

RESEARCH NOTE

McCarthyism on the Charles: The Life and Times of Labour Historian Ray Ginger before and After His Dismissal from Harvard University

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Born in 1924, Ray Ginger, the eminent labour historian, entered boyhood during the early years of the Great Depression, experiencing its ravages firsthand as a result of a family calamity. Spending most of his youth in Indiana, Ginger excelled academically in high school before matriculating at the University of Chicago as a precocious 16-year old freshman in 1940. During his two years at the school, Ginger came to adopt left-wing politics and upon reaching his 18th birthday in 1942, he enlisted in the military.

As the citizenry of the United States rallied around the war effort, the nation's landscape looked drastically different than the decade before with Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal¹ being extended to virtually every nook and cranny of American society. Through its work with the unemployed movement and its active role in organizing the industrial unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) during the Great Depression, the Left was clearly in its ascendancy in the United States with the nation's largest socialist organization, the Communist Party United States of America (CPUSA),² achieving a peak membership of 85,000 in 1942.

Returning to civilian life approximately six months after the war's conclusion in 1946, Ginger resumed his academic course work, earning a Master's degree in Economics from the University of Michigan while becoming increasingly active in left-wing politics. Because of his interest in becoming a working class organizer, Ginger obtained a job in a Detroit-area auto factory in the late 1940s while putting the finishing touches on his magnum opus on Eugene V. Debs, the distinguished labour leader and Socialist Party head who was perhaps the nation's foremost radical political leader of the twentieth century if not of all time.

In 1949, when Ginger's seminal biography, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs*, appeared, the country's political climate had changed dramatically. With the onset of the Cold War shortly after the Second World War's con-

clusion, the CPUSA faced the start of an increasingly hostile environment with the rise of McCarthyism as initially evidenced by the CIO's expulsion of eleven CPUSA-led unions in 1949-1950 and the conviction of ten of the eleven National Board members for teaching and advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. federal government at the 1949 Smith Act Trials. Just as left-wing organizations were increasingly on the defensive in the United States, *The Bending Cross* hit the shelves. Reviews of the book in scholarly journals were glowing. Writing in *The American Historical Review*, for example, David Shannon remarked, "This book, the best biography of Eugene Debs yet published, is a valuable contribution to the history of American political and economic radicalism."³³ Shannon also praised Ginger for his methodical approach in gathering information on Debs claiming that his "energy and ingenuity in running down more than threescore people who knew the socialist leader yielded rich rewards."³⁴ Moreover, W.M. Brewer's comments in *The Journal of Negro History* were equally effusive when he stated, "The warmth of revelation and dispassionate evaluation of the critical historian are ever present in such form that Debs seems alive and telling in his own words the story of adventures in behalf of labor and reforms ahead of his times."³⁵ And in conclusion, Brewer recounted, "Debs' personality glows again in this biography whose message is necessary for understanding three generations of the American labor movement."³⁶

With a first-rate book already in hand, Ginger attended the doctoral program in American Civilization at Western Reserve University, being financially supported by the GI bill. Upon earning his doctorate, Ginger was named a fellow in Business History at Harvard Business School in 1952 before receiving an assistant professorship of research in Business History. After less than two years at the institution, however, Ginger would experience the full brunt of McCarthyism's destructive power when he was forced to resign his position at the Harvard Business School because of his alleged ties to the CPUSA.

The Continuing Significance of Ginger's *The Bending Cross*

Although works penned about Debs span nearly 90 years, the book widely viewed as *The Bending Cross*' most worthy rival is Nick Salvatore's, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist*, written some three decades later in 1982. As Melvyn Dubofsky aptly notes, Salvatore's biography benefited greatly from the explosive growth in social and labour history publications during the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, Salvatore's oeuvre covers topics neglected in Ginger's account, with the former author providing a window into Debs' private life, discussing his psychological weaknesses through an examination of Debs' emotional crises and sporadic bouts of neuroticism⁷. Such an approach, for the most part, resulted in Salvatore's biography garnering laudatory reviews.⁸

In spite of enlarging our current knowledge of the popular labour and socialist leader through the inclusion of elements that are more likely to be found in a detailed psychological study or a psychobiography, in an extensive review of Salvatore's book, L. Glen Seretan argues that this work fails in "advancing much that is new" and "(t)he very purpose of the study, then, is dubious."⁹ Moreover, he claims that "Debs is dwarfed by his own biography" and that "the author's writing (is) variously tedious, awkward, clichéd, muddled, repetitive, or purple."¹⁰ In conclusion, Seretan is ruthlessly unforgiving in his analysis of Salvatore's study, viewing it as little more than a pale imitation of Ginger's classic. He contends that "Salvatore's *Debs* is a far cry from the definitive work its dustjacket panegyrics proclaim it to be" being "poorly conceived, derivative, and badly overwritten. Certainly, it is not a worthy successor to *The Bending Cross*."¹¹

Why does Ginger's biography remain the seminal treatment of Debs' life some sixty years after its initial publication? Clearly, the book's politics continue to resonate at the end of the twenty-first century's first decade as they did when the volume first appeared less than a quarter-century after Debs' death. In an era when left-wing politics have been decimated through the destruction of the Soviet and Eastern European nations' postcapitalist regimes and the acquiescing of ostensibly social democratic parties and governments to the "realities" of neoliberal globalism, Mike Davis illuminates the continuing significance of Ginger's treatment of Debs in the introduction to the most recent edition of *The Bending Cross* published in 2007. Davis argues that Ginger's work provides "an antidote to jaded postmodernist cynicism,"¹² a theoretical position that, unfortunately, passes for left analysis among certain segments of the academy and the intelligentsia who are far too willing to dismiss the continuing relevance of class analysis for understanding past and current sociopolitical developments.

And although many view Debs simply as the quintessential Midwesterner "more Midwestern than a worn and rotting plow-handle buried deep in the soil of a Kansas farm,"¹³ Davis celebrates Ginger's account of Debs' support for an array of worldwide liberation struggles in the first few decades of the twentieth century including, of course, the October Revolution. Because of this, Davis rightfully acknowledges Debs as "a central figure of international socialism, part of that heroic handful of prominent prewar leaders including Jean Jaures, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, James Connolly, Leon Trotsky, and V.I. Lenin who opposed the Second International's capitulation to war frenzy and mass murder."¹⁴

And the issues confronting the United States in 2008 are frighteningly similar to those facing the nation in 1918 when Debs was found guilty of delivering a speech in Canton, Ohio for essentially opposing the United States' participation in the First World War. During each of these two years separated by nine decades, the country was embroiled in fighting a foreign war, had a president lacking in popularity, and contained numerous politicians promising to promote

democracy abroad while enacting questionable legislation which limited civil liberties on native soil. Also in existence at both times were savage inequities in wealth, high rates of immigration, little (and declining) respect for workers and a seething bitterness concerning the devastation imposed by global capital.¹⁵ In the presence of such conditions, Ginger's biography of Debs remains a powerful statement of revolutionary commitment, resonating with readers dedicated to overturning a decaying social order that perpetually denies those who labour their rightful share of the wealth that they have created with their hands and brains. And in the final analysis, regardless of the historical era, Ginger's work will continue to be highly relevant as long as the class system remains the foundation of the United States' political economy.

McCarthyism and Ray Ginger's Resignation from Harvard University

Numerous written accounts detail the destructive effects imposed by McCarthyism¹⁶ throughout the late 1940s and 1950s among individuals found in the film industry, academia, and governmental service in addition to those from many white and blue-collar occupations. This phenomenon, attributed to Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, emerged during the Cold War's early years. However, the anti-Communist fervour that swept the United States during this era had its roots in immediate post-World War II political developments after Nazi Germany's defeat when America turned its attention to vanquishing the world's other super power, the Soviet Union, economically, militarily and ideologically.

No university or college in the United States remained immune from the pressure of McCarthyism to purge its faculty of known Communists, suspected Communists, or former Communists who refused to cooperate with either university investigative committees or governmental commissions formed to ferret out such allegedly undesirable individuals from teaching at their institutions.¹⁷ Even Harvard University, long heralded by supporters as a bastion of academic freedom, succumbed to the virus of McCarthyism with the suspension of Medical School Assistant Professor of Anatomy Helen Deane Markham, the rescinding of an offer to Sigmund Diamond unless he "named names" of Communists he associated with as a former Party member, and making the awarding of a faculty appointment to Robert Bellah contingent upon his total cooperation with any governmental commission involved with the investigation of American Communism.¹⁸

Harvard's dispositions of the cases of Markham, Diamond and Bellah have been prominently discussed in a number of academic arenas. Less well-known is the university's treatment of Ray Ginger who was suspected of being affiliated or having former ties to the CPUSA. In June 1954, Harvard Business School Assistant Professor of Research in Business History, Ray Ginger was dis-

missed from his faculty appointment when he declined to disclose whether he currently was or had ever been a CPUSA member. Assuming that the accounting of Ginger's termination in the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reports is correct, this is the first case to be made public "in which a Harvard professor was asked to resign because he refused to respond to charges that he was a Communist."¹⁹

According to FBI files, the university and the Bureau had a solid, close relationship with Harvard administrators continually supplying information to agents concerning Ginger's first wife, Ann Fagan Ginger, in 1954. The events surrounding Ginger's termination can be reconstructed from FBI files.

Harvard Business School officers were provided with a tip from an anonymous source on 14 June 1954 that Ginger and his wife could be called to testify in front of the Massachusetts Commission to Investigate Communism. On 15 June 1954, university administrators arranged a meeting with Ginger at 4:30 p.m. and asked him if he was being investigated by the commission. Ginger replied that he would be required to testify before the commission but "hedged" as to whether he would cooperate with its investigation." At this time, Ginger was instructed to attend a 9 a.m. meeting the following day to provide additional answers.²⁰

At the 16 June 1954 morning meeting, Ginger reiterated his response from the day before concerning his cooperation with the commission. In addition, he refused to answer whether he currently was or ever had been a CPUSA member. Next, Ginger was questioned whether his wife, a lawyer who defended alleged Communists, was a member of the CPUSA and if she too had been called to testify before the commission. Upon declining to answer, Harvard officers informed Ginger that he would either have to respond to their questions or be required to resign his faculty position. Confronted with these two choices, Ginger immediately tendered his resignation.²¹

Several days after Ginger's dismissal, a Harvard official telephoned the Bureau, stating that the university's records concerning the disposition of this case were available to the FBI. According to FBI files on this discussion, the official stated that he did not believe that Ginger "had any connection with the Communist Party or any sympathy with it" although the same could not be said with any certainty about his wife who was "believed" to have a relationship with the Party.²²

According to an article published in *The Harvard Crimson* in December 2000, in response to the question whether her ex-husband was a Communist, Ann Ginger replied, "Was he [Ray Ginger] a Communist? Was Eugene Debs a member of the Communist Party?"²³ These things are fluid. They're not a simple thing, like a card-carrying member of the KKK. People were in and around the Socialist party, the Communist party, the CIO." Ann Ginger stated that "she does not know whether her husband was a member of the CPUSA" although she acknowledged that the two of them "were active in left-wing causes," participated in Marxist study groups as well as attended the occasional meeting of the Communist

Party. By the time of Ginger's firing in 1954, however, it is clear that Ann Ginger was much more politically active in left-wing politics than her husband. She was involved in the National Lawyer's Guild²⁴ and the Civil Rights Congress²⁵; the latter organization was on the United States' Attorney General's list of subversive organizations while the Attorney General was attempting to get the former group added to the list. In addition, the Gingers were close friends with several well-known Massachusetts left-wing activists such as Otis Hood, the head of the Massachusetts CPUSA, who gave Ann Ginger piano lessons.²⁶

In 2000, nearly fifty years after Ginger's termination, inspired by the South Africa Truth and Reconciliation hearings²⁷ in the 1990s, Ann Ginger wrote a letter to Harvard's Board of Overseers insisting on an apology for the unfair treatment meted out to her husband at the time. In response to Ginger's letter, Board of Overseers President Sharon Gagnon did not apologize for the firing of Ginger but replied in a letter, "I would not presume to...second-guess the motives or judgments of individuals in that difficult time. It seems clear, however, that Harvard took an action in the case of Mr. Ginger that many thoughtful people today, looking back, would not find appropriate."²⁸

Arguing that Harvard's reply was unacceptable, Ann Ginger responded by stating that the university needed to acknowledge that Harvard's behavior was inexcusable and called on the school to put out a policy statement defending its allegiance to academic freedom. According to Ginger, "I can prove that Harvard violated academic freedom and constitution law at that time and has never studied what it did, has never apologized. What happened in the McCarthy period could happen again – there's nothing in this letter that suggests that Harvard would not cave in again as they did before."²⁹

An Oral History of Ray Ginger's Life

While basic facts concerning Ray Ginger's life have been identified, such as where he obtained his degrees and the universities that he eventually taught in after his termination from Harvard, there has been no journal article, book chapter or book, which has fleshed out the details on Ginger's life. Thus, the purpose of this essay is to fill in the gap concerning Ginger's life in order to understand his background and the events that ultimately shaped the emergence of his interests and his intellectual passions. To this end, two interviews were conducted with Victoria Brandon, his third (and last) wife. They covered his background, childhood, high school and college years, his service in the military during World War II, his time in graduate school, what happened to him during the six years after he was terminated by Harvard but before he obtained a teaching position at Brandeis, and his career at subsequent universities after leaving Brandeis.³⁰ In addition, this essay also answers the question of whether Ginger had ever been, in fact, a CPUSA

member prior to or during his tenure at Harvard; it also addresses Ginger's views on the CPUSA during the 1940s and 1950s.

The remainder of this essay is in Victoria Brandon's words as based on my two telephone interviews with her. I have eliminated my questions and comments and have edited and rearranged the information given to me in order to provide a coherent flow to the narrative.

Ray Ginger's Early Life

Ray Ginger was born in Memphis, Tennessee.³¹ His father's name was L.D. Ginger; his mother's name was Myra Fay Hatchett. She was from Mississippi. His father was originally from Illinois though of Southern background and it was very much a Southern family. Although he was born in Memphis, they had lived in Louisiana until rather recently. His father had made a lot of money in a way that I never quite got clear on. He bought a horse plantation down there in Louisiana which was the dream of his life. And then he lost it all because he was gambling on the Florida real estate booms.

And so at this point when Ray was born, he was the fourth of five children. He had three older brothers and a younger sister. When Ray was born, his father was the Southern regional manager of the R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Company. And they were a good solid middle-class family. So, I had gotten the very strong impression that it was not a happy family that there was a lot of tension between his parents. His mother, in particular, felt that she was a Southern belle and his father was kind of an up-start. Ray spoke, oh maybe fifty times, of how terrible it was to hear his mother call his father "poor white trash." But they were prosperous enough.

Anyway, in 1929, just as the stock market was crashing, his father had a terrible automobile accident. I gathered he was drunk which I think was a fairly frequent event and I know perfectly well he was just a terrible driver. He was very badly injured and was in the hospital for something like a year and a half, two years. And during that period, the company paid his salary. But when he got out, they fired him because, naturally, they didn't have a job for him anymore. It had been filled.

It was then 1931, and the absolute depths of the depression. So they all moved. I don't remember where they were living during this period but I suspect it was somewhere pretty Southern. They moved to Greencastle, Indiana because Ray's eldest brother, who was also named L.D., had been accepted to DePauw. So they moved there to make a home for him. They had no money at all. They lived for three or four years, finding empty houses and just squatting in them. And then moving on when they got evicted which took awhile. They were on relief and Ray told me, again repeatedly, about standing in line at the County relief to pick up a bag of flour. He was just a little kid at that point. But it was a very searing memory of life on the underside.

At some point along there, I think it was when L.D. finished college, which would have been about 1934-35, they all moved to Indianapolis. The family got to be a little bit more prosperous, chiefly because the boys were all working as much as possible including Ray from a very early age. His dad never did get another decent job. He was not home, I gather about ninety percent of the time. He was traveling around; he'd get traveling salesman jobs on a very temporary basis. So it was very much a tenuous kind of precarious existence throughout his entire boyhood.

As a young boy, aside from just surviving, he was a real bright kid. He was a bright, angry kid. And he was reading everything he could get his hands on. The only story I remember him telling is how when he was something like seven or eight and a big handful at school because he was bright and mad and causing trouble, a teacher decided that the way to cope with him was to teach him French, and got him into a special kind of tutoring, strictly on a volunteer basis, and did teach him French. He never learned to speak it at all but he read it, and to an extent wrote it very well years later and he never learned it formally aside from that.

He also was crazy about bicycling as a young boy. I can't imagine that he actually had a bicycle until after they moved to Indianapolis and got a little richer. But his father as I said was nuts for horses and so were his brothers. He felt that this was something he couldn't compete in so he didn't have anything to do with it. So he became quite avid about bicycling.

When they moved to Indianapolis, he attended Arsenal Technical High School. And for someone who was, even at that stage, obviously heading for intellectual-type pursuits, it seems like kind of a strange choice. I think that the decision came more geographically than anything else. But it was something that he was always very proud of that he had gone to this technical school. They did have an academic programme but he also learned all kinds of shop classes and most of his fellow students were there for vocational reasons. And I think he felt that sense of class solidarity about that.

With regards to academic interests in high school, he loved English. He loved words. He was getting to be a good writer already. I don't think that he had any particular scientific interests then or later despite editing a science book at one point. I remember his talking about being part of a group that did bird banding for a fairly extended period. He also talked about that as a form of therapy in that you have to be very calm and deliberate in your movements. For someone who was, by nature, rather abrupt and still had quite a lot of hostilities, this was a good thing for him to do.

Ray Ginger's College Years at the University of Chicago

He did very well in school. The evidence for that is that he was accepted by both Harvard and the University of Chicago. There's a story in that he told many times

about himself. Naturally, he wouldn't dream about asking anybody's advice about anything. He didn't even dream of going and looking things up on the map. But he had been accepted by these two major universities and he had gotten some financial aid offered from both of them. So he knew that the only way he was going to be able to afford to go to either of those schools or any school at all was by working pretty much full time while he was there. The reason why he chose the University of Chicago was his assumption that it would be easier to get student jobs in a big city like Chicago than in some hick New England village like Cambridge.

He went to the University of Chicago as an undergraduate student in 1940 and he wanted to be a sportswriter. If he couldn't be a sportswriter, he assumed he probably wouldn't make it; that was too heroic but that he would be some sort of journalist. He got the usual kind of jobs bussing tables and all of that. But then he got a job on the *Chicago Tribune* which he said was the moment that his father was the proudest of him because the *Chicago Tribune* was his father's idea of really the world's greatest newspaper as they called themselves. Well, he was just supposed to be on the copy desk or something like that, doing nothing that was not just routine. But the U.S. got in the war and all the reporters went to Europe to become war correspondents so he became a local journalist and covered all sorts of stories on the city desk. That's where he was first writing really professionally.

At Chicago, he joined a fraternity there largely because it was a good way to get room and board. He was also just crazy about the city. This opened doors to him that he never even dreamt of. He spoke many times of first hearing live jazz and first going to the art museum and there was "Sunday on Grand Jatte Island." This opened his eyes to possibilities in the world that he'd never even thought of despite all the reading.

Ray Ginger's Military Years

He turned 18 in October of 1942 and I assume he went in the military then. I don't think he was drafted. He knew he was going to go so he signed up so he'd have a little bit of choice in it. But, very soon after basic training, at that point, they gave all these recruits a whole battery of tests. He did very well on them and was selected to learn Japanese.

He was sent to the University of Michigan, for a year or eighteen months where they had a crash course in the Japanese language. He said he got good enough to read a newspaper in a kind of rudimentary way though again there was no matter of speaking it. And that's where he met his first wife³² who was also a student at the University of Michigan and where he also met her family who became a very important influence on his life. And also, because it was at the university, he was getting course credit for it too which meant that later he had an extra leg up on his undergraduate degree.

In effect, his undergraduate education was almost finished between Chicago and Michigan. When the course was over, the whole crew of them was sent to Washington D.C. to decipher Japanese codes. For which he said the whole study of the Japanese language had been completely pointless. What it was about was statistics and knowing the Japanese didn't help at all.

But he found this very gratifying that people would come in and say, "You guys you deciphered such and so and therefore we saved such and so aircraft carrier or we won this battle or all of that." The rest of the crew that he was working with was also pretty bright stimulating people. And, of course, he wasn't getting shot at which was nice too.

So then at the end of the war, when Japan fell, he was shipped out to California to the Presidio of Monterey because the whole unit was supposed to go to Japan to perform a sensitive military assignment. But the way he told it, Douglas MacArthur didn't want people who weren't immediately under his control to do such a sensitive job. So, they just sat there in Monterey for what might have been as long as six months. Then MacArthur got his way and they were all sent home. He met Joseph Stilwell³³ while he was there, sitting on the beach, and got to talk to him considerably about their various takes on life which turned out to be fairly similar.

Ray Ginger's Interest in Labour History and Left-Wing Politics

Ray's attraction to labour history emerged through his interest in Debs. I think at this time with regards to these interests, he was not thinking of himself as a historian. He was thinking of himself as a left-wing working class organizer. He started reading about Debs, who was, of course, the great hero of the left and of the labour movement. I think their common Indiana background had a lot to do with it. But I think more it was a sense of personal empathy and he got into labour history and a broader field because he wrote the Debs book.

In terms of his developing an interest in left-wing politics, I think that was earlier in Chicago that he started thinking of himself definitely as a left-wing person. When he was at Michigan, he became close to the Fagan family. That gave a great big boost because they were old-line, very solidly socialist intellectual people. The Fagan family was very much the hub of a left-wing political group in Michigan.

But then, seriously, yes, he wanted to be a union organizer. And after the war, that's what he intended to do. He had all sorts of various jobs and different things. But, at one point, he went to work in the Dodge plant in Hamtramck.³⁴ It would have been about 1948 or 1949 or somewhere in there. Said he was positively the worst installer of driver-side door weather stripping that had ever been. His elder son bought a 1948 Dodge many years later, and Ray's first question was, "Is the weather-stripping any good? Probably not."

In terms of Ray's left-wing activities, he spoke many times of something

called the American Veterans Committee³⁵ which was a left-wing alternative to the American Legion. He was very active in that. I think he was really one of its founders. He and everybody else he was associated with were extremely active in the Wallace campaign³⁶ in 1948. Also, I'd heard of it a million times, a famous concert at Peekskill³⁷ where Paul Robeson was singing. And a group of right-wing violent-type thugs conducted a kind of a gauntlet. Well, he was there.

But at some point before he finished as a graduate student, actually up through the whole period, he and Ann were at the hub of a group of young, politically active concerned students. And they had all sorts of gatherings at their house. For example, once Pete Seeger³⁸ came to sing on the campus or in some coffee shop and he came over to the Ginger apartment and sang until three o'clock in the morning. So there were a lot of informal things of that sort.

Ray told me of his involvement in the Communist Party. He spoke of it on various occasions to me. He told me he had actually joined when he was in the Army in Washington. It would have been in 1944 or 1945. That some Communist Party organizer was there and gave a speech. He and a friend of his whom later became a very straight-laced kind of academic lawyer had signed up together. It's hard to say exactly how long he was a member. But his active period came to an end around 1948 when he was finishing the Debs book partly because the Communist Party then seemed much less likely to be an agent for change. It had gotten to be marginal to a lot of left-wing activities because, well, it was full of FBI agents³⁹ for one thing. But also because a group of Party leaders had come to talk to him about what was going in to his book and, in effect, tried to dictate certain lines and he would have absolutely none of that. They had a big fight.

Ray thought it was a good thing for him to have been a member of the Communist Party. And not a remarkable thing. He said that there were lots and lots of idealistic young people who joined the Communist Party as a way of changing the world. And they really thought for a few years there that they were going to do it. He was not a person to go along with Party lines on anything. He was very non-authoritarian. Well, he was authoritarian himself but he wouldn't accept other people's authorities.

So, whatever happened, I suspect he would not have been an active member of a Party organization for long where people have to toe the line, come to a group decision and then everybody stands, holds to it, etc. He resigned from every organization that he ever joined later like the American Historical Association though, for similar reasons, that he didn't want anybody telling him what to do. But I think he thought, for at least a few years there, his experience within the Party was very positive because it was so full of other people who were of a similar frame of mind. He thought it was, for awhile, effective.

As I said, Ray's membership in the Communist Party, I think, more lapsed than anything else. I know he had lots of friends who were either still

members or had been members or that they would think, “Well, I’m Communist in my belief but this structure isn’t getting anywhere so I’m going to do something else.” He always thought of himself as a Marxist and he called himself a Marxist.

Ray Ginger’s Graduate School Years and His Writing of *The Bending Cross*

As I said he got his BA kind of by default, he had gotten enough credits. Then he got a Master’s degree in Economics from the University of Michigan. His wife was in law school there. So he chose Michigan because it was handy. Also he had family there, her family. At this point, he was writing the Debs book. It was about this time that he had that job at Hamtramck when he was at Michigan. He was still writing the Debs book and Ann got a job at a law firm in Cleveland. He wanted to finish the book and naturally they were married and they wanted to be together.

So he went to Western Reserve on a doctoral program because he could get GI bill support. He still did not have any idea of being an academic. He was going to be a left-wing activist, a union organizer, something like that. So he finished the book, by that time he had done his coursework, gotten his orals and all of that and needed just the dissertation. As he told it to me, this decision came about in a casual late night conversation with friends there, other graduate students. He was saying, “What am I going to do now?” And they said, “Why don’t you finish your Ph.D.?” He said, “I don’t want to write some dissertation with one of these second-rate professors sitting over my head telling me what to do.” “Give ‘em your book. Tell them that’s your dissertation.”

He was studying in the American civilization department, not history. Ray had given the chairman of the American Civilization department a copy of the book when it came out and when the committee met to discuss this not normal proposition, this guy said, “I’ve read that book and I like it.” I guess, there was a little bit of a case when authoritarianism worked on his behalf because they let him get away with it. So he got a Ph.D.

What motivated Ray to write the Debs biography was the sense of association. I think also that he felt it hadn’t been done right. His left-wing connections in the Middle West were important too. He realized that he knew some of the people who had played a part in Debs’ life. He also knew that a friend of a friend was part of a network of such people. Getting to know them and finding out more was a motivating factor definitely.

It took Ray about four years to do the research and writing of *The Bending Cross*, from the end of the war until it came out but he certainly wasn’t working on it full-time. He was going to graduate school and also working occasionally at other types of jobs.

Ray was very pleased with the critical acclaim for his book. But I also think he took it as not exactly for granted but that he thought, “Yes, of course, it is a significant work in labour history.” So he took the acclaim as his due.

I believe that *The Bending Cross* has remained the definitive treatment of Debs' life because of all the interviews; this is the main thing. This book is based on material which you can't duplicate now. And so, it's also a primary source as well as a secondary source. Also, it's very well-written. You write something that somebody's going to want to read, it's likely to be around for awhile.

Ray, in particular, identified with Debs' populism, his being a man of the people. Being a working class person and not being content with that. His international views not particularly I think.

Ray Ginger at Harvard Business School

Ray was hired to be the editor of the *Business History Review* which was a Harvard Business School outlet that was kind of moribund, and he was supposed to turn it into a first-class scholarly journal which he did. He really did a wonderful job with the *Business History Review*. He, incidentally, wrote a batch of really excellent formal scholarly articles in business history for the journal aside from the editing.⁴⁰

Ray's colleagues at Harvard Business School thought very highly of him. He was invited to be a visiting professor because he wasn't supposed to be teaching. He started doing that and at the time that they fired him, was either right on the verge of getting or had just gotten, at least a half-time appointment as a teacher rather than just as an editor.

Ray did have close friends among the faculty at the Harvard Business School. There are only two names that I remember. One of them was a guy named Tom Navin⁴¹ who was the head of the Business History Department that we knew in later years. Another one was somebody that I remember meeting only once, named George Sweet Gibb⁴², who was a really eminent business historian. And there was another fellow I remember meeting years later which was the last year of Ray's life; he was emeritus from Harvard at that point. But I remember the affection with which these people had for Ray, ten, fifteen years after they had last seen him. It was really obvious that they had thought very highly of him and vice versa.

Ray was a very good colleague when he thought that the person he was colleaguening (sic) with was bright enough and able enough. When he didn't, he tended to let his low opinion show and so he had some definite enemies at various points. But when he had a colleague he respected, he was always very generous with helping the other person in their work, too, in conversation and in suggestions and in all kinds of things that a good university runs on. Ray liked his position a lot at the Harvard Business School. He thought he was really finding his niche there.

After Ray Ginger's Termination from Harvard University

When Ray was terminated from Harvard, he was furious. He thought he had been

very ill done by. Ray and his family went to New York City immediately after his termination. My understanding is they got on the train that night. Harvard was afraid they were going to be subpoenaed by the state version of the Un-American Activities Committee. They wanted to get them out of the jurisdiction before that happened. So he was allowed to keep something like two months salary if he'd get out of town on the next train. Ann was very pregnant. Jim Ginger was born almost immediately. He was born in July and this all happened at Harvard in June.

I think they stayed with relatives. Ann had a sister who I know was living in the New York area with her husband. Ray got a job quite quickly, no problem, with an ad agency doing mostly public relations work. The contract clients that he spoke of most often with CARE, he was then trying to revamp a way that people could send packages of food to their soldier relatives overseas into a way of getting aid to European civilians. He was helping to design an ad campaign that would spread the word that this was a way to contribute. He stayed there for two years.

Concerning the breakup of Ray's first marriage, they were very short of money and it was all very stressful. I suspect there were strains in the marriage before because things don't break up real suddenly like that. I believe a kind of a political break or at least a perceived one in that according to him, Ann Ginger thought that he was retreating from his socialist ideals by becoming part of the New York Madison Avenue crowd.

And, in any case, there was some great big fight and he just moved out. This would have been when Jim Ginger was very small. My recollection is that it was over the holidays, Christmas of 1954, I believe. He just basically left the family. He had every intention of providing for them financially, but in his opinion, his wife was crazy. That's what he told me and that he just couldn't stand living with her anymore.

He lived in flophouses for awhile then. He basically had no money. Everything was going to support his family so he found these rooming houses to stay in. He couldn't even leave his wardrobe there so he hung his suits in his office at the advertising agency. I think that living in these flophouses gave him a better sense of how the real underclass lived. It also, I think, accentuated his feeling of failure and despair that he got fired and his marriage had broken up. He was living in these very substandard conditions.

I don't remember why his advertising job terminated. I think because he got a better job offer at Alfred A. Knopf where he was an editor in the college department. He was responsible for editing several extremely well-thought of textbooks.

His second wife was a woman named Evelyn Geiger that he had known from graduate school in Cleveland but just happened to be working as a secretary at Knopf at that time. She was originally from Louisiana. They had met when they were both graduate students at Case Western Reserve, and they met again at Knopf and hooked up together pretty quickly and got married, I believe, fairly quickly in 1956.

Then when he married his second wife, they lived in a more normal sort of way. She had a daughter and they lived in midtown Manhattan. He liked that very much. He found New York City a very stimulating place.

Ray stayed at Knopf for two years and I know they fired him and I don't think I ever knew exactly why. He then got another job very easily at Henry Holt and Company where he was also a college department editor. He then took on as a special project designing a book format magazine similar to American Heritage but on current scientific knowledge, and one issue came out.⁴⁵ Then they had no one else who would take that over so they dropped it after he left.

After Ray's termination from Harvard, he more or less assumed that he would never land another university position. He'd applied and had not gotten any kind of positive response.

Ray's firing from Harvard did not change his political views. It certainly had an effect on his opinion of Harvard College which went absolutely through the floor. It gave him personal input whenever the subject came up about academic freedom or the so-called McCarthy period, he had his own stories to tell. I say so-called because he refused to call it that. He said that the whole repressive period had started with Truman and McCarthy was just kind of a tail that wagged the dog.

Ray Ginger's Return to Academia

Ray got back into academia when Brandeis University approached him. He had written two very good books while he was working in New York, *Six Days Are Forever* and *Altgeld's America*. They both came out in 1958, and they had been well-reviewed, well-received. They were not light literature by any means. Somebody in the American Studies Department at Brandeis was quite impressed with these and thought this would be a real addition to their department. He got a letter and a phone call and an invitation to go visit and a job offer.

He was appointed to start in the fall of 1960 I believe as an assistant professor. It was a very successful part of his career. He did good academic work there, and also was really a superb teacher. They thought very well of him; he became head of the American Studies Department and a full tenured professor. He was also the coach of the tennis team. It was I think one of the really stellar episodes of his career.

The breakup there came ostensibly because he was having an affair with me. I was a student there. But neither one of us believed that that was the real thing because that was a pretty freewheeling place and all sorts of things like that happened. His viewpoint was that he had been involved in too many internal fights with the administration and that they were looking for a reason to get rid of him.

He was married to his second wife when they moved to Brandeis. Actually they were still legally married at the time that Ray and I got together. But Evelyn had moved out several years before that in '63 or '64.

They were threatening to bring some sort of legal action on “moral turpitude” grounds. They gave him an ultimatum: either he would resign or they would take steps to have him fired. But if he resigned and went quietly, they would let his sabbatical, which was coming up the next year, run so that he would have a year’s slack to get settled someplace else. Of course sabbaticals are supposed to be predicated on the persons coming back. So this was not really kosher but that’s the way they did it.

So he went to the American Historical Association meeting over the holidays of 1966 looking to see if he could find another job. He got together there with Alfred H. Kelly⁴⁴; he was the head of the department of history at Wayne State. They got to talking and they liked each other and Al was looking for somebody to fill a slot in the American history part of the department. So he recruited him, and we went out there for an interview. He also had an old friend there named Ed Lurie⁴⁵ who wrote a biography of Louis Agassiz and was in the history of science. And Ed was really promoting this whole stuff.

Along about June or July 1967, he had another job lined up to teach summer school at Stanford. We went down there and he was teaching every day. Ray had a bunch of colleagues around that he really liked, a bunch of students he was getting a big charge out of. At the end of that period, I guess it was in August, before we went off to Michigan, he flew down to Juarez and got divorced from his second wife.

As soon as we were done in California, we drove out to Wayne, and then found an apartment and then we continued on to Brandeis where we packed up all his stuff in the apartment he still had there. Then we went back to Detroit.

He worked a deal at Wayne State where he could teach any three quarters he wanted with the idea that we’d be out of there in the winter but we couldn’t do that the first winter so we were there. We hated the climate; we hated the city. It was right after the Detroit riots, and it was a grim place to live. We were within walking distance of the university which was the reason we chose that particular place. His colleagues he felt were not nearly as stimulating as the ones at Brandeis. The students he thought were even worse, comparatively speaking. There were only a couple of them that he really felt were very promising that he wanted to spend time with.

So, anyway, we couldn’t stand Detroit. During the second winter we were there; we took the winter quarter off and went to Puerto Rico. I remember as we were flying back in there, we could see this red cloud of yukkety (sic) smog rolling down the Detroit River, he looked out the window and said, “I can feel my sore throat coming back already even though we’re still at 30,000 feet.” By that time, we’d already planned to leave.

Calgary was our escape hatch from Detroit. There was another encounter at a convention, the Organization of American Historians, and it would have been in the spring of ’69. He went down there and he had encountered, in

a bar probably, a historian named Marian McKenna.⁴⁶ Anyway, she was headhunting too and he got to talking to her and she said, "How about Calgary?"

We flew out to Denver or someplace and we drove up there. And we saw the university and it seemed pleasant enough and it was sure a whole lot cleaner and more connected to the out-of-doors that we didn't get in Detroit, and so it seemed like a good place to go, and we did.

His career at Calgary was not real great. Even more than Wayne State, he didn't think much of his colleagues. I can only think of one student there that he was really involved with who later became, I believe still is, a professor of history at the University of Alberta. He felt unappreciated.

One of the reasons why it seemed attractive was that it was a beautiful place physically. Not actually Calgary but it was right on the outskirts of the Rocky Mountains. We were going to build a house in the mountains and we did do that. First we thought Banff but that turned out not to be possible for legal reasons. His feeling that he really liked things like hiking was largely a self-delusion. So we got out there and here we are sixty miles from even the colleagues that he thought were boring and all he really could find to do was to sit there looking out the window with a book and a drink.

He also was working as a scholar all this time. Aside from scholarly articles for various periodicals, he edited several books. *Age of Excess*, which is a history of the United States from 1877 to 1914, came out in 1965 when he was at Brandeis. He wrote a strange little thing called *Ray Ginger's Joke Book About American History*, which came out in 1974. And then a general history of the United States called *People on the Move* in 1975.⁴⁷

If you had asked him during the six years he was in New York, he would have said that his firing from Harvard was a seminal event that had changed his whole career path and forced him out of what he had then become to think of as his true calling and had destroyed a lot of what he had hoped for. But then he got back into academia and that was no longer true. I don't think it affected his life subsequently much more than it was the source of a whole lot of anecdotes to talk about at two o'clock in the morning when people were chewing the fat.

He thought Harvard had behaved very badly and that information should be promulgated. He hated the thought that Harvard was priding itself on its being such a defender of academic freedom, but he didn't think that their activities had, well, yes, they'd harmed him personally; they cost him six years. But he said that after he got back into the academic world that his immediate sense of grievance was very much alleviated if not eliminated.

In the early 1970s Ray told me that he was considering coming forward to publicly state that he had been a Communist Party member. To the best of my recollection, we'd been sitting and talking with some people. I don't remember if it was a public event. I think it may have been at least semi-public, a gathering of

a dozen students at somebody's house or something like that. The whole repressive period of the 1950s and the idealism of the left-wing in the 1940s were being discussed and, of course, he had a lot to say about that. After this gathering was over, we were both talking about how what he said seemed to lack a little *bona fide* because he didn't come forward and state, "Yes, of course, I was a member of the Party too."

And it was never something that he had ever been ashamed of. It was something he didn't speak of because it could get you in hot water and cause practical difficulties. So we kind of went back and forth on that. I said I didn't think that it would be a big deal, it might have been just naiveté on my part, that after so many years had passed and the political climate had changed several directions several different times. Plus, we were living in Canada and that there would not be any practical harm from admitting what was just the truth. I don't know that the occasion ever came up though. This was just within a year or two before he died.

Ray Ginger's Alcoholism

I don't know exactly when Ray's alcoholism began. I would think it was going on for a long time because my understanding is that one of the things that Ann Ginger was holding against him at the time of their breakup was that he was drinking too much. He certainly was, when he was teaching at Brandeis, kind of famous as being, not an alcoholic exactly, but a very heavy drinker.

When he went out to Berkeley to visit his sons during the first three or four months of 1967 on his sabbatical from Brandeis, where he ostensibly was doing research for something or other, all he basically did was drink, which I was too young and idiotic to realize was a big problem. Yeah, I thought it was sophisticated. My parents were fit to be tied. But there wasn't anything they could do about it so they were very warm and welcoming to him.

Ray was a great talker. He loved to get together with people and chew the fat and throw around a lot of ideas, and these conversations could be very stimulating not only for him but for everybody else. As he got more and more drunk, the window of opportunity for this kind of thing got really narrowed because he wasn't making sense any more. This was very true by the last couple of years of his life. But the thing is he didn't know it. So he'd sit around and have these really kind of dumb drunken exchanges thinking he was being brilliant and wondering why people were not terribly eager to engage in this.

He kept a bottle in the bottom drawer of his desk at the university. When he was teaching I don't think he would drink in the morning. He certainly did when he wasn't teaching. He'd have a cup of coffee and then he'd start in on martinis. But I know he kept the bottle there and I'm sure he'd always had a drink at lunch. I never was aware of his appearing the worse for alcoholism in class, but at the time that I first knew him, when it was the time that I was observing him as

a teacher, it was much more under control.

He had all the symptoms of cirrhosis the last summer we were in Boston. I was not really aware of it though. I was certainly aware that his health was terrible. But it was a big routine getting him even to go to see a doctor. He managed to avoid that by never going to see one.

When I finally did get him in there, we were going through the whole routine, asking a whole bunch of lifestyle questions and so on. Then the doctor asked him to go into the next room and take his shirt off or something like that, so I took the opportunity then to tell Ray that one thing that you got to know is that you have been a very, very heavy drinker for many years and the doctor said something along the lines that things aren't right, and given the obvious symptoms at that point that all made everything fall into place. Ray died in January 1975⁴⁸ from complete liver failure from acute cirrhosis that had come from many years of big-time alcoholism.

NOTES

- 1 Named by FDR, the New Deal comprised a number of programmes started by the president between 1933 and 1936 with the goal of reviving the economy by giving work to unemployed workers and through restructuring business and financial practices. For two books providing relevant information on the New Deal, see Melvyn Dubofsky, ed., *The New Deal: Conflicting Interpretations and Shifting Perspectives* (New York: Garland Press, 1992) and Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).
- 2 There have been numerous books written on the history of the CPUSA. For two classic works on the Party's early history written by Theodore Draper, see *The Roots of American Communism* (New York: Viking Press, 1957) and *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1960). Another excellent, more recent, book that also deals with the Party's first decade is Bryan D. Palmer, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007).
- 3 David A. Shannon, Review of *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs* by Ray Ginger, *The American Historical Review* 55 (1950): 641.
- 4 Shannon, Review of *The Bending Cross*, 641.
- 5 W.M. Brewer, Review of *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs* by Ray Ginger, *The Journal of Negro History* 34 (1949): 469.
- 6 Brewer, Review of *The Bending Cross*, 470.
- 7 Melvyn Dubofsky, Review of *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* by Nick Salvatore, *The American Historical Review*, 88 (1983), 1336-1337; James P. Young, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* by Nick Salvatore, 78 (1984), 586-587.
- 8 For examples of such reviews, see Norman Markowitz, Review of *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* by Nick Salvatore, *Political Science Quarterly* 99 (1984): 151-152; H. Wayne Morgan, Review of *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* by Nick Salvatore, *The Journal of American History* 70 (1983): 440-441; Dubofsky, Review, 1336-1337; and Young, Review, 586-587.

- 9 Seratan, L. Glen, "Biography and Antibibliography," *Reviews in American History* 11 (1983): 396.
- 10 Seratan, "Biography and Antibibliography," 397.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 398.
- 12 Mike Davis, "Let the "Red Special" Shine Its Light on Me," Introduction to Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene V. Debs* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2007), xiv.
- 13 Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1949), 459.
- 14 Davis, "Let the "Red Special" Shine," xvi.
- 15 Peter Richardson, Review of *Democracy's Prisoner: Eugene V. Debs, the Great War, and the Right to Dissent* by Ernest Freeberg, 15 June 2008, *Los Angeles Times*.
- 16 An overall comprehensive treatment of McCarthyism is David Cauter, *The Great Fear* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978).
- 17 A comprehensive, and probably the best, treatment of McCarthyism's effects on universities and colleges in the United States is Ellen Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
- 18 Joshua E. Gewolb, "Sidebar: Harvard Stood Up To McCarthy, With Exceptions," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 2000
- 19 Joshua E. Gewolb, "FBI Files Show HBS Forced Out Leftist Professor," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 2000.
- 20 Joshua E. Gewolb, "FBI Files," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 2000.
- 21 *Ibid.*
- 22 *Ibid.*
- 23 Although the Communist Party vigorously courted Eugene V. Debs and in spite of Debs expressing much sympathy with the October Revolution, the Bolshevik regime in Russia and to the US Communist Party, it is a well-established fact that Debs never joined the Communist Party but remained a Socialist Party of America member until his death in October 1926. For a discussion of Debs' views on the Russian Revolution and his complex relationship with the Communist Party through the end of his life, see Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross*, 359-482.
- 24 Established in 1937 as a progressive alternative to the American Bar Association, the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) is a bar association committed to modifying the US political and economic system through eradicating racism, protecting and extending the rights of workers, women and minority group members, and defending people's civil rights and liberties. With McCarthyism's ascendance, the NLG was charged with being a Communist front organization. Moreover, Federal Bureau of Investigations director J. Edgar Hoover continuously attempted, but was unsuccessful, in having Attorneys General classify the NLG as a "subversive organization." For a history of the NLG from its founding through the Reagan presidency, see Ann Fagan Ginger and Eugene M. Tobin eds., *National Lawyers Guild: From Roosevelt Through Reagan* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).
- 25 Created in 1946 through a merger of the National Negro Congress, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) was a civil rights organization that was dedicated to struggling for, and expanding, civil liberties for all people in the United States. Unlike the left-

- wing NLG, the CRC was declared to be a Communist front group and appeared on the Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations. Surviving until 1956, the CRC predominantly handled cases involving racist repression although it also vigorously defended Communists during the McCarthyite repression. While the CPUSA was involved and provided leaders for the organization, according to the only scholarly book on the CRC, its policies and tactics did not always coincide with those of the CPUSA. For an elaboration of this argument and a comprehensive treatment of the CRC, see Gerald Horne, *Communist Front? The Civil Rights Congress, 1946-1956* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988).
- 26 Joshua E. Gewolb, "FBI Files," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 2000.
- 27 The South Africa Truth and Reconciliation hearings were conducted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), a court-like organization created in South Africa in 1995, several years after Apartheid's abolition. The TRC heard cases of individuals who felt that they had been victims of violence under Apartheid. In addition, people who inflicted violence on others could provide testimony in front of the TRC and ask for amnesty from prosecution for the crimes they committed. For further information on the TRC and its hearings, see Terry Bell, *Unfinished Business: South Africa, Apartheid, and Truth* (London: Verso, 2003).
- 28 Joshua E. Gewolb, "Harvard Admits Role in Forced Resignation," *The Harvard Crimson*, April 3, 2001.
- 29 Joshua E. Gewolb, "FBI Files Show HBS Forced Out Leftist Professor," *The Harvard Crimson*, December 1, 2000.
- 30 Author's telephone interviews with Victoria Brandon, June 18, 2004 and December 20, 2008.
- 31 The date of Ray Ginger's birth is October 16, 1924.
- 32 His first wife was Ann Fagan-Ginger, a civil rights attorney and a founder of the Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Institute who has authored or edited nearly 20 books and 30 law review articles.
- 33 Joseph Warren Stilwell (1883-1946) was a United States Army four-star general who is most widely-known for his military service in China. For more information on Stilwell, see Jack Belden, *Retreat With Stilwell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943) and Eric Larrabee, *Commander In Chief* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987).
- 34 The Dodge plant in Hamtramck, Michigan had been represented by the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 3 from 1937 until its closure in 1982. For a history of UAW Local 3 and union-management relations at the Dodge Hamtramck plant, see Steve Jefferys, *Management and Managed: Fifty Years of Crisis at Chrysler* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).
- 35 Established in 1944, the American Veterans Committee (AVC) can be characterized as a liberal veterans association which served as an alternative to the more conservative American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. For a discussion of the AVC's factionalism from an anti-Communist viewpoint, see Robert L. Tyler, "The American Veterans Committee: Out of a Hot War and Into the Cold," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 419-436.
- 36 Henry Wallace, the US Secretary of Agriculture (1933-1940), the US Vice President (1941-1945) and the US Secretary of Commerce (1945-1946), ran for US president on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948. CPUSA members occupied key leadership

- roles within the Progressive Party and strongly backed Henry Wallace's 1948 candidacy for the US presidency. For information on the Wallace campaign in 1948, see Karl M. Schmidt, *Henry Wallace, Quixotic Crusade 1948* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1960) and J. Samuel Walker, *Henry A. Wallace and American Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), 182-205.
- 37 From Victoria Brandon's comments, it appears that she is referring to Ray Ginger attending the second Peekskill concert. At this concert held on 4 September 1949, which was guarded by left-wing union members, Paul Robeson, a CPUSA sympathizer, sang before approximately 20,000 to 25,000 people without incident. However, upon the concert's conclusion, Westchester County police set up a trap by directing traffic away from the main entrance towards a little-used access road. Lining this thoroughfare were hundreds of irate residents who threw rocks at the departing vehicles resulting in 150 people being injured largely due to flying glass. For information on the two Peekskill concerts, see Joseph Walwik, *The Peekskill, New York, Anti-Communist Riots of 1949* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), Martin Baum Duberman, *Paul Robeson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 363-380 and Dorothy Butler Gilliam, *Paul Robeson* (Washington D.C.: New Republic Books, 1976), 145-154.
- 38 Pete Seeger, born in 1919, is best known as a folk singer and a left-wing political activist. For additional information on Seeger, see David K. Dunaway, *How Can I Keep from Singing* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981) and Alec Wilkinson, "The Protest Singer: Pete Seeger and American Folk Music," *The New Yorker*, 17 April 2006, 44-53.
- 39 For a discussion of FBI activity within the CPUSA during the late 1940s and 1950s, see Athan G. Theoharis, *Chasing Spies: How the FBI Failed in Counterintelligence but Promoted the Politics of McCarthyism in the Cold War Years* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002).
- 40 After arriving at Harvard University as a fellow in Business History in 1952, Ginger became the editor of the *Business History Review* in 1953 and he held this position until his forced resignation from the university in June 1954. Two articles authored by Ray Ginger appeared in the journal in 1954. See Ray Ginger, "Labor in a Massachusetts Cotton Mill, 1853-60," *Business History Review*, 28 (1954): 67-91 and Thomas C. Cochran and Ray Ginger, "The American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, 1899-1919," *Business History Review* 28 (1954): 343-365.
- 41 Books and major articles written by Thomas R. Navin include Thomas R. Navin, *The Whittin Machine Works since 1831: A Textile Machinery Company in an Industrial Village* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950); Thomas R. Navin and Marian V. Sears, "A Study in Merger: Formation of the International Mercantile Marine Company," *The Business History Review*, 28 (1954), 291-328; and Thomas R. Navin, *Copper Mining & Management* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1978).
- 42 George Sweet Gibb wrote extensively in business history, and after Ginger's forced resignation from Harvard University in June 1954, Gibb immediately became the editor of the *Business History Review*, serving in this position through 1961.
- 43 The publication that Victoria Brandon is referring to is Ray Ginger (ed.), *Spectrum: The World of Science* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959).
- 44 Alfred H. Kelly (1907-1976) was a professor of history at Wayne State University where he specialized in and taught constitutional history.
- 45 Edward Lurie (1927-2008) was a professor emeritus of history at the University of

Delaware at the time of his death. Author of the ground-breaking biography, *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1988), the book was considered by the late distinguished evolutionary biologist Stephen Jay Gould to be the “the best work on this central figure in the history of American biography and probably the best biography in the last fifty years on the life of an American biologist.”

- 46 Marian C. McKenna is currently a professor emeritus of history at the University of Calgary having retired from teaching in 1996. Her research interests have focused on legal and constitutional history, especially comparative between Canada and the United States. She has published widely including *Franklin Roosevelt and the Great Constitutional War: The Court-Packing Crisis of 1937* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002) and the edited collection *The Canadian and American Constitutions in Comparative Perspective* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1993).
- 47 The other books written or edited by Ray Ginger, in chronological order, include *Altgeld's America: The Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1958); *Six Days or Forever? Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958); *Spectrum: The World of Science* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959); *American Social Thought* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1961); *The Nationalizing of American Life, 1877-1900* (New York: The Free Press, 1965); *Age of Excess: The United States From 1877 to 1914* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1965); *William Jennings Bryan: Selections* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967); *Modern American Cities* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); *Ray Ginger's Joke Book on American History* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1974); and *People on the Move: A United States History* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1975).
- 48 The actual date of Ray Ginger's death was January 3, 1975.