

begin to know, that war is absolutely inevitable between the Soviet Union and the United States. There is no more denying that fact than it is possible to deny that Lenin and Stalin wrote hundreds of books and pamphlets and as their every action from the time of the founding of the Soviet government has been in line with precisely that ultimate aim. I am not here to say that it will be tomorrow, or next year, or within the decade, but I know that American policy based upon any other assumption is based upon a fallacy and I'm glad to believe that the responsible administrators of our foreign policy know that and the policy is fixed upon that regardless of public expression. War is inevitable and the consequences for Communists in the United States must be understood by them in that light. Sabotage, espionage and treason will no more be tolerated from American citizens, who owe their sole allegiance to the Kremlin, than it was tolerated by those young Americans who landed on the shores of this country from Nazi Germany and went straight to the electric chair in the city of Washington. Their positions were absolutely identical in principle and if the country goes to war and when it goes to war their positions will, in all likelihood be identical, they promise.

MR. HOUSTON: Doctor, I certainly want to thank you for the sacrifice you've made in leaving your busy position and coming this far, 3,000 miles from home to assist us in better understanding this problem and laying down for us the pattern of the Communist Party in the field of education. Just one or two things that were not made clear yesterday came to me.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

DR. MATTHEWS: No, sir.

MR. HOUSTON: You made five trips to Russia?

DR. MATTHEWS: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have engaged in the teaching profession for some fourteen years?

DR. MATTHEWS: That is correct.

MR. HOUSTON: And you have spent practically your lifetime in study of research on the subject you've discussed today.

DR. MATTHEWS: The largest part of my adult years.

MR. HOUSTON: Your adult years.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I have been told by the witness if the chairman or the Committee have any questions—if not, we ask that he be excused.

DR. MATTHEWS: Thanks.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We thank you sincerely, Dr. Matthews, for your contribution to our hearing and hope we may see you again.

Now, if this meets with your program I would like to call a recess for about ten minutes.

MR. HOUSTON: Would you make it very short?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will be in recess for approximately ten minutes.

(Recess)

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: The hearing will now be in session.

TESTIMONY OF H. C. ARMSTRONG Member House of Representatives

H. C. ARMSTRONG, called as a witness after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

BY MR. HOUSTON:

MR. HOUSTON: I believe, Mr. Armstrong that you were here, were you not, yesterday when we instructed the witnesses that this is being recorded and to answer audibly and not with nods, and to speak quite distinctly and to spell unusual names.

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Please state your name.

MR. ARMSTRONG: H. C. Armstrong.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you live in the city of Seattle—

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON:—Mr. Armstrong—How long have you been a resident of Seattle?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Forty odd years.

MR. HOUSTON: Forty odd years. What is your occupation, Mr. Armstrong?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Appraiser.

MR. HOUSTON: Are you, or have you been a member of the Legislature of the State of Washington?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I am.

MR. HOUSTON: And have been for a number of years, have you not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Going on twelve years.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Armstrong, just for the records sake, I will ask you are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have been.

MR. HOUSTON: During what period of time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Spring of 1936 till the summer of 1940. A little over four years.

MR. HOUSTON: And during that period of time you attended meetings of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall to what unit you belonged?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I belonged to, as far as I can recall, three different units during that time.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you recall those different units?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Will you name them for us?

MR. ARMSTRONG: The first unit I belonged to was the so called Clandestine or Professional Unit, I believe the number was fifty—composed mostly of the intelligentsia connected with the University of Washington, the professors and students—some of them graduates of the University of Washington. The second unit I belonged to was composed of the employees of King County Road district No. 3. The third unit I belonged to was the unit of my legislative district No. 33.

Fraction Meetings in Legislature

MR. HOUSTON: In addition to these different units that you belonged to and met with, you sat in quite some number of fraction meetings, have you not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have.

MR. HOUSTON: Fraction meetings of the heads of the different important sections of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: These even included meetings in the Legislature, did they not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

Names Many Former Communists

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, do you know a man by the name of Joseph Butterworth?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: What was the occasion of your meeting Joseph Butterworth?

MR. ARMSTRONG: In the meetings of the so-called Professional Unit of the University district, out there and also the time when we were called together in the Butterworth home to meet with Earl Browder.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, can you approximate the time that these meetings were held—what year?

MR. ARMSTRONG: The meetings of the so-called Professional Unit took place in the fall and winter of 1936 and the spring of 1937.

MR. HOUSTON: **Your testimony would be that Joseph Butterworth was a member of the Communist Party in the year 1936 and 1937, of your own personal knowledge?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **That's right.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Now, you state that you attended a meeting of the Communist Party at which Earl Browder was present in the home of Joseph Butterworth, is that your testimony?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **That is correct.**

MR. HOUSTON: Will you describe this meeting for us?

MR. ARMSTRONG: The method of arriving at the meeting?

MR. HOUSTON: Yes.

MR. ARMSTRONG: I was informed, possibly two or three days before that the meeting was going to take place. I was instructed to stand by for instructions as to the time and the place of the meeting.

The night before the meeting occurred, I received a telephone call. My recollection is that it emanated from Morris Rapport, and at such and such a time tomorrow morning—which would be a Sunday morning—I was to pick up Mike Smith; I was then to proceed to another point and pick up Kathryn Fogg; I was then to go to such and such an address in the University district, where I was to park my car—I would then walk a certain number of blocks north and a certain number of blocks east—another certain number of blocks south or some other direction and upon arriving at a certain signal, which I don't remember right now—it may have been a flag hanging in the window or it may have been a rose there or something—to enter that home.

MR. HOUSTON: And did you follow those instructions?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Implicitly.

MR. HOUSTON: And whose home did you wind up in?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Joseph Butterworth's and Dorothy Butterworth's.

MR. HOUSTON: Joseph and Dorothy Butterworth's. And did you find Earl Browder there?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He wasn't there at the time we entered.

MR. HOUSTON: Did he come—

MR. ARMSTRONG: He came later.

MR. HOUSTON: He came later. And was a Communist Party meeting conducted there?

MR. ARMSTRONG: It was.

MR. HOUSTON: Of high level Communists in this area?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: The people you recognized there were important people, were they not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Supposed to be.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, in addition to that your testimony is that Joseph Butterworth belonged to the same unit you did—Unit 50—in—

MR. ARMSTRONG: In the fall of '36 and early '37.

MR. HOUSTON: Right.

MR. ARMSTRONG: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: No doubt in your mind as to his membership in the **Communist Party?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: No possible doubt.

MR. HOUSTON: No possible doubt.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, will you identify who Joseph Butterworth is for us? Do you know what his occupation is?

MR. ARMSTRONG: My understanding is that he is connected with the University of Washington as a professor or instructor of some kind. What its type is, I am unable to say.

MR. HOUSTON: But he is teaching at the University of Washington?

MR. ARMSTRONG: To the best of my knowledge.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Phillip Hunt Davis—Phil Davis?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I know a Phil Davis—whether it is the same man you are referring to or not I am unable to say.

MR. HOUSTON: Is Phil Davis present in the group? Mr. Davis was in the hall just a little bit ago—I

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Mr. Davis, will you stand to see if this identification is correct?

MR. HOUSTON: Will you stand, Mr. Davis?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will—

MR. HOUSTON: Here's Mr. Davis right here.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: We will not compel his compliance. If he's not the Davis I would think that he would want it known but we will not go beyond that point, I—

THE WITNESS: I recognized Phil Davis as the Davis that I knew.

MR. HOUSTON: The Phil Davis you knew—can you point him out right here?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He's the gentleman there in the blue suit, the blue shirt, and the red necktie.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, now will you stand Mr. Davis?

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: Let's not proceed further with this. I think the identification is complete.

MR. HOUSTON: **Now, how did you know this Phil Davis—what was the occasion of your meeting him?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **Various Communist meetings at the Communist headquarters in various fraction meetings of the Communist Party.**

MR. HOUSTON: I will ask you, Mr. Armstrong, were you ever a member of the King County Central Committee of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I was.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, may I ask you if Mr. Phillip Davis was ever a member of the King County Central Committee of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I am not prepared to state that he was actually a member of the King County Central Committee, although he met with them several different times—there would be times when there would be non-members of the Central Committee called in for consultation and my memory cannot state positively whether Davis was a member of that committee, although he sat in with us on several different occasions.

MR. HOUSTON: You recall him sitting in closed meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party—

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: —of King County. **Is there any question or doubt as to whether or not Mr. Davis was at that time a member of the Communist Party?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **None, whatever.**

MR. HOUSTON: And can you approximate for us the years that this occurred?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I would say that would occur—occur the years 1938.

MR. HOUSTON: 1938. Have you also sat in plenums with Phil Davis?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I don't believe I have. I might have, but my memory will not identify him as being there.

MR. HOUSTON: But you have sat in meetings with him that there was no possibility of him attending had he not been a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Absolutely no possibility of an outsider being in there.

MR. HOUSTON: Now I will ask you if you know a man by the name of Harold Eby?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: And what was the occasion of your meeting Harold Eby?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I don't recall the first time I met Harold, but I know that he was a member of this same Unit 50 or the Professional Unit that I attended in the University—at the University folks—I also sat in many meetings—top fraction meetings with him of the Washington Commonwealth Federation and other things of that type.

MR. HOUSTON: **And is there any question in your mind, whether or not Harold Eby was at this time a member of the Communist Party?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **At that time, undoubtedly he was a member of the Communist Party.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Do you know what Harold Eby's occupation was at that time?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **He was similar to Professor Butterworth—had a connection with the teaching staff of the University of Washington, his exact title I don't know.**

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know Mrs. Lenna Eby?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No.

MR. HOUSTON: You did not know her. Now, do you know a man by the name of Ralph Gundlach?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: And what is the—your acquaintance with Mr. Gundlach?

MR. ARMSTRONG: **I met Mr. Gundlach at this self-same unit we have been discussing. I have met in Mr. Gundlach's home, where other Communists were present and we discussed Communist Party tactics, W.C.F. strategy and so forth.**

MR. HOUSTON: In addition to Mr. Gundlach being—meeting in the same Unit 50 with you, you have met in his home?

MR. ARMSTRONG: That is right.

MR. HOUSTON: Were these meetings of Unit 50 that met in his home?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No. That would be just a fraction meeting.

MR. HOUSTON: Fraction meeting. Do you know a man by the name of Harold Dunleavy?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Who is Harold Dunleavy.

MR. ARMSTRONG: Evidently he at that time was Ralph Gundlach's brother-in-law.

MR. HOUSTON: Was Mr. Dunleavy a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He was.

MR. HOUSTON: And—did he meet in this Unit 50 with you?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Have you sat in other meetings with Harold Dunleavy?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Many other meetings—including meetings at Professor Ralph Gundlach's home.

MR. HOUSTON: He was in this meeting in Professor Gundlach's home?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know what Mr. Dunleavy's occupation was at that time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: He was a newspaper man connected with the then Commonwealth Builder or the Washington Commonwealth, which today is the New World and also with the Voice of Action, at that time the Communist voice in the Northwest.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know what his occupation subsequently became?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Not except by hearsay—I understand he is working—was working recently for some branch of the housing authority around the bay region—California.

MR. HOUSTON: Around San Francisco for the Federal Housing Authority?

MR. ARMSTRONG: That is my understanding.

MR. HOUSTON: Well, that brings up another question. Do you know Jesse Epstein?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Uh-huh. **Do you know whether or not Jesse Epstein is a—was a member of the Communist Party?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **To the best of my knowledge, he was.**

MR. HOUSTON: **What leads you to believe that Jesse Epstein was a member?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **I was introduced to him by Jesse Epstein—or, to Jesse Epstein by Morris Rapport in Mike Smith's home in Olympia in 1939, as Comrade Epstein.**

MR. HOUSTON: **Comrade Epstein; and at that time these men all knew that you were a member of the Communist Party, and a prominent one.**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **That's right.**

MR. HOUSTON: I'll ask you if you testified in a recent loyalty hearing of Jesse Epstein?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I did.

MR. HOUSTON: Prior to your testimony, did any local attorneys attempt to influence your testimony?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No.

MR. HOUSTON: Were you interrogated by some local attorneys?

MR. ARMSTRONG: At the—at the hearing, not prior.

MR. HOUSTON: At the hearing, but not prior.

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you know a Florence Bean James?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: Do you have any knowledge or not, whether Florence Bean James was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have no knowledge about that.

MR. HOUSTON: No knowledge.

MR. ARMSTRONG: No knowledge. No positive knowledge.

MR. HOUSTON: In your position as a member of the Central Committee of the King County Communist Party, were you given any information that would lead you to believe whether or not Mrs. James was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I have had discussions about Mrs. James, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: With whom?

MR. ARMSTRONG: With various members of the King County Central Committee, with Harold Eby, with Morris Rapport, with Howard Costigan, and Isabel Costigan, all of whom were Communist Party members. They had informed me that Mrs. Florence Bean James was a comrade.

MR. HOUSTON: **How did the Communist Party consider the Repertory Playhouse?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **As a Communist mouthpiece, almost.**

MR. HOUSTON: As a Communist mouthpiece, almost. Did the Communist Party support the Repertory Playhouse?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I can't—they supported it morally; and whether they support it financially, I don't—I am unable to say, but I don't think they did.

MR. HOUSTON: But they were all interested in—

MR. ARMSTRONG: Morally, they did as much as they possibly could, inducing us all to go out there to the plays, and the plays all had some kind of a social outlook, and were very deep and heavy.

MR. HOUSTON: Now have you—do you recall sitting in a meeting in the home of Howard G. Costigan?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I've met there on several occasions.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you ever meet there when Florence Bean James was present?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I don't recall having met there with Mrs. James.

MR. HOUSTON: Now, do you know a man by the name of Garland Ethel?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I do.

MR. HOUSTON: **Was Garland Ethel a member of the Communist Party at the time you were?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **He was.**

MR. HOUSTON: **And can you fix for us the years that you knew that Garland Ethel was a member of the Communist Party?**

MR. ARMSTRONG: **In 1936 he attended meetings of the same unit that I did, and subsequently we discussed in closed Party Communist meetings, the strategy of the W.C.F., political actions and so forth.**

MR. HOUSTON: That was Unit 50 of the Communist Party to which you belonged.

MR. ARMSTRONG: To the best of my knowledge, that was the number of the unit, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: Did you know the wife of Garland Ethel, Clarissa Ethel?

MR. ARMSTRONG: No.

MR. HOUSTON: You didn't know her. Is there any question in your mind whether or not Garland Ethel was a member of the Communist Party at that time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Absolutely none.

MR. HOUSTON: Absolutely none. Was—were you conversant with the occupation of Garland Ethel at that time?

MR. ARMSTRONG: Yes, the same general line as I was with Butterworth and Eby.

MR. HOUSTON: He was teaching at the University.

MR. ARMSTRONG: He was connected with the faculty of the University of Washington.

MR. HOUSTON: I see. Now, Mr. Armstrong, if I were to ask you about other members of this meeting, Unit 50, you could testify as to many more names, could you not?

MR. ARMSTRONG: I could.

MR. HOUSTON: Some of whom even were faculty members at the University of Washington.

MR. ARMSTRONG: At least one other that I know of.

MR. HOUSTON: Mr. Chairman, I believe that's all for this witness at this time. I think that he should be thanked. I would suggest that he be excused from his subpoena and permitted to return to his work.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: You will be excused, and you will be in Seattle if we should need to call on you again?

THE WITNESS: Yes.

CHAIRMAN CANWELL: With that understanding, you will be excused, and thank you for appearing.

MR. HOUSTON: Just one thing; Mr. Chairman, pardon me, may I recall Mr. Armstrong just one moment?

I don't want any doubt about this. You got out of the Communist Party, didn't you?

THE WITNESS: Oh, yes.

MR. HOUSTON: In 1940.

THE WITNESS: That's right.

MR. HOUSTON: That's fine.

(Witness excused)

TESTIMONY OF ALFRED HOWARD BOWLES, JR. A Teacher

ALFRED HOWARD BOWLES, Jr., produced as a witness, after being first duly sworn, was examined and testified as follows:

BY MR. WHIPPLE:

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you state your name, please?

MR. BOWLES: Alfred Howard Bowles, Jr.

THE REPORTER: How do you spell it?

MR. BOWLES: Bowles.

MR. WHIPPLE: Where do you live, Mr. Bowles?

MR. BOWLES: In Seattle.

MR. WHIPPLE: How long have you been a resident of the City of Seattle?

MR. BOWLES: Roughly, four years. Four or five. Five years.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Bowles, what business or occupation are you engaged in at the present time?

MR. BOWLES: I am an announcer, and student of—or rather, a teacher of announcing.

MR. WHIPPLE: In the radio field?

MR. BOWLES: Yes, I teach radio announcing.

Was Member of Communist Political Association

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Bowles, I would like to ask you if you have ever been a member of either the Communist Party of the United States of America, or of the so-called Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: I have been a member of the latter.

MR. WHIPPLE: By that you mean you were a member of the Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: That is correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: That was at a time when the Communist Party was known as the Communist Political Association.

MR. BOWLES: That's correct.

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you state for the record, Mr. Bowles, when you became a member of the Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: Roughly, May or June of 1944.

MR. WHIPPLE: Were you a resident of Seattle at that time?

MR. BOWLES: Yes.

MR. WHIPPLE: Where were you employed then?

MR. BOWLES: Seattle Pacific Shipyards, in Seattle.

MR. WHIPPLE: Mr. Bowles,—

MR. BOWLES: Seattle Todd. Todd-Pacific.

MR. WHIPPLE: Was there a card or any other means of identification issued to you as a result of your joining the Communist Political Association?

MR. BOWLES: Not immediately, not till some six months later.

MR. WHIPPLE: Will you recount for the record, Mr. Bowles, the manner in which you became interested in Communism or let's say the manner in which you joined the Communist Political Association?