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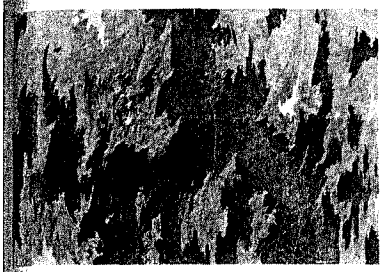

Cover Detail of Clyfford Still's Untitled (PH920), 1974, oil on canvas, 114 by 172 inches (entire painting reproduced above). This big, brand-new Still is one of 28 paintings, spanning all stages of his career, recently given by the artist to the San Francisco Museum of Art. The museum's show of these works (with several more added), Jan. 4–March 14, 1976, will be the first Still exhibition since 1969. See article p. 70.

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The '30s: Art, Ideology and the WPA

The WPA era, when artists of all descriptions received regular federal paychecks, was a seedbed for the post-war triumphs of American art, but its true character remains imperfectly understood. The political circumstances and social and psychological effects of WPA—along with the rarely discussed but crucial role of the Communist Party—are investigated here.

BY GERALD M. MONROE

Renewed interest in the years of the Great Depression—some of it superficial and nostalgic, preoccupied with the movies and the decorative arts, and some of it more probing—has been spurred by the growing malaise of our economy. A peculiarly apt direction for this interest to take is a consideration of the experience of American artists in the '30s, an experience that may be significant for the art world of the '70s. As we anticipate possible renewal of large-scale government art patronage, we may see certain parallels with the first great wave of government support. And in the wake of the collapse, around 1970, of the art community's political will, we might learn much from the difficulties faced by artists of that earlier decade when they tried to work with politicians and, especially interesting, when they tried to work with each other. Though parallels between artists' activism then and in the '60s are far from exact—the Communist Party is not the antiwar movement, and the National Endowment is not the WPA—the history of relations among artists, art institutions and esthetic and political ideologies in the '30s may well be freshly relevant to our comprehension of the recent past and, perhaps, of the near future as well.

A central factor in the '30s was the pervasive influence of the Communist Party. This has been a stumbling-block, ever since, in the way of thorough and dispassionate critical attention to the art and artists of the period. The intervening pressures of the witch-hunts and the Cold War have long contributed to preserving our ignorance of this time when a great many artists were overtly radicalized. But we are starting to see fissures in the wall of silence that still surrounds the subject, and it may now be possible to begin righting the historical record. This article will attempt to trace some aspects of the influence of Communism and the Communist Party on the artists of the '30s.

Even in the bleakest days of the Depression, the Communist Party achieved no real political power in the U.S., but the appeal of Marxist ideology for American intellectuals and artists was potent. Artists in relatively large numbers turned to the programs of the Party and were influenced to varying degrees by its view of their role in society. Indeed, for many artists it was the first time they were able to feel that they had *any* role in society. Today the issues appear far more complex. The specific dogmas that seemed to promise so much in the '30s now hold only a kind of antiquarian charm, yet our cynicism sometimes mixes with a yearning for a moral equivalent of the Depression. Artists of that earlier time may have felt insecure and rebellious, but they did not feel alienated. Most important, it was a time when it did seem possible that the concerted efforts of idealistically motivated individuals could create a more just society.

Cultural organizations proliferated in great numbers. Many of these were radical in their aims and took cues from the Communist Party, which, indeed, often sponsored them directly. However, the event that most directly affected the artists was the government's decision to sponsor large-scale patronage of the arts in the form of work-relief. At one time or another during a period of eight years, 1935–43, about 12,000 artists received a federal paycheck to produce murals, easel paintings, sculpture, prints or posters, to teach art to children and adults or to work in peripheral art activities.

Beyond the fact of direct financial benefit, the social, psychological and professional effects of the WPA programs were of great significance. At a time when there were few opportunities to exhibit or sell, artists found a ready client in the U.S. Government, whose art administrators sought to sustain a mass base of professionals that would nurture the cultural life of the country. In effect, the government, through the collective nature of its art programs, literally created a community of artists. Thus brought together, artists turned to each other for stimulation, recognition of their achievements and confirmation of their life style. The universal weekly pay of $23.50 (not munificent, but adequate in those days) promoted an egalitarian atmosphere conducive to mutual respect. And because candidates for work relief had to be drawn from relief rolls, vast numbers of young people from the poorest social classes, many of recent immigrant stock, were able to launch themselves in art careers.

The successes of postwar American art have made much of the art of the '30s look naive. (It should be remembered, however, that many of the leaders of the New York School came from these poor immigrant origins and/or began their careers under the aegis of the WPA.) European-derived avant-garde styles were de-emphasized; most artists were working in variants of the American-Scene or Social-Realist styles then being promoted by much of the American art establishment. It is worth noting that these styles had huge popular as well as critical support, and were in keeping with the idealistic New Deal belief in the possibility of cultural change and the social responsibility of the artist. History has not been kind to art of the Depression era. The chauvinism of American-Scene art appears as provincial now as the polemics of Social Realism. But the artist of the '30s could feel he was moving within the mainstream of American life, responding to the cataclysmic events of the time.

Prominent among the radical cultural organizations that emerged during the late 1920s and early 1930s under the guidance of the American Communist Party were the Workers Dance League, the Workers Music League, the Theatre Collective and—most important of all—the John Reed Club.[1] Founded in October 1929 as a club of revolutionary writers and artists, it soon had branches in more than a dozen cities; the New York City chapter included many leading radical intellectuals and was closely connected to *New Masses*, the popular art and literary journal controlled by the Party. The declared aim of the club was "furthering cultural activities of the working class and aiding the revolutionary movement in whatever way may be possible,"[2] and as the American affiliate of the Moscow-based International Union of Proletarian Writers and Artists, it bore primary responsibility for organizing

Author: Gerald M. Monroe teaches painting and drawing at Glassboro (N.J.) State College; he received a National Endowment fellowship last year to study relationships between art and politics in the 1930s.

proletarian culture in the United States.

Young artists starting their careers in the early '30s were drawn to the symposiums, lectures and exhibitions at the club's loft in Greenwich Village. During a period when capitalism seemed to be disintegrating, the John Reed Club offered disaffected artists a sense of unity with the working class and the heady feeling they could serve the revolution while working at their art. Club policy was unabashedly sectarian; members were either Communist or fellow-travelers. At the 1932 convention of the John Reed Clubs, discussion centered mainly on the proselytizing of fellow-travelers; a resolution was adopted calling upon them "to abandon decisively the treacherous illusion that art can exist for art's sake or that the artist can remain remote from the historic conflicts in which all men must take sides." They were further urged to "join with the literary and artistic movement of the working class in forging a new art that will be a weapon in the battle for a new and superior world."[3]

The cultural attitude of the American Communist Party was, like its political program, developed in accordance with prototypes in the Soviet Union. Despite Lenin's dictum that all aspects of life were to be guided by the Party, the arts had been relatively free in Russia for a short period following the Revolution. Throughout most of the '20s, and especially after the death of Lenin in 1924, the Soviet Communist Party was torn with bitter political rivalries profoundly affecting the cultural life of the country. Conflict centered not only on the problem of appropriate artistic style but also on the proper function of art in a Communist society and the degree to which it should be controlled by the Party. Late in the decade, as Stalin overcame his opponents, a single ideology was developed and imposed for the arts, resulting in a de-emphasis of esthetic considerations in favor of political consciousness.

Inasmuch as the American Communist Party was controlled by Stalinists, its chief ideologues concurred with official Soviet policy. Mike Gold, an editor of *New Masses* and a founder of the John Reed Club, warned his readers against "the temperamental bohemian left, the stale Paris posing, the professional poetizing, etc." Communist culture promised "the real thing: a knowledge of working-class life in America gained from first-hand contacts and hard precise philosophy of 1929 based on economics, not verbalisms."[4]

Gold was a member of the eight-man American delegation that went to the Second Congress of the Union of Revolutionary Writers at Kharkov in the Ukraine in November 1930; artist delegates were William Gropper and Fred Ellis, leading political cartoonists for the American Communist press. This congress adopted the concept of proletarian culture (Proletcult) as the official Communist esthetic, and an international bureau was founded to guide its implementation. A report issued by the American delegation outlined the official American program for *New Masses* and the John Reed Club: radicalized intellectuals were not unwelcome (it was considered that their social outlook could be "clarified"); however, the primary focus was to be on the stimulation of cultural activities among the working classes, with special attention paid to the development of Negro artists and writers. Also called for in the American program were the organization of an art school, the strengthening of the ideological content of art works, the holding of lectures and exhibitions at workers' clubs and the development of "shock troops" to serve the labor press (doing political cartoons, illustrations and related art work). If the work of art—at least in a formal sense—had little value for Proletcult, the artist-as-worker was seen as having a useful role to play.

Proletcult's highly utilitarian and antiformalist bias was troublesome to many artists having more developed esthetic viewpoints, but it did not prevent them from performing the movement's mundane art-related tasks. And many artists *were,* in fact, convinced that revolutionary content conferred an importance on their profession far greater than that provided by catering to bourgeois taste. Proletcult theorists assured them that workers place a higher value on art than the cultured classes. While subsequent experience has not supported that assertion (to say the least), many of the artists in the John Reed Club happily ministered to their proletarian audience and even sought its judgment. *Daily Worker* and *New Masses* artist Joseph Pass reported the complaint of a worker at an exhibition that the artists always depicted policemen beating workers: why not have a worker smash a cop once in a while? While painting a mural at the headquarters of the *Daily Worker,* Phil Bard cheerfully corrected "errors" pointed out to him by workers and students: a Sam Brown Belt worn by an officer was wrong, a priest was much too thin, etc.[5]

Concerned primarily with political problems, the Party showed less interest in the problems of art than is sometimes assumed. Artists were welcomed for the services they performed and, to the extent that they had reputations, for the prestige they brought to the movement. All John Reed Club artists subscribed to the broad Proletcult concept of the ultimate source of patronage of the arts in the working class—but not all would forego "formalist" considerations of concern with style. Louis Lozowick, one of the founders of the club and of *New Masses,* wrote in 1931 that revolutionary artists had profited from experiments in art during the previous 25 years and were gradually working toward a "synthetic" style (one conscious of new stylistic developments) that would most effectively deliver the socialist message.[6]

Most Party criticism of artists was corrective rather than condemnatory in tone, intended to chastise the errant and bring them into close identification with current policy. (Cases in which deviation was absolutely condemned normally involved political issues.) In January 1933 the John Reed Club opened its most ambitious exhibition: 200 works by 101 artists gathered under the title, "The Social Viewpoint in Art." Many well-known artists were invited to participate along with Club members. The inclusion of Thomas Hart Benton, John Steuart Curry, George Biddle, Stuart Davis, Pop Hart, Kenneth Hayes Miller, Glenn Coleman and Abraham Walkowitz assured a relatively tame view of the class struggle and inevitably led to controversy. In a harsh *New Masses* review, John Kwait complained that more than half the works in the show expressed no revolutionary idea and that the picturesque renderings of cowboys, crap shooters and fat shoppers flattered the ruling class and pleased bourgeois critics. Kwait also opined that easel paintings destined for studio storage were ineffectual weapons in the class struggle. A more instructive show, to his mind, would feature prints, newspaper cartoons, posters and banners. Jacob Burck, one of the exhibition's organizers, defended it with the claim that it served a historic function by demonstrating a general movement leftward, toward social art and away from "bananas and prisms." Burck predicted that the invited artists would soon realize that their viewpoints were insufficiently militant, that only a revolutionary viewpoint was capable of producing vital

Artists in court, Dec. 3, 1936: New York City's biggest police bust (until then) carried off 219 artists in 11 paddy wagons from a sit-in organized by the Artists Union to protest budget cuts at the offices of the F.A.P.; a week later all were found guilty of disorderly conduct and given suspended sentences.

and dramatic art. They would then, he believed, become attracted to the cultural programs of the Club.[7]

A priority of the U.S. Communist Party during the early years of the Depression was the organization of the unemployed. Many radical artists were active in the Communist-controlled Unemployed Councils and participated in such militant actions as street demonstrations and eviction battles with city marshals. But the idea that they might constitute a category of the unemployed was slow in occurring to artists. Its first practical manifestation was a modest work program for indigent artists initiated in December 1932 by the College Art Association.

A more decisive and radical move came in September 1933, when, at the suggestion of the Cultural Commission of the Party, the executive board of the John Reed Club encouraged a group of its younger members to organize "unemployed" artists and agitate for a government art-patronage program. This deliberately challenged the conventional view of the artist as an independent entrepreneur. The demand for a regular paycheck represented an important innovation in the self-concept of artists who adopted it. (A decade earlier, Mexican artists had organized the Syndicate of Technical Workers, Painters and Sculptors, which convinced the Ministry of Education to hire its members to paint murals at regular hourly wages—thus establishing a situation crucial to the success of the world-renowned Mexican mural movement.)

The young artists of the John Reed Club circulated a proclamation calling for a program of mural painting and other art projects, declaring that "the State, by patronizing public art at this time can eliminate once and for all the unfortunate dependence of American artists upon the caprice of private patronage."[8] Referring to themselves as the Unemployed Artists Group, within a matter of weeks they were attracting hundreds of followers to meetings and demonstrations.

By this time the government was experimenting with various forms of work-relief and was responsive to groups that were not only needy but were also able to state their case with vigor and persistence. The Unemployed Artists Group achieved moderate success early on in obtaining work for its members from a variety of federal and state programs. By February 1934, it felt confident enough to rent a loft and change its name to the Artists Union. Aware that it would stand a better chance of getting patronage if it eschewed formal relations with the Communist Party or the John Reed Club, the Union adopted a constitution declaring that it was a "non-political, non-sectarian mass organization of artists."

The Artists Union's membership passed 700 in the fall of 1934 and more than doubled the following year, which saw the advent, in August, of the WPA's Federal Art Project. Other federal projects were formed for music, theater and writing, and all were represented by craft unions; but the Artists Union was the most aggressive and imaginative in promoting work relief for its members and in deterring mass dismissals from the Federal Projects. It also won for its members the highest allowable WPA wages, plus notably free and flexible working conditions, proportional attention for the large percentage of American artists living in New York City and generous exceptions to the usually stringent requirement that recipients of work-relief be virtually destitute.

A well-earned reputation for activism brought Artists-Union members frequent requests to join other unions and left-wing groups in picket lines and demonstrations. Calls for volunteers at the Wednesday evening membership meetings invariably produced a sea of raised hands. Depending on the agenda, between 200 and 600 artists and guests would attend these lively and entertaining events. Afterward, they would drift off to their favorite cafeterias and bars to continue heated discussion on union matters, art and politics. In addition to fulfilling its primary economic role, the Union sponsored dances, lectures, symposiums and exhibitions, and for three years it published *Art Front*,[9] surely the most vibrant art journal of the period. But for the WPA pay line, the Union's loft was the paramount meeting-place for artists in New York.

The interconnections between the nominally non-political Union, artists of all political persuasions and the Communist Party were complex. Artists were drawn to the Union because it promised answers to their economic and professional problems; once involved, many became politicized. Non-Communists could and did become officers of the Union, but the leadership remained in the hands of Party members and fellow-travelers, largely owing to their greater appetite for the (unpaid) organizational work. Like all unions or cultural organizations in which the Party was interested, the Artists Union had a "fraction," meaning the Party members who met regularly in a group to mediate their differences and plan strategy. This was a standard means of formalizing a separation between the Party and the general membership of such organizations as the Union. Party membership was never openly discussed in the Union, and fraction meetings were not held at its loft. However, the secretary of the fraction had close ties to the Party and was expected to represent its wishes.

Many artists in the Union wanted to support the Communists but were unable to cope with Party discipline. The only time senior Party officials came to a fraction meeting to indoctrinate the artists was a disaster. When Israel Amter, the state district chairman of the Party, urged them to devote more time to Party work, one artist retorted that they needed time for their own work and that the Party could not expect them to sacrifice their creative lives. Another inquired if it were not possible to serve the Party within the normal context of their activities as artists. In reply, Amter reminded them that he had given up a promising career as a violinist for the more pressing needs of the people; he asked them to be comrades first and artists second. The discussion took an abrupt turn when painter Max Schnitzler jumped to his feet. "I want to inform the distinguished comrades from the district committee," he cried, "that they are full of shit!" This broke up the meeting, and the Party lost members that night.[10]

And yet, despite some resentment over what they perceived as the insensitivity and intrusiveness of the Party, few artists felt they could escape the serious political events of the time by slamming their studio doors. A sense of crisis was not abstract and distant but real and personal. Almost two decades later, Stuart Davis wrote that early in 1934 the artists were "shoved together by mutual distress." At the time, Davis was working with Arshile Gorky, among others, to organize artists for various political and economic causes. "I took the business as seriously as the serious situation demanded and devoted much time to organizational work [but Gorky] still wanted to play." By "play" Davis obviously meant work in the studio. Davis never resumed his friendship with Gorky. Feelings about such matters ran deep, and many friends parted in bitterness over political disagreements.[11]

George Dmitrov, the general secretary of the Comintern, called in August 1935 for an end to extreme sectarianism, thus signaling a world-wide change in Communist policy. This was the beginning of the "Popular Front" against fascism. In the U.S. the Communist Party adopted the slogan "Communism Is 20th-Century Americanism," and its aims became easy to support: resistance to fascism at home and abroad, organization of labor unions, support for New Deal measures. The number of actual Party members in the Artists Union jumped from about 60 in early 1935 to several hundred in early 1939, an increase inspired by a combination of the Party's new respectability, lessened demands of membership and the identification of the artist's economic security with the organizational effectiveness of the Communists in the Union's leadership. Most of these fledgling Communists were not organizationally active; fraction meetings were poorly attended and were called less and less frequently. Of necessity, a more compact "leading fraction" of the most involved members evolved to plan strategy.

The Popular Front period saw the Union's efforts being spread increasingly thin. The Union was asked to send delegates to a seemingly endless series of conferences under the auspices of "front" organizations. At just one executive board meeting, the officers agreed to cooperate in one way or another with the Committee to Defend Student Rights, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the Conference of Inalienable Rights, the National Negro Congress and the Jewish Peoples Committee Conference. Some other left-wing groups supported by the Union were the American League for Peace and Democracy, American Peace

Mobilization, International Labor Defense and the American Friends of the Chinese People.[12]

Probably the most enthusiastically embraced Party-sponsored cause of the Popular Front period was the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the American military unit of 2,000 volunteers that fought on the Loyalist side in the Spanish Civil War. About 35 members of the Artists Union enlisted in the battalion, and several of them died in combat.[13] On the home front, Union artists plunged eagerly into all sorts of fund-raising activities on behalf of the Loyalists.

One casualty of the Popular Front was the John Reed Club, which was too closely identified with the rejected sectarian policy. It was simply abandoned by the Party, which, to help replace it, covertly sponsored the formation of a new organization restricted to artists who had achieved professional recognition: the American Artists Congress. The elitist Congress now became the front organization par excellence, attracting hundreds of non-Communists with its praiseworthy slogan "For Peace, for Democracy, for Cultural Progress."

The middle years of the Depression were exhilarating for most of the artists in the Union. They were stimulated by the political issues of the time and were more than pleased to be receiving a steady wage. Meanwhile, they harbored the erroneous assumption, based on the vast scale of federal art-patronage, that the nation would make a permanent commitment to the arts that might be embodied in a cabinet post or government agency. Most WPA workers—carpenters, bricklayers, engineers—dreamed of the day when they could get real jobs in industry, but the artists cherished government patronage and sought to make it permanent. Easel painters required to submit only one painting every six weeks to justify a weekly stipend were not likely to find so understanding a patron elsewhere. These were bleak times for most of America, but WPA artists were deeply cheered by an apparent dovetailing of the New Deal notion that art might be a public resource with the radical concept of the proletariat as the ultimate patron of the arts. In the face of it, they could convince themselves that they were forging a new role for the artist in a new society which, moreover, they were helping to create.

But this was wishful thinking, entertained in ignorance of the mood of Congress, the media and the public, none of which was much enchanted by a vision of the artist as a cultural worker performing an essential public service and entitled to federal employment. It should be emphasized that Congress itself did not create any of the arts projects; they were initiated by President Roosevelt's executive decision and provided for out of general WPA funds. Both arts-project agencies and their individual artist-employees were under frequent attack from Congressional committees, the recurrent charge being that they were subversive and under Communist influence. Actually, the arts projects from the start had enjoyed only minimal political support. On two occasions Artists Union-sponsored legislation was introduced in Congress that would have made them a permanent government agency. The first time, the bill never made it out of committee; the second time, it was roundly defeated by a vote of 195 to 35.

In January 1938, the Artists Union joined the CIO, figuring that affiliation with a national union would increase its leverage for expanding and stabilizing the art project. Because of its relatively small size (about 2,000 members in 1938),[14] the Union could not justify a national charter of its own, so it became the United American Artists, Local 60 of the United Office and Professional Workers of America (UOPWA), a Communist-controlled white-collar union in the CIO. For radical artists fully committed to the concept of the artist as cultural worker, joining the CIO was a popular and seemingly natural step. It created an illusion of stability and a sense of participation in the mainstream of American life. But the benefits of the affiliation were not as anticipated; at best, it achieved some bureaucratic efficiency, but at the sacrifice of the free-wheeling spontaneity and independence of the earlier period. The Union, now the UAA, moved its headquarters uptown—a shock for many of the artists, who preferred the informal character of the Village location. No longer was there a large open space in which artists might congregate. Partitioned offices and an expensive dropped ceiling made for an uninspiring ambience.

By the spring of 1939, Congressional foes of all the arts projects were pressing for their dismemberment, and although the art project was able to continue for another four years, it did so on a steadily diminishing basis. The erosion of government patronage, coupled with the Congressional witch-hunts then beginning, took its inevitable toll on the membership and influence of the Union. In May 1942, the artists still in the organization voted to disband it.

Artists were drawn into the orbit of the Communist Party not only because it seemed to offer the radical economic solutions that the times demanded but also because of its passionate championing of justice and brotherhood. For a while everyone within the radical camp was convinced he was riding the wave of the future. The price of comradeship could be high, with political, professional and personal relations fused in incessant activity within a milieu where loyalty and dedication were counted as prime requisites. Humanist convictions may have caused many artists to adopt naive notions about their profession—ideas that art could educate, that their efforts were avidly sought by the working class, that artists were like other "workers," that proletarian taste could provide the basis for a great art movement. But something important happened in American culture in the '30s, and if our understanding of it is to grow, as it must, we will require a vastly better understanding of the influence wielded by Communist thought and activity on the artists of that time. □

1. Reed, an American journalist who covered the Eastern Front during World War I and wrote a book about the Russian Revolution, *Ten Days That Shook the World,* was one of the organizers of the Communist Labor Party in the United States; he died of typhus in Moscow in 1920, was buried in the Kremlin wall and became an early hero to American Communists.
2. A. B. Magil, "John Reed Clubs," *Daily Worker,* Nov. 11, 1930.
3. "Draft Manifesto of the John Reed Club," *New Masses,* June 1932.
4. Mike Gold, "Go Left, Young Writers!" *New Masses,* Jan. 1929.
5. Joseph Pass, "At a Workers' Art Exhibit," April 1930; Walt Carmon, "Phil Bard: American Artist," *International Literature,* No. 5, 1934.
6. Louis Lozowick, "Art in the Service of the Proletariat," *Literature of the World Revolution,* No. 4, 1931.
7. John Kwait, "John Reed Club Art Exhibition," *New Masses,* Feb. 1933; Jacob Burck, "Sectarianism in Art," *New Masses,* March 1933. Burck later became a popular political cartoonist for the bourgeois Chicago Sun-Times and won a Pulitzer Prize in 1941.
8. Statement (Sept. 27, 1933) of the Artists Groups of the Emergency Work Bureau. Collection Gerald Monroe.
9. For a history and analysis of the magazine, see Gerald Monroe, "Art Front," *Archives of American Art Journal,* Vol. 13, No. 3, 1973, reprinted in *Studio International,* Sept, 1974. Among the artists and writers whose work appeared in the magazine were Ben Shahn, Stuart Davis, George Grosz, Harold Rosenberg, Balcomb Greene, Louis Aragon, Meyer Schapiro and Berenice Abbott. The editorial policy of *Art Front* was not doctrinaire, and many of its editors and contributors were non-Communists.
10. This incident was told to the author by several of the artists who were present, including Schnitzler.
11. Stuart Davis, "Arshile Gorky in the 1930s," *Magazine of Art,* Feb. 1951. Because he was trusted by both liberals and radicals, Davis was able to play a leading role in organizing artists during the period. Gorky was a member of the Union and even participated in some cultural activities, but was skeptical of the active organizers. After a disagreement with the Union's executive board, he stormed out shouting, "There are artists and there are organizers!"
12. All of these organizations—and the Union—were cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee.
13. Sculptor Paul Brock, who had become a hero of the Artists Union when he was brutally beaten by New York police while leading a Union sit-in demonstration in December 1936, was mortally wounded nine months later in Belchite, Spain, where he was commander of the Battalion's Third Company. Phil Bard, an early president of the Union, was in the first group of volunteers to arrive in Spain and was elected "commissar" of the American base. Illness forced his return to the U.S., where he organized aid for the American volunteers.
14. This figure does not include the Union's affiliates in other cities, which are not considered to any extent in this article. Most of them were very small.