

PNQ

A Scholarly Journal
of Northwest History

Pacific Northwest Quarterly

Winter 1997/98

Volume 89 Number 1



McCarthyism in the Pacific Northwest

With this issue *PNQ* marks the 50th anniversary of the onset of the anticommunist crusade in the Pacific Northwest, a phase that lasted from the later 1940s through the 1950s. The states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho offered a regional variation on a national theme, for the second red scare, also known as McCarthyism, affected the entire country. Yet the Pacific Northwest distinguished itself by setting national precedents in the investigation and treatment of radicals and suspected radicals. For example, when in 1947 the Washington legislature authorized a Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities (also known as the Canwell committee after its chairman, the representative Albert Canwell), it created one of the earlier and more influential such investigative bodies at the state level. The Canwell committee in 1948 turned its attention to the University of Washington, where it "exposed" a number of Communists and former radicals on the faculty. The university set another precedent in 1949 by firing three professors identified by Canwell's committee as subversives. The administration argued that Communists were incapable of the intellectual independence and honesty required for teaching and scholarship. Across the country other colleges adopted this reasoning when investigating and dismissing members of their faculties.¹

Lorraine McConaghy's article, "The Seattle *Times's* Cold War Pulitzer Prize," draws on recent oral histories to shed new light on the well-known case of Melvin Rader, a UW professor of philosophy whom the Canwell committee had also labeled a Communist. Rader effectively refuted the accusations, with considerable assistance from the *Times* reporter Edwin Guthman. This was one instance when people successfully exposed the excesses of the anticommunist campaign. But McConaghy also points out that the Seattle *Times* demonstrated neither promptness nor thoroughness in challenging anticommunism. The paper did not question the fundamental premises of the anticommunist crusade, and it did not proceed with its story without first submitting the evidence to the university president. In other words, the newspaper's own intellectual independence deserved to be questioned. That the press did not adopt a more independent and critical role should not surprise us, given McConaghy's finding that prominent newspapermen likely helped to bring the Canwell committee into existence in the first place.

In "After Cool Deliberation: Reed College, Oregon Editors, and the Red Scare of 1954," Floyd J. McKay demonstrates similarly incestuous relations between Oregon's newspapers and the institutions about which they reported. The story revolves around the dismissal of another professor of philosophy, Stanley Moore of Reed College, an avowed Marxist and former Communist. Moore refused to answer questions put to him by the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and then refused to answer the questions of the president and trustees of Reed. For failing to cooperate with investigations into his past, Moore was fired. In his defense the Reed faculty set another precedent, making the most unequivocal statement of the era—by faculties at the nation's colleges and universities—in support of academic freedom. But Reed's president and trustees, following the example set by the University of Washington, believed

they had other overriding duties: to determine whether Moore's politics had rendered him unfit to teach and to dismiss him for failing to cooperate with their investigation. Local newspapers supported their action. "The principle of academic freedom," McKay concludes, "was not recognized by Oregon editors, who saw the Reed matter largely in terms of governance rather than civil liberties." The press once more upheld the orderly operation of the status quo, in large part because those responsible for newspaper opinion were integral members of the elites who maintained that status quo.

In "The Schuddakopf Case, 1954-1958," Ronald E. Magden directs attention less to the media than to the decisions of elected officials and the efforts of pressure groups. Jean Schuddakopf was a counselor for the Tacoma Public Schools. Called in 1954 to testify before HUAC after another witness identified her as a Communist, Schuddakopf refused to answer questions. Her silence prompted a debate among city, county, and state school officials over whether to fire her. Some defended Schuddakopf's right to keep her job, but most agreed that her refusal to answer questions about past political associations had "completely impaired her usefulness as a counselor." Schuddakopf's fate was sealed when local and state groups led by the Tacoma American Legion campaigned against the reelection of those on the local school board and in state government who had defended the counselor's right to keep her job. Magden shows that many Tacoma citizens, operating at the grass-roots level of politics, joined the debates over anticommunism. Like newspapers in Seattle and Oregon, they tended to favor the effort to eliminate from public life both suspected Communists and those who refused to cooperate with investigations into radicalism.

These three articles contribute to a steadily growing literature on anticommunism in the Pacific Northwest. Just within the last year and a half, new studies have appeared on the Moore case at Reed College and the response of the UW history department to anticommunism on campus; the Washington State Oral History Program published its interview with an unrepentant Albert Canwell; and the UW School of Drama announced production of a new play based on the Canwell committee hearings concerning the university.² The second red scare in the region continues to attract considerable interest, and its students continue to add new insights to our understanding of the phenomenon.

JOHN M. FINDLAY

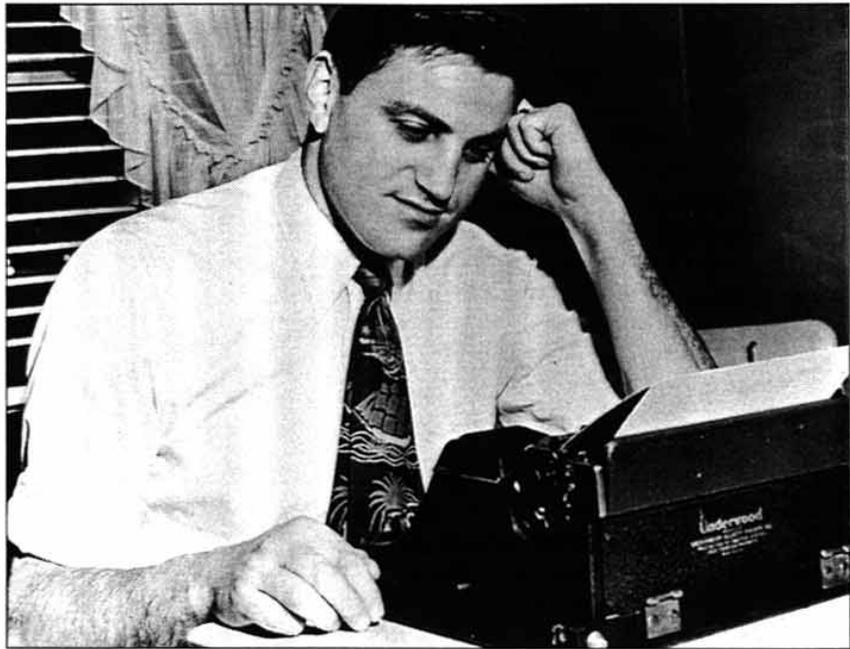
1. Jane Sanders, *Cold War on the Campus: Academic Freedom at the University of Washington, 1946-64* (Seattle, 1979), 73-83, 173; Ellen W. Schrecker, *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities* (New York, 1986), 102-104.
2. Michael Munk, "Oregon Tests Academic Freedom in (Cold) Wartime: The Reed College Trustees versus Stanley Moore," *OHQ*, Vol. 97 (1996), 262-354; Jane Sanders, "Clio Confronts Conformity: The University of Washington History Department during the Cold War Era," *PNQ*, Vol. 88 (1997), 185-94; *Albert F. Canwell: An Oral History* (Olympia, 1997); Mark Jenkins, "All Powers Necessary and Convenient: A Play of Fact and Speculation," MS in progress, to be produced by UW School of Drama, February 1998.

The Seattle *Times*'s Cold War Pulitzer Prize

LORRAINE MCCONAGHY

In 1950 the Seattle *Times* won its first Pulitzer Prize for stories it published the previous October. Melvin Rader, a professor of philosophy at the University of Washington, had been publicly accused of attending a 1938 summer training session in New York for senior Communist party members. A self-proclaimed eyewitness made the accusation in a hearing before a legislative committee that was chaired by Albert Canwell, a freshman representative, and empowered to investigate subversive activities in Washington State. Rader denied the specific accusation and also emphatically denied that he had ever been a member of the Communist party. After an effort to extradite the eyewitness to stand trial for perjury failed, the *Times* assigned a young reporter, Edwin Guthman, to investigate this case. His work ultimately proved Rader's denials, discredited the methods of the Canwell committee, and won Guthman and his newspaper a Pulitzer Prize on the cold war home front.¹

The *Times* was exultant at receiving the most coveted award in American journalism. Guthman's meticulous investigation had exposed the Canwell committee's careless treatment of evidence and reckless disregard for civil rights; his stories suggested that the committee had little interest in discovering the truth and that it conducted its work with an above-the-law arrogance born of ideological zealotry. This was a major cold war story with important national implications. However, in Seattle on October 21, 1949, the Seattle *Times* had played it safe—Guthman's work jockeyed for front-page space



In the course of his investigations on the Rader case, Edwin Guthman discovered that the Canwell committee was intent not on exposing the truth but on blackening reputations. (Seattle *Times* file)

with a wire service piece headlined "10 U.S. Reds Get 5 Years, \$10,000 Fines—Bail Denied 11 Commies on Appeal" and illustrated by above-the-fold photos of "Reds Taken Back to Jail." Although Guthman's publisher and editors had initiated and encouraged the Rader investigation, they delayed publishing the findings and then covered themselves by presenting the stories in an ambiguous setting. The newspaper walked a cautious middle course during the cold war, striking a daily bargain between good journalism and good business, between leading readers and following them.

The Canwell-Rader-Guthman story is

a familiar one to students of Pacific Northwest history. However, two recently recorded oral history interviews—one with Edwin Guthman and the other with Albert Canwell—offer additional evidence and inform new perspectives on this complex episode in the postwar era. The interviews speak to Canwell and Guthman's shared perception of the clear and present danger once posed by communism in Washington State, to Guthman's dispassionate professionalism, to Canwell's ideological zeal, and to the newspaper coverage of the hearings. Albert Canwell's unwavering convictions that Melvin Rader was a Communist conspirator and that

Times staff people, particularly the managing editor Russell McGrath, the journalist Edwin Guthman, and the historian Vern Countryman, were Communist agents, and his claims to privileged sources of information to prove those convictions, offer compelling insight into this intransigent “cold warrior” and his lifelong anticommunist crusade.²

Less than two years after the close of World War II, in February 1947, the state senate and house of representatives in Olympia approved a concurrent resolution to establish the Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in the State of Washington. Sounding the alarm of immediate public danger, the resolution asserted that subversive individuals and groups were widely active in Washington. The purposes of this committee were first to provide “a thorough and impartial investigation” of the situation and then to report these findings to help lawmakers frame new legislative weapons against the Communists.³

In its work, the fact-finding committee was empowered to hire a staff to conduct investigations prior to its hearings, to subpoena witnesses to testify in both closed executive sessions and open hearings, and to require the submission of “records of every kind and description” necessary to its investigations. The committee had the power to request a search warrant from the appropriate court, to initiate contempt proceedings against any individual who refused to comply with a subpoena, and to require witnesses to testify under oath. The constituting resolution stipulated that the Washington State Patrol provide “such assistance to the committee as the chairman may direct.”⁴ The committee’s chairman was to be Albert Canwell, the freshman representative from Spokane, and the committee would soon be known as the Canwell committee. It began its work in 1947 with an investigation of



Albert Canwell, a junior legislator who considered himself an amateur spy with a mandate to protect the state from Communists, failed to be reelected. (Seattle Times file)

Communist influence in the Washington Pension Union, the Building Services Employees Union, the Seattle Repertory Playhouse, and—to a lesser degree—the Washington Commonwealth Federation.

Albert Canwell was passionately concerned with the infiltration of organizations and institutions by Communists and their sympathizers. He had worked as a free-lance photographer and reporter in Yakima and Spokane and then joined the Spokane County sheriff’s department as a deputy. Heading the county’s Identification Bureau and working closely with the narcotics squad, he became friendly with law enforcement officers throughout the state and with operatives of various federal agencies. Viewing himself as an amateur spy, he also learned some surveillance techniques

and began to compile files on subversives in Washington.⁵

Canwell’s close friend Ashley Holden, the political writer for the Spokane *Spokesman-Review*, had encouraged him in his successful 1946 run for office. Canwell’s platform was simple: no new taxes and “do something about the Communists” in Washington State.⁶ Following a long tradition of Progressive politics in Washington, avowed Communists and their sympathizers had grown conspicuous during the hungry years of the depression, visible in labor, politics, education, and the arts. James Farley’s famous bon mot at the 1940 Democratic convention that “there [were] forty-seven states and the Soviet of Washington” may be apocryphal, but it publicly affirmed a statewide radicalism that dismayed and embarrassed many

Washingtonians.⁷ After the war, a substantial number of residents determined to clean house in this industrializing and suburbanizing state that was so dependent on federal contracts and programs.

As recently as 1991, Canwell maintained that his committee's agenda was forced on him by an outraged electorate, remarking that, in particular, "The University of Washington and its faculty had become, not only a local, but a national scandal."⁸ The Canwell committee's third and last report confirmed voters' worst fears: that "the state . . . [was] acrawl with trained and iron-disciplined Communists . . . [who] operated here with seeming immunity."⁹ Ed Guthman also remembers, "The Communist party was strongly inrooted in Western Washington particularly and these were not just plain ordinary people. They were actually getting their orders from the Soviet Union and . . . there were no ands, ifs, or buts about that."¹⁰ As the cold war battle lines developed, Ed Guthman and Al Canwell—who would become antagonists—shared the conviction that Communists had infiltrated state institutions. According to Vern Countryman, many residents of Washington perceived communism as a real postwar danger; at issue was the nature of the remedy.¹¹

Washington people had shared an intense experience during World War II as communities along the coast braced for invasion and espionage. Residents of Japanese ancestry were forced to evacuate and to relocate inland. Industries mobilized to produce for war, and citizens mobilized to keep mum, to buy bonds, to ration, recycle, and organize civilian defense for the duration. The state's four largest newspapers—the *Spokesman-Review* in Spokane, and the *Times*, *Post-Intelligencer*, and *Star* in Seattle—served as guides to the bewildering wartime bureaucracy. They exercised zealous self-censorship on matters as diverse as troop

movements, plutonium production at Hanford, military training mishaps, and interracial crimes in local military units. Editors and publishers became indispensable partners of the federal government in the war effort, controlling information and shaping public opinion. In particular, the *Times* took impetus and intellectual shape from the home front.

In 1940, C. B. Blethen had been publisher and editor in chief of the *Times* for 25 years, marking the newspaper with his emphatic personality. Blethen had risen to the rank of brigadier general in the National Guard, commanding the state's volunteer forces. His clipped speech, air of command, and general military bearing were striking; in the late 1930s, his belligerent editorials urged U.S. intervention in the European war. A lifelong advocate of military preparedness, Blethen manfully braced his readers for war but died about two months before the attack on Pearl Harbor. His sons Frank and Bill were in their thirties, too inexperienced to fill their father's shoes; their younger brother, Jack, had enlisted. C. B. Blethen's place was taken by a governing committee, and the longtime Blethen family lawyer, Elmer Todd, stepped in as interim publisher. Todd was the first to admit that he was no newspaperman, and on a day-by-day basis, the *Times* became a departmentalized newspaper largely run by its editors, the memory of the bellicose C. B. Blethen shadowing both the people and the paper.¹²

Washington and the *Times* spent four years on the hot war home front; they would spend many more on the home front of the cold war. All the state's newspapers rose eagerly to the challenge of that ongoing crisis, nostalgic for their wartime authority, their wartime camaraderie with federal and military confidants. In the late 1940s, local editorial writers and syndicated columnists hammered relentlessly on the erosion of domestic wartime soli-

arity and the loss of international wartime primacy. Crippling strikes, a sluggish civilian economy, and widespread racial unrest revealed postwar fault lines at home, while the United States seemed to retreat from victory abroad, "losing" countries to Soviet and Chinese Communist aggression, unable to protect its nuclear monopoly, and betrayed by its own statesmen, diplomats, and scientists. On the world stage, the U.S. faced an unscrupulous and determined enemy; at home, the agents of that enemy bored from within, directed from Moscow under strict Communist party discipline. Washington State papers published one disturbing story after another about the investigations of the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). The cold war catchall *Reds* replaced the hot war catchall *Japs*. A new enemy in a new war offered continued opportunities to an information establishment that thrived on crisis.

It was under these circumstances that the reporters Ross Cunningham of the *Times*, Ashley Holden of the *Spokesman-Review*, and Fred Niendorff of the *Post-Intelligencer* covered Washington State postwar politics and brought national issues home. Journalists often became close associates of the politicians whose activities they covered, and they sometimes joined in those activities. In December 1946, Niendorff reported on the *P-I's* front page that a bipartisan caucus of state senators had proposed a legislative committee to investigate Communist and subversive activities in the state.¹³ Behind the scenes, he and Holden were highly instrumental in the formation of the joint fact-finding committee. As Ed Guthman puts it, they were "the prime movers and the fathers" of the Canwell committee.¹⁴ Countryman writes that it was widely believed that Niendorff drafted the enabling legislation, and Canwell recalls that Hazel Niendorff, Fred Niendorff's wife, was tremendously valuable to the committee as a

volunteer researcher. Their newspapers assigned Niendorff and Holden to cover the committee hearings.¹⁵

Ross Cunningham of the *Times* was a savvy, experienced political writer who moved easily in Olympia circles. But as the public hearings opened in January 1948, the paper assigned Guthman instead of Cunningham to join Niendorff and Holden.

That choice shocked Albert Canwell. According to his oral history, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police informed him that the *Times's* managing editor, Russell McGrath, intended to assign the junior reporter to the hearings. Canwell claims that McGrath deliberately replaced Cunningham with a "commie agent . . . assigned to sabotage us," adding that Cunningham himself confided, "We think [Guthman's] a Commie but we can't do anything without proof." Canwell, from the start, viewed Guthman as "a plant," "a phony" journalist ideologically hostile to the hearings.¹⁶

Albert Canwell valued newspapers as the critical public voice for his anti-communist crusade. Nurturing an alliance between the press and the committee, his staff leaked tips, staged photo opportunities, and arranged for news announcements to break in time for the deadlines of Holden and Niendorff, whom Canwell regarded as trusted reporters. Canwell recalls, "We had a very firm understanding that a hostile press could murder us. . . . And to talk irresponsibly . . . would be destructive of the committee's intent."¹⁷ But the zeal of one member of the committee threatened to disrupt Canwell's careful orchestration. Thomas Bienz, a Democrat, excitedly announced in a speech to the Spokane Board of Realtors that there were "approximately one hundred and fifty Communists employed at the University of Washington." Fearing that so precise a count would encourage challenge, Canwell lamented, "We do not



Professor Melvin Rader, whom Canwell believed to be "basically a good person," was nonetheless smeared by the Canwell committee and labeled a Communist and corrupter of youth. (Seattle *Times* file)

play the numbers game with the Communist party, or their attorneys, the ACLU."¹⁸ Bienz's number was alarmingly high, and Canwell was called before the university's board of regents in a closed session. After deliberation, that body declared that it would recommend immediate dismissal of any faculty member found by the Canwell committee to be engaged in subversive activities.¹⁹ Public reaction to Bienz's gaffe only demonstrated the widespread support for an anticommunist crusade. Canwell was vindicated as the man who knew secrets, the man who could make big shots and intellectuals sit up and take notice. The stage was set for the committee's inquiry into Canwell's real target, the faculty of the University of Washington.

The second round of Canwell committee hearings took place in July 1948, devoted to gathering testimony that would "show the pattern of Communist activity in educational circles."²⁰ Canwell recalls that "the determination to conduct a hearing regarding

the University of Washington started with day one. It was one of our prime concerns, and it was the concern of every responsible person."²¹ The committee subpoenaed 29 witnesses from the university community to appear at the Field Artillery Armory in Seattle. Some were merely called to give testimony; others were "under investigation."²² One professor, Herbert Phillips, was teaching at Columbia University when his subpoena was issued; he announced his reluctance to return for the hearings. When Raymond Allen, the UW president, promptly suspended him, Phillips hastened to comply. At a time when faculty members were required to sign loyalty oaths, Ross Cunningham pointed out the university's dilemma in his column of political commentary, "Cunningham's Comment": "U.W. Officials Face Touchy Situation in Coming Red Probe." The administration, he observed, would have to balance the need to calm public fear and anger about Communist teachers with the desire to maintain the appearance of academic freedom.²³

The July hearings featured provocative testimony frequently interrupted by protests inside and noisy demonstrations outside. Burly state patrolmen arrested unruly protestors and escorted ejected attorneys from the hearing room, which was packed with witnesses, observers, and journalists. The hearings offered the illusion of a court proceeding with none of its due process. The chief investigator, William Houston, questioned former members of the Communist party, who described meetings, fronts, and activities and named those who had recruited them and associated with them. Expert witnesses like George Hewitt, Manning Johnson, J. B. Matthews, and the locals Army Armstrong, Sophus Winther, and Sarah Eldridge—all recanting Communists—identified their former comrades on campus and in the University District. Daily, newspapers blared the latest committee testi-

mony, named names, and offered photos of the proceedings.

Canwell subpoenaed the philosophy professor Melvin Rader to testify. Rader was a thoroughgoing liberal whose premature antifascism and participation in a dozen Popular Front organizations aroused suspicion. Canwell believed that he was “a weak person and basically a good person . . . a good prospect to defect” and then name others in the network of Washington Communists and Communist sympathizers.²⁴ In her testimony, the former Communist Sarah Eldridge called Rader a “powerful instrument” of the Communist conspiracy, a man who followed the party line and furthered the Communist cause—but she could not name him as a card-carrying party member.²⁵ So it was a windfall opportunity for the committee when another witness, George Hewitt, took the investigators aside and quietly told them that he recognized Rader as one of the students he had taught at a Communist training camp on Briehl’s Farm in Kingston, New York, during six weeks of the summer of 1938. After an abortive effort to confront Rader in Canwell’s office, Hewitt swore on the witness stand that Rader had attended the training school, which was open only to party members selected by the national committee. That accusation was duly reported in the press that afternoon and the next morning.²⁶

According to his own account of these events, *False Witness* (1969), Rader was dumbfounded by Hewitt’s testimony. The man was a complete stranger. Rader was not a Communist party member. He had never visited New York State until 1945. After Hewitt’s testimony, Rader had dinner with his attorney and then went home to do his best to reconstruct where he had been in the summer of 1938, a full decade earlier. He and his wife, Virginia, hinged their memories, as most couples would, on the birth of a baby and on small personal events.²⁷



Disturbances characterized the Canwell committee hearings on University of Washington personnel: inside, state patrolmen ejected unruly protestors and attorneys, and outside, law enforcement officers struggled to keep order. (Seattle Times file)

The next day, Hewitt continued his testimony. He was permitted discursive replies to brief questions put by the committee’s chief investigator; the attorneys for those he accused were not allowed cross-examination. Rader was to reply to the charges in the afternoon, and he spent the lunch recess jotting some notes on an envelope. Called to the stand, under oath, he denied present or past membership in the Communist party. He admitted that he had written the internationalist *No Compromise* (1939) and had been a member of numerous Popular Front organizations. He testified to his belief in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights and also to his belief that the economic system should be changed to prevent periodic catastrophes like the Great Depression. He firmly denied attending the Communist party training school in 1938 and—reading from his notes—testified that he had taught summer school and vacationed at Canyon Creek Lodge, in Granite Falls, Washington.²⁸

Canwell frequently interrupted Houston’s questions to moderate the interrogation of Rader; but his own and the committee’s distaste and contempt for intellectuals had never been more clear.²⁹ Canwell and Houston, alternately patronizing and insulting, played good cop–bad cop with Rader; both clearly regarded his explanations as academic double-talk. Whereas Hewitt had testified without curb, Rader was restricted to very brief responses. The committee concluded his testimony with a request for cooperation in an ongoing investigation into his whereabouts in the summer of 1938. Dismissed from the witness chair, Melvin Rader left the hearing room under a cloud of suspicion for his thinking and writing, his teaching, and his friendships, all because of the accusations of a self-proclaimed eyewitness who was already on a train heading east.

At the conclusion of the hearings on July 23, the Canwell committee asked

the King County prosecutor to bring charges of contempt against seven witnesses, including three UW professors, and announced that it was considering how to proceed against six more, all of whom were associated with the university. The board of regents, as it had promised, prepared charges against six faculty members who had been accused of Communist party membership. President Allen publicly welcomed the accusations, eager to purge the faculty, firm in his belief that "members of the Communist party are not free men" and should not expect protection under any definition of academic freedom.³⁰ The six men were tried before a closed tenure committee, and the committee's recommendations passed to the board of regents. The board recommended that three be fired outright and that the others, after providing affidavits pledging that they were no longer members of the Communist party, remain on the faculty on two-year probation. Years later, Mel Rader recalled the "surrender by the University of its own proper standards and responsibility, a surrender that [was] also a betrayal." Rader was neither dismissed nor placed on probation; he simply lived under a cloud of suspicion.³¹

The second Canwell report was read into the *House Journal* and published separately. It included the findings that Melvin Rader had not taught summer school in 1938 and had not vacationed at Canyon Creek Lodge until 1940. In the public record, Rader stood accused as a liar, as a Communist, as a corruptor of youth.³² Appalled by the committee's tactics, the Speaker of the House, Charles Hodde, argued boldly for discontinuing the committee, calling Canwell "a one-man crusader . . . an evangelist who operated freely and wildly" and spent half of what it cost to run the entire legislature in 1948. The joint committee died, and an effort to start a senate version was "sawed off at the pockets" by a challenge from Washington's at-

torney general.³³ Led by Hodde, the legislature demanded the committee's records, Canwell's stock-in-trade of secrets. Under protest, Canwell complied—or appeared to. The files, boxes, and safes were trucked from Seattle to Olympia and placed in a locked room for safekeeping.

At Melvin Rader's urging, the King County prosecuting attorney, Lloyd Shorett, charged George Hewitt with perjury and began proceedings for extradition. Rader wanted to confront Hewitt's charges in a court of law. However, New York refused to return Hewitt to King County, and the presiding judge made some intemperate and widely published remarks about his unwillingness to condemn Hewitt to "eventual slaughter" in Washington's Communist-controlled court system. Rader had exhausted the only legal recourse available to him.³⁴

At this point, in May 1949, Guthman recalls that Elmer Todd, the gentle, scholarly lawyer at the helm of the *Times*, encouraged Russell McGrath, the managing editor, to pursue the Rader story, quietly remarking, "This is wrong. You just don't treat people this way." McGrath had tapped on the glass of his office wall, caught Guthman's eye, and gestured him into his office. McGrath said to Guthman, "The Committee is not going to settle this. The Courts are not going to settle this. It's time for a newspaper to settle this. You find out what happened."³⁵

Edwin Guthman was born and grew up in Seattle, graduated from Broadway High School, and studied journalism at the University of Washington. He worked on the *UW Daily* for four years and also covered sports for the *Seattle Star*, joining its staff at graduation in 1941. He entered the army that same year, was seriously wounded in Italy, and was awarded the Purple Heart. On his return to Seattle, he re-joined the *Star* as a reporter. When the paper went out of business in 1947,

Guthman applied to the *Times*, went to work for McGrath and Henry MacLeod, the city editor, and was eventually assigned to cover the Canwell hearings. As a student at the university, Guthman had studied with professors who "were on the left," as he puts it, including Mel Rader. Now, in May 1949, the two men met again.³⁶

At their meeting, Rader told Guthman his story and showed him the chronology of events he had developed for summer 1938. He had taught summer school through July 20. Then, on or about August 1, friends drove the Raders out to Canyon Creek Lodge, where they signed in and paid for lodging. Rader's wife, Virginia, had been conspicuously pregnant; their daughter was a toddler. During their vacation, Rader went into the city once or twice to check books out of the library. He deposited his paycheck at the bank. His wife visited a dentist in Granite Falls. Climbing rocks near their cabin, Rader broke his glasses and visited an optician in Seattle. At the end of their stay, the Canyon Creek Lodge housekeeper drove them back to the city. Now, a decade later, Mel and Virginia Rader had begun gathering documentation and affidavits; Ed Guthman took over the task of verifying their detective work and completing the paper trail.³⁷

The Canwell report's conclusions were clear: Rader had not taught summer school or stayed at Canyon Creek Lodge in 1938. He could easily have traveled to New York to attend the training camp, as Hewitt claimed, and if he had, he must have been a high-ranking member of the Communist party. UW payroll records quickly established that Rader had taught the early summer term; that he had spent the remainder of the summer at the lodge was less clear. In fact, the committee claimed that the Rader family had not visited Granite Falls in 1938, the evidence being a lodge file card that listed the Raders' name and address

Frank. Kelchum

Jack Keays	Paid to Aug 15, 1938	15.00
Henry Sacksteder	" Sept 21 - 1938	12.00
Mr & La Mar	" Sept 15 - 1938	12.00
Rader	" Sept 5 "	20.00

Rader Mrs Melvin M. (S) 8-16-40 Seattle, Wn. (40)

6017--- 30th Avenue - N.E.

Prof at U of Wash for guest for 1 month

and a date in 1940. Seeking an explanation, Guthman drove out to Canyon Creek Lodge to interview Mrs. Mueller, the owner. She explained that the date on the file card indicated that she had mailed a letter to the Raders in 1940, asking them to consider buying a summer home lot nearby. Guthman inquired about a guest register or any other kind of record that would establish whether the Raders had rented a cabin in 1938. As Guthman recalls, she replied, "Oh, well, I'm sorry, but the Canwell Committee was here . . . and got those pages." She and the housekeeper remembered the committee investigator running his thumb down the loose-leaf pages and saying, "There it is—Rader—1938." Where were the register pages?³⁸

The pages had been gathered but never introduced at the hearings. If they had proved that Rader was not a guest in 1938, the committee would have placed them in evidence to strengthen its case. If the pages did not prove that,

then the committee investigators had suppressed them. If they had not been destroyed, they were likely among the files of the Canwell committee, turned over to the 1949 legislature and locked away.³⁹ Questioned by the press, Canwell denied any knowledge of the critical register page for August 1938. More than 40 years later, he maintains that "nobody on the Canwell committee destroyed records" and hotly rejects the "Canyon Creek Lodge phoney story" that he believes Guthman and Vern Countryman were paid to concoct. Canwell claims that the lodge was a "hot pillow joint" where register pages could be "bought" for \$20 to cover up illicit liaisons. So, he argues, the lodge records were bad evidence; he had protected Rader by not submitting them.⁴⁰

In July 1949, a year after Hewitt's testimony, the crucial register pages were still missing, but Guthman's research had built a strong case for Rader's activities in the summer of 1938 based

The Canyon Creek Lodge register page for August 1938 has never been found, though the owner of the Granite Falls, Washington, resort recalls that the Canwell committee investigator read from it when he came to collect evidence. Alternative documents—this September register—and the testimony that the notation of the year 1940 on one lodge record referred not to a stay but to a letter sent to past guests established Rader's whereabouts that summer. (Seattle Times file)

on alternative evidence. Why, then, did the story not appear in the *Times*? What was the delay? Living under suspicion, Melvin Rader grew increasingly impatient for vindication. He found it difficult to work; an offer to teach a 1949 summer session at Columbia University was withdrawn because of his troubled circumstances. Guthman had begun his research in May, and Rader urged him throughout the summer to publish the story and clear his name. Finally, the professor and his wife "suspected that the [*Times*] editors, for reasons of politics or prudence, had decided against disclosing the facts."⁴¹ Jane Sanders notes that the members of the university community struggled with "the bounds of academic freedom in an era of national insecurity"; so also did newspapermen face their own professional struggles. The risks of popular hostility were real. In the wake of incriminating Canwell committee testimony against Burton and Florence Bean James, owners of the Seattle Repertory Playhouse, the public boycotted the theater. Ticket sales fell precipitously, and the playhouse was forced to close. The newspaper was a business, too, subject to the same market consequences of public opinion.⁴²

The *Times* handled the Guthman stories with great caution. Raymond Allen, the university president, was out of town throughout the summer of 1949, and the paper, according to a

November 1949 letter of Guthman's, delayed publication until his return in hopes that he would take some official action that would provide "a peg" for the Rader stories. Guthman recalls that Todd and McGrath phoned Canwell and informed him of Guthman's evidence, inviting him to visit the *Times* offices. Canwell did not come. When Allen returned, Todd and McGrath decided to bring the evidence to him, hoping that Canwell would join them there. The meeting was finally set, and Guthman began writing day and night, preparing to publish.⁴³

Rader and Guthman differ somewhat in the details of their accounts. Both agree that President Allen asked Canwell to come to his office to review the persuasive case prepared by both Rader and Guthman. Allen wanted Canwell to have the opportunity "to go over the evidence in [Rader's] presence, and . . . if he could not refute it the president would express confidence in [Rader's] innocence."⁴⁴ However, Canwell failed to appear. On the following day, in response to a phone call from Allen, Canwell showed up and spent a tense four hours with Rader, Allen, and Guthman. At the conclusion of the meeting, Allen privately and then publicly exonerated Rader of the accusations made 15 months previously by George Hewitt, basing his decision "on evidence gathered by Rader and the *Seattle Times*." In response to a question put by Guthman, Canwell retorted, "If Rader got a bad deal, it was as much his fault as ours and I'm not convinced he got a bad deal." And he added, "If the *Seattle Times* thinks they can find the [missing] register [pages], let them try."⁴⁵

That afternoon—October 21, 1949—the results of Guthman's investigations hit the newstands in the *Seattle Times*. Under the banner headline, "RED CHARGES OF CANWELL FALSE, U. OF W. RULES, CLEARING RADER," his stories examined each thread of evidence that led from the Canwell hearings to the

King County perjury charges against Hewitt, the abortive New York extradition hearing, and Rader's own movements of more than a decade before.

Two years later, in 1951, Vern Countryman accused the *Post-Intelligencer* and the *Times* of sensationalism in reporting the Canwell committee allegations, which Countryman considered irresponsible smears. *Un-American Activities in the State of Washington* specifically contrasts this noisy flamboyance with the *Times*'s silence in the summer of 1949, when the paper hesitated to publish Guthman's work until the university president had examined the evidence and agreed to clear Rader.⁴⁶ Although the *Times*'s publisher and editors had not only ordered and encouraged the investigation but also submitted Ed Guthman's stories to the Pulitzer Prize committee, on October 21, 1949, they were reluctant to stand firmly behind their reporter and his explosive story.

After his early equivocal column about the university's dilemma of weighing academic freedom against popular outrage over communism, the *Times*'s political writer Ross Cunningham fell

uncharacteristically silent concerning the hearings and their aftermath. He fairly reported the content of Initiative 17, which would have improved legal representation of witnesses subpoenaed to legislative committees and would thereby have legitimized the quasi-judicial function of such ad hoc committees.⁴⁷ However, in the wake of the UW regents' dismissal of the three faculty members, Cunningham wrote that the university was "well on its way to recovery from the stigma of Communist infiltration that had clouded the campus for more than a decade." He cautioned that the institution must remain vigilant and "not renew the public controversy that pinks and reds receive more than ordinary consideration at the University of Washington." Mel Rader was undoubtedly a pink, as Cunningham put it. The columnist's language was colorful and charged; his assumptions were clearly that education had been subverted and that special treatment had sheltered educators on the Left.⁴⁸

The editorial page editor, Carl Brazier, Sr., had employed equally inflammatory language that spring, calling students who protested a ban on

The president of the university, Raymond Allen, here flanked by Canwell and Rader, provided the "peg" on which the *Times* could hang publication of Guthman's stories: he exonerated Rader, thereby shielding the paper. (*Seattle Times* file)



campus soapbox speakers “commie sympathizers.”⁴⁹ In the midst of the Canwell UW hearings, Brazier left town on vacation. When he returned, his column, “Thoughts While Reading the Times,” was devoted to his trip to Yellowstone National Park and other trivia. One searches the editorial pages in vain for any commentary on the activities of the Canwell committee, let alone any broader consideration of its implications. In 1948 and 1949, letters to the editor were ordinarily published at irregular intervals in the *Times*. However, guest columns and letters from readers appeared nearly every day during this period, sprinkled throughout the newspaper. Across a wide spectrum of opinion, these pieces paid attention to the Canwell hearings and the Rader case though the editorial writers were silent and the political commentator was noncommittal at best. Anxious for its readers’ approval in the perilous climate of the cold war, the *Times* relinquished its intellectual and moral authority to those very readers.⁵⁰

Properly, reporters operate independently of columnists and editorial writers, and readers should beware unanimity of thought in a newspaper. And it is certainly risky to interpret the absence of coverage and comment. However, it is significant that the *Times* editorial writers declined to comment on any issues raised by the Canwell hearings. It is significant that the *Times* delayed publication of Guthman’s stories until President Allen had read and been persuaded by them. It is significant that the front page of the *Times* on the day it broke the Guthman material shows a careful balance of headlines critical and supportive of the anti-Communist crusade. And it is significant, too, that Melvin Rader was the most appealing, the most “innocent” of those accused of communism by the Canwell committee. In pursuing his story, the *Times* disclosed the abuse of one man among many; its investigation re-

NIGHT SPORTS FINAL

RED CHARGES OF CANWELL FALSE, U. OF W. RULES, CLEARING RADEI

The Seattle Times
 SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1949. 45 PAGES. PRICE 10¢

10 U. S. Reds Get 5 Years, \$10,000 Fine

Professor Cleared By Dr. Allen

Bail Denied 11 Comm On Appeal



Unfinished Job . . . The left advanced report meeting of the Canwell committee . . .

Professor Cleared By Dr. Allen . . . The University of Washington . . .

Bail Denied 11 Comm On Appeal . . . The federal grand jury . . .

As this photograph of the front page shows, the *Times* presented the Guthman findings in a way that bespoke its own moral equivocation: the anti-Communist copy effectively balances the news that Rader was falsely accused and wrongly censured.

dressed one miscarriage of justice. The preponderance of evidence suggests that the *Seattle Times* proceeded very cautiously with Guthman’s stories in the summer of 1949, worried about popular reaction.

In 1969, a grateful Rader wrote that, in his case, “misrepresentation and blind prejudice had been defeated by fair play and a free press.”⁵¹ Twenty years earlier, after fretting the summer away, he might well have made such a remark with some irony. Rader’s public vindication followed a private exoneration held behind closed doors, a process in which the *Times*, as a business and as a community institution, fully cooperated. Nevertheless, the *Times*’ investigation—cautious as it was—not only paid off for Melvin Rader and Edwin Guthman, but also spurred public scrutiny of the dubious methods of the Canwell committee.

After Guthman’s stories appeared, emboldened members of the press, legislature, and public agitated for access to the secrets of the Canwell files. In April 1950, Canwell finally capitulated

to what he called the “highly suspicious clamor” and produced one of the missing register pages, which listed Mel and Virginia Rader as visiting Canyon Creek Lodge for the day in June 1938. One month later, Mrs. Mueller discovered a cash book that definitely established that the Raders had paid rent through September 5, 1938.⁵² The actual register page for August 1938 has never been found. On May 2, 1950, while rooting around in a file cabinet in Olympia, Ed Guthman learned that he had won a Pulitzer Prize. He exclaimed, “Isn’t that something! I’m certainly surprised, I’ll tell you that. The *Times* submitted the series but I never even figured that it had a chance.”⁵³

Guthman won a Pulitzer Prize; Rader continued to teach; Canwell failed to be reelected, opened a security agency in Spokane, and never served in public office again. In 1984, Albert Canwell “sp[a]t out Guthman’s name through clenched teeth” in an interview with Don Duncan, a columnist from the *Seattle Times*.⁵⁴ Seven years later, he still maintained that Guthman and Coun-

tryman were paid to fabricate the Rader case, that Guthman was a phony journalist, that Countryman was a "professional liar" recruited into the Communist party on the campus of the University of Washington. He believes that McGrath had "removed Ross Cunningham from covering our hearings and insinuat[ed] this commie agent on us. . . . From the day that he was assigned to our committee he was assigned to sabotage us."⁵⁵

In 1955, the press and the legislature finally succeeded in opening the locked room to turn the Canwell files over to the FBI. According to Canwell, Guthman "took the *Times* for a ride in a red wagon" by "pulling the strings" behind the scenes for full disclosure of the files and by trying to manufacture a charge of contempt of the legislature against Canwell.⁵⁶ Canwell had argued vehemently that the committee records were highly sensitive and included his own personal files, which he refused to entrust to anyone. He never wanted these documents to fall into the wrong hands, he said, and had removed them, burning some and microfilming others. So when the file cabinets and safe were finally examined, they were virtually empty, their contents spirited away.

Recently Albert Canwell asserted, "The Canwell Committee wasn't something that came out of the blue. It was an answer to the demands of the people of the state of Washington." He had met those demands as "a one man FBI with no funds," as he puts it, a man who laid his career on the line to get at the facts in the public interest. He is bitter that he became "newsworthy only as a scoundrel" while Countryman, Rader, and Guthman were lionized by journalists and historians. More than 40 years after the fact, Canwell claims proudly, "I submit for the record now . . . that we did an unusually fair job in the handling of these professors . . . we approached it carefully and thoroughly."⁵⁷

Times Readers Have Their Say

WORKMANLIKE JOB

Editor, The Times:

I CAN'T resist taking time out to congratulate you on the Rader story. It is not only a workmanlike job of journalism, but also a fine job of clearing a man's name. I don't know Rader, but mutual friends long ago convinced me that there was more than reasonable doubt the accusations against him were false. You resolved the matter completely.

—R. H. WENSBERG,
Seattle.

* * *

A FORMER STUDENT

Editor, The Times:

MY congratulations for your splendid work in clearing the name of Dr. Melvin Rader from the imputation of communist affiliation. . . . In the summer of 1939, I was a student in one of Dr. Rader's classes at the University and I have always had the highest respect for his abilities and his personal integrity. Naturally I have followed with great interest the effort of my former teacher to vindicate himself. . . . I am deeply gratified that The Seattle Times made itself the means of achieving justice for a man whom I consider to be one of our finest citizens.

—MARY ELLEN KRUG CASE,
Seattle.

FROM A TEACHER

Editor, The Times:

MAY I congratulate you on the fine piece of work The Times has done in bringing to light the real facts behind the unjust accusation of Dr. Rader of the University faculty. Most of us Seattle teachers will welcome this opportunity to point out to our students this example of a good, democratic press in protecting a member of our profession against vilification. This publicity will do much in defeating the general opinion on the part of the reading public that newspapers are "bought and paid for."

—MRS. MAUDE
CHAMBERLEN,
3413 39th Ave. S. W.

* * *

FROM A LAWYER

Editor, The Times:

MY sincere congratulations for the splendid work on the Professor Rader story. . . . In the face of considerable pressure, it is to your great credit that your paper rallied so thoroughly to the cause of Professor Rader. . . . I trust that this story will show to all of us the dangers. . . . We must be very vigilant, but in attempting to protect ourselves from enemies from without we must be very certain that we are not exposing our own principles and democratic concepts. . . . Thanks for your courage and persistence.

—KENNETH A. MacDONALD,
Seattle.

Fearful of repercussions, the *Times* editorially avoided the Rader case throughout the summer but noncommittally published letters to the editor; after Rader was absolved, the letters continued—in praise of the *Times*. Note the letter from Kenneth MacDonald, Jean Schuddakopf's lawyer. (*Times*, Oct. 25, 1948)

It was, I think, very clear cut. A legislative hearing is not a court of law. You do not follow court procedures. You're not obliged to. You don't have the time for all the monkey business and time wasting that attorneys engage in in court. We were a fact-finding committee. We were to take testimony, conduct investigations, make a report to the succeeding legislature. What we would do with testimony would be determined by the nature of it.⁵⁸

In his 1991 interviews, Canwell expressed frustration that the fundamental fact of Rader's complicity in a Communist conspiracy had been obscured by "monkey business"—finicky attention to detail and procedure. "As to Melvin Rader," he believes, "whether or not he was ever at Canyon Creek Lodge or at Briehl's Farm in New York

is not material. . . . What is material is that he thoroughly identified himself as a Communist by fronting for twelve to sixteen major Communist fronts in the Seattle area." Moreover, he contends that the FBI knew that Rader was a Communist yet denied the committee its wiretapped evidence. The question of membership aside, Canwell claims that the Communist party used Rader for his "name and presence and position, and someone like him would be carried along by the party for years and years, and didn't need a card" to identify him.⁵⁹ Canwell remains convinced that Rader, wherever he may have spent summer 1938, was guilty and that Guthman's efforts to clear his name were Communist directed.

Guthman had proven that Mel Rader spent August 1938 in Granite Falls and not at the New York training camp. But, despite Rader's denial, the newspaperman continued to wonder whether the professor had once been a Communist, and he put that question to Terry Pettus, to Barbara Hartle, and to others as they left the party throughout the 1950s. "I asked, 'Was Mel Rader with you guys?' And the answer was always the same: 'We tried like hell to get him but he would never submit to the discipline.'⁶⁰ Today, though Guthman believes that the legislative fact-finding committee was investigating a real cold war danger, he considers Canwell "a zealot and a man with bad judgment" whose committee "abused people's rights . . . [and] was not interested totally in getting the truth, [but in] blackening the reputation of people who had been involved in the Communist movement."⁶¹

In its 1949 recommendations to the legislature, the Canwell committee had

requested that it be allowed to continue its work and that its quasi-judicial powers be broadened to include more severe penalties for contempt and perjury, the punishment of disorderly conduct as contempt, and the right to initiate contempt proceedings directly and not through the courts. Finally, the committee had asked that antiradical legislation define *subversion* not only as Communist party membership but also as active participation in three or more front organizations.⁶² After a year, Albert Canwell had been eager to expand the scope of his operation. But he was out of office, and the legislature shut down the fact-finding committee.

That committee had sprung from shared fear and anger on the cold war home front; its work was facilitated by a press accustomed to self-censorship and to cooperation with government representatives in wartime crisis. But the committee lost sight of its modest purpose as an investigative tool of the legislature and went renegade, mutating into a tribunal, misusing its powers and seeking to extend them. In its zeal to protect the state from subversion, the committee employed subversive tactics. The Canwell committee did not operate behind closed doors—it needed the press to publicize its charges of conspiracy and infiltration, to spread a sense of crisis, to feed anxiety and mistrust. So did its congressional counterpart: Robert Carr's study of HUAC notes that "the process by which the committee's labors and findings have been reported to the American people . . . has become an integral and essential part of the investigation itself," a cooperative process providing a steady diet of sensational material to anxious readers via

uncritical reporters.⁶³

In Washington State's postwar crisis, the Canwell fact-finding committee was almost entirely a creature of the press. As the hearings unfolded amidst a circus of publicity, some members of the press equivocated, some enthusiastically cooperated, and some refused to further the committee's agenda. Ed Guthman did not cooperate. In the Rader case, the *Times* demonstrated the press's extraordinary power of paying careful attention. The Pulitzer Prize committee recognized that an act of profound injustice in Washington had been redressed by meticulous, persistent, disciplined news reporting—by the sort of "fact finding" with which the Canwell committee had itself been charged. The *Times*, in a period of awkward transition from the leadership of the outspoken militarist C. B. Blethen, staked out little moral high ground on its editorial page. Yet, despite its political conservatism, inherited militarism, and innate business caution, despite a dangerous atmosphere of accusation and reprisal, the newspaper eventually met the challenge; it exposed the dedicated zealot who was determined to manipulate the press and shape public opinion.

Lorraine McConaghy has a Ph.D. in history from the University of Washington and works at the Museum of History and Industry in Seattle. Coauthor of *Raise Hell and Sell Newspapers: Alden J. Blethen and the Seattle "Times"* (1996), she is now researching the comparison between Canwell's anticommunism and that of the John Birch Society and other grass-roots radical right groups in the early 1960s.

1. The Canwell committee's investigations of the University of Washington faculty were researched and interpreted by Vern Countryman of the *Times*, Jane Sanders, an independent historian, and Melvin Rader himself. See Countryman, *Un-American*

Activities in the State of Washington (Ithaca, N.Y., 1951), Sanders, *Cold War on the Campus: Academic Freedom at the University of Washington, 1946-64* (Seattle, 1979), and Rader, *False Witness* (Seattle, 1969). In 1981, Gerald Baldasty and Betty

Houchin Winfield published a quantitative analysis of coverage of the Canwell hearings in the *Seattle Times*, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, and *Spokane Spokesman-Review*: "Institutional Paralysis in the Press: The Cold War in Washington State,"

- Journalism Quarterly*, Vol. 58 (1981), 273-78, 285. The transcripts and reports from the hearings themselves were published as Washington State Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, *First Report, Un-American Activities in Washington State, 1948* (Olympia, Wash., 1948), *Second Report, Un-American Activities in Washington State, 1948* (Olympia, 1948); the "Final Report of the Joint Legislative Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities" was read into Washington State House Journal, February 1949.
2. Edwin Otto Guthman, 1994, oral history transcript, Seattle Times Oral History Project. Oral history interviews were recorded with Guthman and Henry MacLeod for the newspaper's historical archives; however, these files are not currently open to general researchers. Albert Canwell's oral history interviews were conducted by Timothy Frederick for the Washington State Oral History Program in 1991 and published as *Albert F. Canwell: An Oral History* (Olympia, 1997); however, page numbers in this article correspond to those of an earlier, unedited transcript (cited as unedited transcript) in the Washington State Archives, Olympia.
 3. House Concurrent Resolution No. 10, reprinted in "First Report," v. See also Countryman, 25-71.
 4. House Concurrent Resolution, vi-vii.
 5. Unedited transcript, 295-310, 342, 454.
 6. *Ibid.*, 373.
 7. Farley quoted in Sanders, 17.
 8. Unedited transcript, 457.
 9. "Final Report," 1.
 10. Guthman oral history, 29.
 11. Countryman, titles to chaps. 1 and 2.
 12. See Sharon Boswell and Lorraine McConaghy, *Raise Hell and Sell Newspapers: Alden J. Blethen and the Seattle "Times"* (Pullman, Wash., 1996). For Blethen's military bearing, see "Local Boys Make Good: The Goose-Stepping Editor," typescript history of Washington State journalism, Works Progress Administration, Washington State Historical Society Archives, Tacoma.
 13. *Post-Intelligencer* (hereafter cited as *P-I*), Dec. 13, 1946.
 14. Guthman oral history, 23-24.
 15. Countryman, 14; Canwell unedited transcript, 476. Also, Countryman briefly describes the formative role of the *P-I* editor Ed Stone in the politics of this period (pp. 293-94, 395), and Sanders (chap. 1) notes the Richard Peltó interviews, Richard Peltó Papers, University of Washington Libraries, which also concern Stone and Niendorff's shaping of the Canwell committee.
 16. Unedited transcript, 424, 713 (commie), 424 (Cunningham quoted), 420 (phony), and 424 (plant).
 17. *Ibid.*, 392, 422, 476, and 418 (qtn.). See Guthman oral history, 25, 35.
 18. For Bienz's speech, *Times*, March 27, 1948; unedited transcript, 418.
 19. Sanders, 24-26; *Times*, April 9, 1948.
 20. *Times*, June 13, 1948.
 21. Unedited transcript, 513.
 22. *Times*, July 19, 1948.
 23. Sanders, 36-39; *Times*, July 14, 1948.
 24. Unedited transcript, 493.
 25. *Times*, July 23, 1948. Also see *Second Report*, 208-10: Sarah Eldridge maintained that it was irrelevant whether or not Rader actually belonged to the Communist party, noting, "When you see a bird that looks like a duck, walks like a duck and quacks like a duck, it's a duck" (p. 210).
 26. Rader, 57-63. Canwell and Rader differ fundamentally in their accounts of this abortive encounter. Canwell maintains that Rader saw Hewitt and rushed away, refusing to confront him. Niendorff (*P-I*, July 23, 1948) also refers to this "dramatic encounter," which Rader insists was misinterpreted. According to Rader, Canwell summoned him to his office on the lunch break; Rader did not see Hewitt but saw that his own attorney, Ed Henry, was not present, and so he left.
 27. Rader, 62-63, 64-80. Also see Countryman, 286-321.
 28. *Second Report*, 317-33. Melvin Rader, *No Compromise: The Conflict between Two Worlds* (New York, 1939). This book was "a philosophical study of the conflict between democracy and Fascism," according to Rader (*False Witness*, 41).
 29. Unedited transcript, 599, refers to intellectuals from "the soft disciplines that don't require a lot of brains."
 30. Countryman, 142-43, 188 (Allen quoted).
 31. See Sanders, esp. 73-81, 86; and Countryman, 272-76; Rader, *False Witness*, 116.
 32. *Second Report*, 383-84. See also *Times*, Feb. 4, 1949.
 33. *Times*, Feb. 24, 1949 (Hodde quoted), April 12 and 13 (pockets), 1949.
 34. Countryman, 286-331, specifically 289-312 for efforts to extradite Hewitt; Rader, *False Witness*, 130-42. Judge quoted in New York *Times*, May 13, 1949.
 35. Todd and McGrath quoted in Guthman oral history, 27. See also Rader, *False Witness*, 145, and Countryman, 317-20.
 36. Guthman oral history, 1-15, 26 (qtn.); *Times*, May 2, 1950.
 37. Rader, *False Witness*, 81-87, 145-46. Also, *Times*, Oct. 21 and 22, 1949.
 38. Mueller quoted in Guthman oral history, 27.
 39. *Ibid.*, 27-29.
 40. Unedited transcript, 644, 512, 543, 715.
 41. Rader, *False Witness*, 151, 146 (qtn.).
 42. Sanders, 18; Countryman, 151-52.
 43. Countryman, 317-18; Guthman oral history, 28, 33. Rader, *False Witness*, 151-55, notes that the *Times*'s William K. Blethen also phoned Canwell.
 44. The general area of disagreement between Guthman and Rader concerns who took the initiative with President Allen and who pursued the encounter. Allen quoted in Rader, *False Witness*, 152; Guthman oral history, 28-40. Cf. Countryman, 317-20.
 45. Canwell quoted in *Times*, Oct. 21, 1949. See also Guthman oral history, 43.
 46. Countryman, 394-95.
 47. *Times*, Dec. 23, 1948.
 48. *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1949. Ross Cunningham is no longer living. Although Canwell remembers Cunningham commenting that Guthman was a Communist plant, Guthman regards Cunningham as a generous mentor and an excellent journalist.
 49. Brazier quoted in Sanders, 32.
 50. *Times*, July 25, Aug. 3, 1948, Oct. 25, 1949. See also Baldasty and Winfield for an analysis of the *Times* coverage in terms of story placement, story sources, and "direction" of coverage—whether neutral, positive, or negative. Their work supports the more qualitative interpretation offered in this essay, namely, that the *Times* provided somewhat more negative coverage than the *P-I* and considerably more positive coverage than the *Spokesman-Review*.
 51. Rader, *False Witness*, 155.
 52. *Times*, April 16, 24 (Canwell quoted), 1950. See also Countryman, 38-44.
 53. *Times*, May 2, 1950. Also see Guthman oral history, 38-44.
 54. *Times*, Oct. 21, 1984.
 55. Unedited transcript, 543, 615-16 (liar), 463, 713 (commie).
 56. *Ibid.*, 779, 785. See also Guthman oral history, 49-50; *Times*, Feb. 11, 22, and March 2, 1955.
 57. Unedited transcript, 518, 539, 618, 513.
 58. *Ibid.*, 601.
 59. Unedited transcript, 720 (1st qtn.), 534, 537, 716 (2d qtn.). See also [*Third Report*,] 16: "When a professor consistently follows the Party Line and espouses all of their causes you may be certain that for all intents and purposes he is a Communist. . . . When a professor places himself in this questionable position, the burden is not on the state . . . to prove that (he is a card-carrying Party member)."
 60. Guthman oral history, 34.
 61. *Ibid.*, 24. See also *Times*, May 2, 1950.
 62. Countryman, 353.
 63. Carr quoted in James Aronson, *The Press and the Cold War* (New York, 1970), 75.