

Drawn to Public Service

Political Cartoons from the Papers of Herbert H. Lehman

by Duane Tananbaum



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Cover illustration:
Jerry Doyle, "A Big Job for the New Chef."
Philadelphia Record, 1943
(see illustration #17, page 54).

ISBN-13: 978-0-9789037-2-5

ISBN-10: 0-9789037-2-2

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With assistance from
Tamar Evangelestia-Dougherty

Columbia University Libraries

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Introduction

The papers of Herbert H. Lehman occupy a distinguished place among the collections of the Columbia University Libraries. Transferred to Columbia in 1966 by Lehman's widow, Edith Altschul Lehman, they provide a rich and deep record of the life and career of one of America's most important public figures. With large and extensive correspondence files, the collection provides substantial documentation of Lehman's multiple engagements with the city and state of New York, the federal government, international affairs, and human rights. The Lehman Papers are part of a larger group of related primary sources at Columbia, including the papers of Frank Altschul, Paul Baerwald, Hugh R. Jackson, Edith Altschul Lehman, Marshall MacDuffie, James G. McDonald, Charles Poletti, Richard Scandrett, and William B. Welsh, among others, as well as the records of the Overbrook Press and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (1943-49). All of these materials are open to researchers regardless of affiliation. The Columbia Libraries welcome and encourage research into Lehman's long and impressive career in public service.

Included within the Lehman Papers is a group of original political cartoons sent to Lehman by their creators, including Pulitzer Prize winners Rollin Kirby and Herb Block (Herblock). These cartoons were special to Lehman, and he enjoyed displaying them in his home. They provide a window—and a sympathetic one at that—onto some of the most important phases of his career. We have long thought that these cartoons, presently on display at the Lehman Center for American History, should be shared with a broader public, and we are pleased to make them available here.

This book has been long in the making. For her initial encouragement, support, and patience, Wendy Lehman Lash deserves our gratitude and heartiest thanks. The Libraries have benefited enormously over the years from the guidance, direction, and support provided by the Lehman family, and we are better stewards because of their keen interest and involvement. Prof. Duane Tananbaum of Lehman College (CUNY) took time out from a busy schedule to do the lion's share of the work in creating this publication. He helped select the cartoon, wrote the captions and provided an excellent biographical sketch of

Lehman. His contributions to the project were essential and timely. Tamar Evangelestia-Dougherty helped launch this project several years ago when she was the Lehman Curator at Columbia, and we are appreciative of her fine work in moving it ahead. The present book is based on her good work. Dr. Gerald Cloud of the Rare Book &

Manuscript Library provided the necessary editorial guidance late in the process to see the text into print. And Greg Bear artfully designed and produced the final product. We are grateful to the Herb Block Foundation for permission to include the artist's cartoons and to Lauren Post for permission to reproduce the work of Rollin Kirby.

Michael Ryan

Director, Rare Book & Manuscript Library,
Columbia University


Herbert H. Lehman: A Life Of Public Service

by Duane Tananbaum

*"Citizen and statesman, he has used wisdom and compassion as the tools of government
and has made politics the highest form of public service."¹*

Mayer Lehman taught his son Herbert that he had a responsibility to help others, an obligation to do good works, and Herbert Lehman learned the lesson well. For most of his life, Herbert Lehman was heavily involved in charitable and philanthropic endeavors, including his long involvement with Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In 1928, Lehman began a new phase of his service to others when he was elected Lieutenant Governor of New York, a post to which he was re-elected in 1930. Two years later, when Franklin Roosevelt was elected President of the United States, Herbert Lehman was elected to succeed him as Governor of New York, and he was re-elected as the state's chief executive in 1934, 1936, and 1938. After ten years as Governor of New York, Lehman moved on to serve a larger public when Roosevelt called him to Washington in 1942 to head the State Department's Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations. A year later, representatives of forty-four nations elected Lehman as the first Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Even though Herbert Lehman was seventy-

¹ Citation, Presidential Medal of Freedom, December 6, 1963, Herbert Lehman Papers and Suite, Columbia University.



one years old in 1949, his public service was not yet finished as New Yorkers elected him to fill a one-year vacancy in the U.S. Senate, and then re-elected him to a full term in 1950. Senator Lehman declined to seek another term in 1956, when he was seventy-eight years old, but that did not mean he was retiring to a life of comfort and contemplation. Instead, along with Eleanor Roosevelt, he led the reform movement that ended the grip of Tammany Hall and the political bosses on the Democratic Party in New York. When he died in 1963, Herbert Lehman was preparing to go to Washington to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom honoring him for his lifetime of public service.

Herbert Lehman was the youngest child of Mayer and Babette Lehman. Mayer Lehman had followed his older brothers Henry and Emanuel to the United States in 1850, leaving Germany for economic, political, and religious reasons. He settled in Montgomery, Alabama, where he and his brothers owned a general store which they eventually called Lehman Brothers. Mayer and Emanuel soon became cotton brokers, accepting cotton rather than cash for their merchandise, and purchasing cotton to resell in New York City. Emanuel moved to New York in 1858 to handle the cotton sales, while Mayer remained in the South through the Civil War, trying to ship cotton to England through the Union blockade. In 1858, Mayer married Babette Neugass, whose family had come to New Orleans from Germany in the mid-1850s. Mayer and Babette's first four children (one of whom died in infancy) were born in Montgomery before Mayer moved the family to New York in 1868. Mayer and Babette had four more children in New York, including Herbert, the baby of the family, who was born in 1878. Lehman Brothers prospered and diversified, growing from one of the nation's leading cotton and commodity brokers to a major investment banking firm by the early 1900s.

Instead of entering the family business immediately after graduating from Williams College in 1899, Herbert Lehman worked for a textile manufacturer for a few years before joining Lehman Brothers in 1908 when his oldest brother Sigmund retired from the firm. Two years later, Herbert married Edith Altschul, whose father was affiliated with Lazard Frères, another prominent investment banking house. Edith Lehman shared her husband's sense of social responsibility and his philanthropic endeavors over the next fifty-three years. She also became his closest political advisor.

When Herbert Lehman was fourteen, a school tour of the Lower East Side made a lasting impression on him. Sixty-five years later, he still remembered "the poverty and the filth and bleakness" that led to his lifelong commitment to Lillian Wald's Henry Street Settlement House. After college, Lehman organized a club for 12-14 year old boys from the neighborhood at Wald's request, and he kept the group together for four years. The boys later recalled that Lehman was "utterly devoid of that patronizing attitude" that they "sense[d] in some of the other Settlement workers," and how impressed they were with Lehman's "absolute sincerity and honesty of purpose" and his desire "to encourage and spur young people onward and upward." In 1917, Lehman joined the Board of Directors at Henry Street, and he remained a director through his years as Governor of New York and United States Senator. When their son Peter was killed in World War II, Herbert and Edith Lehman donated the money for a new building called Pete's House which allowed Henry Street to expand its efforts to lure neighborhood youngsters away from gangs and into more wholesome activities.²

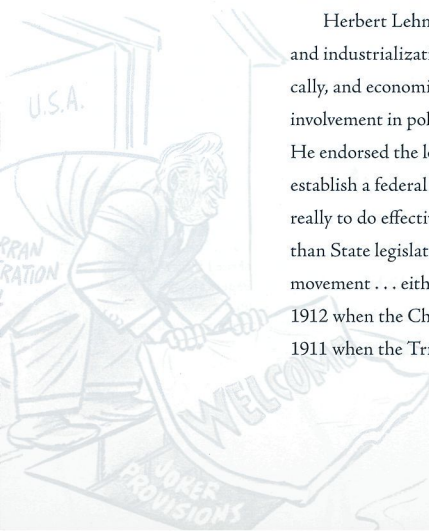
During World War I, Herbert Lehman extended his philanthropic activities far beyond the Lower East Side when he helped establish the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee. The Joint, as it became known, was funded mostly by American Jews of German descent who wanted to unify and expand efforts to help European Jews displaced by the

² Herbert Lehman Oral History Transcript (HHLOH), Columbia University Oral History Collection, p. 34; Morrie Golden to Herbert Lehman, March 29, 1938, and attached "Extracts From Letters By Some of Your Patriot Boys," Herbert Lehman Papers, Special File, Herbert H. Lehman Biographical Data. The Special Files of the Herbert Lehman Papers are now available on the web at: ldpd.lamp.columbia.edu/lehman.

war. The Joint raised \$16.4 million during the war to relieve the suffering of European Jews, and despite the hope that the end of the war would bring its mission to an end, Lehman and the other leaders of the Joint soon realized that the Jews' distress in Eastern Europe would continue, so they shifted their efforts from relief to rehabilitation. In the 1920s, Lehman served as chairman of the Joint's Reconstruction Committee, which allocated millions of dollars for various projects in Eastern Europe.

When the United States entered World War I in April 1917, Lehman tried to enlist for officers' training, but the Army refused to offer him a commission because of his age and lack of military experience. Wanting to serve the war effort in some capacity, Lehman accepted a civilian position as a textile consultant with the Navy, which brought him into contact with Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin Roosevelt, whose signature was often required on various documents that Lehman prepared. Lehman left the Navy when the Army finally offered him a commission as a captain assigned to the War Department's General Staff Corps, where he oversaw contracts for textiles and other needed commodities, rose to the rank of Colonel, and earned the Distinguished Service Medal.

Herbert Lehman realized that increased immigration, urbanization, and industrialization were transforming the United States socially, politically, and economically in the early 1900s, and he realized that active involvement in political affairs was necessary to bring about needed reforms. He endorsed the lobbying efforts of Lillian Wald and other progressives to establish a federal Children's Bureau because he realized that "in order really to do effective work in this field, there must be federal action rather than State legislation." Lehman volunteered "to do what I can to further the movement . . . either in work or by contributing," and he was gratified in 1912 when the Children's Bureau was created. Lehman was appalled in 1911 when the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire claimed the lives of 146 young girls,



trapped because the building's fire exits were locked, and he applauded the efforts of Al Smith and others in the New York State Legislature to enact laws mandating safer working conditions.³

In the 1920s Herbert Lehman became actively involved in Democratic Party politics through his association with Governor Al Smith. Lehman strongly supported Smith's efforts to improve working conditions in factories, provide better housing for people living in slums, help those who needed assistance, create a system of state parks, streamline the state government, give the Governor greater power over the state's budget process, and prevent the state's hydroelectric power potential from falling into private hands.

Lehman's plans to play a major role in Smith's campaign for the Democratic nomination for President in 1924 were sidetracked when the Governor asked him to help mediate a dispute in the garment industry. This was just the first of many instances in which Lehman was called in to help settle conflicts in the needlework trade, but the strike was not averted until after the Democratic National Convention had nominated John W. Davis on the 103rd ballot. Lehman worked hard for Smith's re-election as Governor of New York in 1924 and 1926, serving as treasurer of Smith's re-election committee in 1924 and contributing \$10,000 to the campaign, the largest single contribution and almost 10 per cent of the total amount raised on Smith's behalf. In 1926, Lehman chaired Smith's re-election committee, converting what had previously been a figurehead position into an active one which he used to speak out frequently and forcefully on Smith's behalf.

Lehman served as one of Smith's top lieutenants in the Governor's efforts to win the presidency in 1928 despite the anti-Catholic bigotry he encountered. Lehman visited a number of western states on Smith's behalf, headed the Democratic National Committee's Finance Committee, and contributed tens of thousands of dollars to the campaign. But Smith's

³ Lehman to Wald, December 24, 1910, Lehman Papers, Special File, Lillian Wald.

Catholicism, his opposition to Prohibition, his association with Tammany Hall, his identification with New York City, his lack of experience on national and international issues, and the general prosperity the country was enjoying combined to produce an overwhelming victory for Herbert Hoover and the Republicans.

Smith and Democratic Party leaders believed that a strong ticket for New York State offices would boost Smith's chances of carrying his home state. New York Republicans were planning to nominate State Attorney General Albert Ottinger, a Jew, for Governor, and Smith feared that Ottinger and the Republicans would make significant inroads among Jewish voters in New York City unless the Democrats responded with a Jewish candidate of their own. The Governor floated Herbert Lehman's name as a potential successor, knowing that Lehman had the intelligence, integrity, and administrative abilities to continue the progressive policies that Smith had instituted in New York, but the Governor's advisors worried that a Jewish candidate for Governor would confirm Protestants' fears that Smith was anti-Protestant and would not appoint Protestants to high positions if he were elected President. Eventually, Smith and the Democratic leaders agreed that nominating Franklin Roosevelt, an upstate Protestant, for Governor, and Herbert Lehman for Lieutenant Governor, would be the best way to aid Smith's presidential candidacy.

Lehman and Roosevelt were both hesitant to run in 1928, but Lehman agreed to do so to help Smith "combat the bigotry and discrimination against a great public servant whose religion was not my own." Lehman's willingness to serve helped persuade Roosevelt to accept the Democratic nomination. Roosevelt knew that having such an able assistant in Albany would allow him to spend as much time as necessary recuperating from polio in Warm Springs, Georgia, and he also realized that Lehman's presence on the ticket would minimize Jewish defections to Ottinger.⁴

⁴Lehman to Peter Sarap, August 7, 1954, Lehman Papers, Special File, Arthur Goodhart.

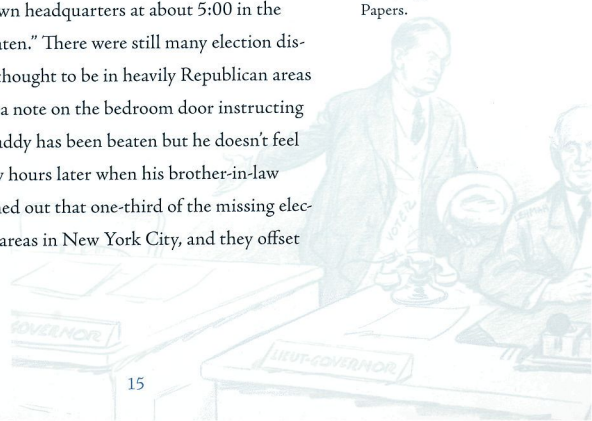
The response to Lehman's nomination was overwhelmingly positive. Roosevelt fondly recalled working with Lehman in the Navy Department during the war and looked forward to his help in administering the state's affairs "on a sound and business-like basis." The *New York Times* observed that it was "a fine thing for the State when a man of Colonel Lehman's range of experience, covering as it does not only large business interests, but even larger undertakings in charitable and philanthropic work for all sorts of men, women, and children, is ready to respond to the call for public service." Joking with reporters about Lehman's integrity (and wealth), Roosevelt noted that if he had to leave the state for any reason, "I can leave the combination of my safe to Colonel Lehman, knowing that it will be in safe hands."⁵

Although not a great public speaker, Lehman proved to be an effective candidate for public office. Judge Samuel Rosenman traveled with Roosevelt and Lehman during the 1928 campaign, and he later recalled how well Lehman connected with voters even at this early stage of his political career. According to Rosenman, "when Herbert Lehman said something you got an impression of sincerity which has rarely been duplicated. . . . He was able to convey to his listeners the fact that what he was saying had nothing to do with political advantage, but was something which he really intensely felt."⁶

After the polls closed on Election Day, the races for Governor and Lieutenant Governor were neck and neck throughout the night. Lehman later recalled that he "left downtown headquarters at about 5:00 in the morning, convinced that I was beaten." There were still many election districts outstanding, but they were thought to be in heavily Republican areas upstate. Lehman and his wife left a note on the bedroom door instructing their children: "Don't wake us. Daddy has been beaten but he doesn't feel badly." Lehman was shocked a few hours later when his brother-in-law called to congratulate him. It turned out that one-third of the missing election districts were in Democratic areas in New York City, and they offset

⁵"Roosevelt Held Out To The Last Minute," *New York Times*, October 3, 1928, p. 12; "Roosevelt and Lehman," Editorial, *New York Times*, October 18, 1928, p. 28; "Roosevelt Opposes Any Move to Revive New York Dry Law," *New York Times*, October 9, 1928, p. 1.

⁶Rosenman quoted in "Herbert H. Lehman: The Making of a Leader," WABC-TV, March 28, 1965, copy in Lehman Papers.



⁷HHLOH, pp. 251-253.

the more numerous but less populated Republican areas upstate. Final returns showed Lehman winning narrowly by 14,000 votes and Roosevelt prevailing by 24,000 out of more than 4 million votes cast.⁷

Roosevelt and Lehman transformed the Lieutenant Governor's position from a mostly ceremonial office to one where Lehman played a major role in developing and implementing state policies. The two men developed such a close working relationship that Roosevelt frequently described Lehman as "that splendid right hand of mine." He utilized Lehman's business expertise to streamline state purchasing practices, promote cooperation, and prevent duplication among state agencies. Lehman's investigation of state mental hospitals revealed deplorable conditions, leading Roosevelt to ask for a \$50 million bond issue to construct new facilities, and as Acting Governor while Roosevelt was out of the state, Lehman had to respond to a riot at Auburn State Prison and the failure of the City Trust Company bank.⁸

⁸"Governor Roosevelt's Address," *New York Times*, October 5, 1932, p. 16.

Lehman was reluctant to seek re-election as Lieutenant Governor in 1930. He had severed all ties with Lehman Brothers when he had been elected in 1928, but he now felt an obligation to return to the firm to help it weather the storm of the Depression. But Roosevelt appealed to Lehman's sense of duty and service to his fellow man to persuade him to stay on, emphasizing that "the only reason either of us would run again is that sense of obligation to a great many million people who may insist that we shall try to carry on the work for another two years." Roosevelt acknowledged publicly that it had been his good fortune to have a Lieutenant Governor "who is not only fully as capable of running the government as I am, but probably a good deal more so," and noted that he referred "a great number of business and social matters to Herbert Lehman because . . . he is not only one of the greatest business men in the state but he has also done more along the lines of social reform than almost anybody else in the state." Roosevelt won re-election by a plurality of 725,000 votes and Lehman triumphed by 565,000 votes.⁹

⁹Roosevelt to Lehman, May 14, 1930, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), I, 120-121.

Lehman and Roosevelt devoted the next two years to helping New Yorkers cope with the worsening effects of the Depression. Roosevelt asked Lehman to “speed up as far as possible all of the public works of the State” so they could “employ several thousand additional men during the winter months,” and Lehman took the lead in 1931 in persuading the state legislature to establish a Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, making New York the first state to enact a comprehensive unemployment relief program to help its citizens during the Depression.¹⁰

In 1932, Democrats nominated Franklin Roosevelt for the presidency, and Herbert Lehman hoped to succeed him as Governor of New York. FDR and Al Smith enthusiastically supported Lehman’s candidacy, knowing that he would continue the progressive policies they had instituted in Albany over the previous decade, but Tammany Hall and a few upstate political bosses opposed Lehman, fearing that he would be too independent to suit their needs. Tammany leaders sought to sidetrack Lehman’s selection for Governor by proposing that Senator Robert Wagner be nominated for Governor and Lehman for Senator, but Lehman rejected their scheme. He confronted the bosses in a hotel room in Albany, insisting that he would decline any nomination for Senator and seek the governorship with or without their blessing, at which point the bosses backed down and agreed to nominate him for Governor. In November, Roosevelt easily defeated Herbert Hoover for the presidency and Herbert Lehman was elected Governor of New York by a then-record plurality of 840,000 votes. (See cartoon 1) As the *New York Times*, noted, Lehman’s victory was “both a tribute to him and a sign that the people know how to appreciate and reward a faithful and able public servant.” Two years later, Lehman won re-election, again by a margin of more than 800,000 votes.¹¹

Herbert Lehman believed that “government is for the people,” that it needed to “concern itself with the solution of human as well as material

¹⁰ Roosevelt to Lehman, November 17, 1930, Lehman Papers, Special File, Franklin Roosevelt.

¹¹ “Governor Lehman,” Editorial, *New York Times*, November 9, 1932, p. 18.

problems," and that "it must be flexible enough to meet the changing conditions of the world." As Governor, he sought to expand on the policies of Al Smith and Franklin Roosevelt and use the power of the state government to help New Yorkers deal with the devastating effects of the Depression. Despite the opposition of Republicans, who controlled at least one house of the state legislature for all but one of his ten years as Governor, Lehman won approval of his "Little New Deal," patterned after FDR's reforms on the federal level. Lehman led the way as New York enacted a minimum wage bill for women and children and a reduction in their working hours, an increase in the compulsory school age from fourteen to sixteen, relief for the unemployed and those unable to work, a state unemployment insurance program, an improved Workmen's Compensation plan, limits on the use of injunctions in labor disputes, mortgage relief for home owners, an increase in public housing, cheaper utility rates, and help for farmers. The Governor also worked to ensure that New York obtained the maximum funding from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the National Recovery Administration, the Civil Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, and other federal programs.

Lehman's main legislative disappointment during his first few years as Governor was the legislature's refusal to ratify the federal child labor amendment. He sent a special message to the legislature in August 1933 in which he noted that there were over 2 million children working in the United States, including more than 1 million employed in non-farm labor, and suggested that reducing child labor would help relieve the growing problem of adult unemployment. Despite highlighting the amendment in message after message to the legislators, Lehman was never able to persuade them to ratify the amendment over the opposition of farmers, businessmen, and the Catholic Church, not even in 1935 when the Democrats controlled both houses of the state legislature. (See cartoon 2)

The problems of organized crime, police and political corruption, and prosecutorial incompetence also plagued Governor Lehman. When Brooklyn District Attorney William Geoghan failed to obtain an indictment in the Druckman murder case and a Manhattan grand jury complained that prosecutor William Dodge was ineffective, Lehman appointed special prosecutors, including Thomas Dewey, to supersede them. (See cartoons 3-6) The Governor organized a major conference to discuss the best ways to deal with crime and criminals, and in 1936 he proposed a comprehensive package of anti-crime bills. But Republican Assemblyman Horace Stone complained that "Ninety per cent of Governor Lehman's anti-crime program is 'rot,' of no value in the suppression of crime," and the legislature rejected key parts of his plan. In response, Lehman charged that "powerful groups in this State have determined to kill as much of the anti-crime program as they dare," and that some elements were "much more interested in keeping crime safe for the criminal than in protecting law-abiding citizens." Assembly Speaker Irving Ives demanded that Lehman apologize for his allegations, and Democratic State Senator John McNaboe even raised the possibility of impeaching the Governor. But people calmed down, tempers cooled, and the recalcitrant legislature eventually enacted most of the Governor's anti-crime program into law.¹² (See cartoons 7-10)

Herbert Lehman was ready to retire from public service in 1936. Mrs. Lehman was concerned about his health after eight hard years in Albany, one of his sisters had died in February 1936, and his sixty-two year old brother Arthur, the senior member of Lehman Brothers, died suddenly in May. The Governor was also frustrated that the Republican majority in the State Assembly had kept his Social Security program bottled up in the Rules Committee instead of allowing it to reach the floor for a vote. Closely following the model of the recently enacted federal Social Security system, Lehman proposed using money from Washington and funds raised through

¹² "Four Crime Bills Passed In Albany; Pistol Curb Killed," *New York Times*, February 12, 1936, pp. 1, 4; "Crime Bill Appeal By Lehman Starts Storm At Albany," *New York Times*, February 13, 1936, pp. 1, 2.

¹³Text of Wadsworth's Talk on Social Security," *New York Times*, May 9, 1936, p. 6.

an increased tax on liquor to provide financial assistance to people over 65, dependent children, and the blind, but the Republicans denounced his bill as "just another New Deal boondoggle."¹³ (See cartoon 11) Hoping that a public announcement would dissuade Roosevelt or anyone else from trying to change his mind, Lehman announced on May 20, 1936, that he would not seek a third term as Governor.

President Roosevelt and Democratic Party Chairman James Farley immediately set out to reverse Lehman's decision, believing that his presence on the ballot in 1936 was necessary for Roosevelt and the Democrats to carry New York. When Lehman had first informed the President of his intentions back in March, Roosevelt was "greatly disturbed" by the news and instructed Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., who was married to Lehman's niece Elinor, to "get pressure to bear from any source you can" to persuade Lehman to change his mind. Lehman's desire to do everything he could to ensure Roosevelt's re-election left a small opening that the President and Farley exploited brilliantly, orchestrating events at the 1936 Democratic National Convention to increase the pressure on Lehman to continue as Governor. They arranged for Lehman to give the main speech seconding Roosevelt's nomination for President, which triggered a massive display of support for Lehman, second only to the cheers for Roosevelt himself. The outpouring of support and affection for Lehman had its intended effect, and the Governor began to weaken. Roosevelt discussed the governorship with Lehman on the way back from the convention and at his Hyde Park home, warning Lehman that his withdrawal would put at risk all the social welfare legislation they had worked to enact in Albany over the last eight years. The President complained to Farley that Lehman "had worn out fifteen dollars worth of carpet" pacing while trying to make up his mind, but the President was elated when Lehman consented to run if FDR formally asked him to do so, which would give him a rationale for reversing his earlier decision.¹⁴

¹⁴Roosevelt to Henry Morgenthau, Jr., March 19, 1936, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, I, 572; James Farley, Private Memorandum, June 30, 1936, Farley Papers, Box 39, Private File, June 1936, Library of Congress.

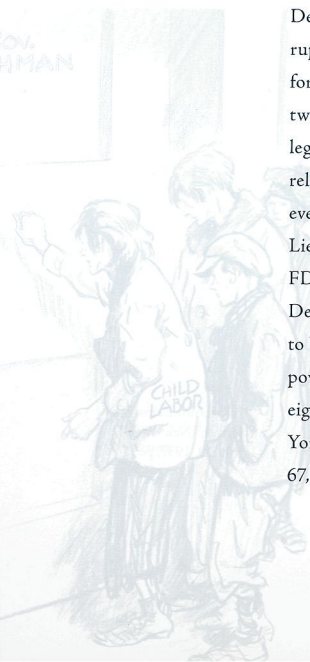
In announcing his change of heart, Lehman declared that “regardless of personal considerations,” he could “no longer resist the pleas of my party both in the State and in the nation nor of those with whom I have worked in the closest association for many years and with whom I have waged the fight for equal opportunity and social security.” As he explained privately to his nephew Arthur Goodhart, “I realized that in loyalty to causes very dear to me I could not possibly refuse to at least offer myself for service to the people.”¹⁵ (See cartoon 12)

Roosevelt and Lehman both went on to win re-election easily in 1936. Lehman considered his re-election an endorsement of his program, especially his Social Security proposal, and in 1937 the Republicans had little choice but to join in enacting the Governor’s plan. Roosevelt, however, squandered the capital he had gained from his lopsided victory when he sought to reorganize the federal judiciary by appointing additional justices to the Supreme Court. Perhaps because his brother Irving was a judge on New York’s Court of Appeals, Herbert Lehman had an especially high regard for the separation of powers among the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Lehman shared FDR’s “disappointment that important legislative measures have been declared unconstitutional by a slim and unconvincing margin in the Supreme Court,” but he feared that passage of Roosevelt’s court-packing bill “would create a greatly dangerous precedent which could be availed of by future less well intentioned administrations for the purpose of oppression or for the curtailment of the constitutional rights of our citizens.” As the vote in Congress neared, Lehman released to the press a letter he had sent urging Senator Wagner to vote against the President’s proposal. Few people in public life were more closely associated with Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal’s social policies than Herbert Lehman, and Lehman’s public stand against the bill made it easier for other New Dealers to oppose the measure, which was defeated in the Senate a few days later.¹⁶

¹⁵ “Lehman Yields To Pressure, Will Run For Third Term,” *New York Times*, July 1, 1936, pp. 1, 16; Lehman to Arthur Goodhart, July 22, 1936, Lehman Papers, Special File, Arthur Goodhart.

¹⁶ “Governor Lehman’s Letter,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1937, p. 1.

Lehman's opposition to the court-packing bill angered FDR and many of his advisors and led to a rift between Lehman and Roosevelt which helped prevent the Governor from securing a seat in the U.S. Senate in 1938. Lehman believed that becoming a Senator would allow him to continue his public service while leaving the heavy burdens of the governorship behind, but Roosevelt refused to endorse his candidacy, preferring that Lehman remain as Governor. FDR and Farley understood that Lehman was the only Democrat who could defeat Thomas Dewey, the young, handsome, ambitious, racket-busting prosecutor who was the likely Republican candidate for Governor of New York in 1938 and a possible GOP presidential nominee in 1940. Dewey infuriated Lehman when he attacked the Governor's honesty and integrity, trying to link him with Tammany Hall and corruption scandals in New York City and ignoring the fact that it was Lehman who had appointed Dewey as a special prosecutor in 1935 to combat racketeering and corruption in Manhattan. Lehman worried that with Dewey as Governor for the next four years (the Governor's term had just been extended from two years to four), the Republicans would repeal the enlightened social legislation that Lehman, FDR, and Al Smith had fought for, and so he reluctantly agreed to run for re-election one last time. He insisted, however, that Charles Poletti, his former counsel, be nominated for Lieutenant Governor to ease the load on him, much as he had done for FDR. Nationally, the 1938 elections proved to be a disaster for the Democrats, reflecting voters' concern that the economic recovery seemed to be faltering and that Roosevelt was trying to centralize too much power in the White House. Republicans picked up eight Senate seats, eighty-one House seats, and thirteen governorships, but not in New York, where Herbert Lehman held off Dewey's aggressive challenge by 67,506 votes. (See cartoon 13)



Eager to become involved in the war effort, Lehman resisted all entreaties to run again for Governor in 1942. Along with FDR, he opposed the Democrats' nomination of state Attorney General James Bennett for governor, fearing that Bennett would not attract labor and liberal support and would be defeated by Thomas Dewey. But Democratic State Chairman James Farley and party bosses controlled a majority of the delegates to the state convention, ensuring Bennett's nomination. When Lehman rose to nominate the more liberal James Mead for Governor, he was booed by the gathering, the only time in his life that he was jeered by a Democratic convention. As Lehman and Roosevelt had feared, Bennett was trounced by Dewey in the general election that year, putting a Republican back into the Governor's Mansion for the first time since 1922. (See cartoons 15 and 16)

In November 1942, FDR asked Lehman to come to Washington to head the State Department's newly created Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (OFRRO), which would assist refugees and inhabitants of nations freed from Axis rule. The President believed that Lehman's humanitarian work with the Joint Distribution Committee and his administrative experience in New York made him the perfect choice to feed and clothe people as they were liberated in Europe and Asia and help nations rebuild after the devastation of the war. Lehman agreed that this was the right position for him, and on December 2, 1942, he resigned as Governor so that he could begin his new duties in Washington immediately.

Lehman's tenure at OFRRO proved to be the most frustrating period of his life as he became bogged down in the conflicting and overlapping jurisdictional lines within the Roosevelt administration's bureaucratic morass. He had to compete with the Army and the Navy, Lend-Lease, the Bureau of Economic Warfare, the War Food Administration, the Red Cross, and rivals within the State Department for authority and for food and other commodities that were in short supply. The situation improved

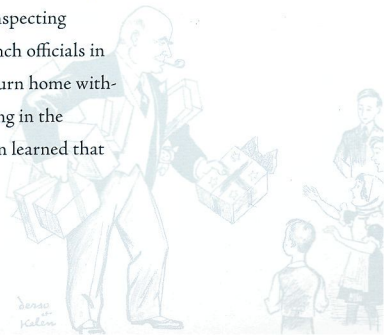


temporarily in March 1943 when the President clarified Lehman's role and responsibilities in a letter, enabling Lehman to travel to London to confer with European leaders and heads of state, but the Governor soon found himself dragged back down into the bureaucratic muck. Finally, in late September, Roosevelt removed Lehman from the State Department, appointing him instead as a special assistant to the President to plan for the upcoming establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).

Representatives of forty-four nations gathered at the White House on November 9, 1943, to create UNRRA, and, two days later, the UNRRA Council unanimously elected Herbert Lehman as UNRRA's Director General. Lehman welcomed the opportunity to serve his fellow man, promising to do everything in his power to bring hope and relief to the oppressed and starving people of Europe and Asia who were suffering under Axis occupation. At UNRRA, Lehman had to overcome many difficulties, including continuing competition with other agencies for supplies and shipping, and the Soviet Union's reluctance to let UNRRA supplies and personnel into Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, Lehman later remembered his time at UNRRA as "the most important part of my life," taking great pride that he and his staff "did finally whip UNRRA into shape so that it served not only as the first great international operating organization, but unquestionably saved the lives of millions of people and placed scores of millions back on the road to economic and social recovery."¹⁷ (See cartoons 17 and 18)

Lehman persisted in his work at UNRRA despite personal hardships and tragedy. In March 1944 he suffered a broken leg while inspecting UNRRA operations and meeting with British and Free French officials in North Africa. The condition of his leg forced Lehman to return home without stopping in England to visit his son Peter, who was serving in the American Air Corps. Upon his return to New York, Lehman learned that

¹⁷ Lehman to Philip Jessup, January 14, 1957, Lehman Papers, Special File, Philip Jessup.



Peter had been killed when his plane crashed while on a training flight. Herbert and Edith Lehman took solace in knowing that Peter, like so many Americans, “willingly and courageously gave his life for his country and for a great cause.”¹⁸

¹⁸ Lehman to Franklin Roosevelt, April 28, 1944, Lehman Papers, Special File, Franklin Roosevelt.

In March of 1946, Lehman resigned as Director General of UNRRA when he realized that the agency ranked very low on President Harry Truman's priority list, which became obvious as American food contributions to UNRRA were reduced despite the threat of worldwide famine. Lehman cited health reasons in explaining his departure from UNRRA, but it quickly became apparent that he was upset with the appointment of Herbert Hoover as honorary chairman of the President's National Famine Emergency Council and that he disagreed with Truman's reliance on a voluntary program rather than a resumption of rationing to reduce American consumption and make more food available for UNRRA and for people in need overseas. Despite his resignation, Lehman emphasized that his “interest in the work and complete sympathy with the essential principle of international cooperation in relief – and many other activities if we are to have a world of security and peace – remain unabated.”¹⁹

¹⁹ “Truman Program Held Inadequate,” *New York Times*, March 18, 1946, p. 11.

Lehman hoped that his retirement from public service would be short-lived. In 1946, he sought to realize his long-held dream of serving in the U.S. Senate, but he suffered the only electoral defeat of his career. The New Deal coalition was splintering over both foreign and domestic issues, and there was widespread dissatisfaction with Truman's economic reconversion policies, as well as growing frustration and fear over the spread of Communism in Eastern Europe, all of which resulted in Republican victories across the nation. Lehman ran 400,000 votes ahead of Democratic gubernatorial candidate James Mead, but still lost to Republican Irving Ives by 250,000 votes. The former Governor had no regrets, however; he promised to continue the fight for liberal and progressive government,

which he now feared would be under attack, and "to continue my service to the community."²⁰

Lehman was not a Zionist; he did not support the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine, but he always believed that Palestine should be available as a refuge for Jews who needed it. In his view, Great Britain had broken both its promise in the Balfour Declaration to establish in Palestine "a national home for the Jewish people" and its obligation under the League of Nations mandate when it had imposed severe limitations on Jewish immigration into Palestine on the eve of World War II. After the war, when it was learned that the Nazis had killed 6 million Jews, and when the United States and other nations refused to admit substantial numbers of refugees, Lehman reluctantly concluded that the partition of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states was the only way to ensure a safe haven for Jews. Lehman conferred with President Truman in early May 1948, hand-delivering a memorandum which the Jewish Agency feared had been buried by the State Department, and urging the President to recognize the state of Israel that was about to be proclaimed. A few days later, Lehman heartily congratulated Truman when he recognized the new Jewish nation.²¹

When Senator Robert Wagner retired because of ill health in 1949, Herbert Lehman was interested in running for the one year remaining in Wagner's term. But even though he was about to resume his political career, Lehman did not hesitate to support Eleanor Roosevelt when Francis Cardinal Spellman, the head of the Catholic archdiocese of New York, charged that Mrs. Roosevelt was "anti-Catholic" because of her opposition to federal aid to parochial schools. Despite the risk of alienating Catholic voters, Lehman immediately rushed to her defense, releasing a statement emphasizing his shock at the Cardinal's attack on Mrs. Roosevelt and his belief that "Americans are entitled freely to express their views on public questions without being vilified or accused of religious bias." Lehman

²⁰ Lehman to June Bingham, November 9, 1946, Lehman Papers, Special File, Jonathan and June Bingham.

²¹ "Zionists Get Text of Britain's Pledge," *New York Times*, November 14, 1917, p. 3.

²²“Texts of Cardinal’s Letter and of Articles by Mrs. Roosevelt,” *New York Times*, July 23, 1949, p. 26; “Lehman Condemns Spellman Attack On Mrs. Roosevelt,” *New York Times*, July 24, 1949, pp. 1, 36.

stressed that Mrs. Roosevelt had never done or said anything “that would in the slightest degree indicate bias or prejudice against any religion or any race.” Rather, he stressed, “her whole life has been dedicated to a constant fight for tolerance and brotherhood of men as children of one God.”²²

Democrats chose Herbert Lehman as their Senate nominee in 1949 despite his involvement in the controversy between Cardinal Spellman and Mrs. Roosevelt. Governor Dewey had appointed noted attorney and diplomat John Foster Dulles to take Senator Wagner’s place, and Democrats understood that they needed a strong candidate of national and international stature to counter Dulles’ reputation. The election between Lehman and Dulles deteriorated into a bitter battle, with Dulles resorting to anti-Semitic innuendos to try to appeal to voters upstate. Lehman emphasized his record of public service and his belief that the social welfare programs of the New Deal needed to be preserved and expanded, and, despite some defections from Catholic voters, Lehman won election to the Senate in 1949 by 200,000 votes. (See cartoon 19)

Even though he planned to run for re-election to a full Senate term in 1950, Senator Lehman was one of the first to defend civil liberties against the reign of terror instituted by Senator Joseph McCarthy (R-WI). When McCarthy charged on the floor of the Senate that there were eighty-one known Communists or Communist sympathizers working in the State Department, Lehman immediately challenged McCarthy “to submit the names to the responsible official, the head of the State Department.” Lehman rejected McCarthy’s use of “guilt by association” – condemning people as Communists because some of their friends or relatives might have some connection to communism or to an alleged Communist-front organization. When McCarthy read excerpts from a classified letter that he claimed showed that Owen Lattimore, a former advisor to the State Department, had advanced the Communist cause in the Far East, Lehman complained about the unfairness of using selective

excerpts from a secret document to destroy a man's reputation. McCarthy offered to show Lehman the letter if he would come over to McCarthy's desk, but when Lehman walked over and called his bluff, McCarthy refused to show him the document and insisted that Lehman return to his seat.²³

²³ 96 Congressional Record
2068, (February 20,
1950).

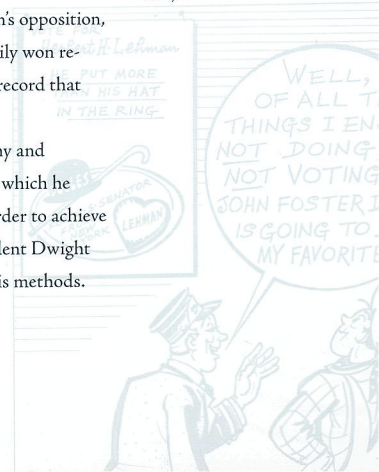
Only one Senator up for re-election in 1950 voted against the McCarran Internal Security Act, which, among its many objectionable provisions, authorized the detention in internment camps of individuals who might commit acts of espionage or sabotage. Herbert Lehman understood that the McCarran bill enjoyed widespread popularity among an American public willing to do almost anything in the name of anti-Communism, but he believed that the measure was "unwise, unworkable, and indefensible." He realized that many of his colleagues were voting for it to protect themselves politically, but as for himself, Lehman declared,

I will not compromise with my conscience. . . . I am going to vote against this tragic, this unfortunate, this ill-conceived legislation. My conscience will be easier, though I realize my political prospects may be more difficult. I shall cast my vote to protect the liberties of our people.²⁴

²⁴ 96 Congressional Record
14817-18 (September 12,
1950).

The Internal Security Act was passed into law despite Lehman's opposition, but the voters endorsed Lehman's principled stand, and he easily won re-election in 1950, his eighth triumph in a statewide election, a record that still stands today.

Lehman continued to speak out against Senator McCarthy and McCarthyism. He gave speeches in McCarthy's home state in which he denounced the Senator and his followers for inciting fear in order to achieve their political ambitions, and he lamented the failure of President Dwight Eisenhower and the Republicans to disavow McCarthy and his methods.



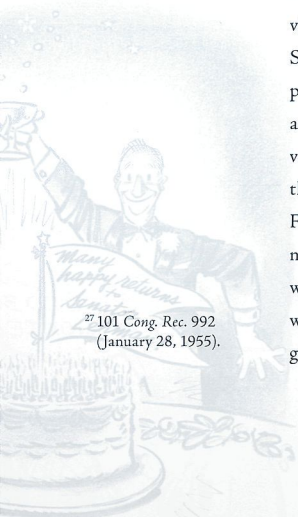
²⁵ "Remarks By Senator Herbert H. Lehman on Receiving the 'Franklin D. Roosevelt Four Freedoms Award,'" December 13, 1954, Lehman Papers, Special Files, Legal Size, Frank Altschul.

²⁶ Eleanor Roosevelt to Lehman, January 16, 1962, Lehman Papers, Special File, Eleanor Roosevelt; Lyndon Johnson to Lehman, August 27, 1956, Lehman Papers, Special File, Lyndon Johnson.

²⁷ 101 Cong. Rec. 992 (January 28, 1955).

Lehman rejoiced when the Senate finally voted to censure McCarthy in December 1954, but he warned that "the forces of fear," the "anti-Communist vigilantes of the present day," still posed a grave danger to "our liberties, our traditions, and our way of life," and that the struggle must continue to safeguard "freedom, our civil liberties, and the principles of justice, of decency, and morality."²⁵

It was not just Lehman's defense of civil liberties and his opposition to McCarthyism that led Eleanor Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, and others to refer to him as "the conscience of the Senate."²⁶ Lehman's experience as Director General of UNRRA gave him first-hand knowledge of the widespread suffering in Europe caused by World War II, and as a Senator Lehman fought to allow more European refugees and Displaced Persons to enter the United States. Lehman sought to repeal the restrictions on immigration that had been included in the Internal Security Act, sponsored legislation to revise the quota system, and bitterly opposed the McCarran-Walter Act which imposed even more stringent restrictions on immigration, but he was on the losing side in each of these battles. (See cartoons 20 and 21) Lehman also led the unsuccessful fight in the Senate year after year to change the infamous Rule 22 which made it virtually impossible to invoke cloture to cut off filibusters by Southern Senators that prevented a vote on legislation to require fair employment practices, make lynching a federal crime, prohibit poll taxes, or extend and protect voting rights. And Lehman was one of only three Senators to vote against the Formosa Resolution in 1955, warning that authorizing the President to use the armed forces as he deemed necessary to protect Formosa and the surrounding islands against armed attack was tantamount to giving him "a blank check of dangerous authority – authority which can be used, or which might be used, to involve us in a war which we did not want and which the free world does not want, and indeed greatly fears."²⁷



Herbert Lehman celebrated his seventy-eighth birthday in 1956, and while he was still in reasonably good health, Mrs. Lehman was always concerned about his physical condition, and he did not relish the rigors of another campaign. Accordingly, after almost thirty years of public service as Lieutenant Governor and Governor of New York, Director General of UNRRA, and U.S. Senator, Herbert Lehman declined to seek re-election to the Senate. Lehman knew that he would miss "the high privilege I have had for so many years of serving the people of my State and of the nation," but he vowed to continue as a private citizen the fight "for high principles, for equal justice and dignity for all, and for a world at peace."²⁸ (See cartoon 22)

Herbert Lehman remained busy during his so-called retirement years. He and Eleanor Roosevelt led the reform movement which stripped Carmine De Sapio and Tammany Hall of their stranglehold over Democratic politics in New York, and Herbert and Edith Lehman took special pleasure in donating the funds to build a Children's Zoo in Central Park. (See cartoon 23) Lehman initially supported Adlai Stevenson for President in 1960, but after John Kennedy won the Democratic nomination, Lehman rallied liberals to Kennedy's side, knowing that despite his flaws, a Kennedy presidency was preferable to Richard Nixon sitting in the White House.

In July 1963, in recognition of his lifetime of public service, Herbert Lehman was among the initial honorees when President Kennedy announced the first recipients of the new Presidential Medal of Freedom, "the highest civilian honor that the President can confer for service in peacetime." The selection committee emphasized that Lehman had combined "the practical spirit of his sound business background with his sympathy for people and his vision of future progress," and that his "courageous approach to problems, his independence, and his deep concern for human needs have earned him the respect and affection of the people he served." The committee called special attention to Lehman's "profound integrity,"

²⁸ Lehman to Mary Dewson, September 5, 1956, Dewson Papers, Box 2, General Correspondence, Lehman, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library; "Text of the Announcement by Lehman," *New York Times*, August 22, 1956, p. 20.

²⁹ White House Press Release, "Presidential Medals Of Freedom," July 4, 1963, and "Robert J. Kipphuth, Edwin H. Land, and Herbert H. Lehman," n.d., both in John F. Kennedy Papers, WHCF, Box 512, Subject File, MA 2-10, Presidential Medal of Freedom; and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Memorandum For John W. Macy, Jr., July 23, 1963, Schlesinger Papers, White House Files, Box WH-15, Subject File, 1961-1964, Medal of Freedom; all in John F. Kennedy Library.

³⁰ "Herbert Lehman, 85, Dies; Ex-Governor and Senator," *New York Times*, December 6, 1963, pp. 1, 29.

and noted that "he rallied the state of New York in the years of depression, helped bind the world's wounds after the agony of war and fought staunchly for freedom in the United States Senate."²⁹

The original plan was to present the awards at a special ceremony in September, but the event had to be postponed until early December because of delays in striking the medals. Despite President Kennedy's assassination, President Lyndon Johnson insisted that the occasion go forward as scheduled on December 6, 1963. On the morning of December 5, as Herbert Lehman prepared to leave for the ceremony in Washington, he suffered a heart attack and died. President Johnson summed up the feelings of many Americans when he paid tribute to Lehman by quoting the citation accompanying Lehman's medal: "Citizen and statesman, he has used wisdom and compassion as the tools of government and has made politics the highest form of public service." As the President acknowledged, Herbert Lehman had dedicated his life to serving others. From his days as a young volunteer at the Henry Street Settlement through his years as Governor of New York, Director General of UNRRA, and U.S. Senator, and even in his retirement, Herbert Lehman truly was drawn to public service.³⁰

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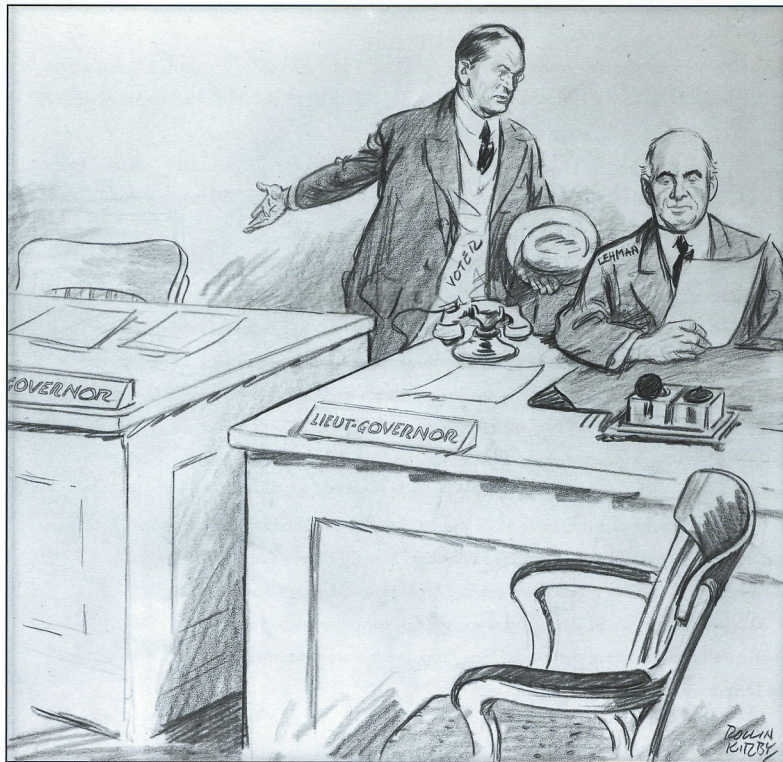
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Rollin Kirby

Rollin Kirby (1875-1952) studied art in New York and Paris before becoming an editorial cartoonist for several New York dailies from 1911-1942.

He later did cartoons for *Look* and the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*.

Kirby saw the cartoon as an editorial, emphasizing that “the idea is 75 per cent of a cartoon. Given a good idea, one can get by with mediocre drawing, but good drawing never makes a good cartoon if the idea is weak.” In his cartoons, Kirby strongly supported women’s suffrage and opposed Prohibition and the Ku Klux Klan. He received the first Pulitzer Prize for cartooning in 1922 and won the award again in 1925 and 1929. After contributing the illustrations for Walter Lippmann’s 1927 book, *Men Of Destiny*, Kirby published a collection of his cartoons entitled *Highlights: A Cartoon History of the Nineteen Twenties*, in 1931. Kirby was the first cartoonist to highlight Franklin Roosevelt’s use of the words “New Deal” in his acceptance speech to the Democratic National Convention in 1932.



1. Lieutenant Governor To Governor
New York World Telegram, 1932.

In 1932, in one of his first cartoons featuring Herbert Lehman, Rollin Kirby shows voters inviting Lieutenant Governor Lehman to move into the Governor's chair which Franklin Roosevelt was vacating to run for President. Roosevelt had great affection for Lehman, often referring to the Lieutenant Governor as his "good right arm."



2. Do You Think He'll Hear Our Knocking?

New York World Telegram, 12 February 1935.

To help pay the rent and purchase other necessities, working class families often needed their children to work in factories or at other jobs where their health and safety were imperiled. Here the children of New York are calling on Governor Lehman for help. Lehman heard their cry and tried to persuade the state legislature to ratify the federal Child Labor amendment, but the lawmakers refused to do so. The Governor did convince the legislature to raise the minimum school attendance age to sixteen and ban the sale of goods produced by child labor within the state of New York.



3. Waiting Outside The Door

New York World Telegram, 1935

On March 3, 1935, Samuel Druckman was found murdered in a Brooklyn garage. Although the police arrested three men on the scene, Kings County District Attorney William Geoghan and a grand jury failed to indict anyone in the case. In this cartoon, Geoghan's mishandling of the Druckman case results in a public outcry demanding that Governor Lehman intervene.



4. Yanked Out

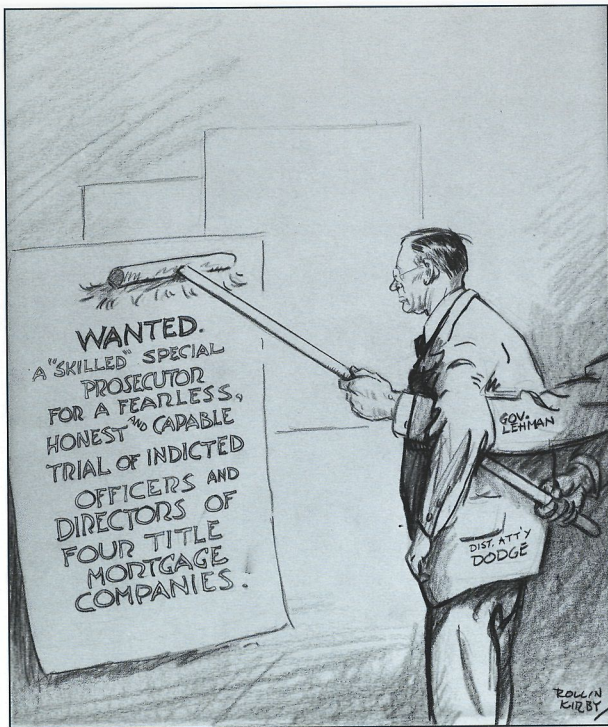
New York World Telegram, 10 December 1935

On December 10, 1935, Lehman removed Geoghan from the investigation of racketeering in Brooklyn and appointed a special prosecutor to take over the inquiry. Here, Lehman uses his "good left hand" to yank the ineffective Geoghan from the case.



5. Special Delivery, Governor
New York World Telegram, 15 June 1935.

The Druckenmiller case fueled public sentiment against corruption elsewhere in New York City, and as seen in this cartoon, a New York County grand jury petitioned Lehman to appoint a special counsel to investigate crime and police corruption in Manhattan.



6. But The Hands Are The Hands Of Herbert
New York World Telegram, 1935

As part of his effort to tackle the growing problem of racketeering in New York City, Lehman reaches past Manhattan District Attorney William Dodge to appoint a special prosecutor to root out vice and corruption and put an end to organized crime's power and influence in New York City.



7. Destroy That Handclasp

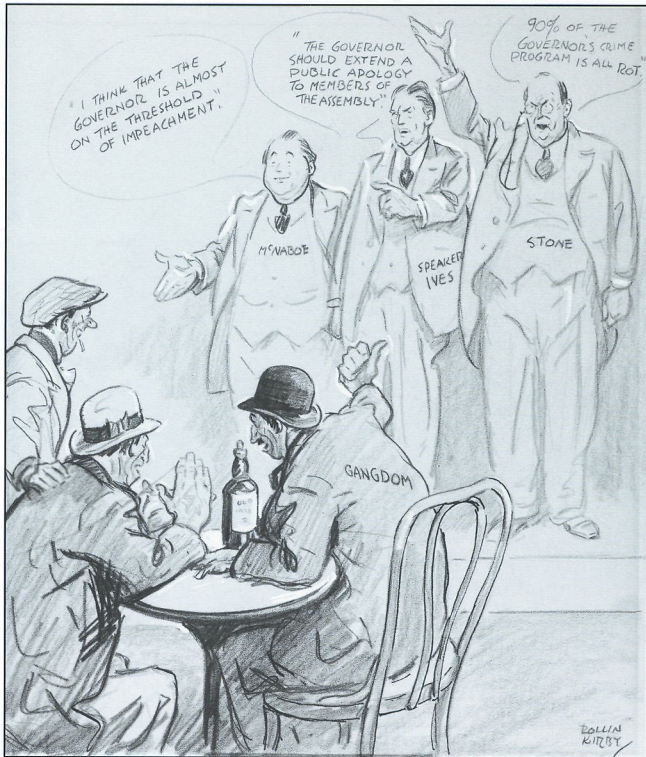
New York World Telegram, 9 January 1936

Besides appointing special prosecutors to deal with the crime wave in New York City in the 1930s, Governor Lehman proposed an aggressive package of anti-crime legislation to cut the ties between corrupt politicians and criminals. Here, Lehman uses both arms to wield the swift blade of the law to separate this crooked pair.



8. Lehman Anti-Crime Bills
New York World Telegram, 1936

No longer willing to play nice, Lehman uses the club of his anti-crime package to come down hard and scatter the thugs, racketeers, and shyster lawyers.



9. The Appreciative Audience

New York World Telegram, 14 February 1936

Republican Assemblyman Horace Stone, Republican Assembly Speaker Irving Ives, and Democratic Senator John McNaboe led the resistance in the legislature to Lehman's anti-crime program. The unsavory characters that make up their appreciative audience call into question the wisdom of the lawmakers' opposition to Lehman's proposals.



10. Cutting Him Loose

New York World Telegram, 1936

In this cartoon, Kirby ridicules Assemblyman Stone and his cohorts for their opposition to Lehman's anti-crime bills by depicting them cutting *Gangsterdom* free from the bonds of Lehman's program.



11. Look Out! He's Not As Meek As He Looks

New York World Telegram, 8 May 1936

Not wanting Governor Lehman to get the credit for enacting a state social security program in an election year, the Republican majority in the New York State Assembly kept the Governor's proposal tied up in committee. Kirby warns in this cartoon that the public would not stand for politics preventing the enactment of Lehman's social security program.



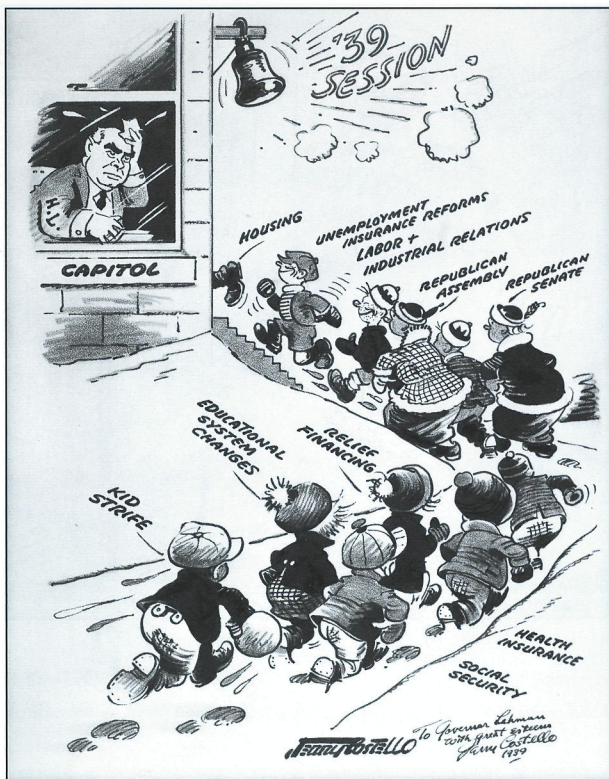
12. That's Tellin' Em Dan

New York World Telegram, 19 May 1936

As Lehman's second term as governor drew to a close, Tammany Hall feared that Lehman, whose honesty and integrity prevented Tammany and its cronies from profiting at the state taxpayers' expense, would seek a third term. In this cartoon, Kirby presents the staunchly conservative Tammanyite and former New York Supreme Court Judge Daniel F. Cohalan as the mouthpiece for Tammany's opposition to Lehman.

Jerry Costello

Jerry Costello (1897-1971), the longtime editorial cartoonist for the *Albany Knickerbocker News* from 1922-1962, relied more on humor and satire in his drawings than Kirby. When New York Governor Al Smith sought the presidency in 1928, a collection of Costello's cartoons was published as *The Life of Al Smith: Told in Forty-Eight Pictures*. Costello also created the 1930s comic strip "*The Topsy Turvies*."



13. Another Term

Albany Knickerbocker News, 4 January 1939

Governor Lehman confronted many difficult issues after his re-election to a fourth term in 1938. In this Costello cartoon, the challenges facing Lehman march into his office as the 1939 legislative session begins.



14. The Indestructible Spirit

Albany Knickerbocker News, 18 September 1940

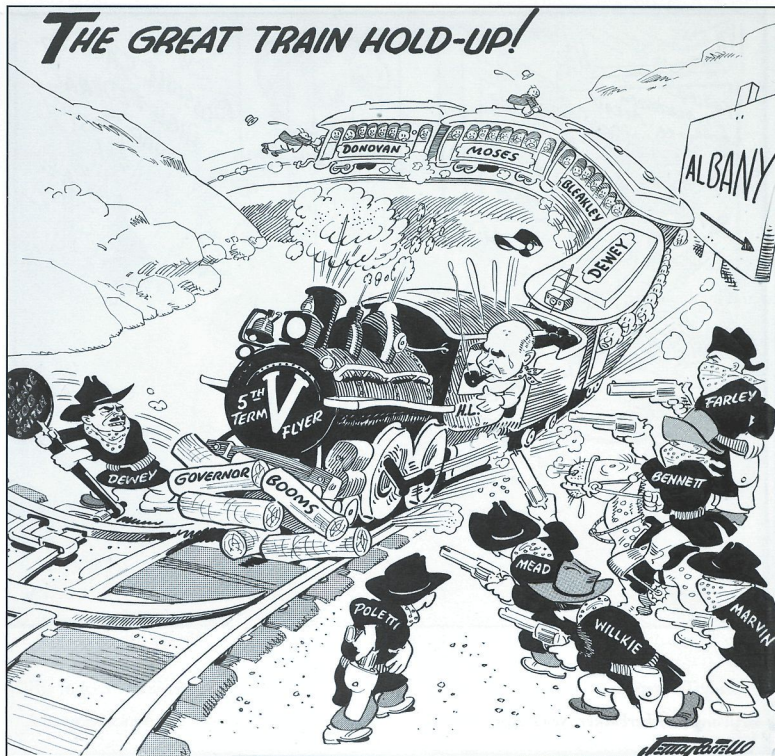
Drawn during the Battle of Britain, when Nazi Germany was trying to bomb Britain into submission, this cartoon portrays England's unshakable spirit and unyielding morale in the face of attack. Jerry Costello presented this drawing to Mrs. Edith Altschul Lehman as a gift for the "Bundles for Britain Committee," a women's charity organization which focused on gathering and shipping needed supplies for British troops and civilians. Many New York society women, including Mrs. Lehman, volunteered their services to the war relief effort by knitting and collecting items for "Bundles for Britain" before America entered World War II.



15. Ready To Step In

Albany Knickerbocker News, April 1942

In 1942, Lehman wanted to get involved in the war effort, and with the knowledge and approval of President Roosevelt, he declined to run for a fifth term as governor. As Lehman contemplates war work in Washington, a number of contenders seek to succeed him in the Governor's office. Among his possible successors: Attorney General James J. Bennett, U.S. Senator James Mead, New York State Democratic Chairman James A. Farley, and Republican Thomas Dewey.



16. The Great Train Hold-Up

Albany Knickerbocker News, May 1942

There were many contenders for the governorship in 1942, all ready to derail Lehman if he changed his mind and sought a fifth term.

Jerry Doyle

An unabashed liberal and a strong supporter of Franklin Roosevelt's domestic and foreign policies, Jerry Doyle (1898-1986) was the editorial cartoonist for the *Philadelphia Record* and then the *Philadelphia Daily News*. Winner of the 1942 Association of American Editorial Cartoonists' National Headliner Award, Doyle created the image of "John Q. Public," the overburdened taxpayer wearing nothing but a barrel because high taxes had stripped him of all his possessions, including his clothing. In 1943, a collection of Doyle's cartoons was published as *According to Doyle: A Cartoon History of World War II*.



17. A Big Job For The New Chef

Philadelphia Record, 1943

As Director General of UNRRA, Lehman faced the daunting challenge of feeding and caring for millions of refugees displaced by the war. Lehman recognized the enormity of his task, represented here by the masses lined up at his door and seeking to be fed. Doyle inscribed the following message on this cartoon: "To Gov. Herbert Lehman, Esq., As Long As You're Doing The Cooking, Uncle Sam Needn't Worry—You're Tops For My Ration Book—Good Luck."

Alois Derso & Emery Kelen

Alois Derso (1888–1964) and Emery Kelen (1896–1978) gained prominence in the 1920s with their humorous cartoons of the League of Nations and major European political and diplomatic events. Sensing the danger that loomed for Jews in Europe, they left for New York in December 1938, where they contributed political cartoons on international affairs to newspapers and magazines. As World War II drew to a close, they focused their attention on the new United Nations, and in 1950 a collection of their drawings was published entitled *United Nations Sketchbook: A Cartoon History of the United Nations*. Derso and Kelen ended their professional collaboration shortly thereafter, with Kelen going to work as a television director and producer for the UN's Office of Public Information, while Derso contributed portraits to William Buckley's *National Review*.

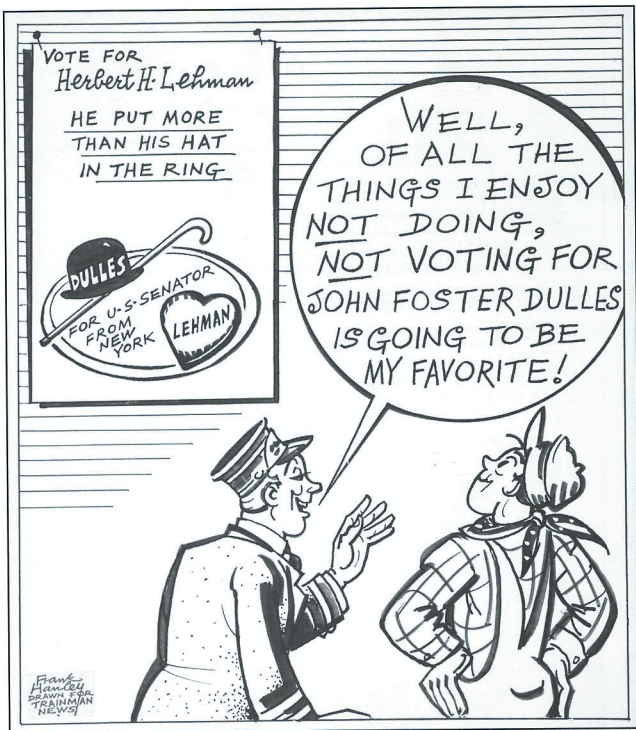


18. Hommage à Monsieur Lehman
1945

This cartoon, a tribute to Herbert Lehman's work as Director-General of UNRRA, shows his charitable nature as he hands out gifts to eager refugee children crowded near a Christmas tree. The tree is decorated with flags from the many nations that were beneficiaries of UNRRA's relief efforts. It is not known if this drawing was ever published; it may have been created just for Herbert Lehman.

Frank Hanley

Frank Hanley was a frequent cover artist and illustrator for the satirical *Judge Magazine* and other humor publications in the 1930s, and later drew cartoons for the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen's *Trainman News*.



19. Vote For Herbert Lehman

Trainman News, October 1949.

Hanley's image of two working class voters highlights the differences between Herbert Lehman and John Foster Dulles in their Senate race in 1949, suggesting that while Dulles simply throws his hat into the political ring, Lehman puts his whole heart into public service. President W. P. Kennedy of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen came to New York in October 1949, to distribute copies of this front-page cartoon and an editorial endorsing Lehman's Senate candidacy.



Herbert Block

Herbert Block, a.k.a. "Herblock" (1909-2001), is the most celebrated of the Herbert Lehman cartoonists, receiving the Pulitzer Prize for editorial cartooning in 1942, 1954, and 1979, and sharing the 1973 Pulitzer for Meritorious Public Service with his colleagues at the *Washington Post* for their investigative reporting of the Watergate scandal. After working for the *Chicago Daily News* and the Newspaper Enterprise Alliance in the 1930s and early 1940s, Block joined the *Washington Post* in 1946 and remained there for the rest of his life. Like Lehman, Block was one of the first and most fervent critics of Senator Joseph McCarthy, coining the term "McCarthyism" in a 1950 cartoon showing a Republican elephant reluctant to stand on an unsteady tower of tar barrels labeled "McCarthyism." Block's cartoons have been featured in numerous books, including *The Herblock Book* (1952), *Straight Herblock* (1964), *Herblock's State of the Union* (1972), *Herblock Through the Looking Glass* (1984), and *Herblock's History: Political Cartoons From the Crash to the Millennium* (2000), a catalogue accompanying an exhibit of his cartoons at the Library of Congress. In 1993, Block published a memoir entitled *Herblock: A Cartoonist's Life*, and in 1994, President Bill Clinton awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the same honor that Herbert Lehman had been scheduled to receive at the time of his death in 1963.



20. Surprising How Many Of Them Don't Come In

Washington Post, 6 February 1949.

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Herbert Lehman fought long and hard for the admission into the United States of refugees displaced by World War II. But as Block emphasizes in this cartoon, the restrictions imposed by the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 made it almost impossible for refugees to enter the U.S.

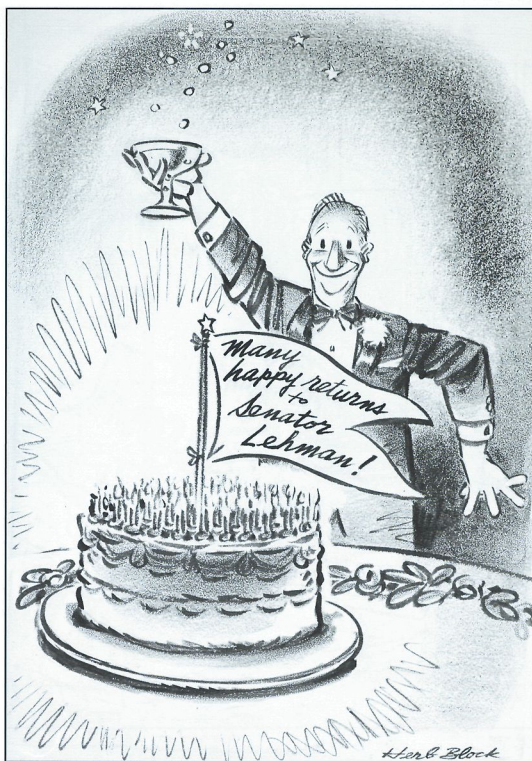


21. Drop In Anytime

Washington Post, 9 May 1952.

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The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, commonly known as the McCarran-Walter Immigration Bill, established a new, more restrictive immigration quota system. The bill was vetoed by President Harry Truman, but despite the efforts of Herbert Lehman and liberal Democrats, Congress voted to override the veto and the bill became law. As the cartoon shows, various provisions hidden in the bill made a mockery of America's reputation as a haven for immigrants.



22. Many Happy Returns To Senator Lehman

28 March 1958

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Block was unable to attend a dinner dance that Edith Lehman organized in honor of her husband's eightieth birthday, but he did send this cartoon, which was prominently displayed at the party.



23. Rare Tigris De Sapiensis

Artist: Crook,

June 1960

No information other than the last name is available about the artist who drew this cartoon, or about the cartoon itself, which highlights the success of the Reform Democrats in nailing Tammany boss Carmine De Sapo's hide to the wall in 1960. Herbert Lehman and Eleanor Roosevelt led the reformers in their fight to end Tammany's dominance over the New York Democratic Party once and for all.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The standard biography of Herbert Lehman is Allan Nevins, *Herbert H. Lehman and His Era* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963). A new biography is forthcoming: Duane Tananbaum, "I Will Not Compromise With My Conscience:" *A Political Biography of Herbert H. Lehman* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2009). On the history of the Lehman family, see Roland Flade, *The Lehmans: From Rimpark to the New World: A Family History*, Second Enlarged Edition (Wurzburg: Konigshausen & Neumann, 1999), and Kenneth Libo, editor, *Lots of Lehmans: The Family of Mayer Lehman of Lehman Brothers, Remembered by His Descendants* (New York: Center for Jewish History, 2007). A symposium on Lehman was held at Lehman College in 2003, and the proceedings were published as "Herbert H. Lehman Remembered: Historical and Personal Perspectives" (Bronx: Lehman College, 2003).

On more specialized topics, see Duane Tananbaum, "I Can Leave the Combination of My Safe to Colonel Lehman: Herbert Lehman and Franklin Roosevelt: Working Together to Improve the Lives of New Yorkers and People All Over the World," *New York History*, 87: 1 (Winter 2006), pp. 88-133; and Jewell Bellush, "Roosevelt's Good Right Arm: Lieut. Governor Herbert H. Lehman," *New York History* 41: 4 (October 1960), pp. 423-443.



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