

THE JUSTICE, THE INFORMER, AND THE
COMPOSER: THE ROY HARRIS CASE AND
THE DYNAMICS OF ANTI-COMMUNISM IN
PITTSBURGH IN THE EARLY 1950S

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Abstract: Michael Musmanno, a staunch liberal, was a colorful figure in Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania politics. He loathed Communism, taking up the anti-Communist crusade in 1950. He was joined in this by Matt Cvetic, a former paid FBI informant in the Communist Party, who styled himself as a former “FBI undercover agent.” Roy E. Harris, an American composer on the order of Aaron Copland, was brought to Pittsburgh to serve as composer-in-residence at the Pennsylvania College for Women. His coming was part of Mayor David Lawrence’s Pittsburgh Renaissance. Harris was accused by Cvetic and Musmanno of being a Soviet sympathizer since he dedicated his Fifth Symphony to the Soviet people during World War II, creating a McCarthy-style controversy. This article shows how backers of the Renaissance supported Harris and fought off the accusations, and offers thoughts on the case’s broader implications and long-term impact.

Keywords: Roy E. Harris; Michael Musmanno; Matt Cvetic; Pittsburgh; David L. Lawrence; J. Edgar Hoover; communism; Pittsburgh Renaissance; Pittsburgh International Contemporary Music Festival

Introduction

In 1951 Pittsburgh was in transition. Still a major industrial center, it was undergoing the Renaissance initiated by democratic Mayor David L. Lawrence with his election in 1945. The effort's purpose, to make Pittsburgh a more livable and attractive place, would help move it away from its old identity as "the Smoky City," and raise its profile as a center of the arts, culture, and learning. To achieve this, Lawrence established an alliance with the city's economic elite through an organization dubbed the Allegheny Conference.¹ Through this alliance, positive changes were put into place across an entire spectrum of concerns from slum removal to bolstering the city's major educational institutions.

It was against this backdrop that three distinct personalities became the principal actors in a major controversy: local justice Michael A. Musmanno; former FBI informant Matthew Cvetic; and American composer Roy E. Harris. Essentially, Cvetic and Musmanno accused Harris of being a Soviet sympathizer due to having dedicated his Fifth Symphony to the Soviet people during World War II. This became a serious matter for Harris, for in the overheated atmosphere of the early Cold War an accusation of Communist or Soviet leanings could wreck a career, no matter how distinguished.

Although the security mania dubbed "McCarthyism" in the postwar era is generally viewed as happening only on the federal level, concerns about possible Communist subversion played out on all levels of government in the United States: federal, state, and local. Hubert Humphrey, for example, while mayor of Minneapolis, worked to purge Minnesota's Democratic-Farm-Labor Party of its left wing between 1947 and 1948, under the claim that it was Communist influenced.² Several states had outlawed the Communist Party within their jurisdictions by the early to middle 1950s, and maintained their own legislative investigating committees. Various cities also had their own anti-Communist ordinances.³ Pittsburgh, therefore, was not unique when this issue spilled out into its own politics.

Always a colorful figure in Pittsburgh's politics since the start of his public career in 1929, Musmanno had been an Allegheny County Common Pleas Court judge since 1935. Coming off an unsuccessful bid to become Pennsylvania's lieutenant governor in 1950, he ran in 1951 for the Democratic nomination to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court, and defeated the party's endorsed candidate, Justice Conrad C. Ladner. Eating crow because it had endorsed Ladner, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* congratulated

Musmanno in an editorial dated July 26, 1951, but also had some fun with the event, running a political cartoon by Cy Hungerford on its front page. It depicted a beaming Musmanno, dressed in his judicial robe, running into the state Supreme Court building with a huge gavel, a spotlight, and an armful of fireworks. An old-line justice, representing the court's staid traditions of judicial dignity, was depicted hiding behind one of the building's pillars. The cartoon's caption read, "He will liven up the old place."⁴

Matt Cvetic had served as a paid confidential informant for the FBI from 1943 to 1950, providing the bureau with information on southwestern Pennsylvania's Communist apparatus. This involved his joining the Party, being inducted by no less a notable than Elizabeth Gurley Flynn.⁵ Although he gave the FBI a great deal of valuable information, Cvetic proved hard to handle, resulting in his termination in January of 1950.⁶ However, during his years with the bureau, Cvetic became friends with Pittsburgh journalist James Moore, who worked for the city's Hearst outlet, the *Sun-Telegraph*. Through Moore, Cvetic was introduced to William T. Martin (also known as "Pete" Martin), who eventually wrote a series of as-told-to articles about Cvetic's alleged exploits that appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* under the title, "I Posed as a Communist for the FBI." The story proved to be popular and was eventually made into a 1951 feature film by Warner Brothers, entitled *I Was a Communist for the FBI*, as well as a later radio series under the same title.⁷ Little of it was true, and the FBI became increasingly disgusted with both Cvetic's love of the spotlight and his erratic behavior outside of it.⁸

Unlike Musmanno or Cvetic, who were from the Pittsburgh area, Roy Harris was a transplant. A distinguished American composer, Harris came to Pittsburgh in 1951 to serve as composer-in-residence at the Pennsylvania College for Women (PCW), now Chatham University. The appointment was financed through a grant from the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust. In addition, his wife, Joanna Harris, a noted concert pianist in her own right, was appointed to PCW's music faculty with him, a point stressed in the college's 1951 catalogue.⁹

The issues played out between these three men questioned the limits of anticommunism, as well as a composer's rights with regard to respecting artistic vision and integrity. Although much of the story took place in the public sphere, a great deal was secluded from public view, notably: exchanges between the FBI, the Allegheny County branch of the American Legion, and eventually William Block, publisher of the *Pittsburgh-Post Gazette*.

This article's purpose is to tell the complete story of the case, including both its public and nonpublic aspects, as well as to offer some insight on its long-term impact upon the City of Pittsburgh.



FIGURE 1: Pennsylvania Supreme Court Justice Michael A. Musmanno gives testimony before the federal House Committee on Judiciary, Washington, D. C., April 7, 1954. *From:* The Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* Archives. Courtesy: Urban Archives, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia.

Musmanno

Michael A. Musmanno was a bundle of restless energy: eloquent, bombastic, brash, brave, and ruthless. He seemed to thrive on adversity and relished a fight. As a public official, his ambition was limitless and he loved the spotlight.¹⁰ Musmanno was born in McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania; the son of Italian immigrants, his father labored as a coal miner. Because of this, Musmanno identified with working people and was intensely loyal to the mainstream coal miners' union, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), as well as to its leadership, particularly John L. Lewis and Philip Murray.¹¹ Determined to get ahead and make a difference, Musmanno attended and graduated from Georgetown University School of Law, after which he earned six additional law degrees from various schools. Returning to southwestern Pennsylvania in 1928, he settled in Stowe Township and worked as a "people's lawyer" providing legal services for those at the bottom of the socioeconomic order. Thus, the region's coal miners were one of Musmanno's main constituencies.¹²

Although the UMWA had been a successful industrial union, it was in full retreat by 1928 due to a worldwide glut in coal supplies. Management slashed wages in response, leading to a bitter strike between 1926 and 1928. Coal companies that had once cooperated with the UMWA now broke their agreements, reorganized on a nonunion basis, and resorted to using Coal and Iron Police (C&IP) to enforce the arrangement, a rarity in western Pennsylvania prior to 1920.¹³ A private industrial police force maintained and paid by corporate management, they were originally created to protect mining operations from sabotage. However, while these forces worked for the coal companies, they had police commissions issued by the state, thereby giving them the same authority, including the use of deadly force, held by municipal police, the Pennsylvania State Police, and county sheriffs. Thus, they constituted a corporate army, enforcing employer hegemony in the state's mining towns, and were manned by people Musmanno considered the dregs of society.¹⁴

Against this backdrop, Musmanno first entered public life, winning a seat in the Pennsylvania state house in 1929. While there, he introduced two pieces of legislation: one to end the C&IP (generally referred to as the "Musmanno Bill"), the other to outlaw the Communist Party in Pennsylvania.¹⁵ The first measure received a great deal of support because the C&IP was universally hated, especially after a western Pennsylvania miner named John Barcoski was slain in February 1929 by two members of the force

in a night-long beating.¹⁶ Musmanno successfully guided the bill through both houses of the legislature, and was characterized by one contemporary observer as one of the state house's most effective members.¹⁷ The anti-Communist proposal, however, went nowhere.

From Musmanno's perspective, the Communist Party represented a threat by feigning concern for people suffering economic injustice in order to advance an unsavory hidden agenda. Central to that agenda was the destruction of non-Communist progressive organizations, including the UMWA. To further that goal, Musmanno claimed that Communists were willing to partner with anyone, including the C&IP and coal companies, to drive the UMWA out of the coalfields. This would be done through a front organization: The Ohio and Pennsylvania Relief Society (OPRS). While this group provided food and clothing to dispossessed strikers, it also preached a revolutionary message.¹⁸

Although these claims sound far-fetched today, they were not unfounded. Much of Musmanno's thinking about Communists wanting to destroy mainstream liberalism reflected the views of a number of people in that mainstream, including US senators Paul Douglas and Hubert Humphrey.¹⁹ With regard to the OPRS, its actions were related to a full-blown rebellion then taking place in the UMWA against union president John L. Lewis. Aside from the coal glut's effects, Lewis had become very unpopular due to his authoritarian leadership style and for a perceived lack of militancy when it came to dealing with coal operators. In response, dissident elements created a "Save Our Union Committee" whose stated purpose was Lewis's unseating.²⁰ The committee had a sizable Communist element, and when it proved unable to depose Lewis, the dissidents broke away and formed the Communist-backed National Miners Union at a convention held in Pittsburgh in 1928.²¹

Earlier that same year, the US Senate's Subcommittee on Interstate Commerce conducted an extensive investigation on conditions in the bituminous coal fields. Two veteran liberals were on the committee: Burton K. Wheeler of Idaho and Robert Wagner of New York.²² Holding some of its hearings in Pittsburgh, the committee was primarily concerned with the actions of the C&IP. However, during the course of its hearings, it took testimony about the union in-fighting mentioned above, as well as activities and radical connections of the OPRS. While several witnesses testified on these matters, the most detailed testimony came from Max Henrici, a prolabor journalist working for the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*.

In the course of his testimony, Henrici outlined the organization's association with both the Communists and the revolutionary Industrial Workers of

the World (IWW). This and other testimony the committee received tended to bear out Musmanno's claim of an alliance between the far left and the far right to force the UMWA out of southwestern Pennsylvania, with the Ohio and Pennsylvania Relief Society serving as a vehicle to achieve that end.²³

This period had a profound impact upon Musmanno and reverberated throughout his career. Communism was bad enough, but "fellow travelers" and front organizations were far worse since they put a benign face on something evil.²⁴ Any and all tactics to fight such groups were justified since they would help achieve a greater societal good.

Cvetic

According to Professor Daniel J. Leab, Matt Cvetic will always be remembered through the film *I Was a Communist for the FBI*, a highly fictionalized account of his work as a paid FBI informant.²⁵ Although he began passing information to the FBI in 1941, Cvetic first came to J. Edgar Hoover's attention in February 1942. In a letter to Hoover, J. E. Thornton, Pittsburgh Special Agent-in-Charge (SAC) at the time, presented Cvetic's short biography: the son of immigrants, Cvetic came from a large family, and claimed to speak seven Eastern European languages, including Russian, and Polish. The reason for the letter was that Cvetic, who was then working at the Pittsburgh branch of the US Employment Service, claimed that agency was riddled with Communists. Thornton concluded the letter by stating that Cvetic had been taken on as an unpaid informant by the bureau's Pittsburgh office. Cvetic had been invited to join the local Communist Party in the past, and would let the bureau know if the invitation was ever made again. There was one sour note in this letter: Thornton stated that Cvetic had once been arrested for assault and battery involving his sister-in-law over an unpaid debt. Regardless, Thornton appeared definitely interested in what Cvetic had to offer.²⁶

Nearly a year passed. Then, in a letter dated February 16, 1943, Thornton told Hoover that Cvetic had joined the Party. Thornton stated that "He [Cvetic] . . . should be in a position shortly to obtain reliable information regarding the activities of the same . . . especially regarding . . . the White Collar Branch, . . . about which little has been . . . learned." Citing the fact that Cvetic would have daily access to party members, Thornton stressed Cvetic's potential value as an informant, and asked that Cvetic be paid the modest sum of \$15.00 to help cover expenses.²⁷

Writing back, Hoover authorized Cvetic's appointment as a paid informant. In so doing, Hoover stressed that Thornton was responsible for overseeing Cvetic's actions. At the same time, Cvetic needed to understand that his position was confidential, and that he was not to divulge his connection with the FBI with anyone. Along the same line, Hoover added that, while the bureau was anxious to have the information Cvetic could provide, it would assume no responsibility for him, meaning that Cvetic was on his own. Hoover added, though, "It may be pointed out to him [Cvetic] that he may expect increases in the compensation being offered him in accordance with the value of the information he is able to provide."²⁸

So began Cvetic's formal association with the FBI. He was designated CNDI (Confidential National Defense Informant) 133, shortened later to CI 133.²⁹ From the available evidence, this relationship became a Faustian bargain for all involved. The bureau regarded Cvetic as one of the most productive informants it ever had. Between 1943 and 1949 he was active in several Communist front and subsidiary organizations, including the Slavic Bureau, the Nationality Commission, and the Civil Rights Congress.³⁰ By April 1948 the FBI considered Cvetic to be their best chance of gaining entrée to what they termed "the high inner circle of the Communist Party."³¹

This came at a price the bureau would eventually regard as too high. The first incident happened in March of 1947, when Cvetic allegedly told a girlfriend about being a confidential informant. The bureau wanted to end its relationship with him immediately, but the Pittsburgh office objected, characterizing Cvetic as irreplaceable.³² But, as time moved forward, Cvetic became increasingly erratic and difficult to handle. Not only was his personal life in a shambles, but he also had a drinking problem, as well as psychological issues. In one report, the author asserted that "in recent years there has been an indication that Cvetic is a moody individual subject to alternating periods of enthusiasm, self-pity and depression."³³

Along with this, during the course of the seven years he worked for the bureau, Cvetic's salary was steadily increased from \$15.00 to \$85.00 a week.³⁴ From the bureau's perspective, it had bent over backwards to accommodate him on the money issue. Yet Cvetic never seemed to be satisfied with what he was making, and began demanding \$100 a week, claiming his living expenses necessitated it.³⁵ Various problems notwithstanding, Thornton backed Cvetic's request due to the fact that the information he provided proved so valuable, but it was never granted.³⁶ Difficulties that arose with Cvetic did cause the bureau to rethink how confidential informants were handled. These people needed their morale constantly bolstered, since they

were under an unending emotional strain due to the nature of their work. The concern was not about their well-being, but “to continue their productivity as informants.”³⁷

The issue of morale in Cvetic’s case proved crucial. Cvetic, who was probably on the edge for some time, began falling to pieces, with the bureau wanting to terminate him in January of 1949.³⁸ But, this decision was reconsidered due to his possible use in a prosecution the federal government was planning against the Communist Party’s national leadership.³⁹ Complicating these plans was Cvetic’s revealing his status to yet another person, as well as a letter he had submitted to the bureau’s Pittsburgh Office on September 23, 1949, indicating that he wanted out. Cvetic added that he did not want to sever ties unless the bureau disclosed that he had been working on their behalf. He also wanted severance pay.⁴⁰

Bureau officers were in a quandary over what to do. They would not make any public statement about Cvetic’s service as an informant, but were willing to do so privately if anyone contacted the FBI about him. Also, while no severance pay would be given, the FBI was willing to continue paying him for six weeks past his date of termination.⁴¹ Shortly after sending the letter, Cvetic informed the bureau that his intentions had been misunderstood, and that he wanted to continue as an informant. He went on to say that certain problems he had recently experienced in his private life had been resolved, easing his stress.⁴² Based on this, it was decided that Cvetic would not be terminated, and continue providing the bureau with his “inestimable assistance.” The memo outlining this decision was dated November 22, 1949.⁴³

During these years, Cvetic resided at Pittsburgh’s William Penn Hotel under the alias Robert Stanton. In a report dated December 9, 1949, the Pittsburgh SAC informed Hoover that Cvetic, using the name of Stanton, had suffered a drunken breakdown in his hotel room, and threatened to shoot a woman visitor, while making wild claims about being an FBI undercover agent/counterspy. This was the last straw, and the Pittsburgh SAC called for Cvetic’s immediate termination.⁴⁴ Meeting with the SAC on January 3, 1950, Cvetic burst into tears, saying that his past work for the bureau did not merit such treatment. He added that he was in debt, and that he needed his bureau salary to supplement his income.⁴⁵ As things turned out, an arrangement was made whereby Cvetic left the bureau on good terms, and was paid up to January 23.⁴⁶

It was shortly after Cvetic’s termination that his legend as an FBI “undercover agent” began to grow. As mentioned earlier, it was through his friendship with James Moore that Cvetic’s so-called story eventually

made its way to the *Saturday Evening Post*. Also, within a month of his leaving the bureau's service, Cvetic was subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).⁴⁷ He testified on February 21, 1950, revealing over 290 names during the course of that hearing, some of them fellow confidential informants. With his name splashed all over the newspapers, Cvetic became a public hero, and a factotum on Communism, speaking on the subject on a nationwide circuit.⁴⁸

The film and later radio series *I Was a Communist for the FBI* reinforced this view, popularizing the idea of Cvetic serving in the exalted role of an FBI undercover agent who had infiltrated the dark and dangerous world of international Communism. Believing his own hype, this was how Cvetic styled himself and it was how he was characterized by HUAC in its 1950 annual report.⁴⁹

This characterization was particularly galling for J. Edgar Hoover, who always hastened to point out in any correspondence concerning Cvetic that he never was an FBI agent, only holding the far more modest position of a paid informant. Although Cvetic came to a sad end, especially since he did not reap nearly as much financially as others did from his story, there is no question that the period immediately following his termination from the FBI was his salad days. For its part, the bureau did not approve of the film or radio show, did not cooperate in their making, and would not comment on them. Basically, the FBI sat back and watched with quiet disdain.⁵⁰

Harris

Roy Ellsworth Harris was born on February 12, 1898, in Lincoln County, Oklahoma, but his family moved from Oklahoma to California when he was a boy.⁵¹ As far as his musical education was concerned, it appears that Harris did a number of musical apprenticeships with established figures, rather than a more formal route via university. However, he did attend the University of California for two years, between 1919 and 1920, studied in France and received an honorary doctorate of music from Rutgers University in 1942.⁵² Among his mentors were Fanny Dillon, Arthur Farwell, Modest Altschuler, Arthur Bliss, Rosario Scalero, and Nadia Boulanger. He began composing in 1922 at the age of twenty-four and published his first concerto when he was in Paris.⁵³ In 1928 he was awarded the first of two Guggenheim fellowships that he was to receive. From that time forward, Harris's career took off,

achieving an unequaled international stature. Conductor Nicolas Slonimsky rated him as America's premier composer.⁵⁴

Harris's musical style was contrapuntal, involving the development, and then harmonizing, of two divergent melodies.⁵⁵ This was very different, for example, from his contemporary, Aaron Copland, who tended to use simple themes. Writing in the *Saturday Review*, music critic Howard Hanson described Harris's style, adding that his music could "soar to heights seldom attained by any other composer."⁵⁶ This is not to say that Harris's music was devoid of Americana, for, like Copland, he celebrated American identity in several of his compositions. Two cases in point were his 1941 opus *Freedom's Land*, and his Sixth Symphony, built around Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and dedicated to the American servicemen of World War II.⁵⁷

Harris's politics appear to have been fairly mainstream. Certainly no radical, he was described as a staunch Republican who was fairly liberal in his views. In this vein, Harris's patriotism was beyond question, and he had no use for Communism. While he had great respect for the Soviets as an ally, their system of government was entirely distasteful for him. However, after America entered World War II, it appears that Harris entertained a hope the United States and the Soviet Union would continue cooperating after the war was over.⁵⁸ This hope was not unusual, and reflected a sensibility shared across the political spectrum in the United States at the time.⁵⁹

After the United States entered the war, Harris made every effort to contribute. Interested in Russian music, Harris served as vice chairman of a musician's committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF). Other members of this committee included Aaron Copland, Benny Goodman, and Andre Kostelanetz. The committee's goal was to raise money to help rebuild the Tchaikovsky museum, as well as to help Russian music conservancies destroyed by the war. The committee proposed doing this by holding a series of concerts. It was also trying to preserve recordings of Tchaikovsky's various works that would be put into a single collection and then sent to the Soviet Union.⁶⁰ Later in the war, Harris oversaw the Office of War Information's music section, which broadcast American music to sixty-two overseas outposts. But the most notable thing Harris did during the war was to compose two symphonic pieces: his 1943 Fifth Symphony, which he dedicated to the "heroic and freedom loving people" of the USSR; and his "Ode to Friendship," performed at a rally sponsored by NCASF, held November 16, 1944.⁶¹

Although these pieces were well received when they were presented, they did raise some eyebrows, particularly the Fifth Symphony. Likely for this reason, the FBI conducted an extensive investigation into Harris's loyalty between 1943 and 1945. Leaving no stone unturned, the bureau intruded into all aspects of his life, including his private affairs.⁶² What they found was an extraordinary man living an extraordinary life.⁶³

On the more conventional side of things, the bureau noted, as mentioned above, that Harris was a Republican. He was member of the Rotary Club, and a practicing Episcopalian.⁶⁴ Nowhere in the course of this investigation did the bureau find anything indicating, or even hinting, that Harris was a Communist or a Soviet sympathizer. In every instance people who were interviewed attested to Harris's loyalty and patriotism. Finding nothing irregular in his politics, or anything else, the FBI finished its investigation, with the implication that further inquiries into Harris's loyalty were unnecessary.⁶⁵

Sadly, although Harris had been cleared, the bureau, true to its secretive nature, did not offer him any help when he came under fire for his alleged radicalism. Instead, the bureau was more concerned about Cvetic, who was going to be the star witness in a planned federal trial for southwestern Pennsylvania's Communist leadership under the Smith Act. What concerned them was the real possibility that Cvetic would say or do something to discredit both himself and the government's case.⁶⁶ Lost in that shuffle was an innocent man, an internationally renowned artist, being victimized for economic and political gain.

The Case

While the Pittsburgh Renaissance heralded a new identity for the city, in 1951 there were still plenty of events taking place there that were firmly grounded in its roots as an industrial center with a hardscrabble politics. Most notable would be the 1951 trial and conviction of local Communist leader Steve Nelson for sedition. The action had been brought by Musmanno while he was still a sitting judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Privately, as a leader of a group called Americans Battling Communism (ABC), Musmanno raided the Communist Party's downtown headquarters. Nelson, a.k.a. Stefan Mesarosh, was arrested, and later convicted of violating Pennsylvania's 1919 antisedition statute.⁶⁷ Matt Cvetic was also involved, testifying against Nelson at the trial.⁶⁸ Not able to secure his own defense counsel, Nelson

himself cross-examined Cvetic. According to Nelson's account of events, he was able to rattle Cvetic on the stand, and thereby discredit his testimony to some degree.⁶⁹ While I do not dispute Musmanno's sincerity as a dedicated anti-Communist liberal, the raid and subsequent trial did provide him with a great deal of free publicity, since he was running for Pennsylvania's lieutenant-governorship at the time.⁷⁰ That campaign was unsuccessful, but it did prove useful when he ran for Pennsylvania's State Supreme Court the following year.

For Roy Harris, however, these matters were probably the furthest thing from his mind. Owing to the times, and to be compliant with the standards of good practice, Harris had been cleared of any questionable political associations by PCW and the Mellon Trust before being appointed director of the Pittsburgh International Contemporary Music Festival.⁷¹ This investigation, done to make sure he did not have any questionable political views or associations, had been conducted with the assistance of an organization specializing in this sort of work, the Friends of Democracy. In the course of its research, investigators found several leftist groups/events listing Harris as a participant, thereby requiring an explanation from him. Among these: the Artists' Front to Win the War; the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the Hans Eisler Concert; the Musicians' Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; Progressive Citizens of America; the Celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the Soviet Union; the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship; and the Scientific and Cultural Conference on World Peace.⁷² At the investigators' behest, Harris wrote a long letter of explanation, asserting that while he had been associated with some of the organizations contained in the list, and that he may have been politically naïve, others had used his name without his consent. In addition, he attested to his loyalty, as well as his utter rejection of Communism, both as an ideology and a system. This satisfied the Friends of Democracy investigators, and Harris was cleared.⁷³

Taking up his appointment in September 1951, Harris immediately began work on organizing the music festival. Coordinating with Carnegie Tech (now Carnegie Mellon University), the festival would be held between November 24 and 30, 1952. Financed by the Mellon Trust, and cosponsored by Tech and PCW, the festival would feature music written over the past twenty-five years. Harris would serve as the festival's director, with PCW president Dr. Paul Anderson, and Tech president James M. Bovard serving as the event's co-chairmen.⁷⁴

Reaction in the city to this news was overwhelmingly positive. *Pittsburgh Press* music critic Ralph Lewando was most enthusiastic about the idea,

pointing out in his column that the Heinz Foundation had commissioned fourteen prominent composers representing ten different countries to prepare new works specifically for the festival. In addition, the event was to feature works from fifty top composers from all over the globe. Among the works to be performed was Harris's Fifth Symphony.⁷⁵ Lewando's imprimatur for the event was important. A noted violinist and composer, Lewando had been music critic for the *Press* since his appointment in October of 1930, and he also had been a long-standing member of PCW's music faculty.⁷⁶ The Heinz Foundation's participation was also significant, since it was a further indication that Pittsburgh's moneyed elite was on board with what Harris was doing.

Despite this good news, however, a very loud discordant note was about to be sounded by Matt Cvetic. His forum would be the annual state convention of the Pennsylvania American Legion held in Philadelphia the first week of August 1952. By this time, not only was Cvetic working with James Moore of the *Sun-Telegraph*, but with Justice Musmanno, whose association with Cvetic began in March of 1950.⁷⁷ There is nothing in the record for those weeks prior to the Legion convention indicating that Cvetic planned to offer anything more than the standard, ritualized boilerplate speech denouncing communism, the Soviet Union, and duped American liberals. But, whenever Cvetic was engaged as a speaker, he was paid for it, and because he wanted to continue being newsworthy, rehashing old points simply would not do. He had incentive to make new accusations: the more sensational, the better.⁷⁸

The only cautious note about the convention and Cvetic's role in it was sounded in the FBI. Philadelphia SAC Lionel Cornelius informed the bureau that a prominent Philadelphia Legionnaire had invited Cornelius to take part in an informal welcome for Cvetic. Cornelius wanted to know if he should accept. The matter was a delicate one, since the American Legion was an important bureau ally. The bureau advised Cornelius to "tactfully" decline since Cvetic was a "publicity seeker" who had shamelessly capitalized on his former association with the bureau. When Cornelius asked if he could explain why he was declining, the bureau said no, with Hoover commenting, "We want no part in Cvetic's promotion."⁷⁹

Hoover's decision to keep the bureau's distance from Cvetic was fortuitous; Cvetic's Legion speech on August 7 amounted to a declaration of war, not only on Roy Harris, but on higher education in general. The speech opened with the following assertion:

In the great debate on Freedom versus Communism, the apologists and bleeding hearts for the latter have vainly tried to inject new meaning into the phrase “academic freedom.” But the big question these bleeding hearts refuse to answer is: “Should our schools and colleges be used as sanctuaries for irresponsible teachers and employees who give their support to un-American causes?” The answer is a resounding “No!”⁸⁰

From here, Cvetic recounted his days as a pseudo-Communist and how the Party wanted to gain control of the nation’s schools, and attempted to do so by placing dozens of red cells in American universities. Making this assertion, he then shifted focus, claiming that educators who were Communist sympathizers and fellow travelers were just as dangerous as outright Communists, and had no right to teach (2).

At this point, Cvetic leveled his charges at Roy Harris. He claimed that he had been “thumbing through” the sixth report of the California Un-American Activities Committee and came across Harris’s name. Saying the name “rang a bell” he allegedly wrote to the HUAC asking for information. Cvetic claimed that HUAC wrote back, identifying Harris as a composer and sent a report for Cvetic’s information (3). Cvetic then referred to the upcoming music festival, and how Harris had suddenly become a Pittsburgh celebrity. This led to the fact that Harris had premiered his Fifth Symphony in 1943, dedicating it to the Soviet people (4).

Cvetic said that the matter could be overlooked if “Harris had dropped his pinko associations when the Russian myth was exploded” (5). But, Harris persisted in his heresy, due to his membership in several organizations regarded as Communist fronts, and for his association with Nicholas Slonimsky. Cvetic claimed that Slonimsky was listed in the HUAC report as being one of 113 people associated with *New Masses*, which he stated was an official publication of the American Communist Party. Cvetic also damned Harris for his work for the Office of War Information, belittling him as a “cultural disc jockey.” In the same vein, Cvetic characterized Harris as riding “the US State Department’s gravy train” when a musical radio series Harris directed in 1952 entitled *Master Keys* was rebroadcast to Europe over Voice of America during the course of twenty-three weeks. Worst of all, Harris had been presented with an inscribed gold baton by West Point after the premiere of one of his compositions the academy had commissioned to mark its sesquicentennial. Cvetic called this “a national disgrace” (6).

Cvetic then listed the questionable organizations to which Harris belonged; the same ones he had been questioned about when cleared in 1951. Describing each of these, Cvetic asserted that Harris owed everyone in Pittsburgh an explanation for this, and especially for his association with Nicholas Slonimsky. He concluded, "I have already sent Dr. Harris an advance copy of this address. Like all Pennsylvanians, I await an answer" (7).

Written in the sardonic style of a hard-hitting journalistic exposé, Cvetic's speech did not arouse much attention. While articles about it were in Pittsburgh's newspapers the next day, nothing appeared thereafter.⁸¹ Moreover, Harris's public reaction was one of amusement. Leading with the headline "Composer Laughs off Charges," the *Post-Gazette* quoted Harris as saying that if he was a Communist, then every brass man during the war had been a Communist as well.⁸² Clearly, Cvetic's speech had failed to arouse the outrage he had wanted to engender. There the matter could have ended, but Cvetic was not to be put off. He gave a second speech nineteen days later, on August 26, 1952, before the Optimists' Club in Pittsburgh at the Roosevelt Hotel.

Repeating the charges that he made in Philadelphia, Cvetic went further. He criticized Harris for sending Dimitri Shostakovich a congratulatory telegram when Shostakovich attended the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace held in New York in late March of 1949. Cvetic implied that Harris's behavior in this instance was disloyal, since the Russian composer came to the conference to rail against the United States. From here, Cvetic leveled additional charges against Nicholas Slonimsky, painting him as a Communist sympathizer. As proof, Cvetic pointed to an article Slonimsky had written about Shostakovich that appeared in *New Masses* in 1942.

Cvetic reserved special ire for the Mellon Trust. This organization was financing Harris as well as the music festival, and the composer had received support over the years from similar organizations, including the Carnegie and Guggenheim foundations. In making this point, Cvetic said, "Everybody now knows that Alger Hiss . . . and others got money from certain foundations," implying that these organizations were subsidizing subversion.⁸³

This was a hot-button national issue at the time, and such thinking was reflected in a report that had been published in July of 1952 by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security (SSIS), relating to its investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations (IPR).⁸⁴ Founded in 1929 as a scholarly organization studying Asia and the Pacific Rim, the IPR was accused of advancing Communism in Asia. The SSIS through its investigation endorsed this charge

and, very pointedly, stated in its final report that the IPR had been enabled to pursue its allegedly subversive agenda due to generous support it had received from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment, and other groups.⁸⁵

Clearly, with regard to Harris, someone was out for blood. Was it Cvetic, or was he fronting for someone else? While there is no hard evidence that Cvetic's speeches were ghost-written, an FBI staff member who attended a Cvetic presentation claimed it was obvious Cvetic's remarks had been prepared for him.⁸⁶ In addition, some of Cvetic's claims regarding Harris did not sound right. A good example was his matter-of-factly citing the sixth report of the California Un-American Activities Committee with respect to both Slonimsky and Harris. Published under the auspices of the California State Senate, Cvetic did not volunteer how he managed to access such an arcane publication. In addition, while Harris's name does appear in the sixth report, this document is well over 400 pages in length, with a thirty-page index packed with names.⁸⁷ One does not casually "thumb through" such a document and accidentally discover a name; one intently researches through it, with a specific name in mind.

In a different vein, Cvetic's criticism of the Mellon Trust and other foundations had an oddly populist quality to it. This sort of thinking certainly appealed to Musmanno who enjoyed playing the workingman's David fighting the corporate Goliath of wealth and privilege. Yet there was a problem with Cvetic's having made such an issue of Slonimsky's article about Shostakovich appearing in *New Masses*. Roughly a year after the article appeared, the magazine carried an item written by Musmanno.⁸⁸ Entitled "The Conscience of Dr. Lowell," it was an excerpt from Musmanno's book on the Sacco and Vanzetti case entitled *After Twelve Years*.⁸⁹ Taking this into account, as well as the style of the two speeches, it is reasonable to assume they were written by Moore. However, once Cvetic got underway, Musmanno wasted no time rushing to his side, taking the lead.

It should be noted that while Cvetic damned Slonimsky for having an article published in *New Masses*, Cvetic did not mention one word about the article's content. It was a review of Shostakovich's music, especially how his work attempted to describe musically the sense of activity experienced in the Soviet Union with its crash industrialization program under the five-year plans.⁹⁰ Because of this, the article was about the music and only the music. It did not contain a single word endorsing either Communism or the Soviet system. Thus, Cvetic's commentary consisted of half-truths, producing the net effect of a lie.

This same mentality also pervaded the charge that Harris was a member of eight Communist front organizations. Although neither Cvetic nor Musmanno said so, their source was a sixty-two-page pamphlet released by HUAC on April 19, 1949, entitled *A Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference on World Peace*. The work was a critique of an international peace conference held in New York in late March of 1949 sponsored by the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The pamphlet lambasted the meeting as a pro-Soviet/anti-American jamboree, characterized the sponsoring organization as a Communist front, and listed the names of the meeting's individual sponsors, writing them off as either Communist sympathizers or fellow travelers. It then presented additional name lists, linking various people to other groups the HUAC found questionable. The mentality at work here: if your name appears here, and especially if it appears more than once, you are a Communist sympathizer. Harris's name appeared eight times, listed as "Roy Harris," "Roy E. Harris," or "Dr. Roy E. Harris." They even got his name wrong at one point, listing him as "Ray E. Harris." This indicated that whoever assembled this document simply compiled lists of names gleaned from various sources, without much thought or accuracy.⁹¹

The wellspring of this appears to have been Harris's listing as a conference sponsor for the Social and Cultural Conference on World Peace. When questioned about this in 1951, Harris stated that he had been approached about being a sponsor by his friend, playwright Clifford Odets. Harris declined, but Odets put Harris's name down anyway.⁹² The sponsor list appeared in the March 29, 1949, edition of the *New York Times*, and was taken from there.⁹³

As the controversy in Pittsburgh unfolded, Harris attempted to put on a brave face about the matter in public.⁹⁴ Privately, it was getting to him. By early October, he was looking for help and attempted to find it through the FBI. On October 3, Harris and his wife Joanna went to the bureau's Pittsburgh branch, speaking with Office Chief F. J. Baumgardner and supervisor C. E. Sendall. In the course of this meeting Harris asserted that Cvetic was using half-truths and smear tactics, and presented several documents taken from his personal correspondence that he considered proof of his loyalty, possibly the correspondence arising from his 1951 vetting. In conjunction with this, Harris asked if the bureau could provide him with a letter clearing him of Cvetic's charges.

The FBI responded that this was impossible since the bureau was a fact-finding organization, and did not engage in adjudication.⁹⁵ Disingenuous as this response may have been, it was essentially correct. Referring to

his alleged Communist front memberships, Harris admitted that he had belonged to these groups, adding that he had been naïve in his organizational activities. With this, he had hoped that differences between the United States and the Soviet Union could be reconciled, but came to realize this was impossible. Because of this, he had supported former vice president Henry Wallace when he ran for the presidency in 1948, but eventually broke with the campaign. Harris also stated that various groups had used his name because of his prominence. In conceding these points, though, Harris insisted that he was a loyal American citizen, and declared that if necessary, he would contact the HUAC in order to straighten things out.⁹⁶ At the same time, the Mellon Trust reinvestigated Harris, and this was overseen by Pittsburgh attorney Charles Kenworthy.⁹⁷

As for Musmanno, he used a tactic on Harris he had employed in other contexts and venues: the populist crusade. He understood that the central ingredient in such an approach was to stoke indignation. Once this happened, backing one's opponent into a corner would be a fairly simple matter. To accomplish this, Musmanno tried to demonize Harris as a pro-Soviet dilettante giving aid and comfort to the enemy, claiming that he appeared to be lining up with the Soviets, despite their being responsible for 22,000 American deaths in the Korean War, still raging at the time.⁹⁸

Musmanno stated that there was a way that Harris could come back into the nation's good graces: admit his mistake and drop his Fifth Symphony's dedication to the Soviet people. In calling on Harris to do this, Musmanno cited Beethoven's experience. Beethoven originally dedicated his Third Symphony to Napoleon, only to drop it later when it became apparent that he was not Europe's liberator.⁹⁹ If Harris tore up the dedication, all would be forgiven, and Musmanno would be the first to take Harris's hand in friendship. What Musmanno was proposing amounted to what author Victor Nevansky described as a degradation ceremony.¹⁰⁰ In such a proceeding, the accused heretic admits his fault, *a la* Galileo, renounces his work, and asks forgiveness. This was something Harris refused to do.

Since no public exoneration would be forthcoming from the FBI, Harris soldiered on with the music festival, held November 24–30, 1952. The event was given much fanfare and full coverage in Pittsburgh's media.¹⁰¹ Musmanno, trying to foment public ire over the work's dedication, called upon the audience to show their displeasure by refusing to applaud when Harris's Fifth Symphony was performed.¹⁰² Not only did Musmanno's plea fall flat, the ovation the work received was thunderous and overwhelming,

leaving the justice with egg on his face.¹⁰³ The Pittsburgh International Contemporary Music Festival proved a great success. Harris's Fifth Symphony had been performed and well received. Because of this, one would have assumed that the controversy over the symphony's dedication would have been moot, and that Musmanno would have cut his losses and ended his crusade. Unfortunately for Harris, none of this dissuaded the justice. If anything, it seemed to make him all the more determined.

On December 1, two days after the festival concluded, it was announced that Musmanno had contacted HUAC, calling for Harris's investigation. The committee was looking into various foundations at this time, and since Harris had been brought to Pittsburgh via foundational support, it seemed to Musmanno only natural that the committee should extend its investigation to a controversial recipient. Musmanno reported that he had spoken to the committee's staff, and turned over to them all of his materials on Harris, including the two speeches that Cvetic had delivered in August.¹⁰⁴

Response to the maneuver was immediate. Mayor Lawrence, as well as Paul Anderson and James Bovard, issued a joint statement saying, "We have heard a lot about guilt by association. This was the first time that we deal with guilt by dedication." They also attempted to turn the tables on Musmanno logically by adding, "No greater catastrophe could happen to us than to adopt the Russian Communist rule of conformity in all things. If in the guise of opposing Communism, we adopt its worst practices, we have lost much of the reason for our world-wide challenge to it." In other words, Musmanno, in his zeal, was becoming the very thing he despised.¹⁰⁵

Harris issued his own statement attesting to his loyalty that very same day. Saying that he had remained silent until now, due to his belief that "our elected government" had created structures to protect people from social and political dangers, Harris asserted, "I was born an American. I am one, I have always done and will continue to do the best I can to honor and protect this country." Citing his work as musical director of the Office of War Information, Harris went on to say:

as a patriotic duty, I did what I could . . . to aid our common cause with Russia. That we have since found our philosophies and program incompatible is no reason to challenge my loyalty or that of anyone else. It only demands that we continue to identify ourselves with the ideals of our government and the people it represents.¹⁰⁶

Thus, lines between the two sides were clearly drawn with no clear resolution. On the one side was Harris, having the backing of Mayor David Lawrence, the presidents of PCW and Carnegie Tech, as well as the silent support of Pittsburgh's elite. On the other were Musmanno and Cvetic, wrapping themselves in the American flag with patriotic outrage, and neither of them in the mood to back off. If the matter were to be resolved, resolution would be in the court of public opinion.

Ironically, the American Legion was the vehicle for Harris's exoneration. As a veteran's organization, the Legion was conservative to the point of being right-wing. At the same time, various local branches sponsored Americanism committees designed to promote loyalty and patriotism in the public sphere. As things turned out, the Americanism Committee of the Allegheny County American Legion was given the task of determining whether or not Harris was a Soviet/Communist sympathizer.

In a memo dated December 11, 1952, the FBI's Special Agent in Charge (SAC) recounted to J. Edgar Hoover a visit he had from a member of the Pittsburgh community relating to the Harris case. Although the document is heavily redacted, the story it relates can be reconstructed. The visitor, possibly Pittsburgh Legionnaire Colonel John H. Shenkel, reported that an unnamed person in the community, presumably Musmanno or Cvetic, had been condemning Harris "with miserable results." The informant also pointed out that several of Pittsburgh's leading citizens were supporting Harris, and that the charges being leveled against him "appear to be ill-founded." This notwithstanding, the unnamed critic had originally approached the American Legion for a resolution condemning Harris as a follower of the Communist line. However, as things worked out, it was decided that the Legion would provide a forum for both sides to present their respective claims. The meeting was set for December 15.¹⁰⁷ Aside from his work for the Legion, Shenkel was chief clerk of the Allegheny County Criminal Court.¹⁰⁸

The meeting took place as scheduled. This was the only time that Musmanno and Harris squared off with each other face to face. It happened in the Allegheny County Courthouse before the Americanism Committee of the Allegheny County American Legion. Colonel Shenkel chaired the meeting, and he opened it by reading a resolution condemning Harris written by Musmanno. The meeting went on for two hours. Musmanno spoke for the first twenty-eight minutes, essentially rehashing what Cvetic had said the previous August. Harris then gained the floor, denying the charges. It was at

this point the proceeding became heated, with Harris and Musmanno trading insults. President Anderson of the PCW was also present, attesting to Harris's loyalty and to the fact that the college had investigated the charges against Harris and found them baseless. At the meeting's end, Harris probably scored some points by saying that he planned to dedicate his Seventh Symphony to the American forces fighting in Korea.¹⁰⁹

With both sides having presented their case, it would be up to the Americanism Committee, and by extension the Allegheny County American Legion, to either clear or condemn Harris. It appeared that Harris and his supporters were gaining the upper hand. Although Musmanno continued to point to Harris's supposed Communist front activities, no groundswell of support calling for Harris's removal was apparent after this meeting.

Musmanno and Cvetic next attempted to rally people to their cause via radio, and get time on Pittsburgh station KQV for them to deliver a joint speech. KQV was a major Pittsburgh media outlet, and usually Musmanno would not have had any difficulty securing airtime on it or any other Pittsburgh station. KQV refused. Undeterred, Musmanno was able to get time on WMCK in McKeesport.¹¹⁰ The program was broadcast the evening of December 18, 1952, three days after the American Legion meeting.¹¹¹ Cvetic went first. Referring to himself as "a former FBI undercover agent," he implied he had a special understanding of Communism and its insidious nature, adding that "the respectable person in the cultural, educational, and professional field who participates in Communist front activities does far more harm to our country than hundreds of rank and file members who carry party cards." Cvetic went on to add that Harris, by refusing to repudiate his symphony's original dedication, wanted the work to "remain dedicated to the people of the Soviet Socialist Republic, the same Soviet force whose Soviet bullets are continuing to kill American boys in Korea" (3). After making this point, Cvetic called for a congressional investigation of the Mellon Trust, and for the people of Pittsburgh to insist that tax-exempt foundations limit their support to people "who had not lost faith in American ideals and American traditions" (4).

Musmanno spoke immediately thereafter. A far more moving and eloquent speaker than Cvetic, Musmanno first lauded Cvetic for the service he had rendered to the FBI. He then turned to Harris. Like Cvetic, he tried to tie Harris to the Korean War by his continuing "a dedication to a country which to date is responsible in Korea for over 126,000 American casualties" (5). He added "whether the dedication is by word of eulogy or by displaying

the flag of Russia, the effect is the same. It a manifestation of homage to an enemy, our mortal enemy" (6). After this, he eventually turned his attention to Harris's promise that he would dedicate his Seventh Symphony to the American forces fighting in Korea. Musmanno denigrated this by saying that the work had been written in 1947, and thus was being recycled for a cynical purpose. In proof of this, Musmanno cited *Modern Composers* by Daniel Ewan (9). Musmanno was mistaken. While the Seventh Symphony had been commissioned in 1947, it had only just recently been completed.¹¹²

The broadcast had muted response. About the only person who noted it publicly was Milton K. Susman, who wrote a regular column entitled "As I See It" for Pittsburgh's weekly Jewish newspaper, *The Jewish Criterion*. In the paper's December 19 and 26 editions, Susman wrote two stinging assessments of Musmanno's behavior relative to Harris. In short, he characterized Musmanno as a grandstander whose "tawdry" behavior was beneath the dignity of his high office.¹¹³ This was significant, since Pittsburgh's Jewish community was an important part of Musmanno's base of support. Far from rallying the city to his side, the justice appeared to be discrediting himself.¹¹⁴

The FBI kept a close watch on Cvetic afterward, since the government was going ahead with its plan to prosecute Pittsburgh's Communist leadership under the Smith Act.¹¹⁵ This presented a major problem: Cvetic's antics threatened to discredit him, and thereby jeopardize prosecutions with which he was connected.¹¹⁶ Although dropping him as a witness was discussed, he was indispensable, and the government was stuck with him.

Fortunately for the government, the Harris case remained dormant from December 19 to the end of January 1953, while the Americanism Committee considered the evidence before it. In early February things came to a head. On February 3, William Block, publisher of the *Post-Gazette*, came to Washington to speak with J. Edgar Hoover about the case. Block assured Hoover from the outset that their conversation would be entirely off the record. From there, Block stated that, based on information he had, Cvetic was "owned" by Musmanno and an unnamed "Hearst newspaper reporter," presumably Moore. Block went on to say that Musmanno was well known for self-promotion, and that his alleged fight against Communism was just a continuation of this. He added that Cvetic was becoming quite careless in charging people with either Communist or Communist front activity. What concerned Block most, however, was Cvetic's characterization as a former FBI agent, which was enabling him to speak with considerable authority in the FBI's name.

Hoover responded that he too was concerned about Cvetic's behavior, asserting that Cvetic was never an undercover agent but a paid informant, and expressed a willingness to make a public statement to that effect. Block then stated that he "intended to go further into Cvetic's activities and particularly those persons associated with him." Just what Block meant by this is unclear, but it would seem that he was contemplating some sort of negative exposé of Cvetic, Musmanno, and possibly Moore, if Cvetic kept it up.

Judging from the memo's content, and from subsequent correspondence, the meeting was cordial and friendly in tone. Hoover, though, was concerned. He directed two of his top associates, D. Milton Ladd, a personal assistant, and Deputy FBI Director Alan Belmont to prepare a summary about Cvetic's efforts for the bureau. Hoover also wanted to be updated about the necessity of using Cvetic in the approaching Pittsburgh Smith Act trial. He concluded that, based on Block's comments, Cvetic was becoming increasingly discredited, and that using him as a witness might hurt the prosecutions. The summary was prepared.¹¹⁷ After reading it, Hoover wrote, "I think Ladd and Belmont should speak to [Deputy Attorney General] Onley re Cvetic so he will be aware personally. The use of Cvetic in any good case would be most unfortunate. H."¹¹⁸

Back in Pittsburgh, on the same day Block met with Hoover, the Pennsylvania College for Women issued a point-by-point refutation of the charges that had been leveled against Harris. Written by Dr. Anderson, it was nineteen pages in length.¹¹⁹ The document appears to have been based on information gathered by PCW about Harris when he was originally cleared, as well as Charles Kenworthy's second investigation. While Kenworthy's report does not appear to be available, he stated that the charges against Harris were baseless.¹²⁰ That point was stressed in the report's cover letter, signed by Thomas W. Hamilton, the college's vice president. It stated that Harris had been the victim of several vicious and unscrupulous attacks. Not wanting to carry out a vituperation campaign in the public arena, the college carried out an extensive reinvestigation into Harris's background as it related to Cvetic's charges. That second investigation was now done, and President Anderson's statement contained the facts.¹²¹ Using a restrained style, Anderson systematically deconstructed all of Cvetic's and Musmanno's claims, reserving a certain rhetorical flourish for the document's last paragraph. Citing the Pittsburgh Renaissance, Anderson asserted that Harris was "one of our great

creative men” who had been brought to the city to help make this happen. Thus, “to have tolerated irresponsible and unstudied charges against a man of this stature is a blight upon our civic morality.” If such an unwarranted attack were allowed to stand, what chance would Pittsburgh have in attracting other scholars, scientists, and artists?¹²²

That evening the Americanism Committee issued its report. Musmanno had first introduced a resolution calling for Harris’s dismissal on December 2, 1952. In that time, he had won a position to the county Legion’s governing board, representing the Legion post in Stowe Township. To Musmanno’s chagrin, the committee’s report cleared Harris of disloyalty. Speaking about the committee’s investigative work, Colonel Shenkel made a veiled reference to his possibly having contacted the FBI, saying that the committee had asked questions about Harris “from here to Washington” including “some sources I can’t even divulge to you.” The committee also believed that since PCW was a private institution, its decision to have Harris on its faculty was a private matter.¹²³

Incensed, Musmanno declared the report a whitewash, and used his position on the Legion’s governing board to delay a vote on the report for one month.¹²⁴ Although Musmanno and Cvetic had been outmaneuvered, they were not giving up so easily. At this point certain anonymous parties began using what must be regarded as hardball tactics to prevent Musmanno or Cvetic from going any further. One example of this was that Cvetic had been scheduled to give another talk over McKeesport radio station WMCK the night of February 17 at 7:30 pm. Two hours before Cvetic was to go on the air, the station received a phone call from someone who threatened the station with a libel suit if Cvetic carried out another verbal attack on Harris. Consequently, the speech was not given; nor was the caller identified.¹²⁵

Undaunted, Cvetic mailed the speech, with a cover letter, to 300 Pittsburgh Legionnaires, dated February 24, 1953. Unfortunately, because the speech was done as a mimeograph, it did not photocopy well, leaving the digital copy available for this researcher illegible. However, the cover letter provides good insight as to the contents. Repeating earlier accusations, it pilloried Harris for things he said before the Americanism Committee, including his opinion that the HUAC was a witch-hunting body. Affecting a sense of moral outrage, Cvetic implied that no loyal American would hold such an opinion.¹²⁶

The letter apparently did not go over well. On February 27, an unnamed source, possibly Colonel Shenkel, informed the FBI that he had been told that

if Cvetic came to a Legion meeting scheduled for March 3, 1953, he would be “verbally attacked” by several members for his “personal habits,” as well as for his association with Justice Musmanno. The upshot was that if such a thing happened, it would negatively impact upon the up-coming Smith Act trial.¹²⁷

The anticlimactic end came at the March 3 meeting. With neither Cvetic nor Harris present, the county Legion cleared Harris of all charges. Harris issued a statement calling the attacks upon him “vicious” and “unwarranted,” adding, “The effrontery of these two persons is equaled only their lack of principle.” Harris also stated that if any questions remained, he was prepared to appear before HUAC to answer them. Going further, he challenged both Cvetic and Musmanno to go before the committee and to repeat their charges against him there.¹²⁸ This finally prompted Musmanno to back off on the matter, apparently realizing that he had overplayed his hand.¹²⁹ Cvetic, refusing to believe that the case was over, said that he was ready to testify at any time.¹³⁰

For its part, the government never looked into the matter, and neither man was called before HUAC. Editorializing the day of the meeting, in a statement entitled “The Legion and Fair Play” the *Post-Gazette* condemned both Musmanno and Cvetic for what they had been doing, and lauded Colonel Shenkel. Characterizing Cvetic as a “sometime FBI informer” and Musmanno as a political opportunist, the paper asserted that the charges against Harris were flimsy, and that the whole episode needed to end. With this, the affair was over and Harris was vindicated, but implications would be far-reaching.¹³¹

Epilogue and Conclusions

Ironically, a week after the Harris case ended, Musmanno suddenly found himself in trouble. John J. Mullen, mayor of Clairton, accused two of his city councilmen of bribery. Musmanno allegedly approached Mullen, an old ally, and urged him to drop the charges. Mullen brought the issue to the district attorney’s office, and Musmanno was charged with hindering a witness, a misdemeanor offense carrying a fine of \$300 and possibly a year in jail.¹³² Fortunately for Musmanno, the charge was dismissed in fairly short order. Musmanno continued as a fixture in both Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania politics, even achieving some international standing, testifying at Nazi Adolph Eichmann’s 1961 trial in Jerusalem.¹³³

But the Harris case was a turning point for him; not only did Musmanno irreparably damage his standing with his fellow Pittsburgh Democrats, he had made a public fool of himself. When the case concluded, Cy Hungerford drew a cartoon whose caption read, "The Persistent Sniper." In it Musmanno is depicted as a child trying to hit Harris with a slingshot. Musmanno then turns to an American Legionnaire, who gives the justice an ugly sneer when he says, "Hey buddy, loan me your gun."¹³⁴ Musmanno attempted to dispel this by minimizing what he did in his book *Across the Street from the Courthouse*. Writing about the Harris case, he devotes one page to it, claiming that he only asked people not to applaud the Fifth Symphony when it was performed, and then subtly changes the subject.¹³⁵ It was no use; the damage was done. Musmanno remained on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court until his sudden death by a massive stroke in 1968. By that time his influence had waned entirely.

The FBI's worst fears appeared to be coming true. Cvetic would be arrested in Brownsville, Pennsylvania, for drunk driving about eighteen months after the Harris affair ended.¹³⁶ Pittsburgh's Smith Act trial took place in August 1953. Cvetic testified, and all of the defendants, including Steve Nelson, were convicted.¹³⁷ Unfortunately, Cvetic's arrest became public knowledge, and an organization identified as the Western Pennsylvania Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born began calling for the reopening of all cases where Cvetic participated.¹³⁸

For its part, the FBI did a great deal of ruminating about its usage of ex-Communist witnesses. True to form, the bureau's concerns were practical rather than ethical in nature. Overuse of certain witnesses carried with it the danger that they would come to be seen as professional informers and thereby be discredited.¹³⁹ While the matter was discussed at length, no good solution was found. Ironically, while the federal government fretted about Cvetic damaging its case, the undoing came from a different source: another paid informant, Joseph Mazzei. In *Mesarosh v. United States*, handed down November 6, 1956, the US Supreme Court found that Mazzei, who had testified at the trial, perjured himself, and so threw out the convictions.¹⁴⁰ That same year, the Supreme Court also threw out Nelson's conviction under the Pennsylvania sedition law, based on the theory that only the federal government could prosecute for sedition.¹⁴¹ Confronted with the fact that its two star witnesses had major credibility problems, the government opted not to retry Nelson or his co-defendants. From here Cvetic's life continued in a downward spiral until his sudden death of a heart attack in 1962. He was fifty-three.

Roy Harris continued at PCW, moving on only after his appointment there was finished. Around the time when his term at the college came to an end, the Department of State tapped him in 1958 to take part in a goodwill tour.¹⁴² While the case had been a frightening experience, he had remained true to his principles and prevailed. Very few artists or academics that came under fire for communism in the 1950s could make that claim.

In terms of the affair's implications for the city, they were twofold. First, although Harris prevailed, damage was done. Although the first International Contemporary Music Festival was a success, it would be a long time before there would be a second. Plus, there was no telling how many creative people who might have been brought to Pittsburgh balked at the idea after seeing what happened to Harris.

Second, the Harris case provided a model for the future. In 1961 University of Pittsburgh history professor Robert G. Colodny came under fire for alleged Communism. Although Colodny, too, was ultimately exonerated and cleared of disloyalty, a major contributing factor was Pitt Chancellor Dr. Edward Litchfield's standing by Colodny, much like Dr. Anderson standing by Harris, and for much the same reason: the city's Renaissance. If Pittsburgh were to shed its old image of a parochial and culturally stunted industrial center for one of greater sophistication, then it had to tolerate a wide range of ideas and beliefs, including dissenting points of view. Thus, the Harris case marked the beginning of the city's long march in that direction, and thereby typified Pittsburgh's Renaissance by serving as a transformative event.

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NOTES

1. Roy Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh*, vol. 1, *Government, Business and Economic Change* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995), 106–11.
2. See John Earl Haynes, "Farm Coops and the Election of Hubert Humphrey to the Senate," *Agricultural History* 57, no. 2 (April 1983): 201–11.

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3. David Caute, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 70–81.
4. “Musmanno’s Victory,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 26, 1951; Cy Hungerford, front-page editorial cartoon, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 26, 1951.
5. J. E. Thornton, FBI Special Agent in Charge (SAC), Pittsburgh, letter to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, February 16, 1943; see Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf at <http://www.buildingdemocracy.us>. Unless otherwise cited, all FBI documents relating to Matt Cvetic have been downloaded from the Building Democracy website (<http://www.buildingdemocracy.us>). These documents are also available at the Internet Archive website (<https://archive.org>), and can be downloaded from either website for free. The Cvetic documents were declassified by the FBI in 2012 as a result of a Freedom of Information Act request. Internet Archive has many different hard-to-get materials, including a wealth of government publications. Unless otherwise noted, all government publications cited here have been downloaded from Internet Archive.
6. J. A. Carlson, interoffice memo to Clyde Tolson regarding Matthew Cvetic, former National Defense informant, February 20, 1950; see Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
7. Daniel J. Leab, “Anti-Communism, the FBI, and Matt Cvetic: The Ups and Downs of a Professional Informer,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 115, no. 4 (October 1991): 539–40, 554–59.
8. One good example of this behavior was outlined in a 1951 teletype the bureau received from its Los Angeles office stating that Cvetic was in a “hopelessly intoxicated state” and creating a scene at the Beverly Hills Hotel. The hotel’s detective was seeking the FBI’s assistance in the matter. The bureau refused to get involved, with Director J. Edgar Hoover pointedly writing, “This is none of our business.” See teletype, December 18, 1951, Fr[o]m Los Angeles, [to] Director, FBI, and SAC, Pittsburgh, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-3.pdf.
9. *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania College for Women* 47, no. 3 (November 1951): 37; Paul R. Anderson, President, Pennsylvania College for Women, “Statement on Roy Harris,” p. 1, File Folder (FF) 1: Anderson, Paul R. Statement on Roy Harris 1953, Box 23: Writings about Roy Harris by Others, 1930–1994, Roy Harris Papers, Call Number ML31.H37, Music Division, Library of Congress (hereafter Harris Papers). The Harris Papers are available for research purposes; however, scholars must receive permission from Dr. Harris’s daughter before the papers can be accessed. With this, the author wishes to extend his thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Patricia Harris Connelly for so graciously granting him access to her father’s papers.
10. Sally (Sarah) Stephenson, “Michael A. Musmanno: A Symbolic Leader” (D.A. diss., Carnegie Mellon University, 1981), iii–iv, 1–4, 30–33.
11. See Michael A. Musmanno, “The Battle of the Miners,” chap. 7 of *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Company, 1954), 69–75.
12. Stephenson, “Michael A. Musmanno,” 33–38.
13. Richard Mulcahy, “Musmanno’s Fury,” *Western Pennsylvania History* 95, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 49.
14. American Civil Liberties Union, *The Shame of Pennsylvania: The Story of How Pennsylvania Leads the States in Police Violence and Brutality, Prosecutions for Opinion, and War on Strikers and Radicals* (New York: ACLU, 1928), 1–4; Arthur Garfield Hays, *Let Freedom Ring* (New York: Liveright, 1937), 93–123; Musmanno, *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, 69.
15. Musmanno, *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, 73–74.
16. Mulcahy, “Musmanno’s Fury,” 53.

17. Jeremiah Patrick Shalloo, *Private Police: With Special Reference to Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1933), 65–66.
18. Musmanno, *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, 70–71, 73.
19. Jonathan Bell, “The Changing Dynamics of American Liberalism: Paul Douglas and the Elections of 1948,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 96, no. 4 (Winter 2004): 374–78; Paul R. Haerle “Constitutional Law: Federal Anti-Subversive Legislation: The Communist Control Act of 1954,” *Michigan Law Review* 53, no. 8 (1955): 1154–56, 1158–65.
20. Richard P. Mulcahy, *A Social Contract for the Coal Fields* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001), 127–28.
21. Cecil Carnes, *John L. Lewis: Leader of Labor* (New York: Robert Speller Publishing Corporation, 1936), 219ff.; Walter T. Howard, “The Miners Union: Communists and Miners in the Pennsylvania Anthracite, 1928–1931,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 125, no. 1 (January/April 2001): 91–92.
22. *Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate Commerce, United States Senate*, 70th Congr., 1st sess., Pursuant to S. Res. 105, A Resolution to Investigate Conditions in the Coal Fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio, February 23–27, 1928, pt. 2 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1928), 344.
23. *Ibid.*, 141–46, 349–56.
24. “Fellow travelers” was a term of art/slang expression used by security investigators like McCarthy, as well as by anyone writing about the issue at the time. It meant a person who was not a Communist per se, but who was a leftist and who sympathized with the positions the Communists advocated in the political realm.
25. Leab, “Anti-Communism, the FBI, and Matt Cvetic,” 581.
26. Both from Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf: F. J. Baumgardner, FBI interoffice memo to H. B. Fletcher, October 5, 1949; J. E. Thornton, FBI Special Agent in Charge (SAC), Pittsburgh, letter to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, February 26, 1942.
27. Thornton, letter to Hoover, February 16, 1943, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
28. Hoover, letter to Thornton, February 22, 1943, in *ibid.*
29. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, October 10, 1952, in *ibid.*
30. Baumgardner to Fletcher, October 5, 1949, in *ibid.*
31. SAC Pittsburgh (no name given), letter to Director, FBI, April 14, 1948, in *ibid.*
32. D. M. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, March 27, 1947, in *ibid.*
33. Carlson, FBI interoffice memo to Tolson, February 20, 1950, in *ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*; SAC Pittsburgh (Thornton), FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, May 7, 1948, in Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
36. SAC Pittsburgh (Thornton), FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, May 7, 1948, in *ibid.*
37. Carlson to Tolson, February 20, 1950, in Cvetic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
38. D. M. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to H. B. Fletcher, January 4, 1949, in *ibid.*
39. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI teletype to SAC New York and Director FBI, January 11, 1949; H. B. Fletcher, FBI interoffice memo to D. M. Ladd, January 26, 1949; Edward Schmidt, SAC New York,

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- letter to Director, FBI, February 15, 1949; Director, FBI, memo to SAC Pittsburgh, June 8, 1949, all in *ibid.*
40. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, September 23, 1949; Baumgardner to Fletcher, October 5, 1949; Carlson to Tolson, February 20, 1950, all in *ibid.*
 41. Baumgardner to Fletcher, October 5, 1949, in *ibid.*
 42. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, November 8, 1949, in *ibid.*
 43. F. J. Baumgardner, FBI interoffice memo to H. B. Fletcher, November 22, 1949, in *ibid.*
 44. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, December 9, 1949, and F. J. Baumgardner, FBI interoffice memo to H. B. Fletcher, December 20, 1949, in *ibid.*
 45. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, January 4, 1950, in *ibid.*
 46. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1950.
 47. Guy Hottel, SAC Washington, DC, FBI interoffice memo to Director FBI, February 20, 1950, in Cvetcic, Matt-HQ-1.pdf.
 48. Leab, "Anti-Communism, the FBI, and Matt Cvetcic," 538, 569.
 49. *Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the Year 1950* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1951), 13.
 50. Leab, "Anti-Communism, the FBI, and Matt Cvetcic," 539, 565, 573.
 51. "Dr. Roy Harris with Alias Roy Ellsworth Harris," FBI confidential report, January 20, 1944, file no. SS 100-3417, p. 2, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953 (the report quotes an article by Nicholas Slonimsky entitled "America's Number One Composer," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 27, 1943), Box 27: Business Papers, 1938–1985, Harris Papers. All future citations to confidential reports are from the Harris Papers.
 52. FBI confidential reports: "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, file no. NY 100-60230, pp. 1, 2–3, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers; "Dr. Roy Harris with Alias Roy Ellsworth Harris," 1.
 53. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, 2–3.
 54. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," FBI confidential report, January 12, 1945, file no. DVR 100-3475, 4, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers
 55. "Roy Harris, Contrapuntist," *Literary Digest*, May 19, 1934, 24.
 56. Howard Hanson, "The Flowering of American Music," *Saturday Review*, August 6, 1949, 162.
 57. Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris," 2.
 58. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 12, 1945, 1–2.
 59. See Joseph E. Davies, *Mission to Moscow* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1941); Wendell Willkie, *One World* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943).
 60. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, 4.
 61. Confidential reports: "Dr. Roy Harris with Alias Roy Ellsworth Harris," 2; "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, 2, 4.
 62. "Dr. Roy Harris with Alias Roy Ellsworth Harris," 4ff.
 63. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 12, 1945, 4.
 64. *Ibid.*; Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris," 2.
 65. "Roy Ellsworth Harris," January 17, 1945, 4.

66. J. Edgar Hoover, memorandum to Mr. Tolson, Mr. Ladd, Mr. Nichols, February 5, 1953, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
67. Robert Gorczyca, "Sound and Fury: The Sedition Trial of Communist Steve Nelson," *Western Pennsylvania History* 91, no. 2 (Summer 2008): 46–47.
68. Steve Nelson, James R. Barrett, and Robert Ruck, *Steve Nelson: American Radical* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981), 333.
69. Ibid. 334–35; see also Steve Nelson [Stephan Mesarosh], *The Thirteenth Juror: The Inside Story of My Trial* (New York: Masses and Mainstream, 1955), 180–86.
70. Nelson, Barrett, and Ruck, *Steve Nelson*, 321.
71. Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris," 2. In fact, later that year the state would pass the Pennsylvania Loyalty Act, prohibiting any state-aided college or university from employing anyone who advocated the overthrow of the American government by force and violence. Although PCW was a private institution, it is reasonable to assume that it sought to be compliant with the act. No educational institution at this time would have been wanted to be seen as providing a safe harbor for subversive persons. See *Pennsylvania Loyalty Act*, Act of December 22, 1951, P.L. 1726, No. 463, Cl. 65, pp. 1–6.
72. John G. Frazer Jr., of Kirkpatrick, Pomeroy, Lockhart & Johnson, letter to Adolph W. Schmidt of the A.W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, April 26, 1951, FF 4: Papers, Re: Roy Harris Political Life, Box 41, A. W. Mellon Educational Trust Papers (hereafter "Mellon Trust Papers"), collection no. A15.1980.29, University Archives, University of Pittsburgh.
73. Roy Harris, letter to John G. Frazer Jr., of Kirkpatrick, Pomeroy, Lockhart & Johnson, April 21, 1951; Frazer, letter to Schmidt, April 26, 1951, Mellon Trust Papers.
74. "World Music Festival Here in Fall; Tech, PCW Sponsor November Event," *Pittsburgh Press*, April 18, 1952.
75. Ibid.
76. "Ralph Lewando Becomes the Press Music Critic," *Pittsburgh Press*, October 5, 1930.
77. W. E. Leishear, FBI interoffice memo to A.H. Belmont, March 6, 1950, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-2.pdf.
78. National Council of Jewish Women, Pittsburgh Section, Oral History Collection at the University of Pittsburgh, *Pittsburgh and Beyond: The Experience of the Jewish Community*, William Block interview, May 10, 1994, recording no. T3S5, <http://images.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/i/image/image-idx?view=entry;cc=ncjw;entryid=x-ais196440.047>. This is a digital recording of an oral history interview with *Post-Gazette* publisher William Block.
79. L. L. Laughlin, FBI interoffice memo to A. H. Belmont, July 23, 1952, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-3.pdf.
80. Matt Cvetic, "An Address by Matt Cvetic, Former FBI Undercover Agent in the Communist Party, Delivered before the Pennsylvania American Legion Convention in Philadelphia on August 7, 1952, at Convention Hall, 1:30, pm," p. 1, Cvetic-Matt-HQ-281.pdf. Subsequent page numbers appear in the text.
81. "PCW Professor 'Pink' Cvetic Says, Dr. Harris Calls Charge Ridiculous," *Pittsburgh Press*, August 8, 1952; "Pinko Charge Laughed Off by Dr. Harris, Cvetic Accusation Brings Quick Denial by PCW Professor," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 8, 1952.
82. "Pinko Charge Laughed Off by Dr. Harris."

83. Matt Cvetcic, "Address of Matt Cvetcic, Former FBI Undercover Agent in the Communist Party, Before the Optimists Club of Pittsburgh, at noon Tuesday, August 26, 1952, Roosevelt Hotel," p. 1, Cvetcic-Matt-HQ-281.pdf.
84. *Institute of Pacific Relations: Report of the Committee on the Judiciary, Eighty-Second Congress, Second Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 366 (81st Congress) A Resolution Relating to the Internal Security of the United States, Hearing Held July 25, 1951–June 20, 1952 By the Internal Security Subcommittee* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1952), 3.
85. *Ibid.*, 3–4, 87, 164, 211. This criticism of the Rockefeller Foundation supporting subversion was also publicly made by Congressman Edward E. Cox of Georgia; see "Rockefeller Foundation Hit," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 25, 1952. The Rockefeller Foundation categorically denied that it ever subsidized subversion, but had promoted free thought. See *The Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report, 1953* (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1953), 26–29.
86. H. H. Clegg, FBI interoffice memo to Mr. Tolson, October 15, 1952, Cvetcic, Matt-HQ-3.pdf.
87. See California Legislature, *Sixth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on un-American Activities, 1951* (Sacramento: California State Senate, 1951).
88. Michael Musmanno, "The Conscience of Dr. Lowell," *The New Masses*, January 19, 1943, 22–23.
89. See Michael A. Musmanno, *After Twelve Years* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939).
90. Nicholas Slonimsky, "Shostakovich's Colleagues," *The New Masses*, September 1, 1942, 26–28.
91. *Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference on World Peace, Arranged by the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions, Held in New York City, March 25, 26, and 27, 1949*. Report dated April 19, 1949, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, US House of Representatives, Washington, DC, 1–3, 9, 14–15, 19, 23, 28, 30, 33, 43, 50, 58.
92. Roy Harris, letter to John G. Frazer Jr. of Kirkpatrick, Pomeroy, Lockhart & Johnson, April 21, 1951, FF 4: Papers, Re: Roy Harris Political Life, Box 41, Mellon Trust Papers.
93. *Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference on World Peace*, 57.
94. "Pinko Charge Laughed Off by Dr. Harris"; "PCW Professor 'Pink' Cvetcic Says."
95. A. H. Belmont, FBI interoffice memo to D. M. Ladd, October 9, 1952, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers.
96. Belmont, FBI interoffice memo to Ladd, February 12, 1953, Harris Papers.
97. Thomas A. Clarke, *Front-Page Pittsburgh: Two Hundred Years of the Post-Gazette* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), 225; Block interview.
98. Stephenson, "Michael A. Musmanno," 171.
99. "Reply by Judge Michael A. Musmanno and Matt Cvetcic, Former FBI Undercover Agent in the Communist Party, to Statement on Roy Harris by Paul R. Anderson, President, Pennsylvania College for Women," 13, Michael A. Musmanno Papers, Duquesne University, Pittsburgh PA (hereafter Musmanno Papers). The Musmanno Papers are open for scholarly with few, if any, restrictions.
100. Victor Nevansky, *Naming Names* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 314ff.
101. "Music Festival to Include 11 Concerts, Thanksgiving Week Program Announced," *Pittsburgh Press*, September 16, 1952; "Music Festival on Tonight: All-Star Lineup at Carnegie Hall to Survey Contemporary Works," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 24, 1952; Editorial "Music Week in Pittsburgh," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 24, 1952. This editorial celebrates the festival's

- facilitation of Pittsburgh's emergence as a center of the arts, and pays particular note of the fact that local artists are playing a prominent role in the event, and that it was made possible by a grant from the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust; "Music Festival Off to Auspicious Beginning: Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra Under Steinberg Presents Newer Composers," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 25, 1952; "First Nighters Savor Rare Musical Fare: Several Composers on Hand to Hear Their Works Rendered in Hallowed Oakland Auditorium," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 25, 1952; "Tension Fades Fast at Music Festival: Justice Musmanno Asks No Applause for Harris, But Audience Gives Ovation," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 27, 1952.
102. "Tension Fades Fast at Music Festival."
 103. Cy Hungerford, editorial cartoon, "A Little Too Big to Handle," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 28, 1952.
 104. "Musmanno Asks Investigation of Roy Harris" *Pittsburgh Press*, December 1, 1952.
 105. "Mayor, President of PCW Defend Composer Harris," *Pittsburgh Press*, December 1, 1952.
 106. Ibid.
 107. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, FBI, December 11, 1952, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers.
 108. Block interview; see also "The Colonel's Day, Flag Day Procedure Reversed," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 14, 1963.
 109. "Legion Defers Action on Slap at Harris: Composer Meets Accuser Face to Face to Say That Judge's Charges Are Lies," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, December 16, 1952.
 110. Milton K. Susman, "As I See It," *Jewish Criterion*, December 26, 1952; 6. Note: *The Jewish Criterion* was a weekly newspaper/news magazine published for and by Pittsburgh's Jewish community between 1895 and 1962. Complete digital copies of the paper can be accessed through the Carnegie-Mellon University Library's Digital Collections website at <http://digitalcollections.library.cmu.edu/portal/index.jsp>.
 111. Verbatim transcript of radio broadcast made by Matt Cvetic and Michael A. Musmanno entitled "The Real Issue in the Roy Harris Case" over station WMCK in McKeesport, PA, December 18, 1952, p. 1, FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers. Subsequent page numbers appear in the text.
 112. "Statement by Robert B. French on Roy Harris' Seventh Symphony," FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers.
 113. Milton K. Susman, "As I See It," *Jewish Criterion*, December 19, 1952, 6, and December 26, 1952, 6.
 114. Stephenson, "Michael A. Musmanno," 229–32.
 115. D. M. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to Director, November 17, 1952; SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, December 1, 1952, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
 116. D. M. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to A. H. Belmont, February 5, 1953; C. E. Hennrich, FBI interoffice memo to Belmont, February 9, 1953; Belmont, FBI interoffice memo to Ladd, February 9, 1953; Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to Director, February 3, 1953, all at Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
 117. Hoover, memorandum to Tolson, Ladd, and Nichols, February 5, 1953, in *ibid*.
 118. Ladd, FBI interoffice memo to Director, February 3, 1953 in *ibid*.
 119. Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris."
 120. Clarke, *Front-Page Pittsburgh: Two Hundred Years of the Post-Gazette*, 226; Block interview.

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121. Thomas W. Hamilton, cover letter dated February 3, 1953, Harris Papers.
122. Anderson, "Statement on Roy Harris," 19.
123. "Composer Harris Cleared in Legion Loyalty Report," *Pittsburgh Press*, February 4, 1953.
124. Ibid.
125. SAC Director, FBI interoffice memorandum to Director, March 10[?], 1953, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf. Note: the problem with the memo's exact date is that it was partially obliterated by an FBI internal circulation stamp.
126. Matt Cvetic, circular cover letter, February 24, 1953, in *ibid.*
127. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, February 27, 1953, in *ibid.*
128. "County Legion Clears Harris of Disloyalty: PCW Composer Calls Attacks Against Him 'Vicious' as 92 Posts Uphold Him, Each Unanimously," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.
129. "Musmanno Passes Harris Challenge," *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*, March 4, 1953.
130. "County Legion Clears Harris of Disloyalty" *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.
131. Editorial, "The Legion and Fair Play," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.
132. "Musmanno Faces Charge in Bribe Case: Accused of Hindering Witness," *Pittsburgh Press*, March 11, 1953.
133. "Musmanno Accuses Eichmann as Power; Authority Unlimited Trial Told," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, May 16, 1961.
134. Cy Hungerford, editorial cartoon, "The Persistent Sniper," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 3, 1953.
135. Musmanno, *Across the Street from the Courthouse*, 327–28.
136. SAC Pittsburgh, FBI interoffice memo to Director, March 21, 1955; L. V. Boardman, FBI interoffice memo to Director, March 24, 1955, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf. Cvetic would eventually be admitted to St. Francis Hospital in 1955 for chronic alcoholism by his son, who authorized electroshock. Pittsburgh FBI Office, airtel to Director, April 1, 1955, in Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
137. "Five Area Plotters Sentenced: Defense Attorneys Announce Will Ask New Trial," *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 26, 1953.
138. Boardman, FBI interoffice memorandum to Director, March 24, 1955, Cvetic, Matt-HQ-4.pdf.
139. Ibid.; "Communist Party Attacks on Government Witnesses," 7, Ex-Communist Witnesses-HQ-7.pdf.
140. *Mesarosh v. United States*, US 1 (1956). This decision can be accessed at <http://laws.findlaw.com/us/352/1.html>.
141. Nelson, Barrett, and Ruck, *Steve Nelson*, 378.
142. FBI File Memorandum, Pittsburgh, PA, September 10, 1958, in FF 1: Accusations of Communist Leanings, 1948–1953, Harris Papers.