3 July 1934, p. 6; 16 August 1934, p. 6; 18 September 1934, p. 6; 16 March 1935, p. 8; 8 August 1935, p. 6.

428."Extracts from the Theses of the Thirteenth ECCI Plenum on Fascism, the War Danger, and the Tasks of Communist Parties," of December 1933, trans. in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, p. 300.

429.See Morgen Freiheit: 2 March 1933, p. 6 (where Hitler is one of "the four bloody horsemen").

430."Hitler -- der shlus-zukher" (Hitler -- The Searcher for Peace), Morgen Freiheit (17 October 1933): 6.

431.See the following cartoons by Gropper in Morgen Freiheit that refer to Hitler and anti-Semitism: 17 March 1933, p. 6 (with reference to Jews only in caption); 21 March 1933, p. 6; 26 March 1933, p. 8; 30 March 1933, p. 8; 30 March 1933, p. 6; 3 April 1933, p. 6 (reference only n caption); 6 April 1933, p. 6; 14 April 1933, p. 6; 28 May 1933, p. 8; 8 July 1933, p. 6; 10 December 1933, p. 8 (refers to Nazism and antisemitism); 15 March 1934, p. 8; 31 March 1934, p. 8; 11 June 1934, p. 6 (reference in caption only); 17 January 17, 1935, p. 8; 29 May 1935, p. 8; 1 July 1935, p. 6 (with reference to Jews only in caption); 19 July 1935, p. 6; 21 July 1935, p. 8; 1 August 1935, p. 6.

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432.Amishai-Maisels, Depiction and interpretation: The Influence of the Holocaust on the Visual Arts; on Shahn, see pp. 14-15, 20 and Fig. 35; on Rivera, see pp. 208, 447 (n. 98); on Grosz, see pp. 42, 152; on Gropper and his painting, Refugees, see pp. 20, 374 (n. 13), 375 (n. 15 and n. 17); on Gropper and his drawing, The Invasion of Poland, 1939, see p. 32, 382 (n. 8) and Fig. 105 (although the execution date of 1939 is in question [p. 382, n. 8]); on Gropper and the Holocaust in his cartoons, see p. 385 (92) where she cites an issue of Freiheit from 1938 and p. 74 where she states that "Gropper had been symbolizing the Holocaust in his cartoons since mid-1941 by showing Nazi goons or Hitler brandishing bloody weapons and treading on piles of corpses." For her discussion on Gropper's life, see pp. 309-310. Amishai-Maisels, in her voluminous study, discusses numerous examples by artists after the 1930s.

See also Matthew Baigell, Jewish-American Artists and the Holocaust (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London, 1997), pp. 7-15; and Whiting, Antifascism in American Art, pp. 34-64, although her discussion centers around the Spanish Civil War and the Fascism of Mussolini.

433."Ein pogrom shtshik protestirt gegn tsveitn" (One Pogrom Maker Protests Against Another), Morgen Freiheit (26 March 1933): 8.

434."Pilsudski protestirt gegn Hitlerin un in puiln kumen for pogromen" (Pilsudski protests against Hitler and in Poland pogroms take place), ibid.

435."Kemft gegn di blutige bashitzer!" (Fight Against the Bloody Defenders!), Morgen Freiheit (30 March 1933): 6.

436."Hitler's minister, Gering, hot derklert, az men arestirt arbeter-firer, arbeter und idn, khidi zei tzu bashitzu" (Hitler's minister, Goering, declared that they are arresting labor leaders, workers, and Jews so they can be defended), ibid.

437."Hitler: Zog zei in amerike, az bei mir iz uif do a 'neier dil'" (Hitler: Tell Them in America That I Also Have a "New Deal"), Morgen Freiheit (31 March 1934): 8. Its caption is: "Demonstrirt heint! Shtelt op di merder-hant!" (Demonstrate today! Stop the killer!).

438."Hitler: Ikh bin di umshuld alein" (Hitler: I Am Innocence Itself), Morgen Freiheit (19 July 1935): 6.

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439."Tsu der derklerung fun der Hitler-regirung, az di idn alein zeinem shuldig in dem blutign pogrom vos di natsis gemakht" (To the declaration of the Hitler government that the Jews are themselves guilty for the bloody pogrom which the Nazis made), ibid.

440.Antifascist cartoons of Japan by Gropper printed in Morgen Freiheit are listed here: 28 October 1931, p. 6; 5 January 1932, p. 6; 30 January 1932, p. 6; 21 February 1932, p. 6; 3 March 1932, p. 6; 11 March 1932, p. 6; 19 April 1932, p. 6; 20 April 1932, p. 6; 16 May 1932, p. 6; 17 May 1932, p. 6; 19 May 1932, p. 6; 4 June 1932, p. 6; 17 July 1932, p. 8; 6 January 1933, p. 6; 13 January 1933, p. 6; 27 February 1933, p. 6; 9 June 1933, p. 6; 12 July 1933, p. 6 (Japan is in the guise of an angry dog); 1 August 1933, p. 1; 9 October 1933, p. 6; 12 October 1933, p. 6; 25 October 1933, p. 6; 11 November 1933, p. 8; 24 January 1934, p. 6; 27 January 1934, p. 8; 21 April 1934, p. 8; 4 June 1934, p. 6; 19 August 1934, p. 8; 25 August 1934, p. 8; 29 October 1934, p. 6; 14 November 1934, p. 6; 10 December 1934, p. 6; 26 December 1934, p. 6; 26 January 1935, p. 8; 4 February 1935, p. 6; 25 February 1935, p. 6; 17 June 1935, p. 6; 7 August 1935, p. 6; 11 August 1935, p. 6.

441."Appeal by the West European Bureau of the ECCI and the European Secretariat of the RILU on the Japanese Invasion of Manchuria," Inprekorr xi, 93 (29 September 1931): 2080, translated in Degras, The Communist International, v. 3, pp. 176-179.

442.There are two cartoons on Japan that deal specifically with the build-up of armaments and the military. See Morgen Freiheit: 14 November 1934, p. 6; and 10 December 1934, p. 6.

443.See Freiheit: 30 October 1924, p. 1 (Secretary of State Hughes pointing in the direction of China); 9 April 1927, p. 12 (snakes wrapping themselves around a figure of China); 23 September 1929, p. 8 (soldiers guarding the Soviet border in Manchuria); 1 October 1929 (soldiers on horseback along the Chinese-Soviet border).

444."Er farshpreit alts veiter di imperialistishe 'gezets un ordnung' in khine" (He Spreads the Imperialistic "Law and Order" into China), Morgen Freiheit (5 January 1932): 6.

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445."Tsu der neies fun der veit murh'diger pres-korespondents, vos iz nekhtn geven in der 'morgn-freiheit,' az di nankiner regirung hat geshlosen an opmakh, az iapon zol bashitsn 'gezets un ordnung' in mandzshurie" (To the news of the distant press correspondents, reported in yesterday's Morgen Freiheit, that the Nanking government had made an agreement that Japan will protect "law and order" in Manchuria), ibid.

446."Appeal by the West European Bureau of the ECCI and the European Secretariat of the RILU on the Japanese Invasion of Manchuria,"published in Inprekorr xi, 93 (29 September 1931): 2080, in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, p. 178.

447."Halt op di atake uifn sovetn-farband!" (Keep Up the Attack on the Soviet Union!), with the caption "Iapon shikt neie militer tsu der sovetisher grenits" (Japan sent new military to the Soviet borders), Morgen Freiheit (16 May 1932): 6.

448."Extracts from the May Day Manifesto Issued by the ECCI," Imprekorr, xii, 35 (29 April 1932): 1085. Translated in Degras, The Communist International, v. 3, pp. 190-192.

449.See Morgen Freiheit: 28 October 1931, p. 6; 21 February 1932, p. 6; 3 March 1932, p. 6; 11 March 1932, p. 6; 20 April 1932, p. 6; 4 June 1932, p. 6; 17 July 1932, p. 8 (France and England are depicted); 27 February 1933, p. 6; 1 August 1933, p. 1.

450.See "Appeal by the West European Bureau of the ECCI and the European Secretariat of the RILU on the Japanese Invasion of Manchuria," Inprekorr xi, 93, (September 1931), p. 2080, trans. in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, p. 178.

451."Not on Your Tintype," Vanity Fair (August 1935): 39.

452.Ibid.

453.Letter from Gropper to Irwin A. Silverstone, written on envelope from Silverstone to Gropper, Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frames 462-463, AAA.

454.Letter from Frank Crowninshild to William Gropper, dated 2 April 1935, Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frame 511, AAA.

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455."U.S.A. Has Free Press Is Answer to Japan's Protest Over Cartoon," Editor and Publisher (10 August 1935).

456.See, for instance, "Anger of Japanese Over 'Insult' in Cartoon Startles Washington; Hull 'Regrets' Mikado Cartoon in Talk to Saito; Plans to Draw Hirohito in 'More Caustic' Fashion," New York World-Telegram (5 August 1935): 2; H. I. Brock, "Lese-Majeste Our Habit," New York Times (11 August 1935); and "Japanese Situation Fraught with Peril," Philadelphia Record (11 August 1935). These and other articles, and cartoons, are found in Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Published Material--Newspaper Clippings--about Gropper--Japanese Affair, Arents Library, Syracuse University. See also "Iapon's protest gegn groper's kartun in zshurnal 'veniti feir' rudert uif ganz amerike; steit-department baduiert" (Japan's protest against Gropper's cartoon in the magazine Vanity Fair stirs up all of America; State Department regrets), Morgen Freiheit (6 August 1935): 1. See also Gahn, "America of William Gropper," pp. 150-154; and Steinberg, "William Gropper," pp. 14-16, and Fig. 2.

457."Gvald, men hat ikh baleidigt!" (Wow! Help! We Have Insulted Them!), with the caption, "Der iaponisher kenig iz geven shtark farnumen mit zeine eidele gesheftn in mandzshurie un tsfun--khine--ersht er kukt zikh a rum--groper hat imbaleidigt!" (The Japanese Emperor was very busy with his delicate business in Manchuria and northern China when he looked around and noticed that Gropper had insulted him!), Morgen Freiheit (7 August 1935): 6.

458."Groper hat dem mikado uis geton naket" (Gropper Undressed the Mikado), with the caption, "Bonzai! Sakramento! L'kheim! Groper hot genumen un zikh alein eingeshpant ins vegele, velkhes iz dem mikado azui nit gefeln, aber derbei hat er mitgeshlept dem 'son evogods' [zun fun got] kiniglekh antuekhts--un s'iz, beliv mi, akh un vei, vi der doziger [nokhamal] zun fun got kukt uis..." (Bonzai! Sacramento! To life! Gropper placed himself as the rickshaw puller which did not please the Mikado--but he also took along the "Son of God's" kingly clothing--and naked, woe is me, how the "Son of God" looks), Morgen Freiheit (11 August 1935): 6.

Gropper also responded immediately with a drawing in New Masses, "The Mikado Behind the Japanese Screen," in which the emperor is dressed with gun, bloody sword, and a swastika-decorated robe and is poised to attack from behind a folding screen which depicts him as a supporter of peace. See New Masses (13 August 1935): 8. In December 1935, New Masses published another response by Gropper, a cartoon of

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Hirohito pulling a rickshaw, loaded with the figure of death, across the Chinese border. See New Masses (10 December 1935): 8.

459.See letter, dated 3 June 1935, from Frank Crowninshield of Vanity Fair to Gropper; and letter, dated 17 October 1935, from Louis Bromfield (ms?) of Vanity Fair to Gropper; in Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3501, frames 517, 523, AAA (see also Gropper's response to the latter, frame 524).

460.Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, p. 53. See also ibid., p. 196, on radical right forces in the U.S. during this period.

461.The standard reference on the Scottsboro case is Dan T. Carter, Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South, second ed. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984). On the Scottsboro case and the International Labor Defense (especially Southern views on the ILD and Communism), see Robin D. G. Kelley, Hammer and Hoe; Alabama Communists during the Great Depression (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), especially pp. 78-91.

462."Extracts from an ECCI Resolution on the Negro Question," in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, p. 554; Kelley, Hammer and Hoe, pp. 13-14.

463."Weise un negers--gegn di lintshers!" (Whites and Negroes--Against the Lynchers!), with the caption, "Protestirt dem ershte mai gegn dem farzukh tsu lintshn di nein negers in alabama un gegn lintsherei bkhll" (Protest the first of May against the attempt to lynch nine negroes in Alabama and against lynching in general), Morgen Freiheit (16 April 1931): 6.

The remaining cartoons from 1931 to 1935 by Gropper in Morgen Freiheit on the Scottsboro theme are in the following issues: 27 April 1931, p. 6; 8 May 1931, p. 6; 16 May 1931, p. 6; 26 April 1932, p. 6; 8 October 1932, p. 6; 13 February 1933, p. 6; 8 April 1933, p. 6; 11 April 1933, p. 6; 12 April 1933, p. 6; 15 April 1933, p. 6; 17 August 1933, p. 6; 21 November 1933, p. 6; 23 November 1933, p. 6; 2 December 1933, p. 8; 12 December 1933, p. 6; 18 November 1934, p. 8, and, though this citation goes beyond the limits of this study, 18 November 1935, p. 8.

464.Ibid.

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465."Der masn-kamf fun di arbeter vet tsushmetern lintsh-freim-op in skatsboro" (The Mass-Struggle of the Workers Will Smash the Lynch-Frame-Up in Scottsboro), with the caption, "Helft der interneshonal leibor defens tsu mobilizirn dem masn-protest kegn dem farzukh tsu lintshn gezetslakh 9 iunge neger-arbeter in skatsboro, alabama" (Help the International Labor Defense to mobilize the mass protest against the attempt to lawfully lynch 9 young negro workers in Scottsboro, Alabama), Morgen Freiheit (27 April 1931): 6.

466.See these issues of Morgen Freiheit: 8 May 1931, p. 6; 16 May 1931, p. 6; 26 April 1932, p. 6; 8 October 1932, p. 6; 13 February 1933, p. 6.

467.Kelley, Hammer and Hoe, p. 86.

468."Tseshmetert di ku-kluksers!" (Smash the Ku-Kluxers!), with the caption, "Demonstrirt heunt unter der fon fun der interneshonal leibor defens, velche firt dem blentsndn kamf far di neger-inglekh" (Demonstrate today under the flag of the International Labor Defense, which wages the shining battle for the black boys), Morgen Freiheit (8 April 1933): 6.

Three more cartoons by Gropper on the Scottsboro theme immediately followed in Morgen Freiheit: (11 April 1933): 6; (12 April 1933): 6; and (15 April 1933): 6 (although this latter cartoon also involves other issues).

469."Extracts from a Resolution of the ECCI Political Secretariat on the Negro Question in the United States," from 26 October 1930, published in Communist International, (15 January 1931): 65, trans. in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, pp. 124-135.

470.Ibid., pp. 132-133.

471.See the following issues of Freiheit for cartoons by Gropper that deal with anti-Klan and/or anti-lynching subjects (other than those on the Scottsboro theme): 28 October 1924, p. 1; 9 November 1924, p. 8; 29 January 1925, p. 1; 16 April 1925, p. 1; 1 March 1926, p. 6; 6 June 1926, p. 10; 29 August 1926, p. 10; 8 May 1927, p. 10; 15 May 1927, p. 10; 7 January 1929, p. 8; and Morgen Freiheit: 11 July 1929, p. 8; 7 February 1930, p. 6; 2 May 1930, p. 6; 22 May 1930, p. 6; 22 July 1930, p. 6; 3 September 1930, p. 6; 27 October 1933, p. 6; 19 November 1933, p. 8; 30 November 1933, p. 6; 8 December 1933, p. 6; 12 February 1934, p. 6. This citing stops with the summer of 1935 when the parameters of this present study end.

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The publication, Red Cartoons, published two cartoons on anti-lynching and anti-Klan themes: Robert Minor's The Exodus from Dixie, published in Liberator in June 1923 and Fred Ellis's First Prize, published in Daily Worker on 23 January 1926. See Red Cartoons (Chicago: The Daily Worker, 1926). For a very early depiction of the Klan, see the engraving, The Ku Klux Klan Operating in North Carolina, in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper xxxiii, 60 (7 October 1871), reproduced in Allan Nevins, The Emergence of Modern America 1865-1878, vol. 8, A History of American Life (New York: The Macmillan Company), plate xiv.

On images of anti-lynching, see Marlene Park, "Lynching and Antilynching: Art and Politics in the 1930s," Prospects 18 (1993). See also Patricia Phagan, "Critical Views of the South by Northern Artists: Antilynching in the 1930s," in Patricia Phagan, ed., The American Scene and the South: Painting and Works on Paper, 1930 - 1946, exhibition catalogue (Athens: Georgia Museum of Art, 1996), pp. 227-241.

472."Dos fridlakhe shtetl herin, ilinoi" (The Peaceful Town of Herrin, Illinois), Freiheit (29 January 1925): 1.

473.McCoy, Calvin Coolidge, p. 248. Gropper also did a cartoon on the Klan as being part of a "chain" that included LaFollette and the Socialist Party, this near the time of the elections. See Freiheit (28 October 1924): 1.

On the Klan, see Nancy MacLean, Behind the Mask of Chivalry; The Making of the Second Ku Klux Klan (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); David M. Chalmers, Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan, 2d ed. (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney: Franklin Watts, 1981); and William Loren Katz, The Invisible Empire:The Ku Klux Klan Impact on History (Washington, D.C.: Open Hand Publishing Inc., 1986).

474.See the articles on the Klan and Young in Freiheit (26 January 1925): 1, and (27 January 1925): 1; and in Daily Worker (27 January 1925): 1, 2.

475."Derei far der 'tsivilizatsie'" (Hooray for "Civilization"), with the caption, "Litl rakh, arkansa, mai 4th: dem neger zshan karter hat men gehangen, ezshasn un farbrent" (Little Rock, Arkansas, May 4th: the negro John Carter was hung, shot, and burned), Freiheit (8 May 1927): 10. Reprinted in the Daily Worker, New Magazine (16 July 1927): 3.

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476."Der kristmes-geist flakert nokh in der saut" (The Spirit of Christmas Still Burns in the South), with the caption, "In misisipi iz in tag fun nei-ior a neger far brent gevorn lebedigeirheid af a sheiterheifn" (On New Year's Day in Mississippi, a negro was burned at the stake), Freiheit (7 January 1929): 8.

477."Der glentsnder anhuib" (The Shining Beginning), with the caption, "In medison skver gardn, mitvak avnt -- tseikhnung fun viliam groper" (In Madison Square Garden Wednesday evening -- drawing by William Gropper), Morgen Freiheit (7 April 1933): 6. See the accompanying article, "Far a fareinigtn front in kamf gegn fashizm" (For a United Front in the Struggle Against Fascism), ibid.

478.Ceplair, Under the Shadow of War, pp. 187-188.

479."Der shotn fun fashizm iber amerike" (The Shadow of Fascism over America), Morgen Freiheit (21 October 1933): 6. The other cartoons are in the following issues of Morgen Freiheit: 11 October 1933, p. 6; 15 October 1933, p. 8; 30 October 1933, p. 6; 8 December 1933, p. 6 (where Roosevelt's Roman dress [in a visual comparison with Nero] is decorated with swastikas, this in a cartoon where he watches lynchings); and 14 December 1933, p. 6.

Gropper had made very few cartoons on American "fascism" (where the swastika is drawn) before the end of 1933. One of the most interesting of these earlier cartoons shows President Roosevelt's body laden with tattoos, one of which is a swastika. See Morgen Freiheit (6 June 1933): 6. Another of these is of Cahan wearing the star of David drawn with a swastika inside (Fig. 90) from Morgen Freiheit (12 September 1932): 6.

480.See above, in reference to the cartoon, "The Hamentashen," for studies on American "fascism."

481.Morgen Freiheit: 29 April 1934, p. 8 (as anti-Semitic); 30 August 1934, p. 6 (as promotor of war, fascism, and Nazi terror); 25 April 1935, p. 6 (as fascist; here, the NRA bird [Gropper's symbol for the NRA] is drawn with a swastika in the center of it and is on President Roosevelt's robe). On Hugh S. Johnson, head of the NRA, and his role as administrator of it, see John Kennedy Ohl, Hugh S. Johnson and the New Deal (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985).

482.Morgen Freiheit: 7 January 1934, p. 8 (as Mussolini); 9 July 1934, p. 6 (as Hitler).

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483.Morgen Freiheit: 2 November 1934, p. 6.

484.Morgen Freiheit: 9 March 1935, p. 8.

485.Morgen Freiheit: 11 January 1935, p. 6 (spouting a cannon); 22 May 1935, p. 8 (wearing a robe with a fringe decorated with swastikas).

486.See the following cartoons by Gropper in Morgen Freiheit from 1934 and 1935 (through June) that associate the American figure or symbol with fascism: 7 January 1934, p. 8 (LaGuardia); 29 April 1934, p. 8 (NRA); 1 July 1934, p. 8 (Congressman Dickstein); 9 July 1934, p. 6 (LaGuardia); 19 July 1934, p. 6 (anticommunist forces in San Francisco); 1 August 1934, p. 1 (capitalist); 30 August 1934, p. 6 (NRA); 31 August 1934, p. 6 (zionist); 26 September 1934, p. 6 (NRA); 16 October 1934, p. 6 (Gerard); 2 November 1934, p. 6 (Representative Fish); 22 November 1934, p. 6 (capitalist); 23 November 1934, p. 6 (President Robinson of City College of New York); 25 November 1934, p. 8 (two New York editors, unnamed); 14 December 1934, p. 6 (gangster); 30 December 1934, p. 6 (a bottle of poison); 11 January 1935, p. 6 (Coughlin); 27 January 1935, p. 8 (Wall Street); 30 January 1935, p. 8 (Huey Long); 8 February 1935, p. 8 (Cardinal Snitzer and Rabbi Feuchtanger of Vienna); 9 March 1935, p. 8 (Huey Long); 1 April 1935, pp. 3 (NRA) and 6 (Coughlin and Hearst); 25 April 1935, p. 6 (NRA); 27 April 1935, p. 8 (Cahan); 22 May 1935, p. 8 (Coughlin); 24 June 1935, p. 3 (Woll); and 30 June 1935, p. 8 (AFL). There were a few cartoons by Gropper earlier than this major campaign where he drew the swastika on American subjects. See, for example, the issue from 14 April 1931, p. 6, where the American socialist Norman Thomas is drawn with a Nazi swastika on his "tsarist" hat. See also n. 480, above.

487.See the following antifascist cartoons by Gropper on Hearst during this period in Morgen Freiheit: 2 October 1934, p. 6; 12 October 1934, p. 6; 29 December 1934, p. 8; 9 January 1935, p. 6; 10 January 1935, p. 6; 12 February 1935, p. 6; 21 February 1935, p. 6; 25 February 1935, p. 6; 27 February 1935, p. 8; 1 March 1935, p. 6 (as a bird in a nest); 17 April 1935, p. 6; 18 April 1935, p. 6; 19 April 1935, p. 6; 21 April 1935, p. 8; 22 April 1935, pp. 3 and 6; 23 April 1935, p. 6; 19 May 1935, p. 7 (the same cartoon as that on 21 April 1935, p. 8, but with a different caption); 19 May 1935, p. 8 (the same cartoon as that on 17 April 1935, p. 6, but with no title or caption); 19 May 1935, p. 10; 21 May 1935, p. 6; 10 June 1935, p. 6; 8 July 1935, p. 6; 11 July 1935, p. 6; 14 July 1935, p. 8; 15 July

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1935, p. 6; 18 July 1935, p. 6; 22 July 1935, p. 6. The anti-Hearst cartoons by Gropper in Morgen Freiheit continue after the July-August Comintern Congress announcing the Popular Front.

488."Er zukht optsuovishn di hak fun'm heinker" (He Seeks to Wipe the Executioner's Ax Clean), with the caption, "Der geler tseitungs-magnat, wemens gasn-tseitungen es fornemen zik itst mit a bazunders shtarker hetse gegn komunistn un 'fremde' hot itst ongehuibn in zein prese on agitatsie for hitler'n" (The magnate of yellow journalism, whose street newspapers are now involved in a particularly harsh campaign against communists and "foreigners," has begun in his press an agitation for Hitler), Morgen Freiheit (2 October 1934): 6.

489."Zein meister's shtim" (His Master's Voice), with the caption, "Huirst hert nit uif tsu gisn -- uif dem arbeter-klas un uif di komunistn durkh zein shlangen-prese un mindlekh. Er drikt uis di farlangen fun hitler'n un fun di amerikaner fashistn" (Hearst does not stop his vituperations against the working class and the communists through his press and verbally. He expresses the desires of Hitler and of the American fascists), Morgen Freiheit (9 January 1935): 6.

Gropper had created a cartoon using this theme of "his master's voice" before in Freiheit. See the cartoon of William Green of the AFL (represented as the dog) listening to a record, "Prosperity," placed on a phonograph by President Hoover, in Freiheit (19 May 1929): 10.

490.Rodney P. Carlisle, Hearst and the New Deal: The Progressive as Reactionary (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), p. 161.

491.Ibid., p. 11.

492.Ibid., p. 154.

493.See the following cartoons in Morgen Freiheit: (17 April 1935): 6; (18 April 1935): 6; (19 April 1935): 6; (21 April 1935): 8; (22 April 1935): 3 and 6; and (23 April 1935): 6.

494."Di shvartsekhupe" (The Black Wedding Canopy), with the caption, "Huirst un 'Forverts' hobn durkh lang'n geshlosen a shdukh. Hitler iz der msdr kdushin. Zol zei zeier heirat vuil bakumen. Aber vos haben arbeter tsu man mit dem porl?" (Hearst and the "Forverts" have long since formed a "marital" alliance. Now Hitler is the one who is marrying

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them. Let them enjoy their marriage -- but what does it have to do with Jewish workers?), Morgen Freiheit (17 April 1935): 6. This cartoon was reprinted, with a fuller caption, in Freiheit: 19 May 1935, p. 7.

495.See above, pp. 5-6.

496.See especially the cartoon by Gropper in Morgen Freiheit: (17 April 1935): 6.

497.Quoted in Carlisle, Hearst and the New Deal, p. 155. See Carlisle, pp. 89-91, on Hearst's trip to Germany in 1934, his interview with Hitler, and writings by Nazi officials in Hearst's newspapers.

498.Hughes, "Proletarian Art and John Reed Club Artists," p. 53.

499."Extracts from a Resolution of the Seventh Comintern Congress on the Danger of a New World War," of August 20, 1935, trans. in Degras, ed., The Communist International, v. 3, p. 375.

500.The first American Artists' Congress was held in New York from February 14-16, 1936, while Gropper's exhibition at ACA Galleries in New York took place from February 3-15, 1936. Baigell and Williams, Artists Against War and Fascism, p. 53; and Exhibition of Paintings by Gropper, exhibition checklist, A.C.A. Gallery, New York, February 3-15, 1936, Gropper Papers, Box No. II, Folder: Pub. Mat.-Exhibitions - 1921, 1936-1939, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

501.Herman Baron, "William Gropper," in Gropper Papers, Series No. I, Box No. I, Folder: Biog. Mat., Arents Library, Syracuse University; Baigell and Williams, eds., Artists Against War and Fascism, p. 10.

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Freiheit as a Source for The Senate

In February 1934, when Gropper was at the beginning of a long campaign in cartoons in Freiheit against American "fascism," he traveled to Washington, D.C. for the first time and sketched activities on the floor of the United States Senate. Most likely he did not know then that a few of these drawings would be the roots of arguably his most reproduced painting and one of the most representative canvases of social realism, The Senate (Fig. 127), of 1935. This last section examines these drawings, a "new" source for the painting, while noting their relationship to his anticapitalist cartoons in Freiheit and to specific radical concerns towards capitalism at the time.

The Senate, gift of trustee A. Conger Goodyear to the Museum of Modern Art in 1936, presents an interior view of the Senate chamber occupied by only a few of its members.[1] A rotund official wearing the business suit of the capitalist raises his arms seemingly in the midst of making an important point. Nearby, his colleagues appear to be absorbed in other activities, that is, reading and resting. The painting is notable for its composition of cubistic

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tiers of desks and chairs and for its irony of an effortful speech by a U.S. Senator to a near-empty chamber.

The Senate is probably Gropper's most reproduced painting, having been acquired by MOMA very early in the artist's painting career.[2] The colorful oil (Lozowick later described its "brighter, gayer" colors) had been exhibited at Gropper's one-person exhibition at ACA Galleries in February 1936 as well as at the third Whitney Museum of American Art Biennial later in the year, in November, where it was highly praised by critic Jerome Klein.[3]

Klein contrasted the artist's work with what he considered the rather disappointing showing by painters of "the great plains"--Thomas Hart Benton, John Steuart Curry, Grant Wood, and Joe Jones. Against these painters of mid-western regionalism, the critic asserted, "...the effect of new forces and critical revaluation is felt in other ways. From the radical camp William Gropper has climbed into national prominence, first as a graphic artist and then as a painter, and his genial satire on 'The Senate,' ranking with the best things in this show, justifies that position."[4]

In the 1930s and early 1940s, Gropper became one of the most well-known painters of social art, an approach that was based in concern for social conditions and their effects on people in America during the Great Depression.

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Traditionally, American artists had expressed social concern through their work in the graphic media, in prints and in political drawings and cartoons for magazines and newspapers such as New Masses and Freiheit. In the 1930s and early 1940s, especially, leftist artists and many artists in the political spectrum expressed social concern through easel and mural painting as well, the movement having several sources, including Robert Henri and the Ashcan School, the Fourteenth Street School, the Mexican muralists, the John Reed Clubs, and the Artists' Union.[5]

As described in the preceding section, Gropper was a leading artist of the John Reed Club and was intimately involved in trying to create a sectarian, proletarian art for the United States, particularly after the Kharkov conference of 1930 and during the early 1930s. However, when he painted The Senate in 1935, he seemed to have done so with the broad outlook of the Popular Front in mind rather than the more severe proletarian art of the early 1930s. For example, how different is The Senate from the class-war, cartoon-based earlier painting, The Writing on the Wall (Fig. 128), exhibited at MOMA amid much controversy in 1932. The purposefulness and conflict in the large, controversial canvas was replaced in The Senate by a comical, lighthearted irony in broad reach of the general population.[6]

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Though The Senate was most likely executed during or after the summer of 1935, about the time that Gropper was being urged to paint for an exhibition,[7] the immediate source for The Senate lies in a drawing of the Senate, one of several by the artist, that was published in Vanity Fair in May 1934.

The drawing, "Norris, of Nebraska, in a Frenzy; and Johnson, of California, in Doubt" (Fig. 129),[8] was apparently executed in ink with touches of white gouache. This sketch appears to be the direct inspiration for the composition of The Senate, the artist admitting in a letter to Rockwell Kent in 1953 that he "got the idea of painting The Senate" from his sketches in Vanity Fair.[9] The purposeful Senator in the painting corresponds to Senator Norris standing with outstretched arms in front of a desk. The restful senator in Gropper's canvas has its antecedent in Senator Johnson relaxed in a chair with his feet lying on an adjacent chair. The Senator immersed in reading a newspaper at his desk appears in both painting and sketch. Two rows of squarish desks complete the sketch while in the painting there are at least three rows of desks, now made more cube-like with less detail. Too, a lone looker-on, in the rear of the interior, appears only in the painting. All in all, Gropper, in the painting, has substituted volume, pattern, and shape (and color) for the strongly linear

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motifs in the drawing from Vanity Fair.

Gropper, however, appears to have built the composition of the drawing in Vanity Fair from on-the-spot sketches of his trip to Washington that were published in Freiheit on 11 February 1934, three months earlier. At the time of his trip to Washington, there was a national conference on unemployment which began on 2 February and Gropper made drawings of speakers and the audience that were published in Freiheit a few days later, on the 6th.[10] Thus, despite the artist's statement that the drawing in Vanity Fair was the source for the well-known painting, these drawings in Freiheit are the source for the drawing in Vanity Fair itself, and, ultimately, of The Senate.

Gropper published along with his sketches of the Senate floor a long article, "Impressions of Washington," on his observations of the Senate at work.[11] The lengthy text is illustrated by two sketches of Senator McKellar of Tennessee (Figs. 130 and 131) and a drawing of Senator Huey Long asleep. On the same page in Freiheit, two additional sketches are reproduced, one of which (Fig. 132) shows two unnamed Senators, one resting his feet on an adjacent chair and the other reading a newspaper.

The drawings surround the issue of unemployment. "Senator McKellar of Tennessee presents a bill to limit the C.W.A. and P.W.A. to 950 million dollars -- and he talks

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about the good work Hopkins is doing for the unemployed" (Fig. 130)[12] shows the Senator, in business suit, vest, and tie standing before a desk, his arms raised slightly. In "But the same Mr. McKellar is strongly opposed to the inclusion of the point about compensation, which the workers should have been receiving up to now" (Fig. 131),[13] the Senator's arms are raised above his head in a gesture that gives emphasis to the point he is attempting to make. Gropper very likely found the clashing sentiments--praising the Civil Works Administration and Public Works Administration programs which were crafted for the unemployed and, yet, limiting spending and denying compensation for the same unemployed--ironic and, therefore, suitable situations to note and remember.

In "Ah, boy! What roaring activity!," with the caption "The Senate 'at work' by William Gropper (see his article)" (Fig. 132),[14] Gropper chose irony again as the impulse for the sketch. Two Senators are absorbed in their own activities--resting and reading--surrounded by empty desks and, yet, the officials are presumably "at work" on the Senate floor.

In creating the drawing that appeared in Vanity Fair, one can see how Gropper pushed the ironic overtones even further by combining these two scenes. In the Vanity Fair drawing and, ultimately, in The Senate, irony is the

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central message, as the Senator (originally McKellar of Tennessee) sets forth a point to a chorus of empty desks and chairs, save for a few bodies who are relaxing nearby. Indeed, it is difficult to ascertain whether the outstretched Senator in The Senate is merely comfortable at rest (as he appears in Gropper's sketch in Freiheit) or is perhaps thinking about the words of the speech, as depicted in the Vanity Fair drawing of Senator Johnson of California, "in doubt." His actual situation in The Senate is unclear, but his relaxed posture lends a further note of irony to the serious business supposedly at hand in this branch of the legislature.

Gropper had, finally, on this first trip to Washington (as he admitted in the article) seen how a branch of the American government conducted its activities first-hand. In his words, "We all have a certain idea about the Capitol and the White House but if you haven't seen the Senate, the Congress, the Supreme Court, the Labor Department, the hearings, the investigations, etc. with your own eyes, and you only have an impression of these things from what you have read about them, it is better that you should rid yourself of that impression before you see it all with your own eyes."[15]

The irony he encountered in Washington illuminated his views on the workings of the American government and surely

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reinforced his opinions and feelings against capitalism. An anticapitalist since his earliest documented cartoons, Gropper in the drawings for Freiheit and in the painting of The Senate portrayed a central part of capitalist government negatively, satirically making fun of the institution for its irony and empty drama.

As we have seen throughout this study, the capitalist was a central protagonist in Gropper's political cartoon career. The Senator McKellar that appears in the Freiheit drawing with the standard capitalist dress of the suit, vest, and tie (without the hat) is seen again in The Senate as an anonymous Senator. However, this theme of the capitalist appearing in a political situation treated with lightheartedness and irony, as in The Senate, is his earliest interpretation of the capitalist in his cartoons in Freiheit after he joined the paper. This was noted in the section on anticapitalist cartoons with one of his earliest contributions to the Yiddish paper, "He Let the Cats Out of the Bag" (Fig. 54). The cartoon concerns the capitalists' involvement in bankrolling the campaign funds of major parties back in 1924; here, the business man ironically questions if he is responsible for these funds while the funds themselves (the cats) scamper out from his money bag. With his ample jacket and vest and with the humorous, ironic circumstances, the disingenuous capitalist

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in this cartoon furnishes the prototype for Gropper's fervent Senator in The Senate.

In early 1934, when Gropper drew the Senate and wrote his accompanying article, capitalism was, as it had always been, the chief target of the Marxist Left. In the Comintern's radical ideology, with the perceived threat of a new imperialist world war and an impending imperialist war against the Soviet Union (as discussed in the preceding section), capitalism seemed to have been given renewed vigor as the promoter of militarism and war preparation. For instance, a good portion of the large $16 billion budget President Roosevelt submitted in January would go toward war preparations, interpreted as such by the Freiheit in an article from January 5.[16]

Gropper responded to this concern with cartoons showing Roosevelt promoting war preparations. The first of these, "For the Unemployed--a Sigh; For War--Billions" (Fig. 133),[17] focuses in part on the issue of unemployment and depicts Roosevelt placing a bag of 10 billion dollars into the mouth of a tank labeled "war budget" while a crowd of unemployed watch. In the second one, "A Two-Sided Machine" (Fig. 134),[18] Roosevelt cranks out peace symbols while creating battleships at the same time.

Gropper discussed the topic of war preparations when he wrote his observations on the Senate. He commented on

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the Senators reprimanding one another for openly discussing statistics on the military strength of the U.S. Navy, gleaned at the armaments conference. At the same time, he lamented the opposition of the Senators toward bills to aid the unemployed.[19]

For over ten years, Gropper had been drawing cartoons where the capitalist was shown as the supporter of militarism and war.[20] These appear in Freiheit in the 1920s (see "The Dream of Our Militarists," for example, from 1924 [Fig. 56]) and escalated in the 1930s with cartoons of Mussolini, militaristic Japan, and Hitler (see "Keep Up the Attack on the Soviet Union!" [Fig. 112] and "Red Front Versus Black Front" [Fig. 105]). Interpreted with the radical ideology of the time, the capitalist in these cartoons promoted the imperialistic drive for a new war and, specifically, a war against the Soviet Union. The discussion on armaments by the Senators in Gropper's article is not without a certain radical context, then.

In conclusion, The Senate has roots in the ironic-laden drawings Gropper published in Freiheit in 1934 of activities on the Senate floor. The figure in the newspaper drawing and in Gropper's painting of the senator with outstretched arms has antecedents in Gropper's lighthearted figure of the capitalist, his earliest interpretation of the capitalist in Freiheit after he joined the paper.

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Further, the article accompanying the drawings in Freiheit makes us aware of Gropper's radical attitude toward the Senators, that they were a part of the imperialist build-up of war production.

With the painting of The Senate, Gropper chose to focus on a less sectarian treatment. Painted later than the drawings, he chose a Popular Front outlook in this painting that attracted a broad audience. However, when the sketches were made, this was still at the time when a revolutionary art movement was still very much an issue in radical art circles. With the push of a more "genial" outlook, Gropper created a painting universal in its politics but rooted in the Freiheit and in radical ideology.

Thus, Freiheit is an important source for the painting, The Senate. By uncovering the significance of the Yiddish daily for this painting, one furnishes a new context in which to discuss this canvas. In the same light, by revealing and discussing many of Gropper's cartoons for the paper within their ideological contexts, one gains a new frame of reference for his works as a whole and a greater knowledge of the politically radical issues with which he was engaged. This study is especially focused upon the issues of anticapitalism, anti-rightwing socialism, and antifascism, all three of which were central to the Communist-left viewpoint in the period under review.

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Lastly, one can see in Freiheit the evolution of Gropper's varying styles of drawing and their immersion in the aesthetics of radical art, from the earliest whimsical sketches with their thin contour lines to the modernist drawings to the more relaxed lines and spattered inks of the later years.

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1.The Senate, 1935, oil on canvas, 25 1/8 x 33 1/8 inches (63.8 x 84.2 cm.), Collection, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of A. Conger Goodyear. See the Collection Records on this painting, at MOMA, wherein an "explanation" of the picture is given by the artist. On Steinberg's commentary on The Senate, see Steinberg, "William Gropper," p. 35.

2.For a helpful list of references from 1936 to 1939 for the painting, see the Collection Records for this picture, at MOMA.

3.Lozowick, "William Gropper," p. 39, unpublished manuscript, Louis Lozowick Papers, Archives of American Art. Lozowick noted that the painting's "brilliance is due in part to the method of superposition..., that is, underpainting of watercolor and overpainting of oil color--a method used--according to some scholars--by Jan van Eyck."

For checklist, "Exhibition of Paintings by Gropper," see above, n. 501, Chapter Three; The Senate is no. 9 in the checklist. For the review of the Whitney Biennial, where the painting is praised, see Jerome Klein, "Home Grown Art Falling Short of Paris Standards," New York Evening Post (14 November 1936): 16, in Gropper Papers, Box No. 4, Folder: Pub. Mat. - Newsp. Clippings About, Arents Library, Syracuse University.

For a history of Gropper's paintings, see especially Lozowick, William Gropper, pp. 42-69.

4.Ibid.

5.For a concise overview of social content painting and its sources, see Patricia Hills, Social Concern and Urban Realism: American Painting of the 1930s, exhibition catalogue, Boston University Art Gallery, Boston, 1983. For a memoir on the exhibition history of social art in the 1930s at ACA Gallery, see Herman Baron, "History of ACA Gallery," unpublished manuscript, Roll No. D304, AAA, especially the section on "Social Art." Other studies on social art of the 1930s and early 1940s include Shapiro, ed., Social Realism: Art as a Weapon; Milton W. Brown, Social Art in America: 1930-1945, exhibition catalogue, ACA Galleries, New York, 1981; Hughes, "Proletarian Art and John Reed Club Artists," especially chapter four, pp. 39-57, and Appendix C, pp. xiii-xiv; Gerald M. Monroe, "The '30s: Art, Ideology and the WPA," Art in America (November-December 1975): 64-67; Helen Amy Harrison, "Social

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Consciousness in New Deal Murals," M.A. thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 1975; Francine Tyler, "Artists Respond to the Great Depression and the Threat of Fascism: The New York Artists' Union and its Magazine Art Front (1934-1937)," Ph. D. dissertation, New York University, 1991; Whiting, Antifascism in American Art, pp. 35-64; Leslie King-Hammond, Black Printmakers and the WPA, exhibition catalogue, The Lehman College Art Gallery, Bronx, New York, 1989; Marlene Park, "Lynching and Antilynching: Art and Politics in the 1930s," Prospects 18 (1993); Patricia Phagan, "Critical Views of the South by Northern Artists: Antilynching in the 1930s," in Patricia Phagan, ed., The American Scene and the South: Paintings and Works on Paper, 1930-1946, exhibition catalogue, Georgia Museum of Art, Athens, Georgia, 1996, pp. 227-241; Sheila B. Braufman, "When Artists Became Workers: The People's Art Movement of the '30s and '40s," American Art Review IX (January 1997):96-103. See also Matthew Baigell, The American Scene: American Painting of the 1930s (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1974); Alone in a Crowd: Prints of the 1930s-40s by African American Artists; From the Collection of Reba and Dave Williams, exhibition catalogue, American Federation of Arts, New York.

The term "social art" is used by Brown in his Social Art in America, cited above, and is an inclusive term for various approaches to social content painting of the 1930s and early 1940s. The term "social realism" is often applied to social art of this pericd but its definition apparently cannot be agreed upon in the scholarly literature. For example, Shapiro defined it as an anticapitalist, proletarian approach (see p. 14, especially), while Whiting described it as a broad label for the stylistically diverse approaches associated with the antifascist Popular Front (pp. 43-45).

6.The Writing on the Wall, 1932, oil on canvas, present whereabouts unknown. Illustrated in Hugo Gellert, "We Capture the Walls! The Museum of Modern Art Episode," New Masses (June 1932): 29. The painting was based on the center section of a three-part study of drawings for a mural entitled Class Struggle in America Since the War. See also Murals by American Painters and Photographers, exhibition catalogue, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1932, unpaginated, in American Art of the 20's and 30's (New York: Museum of Modern Art; reprint edition by Arno Press, 1969). The letter of invitation, with specifications included, from Lincoln Kirstein called for the large panel (the oil) to be 7 feet high and 4 feet wide. See "Specifications for Exhibition of Mural Painting" in letter from Kirstein to Louis Lozowick, dated 8 February 1932,

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Louis Lozowick Papers, Box No. 1, Folder: Mss--Lozowick--Correspondence, Arents Library, Syracuse University. For the Museum of Modern Art's view on the episode, see Nelson A. Rockefeller, "The Governor Lectures on Art," New York Times Magazine (April 9, 1967): 29-30, in Gropper Papers, Roll No. 3502, frames 265-266, AAA. See also Steinberg, "William Gropper," pp. 20, 24-29, for a detailed account using archival material from the Museum of Modern Art.

7.See above, n. 500 and n. 501.

8.The cartoon is reproduced in "Sowers of the Senatorial Winds," 42 Vanity Fair (May 1934): 30.

9.Letter from Gropper to Rockwell Kent, 10 July 1953, Kent Papers, AAA. Cited in Steinberg, "William Gropper," p. 164, n. 18. Gropper, in the letter, says that he "was asked by Frank Crowninshield, editor of Vanity Fair, to go down to Washington and do a double-page spread of the Senate in action." Ibid.

10.See the article on the opening days of the conference, "900 delegatn uif arbetlozer-konvenshon in vashington" (900 Delegates at Unemployment Convention in Washington), Morgen Freiheit (4 February 1934): 1, 8. For the drawings of the convention, see the issue, 6 February 1934, p. 6. A related set of drawings shows delegates and guards at the White House, see 8 February 1934, p. 5.

11."Eindrukn fun vashington" (Impressions of Washington), Morgen Freiheit (11 February 1934): 5.

12."Senator mekelar fun tenesi tragt arein a bil tsu bagrenitsn di 'si-dobliu-ei' un 'pi-dobliu-ei' uif 950 milion dolar -- un er dertseilt vegn der gruiser arbet, vos hopkins tut for di arbetloze," ibid.

13."Aber der zelbiner mister mekelor tret aruim gegn dem, az men zol areinshteln dem punkt vegn kompensatsie, vakh di arbeter habn gehat gekrogn bun itst," ibid. In Gropper's drawing of Senator McKellar in Vanity Fair, Gropper varied his depiction of him; here, he raises only one arm and holds a paper with the other. The composition is much more detailed as well. See "Sowers of the Senatorial Winds," p. 31.

14."A, boi! Vos far a bruizndige tetigkeit!," with the caption, "Der senat bei der 'arbet' fun viliam groper (tsu zein artikl)," ibid.

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15."A gevise forshtelung hobn mir ale zuenen der kepitol un dem veisn huiz. Nor uib ir hot alein nit gezen dem senat, dem kongres, dem suprim kourt, dem leibor-department, di farhern, unterzukhungen, a.a.v., un ir hot bluiz an eindruk fun dem, vos ir hot vegn zei gelezn, iz gleikher, az ir zolt fun dem eindruk zikh bafreien eider nokh ir zet zei mit eiere uign. A nit vet ir kuim veln gluibn, vos eiere uign zeen," ibid.

16."Ruzvelt fadert budzshet fun zekhtsn bilion dolar far tsvei ior" (Roosevelt Demands $16 Billion Budget for Two Years), Morgen Freiheit (5 January 1934): 1.

17."Far di arbetloze a krekhts, far milkhome--bilionen" (For the Unemployed, a Sigh; For War--Billions), Morgen Freiheit (6 January 1934): 8.

18."A tsveizeitige mashinke" (A Two-Sided Machine), with the caption, "(Fun fornt flit der fridn, fun hintn bakt er krigsshifn)" (From the front, peace is flying; From the rear, battleships are being baked), Morgen Freiheit (10 January 1934): 6.

There were two other cartoons on this theme: Morgen Freiheit (29 January 1934): 6; and (1 February 1934): 6.

19.Gropper, "Impressions of Washington."

20.For a selection of these, see the following in Freiheit: 13 December 1924, p. 1 ("The Dream of Our Militarists," Fig. 56); 10 May 1927, p. 8 (Mussolini); 28 May 1930, p. 6 (Mussolini); 28 October 1931, p. 6 (Japan); 21 February 1932, p. 6 (Japan); 3 March 1932, p. 6 (Japan); 22 March 1932, p. 6 (Hitler); 16 May 1932, p. 6 ("Keep Up the Attack on the Soviet Union!," Fig. 112); 1 February 1933, p. 6 ("Why They Kneel Before Him, Fig. 104); 19 February 1933, p. 8 ("Red Front Versus Black Front," Fig. 105); 27 February 1933, p. 6 (Japan); 18 March 1933, p. 6 (the capitalist holding on to a swastika and a cannon barrel); 25 March 1933, p. 6 (Hitler); 27 March 1933, p. 6 (Mussolini): 5 April 1933, p. 6 (Hitler); 30 May 1933, p. 6 ("The Morgan Octopus at Work...," Fig. 68); 1 August 1933, p. 1 (Japan and Hitler).

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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Citizen: "I want a newspaper that contains the whole truth."
The System: "Mister, your ration has been reduced to 5% in each newspaper."

Fig. 1 "Citizen: 'I want a newspaper that contains the whole truth.' The System: 'Mister, your ration has been reduced to 5% in each newspaper,'" Liberator (October 1918).

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Fig. 2 "The Storm," American Art Student (April 1918).

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Fig. 3 Francisco de Goya, No se puede mirar (One can't look), etching, from Los Desastres de la Guerra (Disasters of War).

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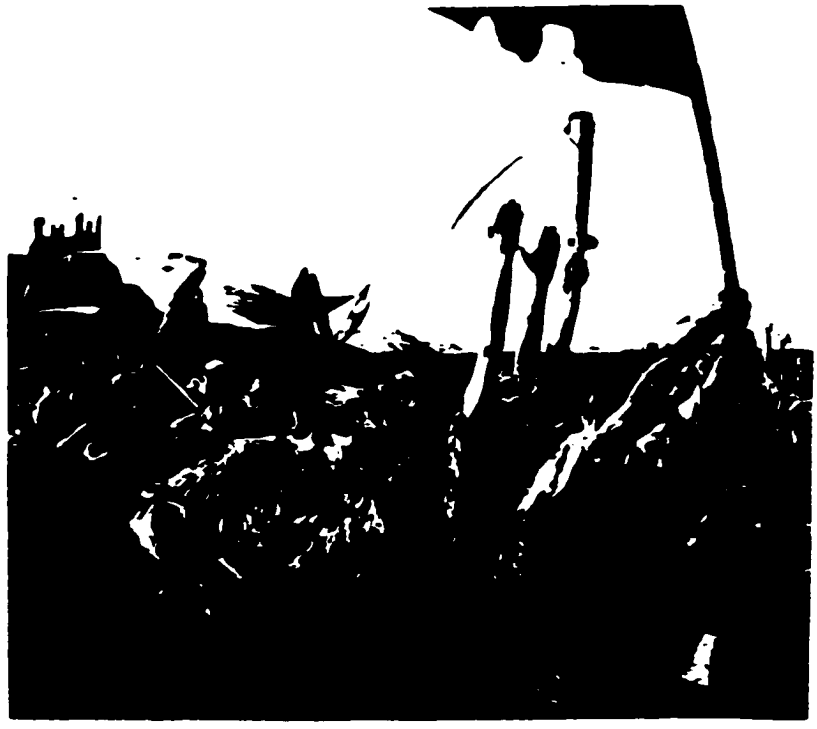


Fig. 4 Käthe Kollwitz, Aufruhr, 1899, etching.

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Fig. 5 Untitled I, reproduction, Melomime Publications, c. 1922.

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Fig. 6 Honoré Daumier, La Nouvelle Assomption, lithograph, from the series, Actualités.

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Fig. 7 Untitled II, reproduction, Melomime Publications, c. 1922.

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Fig. 8 Robert Minor, "Pittsburgh," Masses (August 1916).

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Fig. 9 Boardman Robinson, "New York's Calamity: Heavens! We must dine at HOME!," New York Tribune (1 June 1912).

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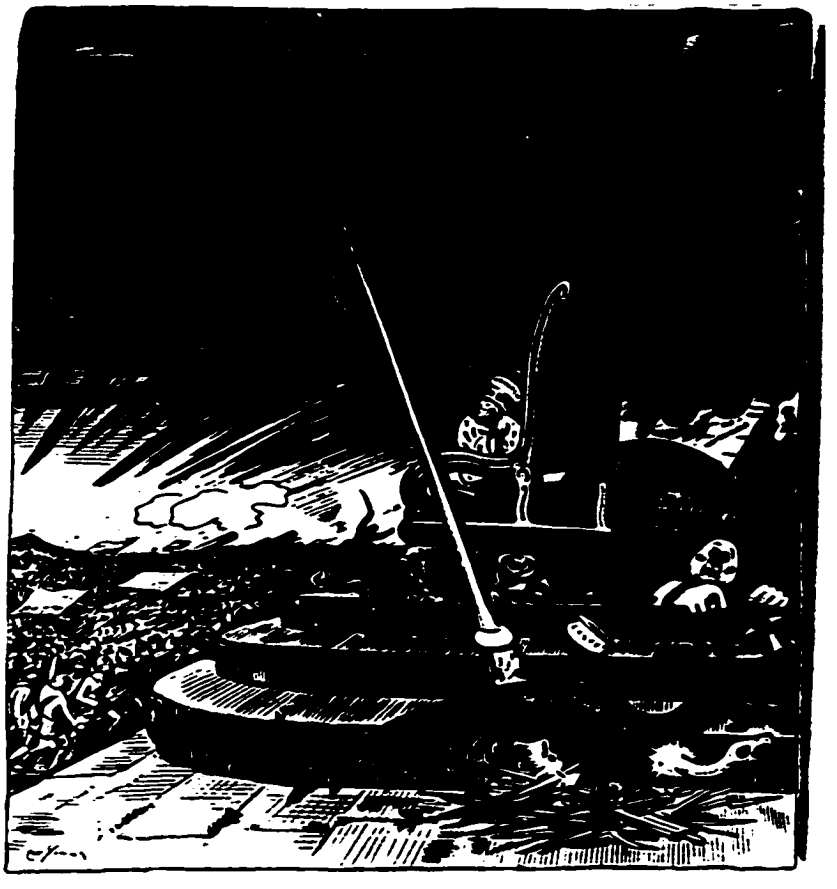


Fig. 10 Art Young, "The Triumph of Militarism," Masses (September 1914).

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Fig. 11 Untitled III, New York Tribune Review (14 October 1917).

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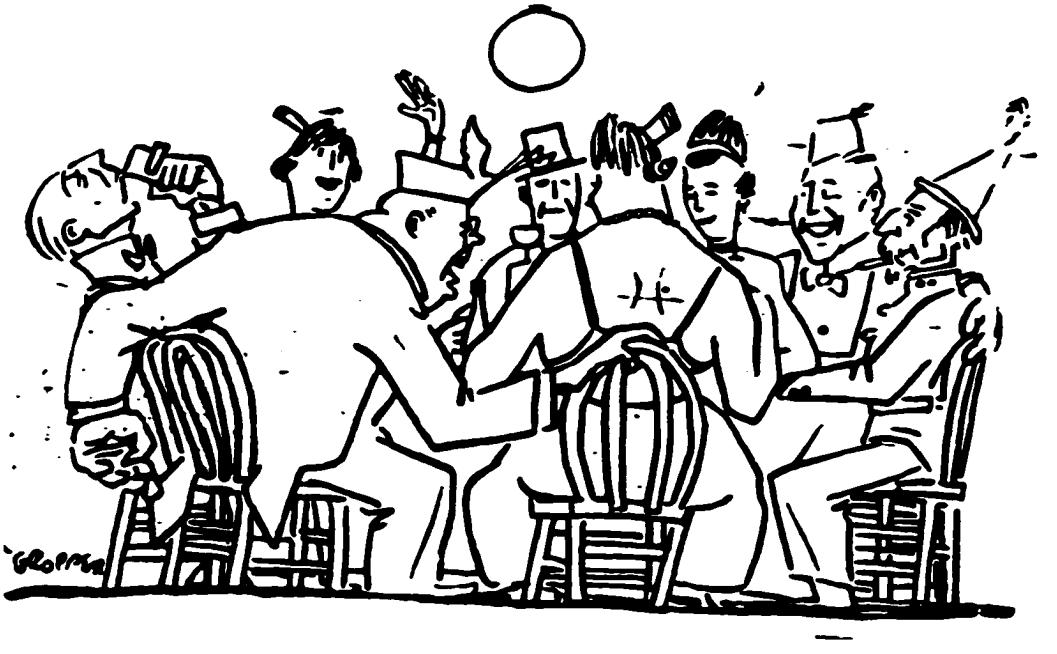


Fig. 12 Untitled IV, New York Tribune Magazine (5 January 1919).

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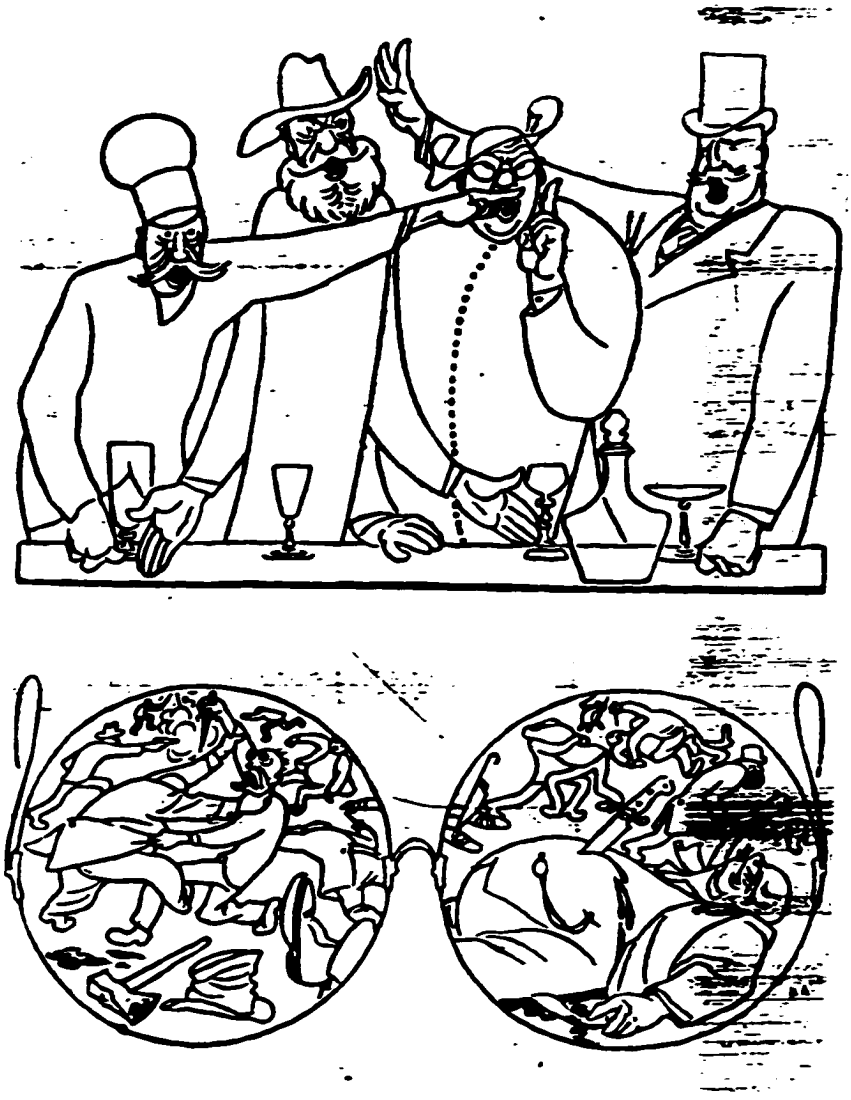


Fig. 13 K. A., "Through Reuter's Spectacles: How Our Internal Politics Really Are and How They Appear to the Outer World," Cartoons Magazine (February 1918); reprinted from Simplicissimus.

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Fig. 14 Untitled V, New York Tribune Magazine (20 April 1919).

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Fig. 15 Untitled VI, Labor Defender (15 July 1918).

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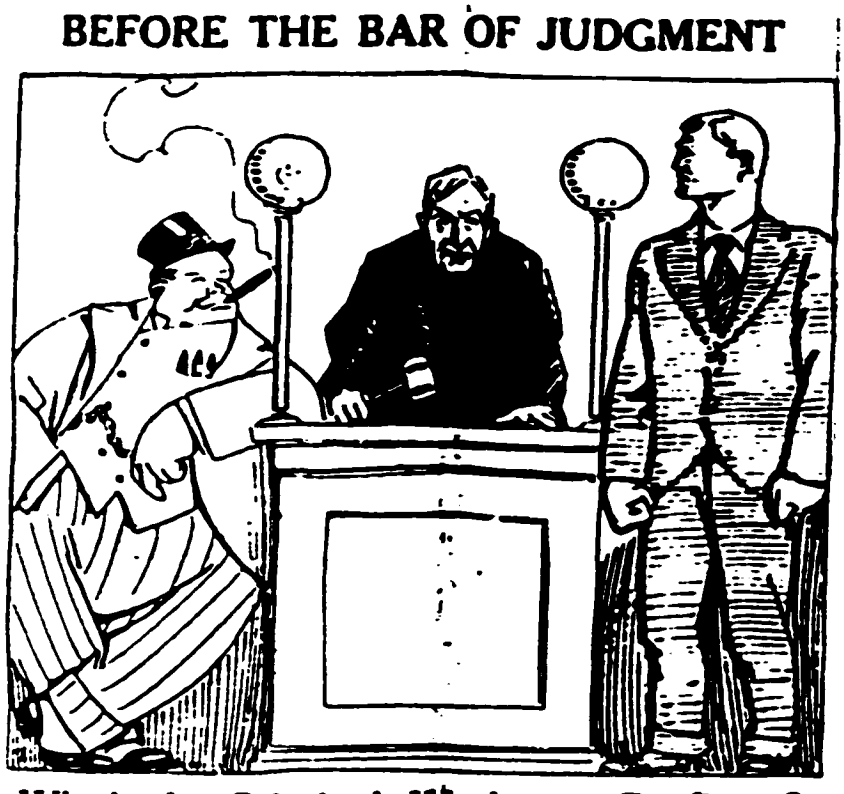


Fig. 16 Z., "Before the Bar of Judgment [sic]: Who's the Criminal, Worker or Profiteer?," Labor Defender (15 April 1918).

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Fig. 17 Untitled VII, Labor Defender (30 July 1918).

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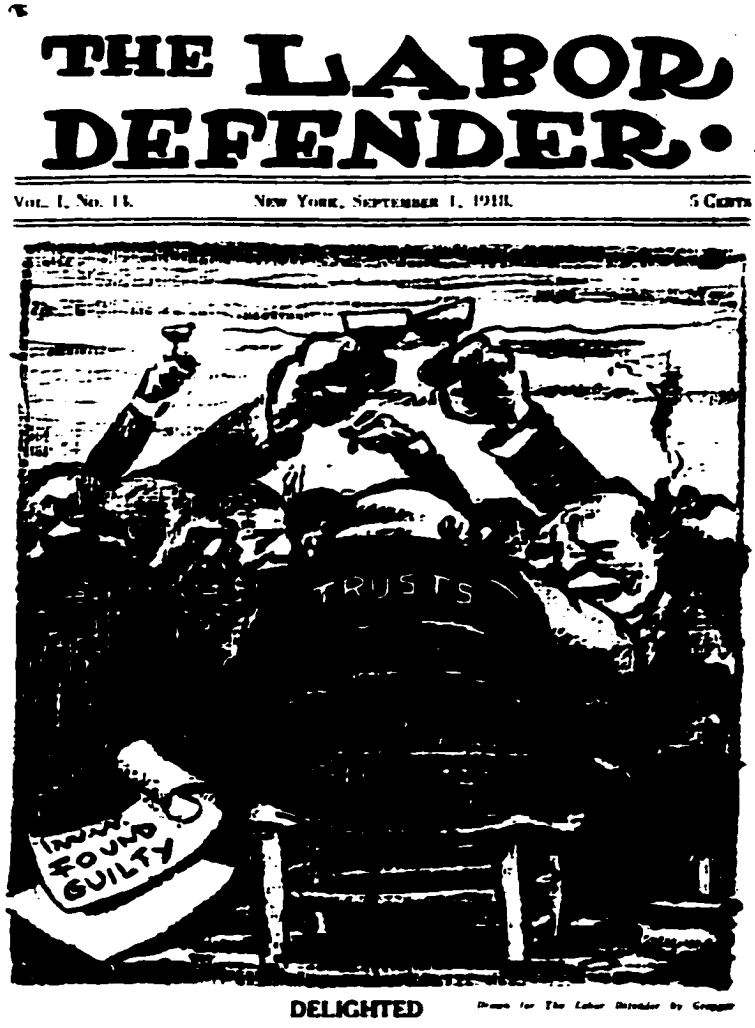


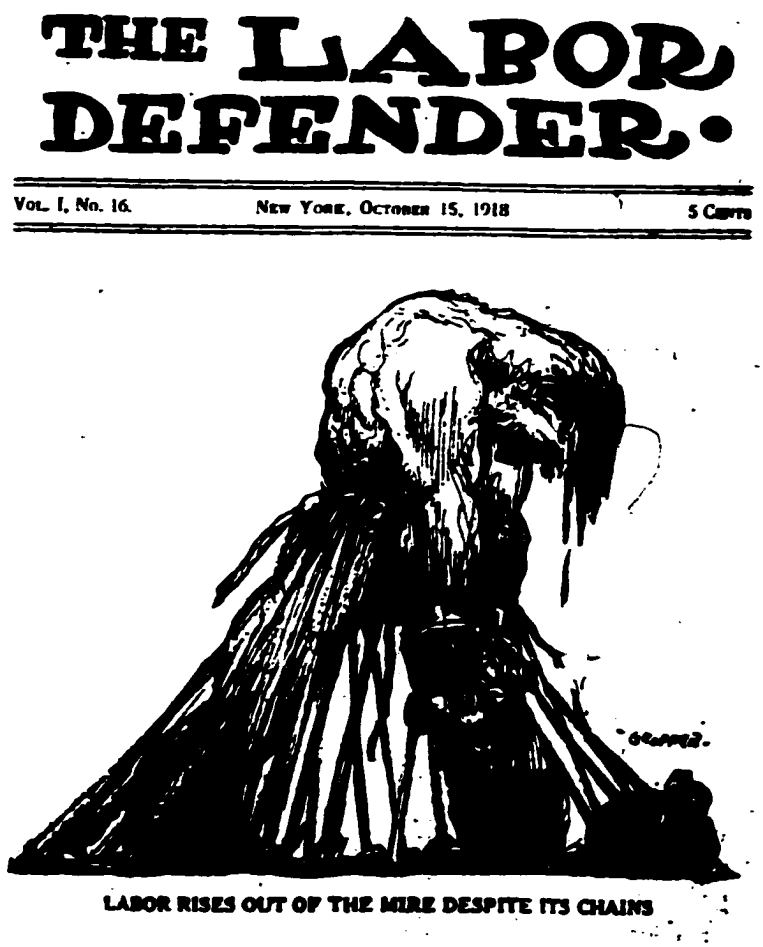
Fig. 18 "Delighted," Labor Defender (1 September 1918).

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Fig. 19 Art Young, "On Trial at Chicago," Labor Defender (15 August 1918).

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THE LABOR DEFENDER.

Vol. I, No. 16. New York, October 15, 1918 5 Cents

LABOR RISES OUT OF THE MIRE DESPITE ITS CHAINS

Fig. 20 "Labor Rises Out of the Mire Despite Its Chains," Labor Defender (15 October 1918).

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Fig. 21 Benjamin Greenstein, "Labor's Crucifixion," Labor Defender (15 November 1918).

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Making America Safe for Wall Street and Gomperism

Fig. 22 "The Land of Promise; Making America Safe for Wall Street and Gomperism," Rebel Worker (1 February 1919).

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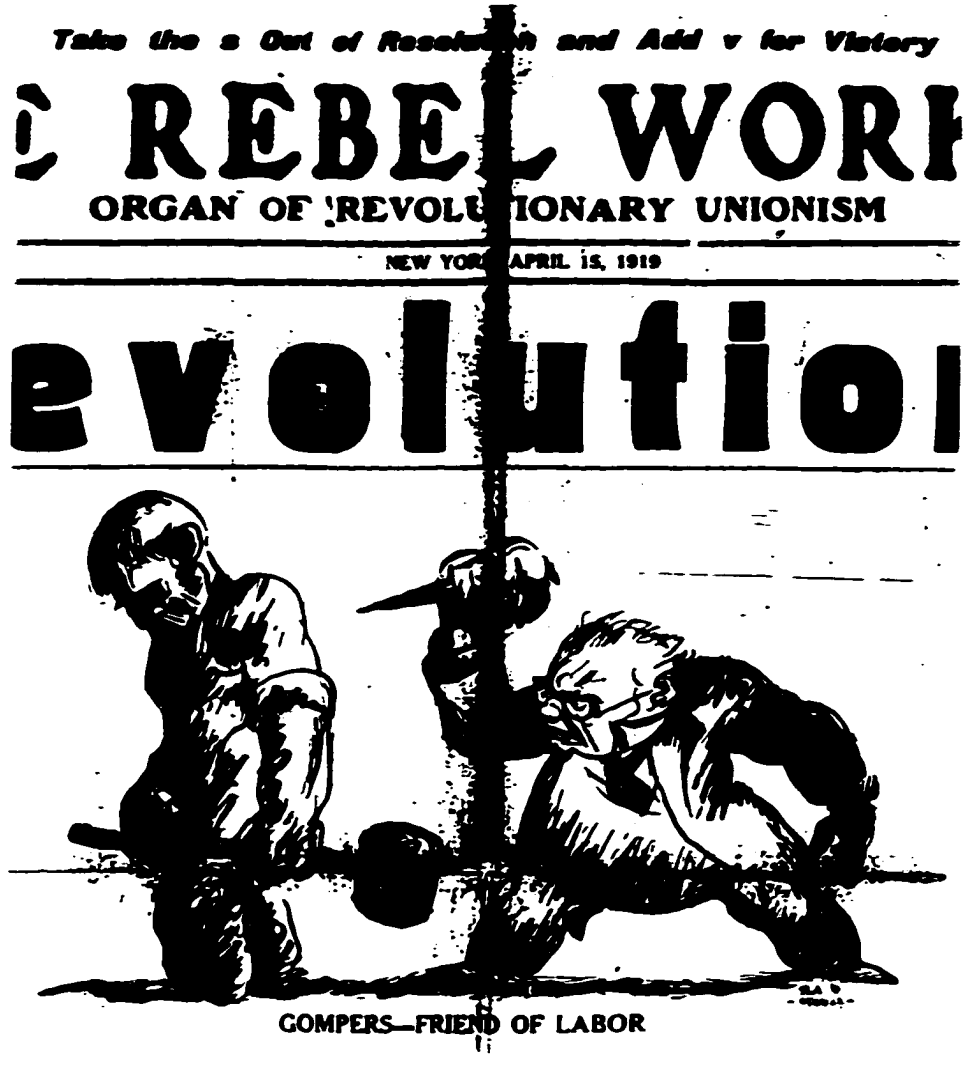


Fig. 23 "Gompers--Friend of Labor," Rebel Worker (15 April 1919).

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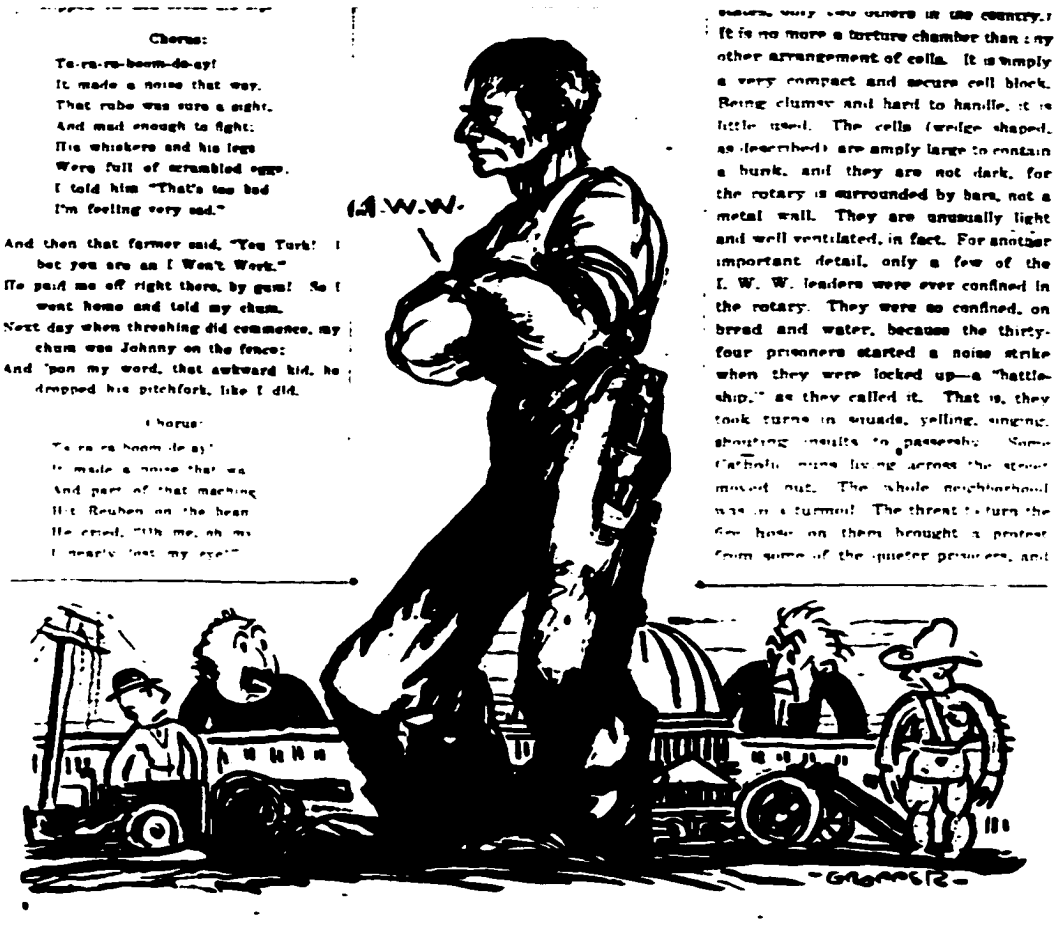


Fig. 24 Untitled VIII, New York Tribune Magazine (2 March 1919).

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Fig. 25 Untitled IX, New York Tribune Magazine (12 January 1919).

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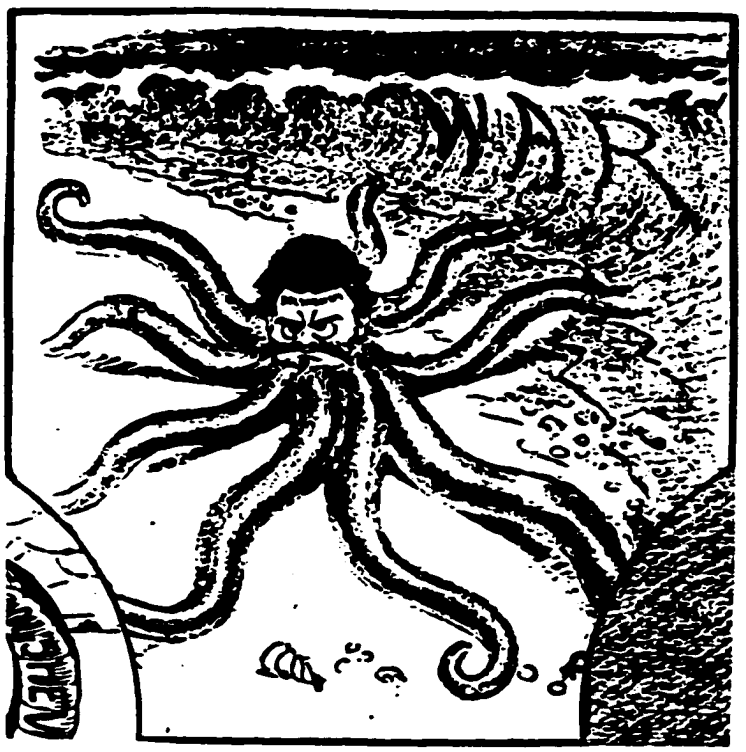


Fig. 26 Unknown, "Those Bolsheviki; Left by the Receding Wave," New York Tribune Review (2 February 1919); reprinted from the Dallas Morning News.

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Combined with "The New York Communist"

The Revolutionary Age

Devoted to the International Communist Struggle

Vol. 2, No. 1 | Saturday, July 5, 1919 | Price 5c.

In This Issue:
Left Wing Convention,
Manifesto and Program



"Nothing Doing!'

Fig. 27 "'Nothing Doing!,'" Revolutionary Age (5 July 1919).

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Fig. 28 Frederick Burr Opper, "The Common People."

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Fig. 29 "The Upsurge of Socialism," Revolutionary Age (5 July 1919).

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Fig. 30 "Peace is signed--now for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Revolutionary Age (12 July 1919).

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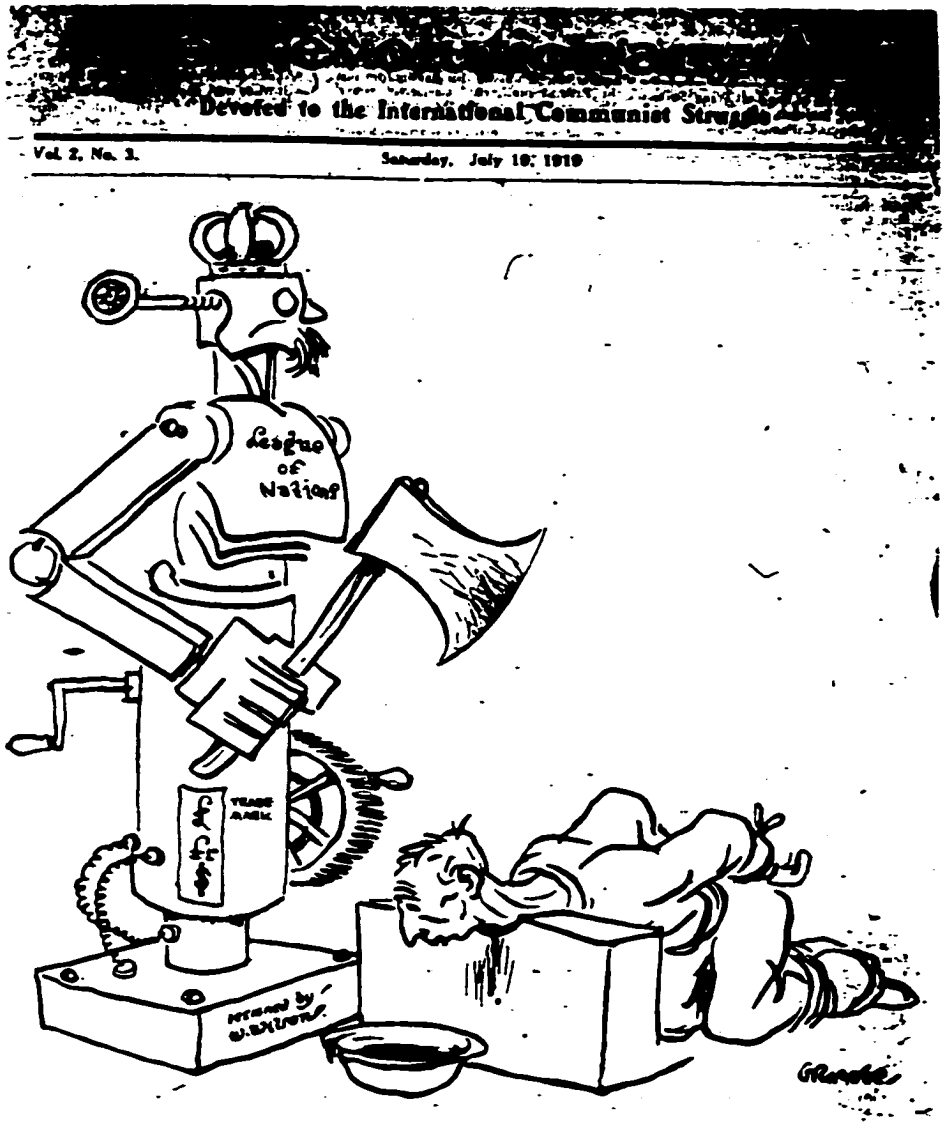


Fig. 31 "Guaranteed to cure all Wars, Corns, Bugs and Protect Capital," Revolutionary Age (19 July 1919).

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Fig. 32 "Hot Air," Revolutionary Age (26 July 1919).

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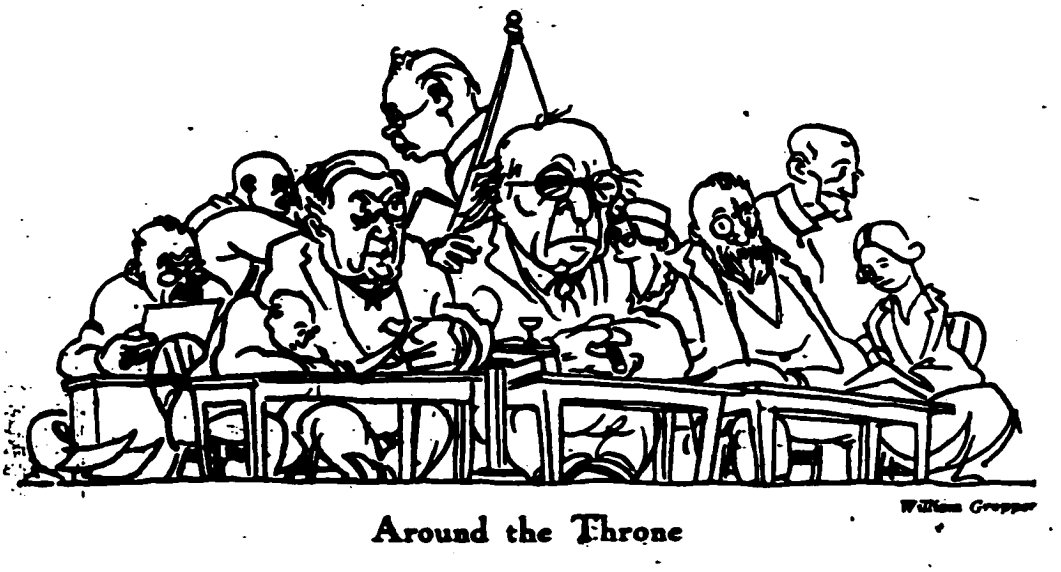


Fig. 33 "Around the Throne," Liberator (August 1919).

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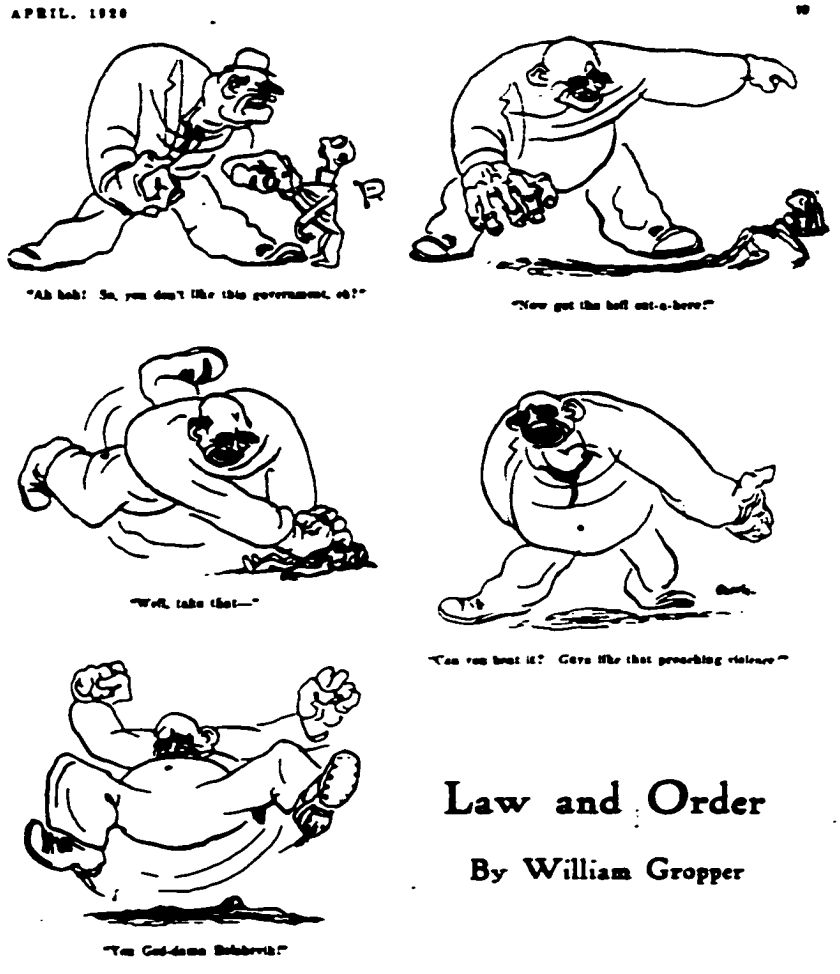


Fig. 34 "Law and Order," Liberator (April 1920).

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The Wage Cut Drive

Fig. 35 "The Wage Cut Drive," Liberator (April 1922).

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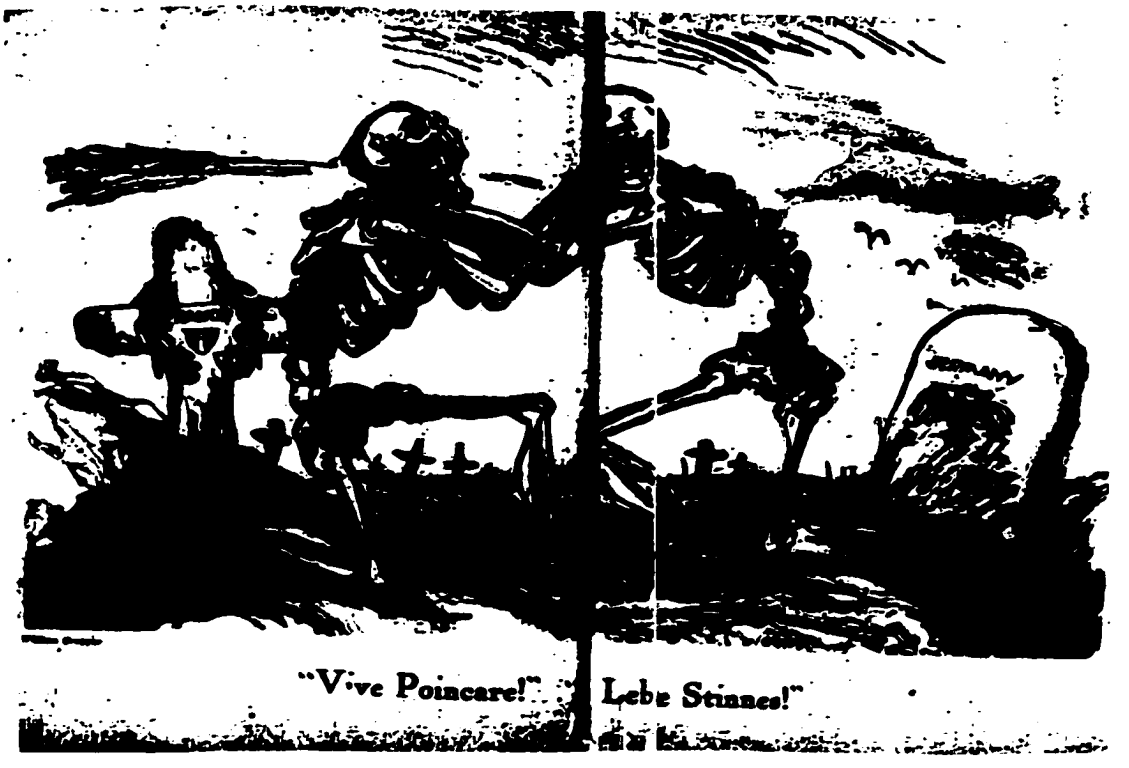


Fig. 36 "'Vive Poincaré!' 'Lebe Stinnes!,'" Liberator (February 1923).

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Fig. 37 "Wrangel Goes the Way of All Counter-Revolutionary Russian Generals" (Wrangel geht den Weg aller gegenrevolutionären russischen Generale), New Yorker Volkszeitung (21 November 1920).

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Fig. 38 Dmitri S. Moor, Wrangel is still Alive! Finish him off without Mercy, lithograph in red and black inks.

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Fig. 39 Untitled X, Advance (8 December 1922).

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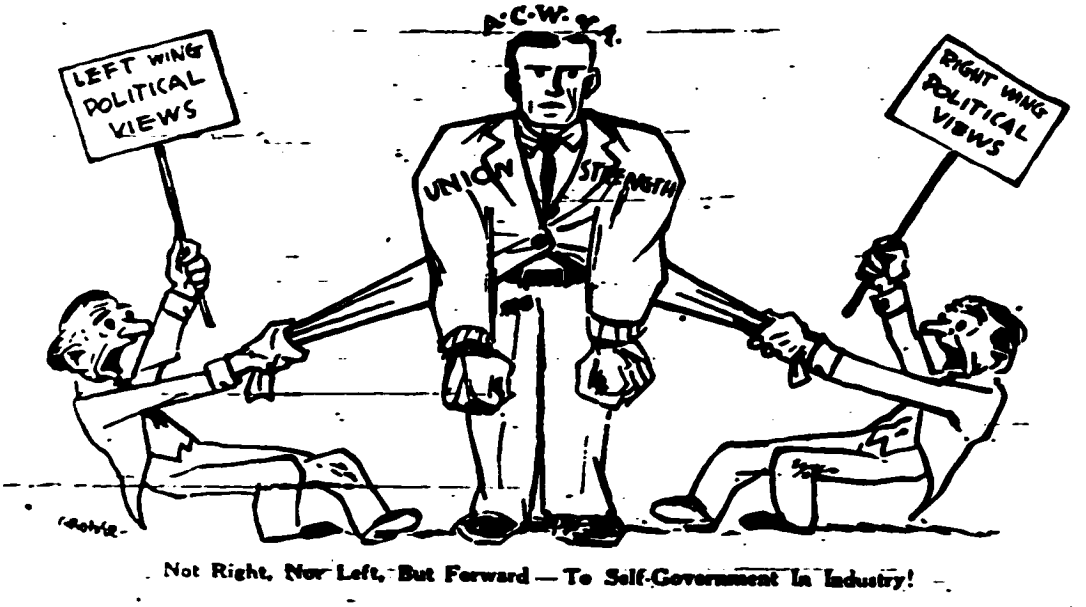


Fig. 40 "Not Right, Nor Left, But Forward--To Self-Government in Industry!," Advance (15 December 1922).

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"If the "Open" Shop Boss Took a Job in His Own Shop

Fig. 41 "If the 'Open' Shop Boss Took a Job in His Own Shop," Advance (20 July 1923).

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Fig. 42 The staff of Freiheit, c.1926

First row, from left to right: Hirsh Rosenfeld, Alexander Pomerantz, Chaver-Paver (G. Einbinder), Moishe Shifris.

Second row: William Gropper, Abraham Reisin, Melech Epstein, Moissaye Olgin, Shachno Epstein, Benjamin Lifshitz, Rubin Salzman, Paul Yuditz.

Third row: Sh. Almazov, Leon Talmi, Elye Wattenberg, Kalmen Marmor, Rachel Holtman, Morris Blechman, H. Kastrel, Paul Novick, H. Leivick, Menachem Boraisha, Moishe Leib Halperin.

Fourth row: I. Sultan, Michael Gold, David Manovich, L. Feinberg, R. Yukelson, Nathaniel Buchwald, A. Mandelbaum.

According to the photograph's accompanying legend (which identifies the staff), Moishe Nadir and Moishe Katz were out of the country.

Paul Novick Papers, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York.

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Fig. 43 The staff of Freiheit, 1929, Freiheit (6 April 1929).

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Fig. 44 Honoré Daumier, Le Ventre législatif (The Legislative Belly), lithograph, issued in 1834 by Charles Philipon and l'Association Mensuelle.

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"WHAT? YOU YOUNG YANKEE-NOODLE, STRIKE YOUR OWN FATHER!"

Fig. 45 John Leech, "'What? You Young Yankee-Noodle, Strike Your Own Father!,'" wood engraving, Punch 10 (1846).

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Fig. 46 František Kupka, "Liberté" (Liberty), L'Assiette au Beurre (11 January 1902).

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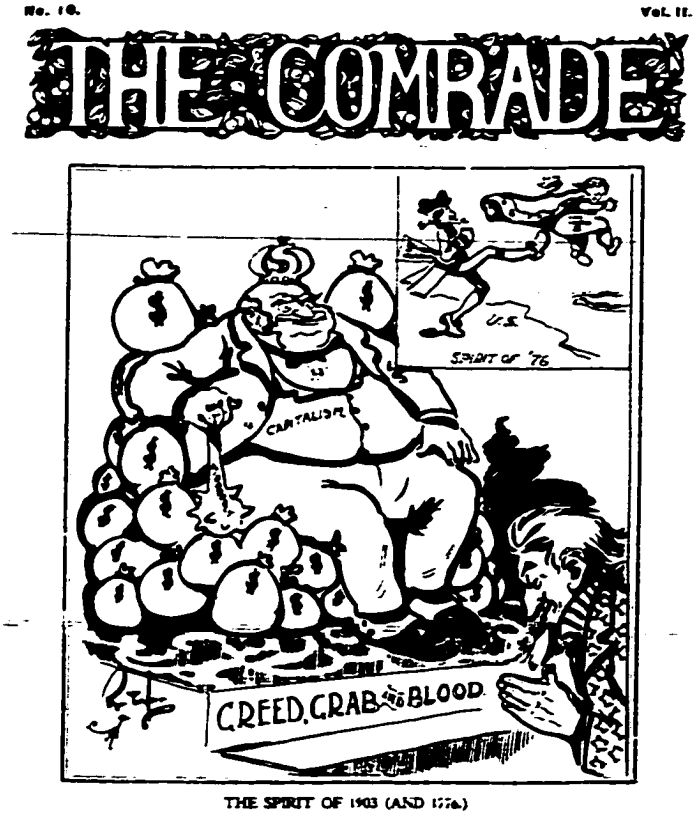
Fig. 47 George Grosz, "Fürs Vaterland -- zur Schlachtbank" (For the Fatherland -- To the Slaughterhouse), Der Knüppel (25 July 1924).

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Fig. 48 Thomas Nast, "The 'Brains,'" Harper's Weekly (21 October 1871).

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THE SPIRIT OF 1903 (AND 1776)

Fig. 49 Ryan Walker, "The Spirit of 1903 (and 1776)," The Comrade (July 1903).

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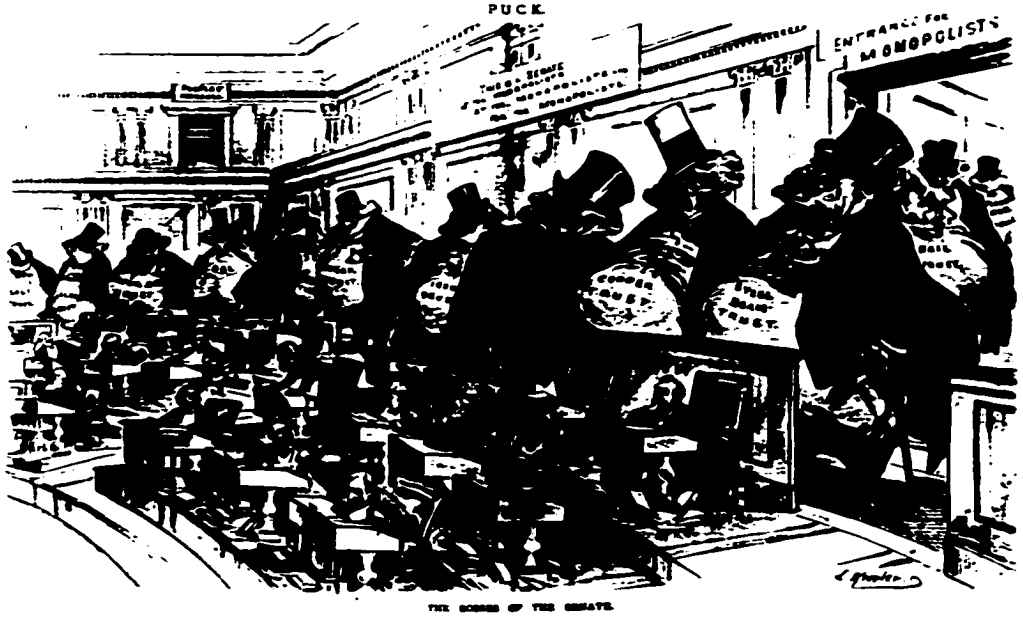


Fig. 50 Joseph Keppler, "The Bosses of the Senate," Puck (23 January 1889).

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Fig. 51 Frederick Burr Opper, "The Trusts," 1900.

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Fig. 52 Homer Davenport, "Wall Street Wishes a New Guardian of the Treasury," New York Journal (1 September 1896).

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Having Their Fling

Fig. 53 Art Young, "Having Their Fling," Masses (September 1917).

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Fig. 54 "He Let the Cats Out of the Bag; (On the investigation into the million dollar campaign funds of the capitalist parties)" (Er hot aruisgelozt di kets fun zak; (tsu der unterzukhung vegn di milionike kampein fondn fun di kapitalistishe parteien), Freiheit (20 October 1924).

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Fig. 55 "Wall Street Celebrates Its Victory in the Elections" (Val-strit feiert ir zig bei di voln), Freiheit (14 November 1924).

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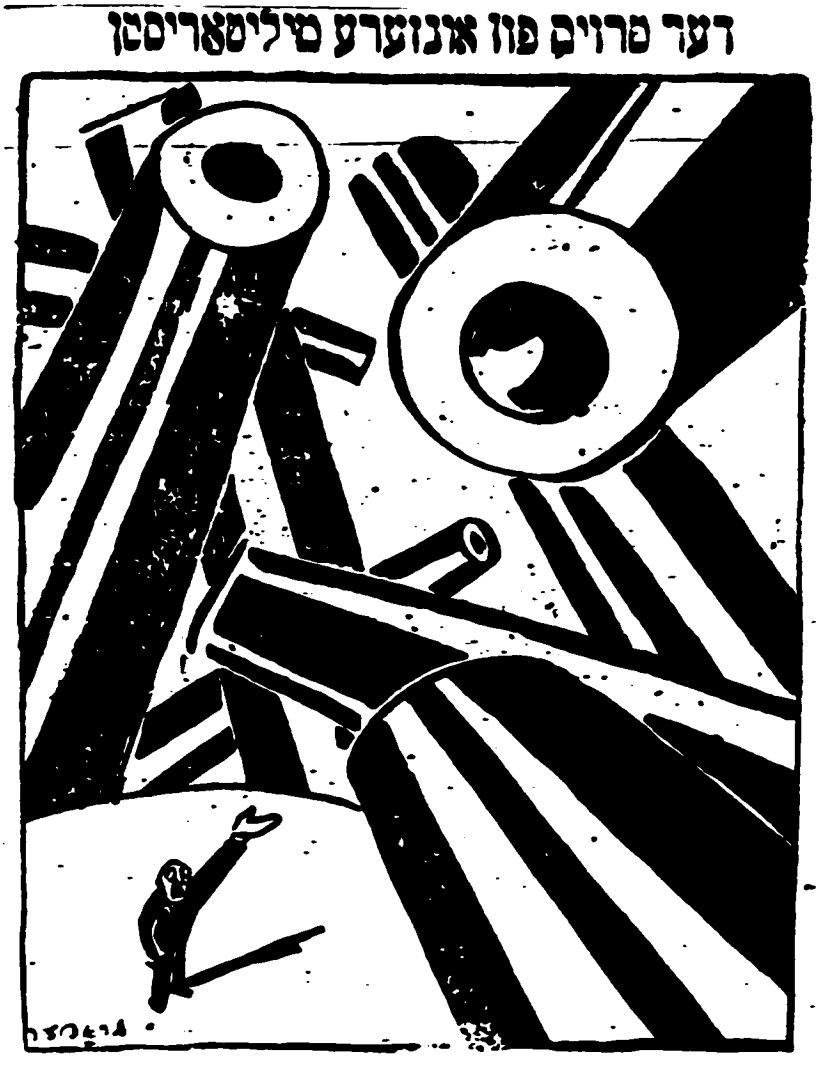


Fig. 56 "The Dream of Our Militarists" (Der truim fun unzere militaristn), Freiheit (13 December 1924).

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Fig. 57 "Mr. Senate: No Matter, Let It Be This One; (On the confirmation of the new Attorney General, Sargent)" (Mr. senat: Mila, zol shuin-zein der; (Tsu der boshtetikung fun dem neiem atuirni general, sargent), Freiheit (21 March 1925).

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Fig. 58 "Wall Street Magnates: The World Is Laughing at Him. He Was Once Told to Bark but He Doesn't Know When to Stop; (Matthew Woll, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor keeps barking at the Soviet Union)" (Val street magnatn: Di velt lacht doch fun unz im, az mihot amol geheisen biln veist er shoyn gornit ven zikh opshteln; [Metiu vol, veis-prezident fun der ameriken federeishon ov leibor hat zik tsubilt af dem sovetnfarband]), Freiheit (18 November 1926).

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Fig. 59 "Give Us Back Sacco and Vanzetti!" (Git unz op sako un vanzeti!), Freiheit (9 August 1927).

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Fig. 60 "His Labor Day" (Zein laybor dei), Freiheit (5 September 1927).

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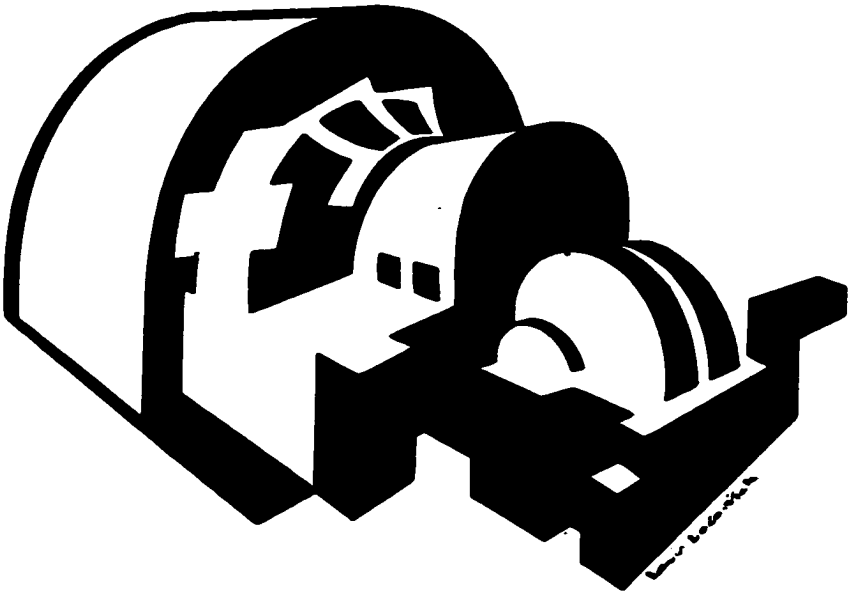


Fig. 61 Louis Lozowick, Machine Ornament No. 3, pen and black ink on wove paper, 9 7/8 x 14 1/16 inches, Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, University Purchase, GMOA 76.3456.

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Fig. 62 Miguel Covarrubias, "Charles Evans Hughes," Vanity Fair (July 1924).

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Fig. 63 Frans Masereel, "The Assassin," Vanity Fair (October 1924).

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Fig. 64 Aleksander Deineka, Textile Workers, 1927, oil on canvas, 67 1/4 x 76 3/4 inches, State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg.

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Fig. 65 "'I Must Have a Full Load!'; A picture of the New York subway" (Ikh muz hobn a fule mas! A bild in niu-iorker sobvei), Freiheit (7 December 1928).

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Fig. 66 "'The Golden Era of American Capitalism' -- Lovestone; Hoover: He is falling and I can't hold him up, Lovestone: But look how large and mighty he grew" ("Di goldene epakhe fun amerikaner kapitalizm" -- Lovestone; Hiver: Er falt mir fun di pis! Lovestone: Aber vi gruis un tekhtig er iz es uisgevaksn!), Morgen Freiheit (22 November 1929).

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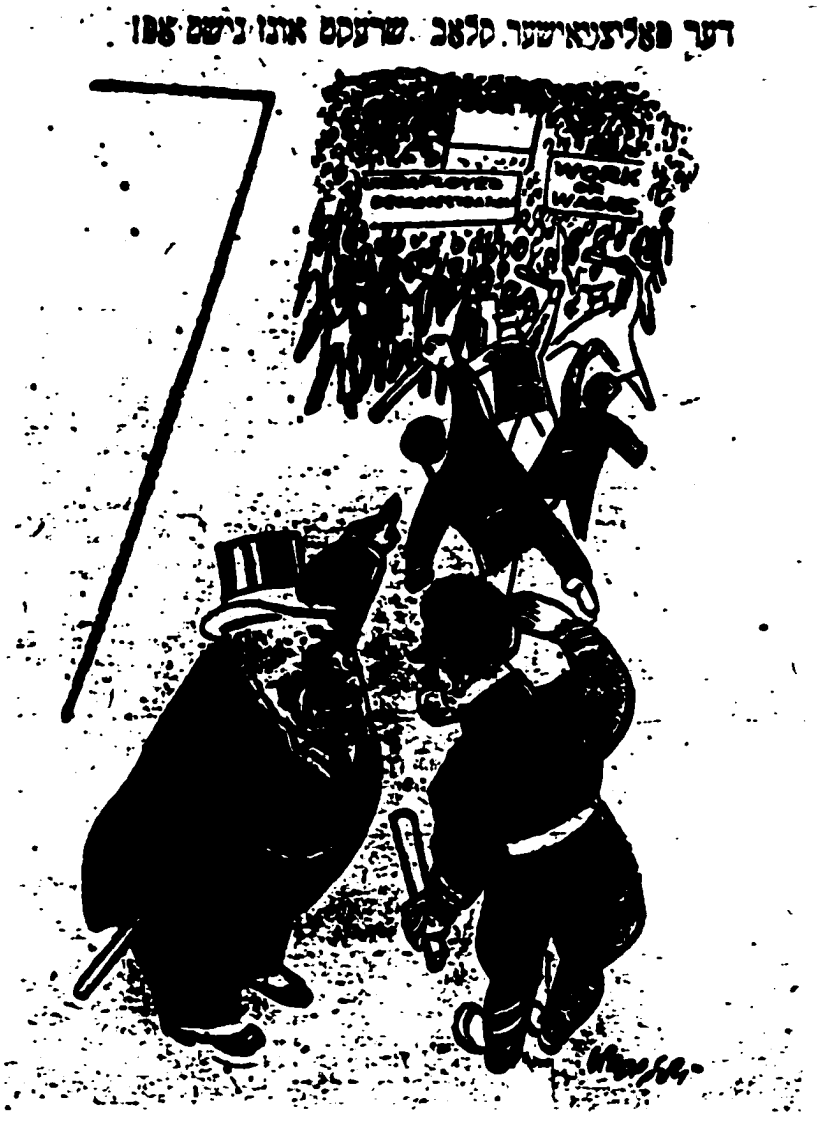


Fig. 67 "The Policemen's Clubs Do Not Frighten Us!" (Der politseiisher klob shrekt unz nisht op!), Morgen Freiheit (8 March 1930).

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Fig. 68 "The Morgan Octopus at Work..." (Der morgan-oktopus bei der arbet...), Morgen Freiheit (30 May 1933).

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Fig. 69 "The Hamentashen; See 'Day In and Day Out,' p.4" (Di hamen-tashn; ze "tog ein tog uis" uif zeit 4), Morgen Freiheit (19 March 1935).

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Fig. 70 After Gustave Doré, The Wandering Jew, 1852, color wood engraving.

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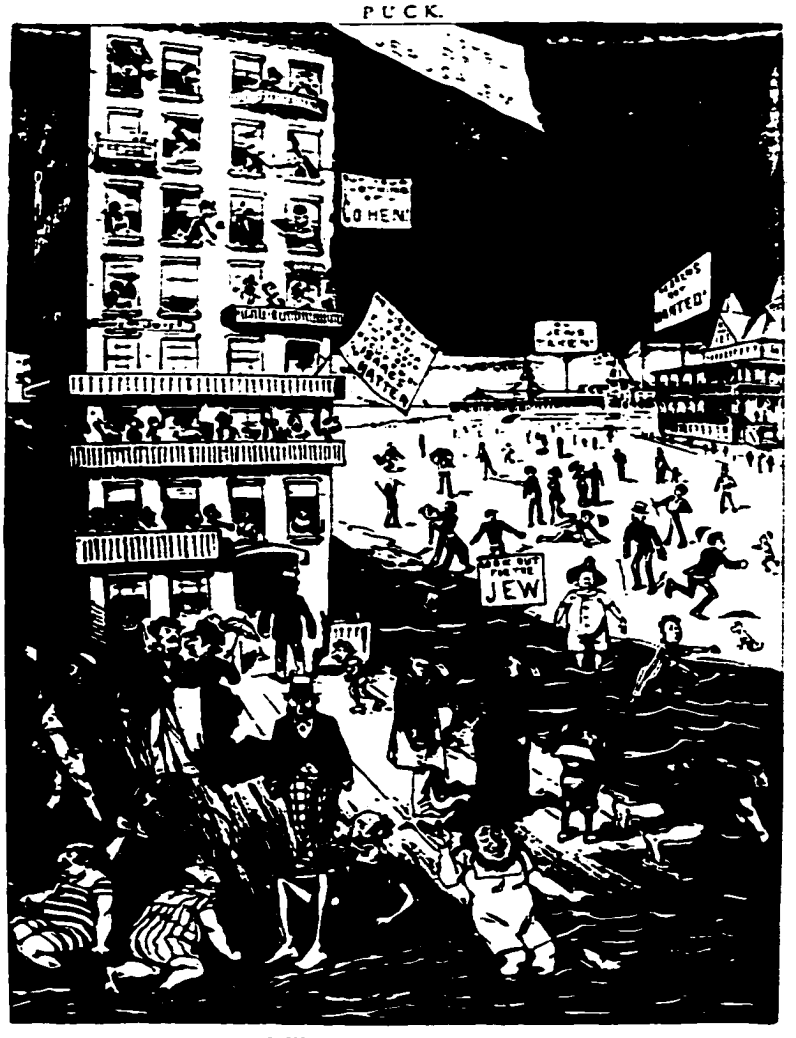
Fig. 71 Camille Pissarro, Capital, from the series, Les Turpitudes Sociales, 1889-1890, pen and ink, private collection, Geneva.

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Fig. 72 V. Lenepveu, Nathan Mayer ou l'origine des milliards (Nathan Mayer or the Origin of Billions), from the series Musée des Horreurs (Freak Show), 1900, hand-colored lithograph, The Houghton Library, Harvard University.

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A HINT TO THE HEBREWS.
HOW THEY MAY MAKE THEMSELVES INDEPENDENT OF THE WATERING PLACE HOTELS.

Fig. 73 Frederick Burr Opper, "A Hint to the Hebrews; How They May Make Themselves Independent of the Watering Place Hotels," Puck (11 May 1881).

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Fig. 74 LOLA, "The 'Forward's' Friendliness to the Worker; To someone else's striker and -- to his own striker" (Dem "Forverts'" arbeiter-freindlikhkeit; Tsu ienems streiker un -- tsu zein eigenem streiker), Der Groyser Kundes (29 December 1916).

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Fig. 75 LOLA, "He Cannot Become a Radical; Worker-Soladarity: Come, Mr. Gompers, and become 'red'!..." (Er ken nit ruit veren; Arbeiter-solidaritet: Kukt, mr. gompers un vert "ruit"! Uib nisht fun kein ander zof, iz khotsh fun shande!...), Der Groyser Kundes (17 August 1917).

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Fig. 76 "A Kosher Dance of the Holy Trinity; Gompers, the member of the black capitalist Civic Federation, supported by the yellow 'Socialists,' does a Kosher Dance in Cincinnati" (A kosher-tants fun der heiliger drei einigkeit; Gompers, der mitglid fun der shvartz-kapitalistisher sivik-federeishon, untershtitst fun di gele "soshelists," geht a koshr-tants in sinsineti), Freiheit (17 June 1922).

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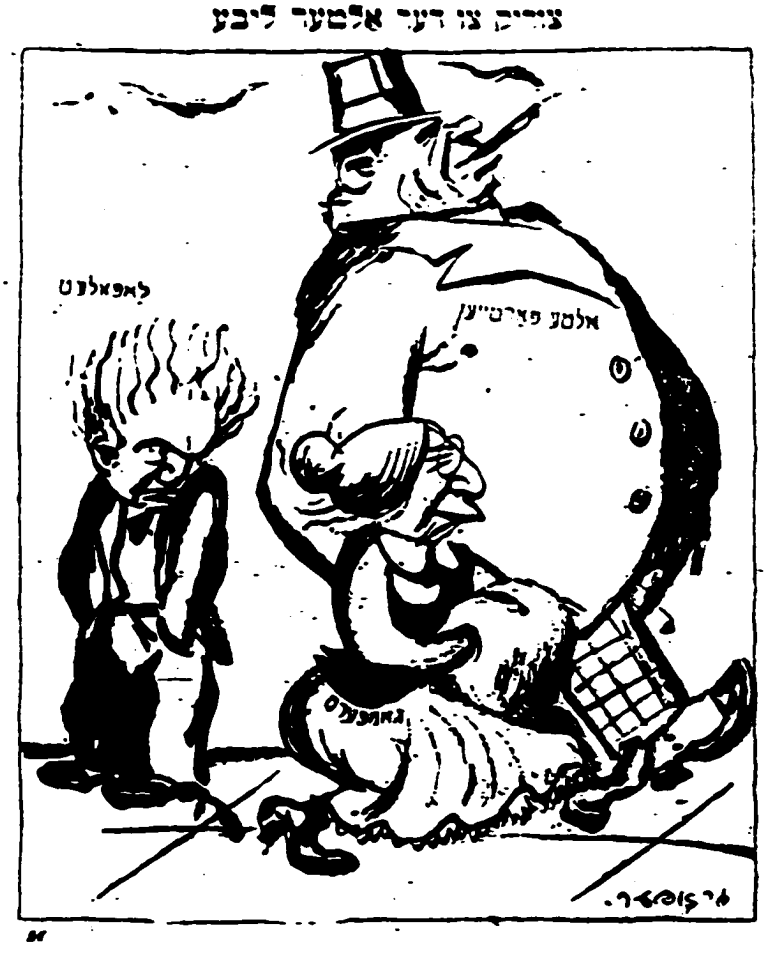


Fig. 77 "Back to His First Love" (Tsurik tsu der alter libe), Freiheit (28 November 1924).

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Fig. 78 Untitled XI, Freiheit (10 February 1925).

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Fig. 79 "They Are Now One Warm Group of Pals" (Zei zenen itst ein var'me kompanie), Freiheit (23 February 1925).

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Fig. 80 "Just to Spite the Communists!; (The S.P. does not want a United Front in celebrating the 1st of May)" (Di komunistn uif tsu lehekheim!; Di S.P. vil nit kein fareinikten front tsu feiern dem 1st mai), Freiheit (14 April 1926).

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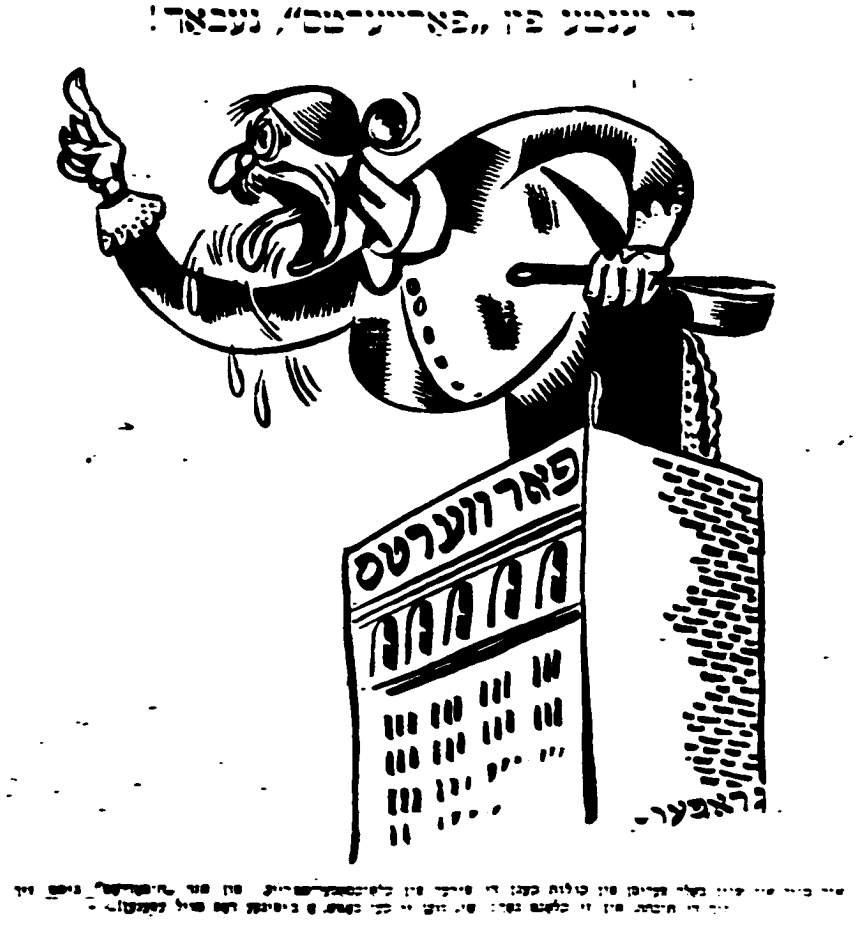


Fig. 81 "The Crone of the 'Forward,' Poor Thing!; Her Voice is almost ripped apart from screaming against the leaders of the cloakmakers strike. Still her 'Hippodrome' pours on the curses, and she complains still: If only I could open my mouth just a little!..." (Di yente fun "Forverts," nebakh!; Ir muil iz shuin bald tserisn fun kuluh kegn di firer fun klokmakher-streik. Pun ir "hipodrom" gist zik di sukhekheh, un zi klagt nokh: oi, ven zi ken khotsh a bisinke dos muil efenen!...), Freiheit (24 November 1926).

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Fig. 82 "The Election Is Coming; All his hands are ready" (Getz im an elekshon, getz im; Di hentelakh shuin ongegreit ba im), Freiheit (8 December 1926).

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Fig. 83 "This Is How the Socialist Newspaper Met the Cloakmakers in the Square; (To the cloakmakers demonstration against the Forverts last Tuesday)" (At azoi bagegnt der sotsialistisher "peiper" di kloukmakher in zein skver; [Tsu der kloukmakher-demanstratsie kegn "Forverts" vos iz fargekumen letstn dinstik]), Freiheit (19 December 1926).

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Fig. 84 "Morris, the Union-Seller, Dealing with Bargains; Sigman: Buy cheaply, Jews, union books, fifty cents each" (Moriske mukhr-union handlt mit mtsius; Zigman: Kuift, idn, iunianbikhlakh, bilig, fuftsik sent a shik), Freiheit (22 December 1926).

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Fig. 85 "Morris, the Union-Seller, Is Peddling Settlements Now; Sigman realized that the business of 50-cent union books was no good, so he began peddling 50-cent settlements" (Moriske mukhr-union pedlt shoin mit setlments; Zigman hat eignezen, az di biznes mit 50-sentige iunion-bikhlakh tuig uif klog, hat er genumen pedlen mit 50-sentige setlments), Freiheit (14 January 1927).

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Fig. 86 "Now Morris Is Peddling New Charters" (Moriske pedlt shoin mit neie charters), Freiheit (22 February 1927).

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מאריסקע: קויפט, קויפט, ביליג — בא מיר איז אלץ בי
ליג: סקעב ביכלאך, האם דאגס, יוניע, ארבעטער, האם
מאמאס אז נאך, אז נאך, אז נאך



Fig. 87 "Morris: Buy, buy cheap, everything is a bargain--scab books, hot dogs, union, workers, hot mammas, etc., etc." (Moriske: Kuift, kuift, bilig, ba mir iz alts bilig: skeb bikhlakh, hat dogs, iunie, arbeter, hat mamas un nokh, un nokh, un nokh), Freiheit (10 July 1927).

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Fig. 88 "He's Peddling Summonses..." (Er pedlt mit somonses...), Freiheit (9 September 1927).

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Fig. 89 "Merciful Jews, Slaughter the Communists!" (Idn bni rhmnim, shlogt komunistn!), Morgen Freiheit (13 September 1929).

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Fig. 90 "The Forverts' 'With a Face to the Soviet Union'" (Der forvertsistisher "mitin pnim tsum sovetn-farband"), Morgen Freiheit (12 September 1932).

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Fig. 91 "The Political Horse Holds Itself Together" (Dos politishe ferdl halt beim tsuzamenbrekhn), Freiheit (16 November 1924).

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Fig. 92 "They Are Sitting Atop a Volcano" (Zei zitsn af a vulkan), Freiheit (18 November 1924).

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Fig. 93 "Mussolini: I Am Sitting Firm, Woe Is Me" (Musolini: Ikh zits fest, vei iz mir), Freiheit (4 November 1926).

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Fig. 94 "Mussolini's Dream; (The Fascist dictator of Italy wants an army of five million soldiers)" (Musolini's truim; [Der fashistisher diktator fun italie vil an armei fun finf milion soldatn]), Freiheit (6 June 1927).

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Fig. 95 "The Drummer Boy of Death!" (Der barabanshtshik fun tuit!), Morgen Freiheit (9 August 1935).

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Fig. 96 "How Poland Frees Her Communist Prisoners" (Vi puiln bafreit ire komunistishe gefangene), Freiheit (3 April 1925).

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Fig. 97 "The New President of Poland...; Pilsudski (Sitting on Moscicki's back): Hurrah for our democratic republic!" (Der neier prezident fun puiln...; Pilsudski [zitsndik af Moshtshitski'n] Hura far unzer demokratisher republik!), Freiheit (3 June 1926).

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Fig. 98 "Leading the Government in the Polish Republic; Pilsudski, who called the Sejm [parliament] deputies thieves and prostitutes and keeps the government locked up, is now choosing a new premier..." (Men firt di mlukhh in der puilisher republik; Pilsudski, welkher batseikhnt di seim-deputatn als gnb'm un prostitutkes, un halt di regirung farpakt, kleibt zikh shuin tsu a neiem premier...), Freiheit (17 April 1929).

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Fig. 99 "'Help! Jews Are Being Beaten Up in the Soviet Union!'" (Gevald, men shlogt idn in sovetn-farband!), Morgen Freiheit (1 March 1930).

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Fig. 100 "It Does Not Wash Off!; Protest today against the Polish henchmen and against those Jews who protect the Pilsudski pogrom makers" (Es vasht zikh nit op!; Protestirt heint gegn di puilishe henker un gegn di ekht-idishe bashitser fun di pilsudski-pogrom shtshikem), Morgen Freiheit (23 November 1931).

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Fig. 101 "Hitler: War Against the Soviet Union!; Right after the German elections, the 'Forverts' wrote that the Soviet Union supported the Fascists with money. As you can see by Hitler's statement, the story was completely untrue" (Hitler: Milkhome kegn sovetn-farband!; Gleikh nokh di deitshe voln hat der higer "forverts" geshribn, az der sovetn-farband hot geshtitst di fashistn mit geld. Vi ir zet fun hitler'n derklerung, iz es hurkh lekshn), Morgen Freiheit (4 October 1930).

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Fig. 102 "Ready to Serve; Hitler receives 4 million from the German moneybag for not demanding the meeting of the Reichstag" (Greit tsu dinen; Hitler krigt 4 milion fun di deitshe gelt-zek for nit fodern tsuzamenrufn dem reikhstag), Morgen Freiheit (15 January 1933).

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Fig. 103 Jacob Burck, "The German Boss and His Servant" (Der deitsher bos un zein diner), Morgen Freiheit (26 December 1930).

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Fig. 104 "Why They Kneel Before Him; The German capitalist, Wall Street, Washington, Senator Borah, Hamilton Fish, Brisbane -- all for Hitler, who has to save them from the great peril" (Farvos zei knien far im; Der deitsher kapitalist, vol strit, vashington, senator boro, hamilton fish, brisbein -- ale far hitler'n, vos darf rameven fun der gruiser gefar), Morgen Freiheit (1 February 1933).

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Fig. 105 "Red Front Versus Black Front; To today's meeting on the situation in Germany (at the Central Opera House)" (Rot-front gegn shvartz-front; Tsum heintign miting vegn der lage in deitshland -- in sentral opera huiz), Morgen Freiheit (19 February 1933).

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Fig. 106 "Hitler -- The Searcher for Peace" (Hitler -- der shlus-zukher), Morgen Freiheit (17 October 1933).

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Fig. 107 "One Pogrom Maker Protests Against Another; Pilsudski protests against Hitler and in Poland pogroms take place" (Ein pogrom shtshik protestirt gegn tsveitn; Pilsudski protestirt gegn Hitler'n un in puiln kumen for pogromen), Morgen Freiheit (26 March 1933).

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Fig. 108 "Fight Against the Bloody Defenders!; Hitler's minister, Goering, declared that they are arresting labor leaders, workers, and Jews so they can be defended" (Kemft gegn di blutige bashitzer!; Hitler's minister, Gering, hot derklert, az men arestirt arbeter-firer, arbeter und idn, khidi zei tzu bashitzn), Morgen Freiheit (30 March 1933).

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Fig. 109 "Hitler: Tell Them in America That I Also Have a 'New Deal'; Demonstrate today! Stop the killer!" (Hitler: Zog zei in amerike, az bei mir iz uif do a "neier dil"; Demonstrirt heint! Shtelt op di merder-hant!), Morgen Freiheit (31 March 1934).

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Fig. 110 "Hitler: I Am Innocence Itself; To the declaration by the Hitler government that the Jews are themselves guilty for the bloody pogrom which the Nazis made" (Hitler: Ikh bin di umshuld alein; Tsu der derklerung fun der hitler-regirung, az di idn alein zeinen shuldig in dem blutign pogrom vos di natsis habn gemakht), Morgen Freiheit (19 July 1935).

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Fig. 111 "He Spreads the Imperialistic 'Law and Order' into China; To the news of the Far Eastern press correspondents, reported in yesterday's 'Morgen Freiheit,' that the Nanking government had made an agreement that Japan will protect 'law and order' in Manchuria" (Er farshpreit alts veiter di imperialistishe "gezets un ordnung" in khine; Tsu der neies fun der veit murh'diger pres-korespondents, vos is gekhtn geven in der "morgn-freiheit," az di nankiner regirung hat geshlosen an opmakh, az iapon zol bashitsn "gezets un ordnung" in mandzshurie), Morgen Freiheit (5 January 1932).

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Fig. 112 "Keep Up the Attack on the Soviet Union!; Japan sends new military to the Soviet borders" (Halt op di atake uifn sovetn-farband!; Iapon shikt neie militer tsu der sovetisher-grenits), Morgen Freiheit (16 May 1932).

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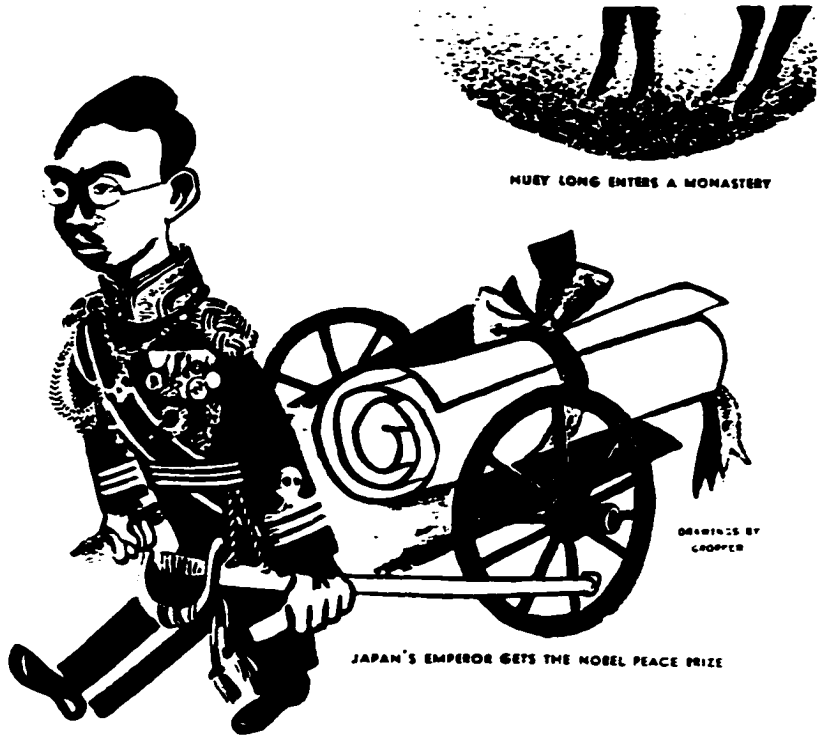


Fig. 113 "Japan's Emperor Gets the Nobel Peace Prize," Vanity Fair (August 1935).

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Fig. 114 "Wow! Help! I Have Been Insulted!; The Japanese emperor was very busy with his delicate business in Manchuria and northern China when he looked around and noticed that Gropper had insulted him!" (Gvald, men hot ikh baleidigt!; Der iapanisher kenig iz geven shtark farnumen mit zeine eidele gesheftn in mandzshurie un tsfun-khine -- ersht er kukt zikh arum -- groper hot im baleidigt!), Morgen Freiheit (7 August 1935).

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Fig. 115 "Gropper Undressed the Mikado; Bonzai! Sacramento! To life! Gropper placed himself as the rickshaw puller which did not please the Mikado -- but he also took along the 'Son of God's' kingly clothing -- and naked, woe is me, how the 'Son of God' looks..." (Groper hat dem mikado uisgeton naket; Bonzai! Sakramento! L'kheim! Groper hot genumen un zikh alein eingeshpant ins vegele, velkhes iz dem mikado azui nit gefeln, aber derbei hat er mitgeshlept dem "sonevogods" [zun fun got] kiniglekh antuekhts -- un s'iz, beliv mi, akh un vei, vi der doziger [nokhamol] zun fun got kukt uis...), Morgen Freiheit (11 August 1935).

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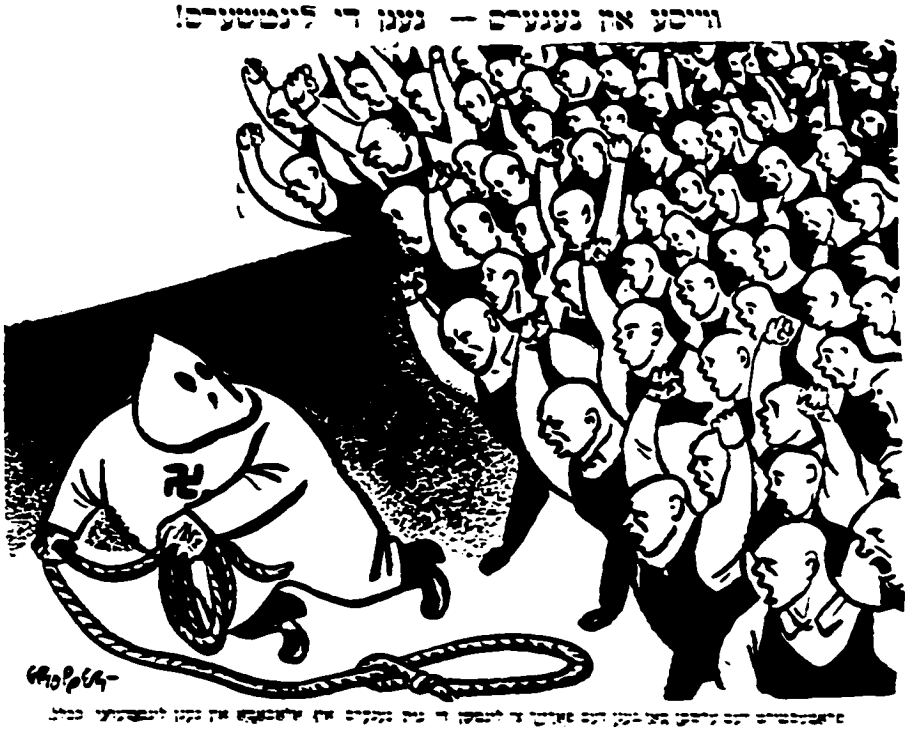


Fig. 116 "Whites and Negroes -- Against the Lynchers!; Protest the first of May against the attempt to lynch nine negroes in Alabama and against lynching in general)" (Weise un negers -- gegn di lintshers! Protestirt dem ershte mai gegn dem farzukh tsu lintshn di nein negers in alabama un gegn lintsherei bkhll), Morgen Freiheit (16 April 1931).

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Fig. 117 "The Mass-Struggle of the Workers Will Smash the Lynch-Frame-Up in Scottsboro; Help the International Labor Defense to mobilize the mass protest against the attempt to lawfully lynch the 9 young negro workers in Scottsboro, Alabama" (Der masn-kamf fun di arbeter vet tsushmetern lintsh-freim-ap in skatsboro; Helft der interneshonal leibor defens tsu mobilizirn dem masn-protest kegn dem farzukh tsu lintshn gezetslakh 9 iunge neger-arbeter in skatsboro, alabama), Morgen Freiheit (27 April 1931).

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Fig. 118 "Smash the Ku-Kluxers!; Demonstrate today under the flag of the International Labor Defense, which wages the shining battle for the black boys" (Tseshmetert di ku-kluksers!; Demonstrirt heint unter der fon fun der interneshonal leibor defens, velkhe firt dem blentsndn kamf far di neger-inglekh), Morgen Freiheit (8 April 1933).

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Fig. 119 "The Peaceful Town of Herrin, Illinois" (Dos fridlakhe shtetl herin, ilinoi), Freiheit (29 January 1925).

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Fig. 120 "Hooray for 'Civilization'; Little Rock, Arkansas, May 4th: the negro John Carter was hung, shot, and burned" (Derei far der "tsivilizatsie"; Litl rakh, arkansa, mai 4th: dem neger zshan karter hat men gehangen, ezshasn un farbrent), Freiheit (8 May 1927).

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Fig. 121 "The Spirit of Christmas Still Burns in the South; (On New Year's Day in Mississippi, a negro was burned at the stake)" (Der kristmes-geist flakert nokh in der saut; [In misisipi iz in tag fun nei-ior a neger far brent gevorn lebedigeirheid af a sheiterhuifn]), Freiheit (7 January 1929).

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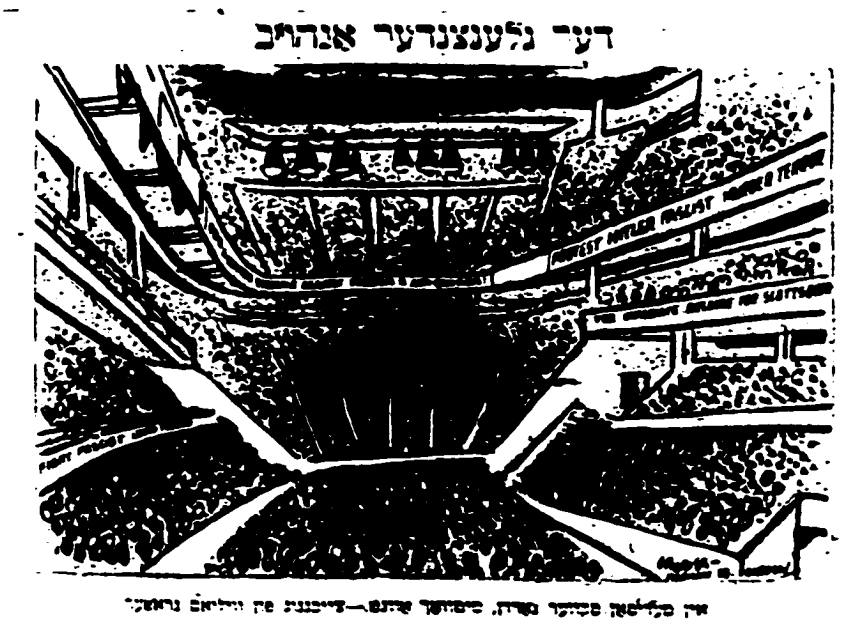


Fig. 122 "The Shining Beginning; In Madison Square Garden Wednesday evening -- drawing by William Gropper" (Der glentsnder anhuib; In medison skver gardn, mitvok avnt -- tseikhnung fun viliam groper), Morgen Freiheit (7 April 1933).

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Fig. 123 "The Shadow of Fascism over America" (Der shotn fun fashizm iber amerike), Morgen Freiheit (21 October 1933).

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Fig. 124 "He Seeks to Wipe the Executioner's Ax Clean; The magnate of yellow journalism, whose street newspapers are now involved in a particularly harsh campaign against communists and 'foreigners,' has begun in his press an agitation for Hitler" (Er zukht optsuavishn di hak fun'm heinker; Der geler tseitungs-magnat, wemens gasn-tseitungen es farnemen zik itst mit a bazunders shtarker hetse gegn komunistn un "fremde" hot itst ongehuibn in zein prese an agitatsie far hitler'n), Morgen Freiheit (2 October 1934).

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Fig. 125 "His Master's Voice; Hearst does not stop his vituperations against the working class and the communists through his press and verbally. He expresses the desires of Hitler and of the American fascists" (Zein meister's shtim; Huirst hert nit uif tsu gisn sm uif dem arbeter-klas un uif di komunistn durkh zein shlangen-prese un mindlekh. Er drikt uis di farlangen fun hitler'n un fun di amerikaner fashistn), Morgen Freiheit (9 January 1935).

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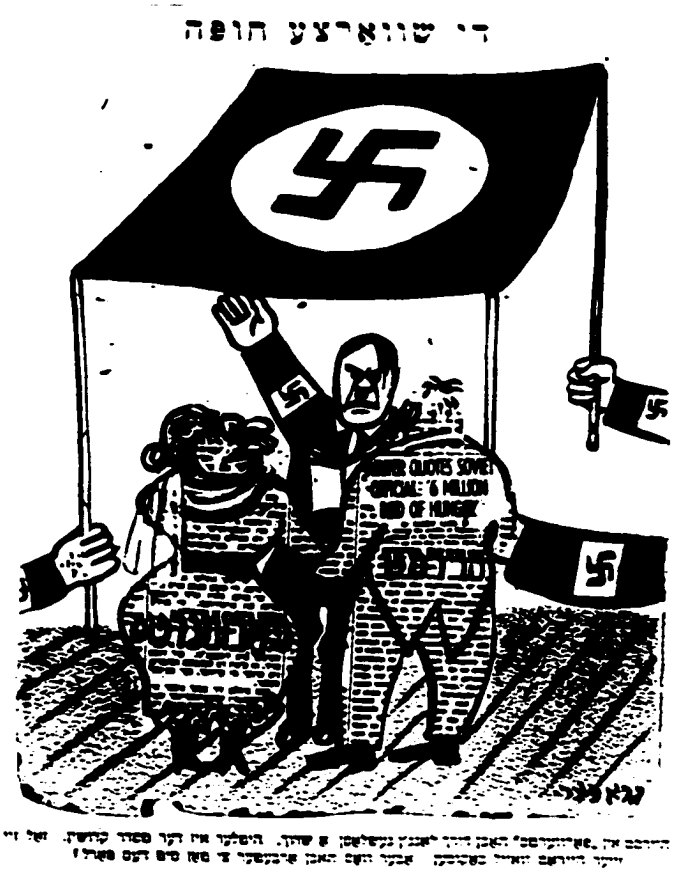


Fig. 126 "The Black Wedding Canopy; Hearst and the 'Forverts' have long since formed a 'marital' alliance. Now Hitler is the one who is marrying them. Let them enjoy their marriage -- but what does it have to do with Jewish workers?" (Di shvartse khuph; Huirst un "Forverts" hobn durkh lang'n geshlosen a shdukh. Hitler iz der msdr kdushin. Zol zei zeier heirat vuil bakumen. Aber vos hoben arbeter tsu ton mit dem porl?), Morgen Freiheit (17 April 1935).

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Fig. 127 The Senate, 1935, oil on canvas, Collection, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Gift of A. Conger Goodyear.

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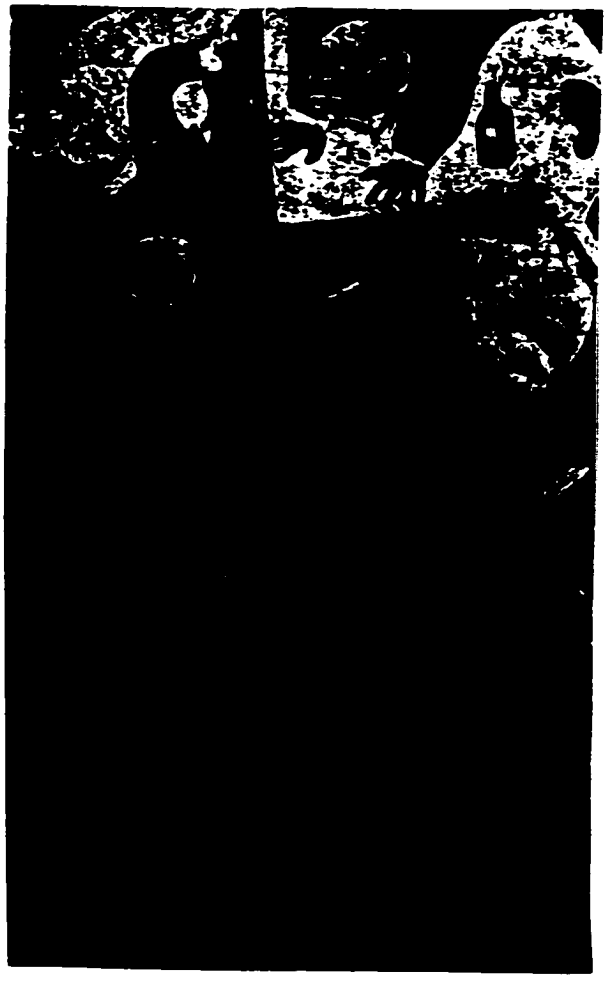


Fig. 128 The Writing on the Wall, 1932, oil on canvas, whereabouts unknown.

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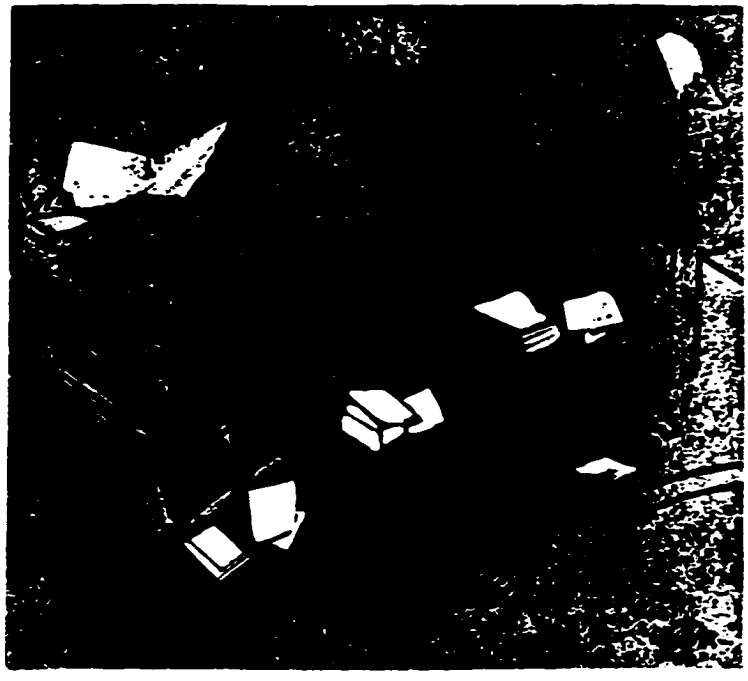


Fig. 129 "Norris, of Nebraska, in a Frenzy; and Johnson, of California, in Doubt," Vanity Fair (May 1934).

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Fig. 130 "Senator McKellar of Tennessee presents a bill to limit the C.W.A. and P.W.A. to 960 million dollars -- and he talks about the good work Hopkins is doing for the unemployed" (Senator mekelar fun tenesi tragt arein a bil tsu bagrenitsn di "si-dobliu-ei" un "pi-dobliu-ei" uif 960 milion dolar -- un er dertseilt vegn der gruiser arbet, vos hopkins tut for di arbetloze), Morgen Freiheit (11 February 1934).

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Fig. 131 "But the same Mr. McKellar is strongly opposed to the inclusion of the point about compensation, which the workers should have been receiving up to now" (Aber der zelbiner mister mekelar tret aruim gegn dem, az men zol areinshteln dem punkt vegn kompensatsie, vakh di arbeter habn gehat gekrogn bin itst), Morgen Freiheit (11 February 1934).

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Fig. 132 "Ah, boy! What roaring activity!; The Senate at Work, by William Gropper (see his article)" (A, boi! Vos far a bruizndige tetigkeit!; Der senat bei der "arbet" fun wiliam groper [ze zein artikl]), Morgen Freiheit (11 February 1934).

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Fig. 133 "For the Unemployed -- a Sigh; For War -- Billions" (Far di arbetloze a krekhts, far milkhome -- bilionen), Morgen Freiheit (6 January 1934).

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Fig. 134 A Two-Sided Machine; (From the front, peace is flying; from the rear, battleships are being baked)" (A tsveizeitige mashinke; [Fun fornt flit der fridn, fun hintn bakt er krigsshifn]), Morgen Freiheit (10 January 1934).

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