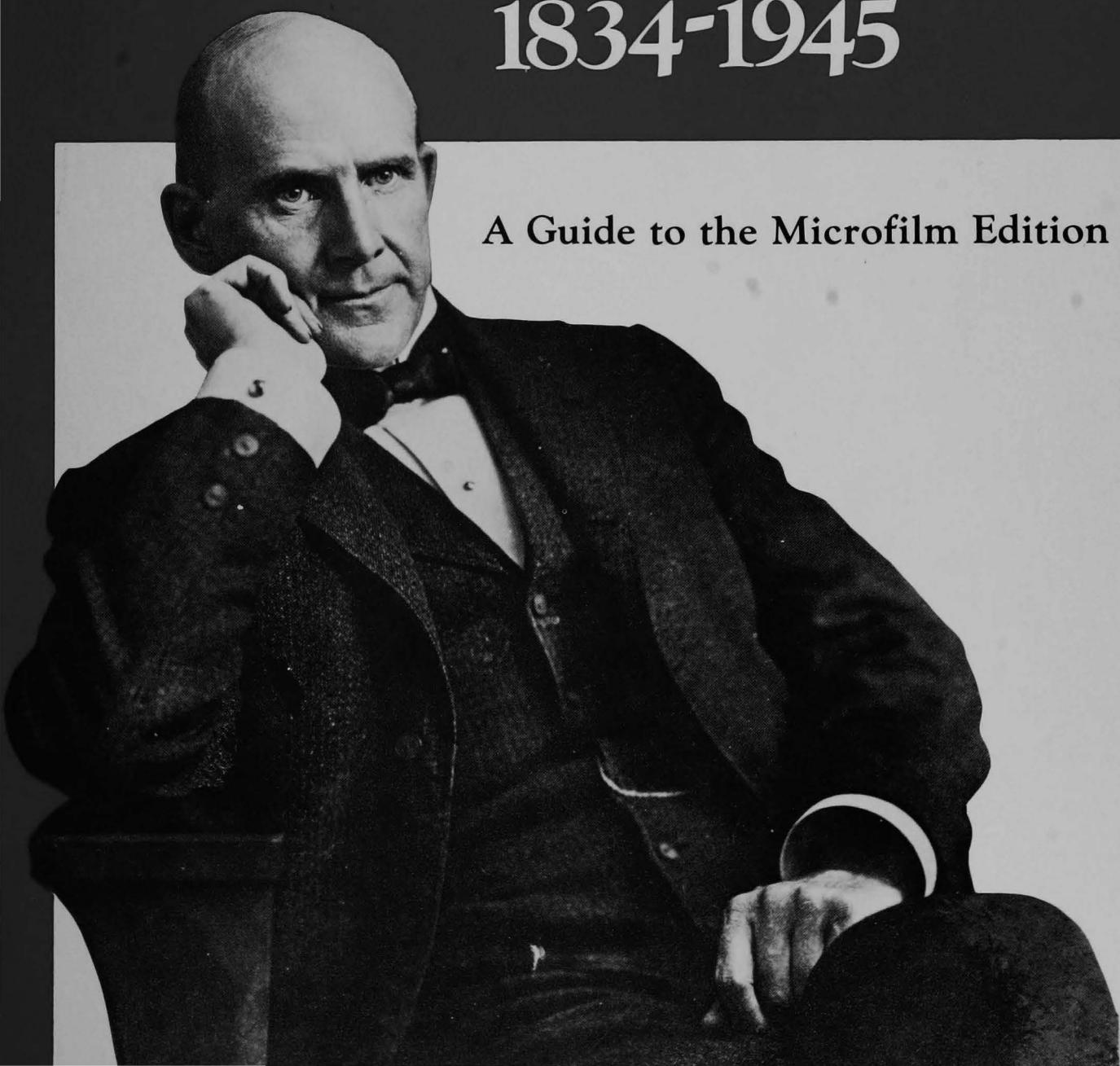


The Papers of Eugene V. Debs 1834-1945

A Guide to the Microfilm Edition





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**The Papers of
Eugene V. Debs
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A Guide to the Microfilm Edition**

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Editor

Gail Malmgreen
Associate Editor



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Acknowledgments

It is the nature of "papers projects" to be highly cooperative enterprises from their inception to their conclusion. This was particularly true in the case of the Debs papers, which were located in private holdings, government archives, and public and university libraries in this country and abroad. It becomes nearly impossible to list all of the people, organizations, and institutions whose cooperation and support have made possible the completion of the microfilm edition of Debs' works, but it is nonetheless necessary to recognize the most important of them. The Eugene V. Debs Foundation of Terre Haute, Indiana, made available to the project the large collection of Debs' printed works, correspondence, and memorabilia housed in the Debs Home in Terre Haute. Similarly, the Cunningham Memorial Library of Indiana State University, also in Terre Haute, granted permission to reproduce the large Debs collection of correspondence and printed works housed in its Special Collections Division. We are particularly grateful for the help given by Dr. Ronald Leach, director of the Cunningham Library, by Mr. Robert Carter and Dr. Robert O'Neill of the library's Special Collections Division, by Mrs. Karen Chittick Stabler and Mrs. Mary Ann Phillips of the Interlibrary Loan Division, and Miss G. Eileen Tryon of the Special Services Division.

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We are especially grateful to Ms. Dorothy Swanson, director of the Tamiment Library at New York University, who agreed to allow us to micropublish thirteen reels of microfilm owned by the Tamiment Library. These reels contain a large collection of scrapbooks compiled by Eugene and Theodore Debs and are reproduced as Series III in this edition.

In preparing the material for the microfilm edition the project has benefited greatly from the experience and skill of Mr. Jack Ericson and his associates at the Microfilming Corporation of America. The program for our computerized index to the correspondence, which should be of value to papers projects in the future, was created by Mr. Emil Pocock of Indiana University.

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J. Robert Constantine
Editor

Gail Malmgreen
Associate Editor

Note to the Researcher

This book is the guide to the microfilm edition of *The Papers of Eugene V. Debs, 1834-1945*, part of a publications program sponsored jointly by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and Indiana State University.

Researchers who wish to quote for publication or to make further full or partial reproduction of any documents in this microfilm edition have the responsibility for securing permission of the owner of the original document and any copyright holder. Each document on the microfilm is accompanied by a target card that gives a bibliographic description of the document and indicates the location of the original manuscript.

Researchers who wish to publish or reproduce material from the Debs Collection at Indiana State University should write to the Rare Books Librarian, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana 47809.

Eugene Victor Debs (1855-1926)

Chronology

1855	November 5	Born in Terre Haute, Indiana
1860-1870		Attended private and public schools of Terre Haute
1870		First employment in railroad yards in Terre Haute
1875	February 27	Charter member and recording secretary of Vigo Lodge (Terre Haute) of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (BLF)
1878		Became assistant editor of the <i>Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's Magazine</i> (BLFM)
1879		Elected to first of two two-year terms as Terre Haute city clerk
1880		Became Grand Secretary of the BLF and editor of its <i>Magazine</i>
1884		Elected as a Democrat to Indiana General Assembly; served in that body's 1885 session
1885	June 9	Married Katherine Metzler
1890		Moved into new home at 451 N. 8th St. in Terre Haute; home is now National Historic Landmark
1892		Relinquished position as Grand Secretary of the BLF; remained as editor of the <i>Magazine</i>
1893	June	Organizational meeting of the American Railway Union (ARU)
1894	April	Successful ARU strike against the Great Northern Railroad
1894	June-July	Pullman Strike
1895	May-November	Six-months imprisonment on contempt charges growing out of Pullman strike served at Woodstock jail, outside Chicago

Eugene Victor Debs

1895	November 22	Release from Woodstock jail
1897	January 1	Debs' announcement in <i>Railway Times</i> of his conversion to socialism
1897	June	Founding of Social Democratic Party in Chicago
1900		First of Debs' five campaigns as Socialist Party presidential candidate
1900-1904		Extensive speaking tours on behalf of the Socialist Party; frequent contributions to the labor and socialist press
1904		Campaign as Socialist Party of America presidential candidate (against Theodore Roosevelt and Alton Parker)
1905		With William Haywood and Daniel DeLeon helped found the Industrial Workers of the World (the "Wobblies")
1906		Deaths of Jean Daniel and Marguerite Bettrich Debs, Debs' parents
1907	January	Joined editorial staff of the <i>Appeal to Reason</i> in Girard, Kansas
1908		"Red Special" campaign as Socialist Party candidate for president (against William Howard Taft and William Jennings Bryan)
1912		Socialist Party presidential candidate (against President Taft, Woodrow Wilson and "Bull Moose" candidate Theodore Roosevelt)
1914	March	Joined editorial staff of the <i>National Rip-Saw</i> , published in St. Louis
1916		Candidate for Congress from Indiana's 5th Congressional District (Terre Haute and surrounding counties)
1918	June 18	Anti-war speech in Canton, Ohio
1918	September	Trial in federal district court in Cleveland for violation of the Espionage Act; conviction and sentence of ten-year imprisonment, subsequently upheld by the United States Supreme Court
1919	April 13	Entered Moundville (W. Va.) State Prison
1919	June 13	Transferred to the federal prison in Atlanta, Georgia

Eugene Victor Debs

1920		Socialist party candidate for president while in prison in Atlanta
1921	December 25	Prison term commuted by President Harding to time served
1922-1926		Resumed speaking tours and writing in effort to reunite and revitalize the Socialist Party
1924		Supported Robert La Follette, Progressive Party candidate for president
1926	October 20	Died at Lindlahr Sanitarium, near Chicago

Biographical Sketch

Eugene Victor Debs was born on November 5, 1855 in Terre Haute, Indiana. His parents, Jean Daniel Debs (1820-1906) and Marguerite Marie Bettrich Debs (1828-1906), had migrated to America from their native Colmar in Alsace in 1849 and, after brief stops in New York and Cincinnati, had settled in Terre Haute in 1851. Except for a short return to Brooklyn, New York in 1854 Jean Daniel and Marguerite Debs lived in Terre Haute until their deaths more than half a century later. Called "Dandy" and "Daisy" by their six surviving children (Gene was the third surviving child, the first son), Debs' parents raised an unusually close-knit family and became for Gene Debs a frequently acknowledged determining influence on his life. Debs' friend and fellow Terre Hautean, Robert Hunter, thought that much of Debs' character and temperament—his passionate hatred of oppression, his compassion for the underdog, his emotional and sentimental rhetoric—could be explained in terms of Debs' French "ethnic traits,"¹ and Debs himself commonly focused specifically upon the influences of his father and mother in trying to account for his development.

The closeness and warmth of Debs' relations with his parents, his sisters, and his brother are clearly delineated in his correspondence with them. In his letters to his parents on their birthdays, wedding anniversaries, and other occasions one finds the strongest expressions of affection, gratitude, and devotion, and a particular eagerness to gain their approval of his triumphs and understanding of his failures.² Some of his earliest letters, written as a teenager from East St. Louis and as a young man in Terre Haute, reflect regard and concern for his sisters (Marie Marguerite, Louise, Eugenie, and Emily), with whom he shared his interests (including romantic ones) and plans for the future, and whose continuing support he sought throughout his career.³ It was for his brother Theodore, however, that Debs developed the deepest, most intimate, and most lasting bond of affection. Their letters, spanning a period of nearly half a century, describe a rare relationship which evolved from one in which Debs was an admonishing big brother (he was almost nine years older than Theodore) to a full partnership in which Theodore played a key role in his famous brother's victories and defeats. Forgoing opportunities which might have advanced his own career, uprooting his family to remain within the orbit of Gene's activities, accompanying Gene on his endless travels as a labor organizer, presidential candidate, and "agitator" for social reform, and accepting responsibility for Gene's personal and professional well-being, Theodore Debs became his brother's secretary, agent, manager, advisor, and, most important, devoted friend. Only the letters between them can adequately convey the nature of their friendship and the gradual emergence of Theodore as Gene's alter ego. Debs repeatedly acknowledged his dependence upon Theodore, and clearly felt that the salary drawn by Theodore from their joint enterprises over the years never reflected the true value of the personal and professional support given by his younger brother. At the time of Gene's death in 1926 countless letters of condolence touched on the rare quality of the brothers' friendship and the vital part Theodore had played in Gene's career.⁴

At the time of Gene Debs' birth his parents operated a small retail grocery store in a front downstairs room of their two-story home on North Fourth Street in Terre Haute. The enterprise, later moved to the main street of the city and broadened in scope, provided the Debs family with a living described as "comfortable" by Theodore, who added that the family was not poverty-stricken and that

Gene had not been compelled to leave school at fourteen in order to relieve the family's financial straits. He had, in fact, left school against his parents' wishes.⁵

Of the three institutions which are said to have shaped nineteenth-century Americans' lives—the church, the school, and the family—it seems clear that the family was most important in influencing Debs. Except perhaps in a negative sense, the church and organized religion played only a small part. Debs' father was baffled, if not appalled, by the quality of Terre Haute's Protestant clergy, who seemed to him to dwell on the infinite varieties of God's torments for sinners to the near exclusion of the idea of His mercy. As a consequence, Daniel's Sunday mornings were commonly given over to hunting in the woods and fields around Terre Haute with his sons. Gene's mother's Catholicism was the source of a deep and bitter resentment toward her on the part of the Debs family in Colmar. Although her first four children were baptized as Catholics, she discontinued the practice at the time of Gene's birth in 1855 and eventually stopped attending the Catholic Church's services. In later life Gene recalled attending the Catholic church in Terre Haute on only one occasion and being so offended by the priest's description of hell as a place of "a thousand demons and devils" that he vowed he would "never go inside a church again." Debs later adopted a broad tolerance toward orthodox religions based on a pragmatic test: "I wouldn't if I could disturb anyone's religion. If he sincerely believes it, it is the right creed."⁶ He would eventually use some of his most blistering invective on Protestant and Catholic clergymen when he confronted them in the political arena, although many of his most dedicated supporters were among the clergy.

Gene Debs' formal education ended well before he completed high school, but there was compensation in the fact that his home life was one in which ideas and the life of the mind were cherished. In 1860, when Debs was ready to enter the primary grades, the uncertainty of state support for the city's public schools and his father's admiration for the private school's headmaster led to his enrollment in the city's Old Seminary School, a boys' school founded in 1847 which claimed to bridge the gap between the era's "common schools" and the university. The seminary was heavy on discipline and mastery of the "three R's" for the lower grades and discipline, the "classics," spelling, theology, and copperplate handwriting for the upper grades. Debs was apparently not offended either by the strict discipline or the rigor of the courses offered, and he later acknowledged a debt of gratitude to one of his Seminary teachers, Abbie Flagg, who taught in both the Seminary and the city's public school during the years of Debs' attendance. One of Debs' biographers suggests that Abbie Flagg helped Debs form early habits of "correct speaking." Debs himself recalled receiving from her a Bible with a flyleaf admonition, "Read and Obey," and remarked that he "never did either."⁷

Debs' transfer from the Seminary to the Terre Haute public school in 1867 was prompted in part by a temporary post-war slump in the family's business and by a growing confidence on the part of his father that the city's public schools would be adequately funded in the future. From 1867 to 1870 Debs attended the city's public "high" school, where he studied German, a language his father spoke and read at home. While struggling through an academic program which required monthly oral and written examinations sometimes administered and judged by prominent local citizens, Debs found consolation and compensation by participating in the school's literary and debate societies and, more importantly, by beginning to assemble a personal library. One of his first acquisitions, Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary*, was a gift from his father, whose own impressive collection of books was eventually given to the Terre Haute Public Library.⁸

Debs' withdrawal from school at the age of 14 in 1870 was not an uncommon practice. Few of his classmates finished high school and perhaps even fewer had the cultural advantages that Debs' home life provided. His father had studied at nearby Waldersbach before leaving Colmar, and he brought to America a life-long love for German and French classics. He had named his son, Eugene Victor, after Eugene Sue and Victor Hugo and later thought that *Les Miserables* had impressed him more than any other book he had ever read. Sunday evenings were often given over to reading Hugo and the other classics, and it was probably in this period that Debs came to admire Burns and "Old Walt" Whitman. For Terre Haute in the 1870s the Debs home must have been an exceptional cultural environment, owing largely to "Dandy's" tastes.⁹ Throughout his career Debs' writings, speeches, and correspondence were liberally sprinkled with allusions to the writers he first knew as a teenager. Indeed, one of his great sources of pride, which he could not conceal, was his wide range of acquaintances, friends, and loyal supporters among his generation's leading poets, novelists, artists, and other intellectuals.

Soon after leaving school in May 1870, Debs found a job which paid him fifty cents a day for scraping paint and grease off locomotives in the Terre Haute yards of the Terre Haute and Indianapolis Railroad. His advancement to fireman in the switching yards in December 1871 doubled his wages and enabled him to enroll in afternoon and evening classes in a local business school which offered courses in telegraphy, penmanship, bookkeeping, business correspondence, and account writing. After completing his courses in the business college Debs worked for a short time in a Terre Haute wholesale grocery firm, but he soon returned to his job as a fireman on the trains running between Terre Haute and Indianapolis.¹⁰ Thus, by the time he was eighteen Debs had learned something of the wage system and the nature of work in one of the nation's most dangerous occupations. Within a few years the Panic of 1873 and the depression which followed would teach him in vivid detail the nature and effects of the business cycle. His fireman's job was an early casualty of the Panic of 1873 and his search for a new job took him to Evansville, Indiana and then to St. Louis, where he saw "men, women, and children begging for something to eat"¹¹ and acknowledged that he had not fully appreciated his own home until he had come face to face with the wretched victims of the depression. The degree to which his later career was influenced by his experiences during the depression of the 1870s is uncertain, but he frequently recalled those experiences, including a losing battle with the bed bugs of his East St. Louis boarding house.¹²

Debs found work for a short time in 1874 on the Belleville Line out of St. Louis, but the accidental death of a friend on the line and his mother's growing anxiety about his own safety persuaded him to return to Terre Haute where he was hired as a warehouseman in the wholesale grocery firm owned by his father's friend, Herman Hulman.¹³ The job at Hulman's was a physically demanding one, but it did not prevent Debs from taking an active part in the cultural, political, and embryonic labor-union affairs of his home town. Soon after his return to Terre Haute he joined with a group of friends in founding the Occidental Literary Club and as its president was instrumental in bringing a number of prominent men and women whose zeal for reform and speaking abilities made a deep impression upon him. Debs later thought that he first learned the meaning and power of "real oratory" when Robert Ingersoll addressed the Occidental Club, and Ingersoll would remain his friend and model as a public speaker. Soon after Ingersoll's appearance in Terre Haute, Debs made his first public speech before the Club and was so disappointed

in his performance that he seriously set about remedying his “need of education and training.” Joining the immensely popular “self-help” movement of the day, Debs sought to “learn what I needed to know,” in part by buying Appleton’s *Cyclopedia* on the installment plan, one volume each month.¹⁴

Ingersoll was only the first of a number of well-known figures brought to Terre Haute through Debs’ efforts. An aging Wendell Phillips, now championing the rights of labor, addressed the club on the growing menace of monopoly power in post-war America. On one occasion the Occidental Club decided not to sponsor the controversial Susan B. Anthony. Debs, aided by Ida Husted Harper, a Terre Haute woman who was herself a pioneer feminist and would later write a biography of Anthony, personally arranged for Anthony’s appearance in Terre Haute. Debs learned something of the nature of public hostility and hatred toward advocates of unpopular or “radical” causes from his townsmen’s response to Anthony and was, at the same time, greatly impressed by her cool courage and single-minded dedication to her cause. Debs thought that it would not have taken “any great amount of egging-on to have excited the people to drive her from the community,” but Anthony had maintained her composure and had “seemed completely absorbed in her mission.... The rights and wrongs of her sex seemed to possess her completely.”¹⁵ Altogether, the acquaintances Debs made through his activities in the Occidental Club led to warm and long-lasting friendships, none more so than his relationship with James Whitcomb Riley, who performed in Terre Haute first as an unknown and later as a renowned dialect humorist and poet. As a young man in his early twenties with little formal education, Debs must have gained from the Occidental Club a significant cultural enrichment.

Debs’ years as an employee in Hulman’s wholesale grocery firm (1874-1879) also witnessed his entry into the work of labor union organization. In February 1875 he joined the newly-founded Vigo Lodge of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (BLF) and was soon actively serving as organizer and recording secretary for the brotherhood. Debs entered the organized labor movement at a time of grave economic depression, but he impressed the national leadership of his union with the number of members he recruited for his local and in 1876 began to attend the national conventions of the BLF and to write articles for the *BLF Magazine*. He was elected associate editor of the *Magazine* at the BLF convention in Buffalo in 1878 and became its editor in 1880. As recording secretary for his BLF local Debs gained first-hand experience of the goals and programs of the post-war labor movement. A broadly reformist unionism, which had characterized the abortive National Labor Union under William Sylvis and would reappear in the program of the Knights of Labor under Terence V. Powderly, was not of great concern to the members of Debs’ BLF Vigo Lodge #16, the minutes of whose meetings reflect the group’s interest in providing financial assistance to injured members and to the widows of those killed on the job. In addition, the lodge was a social and fraternal agency which policed the morality of its members and spent a good bit of its time in disciplining or expelling men who were found guilty of excessive drinking, sexual promiscuity, or making “slandorous remarks” about their comrades. Issues related to job safety in a notoriously dangerous industry were, of course, frequently on the lodge’s agenda.¹⁶ Debs was not an on-the-job railroader during these years, but his service as recording secretary for the BLF local put him in personal touch with conditions in an industry whose great strike in 1877 altered the thinking of many Americans concerning the nature of labor-management relations in general and the role of labor unions in particular.

The members of the BLF local provided Debs with a nucleus of support for his entry into politics as the Democratic Party's candidate for Terre Haute city clerk in 1879. He won election in that campaign, led the party's ticket in his reelection campaign in 1881, and during his four-year tenure as city clerk infuriated Democratic machine politicians by adopting what amounted to a merit system in filling the positions in his office. At the same time Debs won the admiration and praise of the townspeople and the local press for the competence and efficiency with which he conducted the office and for his diligence in keeping the public informed regarding the actions and policies adopted by the city council. Perhaps the most controversial of his policies as city clerk was his lenience in collecting fines levied against the numerous prostitutes of Terre Haute's notorious Tenderloin district, a policy he justified on humanitarian grounds.¹⁷

In 1883 Debs, by then deeply engaged in the affairs of the BLF, declined his party's nomination for a third term as city clerk, but the following year he ran and was elected to the lower house of the Indiana General Assembly. Debs' election in 1884 was part of a Democratic Party sweep of the state that year, and the General Assembly which convened in January 1885 was overwhelmingly Democratic. The railroad workers' safety and employers' liability bills which Debs introduced were passed by the House but so badly mangled by the Senate that he withdrew them from consideration, and a women's suffrage bill in which he was particularly interested was defeated. It was for this reason that Debs assessed his one term in the state legislature as a disappointment and failure.

There were, however, some legislative achievements which Debs could approve. The 1885 General Assembly passed a number of laws which a member with ties to organized labor must have considered victories, including a resolution supporting the federal eight-hour day law, a mechanics' lien law, a coal-mine safety law, and a law prohibiting the importation of contract labor.¹⁸ Most surprising for a legislature of that time controlled by the Democratic Party, the 1885 General Assembly passed a statute guaranteeing all citizens equal access to places of public accommodation such as hotels, restaurants, and theatres.

Later Debs would recall his term in the General Assembly with ill-concealed disdain. "There was a time in my life, before I became a Socialist," he declared in a 1923 speech, "when I permitted myself as a Democrat to be elected to a state legislature. I have been trying to live it down. I am ashamed of that as I am proud of having gone to jail."¹⁹

By 1885 Debs' personal life and professional career had entered new phases. On June 9, 1885 he married Katherine Metzger, the step-daughter of a prominent Terre Haute druggist, John Jacob Baur. "Kate" Debs played an important and controversial role in Debs' career. Some of the correspondence in this edition reveals Kate Debs as an interested and sympathetic supporter and defender of principles which made Debs famous and led to his imprisonment. Other correspondence, written by her and by others, suggests quite a different image of Kate Debs, the image of Irving Stone's *Adversary in the House*, of a woman who did not understand or sympathize with the goals pursued by her husband and felt cheated by his preoccupation with those goals.²⁰

Four years after their marriage Gene and Kate Debs built a large home in one of the more fashionable sections of Terre Haute. The home was itself the subject of controversy from time to time. It was said to be tasteless for a labor organizer to build such a splendid home in a neighborhood dominated by some of the city's wealthiest families, and Debs was later accused of having built and maintained the

home by using “scab” labor.²¹ An often-repeated charge was that Kate Debs refused to permit working men to enter the home. On one occasion the imported tile used in constructing the fireplace in the dining-room of the house was cited as evidence of Kate’s upper-class taste and proof of the shallowness of Gene’s working-class roots. Nevertheless, the house on North Eight Street in Terre Haute remained home for Gene until his death in 1926 and for Kate until her death ten years later.

Eugene and Kate Debs had no children of their own but Gene became renowned for his affection for and interest in children and was in turn idolized by many of them. The number of children who were named for Eugene Victor Debs (including Eugenie, Victoria, etc.) was one of his greatest sources of pride and pleasure, and many of the most poignant letters in his correspondence came from scores of children who wrote him during his imprisonment in Atlanta.

By the time of his marriage in 1885 Debs had apparently decided to devote his full time to union affairs in general and to those of the BLF in particular. Prior to that time he had combined his union activities with his employment in the wholesale grocery firm, his tenure as city clerk of Terre Haute, and his term as a state legislator. His full-time entry into union work came at a critical juncture in the history of American labor. The Knights of Labor, triumphant in recent strikes on the southwestern railroads, seemed to represent the wave of the future for organized labor and was near the peak of its power in membership and financial resources. Nothing better represented the “fragility” of late nineteenth-century unionism, however, than the rapid decline of the Knights in the decade after 1885. In part the decline was attributed to the public’s fear of foreign “radicalism” following the Haymarket Riot of 1886, to the organized resistance of management to the demands—and even the existence—of labor unions, and to a series of ill-planned and executed strikes undertaken by Knights locals during the late eighties. Debs’ education as a union leader must have been affected by these developments and by the launching in 1886 of the American Federation of Labor, whose stress on “bread and butter” trade unionism was itself a factor contributing to the decline of the broadly reformist Knights of Labor.

Throughout the eighties, Debs was not, of course, a mere observer of the rapidly-changing nature of the organized labor movement. He was tireless in his efforts to organize workers both within and outside the railroad industry. He attracted attention as a successful “agitator” in organizing the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen, the Switchman’s Mutual Aid Association, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, and the Order of Railway Telegraphers. At the same time he helped in the organization of carpenters’ and printers’ locals in Terre Haute and other Indiana cities and responded to the frequent calls for help in organizing miners’ locals.²²

It was within the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, however, that he built his base of influence and a forum for national recognition in the labor movement. As managing editor of the *BLF Magazine* and as secretary and treasurer of the union he was in a strong position to influence the opinions of the members and the policies of the union. His ties with the membership gained strength from the fact that he had personally worked to organize scores of BLF locals. Throughout his career, and long after he left the BLF, he received letters from men with whom he had organized locals during the eighties, and Debs seemed always to remember such men with special affection. Not the least of his strengths was his facility for remembering the names and faces of such correspondents from “the old days.”

Over a period of twelve years Debs made the columns of the *BLF Magazine* a ready and regular channel of communication with the union’s membership. His

wide-ranging editorials dealt with nearly every aspect of labor's problems and strategy during the crucial decade of the 1880s and with most of the political, social, and economic questions of the era. In many instances Debs' editorials reflected the official position of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the attitudes of its members, but in time he challenged the policies of his union and some of the conventional wisdom of its members. At the outset of his editorship of the *Magazine* Debs stressed a common interest between management and labor based upon "an honest day's work for an honest day's pay" and the mutual advantages to be gained by labor and capital through cooperation. His model of proper management practices and policies was provided by his Terre Haute friend William Riley McKeen, a banker and railroad entrepreneur who was, in David Shannon's view, "the subject of the most filiopietistic biographical sketches Debs wrote for the *Magazine*."²³ Henry C. Lord, president and superintendent of the Indianapolis, Cincinnati, and Lafayette Railroad, was another model employer highly recommended by Debs to his readers: in six consecutive issues in 1883 the *Magazine* printed Lord's insights into and analysis of current problems.

Radicalism and radical tactics found no favor in these years with the future militant socialist and radical labor leader. "Strikes are the knives with which laborers cut their throats," he wrote in 1883, when he was stressing the harmony of interests between capital and labor. He "steadily...inculcated the doctrine that labor and capital are friends" and insisted that "one of our fundamental doctrines is that labor and capital are brothers."²⁴ Looking back on the great railroad strike of 1877 Debs was proud of the fact that the BLF "had nothing to do with the origin or development of that strike nor any other...." In a sense anticipating the public reaction to the Haymarket Riot, Debs thought that radicals retarded the progress of labor because the public mistook their "wild utterances" as representative of "the aims of the great body of laboring men." The anarchists convicted in the Haymarket trial in Chicago had been "cranks" making "insane harangues," but Debs defended their right to preach their mistaken doctrines. On the very eve of the Pullman strike in 1894 Debs accused socialists of building "castles of moonshine" and declared his belief that socialism would lead to authoritarianism and the obliteration of individual rights.²⁵

On many of the social issues of the day the "conservative editor" (David Shannon's phrase) of the *BLF Magazine* both reflected and challenged the opinions and attitudes of the union membership and American society. He shared organized labor's hostility to unrestricted immigration and, like many of his contemporaries, identified the Italians as particularly menacing. "The Dago," he wrote, "works for small pay, and lives far more like a savage or a wild beast, than the Chinese." Italians "fatten on garbage" and "underbid an American workingman."²⁶ Debs expressed similar resentment toward other "new immigrants," but he opposed the program and growing influence in the late 1880s of the American Protective Association. The APA was particularly opposed to Catholic influence in America and to the influx of Catholic immigrants, and its propaganda persuaded many Americans, including some members of the BLF, that the United States was in danger of being taken over by the Papacy and that the Panic of 1893 was itself part of a "Popish Plot." In editorials which offended many of his readers Debs denounced the APA as an instrument of management—who used it as a means of dividing the ranks of labor—and as an organization which rekindled the undemocratic tendencies of the antebellum Know-Nothing movement.²⁷

Two other social issues which perplexed and confounded organized labor and, later, the socialist movement were those raised by the questions of race relations

and the status of women in American society. In time Debs' stance on the race question would be viewed as an advanced one, and his denunciation of "The Birth of a Nation" for its rabid racism was the occasion for an outpouring of letters of appreciation from black Americans.²⁸ But during the years of his editorship of the *BLF Magazine* he frequently printed the popular Negro dialect stories which more often than not contributed to the unflattering stereotypes of blacks which white America accepted. He appeared to have no quarrel with the "lily-white" constitutions of the railroad brotherhoods and the growing de facto segregation of blacks in the American Federation of Labor unions.²⁹ He was, in short, a long distance from the time when he would refuse to address segregated audiences in the South and when he would write and speak against the Jim Crow system within and outside the socialist movement. It should be added that while exceptional men or women in the ranks of labor or socialism would support political and economic equality of blacks, hardly any advocated social equality for them. The change in Debs' views on the race question came in part as a result of experiences in the 1890s and after the turn of the century which convinced him that racial segregation was another tool with which employers and capitalists sought to divide and weaken the working class.

It was noted earlier that Debs as a young man was instrumental in bringing Susan B. Anthony to Terre Haute and had been greatly impressed by the feminist's dedication to her cause. He appears also to have been influenced and persuaded by her arguments, and in the councils of the BLF and the columns of the *Magazine* he endorsed the goals of the feminist movement. In 1884 he added a Women's Section to the *Magazine* and placed Ida Husted Harper in charge of it. At the BLF convention at Kansas City in 1886 Debs declared that he "could not see why it is that women did not receive the same compensation for the same work performed, as a man," a notion not widely approved in or out of the labor movement at the time. A series of articles in the *Magazine* in 1890 which advocated equality for women in politics, the work place, and in marital relations, triggered a chorus of angry letters from a predominantly male readership whose views on the subject were clearly at odds with those of the editor.³⁰

In 1890 Debs could look back with considerable satisfaction on a decade of achievement in his own career and for his own union and others. The BLF membership had grown from about 2,000 members in 1880 to nearly 20,000 in 1890, and in the same period the *BLF Magazine's* circulation had grown from 3,500 subscribers to 28,000. Clearly, the readership of the *Magazine* was not confined to the membership of the union. The *Magazine* was, in fact, recognized as one of best-edited labor publications in the nation, and Debs claimed its readers included not only workers but "lawyers, physicians, clergymen, educators, [and] scientists."³¹ His years on the *Magazine* had taught him the techniques and mechanics of publishing—advertising, circulation, printing—and he had refined his writing skills in hundreds of editorials and essays covering a wide range of issues. With no formal education or apprenticeship in the field he had made himself a journalist. At the same time he had established himself as a superb labor organizer whose efforts had not only increased BLF membership but helped launch other brotherhoods in the industry, notably the switchmen and brakemen. In 1888 the Grand Master of the brakemen, S.E. Wilkinson, called Debs the "god-father" of the union, the man who "was our friend when we most needed a friend." The brakemen, their leader declared, would "never be able to repay him for what he has done for us and for the benefit of our Brotherhood." In short, few would challenge an 1890 description

of Debs in the *Locomotive Engineer* as “by far the ablest labor speaker and writer in America.”³²

During the course of the 1880s Debs' views on the philosophy and tactics of labor unions, the relationship between capital and labor, and the nature of the broader society itself were perceptibly changed both by his experiences in the labor movement and by the intellectual ferment of the decade, which was causing many Americans to rethink their positions on economic, social, and political issues. Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* had appeared in 1879, but it was during the 1880s that Americans absorbed George's analysis of the causes of the “great enigma of our times,” the “association of poverty with progress,” and his proposed solution to the problem through a “single tax” on the unearned increment of the value of land. Poverty, to George, was not simply the consequence of a moral defect or of biological inferiority or of too few chairs at a Malthusian banquet, but rather the effect of a sinister land monopoly which violated man's “natural right” to work the land.

Other attacks upon and proposed alternatives to the inherited economic and social wisdom followed in rapid sequence during the eighties. In 1883, Lester Frank Ward, at the time an obscure civil servant in the United States Geological Survey, published his two-volume *Dynamic Sociology* in which he challenged *laissez-faire* as “a gospel of inaction...struck with sterility” and Social Darwinism as a corruption of the real significance and meaning of the evolutionary theory. A year after the publication of *Dynamic Sociology* Laurence Gronlund's *The Cooperative Commonwealth* appeared, providing America with “the first satisfactory exposition in English of Socialist and Marxian economics...modified to fit particular American circumstances.” In Gronlund's perfect society, cooperation would replace competition in a bloodless revolution made possible by the implementation of direct democracy: the popular election of all government officials combined with the initiative, referendum, and recall systems.³³ How soon after its publication Debs read *The Cooperative Commonwealth* is not certain. As noted earlier he remained critical of socialism as late as the eve of the Pullman strike a decade later, but he told the commission appointed by Cleveland after the strike that his ideas had come from “Gronlund rather than Marx.”³⁴ The attempt to build a “cooperative commonwealth” in the West was one of the earliest projects into which he entered following his conversion to socialism.

In 1889 Debs was among the hundreds of thousands of Americans who greeted Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* as a blueprint for the future. The novel, which depicted the evolution of a utopian society through the nationalization of the economic order and the equitable distribution of all wealth, was an instant success and Nationalist clubs devoted to promoting Bellamy's ideas sprang up throughout the nation. In the labor movement bitter rivals such as Terence V. Powderly and Samuel Gompers could agree in support of the Nationalist movement. Debs subscribed to the movement's magazine, *The Nationalist*, and—in a review of *Looking Backward* in the *BLF Magazine*—told his readers that Bellamy's novel “outlines a possibility, or rather many possibilities, some of which are to be accomplished facts a century in advance of 2000 A.D.” Debs thought that “trusts will go, syndicates and monopolies will follow,” and “landgrabbers,” Henry George's particular devils, “will be made to relax their grasp upon land.” Labor was already “organizing for such work,” and Debs concluded that “those who relish good reading should read *Looking Backward*.”³⁵

It seems clear that by 1890 Debs along with many other Americans had accepted the common theme which ran through the reform and protest literature of the preceding decade—namely, that the power of government needed to be exerted more aggressively in the regulation of economic life and in the pursuit of social justice. He was not prepared to accept socialism and would a short time later oppose Populist demands for government ownership of transportation, but he would surely have subscribed to the recently-founded American Economic Association's declaration that "the state" was "an educational and ethical agency whose positive aid is an indispensable condition of human progress."³⁶

Debs' views on the nature, strategy, and tactics of labor unions were also transformed by his personal experiences during the eighties. He had seen the broadly reformist Knights of Labor challenged and then overtaken by the job-oriented American Federation of Labor, which concentrated on the organization of skilled workers whose dues went in part to accumulate war chests for use in strikes. In addition to his work in organizing railroad firemen Debs had organized what were essentially craft unions in other railroad brotherhoods, each dedicated to promoting the interests of its own members. Debs' own Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen had amended its constitution in 1885 to authorize the use of strikes, and he had been obliged to formulate a defense of the use of strikes in labor-management relations to replace his earlier opposition to them. By the time of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy strike in 1888 strikes were no longer "anarchy and revolution" in Debs' mind but rather "the weapon of the oppressed, of men capable of appreciating justice and having the courage to resist wrong and contend for principle." In fact, Debs said, "the nation had for its cornerstone a strike," and he predicted that "strikes will come by virtue of irrevocable laws, destined to have a wider sweep and greater power as men advance in intelligence and independence."³⁷

The use of the strike as a weapon in the railroad industry in the late 1880s met with some encouraging success and with some demoralizing defeats, most notably among the latter the failure of the strike on the C.B. and Q. in 1888. Although he had helped organize several of the railroad brotherhoods Debs came increasingly to believe that management's victories in railroad strikes were made possible by its ability to "divide and conquer" the brotherhoods, who often broke ranks in pursuit of their particular goals and interests. Debs blamed the failure of the C.B. and Q. strike on just such a breaking of ranks by the engineers and conductors, the "aristocracy" of the brotherhoods, who returned to work under threat of an injunction and left the firemen hopelessly undermanned to continue the strike. Debs thought that the remedy for the weakness demonstrated in the breakdown of the brotherhoods' cooperation in the C.B. and Q. strike lay in the adoption of the federation principle embodied in the structure of the new AFL. A federation of the railroad brotherhoods pursuing commonly agreed-upon goals and presenting a united front to management would strengthen all the unions in ordinary negotiations and during the crises created by strikes. The C.B. and Q. strike could have been won "if from the first there had been federation between engineers and firemen, switchmen, and brakemen."³⁸

Rejected earlier by the BLF, the federation idea was endorsed by the union at its 1888 convention, and Debs was named as chairman of a three-man committee charged with creating a formal alliance with the other brotherhoods. During the following three years a good part of Debs' interest and effort was channeled into the railroad federation movement, and by 1891 it appeared that it was the key to

unity in the future. In his editorials in the *BLF Magazine* Debs returned repeatedly to the subject, and in June 1889 a group of nine men representing the Firemen, the Brakemen, and the Switchmen met in Chicago and drew up a constitution for the Supreme Council of the United Orders of Railway Employees, the rather grand name given to the federation's governing body. During the following two and a half years the Supreme Council successfully confronted management on behalf of component unions and won wage and workplace improvement without resorting to strikes, a development which led Debs to predict "a reign of good feeling...between railroad employer and employee...when strikes shall forever disappear."³⁹ At the same time the Council arbitrated jurisdictional disputes and dealt with such delicate issues as the racial policies of its member unions and the impact of the religious dissension in the lodges created by the American Protective Association. All the while Debs worked tirelessly to persuade other unions to join the Supreme Council.

In spite of the early successes of the federation and Debs' confidence that eventually all the brotherhoods, including the engineers, would see the wisdom of joining it, in 1891 the Supreme Council came to grief over an apparently minor dispute between the Trainmen's and Switchmen's unions which escalated into charges of treachery against the leadership of the Trainmen's union and demands for the union's expulsion from the Supreme Council. It was an index of the fragility of the federation that, in the process of resolving the fight between the Trainmen and Switchmen, the Trainmen were expelled from the Supreme Council, the Telegraphers and factions of the Conductors withdrew their applications for admission to the Council, and the rump membership of the Council entertained and then tabled a motion for its own dissolution. Tabling the motion merely prolonged the agony of the federation's expiration. In June 1892, at the body's annual meeting, attended only by representatives of the Firemen and the Switchmen, Debs moved and the meeting approved the dissolution of the Supreme Council.⁴⁰

The breakup of the federation in 1892 was clearly a defeat for an idea which Debs had nurtured for half a dozen years and, at the same time, an important juncture in his own career. He had announced in the January 1891 issue of the *BLF Magazine* his intention to resign as editor of the *Magazine* and secretary-treasurer of the BLF, his resignation to take effect at the time of the BLF convention in 1892. He gave as a reason for his resignation only a desire to "go into other business." But in resisting strong efforts to change his mind about the resignation before and during the 1892 convention, Debs revealed that he had lost confidence in the concept of craft unionism and in the likelihood that a federation of craft union leaders would ever become a united voice for all railroad workers in confrontations with management. The refusal of the other brotherhoods to support the Switchmen in a strike at Buffalo in 1892 strengthened Debs' belief that craft unionism "fosters class prejudices and class selfishness" while "differences among Grand Officers" made federation "impracticable and impossible."⁴¹

Bowing to heavy pressure at the 1892 BLF convention in Cincinnati, Debs agreed to continue as editor of the *Magazine* but insisted on relinquishing his duties as secretary-treasurer of the brotherhood. He thus maintained a forum for his ideas and acquired time and freedom to pursue the "other business" mentioned in his resignation announcement in 1891. One of the other businesses to which he turned his attention was the E.V. Debs Publishing Company of Terre Haute, which placed a full-page advertisement of its titles (mostly dealing with railroad matters) in the July 1892 issue of the *Magazine*. With the help of Kate and Theodore, Debs was able to launch the publishing enterprise, edit the *Magazine*, and work hard for the

election of Grover Cleveland over Benjamin Harrison in the 1892 campaign. More important, however, was Debs' growing determination to create an industrial union for railroaders, a project he clearly suggested at the time of his resignation as secretary-treasurer of the BLF, when he stated that it had been his "life's desire to unify railroad employees and to eliminate the aristocracy of labor...and organize them all so all will be on an equality."⁴² Perhaps spurred on by the tragic failures of the Homestead and Coeur d'Alene strikes in 1892, Debs worked to formulate a mechanism through which a railroad industrial union might be created. In the spring of 1893 he told Professor John R. Commons, then at Indiana University, that he had developed "his plan for the American Railway Union (ARU), modeled after the Constitution of the United States, which should include subordinate organizations of all railway employees as 'states' in the union."⁴³

Whether the plan for the ARU was Debs' own or he had followed a model provided by the brewery workers, coal miners, or conductors, the union which emerged from a June 1893 meeting in Chicago of fifty dissident railroad labor figures was from the outset and throughout its brief and dramatic life "Debs' union." Debs was the first and only president of the American Railway Union, which welcomed to membership all "white" railroad workers, including coalminers and longshoremens who worked for a railroad company, and excluded only managerial personnel. Members were required to pay a one dollar initiation fee, one dollar a year to the national union, and local dues fixed by each lodge. In return, the ARU proposed to protect members' pay scales and work schedules, lobby for sympathetic legislation, publish a weekly paper and monthly magazine, and establish a low-rate insurance program.

In many respects the ARU strongly resembled the other railroad brotherhoods and AFL affiliates of the time, in the services and protection it offered its members and in its "lily white" constitution (which Debs opposed). But the idea of organizing all the workers in the railroad industry was a challenge both to the brotherhoods and to the concept on which the AFL was built. It appeared to be an idea whose time had come. Despite the fact that the new union had to compete for press coverage with Illinois governor John Altgeld's pardon of the surviving Haymarket Riot prisoners, news of the founding of the ARU spread among railroad men, among those in the existing brotherhoods, and among the much more numerous workers who had never been included in the brotherhoods or who were being thrown out of work by the thousands as the impact of the Panic of 1893 spread. The growth of the ARU would have been impressive at any time during the late nineteenth century but, in view of the condition of the American economy in 1893 and 1894—thousands of bankruptcies, hundreds of thousands of unemployed men and women (and children), bread lines, "marches" on Washington for relief—the new union's growth was astonishing. Within six months charters had been issued to a hundred lodges and Debs was able to keep four full-time organizers on the payroll. Together Debs and his organizers signed up three to four hundred new members each day; and on January 1, 1894 the union's new paper, *Railway Times*, began publication.⁴⁴ Perhaps even more astonishing than the rapid growth of the ARU in its first year was the success of the eighteen-day strike it waged on James J. Hill's Great Northern Railroad in April 1894. Hill was acknowledged to be one of the shrewdest and most ruthless operators in an industry in which competition for such recognition was keen; thus his agreement to a strike settlement granting the ARU "97½% of its demands," including a wage increase, was a striking victory for the new union and for Debs himself, whose

popularity in the ranks of labor and recognition throughout the nation were greatly enhanced by the settlement.⁴⁵ In later years Debs would receive letters from men who had been part of the Great Northern strike, and it was often recalled by them as the moment of their greatest triumph.

In June 1894, little more than a month after the Great Northern strike settlement, more than 400 delegates representing 465 ARU lodges and 150,000 members met in Chicago at the new union's first national convention, in an atmosphere charged with a sense of triumph and success arising from the record of the preceding twelve months. As it turned out, the most fateful decision made by the delegates at the convention was to organize a sympathy boycott of Pullman cars on all the roads served by the ARU membership. The boycott decision was the union's response to pleas from Pullman workers—many of them ARU members—who had gone on strike in May 1894 against living and working conditions in George Pullman's "model city" outside Chicago. In his efforts to deal with the depression Pullman had cut the wages of his workers, dismissed many of them, and announced a policy which would retain the various costs and fees charged the workers at their pre-depression levels, all of which would make it possible to continue to declare a dividend for investors in the Pullman Palace Car Company. These policies, combined with the ordinary indignities imposed on those workers who lived in Pullman (a network of spies, pulpit, press, and politics monitored by George Pullman—an environment said by a contemporary to resemble "Bismarck's Germany"⁴⁶) had led to the Pullman strike and to the subsequent refusal of the ARU to handle trains that carried Pullman cars.

The Pullman Strike of 1894 was perhaps the most famous strike in American labor history. It was called "Debs' Rebellion" by segments of the contemporary press, even though Debs had felt that his fledgling union was not ready for the challenge and had urged caution in the convention's response to the call for help from the Pullman workers. Once the boycott decision was made, however, Debs entered whole-heartedly into its prosecution, and in a very short time witnessed both the potential for the unprecedented power of a united industrial union and the fragility of that power when confronted by the hostility of public opinion, management, and government.

Within days of the ARU boycott decision a strike paralyzed the western half of the nation, tying up the economic life of twenty-seven states and territories. Indicative of the thoroughness of the strike action was the fact that the widow of Leland Stanford wired Debs in Chicago from California requesting his permission to move her private railroad car from Dunsmuir to San Francisco. Debs granted the permission, informing Mrs. Stanford that a copy of his telegram to her would be accepted by the ARU men in California as authorization to service her car.⁴⁷

Despite Debs' repeated admonitions to the workers and assurances to the public that the ARU's action against the Pullman Company was to be orderly and non-violent, large segments of the press described the strike as a rebellion and an outbreak of class warfare, and portrayed Debs as an ambitious "dictator" and "czar" intent upon undermining an already shaky economic system. The railroad owners were determined that the ARU's success in the Great Northern strike must not be repeated. United in the General Managers Association, a coalition of all the roads running in and out of Chicago, the owners found powerful allies in President Grover Cleveland, grown even more conservative since his first term in office, and Attorney General Richard Olney, a long-time attorney for railroads in the East. On July 2, Olney secured from the federal district court in Chicago a "blanket in-

junction" against Debs and other officers of the ARU, enjoining them from interfering with mail trains and interstate commerce, and scores of special marshals were deputized to police compliance with the injunction. At the same time Cleveland, ignoring the vigorous protests of Governor Altgeld and citing his constitutional obligation to protect the mails and interstate commerce, called out federal troops for service in Chicago, Los Angeles, and "trouble spots" in between. "Hit with soldiers and injunctions," a recent historian concluded, "the union never had a chance."⁴⁸ By late July 1894 the Pullman strike was over. Following the formalities of a trial for violation of the federal court order and appeal procedures, Debs, along with the other officers of the ARU, was sent to the McHenry County jail at Woodstock, Illinois, about 50 miles from Chicago. The ARU was a casualty of the Pullman strike as was, it turned out, Debs' certainty that a strong, united industrial union could protect the interests of its members in a capitalist society.

Debs' correspondence during his six-month imprisonment at the Woodstock jail (May-November 1895) makes it clear that he had become a national figure (he was treated accordingly by the very sympathetic and friendly McHenry County sheriff), and that he was conscious of the publicity value which imprisonment might bring. Yet he felt obliged to assure his parents that they "need not blush," since "no disgrace attaches to the family" because of his imprisonment. In fact, he added, his conviction and incarceration were "doing much to arouse the public conscience," and he was confident that "in good time the right will prevail...and then reward and vindication will come."⁴⁹ Debs was interviewed by reporters and journalists representing several of the nation's leading newspapers and magazines, and he turned out a steady stream of articles for the *Railway Times* and other publications, converting his cell at Woodstock into a miniature newspaper office.

The jail must also have resembled a hospitality center. Debs received visitors on what appeared to be an unrestricted basis. A significant number of them were socialists, including Victor Berger from Milwaukee, Thomas Morgan from Chicago, and the Scotsman Keir Hardie. In time a number of people would claim credit or responsibility for Debs' "conversion" to socialism; but there is no doubt that it was during the months at Woodstock, in conversations and in reading, that his serious interest in socialism as an alternative economic system was engaged. It is not certain that he mastered the copy of Marx's *Capital* given him by Victor Berger, but he later wrote to Karl Kautsky to acknowledge that it was one of Kautsky's books (a gift from Keir Hardie) which had given him "some of my earliest and most precious lessons in socialism." He was, he said, indebted to Kautsky's "gifted pen for having opened my eyes to the light."⁵⁰ Debs' release from Woodstock on November 22, 1895 was the occasion for what resembled a triumphal procession to Chicago, where a mass rally of an estimated 100,000 people was addressed by Henry Demarest Lloyd, by Colorado governor Davis "Bloody Bridles" Waite, and by Debs, who urged the vast crowd to use the right to vote to restore the republic as it existed "before corporations knew the price of judges, legislators and public officials as certainly as Armour knows the price of pork and mutton."⁵¹

During the year following his release from the Woodstock jail Debs appeared to believe that the best way for voters to restore the republic was by casting a vote for the Populist Party, which had made an encouraging appearance in the 1892 elections on the broadly reformist "Omaha Platform," but had since become increasingly dedicated to a "free silver" solution to the nation's grave problems. Debs withstood serious pressure to become the Populists' candidate in the 1896 election, but he worked hard for the party and for the Democratic-Populist candidate,

William Jennings Bryan. Whatever remaining confidence Debs had in the two-party system and the economic system which sustained it was undermined by McKinley's smashing victory over Bryan in the fall of 1896. In the January 1, 1897 issue of the *Railway Times* he announced in a lead editorial his acceptance of socialism, a position he had reached as a result of his experiences in the Pullman strike and in the 1896 election, his reading on the subject, and the influence of Berger and other socialists.⁵²

At the outset Debs joined neither the doctrinaire Marxist Socialist Labor Party, dominated by the "New York pope," Daniel DeLeon, nor the more cautious group which Victor Berger was building in Milwaukee. Instead Debs continued a heavy speaking schedule designed to liquidate the debts of the ARU, debts for which he had assumed personal responsibility following his release from Woodstock. At the same time the plight of unemployed and blacklisted ARU members drew his attention to a utopian colonization scheme which would relieve their unemployment by creating a colony in a sparsely-populated western state. Socialist influence would come to dominate the state and, eventually, spread throughout the nation. In June 1897 delegates to the ARU convention in Chicago, their drastically reduced numbers reflecting the union's feeble condition, agreed to the creation of the Social Democracy of America, which would try to raise funds and select locations for the colonization project, and Debs agreed to undertake an extensive speaking tour on behalf of the new organization.⁵³

During the following year Debs combined his colonization work with a very heavy speaking tour for the coal miners, whose strike in West Virginia spread to half a dozen other states before its conclusion. The colonization plan, despite Debs' enthusiasm for it, met with disappointing results. At the Social Democracy convention in June 1898 the conflict between the colonizationists and the political actionists resulted in the withdrawal of the latter. Under Victor Berger's leadership, this faction then proceeded to create the Social Democratic Party (SDP), which looked toward the eventual overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a socialist commonwealth but embraced a set of "immediate demands" which resembled the reformist provisions of the Populist "Omaha Platform."⁵⁴

Debs joined the new party as a member of its executive board and Theodore accepted the position of treasurer, moving his family from Terre Haute to Chicago where he opened a one-room, \$10.00 per month "national office," for which he occasionally paid the rent by hocking his gold watch. The early growth of the Social Democratic Party, which had locals in a dozen states by September 1898, was largely the result both of Debs' speaking tours in the Midwest and the Southwest and of the sympathetic publicity given the new party by such journals as Berger's *Milwaukee Vorwaerts*, the *Jewish Daily Forward* in New York City, and Julius Wayland's *Appeal to Reason*, published at Girard, Kansas.⁵⁵

By March 1900 the sixty-seven delegates who gathered in Indianapolis for the national convention of the Social Democratic Party represented thirty-two states and a membership of about 5,000. The chief business of nominating presidential and vice-presidential candidates was obstructed by a controversy over the proposed merger of the Social Democratic Party, in which Victor Berger played a commanding role, with the "Kangaroo" faction of the Socialist Labor Party, which had seceded from that party and was dominated by the New York attorney Morris Hillquit. There was strong sentiment in the SDP and among the "Kangaroos" for the merger and—despite the personal rivalry between Berger and Hillquit and certain

strategic and tactical differences between the groups—a referendum conducted during the summer of 1900 overwhelmingly approved it.⁵⁶

Debs' acceptance of the "united" Social Democratic Party's presidential nomination in 1900 played an important part in the merger (the party's vice-presidential candidate, Job Harriman of California, came out of the "Kangaroo" faction), and his followers looked to him for a spirited campaign. Despite a pitifully small party treasury Debs did not disappoint them: he brought to the campaign the kind of zeal and enthusiasm which had characterized his work in the union movement, the colonization project, and the early growth of the SDP, and which would be the mark of his later presidential campaigns. Campaigning in "Berger country" in the Midwest, and "Hillquit country" in the East, in the Rocky Mountain region where he had many friends in the Western Federation of Miners, and in the Southwest, Debs attracted large crowds with a message that ignored the complexities of Marx's "scientific socialism" and stressed the idea that capitalism and democracy were incompatible, that capitalism meant plutocracy, and that socialism would revitalize true democracy and individualism. Class warfare, the necessity of violent revolution, and the other imperatives of militant European socialism had little appeal to Debs, who thought that education and the ballot would bring the "new life of socialism."⁵⁷

When the ballots were counted in early November 1900, William McKinley defeated William Jennings Bryan with 7,219,530 votes to Bryan's 6,358,071. Despite the number and size of the crowds he had attracted in an aggressive campaign, Debs received only 96,978 votes, most of those in New York, Massachusetts, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, and California. The new party's candidate acknowledged that the vote was "smaller than most of us expected." In contrast, the Populists in their first national campaign in 1892 had polled nearly a million votes, and in 1900 the Prohibition Party polled 209,166 votes.⁵⁸

Debs was disappointed but not discouraged by the outcome of the 1900 election, assessing it as "one of the last convulsions of capitalism before the social revolution sweeps it out of existence." The next four years, he predicted, would "witness the development of socialism to continental power and proportion."⁵⁹ There were grounds for optimism, some of which could have been but dimly perceived in 1900. The campaign Debs conducted that year attracted nuclei of socialists on a national scale, and many of Debs' correspondents would later claim that their loyalty to the party and its leader dated from the 1900 campaign. Debs remained convinced during the remainder of his life that the "Americanization" of the language and applications of socialism which he undertook in 1900 were essential to the party's success. In fact, he would eventually assign an important part of the party's failure to its identification in American opinion as a European dogma. The unity among socialists which the 1900 campaign had encouraged was carried forward the following year when the factions of the Social Democratic Party, including the "Kangaroos" from the Socialist Labor Party, merged with a number of even smaller groups to form the Socialist Party of America (SPA).

The launching of the SPA coincided roughly with Theodore Roosevelt's succession to the American presidency (following McKinley's assassination) and with the beginning of what is commonly called the "Progressive Era" of American political, economic, and social life. Passing over the arbitrary and questionable nature of such terminal dates, it is clear that the growth of the SPA during the first dozen years of the century owed much to the intellectual environment which accompanied and defined the Progressive movement. The "immediate demands" of the

and a half million votes, and the *Chicago Tribune* thought he would poll a million; but the final count gave him 420,793—mostly from the Midwest and Far West—and an increase of only 20,000 votes over the 1904 total.

The disappointing results of the 1908 election were explained by, among other things, an economic recovery from the “panic of 1907,” which enabled the winner, William Howard Taft, to capitalize on the Republican Party’s “full dinner pail” image, and by Bryan’s recapture of Democratic voters who could not swallow Alton Parker in 1904 and had cast their votes for Debs that year. But Debs, ever the optimist, saw the 1908 total as evidence of a significant growth of “real” socialist strength, if account were taken of the temporary defection of Democratic votes four years earlier.⁶⁵

During the years between the Red Special campaign and the election of 1912 the history of the Socialist Party was characterized by a significant growth in membership, by a series of astonishing victories in state and local elections, by the increased control over the Party’s machinery by its conservative “Bergerite” wing, and by the hardening of the rivalry between that wing of the party and its more radical, largely western faction. Beginning in 1910 with the election of Emil Seidel as mayor of Milwaukee and Victor Berger as the first socialist ever to sit in Congress, socialist candidates were elected to city councils, mayors’ offices, state legislatures, and other offices. By 1912 the party could boast that more than a thousand socialists occupied elective offices in thirty-three states and 160 cities. To be sure many of the offices won were minor ones, but their number inspired confidence that the movement continued in its ascendancy and could look toward even greater successes at the polls in 1912. For the growing membership of the party and its successes at the polls much credit was given to Debs. His speaking tours, organized by the office of the *Appeal to Reason*, and editorials and reports in that paper kept intact his reputation as the most influential socialist on the national scene. Debs naturally welcomed the party’s electoral successes but warned its members against complacency, against settling for “mere reform,” and against forgetting its revolutionary goal.⁶⁶

Debs played only a small part in the intramural struggles between the left and right wings of the Socialist Party. He disliked party strife in general and criticized both the reformist strategy of the conservative “Bergerites” and the violent tendencies of the party’s left wing. He continued to believe that his most valuable contribution to the movement was in education and agitation in speeches and in the *Appeal*, whose pages were filled with Debs’ numerous “causes” including his spirited defense of the McNamara brothers in the *Los Angeles Times* bombing case in 1910. As his correspondence shows, Debs was asked and usually agreed to take a stand on virtually every controversial issue arising within or outside the socialist movement.

When the Socialist Party’s national convention met in Indianapolis in May 1912, the bitterness of the internal struggle in the party, the Bergerite control of its machinery, and Debs’ continuing stature and popularity were all apparent. Early in the proceedings of the convention the radical wing of the party succeeded in getting a seat for Bill Haywood on the party’s National Executive Committee and in securing the passage of a resolution endorsing industrial unionism, but the Bergerites won an ever greater victory in pushing through an amendment to the party’s constitution which called for the expulsion of members who favored industrial sabotage or syndicalism, or who renounced political agitation. Debs disliked the steam-roller tactics of the Bergerites and he correctly predicted the loss of party

membership which would result from the amendment's passage. On the other hand, he also disliked the streak of violence and sabotage associated with the Wobblies, whose tactics he thought outraged public opinion and weakened the appeal of socialism.⁶⁷

When the convention took up the work of selecting presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Bergerites and other conservatives sought to challenge Debs' selection by suggesting that his health was poor (he had undergone surgery in 1910), by questioning his availability, and by placing in nomination the names of Emil Seidel of Milwaukee and Charles Edward Russell, a well-known New York muckraker. In the end Debs easily won the nomination on the first ballot and accepted Seidel as his vice-presidential running mate. The convention also chose as Debs' campaign manager J. Mahlon Barnes, who had managed the Red Special campaign four years earlier but who had by 1912 come under serious attack for alleged sexual promiscuity and other offenses, an attack which led to a formal party investigation and hearing. Debs did not approve of Barnes' selection as his campaign manager, and he had to spend a great deal of his time during the campaign responding in letters and on the stump to questions from socialists offended by Barnes' reputation as a "degenerate and...libertine."⁶⁸ Neither the "Barnes affair" nor the loss of Wobbly support, however, prevented Debs from undertaking another aggressive campaign. Without the use of a chartered train, his 1912 campaign rivaled the 1908 effort in miles traveled and crowds attracted. His letters to Theodore and others describe enthusiastic crowds in the Southwest, the Far West, the Midwest, and the industrial states of the East, where the largest crowd of the campaign, 15,000 people, paid 15 cents to a dollar each for admission to New York's Madison Square Garden. By 1912 Debs' speeches were predictable in their content: they portrayed the bright future of the cooperative commonwealth under socialism, castigated the capitalist system, and heaped scorn upon the candidates of the old parties, Woodrow Wilson and William Howard Taft, and of the new Bull Moose Party, Theodore Roosevelt. During the peak of the campaign Debs spoke five or six times a day for sixty-eight consecutive days, a remarkable performance for a man who had already had serious sieges of illness and nervous exhaustion.⁶⁹

In spite of the fact that by 1912 the "old" and "new" parties had, in their platforms and their choice of candidates, stolen some of the thunder of the Socialist Party (a cartoon at the time portrayed Debs in a swimming hole, his clothes labeled "Socialism" being carried away by Theodore Roosevelt), Debs received 897,011 votes, or roughly 6% of the total cast, an all-time high for the party to that date. The largest number of his votes come from Ohio (89,930), but Oklahoma and Nevada gave him 16.6% and Montana and Arizona about 13% of their total vote cast. In many states the left wing of the party made a better showing than the "Slowcialist" wing, and Victor Berger lost his Milwaukee seat in Congress. One of Wilson's aides thought that if Roosevelt had not been in the 1912 campaign Debs would have gotten an additional half million votes, confirming Debs' belief that Roosevelt had won over many "parlor socialists" to his candidacy.

Debs and other socialist leaders read into the 1912 campaign results evidence that the Socialist Party, given time and adequate financial support, could introduce the cooperative commonwealth, and they looked forward to 1916 or 1920 for the triumph of their principles. As it turned out 1912 was, in H. Wayne Morgan's phrase, "the harvest year, the summertime of American socialism." Only "winter lay ahead," a winter brought on in part by the "New Freedom" policies and programs adopted by the Wilson administration, whose efforts to reform the economic

and social order drew members and potential converts away from the Socialist Party.⁷⁰ The theft of Debs' "clothes" was, in a sense, a tribute to the Socialist Party program, but it did nothing to add to the Party's growth.

More important in bringing on the winter of American socialism was the party's chronic addiction to savage and destructive factionalism. At the outset of the Wilson administration, in the spring of 1913, the conservative wing of the Party called for Bill Haywood's removal from the Socialist Party National Executive Committee on the grounds that his advocacy of industrial violence and opposition to political action were violations of the Party constitution, and a membership referendum on the issues supported the removal of Haywood. The referendum, though a victory for the conservatives, drove thousands of dues-paying members from the Party.⁷¹ Later in the year, the Socialist Party sent a special commission composed of Debs, Berger, and Adolph Germer, a socialist United Mine Workers official, to investigate the bloody West Virginia coal miners' strike. The commission's report triggered another bitter controversy between the conservative and radical wings of the party, and as his correspondence and articles reveal, not even Debs' prestige exempted him from severe left-wing criticism of the contents of the report.⁷²

A few months before the outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914 Debs had accepted a job writing editorials and lecturing for the *National Rip-Saw*, a socialist monthly published in St. Louis by Phil Wagner and edited by Frank P. O'Hare, husband of the popular socialist speaker and "agitator," Kate Richards O'Hare. At first Debs and other radicals defined the war as the death throes of capitalism and urged socialists to remain true to the principles of peace and nonintervention. For a time there was a sense of unity in the party's adherence to those principles. But the unity was short-lived as socialists, like the majority of other Americans, began to reveal their pro-allied (and for a minority pro-German, or anti-English) sentiments. The left-wing/right-wing fracture in the party organization was compounded by the increasingly bitter debate on the issue of war or peace.⁷³

In 1916 Debs emphatically declined the Socialist Party's nomination for the presidency, resisting the appeal of scores of correspondents who insisted he was "the only man" for the role. A party referendum then nominated Allan Benson as its presidential candidate and George Kirkpatrick as his vice-presidential running-mate. Both Benson and Kirkpatrick were newspapermen; neither was a fiery orator, and their campaign suffered from a perhaps inevitable comparison with Debs' earlier efforts. Benson's attacks were focused on Wilson's "preparedness" program, which socialists defined as merely a prelude to American intervention, and on the Democratic Party's "He Kept Us Out of War" slogan, seen by Benson as the most cynical kind of campaign deception.⁷⁴

Debs' agreement to run for Congress in his home district in Indiana in 1916 was viewed as opportunistic by part of the national press, which accused him of refusing the presidential candidacy in order to win a seat in Congress. He did not seriously believe that he would win the congressional seat in 1916, but he thought that he would "educate" the voters in a typically lively campaign which attracted national attention. Debs stressed the peace issue and a number of prominent national and international socialist figures appeared in the district on Debs' behalf (not including "Mother" Mary Jones, veteran of many labor wars as Debs' comrade; she came into the district to urge coal miners to vote for Debs' democratic opponent).⁷⁵

The final tally of the 1916 presidential election gave Wilson 9,129,606 votes, his Republican opponent Charles Evans Hughes 8,538,221, and Allan Benson only

585,113, a disappointing decline of more than 300,000 votes from Debs' 1912 total. Debs lost the Indiana fifth district congressional election to his Republican opponent but polled more than the Democratic candidate and took some pleasure from the fact that he had tripled the number of Terre Haute votes given him in 1912.⁷⁶ Woodrow Wilson's second inauguration in March 1917 was followed in April by America's entry into the war, an act against which Debs and the socialists had been working and warning for three years past and one which further fractured the party and hastened its demise. At a special convention in St. Louis in April 1917 the party overwhelmingly supported a resolution denouncing America's entry into the war but, despite Debs' endorsement, the anti-war resolution further divided the party and led to the withdrawal of many prominent and not-so-prominent socialists who actively supported the war on the grounds that it had become a battle between democracy and tyranny, between civilization and darkness.

Wartime brought an atmosphere of unprecedented fear and hysterical hatred of "radicals," an atmosphere which became more charged than ever following the Russian Revolution, whose early stages were applauded by most socialists, including Debs. For three years, during the war and the "Red Scare" which followed, socialists—often lumped together with Communists, anarchists, Wobblies, and others—came under an attack joined by government, by the press and pulpit, and by a variety of "superpatriotic" organizations who demonstrated their dedication to the war to "make the world safe for democracy" by a relentless and shameless assault on traditional democratic values and institutions. For those Americans who were not won over to the war effort by George Creel's massive propaganda campaign, Congress passed sedition and espionage legislation whose restrictions on speech, press, and assembly were supplemented by state legislation and local ordinances. The Department of Justice monitored the behavior and activities of socialists all over the country and the Post Office department interpreted the laws in such a way that socialist publications lost their mail privileges, particularly the economically essential fourth class mailing privilege. Scores, then hundreds, of "radicals" were indicted, convicted, and imprisoned for "disloyalty," for allegedly encouraging draft evasion, and for obstructing the war effort.⁷⁷

It was in this atmosphere that Debs made his Canton, Ohio speech on June 18, 1918. There was little new in the speech—the relationship between capitalism and war, the uneven burden of war on capitalists and workers, the injustice of the convictions and imprisonment being carried out under the wartime loyalty program—but it was viewed by the federal government as a violation of the Espionage Act and became the basis of Debs' indictment and eventual conviction under that law. Debs' trial in Cleveland in September 1918, his "addresses" to the jury and the court there, his conviction and ten-year sentence, and his thirty-two-month imprisonment seemed to elevate Debs from his role as a nationally-known social critic and radical labor and socialist "agitator" to a symbolic martyrdom and sanctification. The "Debs Case" served as a rallying point for socialists and non-socialists who deplored the nature of the wartime "loyalty" program and the excesses of the "Palmer Raids" following the war.

As had happened a quarter century before in the Woodstock jail, Debs was befriended by his jailers—by warden Joseph Z. Terrell during his two-month term at Moundsville State Prison in West Virginia, and by wardens William Zerbst and James E. Dyche during his two and a half-year term at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. They stretched the letter of the law, probably in an effort to make Debs' imprisonment as painless and convenient as possible for a man approaching his sixty-

fifth birthday. Debs' correspondence during the years of his second imprisonment shows most clearly the emergence of the "Debs Case" as a national and international *cause celebre* and of the Debs Legend, woven from stories of his kindness and friendship toward his fellow prisoners, their love and affection for him, and his courageous refusal to ask for a pardon in exchange for an admission of guilt. As his prison term came to be measured in years rather than months, Debs' role as martyr was sketched in thousands of letters and cards from followers who compared him to Abraham Lincoln, Wendell Phillips, and, most commonly, Jesus Christ. For many poets, some well known, others deservedly obscure, the comparison between Christ's Passion and Debs' suffering in prison was an irresistible and badly-overworked theme. The vast correspondence was accompanied by a seemingly endless flow of gifts and by a heavy schedule of visits by fellow-socialists, journalists, and people working for the release of "political prisoners" in general and of Debs in particular. Most of the work of answering correspondence, sending thanks for gifts, and arranging for Debs' visitors was carried on from their Terre Haute office by Theodore, with the help of a woman volunteer for whom Debs had developed a strong bond of affection, Mabel Dunlap Curry. The scores of personal letters written by Debs to Mrs. Curry before, during, and after his imprisonment at Atlanta reveal the specific nature of their relationship and the romantic and sentimental strains in Debs' personality. In marginal notes on hundreds of letters and cards Debs instructed Theodore and Mrs. Curry concerning replies to the flood of correspondence which poured into the Atlanta prison.

Debs' imprisonment and "martyrdom" provided a rallying point for the Socialist Party, but the chronic diseases of sectarianism and factionalism continued to ravage it. In 1919 elements of the radical wing of the party, looking to the Russian Revolution for a model which could be copied in the United States, urged the Socialist Party to adopt a genuinely revolutionary stance, rally the workers to its cause, and bring on the overthrow of capitalism. Their demands rejected by the dominant conservative wing of the party, the radicals withdrew or were expelled from the party and laid the groundwork for the Communist Party of America. In prison Debs was torn between sympathy for the Russian Revolution and its ideals and a growing suspicion of its direction and early policies, a growing conviction that it was not a model for American socialists to imitate.⁷⁸

Weakened by the American public's hatred and fear of radicalism and by its self-inflicted sectarian wounds, the Socialist Party of America held its convention in New York in May 1920 and, displaying uncharacteristic solidarity, nominated Debs for the presidency and Seymour Stedman for vice-president. Stedman, one of the attorneys who had represented Debs in his trial and appeal, was widely known among socialists as a speaker and writer and was, despite his more moderate political views, a close friend of Debs.⁷⁹

Debs' presidential candidacy in 1920 was unique in the history of American politics for the obvious reason that the candidate was in prison during the entire campaign. Other candidates have run "front porch" campaigns, sometimes with notable success, but in 1920 Debs' campaign gave a special meaning to that term. He was formally notified of his nomination by a committee which met with him in the warden's office at Atlanta, and there was even uncertainty as to his eligibility to run, since it was believed—mistakenly, the Justice Department confirmed more than half a century later⁸⁰—that he had lost his citizenship as a result of his conviction. During the course of the campaign Debs reached his constituency chiefly through interviews with the press and, beginning in September, in weekly published

statements which were limited by the Justice Department to 500 words each. These weekly statements, written in Debs' cell, transcribed by his brother in Terre Haute, and circulated by the party headquarters in Chicago, revealed Debs' continuing confidence that education and agitation would in time bring on a socialist victory. These brief messages, however, were poor substitutes for Debs on the stump, which was, he recognized, the real source of his strength. A surrogate campaign was carried on by Seymour Stedman and other prominent socialists such as Kate Richards O'Hare and Upton Sinclair. The campaign's slogan, "From the Prison to the White House," added to the mystique of Debs as a martyr. His major party opponents in election, Warren Harding and James Cox, were the weakest he had ever faced in four previous campaigns, and there was some hope that the newly-enfranchised women would strengthen his candidacy. But 1920 was the year the voters chose "normalcy" (Harding's contribution to the vocabulary of campaign illiteracy), giving Debs 919,000 votes, only 3.5 percent of the total cast and about one half of the share of votes he had gotten in 1912.⁸¹

Despite his defeat, Debs' 1920 campaign served as an important catalyst in the "amnesty movement" which sought his release from prison as well as the release of hundreds of other men and women found guilty of violating one of the federal or state espionage, sedition, or syndicalist laws. Predictably, there was a serious split in the amnesty movement between those who sought the immediate release of Debs as a means of securing the eventual release of all the prisoners and those who insisted that the simultaneous release of all political prisoners, including Debs, should be the movement's goal. When they set aside their strategic differences, the movement's leaders were able to organize a massive outpouring of public support for Debs' release, joined not only by socialists but by many others who had doubts about his conviction in the first place and were offended by the prospect of keeping an aging and ailing man in prison for years after the war had ended. Amnesty and "Free Debs" rallies were held around the country. Wilson and Harding and their Justice Department were flooded with petitions, letters, and telegrams demanding Debs' release, and both presidents and their attorneys-general (Mitchell Palmer and Harry Daugherty) received a stream of delegations of famous Americans, including Debs' old enemy Samuel Gompers, seeking his release. Valuable insights into the amnesty movement in general and the effort to secure Debs' release in particular are to be found in a collection of letters written by Debs to Lucy Robins, a member of Gompers' staff who visited Debs in Atlanta.

Woodrow Wilson remained unmoved by the outpouring of support for Debs' release, and it was one of the ironies of Debs' career that the demands for his release found a warmer reception in the administration of the "conservative" Warren Harding than they had in that of the "liberal" Wilson. Soon after the inauguration in March 1921, Harding and Daugherty promised a review of the Debs case and, following what Debs' supporters considered agonizingly long delays, the President ordered his release from prison on Christmas Day of 1921. The release occurred in spite of the efforts of the American Legion and other organizations to sustain a large, well-financed "Keep Debs in Jail" program. Following a one-day visit to Washington where he talked briefly with President Harding, Debs returned to Terre Haute and a wild reception which must have reminded him of his release from the Woodstock jail a quarter of a century earlier.⁸²

Debs' two and a half-year imprisonment in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary made a deep impression on his views on the nature of the American judicial and penal systems. He had long been persuaded that the legal-judicial profession was merely a

tool of capitalism, that most lawyers and judges were the “kept” spokesmen for capitalists. His stay in Atlanta added to that belief a strong sense of outrage at what he was convinced was the great discrepancy between the crimes committed by many of his fellow-prisoners and the punishments given to them (particularly blacks), at the disproportionately lower-class composition of the prison population, and at the lack of emphasis on rehabilitation as one of the goals of the penal system. His letters to Theodore during his imprisonment often noted these concerns, and during the years following his release he wrote and spoke of the need both for the release of political prisoners and for prison reform in general. His writings on prison conditions were collected and published in 1927 under the title *Walls and Bars*. It was inevitable that Debs would identify with Sacco and Vanzetti as fellow victims of the “capitalist judicial system” and that he would write and speak in their defense. Near the end of his life he sought to raise funds for the two Italian immigrants whose murder convictions had become an international *cause celebre*, and some of the most poignant letters in his later correspondence are those received from Vanzetti, thanking Debs for his visits and for reading material, and describing the tortuous legal and judicial processes of their case. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti on August 23, 1927 followed Debs’ death by less than a year, and Vanzetti’s last letter to Theodore Debs was written on July 22, 1927.⁸³

Following his release from prison Debs was immediately besieged by advocates of a number of causes, none of them more persistent than those radicals and former Socialist Party members who sought Debs’ support for the Soviet government abroad and for the recently-founded Communist Party at home. His hope of reuniting all the various radical forces in a revived revolutionary movement may have accounted for his apparent temporizing in responding to these pressures, but by the end of 1922 he had publicly repeated both his sympathy for the aspirations of the Russian people and his criticism and repudiation of the “terror which the Bolsheviks imposed to wrest and hold power.”⁸⁴

In July 1922, in fact, Debs wired Lenin a strongly-worded protest against the execution of political dissidents and warned him against “the practices of world-wide czarism.”⁸⁵ While many of his old comrades had marched out of the Socialist Party into the Communist Party and believed that it was a logical step for him to follow them, Debs remained strongly opposed to the Communists’ goal of proletarian dictatorship along a Russian model and their tactics of violence and “underground” activity. In a statement in the *New York Call* in October 1922 Debs acknowledged his respect for the “best of motives” which had led to the formation of the Communist Workers Party and a splinter communist party, the Proletarian Party, but declared that he would remain in the Socialist Party, the party in whose service he had “spent the better part of my active life.”⁸⁶

During much of 1922, while he struggled with the questions of his party identity and his stance respecting the Soviet government, Debs was undergoing treatment at Lindlahr Sanitarium, a nature-cure facility in the Chicago suburb of Elmhurst, Illinois. The prison years had taken their toll on Debs’ mental and physical reserves: he was nearly sixty-seven at the time, and he had a history of illnesses which had required rest and seclusion. From July to November 1922 Debs found at Lindlahr a rather fanciful diet of grain and fresh fruit and some exotic exercises but much less rest and seclusion than he needed. His hospital room became as powerful an attraction for visitors as his prison cell had been. From Debs’ letters at the time to Theodore, one senses that he felt the steady stream of visitors retarded his recovery while at the same time making his stay at the sanitarium bearable. Debs

seemed particularly pleased by visits he received from Sinclair Lewis and Carl Sandburg.⁸⁷

The Socialist Party to which Debs declared his continuing allegiance during his stay at Lindlahr Sanitarium was a feeble relic of the movement which had seemed so promising a decade earlier. Wartime defections, the secession of the communist wing, the continuing bitter fight between the communists and their former comrades, and the reactionary atmosphere of the "Era of Normalcy" left the party with declining membership, a shortage of funds, and a greatly diminished press. A growing number of people were inclined to write off the Socialist Party as another third party which had played its historic role as a catalyst of change and reform and was now ready for interment, but their number did not include Debs. In 1923 Debs agreed to serve as national chairman of the party, ending his long holdout against service as a party official. He began an extended speaking tour to rekindle the fires, win back the membership, and replenish the coffers of the party. Despite the organized opposition of the American Legion, chambers of commerce, and a variety of "service" clubs, his tour—which took him once again to both coasts—attracted huge and enthusiastic crowds in the major cities but increasingly took on the appearance of an exercise in nostalgia. The party experienced no genuine revitalization from it. For Debs the tour was "a terrible strain" from which he was "glad enough to get away with my sanity,"⁸⁸ and at the end of it he returned to Terre Haute for a prolonged bout with exhaustion, followed by a return to Lindlahr Sanitarium.

The extent of the decline of the Socialist Party by 1924 could be measured in part by its failure to nominate a candidate for that year's presidential election. There were still people who thought Debs should run again but he made it clear that he would not be a candidate, and he agreed with the convention's decision in July 1924 to support Robert M. LaFollette, the candidate for the new Progressive Party. In the past Debs had consistently opposed fusion with reformist parties, but he thought that the Socialist Party had no practical choice in 1924 and that support for LaFollette would permit socialists to "keep the red flag flying" within the coalition of LaFollette supporters. A contemporary analyst of the 1924 campaign believed that socialists had played an important part in LaFollette's receiving five million votes,⁸⁹ but as he approached his seventieth birthday Debs can have found little comfort in the fact that Calvin Coolidge, for whom "the business of government [was] business," won in a landslide victory over the conservative Democratic candidate John W. Davis. The 1924 campaign served to widen the already considerable gulf between Debs and the Communist Party, whose leadership charged that the Socialist Party's support of LaFollette was evidence of its loss of revolutionary principles.⁹⁰

Debs' correspondence during the two years between the 1924 election and his death in October 1926 reveals his determination to rebuild the Socialist Party, his analysis of the party's weaknesses, and the fact that time had taken its toll upon both his physical resources and his sure sense of the public mood. Once again Debs set out on speaking tours which took him to both coasts and were designed, like the 1923 tours, to reverse the decline in the party's membership and raise funds which could be used to resume its education and propaganda work. In his speeches he repeated the old themes of capitalist exploitation and the need for working class self-consciousness and unity, and added new ones such as the imprisonment and conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti. Debs drew parallels between their case and his own, concluding that both were products of the capitalist judicial system. Years

later Upton Sinclair recalled that he and Theodore Dreiser had led cheers for Debs at a large rally in Los Angeles during the 1925 tour.⁹¹ In the East, where Debs' popularity had always been especially strong, a New York speech, scheduled on his seventieth birthday, became a kind of love feast. The occasion brought together hundreds of Debs' former comrades, many of whom had taken roads to the right and left out of the Socialist Party but, like Louis Boudin, "just came to see Debs."⁹²

The outpouring of affection for Debs and the large crowds for some of his speeches were not, however, accompanied by a reversal of the Party's decline. A special convention held in Cleveland in March 1925 was so poorly attended and, in Debs' view, so poorly organized that he judged the party to be "as near a corpse as a thing can be."⁹³ Increasingly he found fault with the operation of the party headquarters in Chicago, particularly with the manner in which it sought to raise and spend funds. From Chicago George Kirkpatrick, the Party's publicity director, confided to Morris Hillquit that Debs "cannot draw as he did," and Socialist Party Secretary Bertha Hale White concurred, noting that "what he does not realize is that his imprisonment is an old story and he is not the drawing card he once was."⁹⁴ In December 1925 both Kirkpatrick and White resigned from the Party's headquarters staff—Kirkpatrick to pursue a business opportunity, Mrs. White because of poor health.⁹⁵

Part of the funds raised by Debs during his 1925 tours was used to launch the *American Appeal*, a weekly which appeared on January 2, 1926 with Debs as its editor-in-chief and regular contributor. For a few months Debs seemed to have recovered fire from his old days on the *Appeal to Reason* and the *National Rip-Saw*, as he used the columns of the weekly to denounce militarism and to plead for support for Sacco and Vanzetti and for the striking coal miners. But the *American Appeal* was not the *Appeal to Reason*, and in the spring of 1926 Debs decided to travel to Bermuda where he hoped his and his wife's health might be improved. Curiously, the trip to Bermuda on the eve of his death was the only foreign travel ever undertaken by Debs, though he had become an international figure and had received many invitations to visit abroad. Despite his anxiety that his "loss of citizenship" would result in his being denied reentry into the country,⁹⁶ and despite some harassment by the press and by Bermuda officials, Debs and his wife enjoyed their five-week holiday. The restorative effects of the trip were only partially undone by a rough return voyage to New York.

Following his return to Terre Haute in April 1926, Debs' health became a matter of growing concern to his physician, Dr. Madge Patton Stephens, who was able to curtail his activities but unable to convince him that his heart condition required complete rest, preferably at Lindlahr Sanitarium. During the spring and summer Debs resumed his correspondence, wrote a number of articles for the *American Appeal* and one for *Collier's*, and composed a widely-circulated pamphlet, "Sacco and Vanzetti: An Appeal to American Labor." By late summer, however, the reduced schedule of activities and larger prescriptions of digitalis had not arrested the symptoms of his declining health, and Debs agreed in September to return to Lindlahr. Debs died there a little more than a month later, on October 20, 1926. A few days after his death, following a memorial service at which Norman Thomas gave the eulogy, Debs' ashes were buried in Terre Haute. According to his brother Theodore, Debs' last will, written in the summer of 1926 but never probated by his widow, had left virtually his entire estate to the Socialist Party.⁹⁷ If that is true—and Theodore Debs insisted for the remainder of his life that it was—Debs was at the time of his death one of a dwindling number of those men and women who continued to believe that the Party was a wave of the future.

Eugene Debs' place in American history is secure but, like his life, subject to controversy. The attitudes toward him held by his contemporaries were wonderfully varied and complicated. Samuel Gompers saw him as a compulsive trouble-maker who hurt more than helped the labor movement. According to Theodore Roosevelt he was "a mere inciter to murder and preacher of applied anarchy."⁹⁸ For some he was a talented rabble-rouser who was ignorant of the meaning of Marxism and unwilling to obey its imperatives. For others he was a reincarnation of Jesus Christ, or the lineal descendant of Paine, Garrison, and Phillips. For many, Debs' friendship was "the blessing of a lifetime."

Scarcely greater consensus regarding Debs has developed among historians. Most of them have been attracted by Debs' warm humanity, but they are divided on such questions as his impact on the American labor movement, the effects of his unwillingness to engage in the day-to-day affairs of the Socialist Party, the discrepancy between his revolutionary rhetoric and evolutionary tactics, and the significance of his failure to gauge properly the staying power of the "American Dream," the flexibility of the capitalist system, and the ability of the major parties to adopt reformist ideas and measures.⁹⁹ What is certain about Debs is that the growth of the Socialist Party and the acceptance of certain of its programs were largely due to his personal appeal and popularity. Taking his successes and failures together, his career was an honorable chapter in the history of dissent in America, a history enhanced by Debs' willingness to pay a heavy price for holding unpopular views.

Notes

1. Robert Hunter to Lincoln Steffens, July 6, 1908. Steffens Papers, Butler Library, Columbia University.
2. EVD to Jean Daniel Debs, December 2, 1899. Abbreviations for Eugene V. Debs (EVD), Theodore Debs (TD), and Katherine Metzel Debs (KMD) will be used throughout these notes. All Debs and Debs family letters cited are included in Series I of the microfilm edition. On the microfilm each letter is accompanied by a target card indicating its provenance.
3. EVD to Eugenie Debs, October 3, 1874; October 8, 1874; October 17, 1881; December (?) 1886.
4. Lincoln Phifer and family to TD, KMD and family, October 21, 1926; Helen Gardner to TD, November 2, 1926; Morris Hillquit to TD, November 3, 1926.
5. Bernard J. Brommel, *Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism* (Chicago, 1978), 18.
6. Quoted in *ibid.*, 15, from ms. notes by David Karsner and "Debs' Welcome Home," *Terre Haute Express*, November 24, 1895.
7. McAlister Coleman, *Eugene V. Debs, A Man Unafraid* (New York, 1930), 21.
8. Brommel, *Debs*, 15-18.
9. Ray Ginger, *The Bending Cross: A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1949), 14.
10. Brommel, *Debs*, 19.
11. EVD to Jean Daniel and Marguerite Bettrich Debs, September 21, 1874.
12. EVD to TD, October 8, 1874.
13. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 18.
14. Brommel, *Debs*, 21.
15. See EVD, "Susan B. Anthony, A Reminiscence," *Socialist Woman*, July 1909.
16. Brommel, *Debs*, 23-25.
17. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 29-30.
18. *Ibid.*, 42-43.
19. "Appeal to Negro Workers," speech delivered at Commonwealth Casino, NYC, October 30, 1923 (later published as a pamphlet).
20. KMD to Grace D. Brewer, October 11, 1910; June 1, 1911; November 15, 1927; TD to KMD, November 9, 1926; to Arthur Baur, December 2, 1927.

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21. Brommel, *Debs*, 28-29. Debs and his supporters angrily denied the accusations; see, for example, the correspondence between C. Joseph Kluser and TD, April 1913; and between Kluser and Phil K. Reinbold, July 1913, in Debs Collection, Cunningham Library, Indiana State University.
22. Brommel, *Debs*, 26-27.
23. David A. Shannon, "Eugene V. Debs: Conservative Labor Editor," *Indiana Magazine of History*, 47 (December 1951), 361.
24. *Firemen's Magazine*, VII, 12 (December 1883), 546; Shannon, "Conservative Labor Editor," 360; *Firemen's Magazine*, VIII, 10 (October 1884), 617. The name of the *Firemen's Magazine* was changed, first to the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* and then to the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen's Magazine*; hereafter the magazine will be referred to by the abbreviation *BLFM*.
25. Shannon, "Conservative Labor Editor," 361, 363. See *BLFM*, XVIII, 5 (May 1894), 468-470.
26. *BLFM*, XV, 4 (April 1891), 307.
27. Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana, Ill., 1982), 106. *BLFM*, XVIII, 3 (March 1894), 280-282.
28. See, for example, Charles A. Bailey to EVD, January 16, 1916; Ross D. Brown to EVD, January 16, 1916; Ida B. Wells-Barnett to EVD, January 17, 1916.
29. Salvatore, *Debs*, 104-105.
30. Salvatore, *Debs*, 103; *BLFM*, XV, 2, (February 1891), 103-104.
31. Salvatore, *Debs*, 107; *BLFM*, XV, 2 (February 1891), 134-138.
32. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 64-65, 72.
33. Charles Van Doren, ed., *Webster's American Biographies* (Springfield, Mass., 1974), 433.
34. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 156.
35. *Ibid.*, 72.
36. John A. Garraty, ed., *The Transformation of American Society* (New York, 1968), 245.
37. *BLFM*, XII 5 (May 1888), 406-408.
38. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 58.
39. *Ibid.*, 67.
40. *Ibid.*, 80.
41. *Ibid.*, 83.
42. Salvatore, *Debs*, 111.
43. Commons, quoted in Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 92.
44. In the first issue of the *Railway Times* Debs called the growth of the union "gratifying" and predicted that "many months will not pass before the country west of the Mississippi will be thoroughly organized." *Railway Times*, January 1, 1894.
45. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 94, 97-98, 102-106.
46. Richard T. Ely, quoted in Garraty, *Transformation*, 166-178.
47. Mrs. Jane Lathrop Stanford to EVD, July 1, 1894; EVD to Mrs. Jane Lathrop Stanford, July 2, 1894.
48. R. Hal Williams, *Years of Decision: American Politics in the 1890's* (New York, 1978), 88-89.
49. EVD to Jean Daniel and Marguerite Debs, January 14, 1895.
50. EVD to Karl Kautsky, December 4, 1925.
51. Salvatore, *Debs*, 154.
52. In his statement Debs declared that he had "long since given expression to my socialistic convictions." *Railway Times*, January 1, 1897.
53. H. Wayne Morgan, *Eugene V. Debs: Socialist for President* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1962), 15-18.
54. *Ibid.*, 19.
55. *Ibid.*, 30-31.
56. *Ibid.*, 33-40.
57. Debs' speeches and personal accounts of the 1900 campaign can best be followed in the pages of the *Social Democratic Herald* (successor to the *Social Democrat*), which was published in Milwaukee.
58. Morgan, *Debs*, 55; *Social Democratic Herald*, December 1, 1900.
59. Morgan, *Debs*, 56; *The Miners' Magazine*, December 1900, 20-21.
60. David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History* (New York, 1955), 53-58.
61. Murray Kaufman, "The Image of Eugene V. Debs in the American Popular Mind, 1894-1926" (Doctor of Arts Dissertation, Carnegie-Mellon University, 1981), 92.
62. Morgan, *Debs*, 59-82.
63. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, 54-56; 58-60.
64. Morgan, *Debs*, 88.
65. *Ibid.*, 83-116.
66. *Ibid.*, 117-121; *Christian Socialist*, March 1, 1913.
67. Morgan, *Debs*, 124-125.

68. H.D. Stettwagen to Victor Berger, July 3, 1912, quoted in Shannon, *Socialist Party*, 75.
69. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 310-312.
70. Morgan, *Debs*, 139, 142. In *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925* (New York, 1967), James Weinstein dates the onset of socialism's "winter" much later, citing evidence of the movement's continuing vitality down to World War I and after.
71. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, 77-79.
72. See David A. Corbin, "Betrayal in the West Virginia Coal Fields: Eugene V. Debs and the Socialist Party of America, 1912-1914," *Journal of American History*, 64 (March 1978), 987-1009; Eugene V. Debs, "Official Report on West Virginia," *Milwaukee Leader*, June 5, 1913; "Debs Denounces Vilifiers of West Virginia Committee Report," *New York Call*, June 28, 1913.
73. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, 81-90.
74. Morgan, *Debs*, 149-152.
75. Corbin, "Betrayal," 1006-1007.
76. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 337.
77. Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare, A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (New York, 1964), 12-15.
78. Morgan, *Debs*, 166-168.
79. *Ibid.*, 174.
80. Attorney-General Griffin B. Bell to Senator Birch Bayh, August 30, 1977, Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, Indiana.
81. Morgan, *Debs*, 189.
82. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 416-419; *New York Times*, December 29, 1921; *Indianapolis Star*, December 26, 1921.
83. Vanzetti to Debs, September 29, 1923; January 30, May 31, June 26, August 5, November (?), November 3, November 25, December 19, 1926; June 11, July 22, 1927.
84. Morgan, *Debs*, 193.
85. *New York Call*, July 27, 1922.
86. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1922.
87. EVD to TD, August 3, (1922); (July-August 1922); to David Karsner, August 10, 22, September 9, 18 (1922). Dates in parentheses have been supplied by the editors.
88. Morgan, *Debs*, 197.
89. *Ibid.*, 198.
90. This charge drew a reply from Debs denying rumors that he was "really with the Communists." See EVD to William Z. Foster, July 23, 1924, (clipping of printed letter) and William Z. Foster to EVD, July 30, 1924. The Foster letter and the clipping appear together under July 30, 1924 on Reel 5 of the microfilm edition.
91. See Sinclair's reminiscence in "Debs Remembered," on Reel 5, frame 1271, of the microfilm edition.
92. Ginger, *Bending Cross*, 453.
93. EVD to Bertha Hale White, June 3, 1925.
94. George Kirkpatrick to Morris Hillquit, June 8, 1925, Hillquit Mss., State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Bertha Hale White to Hillquit, June 8, 1925, Hillquit Mss. The Bertha Hale White letter is reproduced along with the Debs-White letter cited above, under June 3, 1925 in series I of the microfilm edition.
95. Brommel, *Debs*, 188.
96. Scores of organizations sent Debs copies of petitions presented to President Coolidge seeking the "restoration" of Debs' citizenship. See, e.g., Alexander E. Gordon to EVD, June 18, 1925.
97. TD to KMD, November 9, 1926.
98. Ronald Radosh, *Debs* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1971), 107, 132.
99. *Ibid.*, 143-176.

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The Microfilm Edition

The microfilm edition of The Papers of Eugene V. Debs, 1834-1945 is organized into the following three series:

- Series I Correspondence, 1834-1945
- Series II Published Writings and Speeches, 1877-1926
- Series III Scrapbooks, 1884-1938

Series I and II are both in chronological order by year, month, and day. On the microfilm, each document in Series I is accompanied by a target card giving a bibliographic description of the document and the location of the original manuscript. Each of the published writings and speeches in Series II is accompanied by a target card that gives the title of the published work and, when available, date and place of publication. Series III was reproduced from microfilm in the possession of the Tamiment Library at New York University. The researcher should consult the individual series descriptions which follow for information on the contents of each series.

Series I. Correspondence, 1834-1945, and "Debs Remembered"

The correspondence in Series I includes incoming and outgoing letters, telegrams, postcards, and memoranda of Eugene V. Debs and various members of his family. The first few letters date from before Debs' birth in 1855, and a much larger number were written between his death in October 1926 and the death of his brother, Theodore, in April 1945. The latter, written mostly to or by Theodore Debs, are of special value for the light they shed upon the later careers of the "Debs Socialists," the continuing influence of Debs as a legendary figure in the socialist movement, and the post-Debsian record of the Socialist Party. It was essential to include the hundreds of letters signed by or addressed to Theodore Debs during his brother's lifetime because, as Eugene Debs' secretary, Theodore commonly wrote and received letters which should be considered Eugene's correspondence. The relatively small number of extant letters written by Debs' wife, Katherine Metzel Debs, and by his parents, sisters, niece, and nephews add to an understanding of Debs' personal life.

Researchers will note that the volume of surviving correspondence dating from the early years of Debs' career is thin compared to that of his later years. The imbalance is partially compensated for by the printed works in Series II, which date from the earliest stages of his career as a labor organizer, editor, and public official. Throughout the correspondence there are references to editorials, essays, articles, and letters to the editor which may be found in Series II.

The correspondence on the microfilm is arranged chronologically by year, month, and day. Items dated only by year are filed at the beginning of that year; items dated only by year and month are filed at the beginning of that month. A large section of undated correspondence appears at the end of Series I, arranged alphabetically by correspondent. A number of letters, undated but clearly written

during Debs' second prison term (1919-1921), have been arranged alphabetically by correspondent and appear immediately before the 1919 documents.

On the microfilm, a target card accompanies each item and gives the name of the correspondent, an abbreviated description of the item ("TLS" for typed letter signed; "ALS" for autograph letter signed; and "N" for note), and the location of the documents (see the list of library and archive abbreviations on page 42). The names of Eugene and Theodore Debs are always abbreviated "EVD" and "TD," respectively. Dates that appear in parentheses on the target cards have been supplied by the editors.

No known correspondence to or from any member of the Debs family has been excluded from this microfilm edition, with the exception of the following letters, which came to light too late for inclusion:

- EVD to Robert G. Ingersoll, January 26, 1882, ALS 1p, Library of Congress, Ingersoll Papers
- EVD to Jean Daniel Debs, December 4, 1886, TL 1p (poem on JDD's sixtieth birthday) Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, IN.
- Samuel Gompers to Frank Sargent and EVD, August 30, 1890, TLS 1p, Library of Congress, Gompers Letterbooks
- Samuel Gompers to EVD, January 7, 1891, TLS 1p, Library of Congress, Gompers Letterbooks
- EVD to William Jennings Bryan, July 27, 1896, ALS 2pp, Library of Congress, Bryan Papers
- EVD to ?, (June ?, 1908), TLS 1p (incomplete; on illness of Fred Long), Wayne State University, Reuther Library
- EVD to W.G. Mattern, December 10, 1910, transcript 1p, Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, IN.
- EVD to Ida Husted Harper, November 12, 1915, TLS 1p, New York Public Library, Harper Papers
- EVD to Ida Husted Harper, November 18, 1915, TLS 1p, New York Public Library, Harper Papers
- TD to Alexander Trachtenberg, October 2, 1916, TLS 1p, New York Public Library, Rand School Papers
- TD to Alexander Trachtenberg, February 17, 1917, TLS 2pp (with statement by EVD), New York Public Library, Rand School Papers
- EVD to Robert M. LaFollette, October 15, 1917, TLS 1p, Library of Congress, LaFollette Papers
- EVD to ?, (1919-21), AN 1p (humorous account of his state of health), Indiana State University, Cunningham Library
- EVD to TD, March 28, 1919, ALS 1p, Indiana State University, Cunningham Library
- Joseph W. Sharts to EVD, November 24, 1920, TLS 1p, Indiana State University, Cunningham Library
- EVD to Louis Untermeyer, February 6, 1922, TLS 1p, Indiana University Lilly Library
- TD to William Z. Foster, August 26, 1922, TLS 1p (with message from EVD), Indiana State Library
- EVD to Marie Debs Heinl, September 23, 1926, postcard AS, Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, IN.
- EVD to Marie Debs Heinl, October 6, 1926, postcard AS, Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, IN.

Robert D. Heintz to Marie Debs Heintz, November 30, 1926, TLS 1p, Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, IN.
EVD to ?, n.d., AL 1p (poem, "Lily's Finish") Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, IN.

In addition, the following letters were not available for reproduction:

EVD to Max Eastman, [1918, September] 23, ALS 2pp, Indiana University, Lilly Library
EVD to Max Eastman, 1918 November 15, TLS 1p, Lilly Library
EVD to Max Eastman, 1918, November 18, TLS 1p, Lilly Library
EVD to Max Eastman, 1918 December 18, ALS 2pp, Lilly Library

Following the correspondence is a collection of thirty-two reminiscences entitled "Debs Remembered." These reminiscences, which appear at the end of Reel 5, are previously-unpublished essays on Debs from the manuscript collection of the Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, Indiana. A complete list of the essayists with the frame numbers on which their reminiscences begin follows:

Essayist	Reel 5 Frame Number
J. Robert Constantine, Editor's Introduction	1194
Norman Thomas, "Debs in Historical Perspective"	1195
Roger Baldwin	1200
John P. Burke	1204
Ned A. Bush, Sr.	1207
George N. Caylor	1211
Miriam Allen DeFord	1215
Solon DeLeon	1217
Leon Dennen	1218
Adolph F. Germer	1223
Harry Golden	1225
Patrick E. Gorman	1227
Ralph Korngold	1230
Marx Lewis	1232
C. Henry Mayer	1236
Louis Mayer	1237
Jack A. MacDonald	1240
James B. and Lilly Miller	1243
Martin H. Miller	1244
Scott Nearing	1248
Ruth Crawford France Norrick	1249
Roy J. Owens	1252
Jacob Panken	1254
Zelda Popkin	1257
Michael J. Quill	1258
Harry Rappaport	1259
Shubert Sebree	1263
Lawson Shull	1269
David Sinclair	1270

Upton Sinclair	1271
Kate Steichman	1274
Dr. J. Marshall Taxey	1275
Ralph Tilletson	1276

The following is a complete list of the archives and collections which contributed manuscript material to Series I, along with the abbreviations used to identify some of them on the microfilm target cards.

Libraries and Archives

	American Foundation for the Blind, New York City
CaOOA	Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Labour Archives
CLobS	California State University, Long Beach
CLSU	University of Southern California, Los Angeles
CLU	University of California, Los Angeles
CsmH	Huntington Library, San Marino, CA
CSt	Stanford University, Archives
CSt-H	Stanford University, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace
CtU	University of Connecticut, Storrs
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, CT
CU	University of California, Berkeley
DCU	Catholic University of America
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
DebsH	Debs Foundation, Debs Home, Terre Haute, IN
IaH	State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City
IaU	University of Iowa, Iowa City
ICarbS	Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
ICIU	University of Illinois, Chicago
ICN	Newberry Library, Chicago
ILGWU	International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Archives, New York City
IN	Indiana State Library, Indianapolis
InGr-Ar	DePauw University, Greencastle, IN, Archives
InH	Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis
	International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam
InTI	Indiana State University, Terre Haute

InU	Indiana University, Bloomington, Lilly Library
IU	University of Illinois, Champaign Knox College, Galesburg, IL
KPT	Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, KS
KU	University of Kansas, Lawrence
MH	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
MiD	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge, MA
W	Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, Reuther Library
MiU	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
MnHi	Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul
MoH	Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis
MoU	University of Missouri, Columbia
NcD	Duke University, Durham, NC
NhD	Dartmouth University, Hanover, NC
NIC	Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, Labor-Management Documentation Center
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, NJ, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library
NN Kars	New York Public Library, Karsner Collection
NNC	Columbia University, New York City
NNU Tam	New York University, Tamiment Library
NRAB	American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, NY
NRU	University of Rochester, Rochester, NY
NSyU	Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY Wagner College, Staten Island, NY
OT	Toledo-Lucas County Public Library Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, OH
PST	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
PU	Pennsylvania State University, University Park University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
TxArU	University of Texas, Arlington
TxU	University of Texas, Austin, Barker Texas History Center Texas Tech University, Lubbock
WHi	Milwaukee County Historical Society
WM	Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison Milwaukee Public Library YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York City

Private Collections

Mrs. Theresa Branstetter Taft, Needham, MA
Mr. Harry T. Fleischman, New York City
Ms. Merrily Cummings Ford, Glendora, CA

Mr. Leo Miller, New York City
Ms. Annelle Creel Rouse, Concord, CA
Mrs. Gertrude Warren, Schenectady, NY

Errata for Series I

Reel: Frame	Date	Description
1:0060	1889 February 14	Samuel Gompers to TD. Correct date should read 1899 February 14.
1:0114	1893 (?) May 16	EVD to Frank X. Holl. Correct date should read 1894 (April?) 16.
1:0124	1894 January 8	EVD to TD. Correct date should read 1895 January 8, and recipients are Jean Daniel and Marguerite Bettrich Debs.
1:0299	1899 July 3	TD to Julius A. Wayland. Correct date should read July 6, 1899.
1:0304	1899 December 2	EVD to Jean Daniel and Marguerite Debs. Target card should read "To Jean Daniel Debs."
1:1026	1912 July 27	J. Mahlon Barnes to EVD. Correct date should read 1912 June 27.
2:0080	1915 April 17	TD to Basil Manly. Correct date should read 1915 April 27.
2:0097	1915 June 2	EVD to Adolph F. Germer. Correct date should read 1913 June 2.
2:0384	1917 November 8	Amos Pinchet to TD. Name on target card should be Amos Pinchot.
2:1241	1920 April 22	Celia Baldwin (Whitehead) to TD. Includes a copy of EVD to CBW, 1895 January 10, which has not been indexed.
3:0119	1920 September 17	John Abirette to TD. Name on target card should be John Avirette.
3:0752	1921 January 14	TD to Roger N. Baldwin. Correct date should read 1922 January 14.
3:0757	1921 January 16	EVD to J. Dyche. Correct date should read 1922 January 16.
4:1006	1925 October 29	Blanche Watson to TD. Correct date should read 1926 October 29.
4:1358	1926 October 21	Daisy L. Miller to TD. Name on target card should read Daisy L. Mills.
5:0028	1926 October 28	Rose Karsner to TD. Letter of January 27 is included following letter of October 8, and has not been indexed.

Series II. Published Writings and Speeches, 1877-1926

In 1878 Eugene Debs was named associate editor and in 1880 editor of the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen Magazine*, and at the time of his death in 1926 he was editor of the recently-launched *American Appeal*, a newspaper he hoped would restore the vitality of the critically-wounded and weakened Socialist Party. In the intervening half century he produced an astonishing volume of editorials, articles, essays, letters to editors, epigrams, anecdotes, and other printed materials (including many of his speeches) which, combined with his lectures and speeches as a labor "agitator" and socialist presidential candidate, made him the most famous American radical of his time.

Debs claimed that writing was difficult for him, but he was able to turn out articles and essays on a broad range of subjects almost, it seems, on demand. With less than a high-school education (but a bookish home life) he taught himself the art and science of journalism, and by the time he was thirty he was recognized as one of the nation's leading labor press editors. His development during the formative period of his career and his conversion to socialism in the 1890s may be traced in considerable detail in his writings, notably in the *Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen Magazine*, *Coming Nation*, *Railway Times*, and the *Social Democratic Herald*.

Other facets of Debs' career, following the Pullman Strike and his growing recognition as the chief spokesman for socialism and industrial unionism in America, are illuminated by his writings which appeared regularly in the *Appeal to Reason*, *Chicago Daily Socialist*, *New York Call*, *St. Louis Labor*, *Miners' Magazine*, *Miami Valley Socialist*, *International Socialist Review*, *Voice of Labor*, *Rebel*, and *Vanguard*.

Debs' reactions to World War I and his opposition to America's entry into the war are best followed in the editorials he wrote for the *National Rip-Saw* and in articles written for the *American Socialist* and *The Melting Pot*. The latter stages of his career, including his second term of imprisonment (1919-21) and his efforts to revitalize the Socialist Party following his release, are reflected in his writing in those socialist and labor publications which survived the wartime and postwar anti-radical hysteria—such as the *New York Call*, *St. Louis Labor*, and the *Miami Valley Socialist*—and in a small number of radical publications launched in the relatively hostile environment of the "Era of Normalcy"—notably *Socialist World* and the *American Appeal*.

Debs understandably took pride in the authorship of such a vast body of speeches and articles. Yet in a letter of December 8, 1922 to David Karsner, he alluded to special circumstances under which some part of his published work had been written by others. In *Talks with Debs in Terre Haute* Karsner had revealed that he had collaborated closely with Debs in writing a series of prison articles for the Bell Syndicate and that both he and Theodore Debs had written "statements" for Debs during Debs' imprisonment and the months following his release. Moreover, Karsner wrote that "innumerable articles and statements have been signed by [Debs] that he never saw or authorized, and for this reason...it would be difficult for any one to collect authentic writing by Debs" (*Talks with Debs*, pp. 45-48). Debs replied angrily that he had used such assistance rarely, and then only "when I could not myself personally do the thing for physical or other sufficient reasons."

Debs continued, "I granted you this privilege...on condition that matter should be submitted to me for approval before it appeared in print." In the case of Theodore, their correspondence strongly suggests that any "statements" which he may have written over Eugene Debs' name almost certainly were based on instructions provided by Debs himself.

Series II comprises the largest collection of Debs' published writings, both for labor and socialist publications and for the general newspaper and periodical press, ever assembled. The published writings are arranged on the microfilm chronologically by year, month, and day. Items dated only by year are filed at the beginning of that year, and those dated only by year and month are filed at the beginning of that month. A few undated items may be found at the end of the series (on Reel 9), arranged alphabetically by title. Each item is accompanied by a target card giving the complete title, place, and date of publication.

The editors have undertaken an extensive search of periodicals associated with Debs, using the most complete run available in each case. In addition, many items have been reproduced from scrapbooks, clipping files, and odd issues of rare radical and labor publications. Newspaper coverage of Debs' speeches and interviews has been included only when such articles contain substantial direct quotes from Debs. The important collection of scrapbooks compiled by Eugene and Theodore Debs (included as Series III of this microfilm edition) contains additional printed material by and about Debs and should be used as a supplement to Series II.

The editors cannot claim to have reproduced every single item of Debs' published writing, but because his articles and speeches were so often reprinted it is unlikely that any major statement has been omitted. Although a search could not be conducted of the back files of local newspapers in every state for accounts of Debs' speeches and interviews, a representative sampling of such material has been included. The resulting collection provides a comprehensive survey of Debs' views on the economic and political issues of his time, as well as on social issues ranging from bicycling to prize-fighting, from prohibition to fundamentalism, and from the impact of poverty to the danger of the Ku Klux Klan.

In addition to the published writings, Series II includes important unpublished material, some of it acquired from the Department of Justice under the Freedom of Information Act. Most of these documents are government agents' verbatim accounts of Debs' speeches, some of which have never been published before. Agents' reports appear on the microfilm under the date of the speech or meeting described. Also included in Series II are a number of "bulletins," notices, and appeals written by Debs and distributed by the National Office of the Socialist Party, as well as all extant examples of Debs' handwritten drafts of articles and speeches. Drafts appear immediately following the printed version on the microfilm.

As noted above, Debs' writings were frequently reprinted, often under different titles. The editors have eliminated duplicates and excerpts from previously printed works, except where there are significant variations between texts. In most cases the earliest version found has been reproduced. When a later version has been reproduced for reasons of legibility the target card will indicate the earliest version known to the editors to give researchers an idea of the date of composition. In a few cases more than one version has been reproduced because no single version was completely legible.

Not included in this microfilm edition is *Walls and Bars*, a book-length collection of Debs' articles on prison life and proposals for prison reform first published in 1927 and reissued in 1973. (*Walls and Bars* is reproduced in the microfilm edition of

the *Socialist Party of America Papers, 1897-1964*, Microfilming Corporation of America, 1975.) Most of the material collected in *Walls and Bars* had appeared in 1922 in a series of ten articles written by Debs (with David Karsner) for the Bell Syndicate. *The Washington Times* published these articles under the series title, "Inside Prison Walls," between June 11 and August 13, 1922, and they are included in this microfilm edition.

The following is a list of those periodicals to which Debs was a frequent contributor, with the abbreviations used on the microfilm target cards and in the checklist (pages 122 - 163). In each case a complete run has been searched through 1926, the year of Debs' death, with the exception of *The Eye-Opener* and *The Miners' Magazine*, for which complete runs were not available.

Periodical	Abbreviation
<i>American Labor Union Journal</i>	ALUJ
<i>American Socialist</i>	AS
<i>American Appeal</i>	AA
<i>Appeal To Reason</i>	ATR
<i>Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen Magazine</i>	BLFM
<i>Chicago Daily Socialist</i>	CDS
<i>Chicago Socialist</i>	CS
<i>Coming Nation</i>	CN
<i>Eye-Opener</i>	EO
<i>International Socialist Review</i>	ISR
<i>Melting Pot</i>	MP
<i>Miners Magazine</i>	MM
<i>Miami Valley Socialist</i>	MVS
<i>National Rip-Saw</i>	NRS
<i>New Leader</i>	NL
<i>New York Call</i>	NYC
<i>Railway Times</i>	RT
<i>St. Louis Labor</i>	SLL
<i>Social Democrat</i>	SD
<i>Social Democratic Herald</i>	SDH
<i>Social Revolution</i>	SR
<i>Socialist World</i>	SW

Series III. Scrapbooks, 1884-1938

Series III is comprised of a collection of scrapbooks that cover the period from the mid-1880s to the late 1930s. Handwritten annotations and indexes in some of the volumes indicate that they were compiled both by Eugene Debs and by Theodore Debs in his capacity as his brother's secretary and office manager. The newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and leaflets are mostly accounts of Debs'

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speeches and other political work. There is a sizeable body of material covering his second prison term (1919-21), a large collection of obituaries, and miscellaneous material collected by Debs for research purposes. Within each scrapbook the material is arranged roughly in chronological order, but the clippings are not grouped according to type or subject.

Some articles by Debs are included in Series III, along with a great many local newspaper accounts of his speeches and statements. Since these scrapbooks have not been searched and indexed in connection with Series II, they should be used by researchers as a supplement to that series.

The thirteen reels of this series, reproduced from microfilm in the possession of the Tamiment Library at New York University, were originally microfilmed in the 1960s by Microphoto, Inc. The original scrapbooks found on Reels 9-13 may be consulted at the Tamiment Library. The material on Reels 14-21 has not been preserved in the original.

Following is a descriptive reel list of Series III:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Reel 9 | Theodore Debs scrapbooks.
Volumes 1-5, 1884-1907. Handwritten index at the beginning of each volume. |
| Reel 10 | Theodore Debs scrapbooks.
Volumes 6-10, 1902-1921 (some 1894-1895 items at end of reel).
Handwritten index at the beginning of each volume. |
| Reel 11 | Eugene V. Debs clippingbooks.
Volumes 1-21, ca. 1896-1919.
Volumes 1-4, 1911-1912. These four volumes were collected at Girard, Kansas. |
| Reel 12 | Miscellaneous clippings and ephemera collected by Eugene V. Debs and Theodore Debs, 1894-1925. |
| Reel 13 | Miscellaneous clippings collected by Eugene V. Debs and Theodore Debs, 1894-1938. This material is not in strict chronological order.
A small collection of manuscript correspondence and photographs from the Tamiment Library is included on this reel. |
| Reel 14 | Bound volumes of newspapers and magazine articles collected by Eugene V. Debs, 1887-1897. |
| Reel 15 | Bound volumes of newspapers and magazine articles collected by Eugene V. Debs, 1897-1900. |
| Reel 16 | Bound volumes of newspapers and magazine articles collected by Eugene V. Debs, 1900-1905. |
| Reel 17 | Bound volumes of newspapers and magazine articles collected by Eugene V. Debs, 1905-1908. |
| Reel 18 | Bound volumes of newspapers and magazine articles collected by Eugene V. Debs, 1908-1912. |
| Reel 19 | Bound volumes of newspapers and magazine articles collected by Eugene V. Debs, 1912-1919; 1910-1911. |
| Reel 20 | Bound volumes of newspapers and magazine articles collected by Eugene V. Debs, 1911-1914. |
| Reel 21 | Bound volumes of newspapers and magazine articles collected by Eugene V. Debs, 1914-1924. |

Reel List

can 1

- Series I Correspondence, 1834-1945
- Reel 1 1834 to 21 August 1914
 - Reel 2 22 August 1914 to June 1920
 - Reel 3 July 1920 to 25 October 1921
 - Reel 4 26 October 1921 to 24 October 1926
 - Reel 5 25 October 1926 to 5 April 1945; n.d.; "Debs Remembered," essay collection
- Series II Published Writings and Speeches, 1877-1926
- Reel 6 January 1877 to December 1903
 - Reel 7 1904 to 1916
 - Reel 8 1917 to November 1927; 1969; n.d.

can 2

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- Series III Scrapbooks, 1884-1938
- Reel 9 Theodore Debs, 1884 to 1907
 - Reel 10 Theodore Debs, 1902 to 1921
 - Reel 11 Eugene V. Debs, ca. 1896 to 1919
Eugene V. Debs, 1911 to 1912
 - Reel 12 Eugene V. Debs and Theodore Debs, 1894 to 1925
 - Reel 13 Eugene V. Debs and Theodore Debs, 1894 to 1938
 - Reel 14 Newspapers and Magazine Articles, 1887 to 1897
 - Reel 15 Newspapers and Magazine Articles, 1897 to 1900
 - Reel 16 Newspapers and Magazine Articles, 1900 to 1905
 - Reel 17 Newspapers and Magazine Articles, 1905 to 1908
 - Reel 18 Newspapers and Magazine Articles, 1908 to 1912
 - Reel 19 Newspapers and Magazine Articles, 1912 to 1919; 1910 to 1911
 - Reel 20 Newspapers and Magazine Articles, 1911 to 1914
 - Reel 21 Newspapers and Magazine Articles, 1914 to 1924

Description of Index to Correspondence in Series I

This index includes every item of correspondence found in Series I. Letters have been indexed by the name of the correspondent, with the exception of Eugene and Theodore Debs; under their own names only the brothers' letters to each other have been listed. Letters have been cross-listed under the names of organizations in cases where the correspondence is on behalf of an organization. Unsigned letters whose authors could not be identified are indexed under the entry "Unidentified Correspondents."

The index to Series I also contains geographical entries. Letters have been cross-listed by state, only if the place of origin is indicated on the original document. The cities of New York and Chicago and all foreign countries have been given separate entries. The very large number of letters originating from Terre Haute, Indiana and Atlanta Federal Penitentiary (during Debs' second imprisonment) have been excluded from the geographical listings. Researchers should be aware that the geographical entries, while useful, are by no means complete, since many letters do not indicate the place of origin.

In the index entry for each correspondent incoming and outgoing letters are grouped separately, and listed chronologically by year, month, and day. Entries for undated letters—indicated by the abbreviation "n.d."—follow the chronological entries. All undated letters will be found at the end of Series I, on Reel 5, and are arranged alphabetically by non-Debs correspondent. Figures in parentheses in index entries indicate the number of items of that correspondent that can be found under a given date.

Researchers should note that enclosures have been filed *and indexed* under the date of their covering letter.

Index to Correspondence in Series I

Abbate, Frank
To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Abbott, Leonard D.
To EVD: 1919 Oct 30, 1920 Oct
26, 1926 Jul 16
To TD: 1910 Jul 26, 1915 Nov 19,
1926 Oct 25, Nov 10, 1936
May 24
From Frank P. O'Hare: 1945 Jan
23

Abercrombie, J.H.
To EVD: 1921 Apr 12

Abernethy, A.V.
To EVD: 1920 Jun 1

Adams, D.C.
To TD: 1921 Aug 19

Adams, Elwood
To TD: 1926 Oct 27

Adkins, Elmer
To TD: 1926 Nov 4

Adkinson, O.H.
To EVD: 1913 Jun 18
From EVD: 1913 Jun 21
To TD: 1928 Mar 30

Adler, Louise
To EVD: 1920 Dec 22

Akins, W.M.
To EVD: 1920 Jun 13

Alabama
1911 Mar 11, 1913 Dec 5, 1915
Oct 23, 1919 Dec 20, 1920 Feb
5, 1921 Mar 18, 1926 May 17,
Oct 21, 1931 Dec 15, 1932 Jan
17, 31

Alaska
1920 Dec 25

Albarracin C., Jacinto
To EVD: 1921 Sep 4

Alderton, Marion S.
To EVD: 1921 Dec 15

Aldrich, A.J.
To EVD: 1920 Mar(1)

Alick, Augusta
To EVD: 1922 Feb 9
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1922 Feb 9

Alick, Ella
To EVD: 1922 Feb 9
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1922 Feb 9

Aliff, Mac?
To EVD: 1920 Dec 4

All-America Anti-Imperialist
League
To TD: 1928 Mar 26, Apr 2

Allbright, Ednah Nelson
To TD: 1926 Oct 19

Allen, Edmund T.
To EVD: 1921 Mar(1)

Allen, Ruth A.
To TD: 1940 Jun 13
From Frank X. Holl: 1941 Nov
4

Allen, Victor
To EVD: 1921 Apr 13

Altman, John
To EVD: 1915 Dec 28

Altshull, Sarah
To EVD: 1921 Jun 5, 27

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of
America, Local 63
To TD: 1926 Oct 26

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of
America, N.Y. Joint Board
To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Amalgamated Clothing Workers of
America, Shirt and Boys Waist
Workers Union
To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Amerdick(?), Louise
To EVD: 1921 Jun 23

American Legion Weekly, Editor
To EVD: 1920 Sep 10

Ameringer, Freda Hogan
From TD: 1943 Nov 15

AMERINGER, OSCAR — B., H.

Ameringer, Oscar
From EVD: 1923 May 3
Amerland, W.H.
From EVD: 1911 Mar 11
Anderson, Alick W.
To TD: 1931 Apr 23
From TD: 1931 Apr 27
Anderson, C.F.
From EVD: 1922 Apr 12
From TD: 1922 Apr 12
Anderson, L.J.
To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
Anderson, Thomalee? Holbech
To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
Anderson, -----
From TD: 1913 Mar 12, 20
Andreae, Aug.
To EVD: 1919 Dec 22
Andreae, Herta
To EVD: 1919 Dec 22
Andreae, Margaret
To EVD: 1919 Dec 23
Andrews, George
To EVD: 1920 Dec 22, 1921
Oct 30(2)
Andrews, Reddin
To EVD: 1907 Nov 17
To TD: 1920 Sep 24
Andreyev, A.
To EVD: 1923 Apr 5
From EVD: 1923 Apr 14
Anna Leslie
To TD: 1940 Dec 27
Anson, Maude Hunter
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Antick, Mary
To EVD: 1921 Jan 30
Appeal to Reason
From James F. Ball: 1920 Dec
17
Appleton's Cyclopedia of
American Biography
To EVD: 1917 Nov 13
Aranjo, Antonio de P.
To EVD: 1919 Dec 2
Argentina
1921 Nov 17
Arizona
1904 Oct 6, 1913 May 14, 1916
Apr 16, 1920 Oct 16, 1921 Nov
15, 1926 Oct 24(2), n.d.(1)
Arkansas
1906 Jul 17(2), 1907 Apr 8,
1910 May 8, 1912 Aug 9, 1915
Feb 23, 1917 May 14, 1919 Dec
26, 1920(1), 1920 Apr 4, Jun
13, Jul 13, Sep 5, Oct 27,
1921 Jul 19, Nov 2, 1926 Jun
17, Oct 20, Nov 7, 16
Arkin, Virginia
To EVD: 1920 Dec 24
Arnheim, Victor H.
To EVD: 1915 Dec 16
Arnold, E.
To Otto Branstetter: 1919 Oct
4
Arnold, F.W.
To TD: 1895 Jan 2, Oct 7
To T.F. Oakes: 1884 Mar 1
Ashtabula Local, Socialist Party
To EVD: 1921 Nov 2
Askew, Guy B.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 14
Atkinson, Edward
From EVD: 1892 May 4, 26
Atkinson, Warren
To EVD: 1904 Oct 17
Augusto, Allie
To EVD: 1920 Oct 23, 1921 Mar
17
Ault, E.B.
From EVD: 1919 Jan 15
Australia
1920 Jan 24, Nov 18
Authors' League of America
To EVD: 1915 Sep 10, 1918 Apr
10
Avirette, John Alfred
From J.O.H. Cosgrave: 1920 Nov
20
To EVD: 1919(1), 1920(1),
1920 Sep 17, Oct 15, Dec(1),
Dec 7, 1921 Mar 29, Apr 14,
Jul 29, Sep 6, n.d.(2)
To TD: 1920 Sep(1), Sep 17,
Nov 14, 20, 1921 Feb 4,
1926 Jul 21
Axtell, Mary H.
To TD: 1926 Oct 31
Aylsworth, Bertha
To EVD: 1920 Apr 10
B., Edna
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1914 Jun 5
B., H.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 22

Babcock, Bernie Smade
 To EVD: 1921 Jul 7, 19

Babcock, Charles H.
 From TD: 1926 Jul 29

Backus, E.
 To TD: 1937 Jan 26

Bagby, Nellie
 To EVD: 1926 Oct 18
 To TD: 1926 Nov 30

Bailey, Charles A.
 To EVD: 1916 Jan 16

Bailley, Forrest
 To EVD: 1925 Jul 7
 From TD: 1925 Jul 9

Baker, Arnnny?
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 23

Baker, Charles
 To EVD: 1919 Dec 2, 1925 Apr
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 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1925
 Apr 29
 To TD: 1920 Mar 3, 1925 Apr
 29, 1926 Nov 26,
 From TD: 1925 May 2

Baker, Clara
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 23

Baker, Newton D.
 To George M. Mischke: 1920
 Feb 20

Baker, Thomas H.
 From TD: 1921 Apr 30

Baldwin, Celia, see Whitehead,
 Celia Baldwin

Baldwin, Roger N.
 To EVD: 1918 Mar 7, 1919 Feb
 5, 1921 Nov 21, Dec 27, 29,
 1922 Jan 10, 1925 Jan 17,
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 From EVD: 1925 Jun 15, Jul 3
 To TD: 1921 Aug 24, Dec 6,
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 24, May 25, Jun 8
 From TD: 1921 Jan 14, Aug 26,
 1922 Jan 20, 1928 Jun 1
 To V.R. M'Millan: 1925 Jan 27

Ball, James F.
 To Appeal to Reason: 1920 Dec
 17
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 17

Ball, James M.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 1

Bamatter, Siegfried
 To EVD: 1919 Aug 29
 To TD: 1920 Jan 6

Bangs, C.
 From EVD: 1921 Jan 18

Bangs, Clarendon
 From EVD: 1911 Mar 22

Bannister, L. Ward
 To EVD: 1915 Oct 4
 From EVD: 1915 Oct 7

Banta, Albert D.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Barbusse, Henri
 To Alexander Trachtenberg:
 1920 Jun 16

Bard, Helen Hollingsworth
 To TD: 1940 Jan(1), May 2,
 1943 Mar(2)
 From TD: 1943 Mar 11, Apr 6

Barker, Tom
 To EVD: 1915 Jul 17

Barnard, Kate
 To EVD: 1916 Jan 5

Barnes, J. Mahlon
 To Victor L. Berger: 1926 Jan
 22
 To EVD: 1911 Jun 3, 1912 Jul
 23, 27, 1920 Oct 11, 1924
 Oct 9, 1926 Jan 22
 From EVD: 1912 May 31, Jul 2,
 24, 25
 From TD: 1912 Oct 14

Barnes, L.D.
 To EVD: 1921 Jun 17

Barnes, Mabel H.
 To TD: 1929 May 31, Aug 14,
 29, 1934 Mar 7
 From TD: 1929 Aug 20, 1934
 Feb 26

Barnes, Sara C.
 To EVD: 1920 May 13, 1921 Aug
 29
 To TD: 1920 Jan 27, Mar 28,
 Dec 18, 1921 Apr 16

Barnett, George
 To EVD: 1917 May 29

Barnett, Ida B. Wells, see
 Wells-Barnett, Ida B.

Barnhill, John B.
 To EVD: 1905 Oct 13
 From EVD: 1905 Oct 20
 From TD: 1904 Jun 23

Baroff, Abraham
 To EVD: 1924 Apr 23, May 7,
 1926 May 5

Barratt, Lillian S.
 To EVD: 1926 Oct 1

Barrett, A.C.
 To Katherine Metzel Debs:
 1926 Oct 29

BARRETT, cont. — BISHOP, HILLMAN M.

To TD: 1926 Oct 29
Barrymore, Ethel
To EVD: 1926 Apr 8
Bass, Simon
To TD: 1927 Nov 8
Baur, Arthur
From TD: 1919 Nov 6, 1927 Dec 2, 20
To David Karsner: 1919 Jun 23
Baur, Dorothy C.
To TD: 1927 Oct 10
Baur, Oscar
To Katherine Metzger Debs: 1928 Jan 26
From TD: 1940 Oct 15
Bavier?, G.R.
To TD: 1922 Jun 8
Baxter, Marvin Victor
To TD: 1926 Nov 3
Beard, Lige
To EVD: 1920 May 30
Beckstrom, Theodor
To EVD: 1921 Oct 18
Beckwith, John F.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 19
Beers, H. Irving
To TD: 1926 Jun 5
Beffel, John Nicholas
To TD: 1932 Mar 11
From TD: 1932 Mar 16
Belgium
1900 Aug 1, 3
Bell, Herman F.
To TD: 1924 Dec 13
Bell, Maurine
To EVD: 1920 Nov 27
Bell, Ralcy Husted
To EVD: 1920 Apr 13
To TD: 1926 Oct 19
Bellush, Bernard
To TD: 1942 Feb 22, Apr 7, Jul 25, 1943 Feb 1, 20, Aug 5, Oct 19, 1944 Feb 21, Jun 29, Nov 14, 1945 Feb 18
From TD: 1943 Feb 13, 24, Nov 9, 1944 Nov(1)
Benedict, Mary
To EVD: 1920 Nov 27
Benkert, William R.
To EVD: 1920 Mar 7
Bennett, H. Scott
To EVD: 1916 Aug 12
Bennington, W.H.
From Arthur Capper: 1921 Mar 23
To Harry L. Daugherty: 1921 Mar 23
To EVD: 1921 Mar 23
Benroth, J.R.
To EVD: 1921 Jul 2
Benson, Allan L.
To EVD: 1915 Feb 21, Mar 19, 24, Apr 1, 1916 Aug 25
From EVD: 1915 Mar 22
To TD: 1912 Jul 11
Benson, Mrs. H.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 7
Bentall, J.O.
To TD: 1919 Jun 20, Oct 12
Berand, -----
To EVD: 1900 Dec 20
Beranek, Olga
To EVD: 1919 Dec 26
Berger, Meta
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Berger, Victor L.
From J. Mahlon Barnes: 1926 Jan 22
From EVD: 1912 Aug 10, 1913 Jun 1
To TD: 1926 Oct 21, 1929 Feb 26
Berglund, Aug.
To EVD: 1919 Oct 28
Bermuda
1926 Mar 26, 31, Apr 2, 5(2), 9, 13
Berry, Frederick Forrest
To EVD: 1912 Mar 8, 1920 Dec 25
From EVD: 1912 Mar 11
Berry, Ray
To EVD: 1912 Mar(1)
Best, W.B.
To TD: 1926 Oct 31
Bethea, D.A.
To EVD: 1916 Jan 10
Bevere, Zelpha R.
To EVD: 1921 Feb 1
Bickert, G. Rudolph
To EVD: 1921 Nov 2
Bicknell, George
To EVD: 1913 Dec 22, 1917 Feb 19
From TD: 1917 Apr 13
Bigelow, Herbert S.
To EVD: 1921 Jan 12
Birkhead, L.M.
To EVD: 1926 Apr 8
Bishop, Hillman M.
To EVD: 1925 Nov 14

BISHOP, MAE — BORLAND, WILFRED P.

Bishop, Mae
To EVD: 1920 Jan 8
Bixler, Mort L.
To EVD: 1926 May 17
Black, Forrest Revere
To EVD: 1926 Jan 13
Black, Helen
To TD: 1921 Feb 17
Black?, John
To EVD: 1926 May 12
Blackman, Earl A.
To EVD: 1926 Jun 4
Blackwell, Alice Stone
To EVD: 1926 Feb 24, Aug 26
To TD: 1926 Nov 12, 21
Blossingham, Stewart E.
To EVD: 1915 Dec 5
Blatch, Harriot Stanton
To EVD: 1921 Mar 21, 1925 Feb 14
To TD: 1921 May 9
Blaylock, Mrs. M.E.
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926
Nov 16
To TD: 1926 Nov 16
Bleich, Marjorie
To EVD: 1921 Feb 4
Blenko, Sarah
To TD: 1933 Dec 10
From TD: 1933 Dec 12
Bliss, Albert W.
To TD: 1921 Jun 22, Jul 30,
Aug 9, Nov 11
Bliss, Louis
To EVD: 1921 Jan 31
Bliss, Mrs. G.M.
To EVD: 1920 Jun 14
Bliss, Mrs. -----
To EVD: 1900 Dec 20
Bliven, Bruce
To EVD: 1920 Jun 8
Blodgett, -----
To EVD: 1920 Oct 25
Blumberg, Henry
From Frank P. O'Hare: 1945 Jan
23
Blumenberg, Ben
To EVD: 1921 Jun 26
Board of Arbitration (Great
Northern Strike)
From EVD: 1894 May 5
From George W. Howard: 1894
May 5
Boardman, Harry
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926
Oct 21
Boardman, Helen M.
To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1921
May 6, 20
Bock, Herman
To TD: 1943 Dec 19
Boettger, Richard
To EVD: n.d.(1)
Bogart, Guy
To EVD: 1918 Jan 8, 1920 Dec
19, 1921 Sep 29, Oct 30
From EVD: 1919 Apr 28
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1926 Oct 22
To TD: 1915 Nov 28, 30, Dec
7, 29, 1918 Apr 15, 1920 May
14, 17, Aug 7, Sep 11,
Dec(1), Dec 19, 1926 Oct 22,
Nov 7, 20, 1938 Jul 1, Sep
23, 28, 1944 Sep 16, Dec 7
From TD: n.d.(1)
To Cameron H. King: 1918 Jan
8, Apr 15
To H.B. Liveright: 1919 Apr
28
Bohemian Workingmen's School of
Chicago, Children
To EVD: 1921 Nov 27,
Bohn, Frank
To EVD: 1915 Dec 20
To TD: 1911 Sep 25, Oct 3,
14
From TD: 1911 Oct 5, 7
Bohn, William E.
From TD: 1943 Oct 28
Bonsall, Charles
To EVD: 1919 Dec 21
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1926 Oct 24
To TD: 1926 Oct 24
Bookstaber, Anna
To EVD: 1921 Apr 30
Boot and Shoe Workers Union 366
To EVD: 1921 Mar 18
To Warren G. Harding: 1921
Mar 18
Borah, William E.
To EVD: 1913 Jun 9, 18, 23, 28,
Jul 10
From EVD: 1913 Jun 26, Jul 2,
8
Borland, Jane L.
From TD: 1944 Dec 15
Borland, Wilfred P.
To Estie Burger Bowers: 1920
Nov 7

BORLAND, WILFRED P., cont. — BRANSTETTER, WINNIE

To EVD: 1912 Apr 5, 6, 1918
Mar 17
To TD: 1907 May 1, 1915
Dec (1), 1920 Nov
7, 1926 Oct 27, Nov 15, 1929
Dec 24, 1930 Feb 23,
1931 Nov 8, 1934
Dec 28, 1935 Jan 5, Nov 30,
Dec 16, 1936 Feb 19, Jun
12(2), Oct 6, Nov 12, 18,
28
From TD: 1926 Mar 16, 1935
Dec 1
Boro Park Branch, Socialist
Party
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1926 Oct 22
Borough, Rube
To TD: 1931 Jun 13
From TD: 1931 Jun 29
Bossenberger, Florence
To TD: 1920 Mar 19
Botwink, Elsie
To TD: 1926 Oct 25, Nov 9
Boughner, Inez M.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 18
Boult, J.N.
To TD: 1926 Nov 5
Bowers, Claude G.
To EVD: 1913 May 7, 1917 May
16, 1924 Oct 10
From EVD: 1907 Mar 28, Nov
23, 1909 Jan 7, Feb 14, 1910
Apr 13, 1912 Jan 29(2), May
31, Aug 15, 1913 May 3, 9,
10, Jun 7, 1914 Apr 22, Dec
15, 28, 1918 Jul 18, 1924
Oct 13, 1926 Jan 16, 23
From Katherine Metzels Debs:
1915 Oct 2
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Bowers, Estie Burger
From Wilfred P. Borland: 1920
Nov 7
To EVD: 1920 Nov 6, 24
Bowers, Florence Wattles
To TD: 1935 Jan 30, 1939 Sep
8
From TD: 1935 Feb 20
Bowers, Henry T., Jr.
To EVD: 1916 Jan 29
To TD: 1916 Jan 17
Bowers, Julian
To EVD: 1920 Dec 23
Bowers, Mantie W.

To EVD: n.d.(1)
Bowers, Sybil McCaslin
From Katherine Metzels Debs:
1915 Oct 2
Boyd, Harriette E.
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1908 Oct 26, 1909 May(1)
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1908
Oct 29
Boyd, L.?M.
To EVD: 1921 Mar 18
Boyer, R.E.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Bradley, Charles
To EVD: 1915 Dec 28
Bradley, M.E.
To EVD: 1912 Jun 18
Bradon, Jack
To TD: 1926 Oct 29
Brannin, Laura
To TD: 1926 Oct 25
Branstetter, Otto
From E. Arnold: 1919 Oct 4
To EVD: 1918 Sep 13, 1920 Apr
13, Nov 3, 1921 Jan 17, Feb
1, 7, Apr 4, 21, May 3, 23,
Jul 7, Sep 30, Nov 4, 25,
Dec 1, 1922 Jan 6, 7, 13,
16, 18(2), 27, Mar 15, 30,
Apr 17, 20, 29, May 11, Jun
7, Aug 2, Sep 3, 5, 11, 20,
22, Oct 30, Dec 9, 18, 20,
1923 Nov 8, 11
From EVD: 1918 Sep 18,
1919-1921(1), 1920 Oct 23,
Dec(1), 1921 Mar 28, Apr 9,
Aug 4, 1922 Mar 25, 29, 30,
Apr 1, 8, 29, Jun 5, Jul(1),
Jul 28, Aug 3, 28, Sep 3,
10, 13, 23, 26, n.d.(1)
To TD: 1921 Nov 25, 1922 Jan
9, 14, 1923 Oct 30
From TD: 1921 Apr 1, 9, 1922
Jan 9, 26, 1923 Oct 27
From Max Pine: 1921 May 20
see also EVD to TD, 1920(1)
Branstetter, Winnie
To EVD: 1920 Dec 20, 1922 Jan
30
From EVD: 1908 Apr 9, Dec 28,
1909 Apr 21, 1919 Dec(1),
1920 Dec 9
From TD: 1907 Sep 6, 1920
July 28, Oct 29, Dec 29,
1922 Feb 4, 1924 Aug 4

BREIGH — BROWN, WILLIAM MONTGOMERY

Breigh, John P.

To Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1921
Mar 1, Jun 14, Jul 8

To EVD: 1920 Nov 2, Dec 15,
1921 Feb 28, Mar 1
Apr 20, Jun 14, 29, Jul 8,
Aug 18, Sep 17,

From TD: 1912 Feb 20, Mar 29

Brenholtz, Edwin Arnold

To TD: 1912 Feb 13, Mar 14,
1920 Jan 1

From TD: 1912 Feb 20, Mar 29

Brewer, George D.

From EVD: 1910 Mar 7, Jun 26,
Jul 7, Sep 26(2). Nov 18,
22, 30, 1911 Jul 14, Aug 21,
1924 Dec(1), 1925 Dec(1),
n.d.(3)

From Gertrude Toy Debs:
n.d.(1)

From Katherine Metzel Debs:
1924 Dec(1), 1925 Dec(1),
1926 Dec 29

To TD: 1926 Oct 21, Nov 1,
1943 Jan(1), Jun 21,
n.d.(1)

From TD: 1919 Mar 20, Apr 18,
n.d.(1)

Brewer, Grace D.

To EVD: 1917 Apr 14

From EVD: 1908 Sep 8, Oct 9,
16, 1909 Dec 30, 1910 Jan
27, Mar 23, 28, Jul 13, 30,
Aug 22, 30, Sep 26, Oct 4,
11, Nov 25, 1911 Apr 6, Aug
21(2), 26, Nov 13, 1912
Nov(1), 1913 Jan 10, 25,
1914 Jan 10, 20, 24, 26,
1924 Dec(1), 1925 Dec(1),
n.d.(4)

From Gertrude Toy Debs:
n.d.(1)

From Katherine Metzel Debs:
1910 Oct 11, 1911 Jun 1, Nov
10, 1921 Mar 4, 1924 Dec(1),
1925 Dec(1), 1926 Dec 29,
1927 Nov 15, 1928 Jan 18

From TD: 1913 Oct 3, 1914 Jan
19, n.d.(1)

Brice, Lloyd

From EVD: 1892 Oct 28

Bricker, L.O.

To EVD: 1921 May 3

Brickman, Mrs.

To EVD: 1920 Dec 22

Brisbane, Arthur

see also EVD to TD, 1921(1)

Brite, Mary D.

From TD: 1922 May 18

British Guiana

1908 Aug 5

Bronson, Harry

From EVD: 1909 Jun 24

Bronson, Jessie

To EVD: 1921 Feb 22

Brooker, Josephine L. Church

To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Brotherhood of Locomotive

Engineers, Members

From EVD: 1888 Jun 10

Brotherhood of Locomotive

Firemen, Grand Lodge

To B.L.F. Lodges, C.B. and Q.
System: 1888 Apr 17

Brotherhood of Locomotive

Firemen, Members

From EVD: 1888 Jun 10

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen

From TD: 1934 Jan 20

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car

Porters

To EVD: 1926 Jul 15

Broughton, Charles E.

From EVD: 1926 Apr 30

Brown, Corinne S.

To TD: 1908 Oct 1

Brown, Elias

To EVD: 1920 Dec 29

Brown, Elsie

To EVD: 1920 May 30

Brown, Ethelred

To TD: 1926 Sep 19, Nov 13

Brown, F. McC.

To TD: 1925 Dec 30, 1926 Jan
6

From TD: 1926 Jan 11

Brown, John W.

To EVD: 1913 Jun 12

From EVD: 1913 Jun 26

Brown, Ross D.

To EVD: 1916 Jan 16

Brown?, S.J.

To Katherine Metzel Debs:
1926 Nov 8

To TD: 1926 Nov 8

Brown, William Montgomery

To EVD: 1926 Aug 31, Sep 17

To TD: 1919 Nov 11, 1920 Mar
24, 29, 1928 Mar 23, 1943
Jan 3

BROWN, WILLIAM MONTGOMERY ,cont. — CALIFORNIA

From TD: 1926 Oct(1)
Brown, William Thurston
To EVD: 1920 Mar 4
To TD: 1920 Mar 20, Apr 17
Browne, Lewis
From EVD: 1922 Dec 18, 1923
Jan 16
Broyer, Jean Cherdron
To TD: 1942 Dec 25
Brucken?, Connie?
To EVD: 1920 Dec 21
Brumbaugh, Edmund R.
To TD: 1926 Oct 31
Bruno, Guido
To EVD: 1925 Mar 6
Bruton, Rita
To EVD: 1922 Aug 9
Bryan, J. Wallace
To EVD: 1921 Feb 2
Buchofner, Albert
To EVD: 1919 Oct 4
Budish, J.M.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Burbank, Elizabeth
To Katherine Metzger Debs: 1926
Oct(1)
Burns, Marie
To EVD: 1921 Feb 4
Bush, Ned A.
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1943 Jan 29
From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1943 Jan 14
To TD: 1945 Jan 12
From TD: 1937 Dec 9
Bush, W.E.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 18
To TD: 1921 Dec 7
Butler, Ellis Parker
To EVD: 1918 Apr 10
Butler, H.T.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 6
Butscher, William
To EVD: 1900 Aug 18
Buttis?, Vittorio
To EVD: 1916 Aug 31
From EVD: 1916 Sep 2
Bynner, Witter
To Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1921
Oct 4
From Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1921
Dec 2
From EVD: 1921 Aug 10, 1922
Jan 20, Mar 25, 1925 Dec 21,
To TD: 1938 Nov 28, Dec 10,

From TD: 1938 Dec 7
Byron-Curtiss, A.L.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 20, 1921 Nov
1
To TD: 1921 Feb 1, Nov 22,
1926 Oct 19
C., S.?
To Robert D. Heinl: 1926 Oct
21
Cabe, M.I.
To EVD: 1922 May 15
Cady, Will A.
To EVD: 1920 Mar 5
Caldwell, Howard H.
To TD: 1908 Jun 19
Calhoun, Mr. and Mrs. J.C.
To TD: 1926 Oct 19
California
1894 Jul 1, 2, 1899 May 9,
1904 Sep 25(2), 1905 Feb 10,
Oct 13, 1907 Feb 10, Mar 6,
Nov(1). 1908 Feb 28, Sep 8,
10, 11, 12(2), 13, Dec 27,
1910 Oct 28, 1913 Jan 21, 1914
Feb 4, 12, Jun 2, Dec 5, 21,
1915 Jan 2, 20, 21, Feb 3, Mar
2, 12, Jul 15, 17, 23, Aug 8,
Nov 28, 30, Dec 20, 25, 28,
29, 1916 Jan 7, 16, Feb 1, May
7, Jun 15, Jul 29, Oct 5, Nov
6, 1917 Feb 24, May 21, Nov
27, Dec 27, 1918 Jan 3, 8(2),
Mar 23, Apr 2, 15, 30, May 16,
25, Jun 4, Jul 17, Aug 23, Oct
9, 1919-1921(3), 1919 Apr 28,
Nov 2, 26, Dec 1, 1920 Jan 1,
3, Mar 1, 2(3), 4(2), 10, 20,
22, Apr 7, 10, 13, 17, 19, May
14(3). 17, 25, Jul 9, 26, Aug
7, 24, 29, Sep 6, 11, Oct(1),
Oct 4, 7(2), 12(2), 14, 18(2),
19, 29, Nov(1), Nov 4, 5(2),
11, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 24,
25, 26, 28, 29, Dec(1), Dec
16, 18, 19, 20, 29, 1921(2),
1921 Jan 1, 5, 19, Feb 24, 25,
28, Mar 28, 31, Apr 6, May 4,
10, 20, 22, 31, Jun 23, 30,
Jul 2, Aug(1), Sep 3, 18, 22,
28, 29, Oct 2, 14, 17, 24, 30,
Nov 8, 10, 11, Dec 5, 15, 1922
Jun 19, Jul 15, 1923 Apr 23,
Aug 24, 25, Sep 21, 1924 Mar

15, Jun 1, 3, 7, Jul 1,
 1925(1), 1925 Jul 28, 31, Aug
 25, Sep 17, 28, Nov 20, 1926
 Jan 8, 9, 16, 25, Apr 5, 14,
 Jul 4, Oct(1), Oct 1. 10, 12,
 19(3), 20(2), 21(7), 21(2),
 22(4), 23(4). 25, 26(3),
 28(2), 29, Nov(1), Nov 2, 7,
 20, Dec 3, 7, 12, 1927 May 26,
 Jul 16, Oct 18, 24, Dec 31,
 1928 Jan 16, Jun 14, Aug 6,
 Dec 23, 1929 Dec 31, 1930 Jun
 4, Jul 17, 28, Aug 12, 1931
 Mar 26, 30, Apr 2, 23, Jul 6,
 1932 May 20, Aug 11, Sep 7,
 1933 Dec 4, 1934 Feb 15, Apr
 4, Jun 29, Jul 10, Oct 1, 1936
 May 25, Dec 21, 1937 Jan 26,
 Mar 18, May 20, Aug 15, 1938
 Sep 23, 28, Nov 28, Jul 1,
 1939 Jul 21, Nov 13, 23, 1940
 Feb 25, Mar 13, 1941 Feb 26,
 Aug 1, Nov 15, 1942 Jun 3, 17,
 1943 Apr 5, Aug 6, Oct 14, Dec
 20, 1944 Aug 29, Sep 16, Nov
 23, Dec 3, 7, 17, 1945 Jan 5,
 Feb 4, 13, 19, Mar 10, 15, 17,
 20, 31, n.d.(6)
Call (newspaper), see New York
Call
 Callery, Anabel
 To EVD: 1912 Aug 9
 Callery, Ida Hayman
 To EVD: 1912 Aug 9
 Callery, Phil H.
 To EVD: 1915 Dec 24
 To Katherine Metzels Debs:
 1926 Oct 23
 To TD: 1911 Aug 28, 1921 Sep
 27, 1926 Oct 23
 Calles, Plutarco Ellas
 From EVD: 1926 Feb 24
 Callister?, Leonie Doris
 To EVD: 1915 Dec 12
 Calvert, Anna Gulbrandsen
 To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1936 Sep 18
 From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1936 May 20
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1944
 Feb 10
 To TD: 1936 Sep 18, 1940 Sep
 24, Nov 9, 1941 May 26, 1942
 Feb 23, 1944 Feb 10, May 31
 Calvert, Bruce
 From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1936 May 20
 To TD: 1928 Jan 30, 1936 May
 10
 From TD: 1928 Feb 18
 Cameron, G.D.
 To EVD: 1924 Nov 18
 Campbell, Emerin
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 15
 Campbell, Ida Addison
 To EVD: 1922 Apr 16
 Canada
 1910 Mar 15, 1917 Mar 28, 1919
 Sep 8, 1920 Apr 27, 1921 Aug
 17, Oct 3, 1923 Sep 8, 1924
 Dec 17, 1926 Feb 18, Aug 29,
 Oct 20, 29, Nov 5, 17, 1927
 Feb 7, 1928 Feb 6
 Canal Zone
 1921 May 10, Jun 25
 Candamo, Victor G.
 To EVD: 1915 Aug 24
 Candee, George
 To EVD: 1900 Nov 2
 Cannon, James P.
 To EVD: 1925 Jul 15, 1926 Jan
 26, May 27, Sep 8
 From EVD: 1926 Jan 26
 To TD: 1922 Feb 16, 1927 Feb
 7, 16, Apr 12, 1928 Mar 19,
 24
 From TD: 1927 Jan 10
 Cannon, John
 To TD: 1921 Apr 21, Nov 5
 Capper, Arthur
 To W.H. Bennington: 1921 Mar
 23
 Carew, -----
 From EVD: 1922 Feb 6
 Carhartt and Company
 From EVD: 1892 Jul 6
 Carkin, Nancy E.
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 25
 Carl, Morris G.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 18
 Carmichael, G.W.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 6
 Carnes, Esau R.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 24
 Carney, Jack
 To EVD: 1916 Nov 5, 1917 Feb
 21, 1920 May 1
 From EVD: 1918 Nov 18, Dec 7

CARNEY, JACK, cont. — CHERDRON

To TD: 1918 May 8, 1919 Apr
25
From TD: 1919 Feb 12, Dec 6
Carney, Minnie
To EVD: 1920 May 1
Carpenter, George W.
To TD: 1926 Oct 26
Carr, Edward Ellis
To TD: 1912 Jun 20
From TD: 1912 Jun 21
Carrington, George D.
To EVD: 1920 Jun 15
Carter, Bertram R.
To EVD: 1922 May 12
Carter, Mrs. John H.
To EVD: 1921 Mar 29
Carwardine, William H.
To TD: 1921 Feb 1
Caspari, Edouard
From EVD: 1906 Sep 11
To Cyprien Odilon Mailloux:
1895 Dec 12
Casselberry, Horace
To EVD: 1921 Oct 20, Nov 7
Cassidy, Edward F.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 5
Cassidy, F.J.
To EVD: 1918 Apr 14
Castleton, Samuel M
From TD: 1921 Mar 29
Castleton, Samuel M.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 11
From EVD: 1920 Sep(1), Oct 7,
1922 Apr 14
To TD: 1920 Feb 20, 26, Oct
22, 1921 Jul 29, Nov 21,
1922 Jan 3, 1944 Oct 16, 21, Nov
13, 24, Dec 9
From TD: 1920 Feb 5, Mar 12, Oct
15, 26, 30, 1921 Aug 6, 1936 Jan
21, 1944 Nov 14, 30, Dec 20
To ----- McKeen: 1945 Feb 13
Catholic Publishing Company
To TD: 1914 Jul 14
From TD: 1914 Jul 20
Century Publishing Company
From EVD: 1915 May 22
Cervenka, John A.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 1
Ceylon
1926 Jan 9
Challiss, R. Elmore
To EVD: 1921 Jun 15
Chamberlin, Peter
To EVD: 1901 Aug 11

Chanin, N.
To EVD: 1921 Sep 8
Chaplin, Edith
From EVD: 1922 Sep 13, 20,
27, 30, Oct 12, Nov 25, Dec
22, 1923 Apr 11, 28, 1924
Jun 30, 1925 Jan 5, Dec(1),
Dec 29
From Katherine Metzel Debs:
1925 Dec(1)
To TD: 1926 Oct(1)
Chaplin, Ivan
From EVD: 1922 Oct 12, Dec
22, 1925 Dec 29
To TD: 1926 Oct(1)
Chaplin, Ralph
To EVD: 1921 Sep 17, 1924 Dec
21, 1926 May 30
From EVD: 1923 Aug 6, 1924
Jun 16, 30, 1925 Jan 5, 27,
Mar 30, Jun 9, Sep 5, Oct
22, Dec(1), Dec 29, 1926 Feb
25, n.d.(1)
From Katherine Metzel Debs:
1925 Dec(1)
To TD: 1926 Oct(1), n.d.(1)
From TD: 1926 Feb 9
Chapman, -----
To TD: n.d.(1)
Chapple, Joe Mitchell
To EVD: 1918 Jan 8, 1925 Jul
13
To TD: 1916 Jan 26
From TD: 1916 Jan 28
Chatterton, George C.
Essay on Debs: 1923 Mar 2
To EVD: 1920 Sep 15, Nov 25,
Dec 25, 1921 Feb 3, Apr 13,
21, Nov(1), Nov 5, 24, 28
Chavarria, Cora Marie Arnold
To EVD: 1926 Oct 14
Checel?, H.
To TD: 1918 Mar 7
Chenery, William L.
To EVD: 1926 Jun 8
From TD: 1926 Jun 10
Cherdron, Eliza Taylor
To EVD: 1917 Feb 13, 1918 Jul
21, 1919 Mar 30, 1920 Oct
22, 1921 Jan 31, n.d.(1)
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1931
Nov 22, 1936 Jul 14, Dec 8
To TD: 1917 Feb 13, 1918 Jul
21, 1919 Mar 30, Sep 4, Nov
27, 1931 Nov 22, 1936 Jul

CHERDRON, cont. — CLARK, DAVID H.

14, Dec 8, 1942 Dec 25, 26,
1944 Dec 25, 1945 Mar 26
From TD: 1919 Sep 1, 25, 1936
Dec 8, 15, 1945 Jan 1
Chevaillier, Alzira A.
From TD: 1921 May 2
see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1)
Chevaillier, Faith
From Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1921
Apr 10
To EVD: 1921 Mar 28, 1923 Oct
28
To Katherine Metzger Debs:
1926 Oct 23
To TD: 1926 Oct 23
From TD: 1920 Apr 26, 1924
Mar 10, Aug 16, 1925 Dec 15,
1926 Feb 4
To Nobel Peace Prize
Committee: 1924 Mar 15
Chicago
1894 May 5, 9, Jul 2, 16,
24(2), Aug 22, Oct 3, 15, 28,
1895 Jan 30, Nov(1), 1896 Oct
12, 1897(1), 1900 Mar 1, Aug
17, 1902 Jul 10, 1903 Aug 22,
1904 Oct 31, 1908 Oct 29, 1909
Jan 12, Feb 2, May(1), 1910
Jan 27, 1911 May 4, Jun 3, 17,
Aug 18, Sep 25, Oct 3, 14,
1912 May 24, Jun 11, 20, 24,
Jul 22, 23, 27, Aug 19, 1913
Jan 25, Apr 8, Jun 14, 23,
Jul(1), Sep 20, 1914 Dec 23,
1915 Mar 13, May 18, 25, Jul
5, Nov 8, 13, Dec 9, 12, 13,
14, 23, 1916 Jan 17, Feb 17,
May 4, Jun 26, Aug 12, Aug,
31, 1917 Feb 12, 21, Mar 26,
Nov 2, 15, 19, 1918(1), 1918
Jan 6, 28, Feb 18, Mar 6, 10,
19, 22, Apr 12(2), 14, 18, Jun
5, Jul 15, 20, Aug 1, 22, 28,
Sep 13, Oct 14, 31, Nov 20,
1919 Feb 7, Mar 2, 19, Apr 29,
Oct 28, Nov 16, Dec 20, 21(2).
22, 26, 1920 Apr 13, Jun 15,
Aug 23, Sep 1, 25, 29, Oct 11,
20, 25, Nov 1, 13, Dec 2,
18(2), 20(2), 22, 27, 1921 Jan
22, Feb 1(3), Mar 21, 23(2),
28, Apr 4, 23, 26, May 25, Jun
6, 18, 24, Sep 30, Oct 11, 17,
Nov 1, 11(2), 25(2), 27,
1922(2), 1922 Jan 9, 30, Apr

16, Aug 3, Oct 30, Nov 28, Dec
18, 1923 Jan 18, Mar 5, 10,
Apr 16(2), 23, May 4, Jul 5,
Aug 14, 29, Sep 5, 22, Oct 13,
25, Nov 7, 8, 11, 1924 Dec 2,
May 24, Jul 30, Oct 9, 18,
1920 Oct 20, 1924 Oct 22, 1925
Feb(1), Mar 6, 30, Apr 6, 20,
May 7, 8, Jun 22, Jul 6, 15,
Aug 31, Sep 8, Dec 10, 21, 30,
1926 Jan 22, 26, Feb 11, 15,
Mar 12, May 15, 18, 20, 27,
Sep 8, 12, Oct 20, 21, 22, 23,
24, 25, 27(2), 29, Nov 12, 23,
Dec 6, 23, 1927 Jan 7, 27, Feb
7, 1928 Feb 16, 1927 Feb 16,
24, Apr 6, 12, May(1), Sep 10,
16, 29, Oct 1, 8, Nov 10, 1928
Apr 7, Jun 4, Dec 16, 1929 Dec
23, 1930 Sep 13, 1933 Sep 29,
1934 Feb 23, Mar 30, 1939 May
12, 1941 Sep 19, Dec 30, 1943
Jan 7, 29, Aug 4, 8, 1944 Jan
9, Mar 16, Oct 26, 27, 1945
Jan 12, n.d.(2)
Chicago Daily Socialist, Editor
From EVD: 1911 Sep 6
Childs, Elias A.
To EVD: 1920 Nov(1)
Chile
1921 Mar 26
Christensen, Parley P.
To EVD: 1924 Dec 2
see also EVD to TD, 1920(1)
Christine, Gertrude Burke
To TD: 1923 Dec 29, 1926 May
20, Oct 26, Dec 1
Citrine, Walter
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Claessens, August
To TD: 1928 Mar 9, 1941 Oct
30, 1942 May 1, Oct 3, 1943
Dec 28, Sep 7, Oct 7, 1944
May 19, Sep 12, 20, 1945 Jan
27
From TD: 1943 Sep 1, 1941 Oct
28, 1942 Oct(1), Oct 6, 1943
Sep 15, Dec 22
Clark, David H.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 26, 1921 Apr
22, May 25, Oct 7
To TD: 1920 Aug 5, 1921 Apr
30, Aug 5, 1926 Nov 16, 1927
Feb 13
From TD: 1921 Apr 5

CLARK, DAVID H. , cont. — COHEN, JOSEPH E.

From Louis Kopelin: 1921 May
26
Clark, E.E.
From EVD: 1891 Oct 30, Nov
17, Dec 30, 1892 Jan 13, Mar
14, Apr 7, Aug 15, Oct 10
Clark, Edward T.
To EVD: 1922 Jan 30, Feb 3
From Frank Putnam: 1925 Mar
9
Clark, Genevieve Bennett
To TD: 1921 Mar 24,
From TD: n.d.(1)
Clemens, Ruth M.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 28
Clenenger?, Belle
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1909
Jan 26, 1926 Oct 21
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Cleveland, Grover
To EVD: 1885 Sep 9, 1886 Sep
9
Clifford, Tom
To EVD: 1921 Jul 10
To TD: 1926 Nov 19
Cline, Charles
To EVD: 1915 Jul 2
Cline, E.M.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 21
Clippinger, Laura
To Debs Family: n.d.(1)
Clogston, C.W.
To EVD: 1914 Feb 19, 21
From EVD: 1914 Feb 21, 23
Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery
Workers Union
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Coburn, George Otis
To EVD: 1919 Dec 25
Cock, George B.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 7
Coffman, Waldo H.
To TD: 1926 Oct 20
Cohen, A.
To EVD: 1921 Sep 8
Cohen, B.
To TD: 1928 Nov 1, Dec 1
From TD: 1928 Nov 12
Cohen, George N.
To EVD: 1912 Jul 1
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
From TD: 1912 Jul 2
Cohen, I.?
To EVD: 1920 Oct 25

Cohen, Joseph E.
From Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1920
Jul 6
To EVD: 1919 Dec 11, 28, 1920
Feb 26, Mar 26, Jun 29, Sep
13, Nov 4, Dec 4, 20, 1921
Apr 29, Jul 28, Oct 1, Nov
11, Dec 1
From EVD: 1908 Jun 27, 30,
Aug 31, Oct 22, 1909 Feb 2,
8, 1912 Jan 5, Oct 1, 6, 14,
1918 Sep 20, 1919-1921(11),
1922 Sep 17, Oct 7, Dec 14,
1923 Aug 18, 1924 May 13,
Jun 24, 1925 Nov 4
To TD: 1919 Dec 28, 1920 Mar
26, Apr 10, Jun 28, Oct 18,
Dec 20, 1921 Feb 17, May 14,
Sep 15, Dec 1, 1923 Oct 16,
1926 Oct 18, 21, Nov 7, Dec
12, 25, 1927 Jan 30, Aug 8,
1928 Sep 17, 1931 Oct 14,
Nov 15, 1936 Jul 16, 1941
Mar 2, Sep 15, 1942 Jun 18,
Jul 13, 27, Sep 11, 23, 1943
Jul 16, Nov 22, 1944 Jan 19,
Feb 16, Mar 22, Apr 21, May
10, Aug 15, Sep 5, Nov 9,
Dec 4, 27, 1945 Jan 24, Mar
1, Apr 5
From TD: 1917 Nov 12, 24,
1919 May 19, Jun 21, Jul 20,
31, Aug 15, Nov 29, Dec 17,
1920 Mar 14, Apr 1, 21, 30,
May 22, Jun 7, 10, Jul 6,
Aug 27, Sep 28, Oct 23, Nov
12, Dec 17, 1921 Feb 11, May
10, Jul 27, Nov 21, 1922 Apr
12, Jul 8, Sep 18, Dec 1, 9,
14, 1923 Feb 19, 26, Mar 10,
May 29, Oct 9, 18, Nov 19,
23, Dec 21, 29, 1924 Feb 4,
18, 29, Apr 4, May 17, Jul
26, Aug 8, 30, Nov 20, 1925
Feb 18, Mar 4, Apr 14, 30,
Jun 13, Sep 11, 19, Nov 18,
27, Dec 2, 31, 1926 Jan 14,
Feb 11, 17, 22, Mar 20, Apr
7, May 6, 12, Jun 18, 23,
Jul 12, 29, Sep 16, Dec 18,
1927 Feb 5, Mar 19, May 20,
Jun 12, Jul 20, Aug 2, 23,
Oct 18, Nov 25, 1928 Feb 2,
28, May 15, Jul 13, Oct 10,

1929 Feb 15, Mar 28, Jun 9,
 Sep 13, Nov 15, 1930 Jan 28,
 Mar 27, May 27, Oct 4, Nov
 4, 1931 Jan 21, May 11, Sep
 2, Nov 21, 1932 Mar 22, May
 29, Dec 3, 1933 Jan 21, Mar
 11, 23, Aug 10, Dec 11, 1934
 Apr 9, Nov 8, Dec 13, 1935
 Mar 12, May 27, Sep 8, 1936
 Jan 16, Mar 12, Jul 2, Oct
 21, 31, Dec 7, 1937 Jan 5,
 Feb 27, Aug 4, Nov 15, 1938
 Jan 31, Apr 4, Jul 18, Oct
 26, 1939 Feb 4, May 17, Jul
 11, Nov 14, Dec 8, 1940 Feb
 8, Jun 27, Oct 22, Nov 25,
 1941 Feb 3, 23, 26, Mar 5,
 19, Jun 10, Jul 13, Oct 30,
 1942 Feb 13, Mar 6, Jun 13,
 Sep 26, 1943 Jul 1, Sep 22,
 Nov 18, 1944 Apr 12, Aug 22,
 Nov 24, Dec(1). 1945 Feb 23

Cohen, Max

To TD: 1926 Nov 6

Cohen, Maximilian

To EVD: 1919 Feb 28

Coldwell, Joseph M.

To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

To TD: 1944 Oct 15

From TD: 1943 Oct 20

Coleman, -----

To EVD: 1913 May 31

Coleman, Eugene Franklin

To EVD: 1921 May 5, Jul 10,
 n.d.(1)

Coleman, George A.

To EVD: 1921 May 5, Jul 10,
 n.d.(1)

Coleman, George D.

To TD: 1920 Jul 5

Coleman, McAlister

To TD: 1929 Dec 4, 1930 Jan
 8, 20, n.d.(1)

Coleman, Rose M.

To EVD: 1921 May 5, Jul 10,
 n.d.(1)

Collier, N.A.

From TD: 1943 Jan 15

Collins, W. Penn

To EVD: 1921 Mar 8

To Charles Bateman Timberlake:
 1921 Mar 8

Columbia

1921 Sep 4

Colorado

1899 Sep, 1902 Jun 5(2), Jul
 26, 1907 Sep 26, 1908 Sep 5, 6,
 Nov 30, Dec 4, 31, 1909 Jan
 26, Mar 19, Dec 7, 1913 Sep
 13, Oct 2, 11, 15, 20, Nov 1,
 3(2), 6, 7, 10, 12, 26, 27,
 Dec 26, 1914 Apr 18, Sep 8,
 Oct 8, Nov 5, Dec 31, 1915 Feb
 20, Aug 26, Oct 4, 16,
 1916 Jan 5, 1917
 Aug(1), Aug 4, 5, 20, 30, Sep
 14, 20, 21, Nov 12, 1918 Sep
 13, Nov 22, Dec 10, 1919 Nov
 29, Dec 19, 1920 Jan 23, Apr
 22, May 15, Sep 11, Dec 21,
 1921 Jan(1), Jan 7, Mar 5, 8,
 29, Nov 2, Dec 11, 1923 Oct 5,
 6, 8, 1926 Oct 1, 14, 18(2),
 21, 22(2), 24, Nov 30, 1927 Jan
 10, 1931 Dec 6, 12, 1936 Mar
 6, Apr 15, 1937 Mar 25, 1944
 Apr 25, Sep 7, 1945 Mar 28,
 n.d.(1)

Common, Russell

To EVD: 1920 Oct 12, 1921 Nov
 15, 16

"Comrade" (re: People's College)

From EVD: 1914 Jul 23

"Comrades Abroad"

From TD: 1933 Oct(1)

Conger, Josephine, see Kaneko,
 Josephine Conger

Conneaut (Ohio) News-Herald,
 Editor

From Tom Cullen: 1921 Sep 19

Connecticut

1908 Jul 24, Oct(1), Oct 9(2),
 1912 Oct 1, 1916 Jul 22, 1918
 Oct 24, Nov 26, 1919 Dec 16,
 22, 1920 Jan 2, Aug 18, Dec
 13, 20, 21, 25, 1921 Jan 13,
 Feb 16, 17, Jul 3, Aug 1,
 31(2), Sep 30, Nov 16, 1925
 Jan 4, Nov 25, 1926 Oct 23(2),
 Nov(1), 1929 Nov 6, 1938 Jan
 25, 1940 Dec 27, 1942 Dec 29

Conner, J. McArthur

To EVD: 1917 Mar 28

Cook, Walter M.

To EVD: 1920 May 13

To TD: 1920 May 13

Cook, -----

From TD: 1918 Jul 6

COOKE — CORNELISON

Cooke, Eva Bruce
To EVD: 1921 Nov 5

Coolidge, Calvin
To EVD: 1922 Jan 30

Coons, Julia C.
To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1920
Nov 11

Cooper, Andrew C.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 15
From TD: 1921 Nov 25

Cooper, John T.
To EVD: 1920 Mar 7, Nov 1,
Dec 21, 1921 Nov 4

Cooper, Marguerite Debs
From Edna B.: 1914 Jun 5
From Harriette E. Boyd: 1909
May(1)
To Ned A. Bush: 1943 Jan 14
From Ned A. Bush: 1943 Jan
29
To Anna Gulbrandsen Calvert:
1936 May 20
From Anna Gulbrandsen Calvert:
1936 Sep 18
To Bruce Calvert: 1936 May 20
From Josephine M. Costantino:
1943 Aug 30
To Kate Crane-Gartz: 1945 Mar
27
From EVD: 1905 Mar 21, Aug 8,
Jun 9, Sep 8, 24, Oct 11, 1906
Jan 22, 23, 1907(1). 1907
Nov 11, 1908 Jul(1), Sep 12,
Oct 6, 1909 Jul 21, Aug 2,
Oct 27, 29, 1913 Oct(3), Nov
1, 3, 1917 Aug 20, 1919 May
27, 1923 Nov 6
From Gertrude Toy Debs: 1908
Oct 23, n.d.(1)
From Katherine Metzger Debs:
1906 Jul 30, 1908 Jul(1)
To Marguerite Bettrich Debs:
1902 Jul 10, Oct(1)
To TD: 1926 Oct 10
From TD: 1908 Aug 31, Sep 2,
3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 14(3),
24, 28, 29, 30, Oct(1). Oct
1, 3, 7(2), 10, 11(2), 19,
21, 29, 30, 1912 Aug 27, Sep
1, 3, Oct 8, 27, Nov 2, 1914
Feb 28, May 23, 1920 Jan 2,
1921 Feb 5, Mar 18, Apr 10,
May 26, Dec 24, 1923 Aug 28,
1924 Jan 12, Nov 12, 1925
May 25, Jun 9, Jul 28, Aug
19, Nov 30, 1926 Apr 20,
1927 May 25, 1928 Aug 28,
1929 May 23, 1931 Aug 28,
To George Derby: 1937 Mar 30,
Apr 15
From George Derby: 1937 Mar
23, Apr 9
To Marie Debs Heinl: 1903 Aug
22
To John W. Herring: 1932 Jul
5
To Paul J. Hines: 1943 Jan
12, 1945 Mar 24
To David Karsner: 1923 Jan 18
To Marie Scheurer Koenig: 1937
Jun 7
From Marie Scheurer Koenig:
1933 Jun 25, 1936 Oct 21
From Emma F. Langdon: 1908
Dec 31, 1909 Mar 19
To Frank P. MacDonald: 1934
Mar 29
From Emily Debs Mailloux:
1900 Aug 3, Sep 3
From Arthur Michel: 1904
Aug(1), 1908 Feb 27
From Louise Debs Michel: 1904
Aug(1), 1907 Jun 13, 1909
Aug 2
To Robert Parker: 1941 Nov 23
From William Wood Parsons:
1923 Jan 1
From Frank Roderus: 1906 Jan
30
From Howard Debs Selby: 1909
Jul 20, 21
From Seymour Stedman: 1908 Jul
2
From Hattie Stevens: 1908 Oct
28
To Irving Stone: 1945 Jan 8
From Unidentified
Correspondents: 1907 Aug 16,
1909 Feb 2, n.d.(1)
From Sadie M. Walling: 1908
Oct 28, 1909 Jul 19,
n.d.(1)

Copas, Daniel M.
To EVD: 1921 Oct 19

Copeland, William M.
To EVD: 1913 Jan 25

Cordray, C.H.
To EVD: 1917 Apr 14

Cornelison, M.K.
To EVD: 1921 Jul 24

CORSON — CURRY, MABEL DUNLAP

Corson, Cora Youngblood
 To TD: 1917 Oct 3
 From TD: 1917 Sep 5

Cosgrave, J.O.H.
 To John Alfred Avirette: 1920
 Nov 20

Costantino, Josephine M.
 To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1943 Aug 30
 To TD: 1943 Aug 30
 To Robert D. Heinl: 1943 Jan
 12, Apr 30

Cottrell, Victor May
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 28, 29, Apr
 19, May 13
 To TD: 1921 May 2

Coudrey, P.
 To EVD: 1915 Dec 28

Coutts, David
 To EVD: 1920 Apr 14

Coves, Alex
 To EVD: 1918 Apr 1

Coward, -----
 From TD: 1919 Jun 7

Cowley, Bernice
 To EVD: 1921 Jan(1)

Coyle, Albert F.
 To EVD: 1923 Apr 10
 To TD: 1924 Oct 24

Crane-Gartz, Kate
 From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1945 Mar 27
 To EVD: 1921 Feb 25
 To Katherine Metzel Debs:
 1926 Oct 21
 To TD: 1924 Jun 1, 7,
 1929 Mar 3, 1934
 Feb 15, 1943 Jan 1, Dec 18,
 1945 Mar 31, n.d.(4)
 From TD: 1926 Oct(1), 1927
 Feb 7, 1928 Apr 27, Dec
 10, 1931 Jan 4,
 1934 Jan 1, Feb 24, 1936 Jan
 3, Dec 29, 1941 Aug 13, 1944
 Feb 24, 1945 Mar 2

Crawford, Mary Sinclair
 To EVD: 1926 Apr 14
 To Katherine Metzel Debs:
 1926 Apr 14

Crawford, Ruth
 To TD: 1926 Aug 27, Oct 25,
 1927 Jul 7

Creel, H.G.
 From EVD: 1912 Feb 24

Creviston, Russell
 To EVD: 1925 Jan 19

Crider, Dan C., Jr.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 25

Crosswaith, Frank R.
 To EVD: 1926 Jul 15

Crouch-Hazlett, Ida
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Cullen, Tom
 To Conneaut News-Herald,
 Editor: 1921 Sep 19
 To EVD: 1921 Sep 19

Cullum, W.B.
 To EVD: 1912 Jul 28
 From EVD: 1912 Jul 29

Cummings, L.E.
 From EVD: 1924 Dec 27
 From Katherine Metzel Debs:
 1924 Dec 27

Cummings, Mary Vincent, see
 Vincent, Mary

Cunnea, William
 To EVD: n.d.(1)

Cunnea, William A.
 To EVD: 1912 Jun 11

Curley, Jack
see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1)

Curry, Harriet
 To EVD: 1921 Aug 4

Curry, Harriet, see Oleson,
 Harriet Curry

Curry, Mabel Dunlap
 From John P. Breigh: 1921 Mar
 1, Jul 8
 To Witter Bynner: 1921 Aug 10,
 Dec 2
 From Witter Bynner: 1921 Oct
 4
 To Faith Chevallier: 1921 Apr
 10
 To Joseph E. Cohen: 1920 Jul
 6
 To EVD: 1921 Apr 11
 From EVD: 1917 Aug(5),
 Sep(1), 1919-1921(34), 1919
 Oct 28, 1920(18), 1920 Jun
 15, Oct 19, Nov 25, Dec 30,
 1920(14), 1921 Jan 17, Mar
 28, May 2, 9, Jun 4, 8, 14,
 Aug 2, 24, Oct 25(2), Nov
 11, 22, 1922(8). 1922 Sep
 14, Nov(1), Nov 5, 6, 8,
 1923 May 25, 30, Jun 1,
 1925(2), 1925 Apr 29, 30,
 n.d.(35)
 To TD: 1926 Nov 12, 1927 Nov

CURRY, MABEL DUNLAP, cont. — DEBS, EUGENE V.

8, 1944 Jan 30, n.d.(1)
From TD: 1944(1), 1945 Feb
17
To David Karsner: 1919 Sep 7,
1920 Jan 15, Aug 29, Nov 4,
1921 Apr 4, May 29, 1922 Sep
14
To Lucy Robins: 1920 Jul 5,
31, Aug 15, Oct 6, 21, Nov
9, 27, 1921 Jan 2
To Upton Sinclair: 1920 Feb
16, Jun 10, Nov 7, 28, Dec
7
Curtis, Beatrice
To EVD: 1920 Oct 30
Cuthbertson, John
To TD: 1926 Nov 1
Cutler, Louis
To TD: 1926 Nov 4

Damm, Peter
To EVD: 1905 Apr 16
From EVD: 1905 Apr 22
Darrah, Mrs. L.A.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 12
Darrow, Clarence
To EVD: 1907 Nov(1), 1913 Jun
14, 1918 Jul 20, 1920 Jan
14, n.d.(1)
From EVD: 1912 Feb 19, 1925
Jun 4
To Katherine Metzel Debs:
1926 Nov 5
To TD: 1926 May 15, Nov 5
To Blanche Watson: 1926 May
10
see also EVD to TD, 1920(1)
Daugherty, Harry L.
From W.H. Bennington: 1920
Mar 23
From John Yearwood: 1921 Oct 13
David, Abner L.
To EVD: 1898 Mar 1
Davidson, Emma
To EVD: 1921 Feb 15
Davidson, W.M.
To TD: 1924 Mar 29
Davis, Earl C.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 4
Davis, Margaret Hall
To TD: 1926 Oct 30
Davis, Mary O.
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1903
May 13

Davis, Mrs. C.E.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 7
Dayton Local, Socialist Party
To Katherine Metzel Debs:
1922 Jan 14
De Jong, Mauritz
To EVD: 1915 Dec 23
De Witt, Samuel A.
To TD: 1927 May 6
From TD: 1927 May 25
DeWolf, Susana
To EVD: 1920 Nov 5, 1921 Oct
5
To TD: 1920 Nov 21
Deacon, Susan A.
To TD: 1926 Oct 29
Debs, Eugene V.
Agreement 1895 Sep 4
Inscription 1901 Jul 20
To TD: 1874 Oct 8, 1876 Jan
27, 1877 Sep 14, 1894 Jan 8,
1895 Jun 16, 18, 27, Jul 3, 8,
10, 11, Aug 8, 13, 16, Sep
10(2), Oct 11, 23, 25, 28,
29, Nov 4, 5, 10, 15, 17,
1896 Jan 9, 1900 Nov 9, 1902
Feb 2, Jun 5, 14, Jul 15,
1906 Apr 29, 1907 May 14,
1908(1), 1908 Jan 28, 29,
30, Mar 23, Apr 26, May 14,
17, Aug 15, 19, 20, 1909 Feb
24, Aug 20, Dec 4, 1910 Feb
13, Apr 4, May 8, Oct 22, 31,
Nov 1, Dec 24(2), 1911 Jan 1,
1912 Mar 21, Apr 21, 26, 27,
May 18, 22, 1913(1), 1913
May 17, 18, 23, Sep(1), Sep
24, Oct(1), Oct 2, 11, 15,
16, 20, 22, 26, 30, Nov 3,
6, 7, 10, 12, 26, 1914 Sep
26, 1915 Jan 14, 1916 Mar
12, 1917 Mar 3, 7(2), May 8,
Jul 11, 18, Aug 4, 5, 11,
12, 17, 30, Sep 20, 1918 Nov
24, Dec 6, 1919-1921(33).
1919(2), 1919 Feb 17, Mar
23, Apr(1). Apr 16, 21, 22,
28, Jun 4, 7, 10, 11, Jul 3,
Sep 8, Nov 27, Dec(1), Dec
1, 1920(6). 1920 Apr 1,
May(1), May 23(2), Jun(1),
Jun 1, 15, Jul(1), Jul 5,
11, 29, 31, Aug 26, Sep
4(2), 11, 20(2), 23, Oct(3),
Oct 10, Nov(1), Nov 25,

DEBS, EUGENE V., cont. — DEBS, JEAN DANIEL

Dec(2), Dec 3, 4, 20,
 1921(7), 1921 Jan 12, Feb 7,
 Mar 21, Apr 7, 26, May(1),
 May 10, 15, 17, Jul 22,
 Aug(2), Sep(1), Sep 16, Oct
 12, 13, 18(2), 20, 22, 25,
 27, Nov 5, 14, 15(2), 18,
 21, 27, Dec 4, 15, 19, 20,
 1922 Jul(2), Jul 25, Aug 3,
 5, 12, 22, Sep(1), Oct 17,
 29, Nov 5, 7, 1923 Mar 5,
 16, Apr 16, May 14, 17, Jun
 21, Sep 5, 8, 10, 11, 13,
 14, 21, 30, 1924(1), 1924
 Jun 10, 23, 30, Jul(1), Jul
 5, Aug(1), Aug 2, 5, 7, 11,
 20, 1925 Oct 17, 1926 Mar
 31, Apr 2, 5, Jul 24,
 n.d.(12)

Debs, Emily ("Emma"), see
 Mailloux, Emily Debs

Debs, Eugenie ("Jenny"), see
 Selby, Eugenie Debs

Debs, Gertrude Toy

From Mrs. M.E. Blaylock: 1926
 Nov 16

From Harry Boardman: 1926 Oct
 21

From Harriette E. Boyd: 1908
 Oct 29

To George D. Brewer: n.d.(1)

To Grace D. Brewer: n.d.(1)

From Anna Gulbrandsen Calvert:
 1944 Feb 10

From Eliza Taylor Cherdron:
 1931 Nov 22, 1936 Jul 14,
 Dec 8

To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1908 Oct 23, n.d.(1)

From EVD: 1892 Nov 3, 1908
 Jun 4, Aug 20, Sep 14

From TD: 1908 Sep 2, 14, 19,
 26, 30, Oct 7(2), 9, 1921
 Dec 22(2). 24, 1932 Aug 1,
 20

From Georgie Eckert: 1908 Oct
 31

From Edmund H. Eitel: 1915
 Oct 14

From Rosalie Goodyear: 1926
 Oct 20

To Vera Hillquit: 1933 Oct 8

From J.H. Hollingsworth: 1937
 Dec(1)

From Florence Hall
 Kirkpatrick: 1937 Mar 18

From George R. Kirkpatrick:
 1930 Aug 10

From Agatha Lynch: n.d.(1)

To Maurer Family: 1944 Mar 28

From Louise Debs Michel: 1907
 Jun 11

From Hervey W. Minns: 1921
 Aug 1

From Zadie M. Neal: 1941 Nov
 15

From Gertrude Panshow: 1908
 Dec 29

From Readings?: 1903 May 25

From Riley, James Whitcomb:
 1915 Oct 14

From "Rody": 1908(1)

From Mary E. Sant?: 1926
 Oct(1)

From Howard Debs Selby: 1909
 Jul 4

From Irene Stedman: 1903 Sep
 8

From Seymour Stedman: 1903 Sep
 8, 12

From Hattie Stevens: 1908 Nov
 4

From Kate Thompson Tilton:
 1926 Oct 21

From R.W. Thompson: 1926 Oct
 21

From Edward Toy: 1926 Oct 22

From Mrs. S.J. Toy: n.d.(1)

From Ranita Toy: 1926 Oct 22

From Unidentified
 Correspondents: 1908 Aug 30

From Sadie M. Walling:
 n.d.(1)

From Pearl M. Wright: 1926
 Nov 6

Debs, Jean Daniel

From EVD: 1874 Sep 29, 1894
 Jul 16, 24, 1895(1), 1895
 Jan 14, Mar 22, Sep 8, 1896
 May 29, Oct 12, 1897 Feb 16,
 1899 Dec 2, 1902 Jul 26, Nov 5,
 Dec 2, 14, 1904 Sep 12, 22(2),
 25, 1905 May 25, Sep 4, Nov
 4

From Marie Marguerite
 Schillinger Debs: 1834 Jun
 6, Jul 26, 1835 Jun 5

From Mrs. S.M. Heminway: 1889

DEBS, JEAN DANIEL, cont. — DEBS, KATHERINE METZEL

May 30
From Mrs. Theo. Hulman: 1903
May 3
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1888
Mar 12, 1895 Oct 6, 1896 Jul
8, n.d.(1)
From S.J. Toy: 1899 Sep 26
Debs, Katherine Metzels
From Augusta Alick: 1922 Feb 9
From Abraham Baroff: 1926 Oct
21
From A.C. Barrett: 1926 Oct
29
From Oscar Baur: 1928 Jan 26
From Guy Bogart: 1926 Oct 22
From Charles Bonsall: 1926 Oct
24
To Claude G. Bowers: 1915 Oct
2
To Sybil McCaslin Bowers: 1915
Oct 2
To George D. Brewer: 1924
Dec(1), 1925 Dec(1), 1926
Dec 29
To Grace D. Brewer: 1910 Oct
11, 1911 Jun 1, Nov 10, 1921
Mar 4, 1924 Dec(1), 1925
Dec(1), 1926 Dec 29, 1927
Nov 15, 1928 Jan 18
From S.J. Brown?: 1926 Nov 8
From Elizabeth Burbank: 1926
Oct(1)
From Phil Callery: 1926 Oct
23
To Edith Chaplin: 1925 Dec(1)
To Ralph Chaplin: 1925 Dec(1)
From Faith Chevallier: 1926
Oct 23
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1906 Jul 30, 1908 Jul(1)
From Kate Crane-Gartz: 1926 Oct 21
From Mary Sinclair Crawford:
1926 Apr 14
To L.E. Cummings: 1924 Dec
27
To Mary Cummings: 1924 Dec 27
From Clarence Darrow: 1926 Nov
5
From Dayton Local, Socialist
Party: 1922 Jan 14
To EVD: 1919 Dec 25
From EVD: 1907 Jun 9, 1908
Apr 18, 1910 Feb 19, 1918
Jan 12, 1921 Dec 25, 27,
n.d.(1)
To TD: 1926 Nov 12
From TD: 1926 Nov 9, 1927 Jan 7,
1929 Feb 5
From Hannah Engelking: 1926
Oct 21
From Della M. Fanner: 1926 Oct
24
To Adolph F. Germer: 1902 Jan
14
From Rosalie Goodyear: 1931
Jan 30
From Percy Head: 1926 Oct 21
To Morris Hillquit: 1929 Jul
27
To George Graham Holloway:
1931 Jan 20
To Robert G. Ingersoll:
n.d.(1)
From International Bakery and
Confectionary Workers: 1926
Oct 22
From International Ladies
Garment Workers Union: 1926
Oct 21
To David Karsner: 1919 Jun 22,
Dec(1), 1920 Jan 10, 16, May
17, 30, Oct 23, 29, 1921 Oct
23, 1927 Mar 13, 30
To William B. Kilpatrick:
1920 Jan 20
From Phillip Kleinberg: 1926
Oct 22
To Ruth Le Prade: 1924
Dec(1)
From Louis Leon Ludlow: 1926
Oct 21
From Edgar Lee Masters: 1926
Nov 13
From Louis Mayer: 1926 Oct 24
From H.M. Merrill: 1926 Oct
28
From Samuel Moore: 1926 Oct
21
From Jacob Mueller: 1926 Oct
21
From Carl C. Nelson: 1926 Oct
25
To Frank P. O'Hare: 1922 Jan
14
From Frank P. O'Hare: 1921 Nov
18
From Kate Richards O'Hare:
1921 Nov 17
To Kate Richards O'Hare: 1921
Oct 14, 17, 29, Dec 7, 9,

DEBS, KATHERINE METZEL, cont. — DILLS, IRMA?

1922 Jan 14, May 25
 From Lincoln Phifer: 1926 Oct 21
 From Mrs. Carl Piltz: 1926 Oct 24
 From C.L. Pixley: 1926 Oct 24
 From Herman Rahm: 1926 Oct 23
 To Stephen Marion Reynolds: 1919 Jul 26
 To James Whitcomb Riley: 1910 Aug 12
 From Schenectady Trades Assembly: 1926 Oct 28
 From Morris Sigman: 1926 Oct 21
 From Socialist Party, Boro Park Branch: 1926 Oct 22
 From Staunton, Illinois Local, Socialist Party: 1926 Oct 23
 To Anne Montgomerie Traubel: 1927 Dec(1)
 From Ethel Truman: 1926 Oct(1)
 To William J. Van Essen: 1930 Aug 12
 From William J. Van Essen: 1930 Aug 5
 From Anna Strunsky Walling: 1926 Oct 23
 From Edward H. Wannemacher: 1926 Oct 21
 To James Peter Warbasse: 1921 Jan 5
 To Fred D. Warren: 1910 Aug 1, 2
 From Workmen's Circle, Branch 112: 1926 Oct 22
 From Pearl M. Wright: 1926 Nov 6
 Debs, Louise, see Michel, Louise Debs
 Debs, Marie, see Heinl, Marie Debs
 Debs, Marguerite Bettrich
 From Mrs. S.M. Heminway: 1889 May 30
 From Marguerite Debs Cooper: 1902 Jul 10, Oct(1)
 From EVD: 1894 Jul 16, 24, 1895 Mar 22, 1896 May 29, Oct 12, 1897 Feb 16, 1899 Dec 2, 1902 Jul 26, Nov 5, Dec 14, 1904 Sep 12, 22(2), 25, Oct 3, 1905 Mar 7, May 25, Sep 4, Nov 4
 From Mrs. Theo. Hulman: 1903 May 3
 From S.J. Toy: 1899 Sep 26
 Debs, Marguerite Toy, see Cooper, Marguerite Debs
 Debs, Marie Marguerite Schillinger
 To Jean Daniel Debs: 1834 Jun 6, Jul 26, 1835 Jun 5
 Debs, Theodore
 To EVD: 1919 Apr 14, 1920 Oct 20, 1924 Aug 8
 Debs Memorial Radio Fund
 To TD: 1928 Feb 29,
 Debs Publishing Company
 To Adolph F. Germer: 1901 Mar 8
 From R. Lee Guard: 1901 Oct 1
Decatur Herald, Editor
 From John W. Knowlton: 1926 Oct 21
 Deitrick, James
 To EVD: 1921 Feb 1
 Delaware
 1926 Oct 21, 1927 Aug 8, 1936 Jul 16
 Denton, May C.
 From TD: 1921 Apr 28
 Derby, George
 To Marguerite Debs Cooper: 1937 Mar 23, Apr 9
 From Marguerite Debs Cooper: 1937 Mar 30, Apr 15
 Dertinger, F.A.
 To EVD: 1912 Jun 12
 Detroit Federation of Labor
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 22
 Deuth, Wandeyne
 To EVD: 1920 Feb 1
 Devine, Thomas C.
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 29
 Dexter, Caroline
 To EVD: 1919 Nov 9
 To TD: 1919 Dec 4
 From TD: 1919 Dec 12
 Dezmaine, Vaudiene
 To TD: 1944 Oct 7
 Diamond, Joseph
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 26
 Dickey, John M.
 From Katherine Metzels Debs: 1902 Dec 31
 Dickinson, Frances
 From TD: 1927 Jul 2
 Dietz, D.S.
 To EVD: 1913 Jul(1)
 Dills, Irma?

DILLS, IRMA?, cont. — EGAN

To EVD: 1921 Nov 2
Dills, Park
To EVD: 1921 Nov 2
Dodge, B.W., and Co.
From EVD: 1908 Oct 15
Dodge, J.M.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Dodge, R.V.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Donnelly, Ignatius
From EVD: 1898 Aug 17
Donovan, Mary
To TD: 1924 Nov 14, 1926 Jun
22, Oct 21
From TD: 1932 Dec 19
Dorn, Max
To TD: 1926 Oct 25
Dorsey, Mr. and Mrs. J.E.
To TD: 1926 Oct 23
Douglas, David J.
From EVD: 1919 Jun 10(2)
Douglas, Walter A.
To EVD: 1921 Jul 30, Aug 21,
1922 May 10
To TD: 1927 Mar 20
Dow, Katheryne Dana
To EVD: 1921 Nov 13
Doyle, J.H.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 7, Dec 4
To TD: 1921 Nov 29
Drake, Charles Francis
To TD: 1943 Aug 4
From TD: 1922 Jan 26, 1933
Oct(1)
Drake, Charles L.
To TD: 1919 Apr 29
Dreifuss, Adolph
To EVD: 1915 Dec 14
Dreifuss, Kurt
To TD: 1941 Dec 30, 1944 Oct
26
Dreiser, Theodore
To EVD: 1922 Oct 17, Dec 26
From EVD: 1922 Oct 14, 20,
Dec 21, 1923 Jan 11
Driscoll, James
To EVD: 1922 Apr 5
From EVD: 1922 Apr 7
Dryden, Mrs. C.H.
To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
Dudenhofer, P.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 5
Dunbar, Blanche
To EVD: 1921 Nov 8

Dunbar, Robin
To EVD: 1921 Nov 8
Duncan, Lewis J.
To TD: 1926 Oct 19
Dunne, Finley Peter
From EVD: n.d.(1)
From Robert Hunter: n.d.(1)
From Mary Harris Jones:
n.d.(1)
Dworks, Annie
To EVD: 1921 Jun 6
Dwyer, L.
To Duncan McDonald: 1915 Dec
31
Dyche, Eugene
From TD: 1926 May 22
Dyche, J.E.
From EVD: 1921 Jan 16
Dykaar, Moses W.
To TD: 1926 Mar 12
From TD: 1929 Jun 11
Dykaar, Mrs. Moses W.
From TD: 1933 Mar 16

Eastman, Max
To EVD: 1915 Dec 8
Easton, Christopher
To EVD: 1920 Feb 12
Eastwood, Rubie
To EVD: 1920 Dec 27
Ebert, Justus
To EVD: 1918 Feb 13
Eckert, Georgie
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1908
Oct 31
Edelman, Oscar K.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 4
From EVD: 1922 Dec 29, 1924
Dec(1), 1925 Dec(1)
From TD: 1923 May 31, Dec 26
Edens, W.G.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Edlin, William
From EVD: 1901 Jul 17
Edwards, Miss
see also EVD to TD, 1921(1)
Edwards, A.S.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 3, 1925 Sep
4
To TD: 1917 Dec 19
Edwards, John
From EVD: 1918 Jul 9
Egan, George W.

To EVD: 1920 Apr 2, May 14
 Ehrenborg, Cecil
 To TD: 1942 Dec 21
 Ehrenreich, H.
 To EVD: 1918 Apr 10
 Ehrmann, Max
 To EVD: 1906 Nov 29
 From EVD: 1905 Dec 23, 1906
 Jul 17, Dec 14, 1907 Aug 13,
 1908 Apr 16, Sep(1), 1910
 Feb 15, Jul 26, Nov 16, Dec 3,
 1913, Mar 18, Apr 3, Dec 15, 1914
 Nov 20, Dec 29, 1915 Mar 11,
 May 22, Jul 2, 27, Nov 20,
 1916 Jan 21, Jul 13, 1917
 Mar 10, Dec 13, 29, 1918 Jan
 26, Apr 27, 30, n.d.(1)
 To TD: 1916 Jan 3
 From TD: 1910 Nov 19, 1911 Aug 8
 Eitel, Edmund H.
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1915
 Oct 14
 To TD: 1911 Aug 11, 1915 Oct 14
 Elliott, Francis Marshall
 To EVD: 1914 Jun 2, Dec 5,
 21, 1915 Mar 12, Dec 20,
 n.d.(1)
 To TD: 1913 Jan 21, Dec 25,
 1914 Feb 4, 12, Jun 2, Dec
 5, 21, 1915 Mar 2, Dec 20
 Elliott, John B.
 To TD: 1916 Feb 1
 Elliott, Maybelle Reichert
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 22
 To TD: 1942 Dec 19
 Ellis, Clara Spalding
 From EVD: 1904 Feb 6
 Ely, Richard T.
 To EVD: 1903 Apr 24
 From EVD: 1903 Apr 29
 Emmett, Robert
 To EVD: 1920 May 14
 Emmons, Earl H.
 From EVD: n.d.(1)
 From TD: 1915 Dec 18
 Engdahl, J. Louis
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 9, 16
 To TD: 1921 Nov 4
 From TD: 1922 Aug 9
 Engelking, Hannah
 To Katherine Metzger Debs:
 1926 Oct 21
 Engisch, William George
 To EVD: 1915 Dec 23
 England
 1911 Mar 23, 1919 Aug 14, Nov
 5, 1921 Dec 28, 1922 Jan 17,
 27, May 12, 1923 Apr 13, May
 3, 1924 Dec 29, 1925 Nov 27,
 1926 Feb 5, Mar 18, Oct 22,
 23, Nov 22, 1944 Feb 21
 England, George Allan
 To EVD: 1909 Jun 7, 1913 Jul
 9, 15
 To TD: 1913 Jul 14, 1926 Oct
 23
 Engle, Perry
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 10
 Ennis, Charles T.
 To EVD: 1926 Oct 15
 Ervin, Charles W.
 From EVD: 1907 Nov 25, Dec 7,
 20, 21, 1908 Feb 8, Mar 2,
 7, 14, May 26, 1909 Jul 16,
 1922 Dec 18
 To TD: 1920 Nov 28, 1921 Aug
 17, 1926 Oct 21
 From TD: 1910 Feb 26, 1920
 Apr(1), 1922 May 15, n.d.(1)
 Eskin, Harry
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 1
 Estes, -----
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
 Evans, John
 To TD: 1909 Jul 29
 Evans, M.M.
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
 To TD: 1919-1921(1)
Evening Public Ledger
 From James Oneal: 1926 Dec 18
 Extract, Morris
 To TD: 1941 Feb 14
 Fagin, Ella Woodward
 To TD: 1915 Jan 20
 From TD: 1915 Jan 29
 Fagin, Harry L.
 To TD: 1915 Jan 21
 From TD: 1915 Jan 29
 Falconer, George N.
 To EVD: 1918 Dec 10
 1919-1921(1), 1920 Aug 8,
 Sep 12
 Fanner, Della M.
 To Katherine Metzger Debs:
 1926 Oct 24
 Farley, F.S.

FARLEY, cont. — FOWLER

To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
Farr, Albert
To EVD: 1921 Nov 11
Farrell, Clinton Pinckney
From EVD: 1900 Feb 27, 1903
Aug 11
Faulkner, C. Fenno
To EVD: 1915 Dec 20
Fawcett, Claire Hallard
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Fawcett, Clara Hallard
To EVD: 1919 Dec(1)
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Fawcett, James Waldo
To EVD: 1919 Dec(1), 1925 Jul
6
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Fay, H.B.
From EVD: 1897 Jul 20
Feigenbaum, William Morris
To EVD: 1921 Jul 27, Oct 4,
1926 Sep(1), Oct 6, 19
To TD: 1926 Oct 21, 24, Nov
5, 1933 Mar 20, 1942 Oct(1),
1944 Sep 26
From TD: 1923 Aug 24, 1926
Nov 3, 1933 Mar 22
Feldman, Joyce
To EVD: 1920 Oct 27
Fenimore, Roger W.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 13
Ferguson, E.A.
To EVD: 1920 Jun 6
Ferguson, Miriam A.
From EVD: 1925 Feb 2
From Harry Weinberger: 1925
Jan 29
Ferte, Emile Pierre
To TD: n.d.(1)
Field, Eugene
To EVD: 1893(3)
Field, George
To EVD: 1920 Dec 24
Fieldman, Sol
To EVD: 1914 Jul 17
Filbeck, Nicholas
From EVD: 1879 Sep 18
Finkelstein, Max
To EVD: 1920 Nov 5
Finn, Joseph R.
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Firth, Edwin
To EVD: 1919 Mar 2
Fischer, Isidore
From EVD: 1924 Oct 8
Flandreaux, Ethel
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1921
Nov 28
Floaten, A.H.
To TD: 1926 Oct 26
Florida
1917 Dec 27, 1920 May 30, Nov
11, 1921 Jan 30, Jul 17, 1926
Jul 1, Oct 21, 25, 1935 Dec
12, 1938 Dec 9, 1944 Dec 15
Flower, Donald M.
To TD: 1926 Nov 22
Flower, J. Howard
To EVD: 1921 Feb 5
To TD: 1920 Oct 26
Flower, Linda Lovering
To TD: 1926 Nov 26
Flude, Alfred L.
To TD: 1911 May 4
Flury, Henry
To TD: 1932 Nov 5
From TD: 1932 Dec 16
Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley
To EVD: 1915 Aug 18, 22, 1920
Dec 25, 1926 Sep 8
From EVD: 1915 Aug 20
To TD: 1941 Jul 30
Folan, James
To EVD: 1920 Aug 28
Foote, Georgia Northrup
To EVD: 1919 Dec 18
Foreign Language Federation
To EVD: 1915 Dec 14
Forgrave, J.S.
To EVD: 1914 Aug 22
Forsyth, Nellie May
To EVD: 1924 Dec 29
Forward (Jewish Daily)
To EVD: 1926 Sep 25, 1925
Feb 28
Foster, J.P.
To EVD: 1920 Jan 1
Foster, L.W.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Foster, William Z.
To EVD: 1923 Aug 29, Sep 5,
22, Oct 25, Nov 7, 1924 Jul
30
From EVD: 1923 Sep 12, Oct 8,
Nov 8
To Morris Sigman: 1923 Oct 25
Foulkes, George C.
From TD: 1926 Jul 30
Fowler, Margaret
To EVD: 1920 Mar 28

Fraenkel, Gustave J.
 To EVD: 1912 Jun(1)

Fraina, Louis C.
 To EVD: 1919 Mar 6

Frampton, Albert S., Jr.
 To TD: 1941 Sep 19

France
 1834 Jun 6, Jul 26, 1835 Jun 5, 1882 Dec 8, 1884 Mar 23, 1893 Jul 21, 1895 Dec 12, 1900 Dec 20, 1913 Apr 28, 1914 Jan 25, 1919 Apr 24, 1920 Jul 26, Aug 22, 1924 Apr 7, 1925 Aug 26, 1926 Nov 13, 1928 Apr 3, 1933 Jun 25, 1936 Oct 21, 1944 Jun 29, Nov 14, 1945 Feb 18, 20

Frank, Glenn
 To EVD: 1922 Apr 3, 1925 Apr 2

Freeman, Rose Florence
 From EVD: 1918 Oct 11

Freilicoff, Morris
 To EVD: 1921 Aug 30

French, William E.P.
 To EVD: 1907 Oct 21, 1921 Mar 25
 To TD: 1910 Jul 16

Friebert, Joe
 To EVD: 1921 Jun 26

Friederich, Hector L.
 To EVD: 1921 Oct 31

Friedman, Mollie
 To EVD: 1925 Apr 6

Friedman, Samuel H.
 To TD: 1943 Sep 12
 From TD: 1943 Dec 10

Fries, Addie Davis
 To EVD: 1919 Nov 2

Fuhrberg, H.O.
 From EVD: 1925 Nov 2
 To TD: 1926 Nov(1), Nov 5, 1941 May(1), 1944 Dec 14

Fuller, Mr. and Mrs. S.A.
 To EVD: 1920 Apr 18

Gable, George P.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Gable, Robert B.
 To TD: 1921 Dec 17
 From TD: 1921 Dec 5

Gable, William F.
 From EVD: 1909 Jan 7, Apr 21, Oct 25, 28, 1912 Jun 1, 1917 Dec 8, 1919 Jan 2

To TD: 1909 Nov 23, 1910 Apr 20, 28, 1917 Mar 7, n.d.(2),
 From TD: 1909 Dec 7, 1910 Mar 21, May 3, 1911 Apr 26, 1917 Mar 9, 1918 Jul 19

Gaerity, Jack Britt
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Gahan, John A.
 To EVD: 1919 Nov 7, 1925 Mar 30

Gale, Linn A.E.
 To EVD: 1919 Oct 31
 To TD: 1926 Dec 5

Gallagher, J.J.
 To EVD: 1913 Aug 22

Gandhi, Mohandas K.
 To Blanche Watson: 1927 Feb 10

Gannon, Fritz
 To EVD: 1919 May 2, n.d.(1)
 To TD: Oct 21

Gardner, H.
 To EVD: 1921 Jul 17

Gardner, Helen
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 21, 1921 Jul 27, Nov 21
 To TD: 1926 Oct 19, Nov 2, 1933 Dec 28
 From TD: 1931 Jan 9

Gardner, Helene
 From TD: 1924 Jan 11

Gardner, W.J.
 To TD: 1926 Nov 15

Garrison, S.C.
 To EVD: 1916 Jan 17

Gartz, Kate Crane, see
 Crane-Gartz, Kate

Gates, W.N.
 To EVD: 1896 May 9

Gay, James Bates
 To EVD: 1921 May 5

Gay, William D.
 To EVD: 1906 Mar 7

George, Arthur
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 29

Georgia
 1910 Nov 21, 1911 Mar 22, 1918 May 6, 1919-21(1), 1919 Aug 20, Oct 7, Nov 8, Dec 22(2), 23, 1920 Feb 20, Apr 15, 26, May 30, Aug 5, Sep 27, Oct 9, 11, Dec 6, 22, 26(2), 1921(1), 1921 Feb 4(2), Apr 12, 22, 30(2), May 3, 25, Jun 15, Aug

GEORGIA, cont. -- GOMEZ

2, 5, 8, 30, Oct 7, 19, 21,
29, Nov 21, 27, Dec 1, 22(2),
24, 1922 Jan 3, 1926 Jan 6,
Oct 21, 22, 25, Nov 16, 1927
Feb 13
Gerber, G. August
To TD: 1927 Jul 22, Aug 8,
Sep 28, 1926 Nov 16, 1928
Feb 29, 1936 May 25, Jun 3
From TD: 1927 Oct 15, 1936
Jun 5, 8
Gerber, Julius
To EVD: 1914 Jul 20, 1915 Aug
30
From EVD: 1912 Nov 7, 1914
Jul 22
From TD: 1920 Dec 29
Germany
1917 Nov 5, 1920 Jan 15, Aug
22
Germer, Adolph F.
To EVD: 1908 May 16, 1909 Dec
8, 1913 May 15, Jul 8, 1918
Mar 10, Apr 12, 18, Jul 15,
Aug 1, 1919 Feb 7, Mar 19
From EVD: 1901 Oct 8, 1902
May 13, Jun 5, 1903 Apr 13,
Sep 30, 1904 Mar 4, Jul 30,
Aug 1, 1905 Apr 13, 1904 Jul
25, 1906 Jan 22, 1907 Jul
16, 1908 Mar 10, 17, May 18,
1909 Jan 25, Apr 5, Dec 15,
1912 Jan 20, 26, 30, 1913
May 13(2), 14(2), 15,
Jun(1), Jun 1, 2, 4, 19, 30,
Jul 11, 1915 Jun 2, 1917
Apr(1), Apr 11, 1918 Apr 8,
1919 Feb 27
From Katherine Metzel Debs:
1902 Jan 14
To TD: 1912 Oct 28(2), 1913
Sep 13, 1914 Oct 8, 1915 Sep
21, Dec 31, 1917 Nov 19,
1918 Oct 14, 1920 Apr 19,
1938 Nov 22, 1940 Nov 1,
1942 Jan 16, 1943 Jan 13,
Aug 2, 1944 Apr 25, Sep 7,
Nov 26, 1945 Mar 28
From TD: 1904 May 11, 13, 14,
27, Jun 7, 25, Jul 15, 1905
Mar 7, Dec 31, 1906 Mar 15,
1907 Sep 5, 1908 Nov 12, Dec
8, 1910 Apr 12, 1911 Mar 15,
Aug 8, Nov 1, 1912 Jan 22,
23, Feb 1, Dec 11, 1913
May(1), Jul 19, 24, Sep 18,
1915 Jan 11, Apr 20, 26, Jun
3, 14, Jul 3, Aug 16, Sep
25, 1919 Jun 20, 1932 Dec 7,
18, 1933 Jan 7, 1937 May 20,
Sep 22, 1938 Jul 20, Nov 15,
Dec 6, 1940 Feb 6, Mar 4,
Oct 10, Nov 8, 1942 Jan 23,
1943 Jan 23, Aug 10,
1944(1), 1944 Apr 15, Sep
10, Dec 4
From Debs Publishing Company:
1901 Mar 8
To William Green: 1938 Nov 22,
From Francis Johnson: 1918 Aug
1
Germer, Mrs. Adolph F.
From TD: 1944 Mar 25
Gerson, Theodore Percival
To EVD: 1925 Sep 17, 28
From EVD: 1925 Sep 22
Gibson, Dan C.
To EVD: 1922 May 10
Gilbertson, Mr. and Mrs. Albert
N.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 2
Gillmor, B.S.
To EVD: 1926 Jul 4
Glasgow, H.W.
To TD: 1926 Oct 25
Glass, Helen
To EVD: 1919 Dec 14, 1920 Apr 7,
Jul 14, Sep 9, Dec 2, 1921 Aug
26, 1923 Aug 25
Glassberg, Benjamin
To EVD: 1920 Dec 20
Gleason, Arthur H.
From EVD: 1912 Feb 3
Goebel, George H.
To EVD: 1912 Jul 26, Aug 11
From EVD: 1912 Jul 29, Aug
13(2), Sep 10
Gold, Michael
To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
Goldberg, Isaac
To EVD: 1924 Dec 28, 1926 Jul
27
To TD: 1926 Jul 30
Goldman, Emma
To EVD: 1926 Mar 18
To TD: 1928 Feb 6, Apr 3
From TD: 1928 Feb 20
Gomez, Manuel

To TD: 1928 Mar 26, Apr 2
Gompers, Samuel
To EVD: 1891 Nov 20, 1892 Oct 31, Nov 29, 1894 Jul 5, Aug 16, Oct 18
To TD: 1889 Feb 14
Good, Jack
To EVD: 1921 Dec 20
Goodenough, Caroline L.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 19
Goodyear, Rosalie
To EVD: 1919-1921(3), 1919 Nov 5, Dec 24, 1920(1), 1920 Mar 17, 25, Apr 1, 6, 7, 21, May 26, Jun 3, Oct 6, Nov 3, 1921 Feb 14, 25, May 25, Jun 3, 9, Aug 27, Sep 22, Dec 8, 21, 25, 1926 Aug 17, Oct 19, n.d.(1)
From EVD: 1919(1), 1920(1), 1922 Jan 16, 1924 Sep 20, 1925 Apr 26, Sep 29, Oct(2), Nov 25, Dec 17, 1926 Jan 14, 29, Feb 15, May 10, 12
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926 Oct 20
To Katherine Metzel Debs: 1931 Jan 30
To TD: 1920 Jul 16, 1923 Nov 16, Dec 22, 1926 Apr(1), Jul(1), Sep 15, Oct 2, 19(2), 20, 21, Nov 22, 1927 Jan 6, 1929 Oct 13, 1937 Jan 1, 1945 Mar 18(2), 18, n.d.(1)
From TD: 1919 Jul 25, 1920 Feb 9, 1923 Nov 9, 1924 Oct 3, 1945 Mar 25
To Irving Stone: 1945 Mar 18
see also EVD to Mabel Curry,
1919-21(13), 1920(18), 1921(8)
Gordon, Alexander E.
To EVD: 1916 Dec 8, 1925 Jun 18,
From EVD: 1925 Jun 19, 30
Gordon, John J.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 25
Gottfried, Karl E.
To EVD: 1926 Jun 21
Gould, Symon
To EVD: 1924 Dec 22
Grace, R.B.
To EVD: 1919-1921(2), 1920 Dec 25
To Katherine Metzel Debs: 1921 May 28
Grace?, John? P.
To TD: 1920 Sep 3
Graham, Frank
To EVD: 1921 Feb 9
Grant, James
To EVD: 1915 Dec 24
Green, Fred W.
To TD: 1929 May 16
Green, William
From Adolph F. Germer: 1938 Nov 22
Greenbaum, Leon
To TD: 1901 Oct 30, Nov 23
Greenhalgh, Katherine
To EVD: 1919 Dec 13, 1920 May 21
Greenwood, Victor L.
To EVD: 1919 Dec 16, 1920 Aug 18, Dec 13, 1921 Feb 16, Jul 3, Aug 31, Sep 30, Nov 16
To TD: 1921 Jan 13, Feb 17, Aug 1, 31, 1929 Nov 6
From TD: 1929 Nov 14
Greiner, L.F.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 9
Griffith, Arthur
To EVD: 1920 Aug 25
Grubbs, J.F.
To EVD: 1920 Jun 7
Grumbine, LeRoy
To EVD: 1919 Dec 7
Guard, R. Lee
To Debs Publishing Company: 1901 Oct 2
Gunn, J.L.
To EVD: 1926 Oct 22
Gunn, John W.
To TD: 1920 Sep 22, 1926 Oct 22
Gurevitz, Harry
To EVD: 1920(1)
Guth, Henry
To EVD: 1921 Mar 4
Guthrie, W.U.
To EVD: 1925 Mar 12
Gutierrez de Lara, L.
To EVD: 1915 Jul 15, Aug 8
From EVD: 1915 Jul 24
Guyana
1908 Aug 5
H., O.
To TD: 1907 Apr 8

HAAS — HAWAII

Haas, William C.
To Frederick G. Heinl: 1927
Dec 3

Hacha, Joseph A.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 27

Hageman, Elizabeth
To EVD: 1920 Nov 5

Haldeman-Julius, Emanuel
From EVD: 1924 Oct 4, 1926 Jan
4(2)
To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Hall, Bolton
From EVD: 1918 Jul 6
From TD: 1923 May 31

Hall, Covington
To EVD: 1919 Nov 6, 1920 Jan
1
To TD: 1926 Oct (1)

Hall, Meda Bagnell
To TD: 1926 Oct(1)

Hallin, H.E.
To TD: 1921 May 10

Halperin, Jacob
To EVD: 1926 May 5

Halushka, Mandel V.
To TD: 1930 Sep 13, 1943 Aug
8
From TD: 1922 Oct 12, 1930
Sep 10, 18, 1936 Sep 17, Oct
9, 1943 Aug 4, 18, Oct 5,
1944 Jan 7

Hamilton, G.W.
To Standard Publishing
Company: 1904 Oct 6

Hamilton, R.A.
To EVD: 1921 Dec 16

Hamilton Carhartt and Company
From EVD: 1892 Jul 6

Hamme, John A., Jr.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 17

Hampton, George
To EVD: 1920 Oct 4

Hampton, Meta
To EVD: 1920 Oct 4

Handgen, W.B.
To EVD: 1922 Dec 5

Hanford, Ben
To EVD: 1908 May 2, 6, 24

Hankins, Earl V.
To TD: 1926 Oct 20, 1937 Jun
29

Hankins, F.H.
To EVD: 1925 Dec 18

Hanna, Paul
To EVD: 1925 Jan 16

Hanson, Florence Curtis
To EVD: 1925 Apr 20
From TD: 1925 Apr 22

Hapgood, Mary Donovan, see
Donovan, Mary

Hapgood, Norman
From EVD: 1922 Jan 26

Hardie, J. Keir
Agreement 1895 Sep 4

Harding, Louise D.
To TD: 1921 May 22

Harding, Warren G.
From Boot and Shoe Workers
Union 366: 1921 Mar 18
From TD: 1921 Aug 30
From Isadore Kaplowitz: 1921
Apr 4
From Marvin Gates Sperry:
1921 Aug 2,

Hardy, John K.
To EVD: 1915 Sep 18

Harkins, Leom?
To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Harper, Ida Husted
From EVD: 1894 Dec 8

Harriman, Job
To EVD: 1918 Jun 3, Jul 24

Harriman, Theo. G.
To EVD: 1926 Oct 10

Harris, Ellis B.
To EVD: 1919 Dec 21, 1920 Oct
1
To TD: 1926 Oct 20, Dec 13,
17

Harris, Frank
To EVD: 1920 Aug 17, Oct 12
From EVD: 1920 Oct 14

Harris, Marie Rohde
To EVD: 1919 Dec 21

Harris, Sarah Edgington
To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Harrison, Harry P.
To EVD: 1912 Dec 11
From EVD: 1912 Dec 9, 12

Harvey, W.H.
To EVD: 1917 May 14

Harvey, W.H. Coin
To TD: 1920 Apr 4

Haskell, Douglas P.
To TD: 1925 Jun 16

Hatfield, Henry D.
To TD: 1913 Jun 18, 24

Hathorne, H. Ormond?
To EVD: 1920 Nov 28

Hawaii

1921 Mar 20
Hawley, A.H.
To EVD: 1914 Jun 1
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Hayes, Francis T.
To EVD: 1923 Jan 10, Feb 9
From EVD: 1923 Feb 12(2)
Hayes, Sara Smith
To EVD: 1921 May 23
Hayes, William Edward
To EVD: 1921 Oct 31
Haynes, Benjamin
To EVD: 1921 Nov 17
Hays, Danford
To TD: 1926 Nov 3
Hays, Franklin W.
To EVD: 1906 Dec 3
Haywood, William D.
To EVD: 1907 Sep 26, 1917 Nov
2, 1919 Nov 17
To TD: 1912 Jun 24
Head, Percy
To Katherine Metzger Debs:
1926 Oct 21
Heath, Fred
To EVD: 1912 Jul 15
Heaton, Elma A.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 6, Oct 18
Hedgecock, Lewis J.
To EVD: 1926 Feb 14
From EVD: 1926 Feb 18
Heeb, Arthur B.
To EVD: 1920 Aug 24, Dec 18,
1921 May 10
To TD: 1921(1), 1921 Sep 18
From TD: 1921 Sep 23
Heinl, Frederick G.
To TD: 1926 Oct 10
From William C. Haas: 1927
Dec 3
Heinl, John G.
To Eugenie Debs Selby:
n.d.(1)
Heinl, Marie Debs
From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1903 Aug 22
From TD: 1926 Oct(1)
From Don M. Nixon: 1927 Oct
21
From Everett Sanders: 1926 Oct
21
From John E. Sulger: 1927 Oct
21
Heinl, Robert D.
From S.? C.: 1926 Oct 21
From Josephine M. Costantino:
1943 Jan 12
To EVD: 1913 Jul 7
To TD: 1921 Mar 17, 1936 Nov 25,
1940 Feb 9, 1943 Apr 30, May 4,
1945 Feb 13
From TD: 1940 Feb 20
From Henri D. Koenig: 1945
Feb 20
From Louis Leon Ludlow: 1926
Oct 21
To Louise Debs Michel: 1904
Mar 28
From Richard H. Waldo: 1926
Oct 21
Heinl, Robert D., Jr.
To TD: 1939 Oct 17
Heller, Sylvia
To EVD: 1920 Dec 25
Heminway, Mrs. S.M.
To Jean Daniel Debs: 1889 May
30
To Marguerite Bettrich Debs:
1889 May 30
Henderson, Arthur
To EVD: 1923 Apr 13, May 3
From EVD: 1923 Apr 16
Hennesy, J.A.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 15
Henrich, H.E.
To EVD: n.d.(1)
Henry, Ed
To TD: 1932 Jun 11
From TD: 1932 Jun 14
Henry, Emma
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Henry, John
To EVD: 1920 Dec 22
Henry, William H.
To EVD: 1919 Apr 26
From EVD: 1926 Jun 10
To TD: 1918 Apr 20, May 24,
1919 Oct 7, 1926 Oct 21(2), Dec
23, 1927 Jan 27, Feb 24, Sep 16,
1928 Apr 7, 18
From TD: 1918 Apr 22, 1926
Dec 7, 1927 Sep 19, 1928 Apr
9, 17, 1929 Mar 23
From W.F. Richardson: 1926
Oct 21
Henson, William
To EVD: 1920 Sep 10, 14, 24,
26, Oct 4, 10, 16, Nov 8,
17, 1921 Mar 27, Apr 13, Aug
19, Nov 13

HERBOLD — HILSDORF

Herbold, Charles J.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 23

Herman, Ruby
To EVD: 1920 May 23

Hermann, Harry
To EVD: 1922 Jul 15

Herr, Henry P.
To EVD: 1921 Jul 9

Herring, John W.
From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1932 Jul 5,
To TD: 1926 Oct(1), 1932 Jun
30,

Herron, George D.
To EVD: 1916 Jan 24, Dec 19,
1917 Jan 10,
From EVD: 1916 Jun 3, Nov 16,
1917 Jan 23, 1918 Jan 26,
To TD: 1914 Mar 14, 1915 Jun
4, 1919 Sep 26, Oct 4, Dec
6, 1920 Feb 13, Apr 16, 1921
Sep 18,
From TD: 1914 Jan 15, 1919
Oct 22, 31,

Hesse, Frances Barrett
To EVD: 1920 Oct 29, 1921 Sep
20,

Hibben, Paxton
To EVD: 1926 Jun 19,

Hibner, George F.
To EVD: 1920 Jan 21, 1921 Jan
30,
To TD: 1920 Jan 21, 1926 Nov 15,
1933 Oct 19, 1935 May 24, 1937
Apr 7, Sep 15, 1940 Nov 5,
From TD: 1933 Oct 22,

Hickey, Thomas A.
From EVD: 1912 May 21, Sep
27, 1915 Jun 9,
To TD: 1921 Jun 20,
From TD: 1911 Feb 9, 1912 Jan
2, 1913 Feb 10, 1918 Dec 13,
1919 Nov 11, Dec 29, 1925
Feb 13,

Hickox, John
To EVD: 1921 Nov 1,

Hier, Frederick P., Jr.
From EVD: 1919 Mar 20, 1920
Dec 24,

Higgins, J.F.
To TD: 1926 Oct 24, Nov 8,

High, J.A.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 24,

High, Maurene
To EVD: 1921 Jan 9,

High, Rose M.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 24,

Hill, Edward G.
To EVD: 1920 Apr 27, 1921 Oct
3,

Hill, Frank G.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 28,

Hill, James J.
To EVD: 1894 Apr 19(4), 24,
25, 26(2), May 8, 9
From EVD: 1894 Apr 19(4), 23,
25
To George W. Howard: 1894 Apr
19(4), 24, 25, 26(2)
From George W. Howard: 1894
Apr 19(4), 23, 25

Hill, Samuel
To EVD: 1926 Jul 27

Hillman, Sidney
To TD: 1915 Mar 13

Hillquit, Morris
To EVD: 1913 Nov 15, 1914 Jan
19, 1917 Sep 24, 1918 Aug 5,
1919 Nov 5, 1920 Jun 30, Oct
9, 1925 Nov 5, 1926 Mar 1,
9, 15, 19
From EVD: 1903 Oct 29, 1904
Dec 31, 1907 May 21, Jun 19,
28, 1908 Aug 21, Oct 7, 15,
1909 Feb 19, 26(2), 1913 Dec
20, 1914 Jan 21, Feb 20,
1917 Sep 21, 1918 Aug 29,
Sep 20, Oct 14, 1919 Feb 26,
May 3, 9, 1925 Nov 13, 19,
1926 Mar 4
From Katherine Metzger Debs:
1929 Jul 27
To TD: 1919 Apr 27, 1920 Oct
27, 1926 Jun 10, Oct 20, 21,
Nov 3, 1929 Sep 26
From TD: 1919 May 5, 1920 Jul
12, 1929 Jul 25
From Frank Putnam: 1926 Mar
26
To John G. Sargent: 1926 Mar
15
From Bertha Hale White: 1925
Jun 3

Hillquit, Vera
To EVD: 1919 Nov 5
From Gertrude Toy Debs: 1933
Oct 8
From TD: 1933 Oct 8

Hilsdorf, Mr. and Mrs. William
To EVD: 1920 Dec 14

Himmelreich -----
 From EVD: 1925 Sep 4
 Himmelreich, Paul J.
 To EVD: 1921 May 5
 To TD: 1926 Oct 22
 Hindon, Constance
 To EVD: 1921 Sep 12
 To TD: 1926 Oct 25
 Hines, Paul J.
 From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1943 Jan 12, 1945 Mar 24
 To TD: 1942 Oct 18, Nov 26,
 1943 Aug 11, 1945 Feb 17
 From TD: 1942 Nov 2
 Hjorth, Orpha
 To TD: 1918 Mar 7,
 Nov 7, 22
 Hoan, Daniel Webster
 To EVD: 1916 Aug 15, Nov 22, 1924
 Aug 29
 From EVD: 1916 Aug 11, 17.
 To TD: 1936 Feb 18
 From TD: 1936 Feb(1)
 Hodge, Lila
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 27
 Hodge, Viola
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 27
 Hodges, Mattie
 From TD: 1945 Jan 17
 Hoehn, Gustave A.
 To EVD: 1916 Jan 4, 1917 May
 17, Jun 7, 1920 Dec 23
 To TD: 1919 Oct 27
 Hoelscher, George C.
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 30
 Hoffman, Christian Balzac
 To EVD: 1914 Aug 19
 From EVD: 1914 Jun 20, 25,
 Jul 1, Aug 15
 Hoffman, Robert A.
 To TD: 1926 Nov 9
 Hogan, Freda
 To TD: 1919 Dec 26
 From TD: 1914 Feb 20
 Holbrook, Alice Luella
 To EVD: 1919-(1), 1920 Sep
 10, Dec 25
 Mar 25
 Holl, Anne Love
 From EVD: 1895 Apr 25, 1897
 May 31, 1901 Jul 28, 1904
 May 17, 1908 Sep 16, 1910
 Oct 17, 1912 Aug 7, 11, 1915
 Jan 24, 25, 1916 Jan 2, Dec
 29, n.d.(1)
 Holl, Frances Love
 From EVD: 1910 Jan 3, 1916
 Dec 29
 Holl, Frank X.
 To Ruth A. Allen: 1941 Nov 4
 To EVD: 1904 May 21
 From EVD: 1885 Jul 27, 1888
 Aug 11, 1889 Jan 25, 1890
 Jan 17, May 10, 20, 24, Jun
 14. Aug 11, 1892 Mar 11, Jul
 13, Oct 3, 1893 Jan 23, May
 16, 1894 May 9, 29, Aug 22,
 29, Oct 3, 15, 28, Dec 8,
 31, 1895 Jan 14, 17, 18, May
 15, Jul 9, 18, Sep 23, 28,
 Oct 15, Dec 7, 1896 Mar 24,
 1897 May 31, 1903 Apr 6,
 1905 Apr 16, Dec 28, 1907
 May 3, Aug 13, Sep 30, Dec
 23, 1908 Aug 21, 22, 1910
 Nov 21, 1915 Jan 24, 25,
 1916 Jan 2, Dec 29, 1918 Dec
 13, 1919 Feb 6, 1926 May 6,
 n.d.(1)
 To TD: 1926 Nov 8, 1943 Dec
 26
 From TD: 1895 Sep 23, 1904
 Nov 19, 1906 Aug 29, 1907
 Nov 8, 1908 Nov 21, 1912 Aug
 14, Dec 14, 27, 1921 Jun 8, 1923
 Dec 4, 1926 Apr 22, May 27, 1927
 Jun 21, 1931 Dec 26, 1936
 Jan 15, Dec 26, 1937 Jun 29,
 1938 Sep 21, 1939 Jan 5,
 1941 Jun 3, 1944 Oct 9, Nov
 21
 Holland, Anne
 To TD: 1926 Oct 22
 Hollingsworth, J.H.
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1937
 Dec(1)
 To TD: 1910 Jan 19, 1926 Oct
 25, 1933 Dec 30, 1935 Dec
 12, 1937 Dec(1), 1939 Jan
 29, 1940 Jan(1). 1941(1),
 1942 Jan 5, Dec 16, 1943 Jan
 3
 From TD: 1939 Jan 19, 1941
 Apr 5
 Holloway, George Graham
 From Katherine Metzel Debs:
 1931 Jan 20
 From TD: 1930 Dec 27
 Holman, Helen A.

HOLMAN, cont. — IDAHO

To EVD: 1921 Nov 3
Holmes, John Haynes
To EVD: 1919 Nov 26, 1920 Apr
14, Nov 1, Dec 24, 1921 Oct
24, 1925 Aug 27, 1926 Jun 1,
Aug 18
From EVD: 1919 Feb 28, 1925
Nov 13
To TD: 1921 Nov 10, 29, 1926
Jun 7, Jul 1, Oct 22
To Blanche Watson: 1927 Feb
21
Holt, Fred W.
To EVD: 1915 Feb 23
To TD: n.d.(1)
Horgan, E.
To EVD: n.d.(1)
Horner, Thomas R.
To TD: 1921 Oct 7
Horton, C.E.
To EVD: 1926 Oct 20
Howard, George W.
To Board of Arbitration (Great
Northern Strike): 1894 May
5
To James J. Hill: 1894 Apr
19(4), 23, 25
From James J. Hill: 1894 Apr
19(4), 24, 25, 26(2)
Howat, Alexander
To EVD: 1917 Apr 14, 1921 Mar
23
Howe, Nannie
To EVD: 1920 Dec 18
Howe, R.H.
To EVD: 1912 Jun(1)
Howell, N.C.
To EVD: 1919 Oct(1), Dec 16,
1921(1), 1921 Mar(1)
Howell, Perdita
To TD: 1937 Jul 22
From TD: 1937 Aug 9
Howieson, Peter
To EVD: 1920 Sep 11
Howland, Arthur H.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 5
Hubbard, Elbert
From EVD: 1906 Apr 13
Huebsch, B.W.
To EVD: 1925 May 13
Huff, Charlie H.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 24
Hughan, Jessie Wallace
To EVD: 1921 Oct 26

Hughes, Sam T.
To EVD: 1916 Jan 4
Hughes, V.L.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Hulman, Herman
To EVD: 1917 Jun(1), Jun 13,
To Jean Daniel Debs: 1893 Oct
13
Hulman, Mrs. Theo.
To Jean Daniel Debs: 1903 May
3
To Marguerite Bettrich Debs:
1903 May 3
Hume, Ola Bagly
To TD: 1927 Jan 23
Hunter, Robert
To EVD: 1908 Jul 24, 1910 Jan
27
From EVD: 1910 Feb 4
To Finley Peter Dunne:
n.d.(1)
Hurley, Ruth
To EVD: 1914 Jun 19
To TD: 1914 Mar 23, 28, Apr
2, 8(2)
Hurt, Walter
To EVD: 1906 Jul 14, Dec 18,
1909 Jun 11, 1921 Jun 17
From EVD: 1906 Jul 6
To TD: 1910 Oct 4, 1913 Aug
8, 1919 Nov 16, 1921 Mar 21,
1926 Oct 21, 23, Nov 23,
1927 Jan 7, Sep 10, Oct 1,
8, Nov 10, 1928 Jun 4, 19
From TD: 1910 Oct 6, 1913 Aug
12, n.d.(1)
To Murray E. King: 1926 Oct
21
Huston, Samuel
From EVD: 1895 Aug 15, 31
Hyndman, H.M.
From EVD: 1913 Jan 31
Hynes, William F.
To TD: 1936 Mar 6, Apr 15,
1937 Mar 25
From TD: 1936 Mar(1), May 30

Idaho
1910 Oct 17, 31, Nov 1, 1911
Nov 18, 1915 Feb 14(2), 15(2),
1918 Mar 7, May 7, 1919 May 2,
1920 Jan 21, 1921 Jan 30, Feb
28, Jun 28, 1923 Sep 30, 1926

- Nov 15, 1933 Oct 19, 1935 May
24, 1937 Apr 7, Sep 15
- Illinois
1894 Jan 8, 1895 Jan 2, 14(2),
17(2), 18, Jun 16, 18, 27, Jul
3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, Aug 1,
13, 15, 16, 27, 31, Sep 4, 8,
10(2), 28, Oct 7, 11, 15, 23,
25, 28, 29, Nov 4, 5(3), 15,
17, 1897 Jul 10, 1898 Nov 26,
1901 Jul 20, Aug 11, 1905 May
25, Aug 8, 1908(1), 1908 Jan
20, Mar 26, May 2, 6, 16, Aug
31, Oct 1, 29, 30, 31, 1910
Oct 4, 1912 Nov 2, 1913 Jun 6,
1914 Jan 14, Jun 1, 1915 Dec
31, 1916 Jan 17, May 4, 1917
Jan 3, 1919-1921(1), 1920(1),
1920 Mar 3, May 12, Dec 14,
1921 Jun 17, Jul 6, Aug 30,
Oct 23, Nov 15, Dec 4,
1922(2), 1922 Jul(3), Jul 20,
25, Aug 5, 10, 12, 16, 22(2),
28, 31, Sep(2), Sep 3, 9(2),
10, 11, 13(2), 17(2), 18(2),
20, 23(2), 27, 28, Oct 7, 8,
12, 14(2), 17, 20, 29, 31,
Nov(1), Nov 5, 6, 7, 21, 1924
Mar 29, Aug 5, Dec 21, 1925
Nov 19, 25(3), 1926 May 24,
Jun 7, Jul 21, Oct 20(3),
21(7), 23, Nov(1), Nov 11, 18,
1930 Jun 20, 1935 Dec 29, 1937
Jan 25, 1944 Nov 26, n.d.(1)
- Illinois Socialist Party,
Executive Committee
To TD: 1926 Oct 20
- Indiana
1887(3), 1892 Apr 13, 1894 May
26, Jun 29, 1895 Aug 6, Nov
20, 1899 Apr 4, 1908 Jul(1),
Aug 28, Sep 1, 26, 28, Oct 22,
23, Dec 29, 1911 Aug 11, 1912
May 22, Aug 12, Nov 26, 1913
Jun 25, Jul 5, Dec 1, 22, 1914
Jul 14, 29, 1915 Mar 2, Apr
26, Oct 14, Dec 5, 1916 Jan
16, 17, Apr 10, Sep 9, 14,
1917 Feb 19, May 16, 1918 Apr
20, May 24, 1919-1921(1), 1919
Feb 7, Apr 26, Sep 6, Nov 6,
16, 1920 Feb 14, Sep 28, Nov
6, 13, 27(2), Dec 4, 17, 22,
23, 25, 1921 Jan 20, Mar 22,
Apr 12, Jul 9, Aug 6, 19, Sep
5, Oct 10, 11, 13, Dec 25, 26,
1923(1), 1923 Feb 6, 1924 Aug
1, 1925 Jan 19, 1926 Jun 5,
Aug 9, Oct(1), Oct 20(2),
21(3), 22, 26, Nov 4, 1927 Oct
21, 1928 Jun 5, 19, 1930 Jul
23, 1932 Jun 11, Jul 8, 1939
Jan 29, 1945 Mar 18(2),
n.d.(2)
- Indianapolis Sun
To EVD: 1912 Nov 26
- Ingersoll, Eva, see Swasey, E.I.
and Wakefield, E.I.
- Ingersoll, Eva Parker
To EVD: 1907 Jan 17
From EVD: 1906 Jul 23, 1907
Jan 21
- Ingersoll, Robert G.
To EVD: 1879 Dec 17, 29, 1880
Jan(1), 1881 Feb 2
From EVD: 1886 Oct 21,
n.d.(1)
From Katherine Metzler Debs:
n.d.(1)
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1881
Jul 28
To Eugenie Debs Selby: 1881
Jul 28
- Inglis, -----
From TD: 1919 Feb 26
- Inman, Herbert
To TD: 1926 Oct(1)
- International Bakery and
Confectionary Workers Union
To Katherine Metzler Debs:
1926 Oct 22
- International Committee for
Political Prisoners
To TD: 1928 Mar 24
- International Labor Defense
To TD: 1928 Mar 24
- International Labor Defense,
Executive Committee
To TD: 1928 Mar 19
- International Ladies' Garment
Workers' Union
To EVD: 1926 May 5
To Katherine Metzler Debs:
1926 Oct 21
- Iowa
1902 Nov 5, 1906 Feb 28,
1907(1), 1907 Dec 24, 1908 Jun
19, Aug 31, Sep 2, 1914 Aug
22, 1918 Mar 21, 1919(1), 1920
Jan 20, Mar 19, Nov 2, 30, Dec

IOWA, cont. — KANSAS

8, 20(2), 21(2), 1921 Jul 4,
24, Nov 3, 10, 1926 Jan 13,
Oct 20, 21, 22, Nov 14, 1943
Aug 3
Irvin?, George Frank
To EVD: 1895(1)
Irvine, Edward J.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 28
Isenberg, Artie
To EVD: 1920 Oct 20
Italy
1908 Oct 28, Nov 4, 1914 Mar
14, 1915 Jun 4, 1920 Sep 12
Jaffe, Lena I.
To EVD: 1918 Feb 20, Mar 27
Jamison, E.R.
To EVD: 1918 May 2
Jansen, Charles
To EVD: 1918 Mar 30
Jeffryes, Clyde C.
To TD: 1926 Oct 19, 21
Jenkins, D.
To EVD: 1915 Jan 16
Jerman, W.F.
To TD: 1920 Apr 22
To W.G. Lee: 1920 Apr 22
Jewish Daily Forward
To EVD: 1925 Feb 28, 1926 Jun
7, Sep 25
Jewish Socialist Labor Party
To EVD: 1918 Apr 10
Jewish Socialist Verband
To EVD: 1921 Sep 8, 1926 Jan
1
Johannes, Harry H., Jr.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Johnson, Francis
To EVD: 1922 Jan 17, 27
To Adolph F. Germer: 1918 Aug
1
Johnson, Harold
To EVD: 1920 May 12, 1921
Mar(1)
Johnson, Jennie F.W.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 25
Johnson, Laurence
To EVD: 1920 Dec 22
Johnson, W.E.
To TD: 1926 Oct 20
Johnson, W.P.
From EVD: 1896 Mar 16
Johnston, Alexander
To EVD: 1920 Jun 27

Johnston, William H.
To EVD: 1920 Apr 29
Joiner, Una Augusta
To EVD: 1921 Nov 5
Jones, Charles R.
To EVD: 1912 May 24
From EVD: 1912 Jun 1
Jones, Helen Beach
From EVD: 1904 Jul 13
Jones, Mary Harris ("Mother")
To EVD: 1913 Jul 5
From EVD: 1901 Jan 28
To TD: 1920 Aug 18
To Finley Peter Dunne:
n.d.(1)
Jones, Milo C.
To EVD: 1921 Jun 25
Jones, Samuel M.
To EVD: 1898 Dec 30, 1899 Jun
22, Jul 20, Nov 29, 1900 Sep
25
From EVD: 1899 Mar 6, Apr 4.
Jul 24, Dec 8, 1901 Dec 28,
Jordan, Homer G.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 14
Kalinin, M.
To EVD: 1923 Mar 30
Kameneva, Olga
To EVD: 1923 Mar 30
Kaneko, Josephine Conger
To EVD: 1920 Jun 16
From EVD: 1911 Jun 8
To TD: 1921 Nov 11
Kansas
1899 Jun 28, 1905 Oct 11(2),
1906 Jul 14, 23, 1907 Mar 28,
Apr 12, 27, May 3, 14, 21, Jun
19, 28, Oct 7, Nov 7, 11, 23,
25, Dec 7, 9, 20, 21, 1908(1),
1908 Mar 2, 7, 9, 10, 14, 17,
23, Apr 6(2), 9, 13, 16, 18,
26, May 5, 12, 14, 17, 24, Jun
30, Jul 28, Aug 3, 12, 15, 18,
19, 20(2), 21(2), 22, Oct 12,
26, Dec 28(2), 1909 Feb 2, 8,
14, 19, 24, 26(2). Mar 7, 13,
Apr 21(2), Jun 22, 24, Jul 16,
23, Sep 24, Oct 4, Nov 12, Dec
4, 13, 15, 1910 Dec 24(2),
1911 Jan 1, Apr 19, 1912 Feb
15, 19, 24, 29, Mar 7, 11, 14,
21, 30, Apr 20, 21, 26, 27,
May 18, 21, Jul 27, 1913(1),

1913 Jul 9, 14, 15, Nov 15,
 1914 Jan 12(2), Jul 23, Aug
 19, 1915(1), 1915 Mar(1),
 Apr(1), Apr 12, May 4, Jul 25,
 Sep 15, Dec 13, 24, 1916(1),
 1916 Jan 19, Jul 3, 1917 Apr
 14, 1918 Feb 4, 1919-1921(1),
 1919 Dec 28, 1920 Apr 25, Sep
 22, Nov 8, Dec 15, 28, 1921
 Mar 23, Apr 4, 20, Jul 19, Sep
 27, Oct 19, Nov 18, Dec 7,
 1922 Apr 5, 1926 Feb 14, Apr
 17, Oct 21, 23, 24, 27,
 n.d.(7)

Kansas Leader

To EVD: 1924 Aug 9
 From EVD: 1924 Aug 16

Kaplan, Jacob H.

To EVD: 1915 Apr 1

Kaplowitz, Isadore

To EVD: 1921 Apr 4

Karsner, David

From Arthur Baur: 1919 Jun
 23

From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1923 Jan 18

From Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1919
 Sep 7, 1920 Jan 15, Aug 29,
 Nov 4, 1921 Apr 4, May 29,
 1922 Sep 14

To EVD: 1918 Mar 16, Apr 13,
 1919 Jan 1, Nov 11, Dec 4,
 1920 Apr 27, May 6, Nov 3,
 1921 May 19, Oct 28, 1922
 Jan 16, Jul 27, Sep 4, Dec
 20, 1926 Sep 27, n.d.(1)

From EVD: 1912 Mar 30, May
 31, 1918 Mar 8, 18, 26, 30,
 Apr 15, Sep 26, 28, 1919 Apr
 22, May 15, 29, Jun 5, 14,
 Sep 7, 1920 Apr 30, Aug 29,
 Nov 4, 1922(1), 1922 Jan 18,
 Mar 16, May 31, Jul 12, 28,
 30, Aug 9, 10, 16, 22,
 Sep(1). Sep 9, 11, 13, 17,
 18, 23, 28 Oct 8, 11, 14,
 31, Nov 6, Dec 8, 19, 1923
 Jan 17, Apr 5, 9, 23, Jun 7,
 Oct 12, Nov 10, 1924 Jul 19,
 Sep 29, Oct 10, Nov 25,
 Dec(1), Dec 6, 1925 Jan 16,
 26, Feb(1), Feb 9, 14, Apr
 30, May 3, 4, Oct 15, 18,
 26, Nov 25, 1926(1), 1926
 Feb 4, Mar 10, Apr 9, 28,

May 8, n.d.(1)

From Katherine Metzger Debs:

1919 Jun 22, Dec(1). 1920 Jan 10,
 16, May 17, 30, Oct 23, 29,
 1921 Oct 23, 1927 Mar 13, 30

To TD: 1918 Jan 15, 1919 Apr
 27, May 20, 1920 Jan 14, Feb
 19, Mar 16; 22, 30, Apr 15,
 20, May 5, Jun 29, Oct 6,
 1921 Oct 16, 1922 Jul 27,
 1923 Jan 2, 1926 Jul 28, Oct
 22, 1927 Apr 2, 15, Jun 14,
 Jul 10, 29, Sep 30, Oct 24,
 1929 Jan 10, Dec 16, 1930
 Mar(1), Nov 3, 1931(1). 1931
 Mar 18

From TD: 1916 Jan 3, Feb 5,
 8, 1917 May 16, Dec 29, 1918
 Jan 7, 15, 19, 24, 28, Feb
 22, 25, Mar 4, Apr 25, Jul
 6, Sep 17, Oct 30, 1919 Jan
 9, 17, Feb 12, Mar 19, 25,
 Apr 21, 26, May 14, 20, Jun
 28, Jul 26, Aug 14, Nov 20,
 25, 1920 Jan 8(2), Feb 14,
 Mar 5, 15, 19, 30, Apr 1, 6,
 10, 26, May 4, 10, 20, 26,
 Jun 2, Sep 17, Oct 15, 20,
 Dec 7, 18, 1921 Mar 1, 28,
 May 10, Aug 26, 30, Oct 6,
 24, Nov 1, 30, Dec 9, 12,
 17, 1922 Jan 28, Feb 15, 28,
 Mar 4, 11, 13, Apr 24, 26,
 May 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12,
 15, 19, 25, 29, 30, Jun 5,
 10, 13, 19, 21, Jul(1), Jul
 20, 24, 27, Aug(1). Aug 17,
 23, Sep 9, 12, Nov 7, 27,
 Dec 20, 23, 1923(1), 1923
 Jan 3, 12, 26, Feb 1, 10,
 Mar 8, 24, May 4, 11, Sep
 21, Nov 28, 1924 Jan 16, Mar
 1, Apr 5, Dec 16, 1925 Mar
 11, 1926 Jul 23, 31, Nov 16,
 1927 Apr 12, May 9, Jun 21,
 Jul 20, Aug 12, 1929 Feb 10,
 Mar 5, 1930 Oct 28, Nov 13,
 1936(1). 1945 Jan(1),
 n.d.(1)

see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1)
 1921 Aug(1)

Karsner, Esther

From EVD: 1925 Aug 19, Oct
 18, 1926 Apr 9

To TD: 1941 Mar 5, Oct 27

KARSNER, ESTHER, cont. — KIRKPATRICK, GEORGE R.

From TD: 1941 Apr 2, Oct 24
Karsner, Rose
To EVD: 1921 Aug 31, Sep 7,
Oct 5
To TD: 1926 Oct 28
Katzenelson, B.
From EVD: 1926 Feb 23
Katzko, William
To EVD: 1920 Oct 25
Kauffman, Reginald Wright
To EVD: 1910 Feb 17
Kautsky, Karl
From EVD: 1902 Nov 29, 1925
Feb 23, Dec 4
Keas, H.E.
To EVD: 1918 Mar 21
Keller, Benjamin T.
To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
Keller, D.C.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 21
Keller, Grace
To EVD: 1920 Jun 16, 1921 Aug
16
Keller, Helen
To EVD: 1919 Mar 11
From EVD: 1913 Dec 23, 1919
Apr 28, 1922 Feb 6
To TD: 1919 Apr 17
From TD: 1919 Mar 21, Apr 15
Kellison, Charles
To TD: 1920 Feb 14
Kelly, James J.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 20
Kendra, Ernest
To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
Kennedy, -----
From EVD: 1914 Jun 20
Kennedy, George Eugene
To EVD: 1920(1)
Kennedy, O.A.
To TD: 1926 Oct 27
Kent, Herman O.
To TD: 1936 Dec 23
From TD: 1936 Dec 28
Kentucky
1905 Aug 12, Sep 8, 1912 Aug
7, 1916 Jan 26, 1920 Sep 6,
1921 Feb 24, 1923 Dec 29, 1926
May 20, Oct 20, 26, Dec 1,
1927 May 8, 1943 Feb 1, 20,
Oct 19
Kerlin, Robert T.
To EVD: 1926 Mar 15
To TD: 1928 Jul 15
Kerr, Charles H.
From EVD: 1914 Jul 11
Kerschner, John
To EVD: 1925 Dec 30
Kerton, Ella La Dieux
To EVD: 1919 Nov 29
Kiefer, Daniel
To TD: 1920 Jan 15
From TD: 1920 Jan 28, 1921
Jul 15
Kiefer, George A.
To EVD: 1904 Nov 21
Kiefer, Rosa
To TD: 1923 Aug 11
Kilbride, Thomas M.
To TD: 1916 May 4
Kilpatrick, William B.
From Katherine Metzger Debs:
1920 Jan 20
King, Bertha Hale White, see
White, Bertha Hale
King, Cameron H.
From Guy Bogart: 1918 Jan 8,
Apr 15
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
King, Edna
To EVD: 1920 Mar 23
King, J. Franklin
To EVD: 1921 Dec 25, 26
King, Murray E.
To EVD: 1916 Jul 2, Aug 26,
1921 Nov 3, 1925 Oct 20
Kintzer, Edward H.
To EVD: 1920 Jun 9,
To Joseph Patrick Tumulty:
1920 Jun 9
Kirkpatrick, Florence Hall
To EVD: 1926 Jul 5
From EVD: 1926 Mar 1
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1937
Mar 18
To TD: 1932 Aug 11, 1937 Mar 18,
May 20, 1939 Nov 23, 1945 Mar 15
From TD: 1930 Aug 26, 1937
Apr 12, Aug 13, 1945 Apr 4
Kirkpatrick, George R.
To EVD: 1916 Jan 17, Jun 5, 1919
Nov 11, 1925 Jan 10, 1926 May 20
From EVD: 1925 Nov 13, 1926
Mar 26
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1930
Aug 10
To TD: 1910 Aug 24, 1913 Apr
10, 1920 Jul 26, 1924 May

KIRKPATRICK, GEORGE R., cont. — LABADIE

24, 1926 Sep 12, 1927 Apr 6,
1928 Dec 16, 1930 Jun 4, Aug 10
1932 Aug 11
From TD: 1930 Aug 26
Kirsch, Anselm
To EVD: 1921 Apr 24
Kirshenbaum, L.
To EVD: 1926 Aug 9
Klein, Gertrude Weil
To EVD: 1920 Dec 23, 1921 Mar
29
Kleinberg, Phillip
To Katherine Metzger Debs:
1926 Oct 22
Kluser, C. Joseph
To TD: 1913 Apr 17
From TD: 1913 Apr 19
Knight, A.A.
To TD: 1926 Nov 7
Knowlton, John W.
To Decatur Herald, Editor:
1926 Oct 21
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Koch, Mina
To TD: 1926 Oct 23
Koenig, Ernest
To Eugenie Debs Selby: 1882
Dec 8
Koenig, Henri D.
To Robert D. Heintz: 1945 Feb
20
Koenig, Jules
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1919
Apr 24
Koenig, Marie Scheurer
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1933 Jun 25, 1936 Oct 21
From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1937 Jun 7
From Arthur Michel: 1936 Nov
13
Koenig-Debs, Salome
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1914
Jan 25, 1919 Apr 24
Kolberg, Lydia C.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 30
Kolberg, William J.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 30, 1921 Nov 24
Koller, John
To EVD: 1919 Dec 22
Kolsch, Georgia
To EVD: 1915 Jul 23, 1923 Aug
24
To TD: 1926 Oct 26

Koons, J.C.
To Broadus Mitchell: 1921 Apr
4
Kopelin, Louis
To David H. Clark: 1921 May
26
To EVD: 1914 Jan 12
From EVD: 1915 Feb 3, 1917
Dec 14
To TD: 1914 Jan 12, 1921 May
26
From J.B. Penniston: 1914 Jan
12
Korngold, Janet Fenimore
To EVD: 1920 Dec 2
To TD: 1921 Mar 23
Korngold, Ralph
To EVD: 1918 Jan 28
From EVD: 1918 Jan 30
To TD: 1926 Nov 13
Kreutzian, Dora
To EVD: 1926 Oct 20
Kruse, William F.
To EVD: 1918 Mar 22, Oct 31,
1921(1)
To TD: 1918(1)
Kuhn, Henry
To TD: 1901 Jul 25
Kunderd, A.E.
To TD: 1928 Jun 5
Kuppersmith, Bertha
To TD: 1919 Aug 22
Kwong, Yee? Yuen?
To EVD: 1920 Jul 27

La Follette, Robert M.
From EVD: 1909 Mar 7
La Fountain, Bert
To EVD: 1921 Jun 30
La Fountain, Harriette
To EVD: 1920 Nov 2, 1921 Jun 30
Labadie, Joseph A.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 9, 1926 Jun
19
From EVD: 1905 Dec 12, 1906
Feb 15, 1908 May 5, 1909 Mar
13, 1910 Apr 18, Jun 11,
1912 Mar 14, 1915 Jan 6, Jul
23, 1916 Dec 30, 1918 Jan 4,
1919 Jan 4, 1922 Feb 1, 1923
Jan 11, 1925 Jan 5, 15,
Dec(1), 1926 Jan 27
To TD: 1920 Dec 9
From TD: 1906 Jan 1, 1910 May
25, 1912 May 27, 1914 Apr

LABADIE, cont. — LE PRADE

15, 1916 Jan 3, 1920 Dec 16,
24, 1921 Mar 26, 1922 Mar 6,
Nov 14, 1923 Dec 12, 1924
Mar 6, Jun 10, 1925 Dec(1),
Dec 15, 1926 Jul 7, 1928 Mar
30
From Unidentified
Correspondent: 1922 Jul 22
Labor Temple Association of
Terre Haute
From EVD: 1925 Sep 11
Lacey, James
To TD: 1918 Nov 2
Ladlow, Fred
To TD: 1926 Oct 25
Ladoff, Isador
From EVD: 1905 Aug 18, 1906
May 23
From TD: 1906 May 23
Lagarrigue, Juan Enrique
To EVD: 1921 Mar 26
Laidler, Harry W.
To EVD: 1918 Jan 28
Laitinen, Gertrude
To EVD: 1921 Jan 20, Feb 18,
Mar 28, May 31, Jul 22, Sep
19, Oct 22, Nov 10
Lake, H.S. Genevra
To EVD: 1897 Sep 26, 1912 Sep
28, 1915 Aug 27
Lamont, Daniel S.
To EVD: 1885 Sep 9
Landis, J.T.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 14, Dec 29,
1921 Feb 3, Nov 5, 15
To Woodrow Wilson: 1920 Dec
29
Landon, Hugh McK.
From TD: 1915 Oct 2
Lane, Anna
To EVD: 1920 Nov 23
Lanfersiek, Walter
To EVD: 1912 Aug 7, 1915 Nov
8, 13, Dec 13, 23
From EVD: 1912 Aug 11, 1914
Jul 8, 1915 Dec 24
To TD: 1915 Dec 13, 1916 Feb
17
Lang, Harry
From EVD: 1920 Oct 7
From TD: 1921 May 15, 1922
Jan 16
Langdon, Emma F.
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1908 Nov 30, Dec 31, 1909
Mar 19
To TD: 1908 Aug 8, 15, Dec 4,
n.d.(1)
Larkin, James
To EVD: 1917 Apr 13(2), 1919
Feb 28
Larrison, Georgia
From TD: 1945 Apr 2
Larrison, Tom
From TD: 1945 Apr 2
Larsen, James P.
From EVD: 1913 Jun 24
To TD: 1913 Jun 23
Laughlin, Mary Q.
To EVD: 1920 Jun 11
Lawrence, Edwin G.
To EVD: 1921 Jan 21, Feb 1
Lawson, Mae
To TD: 1919 Dec 28
Le Prade, Ruth
To EVD: 1920 Mar 1, Apr 13,
May 25, Nov 20, Dec 26, 1923
May 12
From EVD: 1917 Dec 13, 1918
Sep 30, Nov 15, 1919(1),
1922 Dec 21, 29, 1923 Feb
20, 1924 Dec(2), 1925 Jan
26, 1926 Apr 13, n.d.(1)
From Katherine Metzger Debs:
1924 Dec(1), n.d.(1),
To TD: 1919 Dec 1, 1920 Jan
3, Mar 22, Apr 19, May 14,
Oct 29, 1921 Jan 5, Apr 7,
1923 May 12, 1924 Jun 1,
1926 Oct 20, 21, Dec 12,
1927 May 2, Oct 24, 1928 Jun
14, Aug 6, 1929 Dec 31, 1932
Sep 7, 1933 Dec 4, 1937 Aug
15, 1938 Nov 28
From TD: 1919 Apr 16, Dec 22,
1920(1), 1920 Mar 3, Apr 6,
23, 29, May 27, Jun 2, 11,
Nov 20, 1921 Feb 16, Mar 31,
Apr 14, May 21, Jul 27, Aug
18, 1923 Feb 20, Apr 5, 7,
13, Jun 9, Jul 2, Dec 27,
1925 Jun 4, Aug 13, Sep 21,
Dec 29, 1926 Mar 10, Apr 10,
Oct(1), Nov 12, Dec 21, 1927
Jan 3, Mar 15, Jun 18, Nov
29, Dec 7, 1928 Jul 10, Aug
21, 1930(1), 1930 Jan 13, 1932 Dec
22, 1933 Feb 23, Sep(1), Oct

23, Dec 21, 1934 Apr 24,
 1936 Jan 6, 1937 Aug 28,
 1938 Dec 18, 1939 Dec 27,
 1940(5), 1941 Jan 1, Apr 18,
 Dec 19, 1942 Apr 22, 1943
 Apr 26, 1942 Aug 4, 1943 Dec
 15, 1944 May 5
 LeSueur, Arthur
 To EVD: 1915 Sep 15
 From EVD: 1915 Jul 24
 Leavitt, John M.
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 15
 From TD: 1921 Nov 25
 Lee, Algernon
 To EVD: 1921 Aug 23, 1923 Sep
 16
 From EVD: 1907 Dec 9, 1918
 Oct 10, 1922 May 4, 1923 Feb
 5, 13, 16
 To TD: 1944 Sep 7, 24, 1945
 Feb 15, Mar 1
 From TD: 1914 Nov 20, 1920
 Sep 7, 1921 Aug 31, 1923 Feb
 27, 1943 Jan 24, 1944
 Sep(1), Sep 11, Oct 4, 1945
 Feb 24, Mar 27
 Lee, E.A.
 To EVD: 1920 May 14
 Lee, Matilda Sinai
 From TD: 1920 Sep 7
 Lee, W.G.
 From W.F. Jerman: 1920 Apr 22
 Lehane, Cornelius
 From EVD: 1918 Nov 30
 To TD: 1918 Nov(1)
 Leheny, John F.
 To EVD: 1923 May 4
 Leiser, Clara
 To TD: 1934 Aug 10, Sep 4,
 Oct 23, 1941 Sep 12, 26
 From TD: 1934 Aug 30, Oct 16
 Lentz, John J.
 To EVD: 1925 Sep 2
 Leonard, Harold W.
 To EVD: 1920 Aug 12
 Leonard, William Ellery
 To EVD: 1919 May 1, 1920 Jan
 2, Mar 4, Jun 29, Sep 9, Nov
 1, Dec 24, 1921 Jan 7, Feb
 1, Apr 5, Jun 24, Aug 16
 To TD: 1919 Dec 24, 1920 Feb
 5, Mar 17, Apr 10, Dec 9,
 1921 Feb 10, 1926 Oct 21
 Lermond, Norman W.
 To TD: 1940 Nov 10
 From TD: 1940 Nov 28
 Leslie, Anna
 To EVD: 1919 Dec 22, 1920 Dec
 20
 To TD: 1919 Dec 22, 1942 Dec
 29, 1945 Mar 11
 Leslie, Jean
 To TD: 1940 Dec 27, 1942 Dec
 29, 1945 Mar 11
 Leslie, Will
 To EVD: 1919 Dec 22, 1920 Dec
 20
 To TD: 1919 Dec 22, 1940 Dec
 27, 1942 Dec 29, 1945 Mar
 11
 Levine, Isaac Don
 To EVD: 1925 Jul 13
 Levitan, B.
 To EVD: 1926 Jun 7
 Levoff, Leopold
 To EVD: 1920 Mar 2
 Lewing?, Mrs. F.N.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 2
 Lewis, Arthur M.
 To TD: 1915 Jul 5
 Lewis, E.B.
 To TD: 1921 May 21
 Lewis, Fay
 To EVD: 1926 May 24
 To TD: 1926 Nov 18, 1935 Dec
 29, 1937 Jan 25
 From TD: 1926 Nov 5, 1936 Dec(1)
 Lewis, G.B.
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 28
 Lewis, Lena Morrow
 From EVD: 1918 Oct 18
 To TD: 1920 Aug 27, 1926 Oct
 22, 1944 Sep 19, 30
 From TD: 1944 Oct 17
 see also EVD to TD; 1920(1)
 Lewis, R.T.
 To EVD: 1921 Jan 18
 Lewis, Sinclair
 To EVD: 1926 Apr 8(2), May
 16
 From EVD: 1926 May 13
 To TD: 1927 Apr 16, 1928 Dec
 2, 1930 Nov 21, 1939 Feb 25
 Lewis, W.C.
 To EVD: 1926 Jan 16
 From TD: 1926 Jan 22
 Liebknecht, Sonia
 From Rosa Luxemburg: 1920 Aug
 22
 Likin, Mr. and Mrs. J.W.

LIKIN, cont. — LUNDE, MR. AND MRS. THEO. H.

To EVD: 1919 Dec 23
Limbach, Sarah
From TD: 1937 Jun 29
Lincoln, Elsie
To EVD: 1921 Nov 3
Lincoln, Frank W.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 3
Lindlahr, Victor Hugo
To EVD: 1926 Jun 7
Lindlahr Sanitarium
To EVD: 1924 Jun 6
Linen, H.M.
To EVD: 1917 Nov 13
Lingan, Arch
To TD: 1919-1921(1)
Linton, Chester Alfred
To EVD: 1920 May 30
Lipchuk, S.L.
To EVD: 1921 Oct 27
Lippincott, Martha Shephard
To TD: 1926 Nov 9
Lisemer, Louis
To EVD: 1926 Feb 12
Littleton, Frank L.
From TD: 1919 Jan 4
Liveright, H.B.
From Guy Bogart: 1919 Apr 28
Llano Colony, Members
To EVD: 1921 Jul 6
Lloyd, Caro
To EVD: 1919 Nov 18
From EVD: 1905 Jan 31, 1910
Jun 22, 23, Jul 2, Nov 16
To TD: 1935 Jan 21
From TD: 1935 Feb 15
Lloyd, Henry Demarest
To EVD: 1898 Nov 26, 1903 Jun
8
From EVD: 1893 Jul 29, Aug
22, 1894 Jul 24, Aug 15, Dec
10, 1895 Aug 1, 27, 1896 Feb
1, Jul 21, 25, Dec 12, 1897 Jul
10(2), 1898 Dec 3, 1899 Jan
7, 1900 Dec 12, 1903 Jun 22
Lloyd, John
To TD: 1926 Dec 4
Lloyd, Llewelyn
From EVD: 1915 Feb 14
Lochner, Louis P.
To EVD: 1917 Jun 19
Locke, Charlton
To EVD: 1920 Feb 20
Lofton, Emma
To EVD: 1920 Nov 29
Lofton, Leola
To EVD: 1920 Nov 28
Logan, William Richard
To TD: 1920 Jul 9
London, Charmian K.
From EVD: 1917 Feb 25, Mar 17(2),
Jun 2
London, Meyer
To EVD: 1914 Dec 7
Long, C.R.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 26
Longuet, Jean
To TD: 1924 Apr 7
Lopez, F.R.
To EVD: 1922 Jan 10
Lore, Ludwig
To EVD: 1915 Dec 9, 1917 Mar
9, 19, 1919 Mar 3
Los Angeles Record, Editor
From TD: 1931 Jun 13
Louisiana
1918 Jun 3(2), Jul 24, 1919
Nov(1), 1920 Jan 5, Apr 18,
Nov 11, 20, Dec 9, 25(2), 1921
Jan 17, 19, 21, Feb 1, Mar 7,
Apr 8, 18, 24, May 28, Jun(1),
Jul 6, Aug 27, Oct 29, Dec 16,
1926 Oct 21
Lovejoy, Andrew
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Lovejoy, Mary
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Lovejoy, Owen R.
To EVD: 1919 Apr(1)
Lowe, Caroline A.
To EVD: 1908 Oct 26, 1911 Aug
18, 1912(1), 1915 Dec 13,
1916 Jan 19, 1918 Feb 4, Apr
14, Aug 28, 1919 Dec 24,
1926 Apr 17
From EVD: 1916 Jan 31,
1919-1921(2)
To TD: 1908 Oct 12, Dec(1).
1926 Oct 22
Ludlow, Louis Leon
To Katherine Metzger Debs:
1926 Oct 21
To Robert D. Heinl: 1926 Oct
21
Lulow, Max E.
To EVD: 1918 Apr 11
Lund, Signe
To EVD: 1920 May 31
Lunde, Mr. and Mrs. Theo. H.

LUNDE, MR. AND MRS. THEO. H., cont. — McKINNIS

To EVD: 1920 Nov 24
Lunde, Theo. H.
To EVD: 1918 Sep 13
Lunn, George R.
To EVD: 1915 Nov 22
Luxemburg, Rosa
To Sonia Liebknecht: 1920 Aug
22
Lydenberg, H.M.
To TD: 1926 Nov 3
Lynch, Agatha
To Gertrude Toy Debs:
n.d.(1)
To TD: 1931 Nov 20, Dec 21,
n.d.(1)
From TD: 1931 Nov 25
Lynch, George Quentin
To EVD: 1921 Nov 3
Lynch, Thomas
To EVD: 1921 Jul 29
To TD: 1919(1). 1926 Oct 19, 25
Lynn, Ethel
To EVD: 1920 Aug 14, Dec 16,
1921 Jan 1, n.d.(1)
To TD: 1918 Jan 3, 1925(1),
1926 Apr 5, 1925 Nov 20,
1926 Oct 19, 20, 22, 1934
Apr 4
From TD: 1926 Oct(1)
M., E., Sr.?
To EVD: 1926 Jun 12
Mabie, J.F.
From EVD: 1904 Mar 25, Dec
23
McBride, John
To EVD: 1895 Aug 3
McBride, Rollo
To EVD: 1924 Nov 20
McCaleb, H.A.
To EVD: 1916 Dec 18
McCartan, James
From EVD: 1922 Feb 18
McCauley, Mary Ethel
To TD: 1920 Nov 5
McClure, Charles R.
To TD: 1912 Aug 12
McCormick, P.G.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 9
McCraith, Aug.
From EVD: 1896 Jun 9
McCuaig, J. Aspinall
To EVD: 1915 Jan 30
McDermott, T.A.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 26, 1921 May
20, 25, Dec 5
MacDonagh, J.P.
To EVD: 1914 May 18
MacDonald, Alexander
To EVD: 1921 Nov 20, 1922(1),
1926 Apr 11
To TD: 1919-1921(1), 1926 Mar
16, Jul 27, 30, Oct 12, 22,
26, Nov 5, 13, Dec 7, 31,
1927 Mar 9, Jun 1, Nov 7,
1928 Feb 2, 1930 Apr 7, 1932
Dec 22, 1933 Dec 4, 1934 Dec
3, 1935 Dec 13, 18, 1937 Dec
10
From TD: 1928 Feb 16, 1933
Jan(1), Dec 4
McDonald, Duncan
To EVD: 1917 Jan 3
From L. Dwyer: 1915 Dec 31
MacDonald, Frank P.
From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1934 Mar 29
To TD: 1934 Mar 29
MacDonald, I.
To TD: 1926 Nov 5
McDonald, T.J.
To EVD: 1914 Jan 14
McFadden, I.D.
To EVD: 1920 May 15, Sep 11,
Dec 21, 1921 Mar 5
Macfarland, John C.
To EVD: 1918 Apr 2
To TD: 1918 Apr 2
MacFarlane, William
To EVD: 1905 Oct 14
McGann, William
To EVD: 1920 Apr 26
McGrady, Thomas
To EVD: 1905 Aug 12
To TD: 1907 Feb 10, Mar 6
McJunken, Ethel
To EVD: 1921 Jan 9
MacKay, Robert
To EVD: 1905 Dec 13
McKean, C.E.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 3
McKeen, Frank
To EVD: 1899 Dec 31
McKeen, -----
From Samuel M. Castleton:
1945 Feb 13
McKibbin, John H.
To EVD: 1921 Oct 11
McKinley, William
To EVD: 1897 May 7
McKinnis, J.R.

McKINNIS, cont. — MAINE

To TD: 1926 Oct 24
McLain, Ben
To EVD: 1920 Dec 8
To TD: 1920 Jan 20, 1926 Oct 22
see also EVD to TD, 1920 May 23
McLain, F.B.
To TD: 1926 Nov 11
MacLean, Isabel
To TD: 1913 Sep 20, 1915 Dec 9
From TD: 1913 Oct 1
McMahon, B.?
To EVD: 1912 Jun 11
McMahon, John R.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 25
McMahon, P. Maurice
To EVD: 1921 Mar 20
M'Millan, V.R.
From Roger N. Baldwin: 1925 Jan 27
McNamee, John F.
To EVD: 1915 Mar 2, 1916 Sep 14, 1918 Oct 30
To TD: 1919 Nov 13
McNicoll, Mabel
To EVD: 1920 Nov 2
McNutt, Mr. and Mrs. B.A.
To TD: 1926 Oct 28
McWhirter, J.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 5
Magee, Hugh W.
To TD: 1920 Oct 26
Magnes, Judah L.
To EVD: 1918 Apr 17, May 31
Magon, Ricardo
To EVD: 1910 Jan 13
Magoon?, G.H.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 21
Magosy, Mildred
To EVD: 1921 Nov 2
Mahoney, William V.
From EVD: 1923 Nov 8
Maier, C.W.
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Mailloux, Cyprien Odilon
Biography 1937 Apr 9
From Edouard Caspari: 1895 Dec 12
To Marguerite Debs Cooper: 1894 Jun 10
To TD: 1894 Jul 18
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1882 Apr 28

From Edwin Markham: 1904 Mar 26
From Maud R. Ingersoll Perkins: n.d.(1)
From Louise Caroline Debs Stephan: 1884 Mar 23
From Booker T. Washington: 1915 Oct 23
Mailloux, Emily Debs
To Marguerite Debs Cooper: 1900 Aug 3, Sep 3
From Mary O. Davis: 1903 May 13
From Jean Daniel Debs: 1888 Mar 12, 1895 Oct 6, 1896 Jul 8, n.d.(1)
To TD: 1900 Aug 1, 1913 Apr 28, 1926 Oct 10, 11, Dec 1, 1927 Aug 19
From TD: 1917 Feb 9, 1926 Oct(1), Dec 13
From Robert G. Ingersoll: 1881 Jul 28
From Salome Koenig-Debs: 1914 Jan 25, 1919 Apr 24
From Cyprien Odilon Mailloux: 1882 Apr 28
From Edwin Markham: 1901 Feb 28, 1904 Mar 26
From Maud R. Ingersoll Perkins: n.d.(1)
To Rand School: 1923 May 22
From Eugenie Debs Selby: 1883 Jun 21
From Louise Caroline Debs Stephan: 1884 Mar 23
From Fanny G. Villard: 1912 Feb 16
Maily, Bertha Howell
To EVD: 1915 Oct 18
From EVD: 1912 Sep 11
To TD: 1943 Sep 29, 1944 Jun 13
From TD: 1920 Dec 17, 1943 May 10, Sep 21, Oct(1). n.d.(1)
Maily, William
To EVD: 1903 Mar 21, 27, Apr 15, Jun 26, Jul 8, 17, 31, Aug 3, 1904 Oct 31
To TD: 1903 May 29, Jun 29, Jul 31, 1908 Mar 30
Maine
1909 Jun 7, 1920 Jul 8, 1921 Aug 21, 1925 Aug 27, 1926 Oct

27, 1940 Nov 10
Mairova, K.
To EVD: 1923 Mar 31
Maitain, John
To EVD: 1921 Mar 26
Maitra, Harendranath
To EVD: 1923(1), 1925 May 23
Mak, Klarenc Wade
To EVD: 1918 Mar 4
Malkiel, Leon A.
To TD: 1921 Mar 29, 1926 Oct 21
Malkiel, Theresa Serber
To EVD: 1915 Jul 26, Oct 1,
1921 Mar 29
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Malkin, Beulah B.
To TD: 1929 Sep 16
Mallery, R.L.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 23
Malone, Dudley Field
To EVD: 1919 Nov 5
Maniscaleo, P.
To EVD: 1925 Aug 25
Manley, Joseph
To EVD: 1923 Aug 14
Manly, Basil M.
To EVD: 1915 Apr 21, Oct 9,
Dec 24, 1916 Jul 19
From TD: 1915 Apr 17
Manly, Pauline Kunderd
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1932
Jul 8
To TD: 1932 Jul 8
From TD: 1932 Jul 13
Mann, Tom
To EVD: 1926 Feb 5
To F.W. Taylor: 1919 Nov 5
Manning, J.L.
To EVD: 1926 Aug 16
Mantzke, Caroline
To EVD: 1920 Nov 27
Maple, Otto Delton
To EVD: 1921 Feb 2
Marcy, Mary
To EVD: 1918 Feb 18, Mar 6,
19
"Margaret," see MacLean, Isabel
Markham, Catherine
From EVD: 1903 Dec 9
Markham, Edwin
From EVD: 1899 Jul 18, 1903
Sep 30, 1911 Nov 28
To Cyprien Odilon Mailloux:
1904 Mar 26
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1899
May 9, 1901 Feb 28, 1904 Mar
26
Marks, Jeanette
To TD: 1927 Jan 1
Marky, Alexander
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Marquardt, Emil
To TD: 1926 Oct 26
Marston, J.C.
To TD: 1926 Oct 23
Martel, Frank X.
To EVD: 1921 Apr 6
Martig, Leo
To EVD: 1921 Mar 29
Martin, John A.
To EVD: 1915 Oct 16
Martin, Logan Pascal
To EVD: 1920(1)
Martins, James E.
From EVD: 1913 Jun 23
Maryland
1908 Oct 16, 1919 Dec 26, 1920
Feb 2, 12, 1921 Feb 2, Apr 4,
May 15, Oct 9, Nov 4, 1923 Aug
11, 1926 Oct 21
Mason, Vernon
To EVD: 1920 Jan 1
Massachusetts
1881 Oct 17, 1898 Nov 6, 1906
Mar 17, 1908 Mar 31, Aug 13,
15, Oct 7(2), 1909 Oct 27(2),
28, 29, 1910 Sep 13, 1912 Jul
6, 1913 Aug 22, 1915 Jan 13,
1916 Jan 26, 1917 Mar 7(2),
1918 Jan 8, Mar 30, Nov 2,
1919-1921(3), 1919 Nov 18,
1920 Jan 1, 15, Apr 11, 21,
May 8(2), Jun 15, Jul 4, Sep
10, Oct 5, 13, Nov 2, 6, 12,
22, 28, Dec 16, 20, 22(2),
25(2), 28, 1921 Jan 20, Feb
18, Mar 16, 23, 25(2), 28, May
31, Jul 22, 30, Sep 12, 19,
Oct 22, Nov 3, 10, 13, 17, 19,
1923 Sep 29, Oct 28, 1924 May
7, Nov 14, Dec 28, 1925 Jul
13, Sep 4, Dec 18, 1926 Feb
24, Jun 14, 22, Jul 16, 24,
27, 30, Aug 26, Oct(2), Oct 9,
20(2), 21(4), 22(2), 23,
25(2), 27, 31, Nov 3, 12, 21,
30, Dec 16, 1927 Jan 1, Mar
20, Jun 11, Aug 24, Dec 20,
1928 Oct 3, 1929 May 15, 1944
Oct 16, 21, Nov 13, 24, Dec 9

MASTERS — MICHEL, LOUIS

Masters, Edgar Lee
To Katherine Metzgel Debs:
1926 Nov 13

Matchett, Clara E.
To TD: 1920 Jun 15, 1926 Oct
21

Matchett, Harriet
To TD: 1928 Oct 3

Matnes, J.D.
To TD: 1895 Nov(1)

Matthews, A.C.
To TD: 1921 Dec 11

Maurer, George
From EVD: 1925 Jun 25

Maurer, James H.
From EVD: 1919(1)
To TD: 1928 Jun 23, 1936 Jan
25, 1943 Dec 10

Maurer Family
From Gertrude Toy Debs: 1944
Mar 28
From TD: 1944 Mar 28

Maxim, Victor
To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Maxwell, Joseph S.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 4

Mayer, Louis
To EVD: 1919 Jun 5, Oct 27,
28, 1920 Apr 1, Nov 7, 1921
Mar 27 1925 Jan 6
To Katherine Metzgel Debs:
1926 Oct 24
To TD: 1919 May 5, Jul 8, Dec
22, 1920 May 14, Jul 8, 1921
Jan 28, Mar 23, 1926 Oct 24,
From TD: 1919 Jul 1

Maynard, J.B.
To TD: 1894 Jun 29, 1895 Nov
20

Mayo, William J.
To EVD: 1910 Dec 26, 1915 Jul
7

Meeks, Mary Brown
To EVD: 1926 Jul 1

Meinecke, Frieda
To EVD: 1921 Jun 17, Jul 6, Aug
30

Meltzer, Leo
To TD: 1939 Feb 9
From TD: 1939 Feb 7

Melvin, Floyd J.
From EVD: 1915 Jul 24

Meng, J.A.C.
To EVD: 1919-1921(1). 1920
Oct 26, Dec 22, 23, 1921 Jan
24, May 19, 22, 1926 Mar 9
From EVD: 1926 Mar 12

Merrick, Ida F.
To EVD: 1913 Nov(1), 1914 Sep
8, 1917 Sep 14, 1918 Sep 13,
To TD: 1913 Nov 27, 1914 Apr
18, Sep 8, Nov 5, Dec 31,
1915 Feb 20

Merrick, -----
To EVD: 1921 Nov 17

Merrick, Allora
To EVD: 1921 Nov 17

Merrick, Fred H.
To EVD: 1912 Feb 5

Merrick, Mrs. C.D.
To EVD: 1913 Jun 2, 1920 Apr
25

Merrill, Herbert M.
To TD: 1926 Oct 28, 21, Nov 1
To Katherine Metzgel Debs:
1926 Oct 28

Merts, Dora
To EVD: 1918 Jan 6

Meserole, Katherine M.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 20

Metzen, John L.
To EVD: 1921 Feb 1

Metzger, H.
To EVD: 1921 Jul 16

Mexico
1919-1921(1), 1919 Oct 31, Dec
2, 1921 Oct 21, 1924 Oct 6,
1926 Nov 13

Meyer, Ernest L.
To TD: 1926 Nov 11

Miami Valley Socialist
To EVD: 1912 Nov 4
From TD: 1919 Aug 30, Sep 26

Miami Valley Socialist, Staff
From TD: 1922 Dec 7, 1923 Mar
1

Michel, Arthur
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1904 Aug(1), 1908 Feb 27
To EVD: 1926 Oct 13
To TD: 1926 Oct 10, 17, 19,
1931 Jul 15, 1938 Oct 6
From TD: 1938 Oct 11
To Marie Scheurer Koenig:
1936 Nov 13

Michel, Frederick
To EVD: 1920 Sep 23

Michel, Lissette
To EVD: 1926 Oct 13

Michel, Louis

To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1920
 Nov 25, 1921 Jan 19, Oct 24
 From TD: 1921 Nov 28

Michel, Louise Debs
 To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1904 Aug(1), 1907 Jun 13,
 1908 Sep 1, 1909 Aug 2
 To EVD: 1926 Oct 13
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1894 May
 26, 1907 Jun 11
 To TD: 1894 May 26
 From TD: 1908 Sep 11, 1926
 Oct(1)
 From Robert D, Heinl: 1904
 Mar 28

Michelson, Clarina
 To EVD: 1926 Jun 15

Michigan
 1894 Jul 7, 1899 Dec 8, 1902
 Dec 2, 1905 Jun 20, 1909 Jul
 20, 1910 Jun 11, Aug 5, 1916
 Jun 24(2), 1917 Nov 8, 26,
 1918 Mar 10, 18, 1919 Apr 15,
 1920 Mar(1), Sep 13, Oct
 17(2), 28, 30, Nov 15, 22,
 Dec(1), Dec 7, 9(2), 1921 Jan
 15, Feb 2, Apr 6, Jun 22, Jul
 2, 30, Aug 9, Oct 4, 24, 31,
 Nov 1, 5, 11, 15, 16, Dec 21,
 1922 Jun 8, Dec 21, 1923 May
 17, 1925 Jun 18, 1926 Jun 19,
 Aug 10, Oct 22, 29, 1929 May
 16, 1937 Dec(1), 1939 Feb 25,
 1940 Jan(1), May 2, 1941(1),
 1942 Jan 5, Dec 16, 1943 Jan
 3, Mar(1), 1944 Jul 1,
 n.d.(2)

Middleton, Louis V.
 To EVD: 1910 Aug 5

Milhollin, John H.
 To TD: 1921 Sep 21

Millard, Daisy C.
 To EVD: 1918 Apr 10
 From EVD: 1918 Oct 8

Millard, Walter
 From EVD: 1918 Oct 8

Miller, Clarence R.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 24

Miller, Eugene
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 12

Miller, Gabriel B.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 26

Miller, George
 To EVD: 1921 Oct 14

Miller, Martin H.
 To TD: 1933 Aug 24
 From TD: 1933 Aug 30

Miller, Samuel
 To EVD: 1919 Dec 10, 1920 Apr
 13

Millinery Workers Union, Local
 24
 To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Mills, Benjamin Fay
 From EVD: 1896 Dec 24,
 1905 Feb 28

Mills, Daisy L.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Mills, Ernest
 To EVD: 1916 Jan 5, 1918 Nov
 22

Mills, J.B.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 6

Mills, Mountfort
 From Martha Root: 1921 Jul 24

Minneapolis and Hennepin Co.,
 Trades and Labor Assembly
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 4

Minnesota
 1894 Apr 19(8), 23(2), 25,
 26(2), May 9, 1903 Sep 8, 1908
 Sep 2, 21, 1910 Jul 26, Jul
 30, Aug 1, 2, Dec 26, 1912 Aug
 27, 1915 Jul 7, 1916 Sep(1),
 Nov 16, 1917 Jul 9, 10, 16,
 1918 May 8, 1919 Apr 25, Jun
 20, Oct 12, 1920 Feb 27, May
 1, Jun 16, 1921 Mar 29, May 8,
 23, Aug 16, Oct 19, Nov 4, 27,
 Dec 7, 1925 Apr 13, Oct 20,
 1926 Oct 19, 20, Nov 5, 1943
 Dec 19

Minns, Hervey W.
 To EVD: 1919 Oct 27, 1920 Jan 7,
 1921 Mar 6, Aug 25
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1921
 Aug 1
 To TD: 1920 Dec 28, 1921(1).
 1921 Jan 7

Minor, Robert
 To EVD: 1916 Nov 6

Minshall, Rachel H.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 22, Nov 4

Mint, Lucile
 To EVD: 1921 Jun 28
 To TD: 1926 Oct 24

Minteer, Edwin D.
 To EVD: 1925 Feb 14
 From EVD: 1925 Feb 18

MISCHKE — MOSKOVITZ, LAURENCE

Mischke, George M.
From Newton D. Baker: 1920
Feb 20
To EVD: 1920 Feb 20, May 14

Mississippi
1919 Nov 11, Dec 21, 1920 Mar
7, May 1, 1921 Aug 30

Missouri
1874 Sep 29, Oct 3, 8, 1901
Oct 30, Nov 23, 1904 Mar 28,
Aug(1), 1906 Jan 30, 1908 Feb
27, Jul(1), Sep 3, Oct 21,
1909 Jul 21, 1912 Mar(1), Mar
8, 1914 Mar 23, 28, Apr 2,
8(2), May 6, Jun 19, 20(3),
Jul 1, 1915 Mar 5, Jun 19, Jul
18, 1916(1). 1916 Jan 4, 1917
May 17, Jun 7, Dec 12, 1918
Jan 19, Mar 4, 8, Apr 21, May
2, 17, 1919-1921(1). 1919 Jan
17, Dec 24, 1920 Jan 7, Feb 4,
May 29, 30, Aug 31, Nov 2, 28,
Dec 23, 24, 26, 27, 1921 Jan
9, Feb 1, Mar 24, Apr 21, May
21, Jun 17, Aug 3, Nov 5, 30,
1922 Oct 5, 1926 Feb 15, Apr
8(4), May 16, Jun 4, 17, Oct
21, 22(2), 30, Nov 10, 23,
1927 Jan 23, Apr 16, 1943 Mar
2, n.d.(1)

Mitchell, Broadus
To EVD: 1921 Apr 4

Mitchell, Rachel C.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 10

Mitchell, Ruth
To EVD: 1920 Nov 3

Mitchell, Thomas
To EVD: 1921 Jul 9
To TD: 1921 Oct 27

Mitchell, Mrs. W.C.
To TD: 1945 Mar 12

Molloy, John Francis
To TD: 1926 Oct 25

Montana
1895 Mar 13, 1897 Feb 16, 1902
Jun 14, Jul 15, 1904 Oct 3,
1915 Jan 14, 1918 Dec 10, 1920
May 30, Nov 9, 29, 1923 Sep 5,
1926 Oct 21, 22, 25

Mooney, Anna
From TD: 1931 Apr 11

Mooney, Rena
To TD: 1920 Nov 11

Mooney, Tom (of San Francisco)
To EVD: 1917 May 21, 1918 Mar
23, Jun 4
From EVD: 1918 Nov 30, 1922
Feb 18, 1936 May 25
To TD: 1918 Jul 17, 1931 Mar
30, May 16, 1934 Oct 1, 1936
May 25, Dec 21, 1939 Jul 21,
From TD: 1934 Feb 2, Sep 6,
Nov 15, 1939 Jan 8

Mooney, Tom (of Tennessee)
To TD: 1920 Mar 26

Mooney (Tom) Molders Defense
Committee
To TD: 1933 May 24
From TD: 1934 Jan 3

Moore, May B.
To TD: 1926 Oct 28

Moore, Samuel
From EVD: 1923 Feb 2
To Katherine Metzger Debs:
1926 Oct 21
To TD: 1926 Oct 21, Nov 2,
1927 Feb 26, Jul 31

Moore, T.E.
To EVD: 1926 Feb 18
To TD: 1926 Nov 17

Morgan, Angela
To EVD: 1921 Nov 28

Morgan, J. Pierpont
From Frank Putnam: 1925 Dec
9

Morgan, Thomas J.
Agreement 1895 Sep 4
To EVD: 1912 Jun(1)
From EVD: 1895 Nov 5, 1900
Aug 14
To TD: 1900 Aug 17

Morgantown, West Virginia Local,
Socialist Party
To TD: 1926 Oct 24

Morgenstern, Henry
To EVD: 1920 Nov 5

Moro, Joseph
To TD: 1926 Oct 9, 27, 1927
Dec 20

Morones, Louis N.
From EVD: 1918 Nov 16

Morris, David
To EVD: 1921 Mar 27

Morrison, James E.
To TD: 1926 Oct 20

Moskovitz, Gertrude
To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Moskovitz, Laurence

MOSKOVITZ, LAURENCE, cont. — NEW JERSEY

To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
 Mosson, J.
 To TD: 1924 Apr 19
 Mostrella, Oscar
 To TD: 1915 Jan 2
 Mothers' Protective League of
 Strawberry Mansion
 To EVD: 1921 Dec(1)
 Motsinger, N.H.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 25
 Moyer, Charles H.
 To EVD: 1918 Nov 22
 Moyer, Harvey P.
 To EVD: 1912 Jun(1)
 Mueller, Jacob
 To Katherine Metzler Debs:
 1926 Oct 21
 Mulford, J. Bentley
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 7
 Murphy, Dan
 To EVD: 1915 Jul 25
 Murphy, John
 To TD: 1921 Jul 4
 Murphy, John M.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 30
 Murray, John F.
 To EVD: 1908 Feb 28
 Muste, A.J.
 To EVD: 1919 Oct 29

Nance, J.H.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 24
 Nance, Lee
 To EVD: 1920(1)
Nation (magazine)
 To TD: 1920 Jan 8
National Rip-Saw
 From EVD: 1916 Mar 9, 10, 12,
 Apr 14, 16
 Neal, Edna Marie
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 3
 Neal, W.S.
 To EVD: 1916 Jan 16, n.d.(1)
 To TD: 1924 Jul 1, 1926 Oct
 21
 Neal, Zadie M.
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1941
 Nov 15
 To TD: 1941 Nov 15
 Nearing, John
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 24
 Nearing, Nellie Seeds
 From EVD: 1923 Mar 10
 Nearing, Scott

To EVD: 1917 Oct 18, 1918 Feb
 3, 1920 Feb 3, 20, Apr 3,
 Jul 26, Aug 22, 1921 Oct 21
 To S. Earle Taylor: 1920 Feb
 20
 Neblagonadezdni, V.S.P.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 7
 Nebraska
 1893 Aug 22, 1903 Apr 15, 1909
 Jan 25, 1919 Dec 18, 1920 Apr
 14, May 14, Nov(1), Nov 2,
 1926 Oct(1), Oct 31(2)
 Neil, Henry
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
 Nelles, Walter
 To EVD: 1925 Nov 25
 Nelson, Carl C.
 To Katherine Metzler Debs:
 1926 Oct 25
 To TD: 1926 Oct 25
 Nelson, Ethel
 To TD: 1920 Jan 2, 1921 Oct
 8
 Nelson, Kenford
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1921
 Oct 29
 Nelson, Knute
 To EVD: 1894 Apr 23
 Nelson, O.J.
 To EVD: 1919 Dec 14
 Nerman, Tuve
 To EVD: n.d.(1)
 Nesbit, Walter
 To TD: 1930 Jun 20
 Neuberger, David M.
 To TD: 1944 Sep 25, Nov 7,
 22, 1945 Jan 23
 From TD: 1944 Sep 19, 30, Nov
 19, 1945 Jan 19
 Neuberger, Harry
 From TD: 1934 Oct 19
 Neumann-Zilbermann, Bella
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1),
 1920 Dec 2
 Nevada
 1908 Sep 8,
 Nevins, David W.
 To TD: 1921 May 10, Jun 25
 New Hampshire
 1908 Oct 6, 7, 1912 Jul 27, 1917
 Dec 19, 1920 Oct 3, 26, Nov 2,
 1926 Oct 23
 New Jersey
 1903 May 13, 1904 Nov 21, 1908
 Oct 10, 25, 1909 Jul 4, 1912

NEW JERSEY, cont. — NEW YORK CITY

Aug 1, 11, 1913 Jun 17, 26,
1915 Jul 1, Dec 23, 1919 Dec
16, 22, 1920 Mar 14, May 12,
Jul 5, 21, 27, Oct 9, 11, 27,
28, Nov 9, 27, Dec 8, 15, 21,
22, 29, 1921 Jan(1), Feb 3,
Mar 19, Apr 2, Aug 10, Sep 7,
Oct 31(2), Nov 1(2), 5(2), 11,
1923 May 14, 1926 Mar 18, Oct
10, 18, 21(2), 23(2), Nov 3,
5(2), 1927 Nov 8, 1928 Jan 30,
Nov 1, Dec 1, 1929 Aug 20,
1936 May 10, Sep 18, 1940 Se
24, Nov 9, 1944 May 31, 1945
Mar 11, n.d.(1)

New Leader

From Norman Thomas: 1935 Feb
8

New Mexico

1919 Oct(1), 1904 Dec 19, 1908
Dec(1), 1916 Apr 14, 1919 Dec
16, 1920 Jun 7, Dec 19,
1921(1), 1921 Mar(1), 1926 Oct
21, 1938 Nov 28, Dec 10

New York Call

To EVD: 1920 Aug 25, Nov 6

New York City

1876 Jan 27, 1894 Jun 10, 29,
Jul 5, 18, 1901 Feb 28, Jul
25, 1904 Mar 26, Oct 17, 1905
Apr 16, Dec 11, 12, 13, 1907
Jan 17, Mar 26, Jun 11, 13,
Aug 16, 1908 Aug 1, Oct 20,
28, Nov 2, 1909 Jul 19, Aug
2(2), Dec 14, 1910 Feb 12, 17,
Mar 22, 23, Jul 26, 1912 Feb
16, Apr 6, Jul 11, Oct 10, Nov
11, 1913 Jan 27, Apr 10, Jul
19, Nov 15, 1914 Jan 19, May
18, Jul 17, 20, Dec 7, 1915
Jan 21, Feb 21, Mar 19, 24,
Apr 1, May 3, Jul 26, Aug 18,
22, 30, Sep 10, 21, Oct 1,
18(2), 23, Nov 19, 21, 28, Dec
3, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17,
20(2), 23, 1916 Jan 26, Jun 5,
25, Oct 23, 1917 Mar 9, 19,
May 8, Jun 19, Sep 24, Oct 18,
31, Nov 8, 13, 1918(1), 1918
Jan 15, 28, Feb 3, 6, 13, 20,
28, Mar 4(2), 7(2), 8, 16, 18,
20, Apr 1, 3, 10(2), 11, 13,
17, May 6, 31(2), Aug 5, 21,
26, Oct 26, Nov(1), Nov 1, 19,
1919-1921(7), 1919 Jan 1, 23,

Feb 5, 10, 20, 28, Mar 3, May
5, 20, Jun 5, 14, Jul 8, 27,
Aug 22, Oct 28, 29, 30, Nov
5(2), 9, 10, 11(2), 18, 26,
Dec(1), Dec 4, 10, 14, 31,
1920(3), 1920 Jan 8, 14, Feb
19, 20, 22, Mar 15, 16, 17,
22(2), 30, Apr(1), Apr 1, 3,
7(2), 13, 14, 20, 21, 24, 27, 29,
May(1), May 5(2), 13(2),
14(3), 24, 31, Jun 3, 8, 16,
29, Jul 11, 12, 14, 21, 26,
Aug 17, 25, Sep 9, 21, 23, Oct
2, 3, 6(2), 10, 11, 12, 14,
15, 19, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28,
29, 30, 31, Sep 10(2), Nov(1),
Nov 1, 3(2), 3, 5, 6, 7(2), 8, 28,
Dec(2), Dec 2(2), 20(2), 22,
23(4), 24(3), 25(4), 26(2),
28, 1921 Jan 10, 18, 27, 28,
30, Feb 1, 2, 17, 25, Mar 15,
24, 27, 29(3), Apr 4, May 6,
19, 20(2), 25, 26, Jun 9, 28,
Jul 7, 12, 27(2), Aug 4, 17,
23, 24, 26, Sep 7, 8, 13,
22(2), Oct 1, 3, 4(2), 5, 8,
13, 16(2), 20, 24, 26, 30(2),
31, Nov 2, 3(2), 4, 5(3), 6,
7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 21(2),
23, 25, 28, 29, Dec 7, 8, 1922
Jan 16, Apr 3, May 26, Aug 15,
Sep 4, Oct 17, Dec 20, 26,
1923 Jan 2, May 22, Sep 16,
Oct 12, 30, Nov 16, Dec 22,
1924 Apr 19, Jul 16, Oct 10,
Dec 13, 22, 1925 Jan 6, 16,
17, 27, Feb 14, 28, Mar 12,
Apr 2, 29, 30(2), May 2, 3,
4(2), 13, 23, 25, Jun 16, Jul
1, 13(2), Sep 16, 25, Oct(2),
Oct 9, 15, 16, 18(2), 29, Nov
14, 1926(1), 1926 Jan 1, 5, 6,
21, Feb 13, Mar 1, 5, 9, 19,
Apr 1, May 5, 10, 19, Jun(2),
Jun 2, 7(2), 8(2), 10, 15, 19,
21, Jul 1, 15, Aug 16, 17, 18,
23, 27, Sep(1), Sep 1(2), 15,
19, 27, Oct 2(2), 11, 13,
19(6), 20, 21(16), 22(10),
23(3), 24(2), 25(3), 26(3),
30, Nov 2, 3(2), 4, 5, 9(2),
10, 13, 22, 27, Dec 1, 4, 18,
22, 1927 Jan 6, 14, 17, Feb 8,
10, Mar 25, Apr 2, 15, 17, Jun
14, Jul 10, 22, 29, Aug 3, 8,

NEW YORK CITY, cont. — NORTH CAROLINA

19, Sep 28, 30, Oct 24, Nov
 16, 1928 Jan 22, Feb 1, 7, 29, Mar
 9, 19, 24, 26, Apr 2, May 25, Jun
 8, Oct 25, Dec 2, 1929 Jan 10,
 Sep 26, Oct 13, Dec 4, 16, Jan
 8, 1930 Jan 21, Mar(1), Oct
 19, 1931(1), 1931 Jan 30, Mar
 18, Sep 23, 1932 Mar 11, Jun
 30, Aug 1, Sep 15, 1933 Mar
 20, Nov 16, 1934 Aug 10, Sep
 4, Oct 23, 1935 Jan 21, 30,
 Feb 8, 1936 Jun 3, 6, Dec 11,
 1937 Jan 1, Mar 17, 23, Apr 9,
 1938 Apr 7, 1939 Sep 8,
 1941(1), 1941 Feb 14, Mar
 5(2), May 26, Jul 7, 30, Sep
 9, 12, 18, 26, Oct 27, Nov 28,
 1942 Feb 22, 23, Apr 7, May 1,
 Jul 25, Oct(1), Oct 19, 1943
 Sep 7, 12, Oct 7, Dec(1), 1944
 Feb 10, May 19, Sep 5, 7, 8,
 12, 15, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26,
 30, Oct 5, Nov 7, 22, 1945 Jan
 23, 27, Feb 15, Mar 1,
 n.d.(6)

New York State
 1907 Oct 21, 1908 Oct 3, 1910
 Mar 28, Apr 4, 1912 Oct 6,
 1913 Mar 2, 1914 May 23, Jul
 27, 1915 Nov 22, Dec 15, 1916
 Sep 6, 1917 Mar 3, Oct 3,
 1919(1), 1919 Mar 11, Apr 17,
 26, Nov 19, Dec 21, 1920 Jun
 11, 30, Jul 16, Aug 28, Oct
 23, 26, Nov 3, 5, 16, Dec 14,
 20(4), 21, 1921 Feb 1, 22, Nov
 1, 2(2), 22, 25(2). 1925 Jan
 10, Jul 6, 1926 May 3, 12, Jun
 4, Jul(1), Oct(1), Oct 10, 15,
 17, 19(2), 21(2), 23, 24, 28,
 Nov 1, 9, 1927 Oct 1, 13, 1931
 Jul 15, Nov 20, 1933 Oct 8,
 1942 Dec 22, 1944 Dec 7,
 n.d.(1)

**New York State Committee,
 Socialist Party**
 To TD: 1926 Nov 1

New York State Socialist Party
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

New York Sun
 To EVD: 1915 Nov 28
 From EVD: 1915 Nov 29

Newman, John P.
 To TD: 1926(1)

Newspaper Enterprise Association
 To EVD: 1915 May 3

Newton, G. White
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 20

Nicholls, John A.
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 5, 1921 Sep
 12
 To TD: 1920 Dec 20, 1926 Nov
 30

Nicholson, Mrs. E.L.
 To EVD: 1926 Mar 18

Nickerson, M.H.
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1920
 Dec 16
 To TD: 1920 Dec 28, 1921 Mar
 16, 23, 1926 Oct 21, Dec 16

Niedelman, Rose
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 31

Nilsson, Martin
 From Thatcher? W. Parker:
 1913 Jun 2

Nishida, J.W.
 To EVD: 1920 Mar 10

Nixon, Don M.
 To Marie Debs Heinl: 1927 Oct
 21

Nobel Peace Prize Committee
 From Faith Chevaillier: 1924
 Mar 15

Nock, Albert J.
 To TD: 1921 Jan 18

Nolan, R.D.
 To TD: 1917 Nov 27

Noll, John F.
 To TD: 1913 Jun 25, 1914 Jul
 14, 29
 From TD: 1913 Jun 27, 1914
 Jul 8, Aug 21

Norden, J.H.
 To EVD: 1908 Sep 8

Norman, Jean
 To EVD: 1920 Apr 7, Dec 31

Norris, Hattie
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1919
 Nov(1), 1920 Jan 5, Nov 11,
 20, Dec 9, 25, 1921 Jan 17,
 19, Apr 8, 24, Jun(1), Aug
 27, Oct 29
 To TD: 1921 Mar 7, Apr 18

North Carolina
 1906 Jan 22, 23, 1910 Jan 27, 1920
 Oct 15, Nov 6, 1921 Dec 14, 1924 Apr
 3, 1926 May 30, Oct 24, 29,
 Nov 2, Dec 5, 1927 Feb 7

NORTH DAKOTA — OHIO

North Dakota

1908 Sep 14, 1910 Oct 11, 12,
Nov 8(2), 1920 Jan 1, Oct 3,
Nov 3

Norton, Helen

To TD: 1926 Oct 27

Novik, Morris

To EVD: 1921 Mar 24

Nunley, R.W.

To EVD: 1914 Oct 18
From EVD: 1914 Oct 21

Nuorteva, Santeri

To EVD: 1918(1), 1918 Nov 19

Oakes, T.F.

From F.W. Arnold: 1884 Mar 1
From EVD: 1884 Mar 1

O'Connell, Martin

From EVD: n.d.(1)

O'Connell, Winifred

From EVD: n.d.(1)

Odell, Spurgeon

To EVD: 1920 Feb 27, Jul 6,
Oct 3, 1921 May 8
To TD: 1917 Jul 10, 16, 1921
Nov 27

O'Donoghue, Martin

To EVD: 1920 Apr 20, Jul 8
To TD: 1920 Apr 20, Aug 8,
Sep 2

Oehlert, Cecile

To TD: 1926 Nov(1)

Oemler, Marie Conway

To EVD: 1920 Oct 9, Dec 22
To TD: 1926 Oct 22

O'Hare, Frank P.

To Leonard D. Abbott: 1945
Jan 23
To Henry Blumberg: 1945 Jan
23
To EVD: 1917 Dec 27, 1918 Feb
28, Mar 4, 1922 Oct 5
From EVD: 1913 Mar 8, 1915
Feb 14, 15(2), Jul 1, Dec
31, 1918 Jan 2, 12, Feb 22,
Mar 2, 6, Apr 1, 2, 4, 26,
1922 Mar 6, 1925 Aug 14
To Katherine Metzger Debs:
1921 Nov 18
From Katherine Metzger Debs:
1922 Jan 15
To TD: 1915 Jun 19, 1916(1),
1922 May 19, 1926
Nov 10, 1937 Mar 17,

1943 Mar 2, 1945 Jan 23

From TD: 1918 Mar 14, 1919
Mar 21, 1920 Sep 28, Oct 15,
Nov 23, 1921 Nov 9, 1922 Jan
21, 28, May 18, 20, Jul 6,
1923 Jul 9, Dec 22, 1926 Nov
18, 1937 May 4, 1943 Apr 6

O'Hare, Kate Richards

To EVD: 1920 Dec 3
From Katherine Metzger Debs:
1921 Oct 14, 17, 29, Nov 17,
Dec 7, 9, 1922 Jan 15, May
25

To TD: 1931 Mar 26

O'Higgins, Harvey

To EVD: 1915 Sep 10

Ohio

1875 Mar 17, 1896 May 9, 1897
Sep 26, 1898 Mar 1, Dec 30,
1899 Jun 22, Jul 20, Nov 29,
Dec 2(2), 1900 Sep 25, Nov 2,
1905 Jun 9, Sep 24, 28, Nov 4,
1906 May 3, Dec 18, 1908 Sep
29, 30(2), Oct 19, 1909 Jun
11, Oct 25, 1910 Feb 1, 3, 5,
8, 15, Aug 24, 1912 Jun 18,
Oct 27, 1913 May 17, Aug 8,
1914 Jan 7, May 18, 1916 Jan
4, 17, 29, Oct 27, 1918 Mar 7,
23, Apr 10, Oct 7, 30, Nov 19,
24, 30, Dec 5, 6, 7,
1919-1921(4), 1919 Feb 17(2),
Mar 6(2), 23, Apr 30, Oct 27,
Nov 11, 16, Dec 7, 21, 1920
Jan 2, 7, Feb 20, Mar 24, 29,
Jun 1, Aug 12, Oct 7, 22, 26,
29, 30, Nov 1, 2, 5, 21, Dec
9, 10, 18, 22, 23, 28, 29,
1921 Jan 12, 24, Feb 1, Mar 6,
23, 26, Apr 5, May 19, 22, Jun
30, Jul 10, 26, Aug 1, 25, 29,
Sep 1, 19, 22, Oct 5, Nov 2,
17, 18, Dec 1, 1922 Jan 14,
May 15, Dec 5, 1923 Jan 10,
Feb 9, Mar 26, Jun 21(2), 23,
Aug 18, 1924 Oct 24, 1925 Apr
29, May 20, Sep 2, 5, 22, 1926
Feb 12, Mar 9, Jun 5, Aug 31,
Sep 17, Oct(1), Oct 20, 21,
22(2), 23(2), d 24(2), 28, Nov
3, 19, 22, 27, Dec 13, 17,
1928 Mar 23, 1929 Sep 16, 1933
Aug 24, 1936 May 25, Jul 2,
1942 Sep 1, Dec 14, 1943 Jan
3, 13, Aug 11, n.d.(5)

Oklahoma
 1905 Mar 7, 21, 1909 Jul 21,
 Aug 2, 1914 Feb 28, 1916 Jan
 5, Mar 9, 10, 12,
 1919-1921(1). 1920(1). 1920
 Mar 7, Apr 17, Jul 17, Sep 24,
 Oct 17, Nov 1, 3, 5, 6, 23,
 27(2), Dec 10, 21(3), 22,
 23(3), 24(2), 1921 Jan 1, Oct
 30(2), Nov 4(2), 5, 1922 Feb
 9, 1926 Oct 20, 28, Nov 5, 10,
 15

Older, Fremont
 From EVD: n.d.(1)

Oleson, Harriet Curry
 From EVD: n.d.(1)

Olsson, Alex
 To TD: 1926 Dec 3

Oneal, James
 EVD statement 1921
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 23
 From EVD: 1910 May 9, Sep 13,
 1911 Jan 22, 1912 Mar 7,
 1914 May 9, 1918 Jul 8, 9,
 Sep 28, 1922 Sep 18, 1925
 Nov 25, 1926 Jan 16, Apr 5
 To Evening Public Ledger:
 1926 Dec 18
 To TD: 1918 Mar 8, 1926 Sep
 1. Oct 21, 26, Dec 18, 1927
 Mar 25, 1933 Oct 8, 1936 Jan
 12, Jun 1, 6, 1938 Apr 7,
 Oct 12, 1941 Feb 26, Aug 1,
 1943 Oct 14, 1944 Aug 29
 From TD: 1921 May 3, Jul 1,
 1922 Jan 6, 1926 Dec 30,
 1927 Mar 19, Apr 1, 1934
 Dec(1), 1936 Nov 23, 1937
 May 16, 1938 Apr 15, 1940
 May 6, 28, Jun 20, 1941 Feb
 24, Mar 6, Jun 22, 1943 Nov
 4, 1944 Aug 10, Sep 13, 1945
 Mar 12

Oneal, Judson
 From EVD: 1906 May 15

Oneal, Olive
 From TD: 1944 Aug 10

O'Neil, R.P.
 To EVD: 1921 Jan 1

O'Neill, -----
 From EVD: 1911 Nov 24

Orear?, W.B.?
 To TD: 1908 Dec 27

Oregon
 Mar 22, 1902 Dec 14, 1904 May
 21, 1908 Sep 14(4), 1910 Oct
 22, 1919 Dec 14, 1920 Jul 6,
 1921 Feb 1, 15, Mar 18, 27,
 Apr 30, Jul 16, 1923 May 12, Sep 14,
 1926 Oct 20, 21(2), 23, Nov 6,
 8, 1936 Jun 12(2), 1940 Nov 5,
 1943 Jan 13

Orloff, N. Kavinoky
 To EVD: 1921 May 4

Orr, Hugh Robert
 To TD: 1921 Nov 15

Orr, O.W.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 22

Osborn, Margaret
 To EVD: 1921 Oct 8

Osborne, J.B.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 5

Otto, Max Carl
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 2, 1921 Feb
 22
 To TD: 1921 Aug 8

Ouderkirk, Goldie
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 15

Our Sunday Visitor, Editor
 From TD: 1913 Jun 21

Owen, Handel E.
 To TD: 1920 May 27, 1926 Nov 13

Pace, James
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 10

Paine, Robert
 To EVD: 1921 Feb 24

Painter, Floy Ruth
 To TD: 1924 Aug 1, 1926 Aug
 9

Painters Union, Number 130
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Painters Union, Number 300
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Palmer, Loren
 To EVD: 1918 Feb 6, Mar 7

Palmieri, Antonio
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 22

Panama Canal Zone
 1907 Mar 23, 1921 May
 10, Jun 25

Pankhurst, Sylvia
 To TD: 1919 Jul 14

Panshow, Gertrude
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1908
 Dec 29

Parker, Franklin E.
 To EVD: 1920 Apr 11, May 8

PARKER, HARRY C. — PEPPERBERG

Parker, Harry C.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 11

Parker, John
To EVD: 1920 Jan 7

Parker, Robert
From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1941 Nov 16, 23
To TD: 1941 Sep 9, 18, Nov 28
From TD: 1941 Dec 6

Parker, Thatcher? W.
To EVD: 1913 Jun 2
To Martin Nilsson: 1913 Jun 2

Parker, William
To TD: 1911 Aug 22

Parks, E.C.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 21

Parks, Helen
To EVD: 1920 Dec 21

Parks, Virginia
To EVD: 1920 Dec 21

Parrish, Stephen D.
To TD: 1927 May 8

Parrott, Flavia
To EVD: 1921 Nov 15

Parsons, Carl
To EVD: 1921 Nov 15
From TD: 1921 Nov 25

Parsons, Lucy E.
To EVD: 1926 Mar 12

Parsons, William Wood
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1923 Jan 1

Patswall, Otto W.
To TD: 1926 Oct 20

Patterson, Mary A.
To TD: 1926 Oct 28, Nov 22

Patton, J.J.
To EVD: 1920 May 24

Paulsen, Paul J.
To EVD: 1913 Jun 27, 1915 Apr 12, 26
From TD: 1915 Apr 15

Pauly, Albert
To EVD: 1915 Nov 21, Dec 13

Payne, George Henry
To EVD: 1921 Jun 28
To TD: 1921 Jul 7

Payne, William A.
From EVD: 1907 Dec 23, 1909 Sep 24, Oct 4
From TD: 1906 Dec 27, 1907 Dec 18

Pearl, Jeannette D.
To EVD: 1918 Oct 26, Nov 1

Pearson, James Larkin
To TD: 1924 Apr 3, 1926 May 30, Nov 2, 1927 Feb 7

Peck, Helen
To TD: 1926 Nov 8

Pendergrass, J.E.
To EVD: 1919 Nov 27, Dec 24, 1920 Mar 30

Penniston, J.B.
To Louis Kopelin: 1914 Jan 12

Pennsylvania
1893 Jan 16, 23, 26, Feb 6, 1906 Sep 25, 1908 Oct 11(2), 15(2), 16, 21(2), Nov 1, 3, 1909 Oct 25, Nov 8, 23, 1910 Feb 13, 15, 18, 19, Apr 20, 28, 1911 Aug 22, 28, 1912 Feb 5, Jul 1, Oct 8, 1913 May 31, 1914 Apr 15, Oct 10, 1915 Apr 16, Jul 2, 1916 Oct 10, Dec 18, 1917 Mar 7, 10, 26, Apr 11, 13(2), May 29, 1918 Feb 20(2), Mar 27, 1919-1921(4), 1919 Dec 11, 28(2), 1920 Jan 8, 15, Feb 26, Mar 26(2), Apr 4, 7, 10, 12, 22, Jun 28, 29, Sep 13, 18, Oct 17, 18, 23, 24, Nov 4(2), 5, 7, 12, 22, Dec(1), Dec 4, 18, 20, 21, 31, 1921 Jan 9, 18, Feb 17, Mar 27, Apr 24, 29, May 5(2), 14, Jun 15, Jul 10, 24, 28, Sep 1, 15, Oct 1, Nov 1, 3(3), 7, 11, Dec 1(2), 17, 1923 Mar 10, May 6, Oct 16, 21, 1924 Nov 20, 1925 Apr 26, Oct 17, 19, 1926 Mar 9, 15, May 6, Jul 10, Oct 18, 10, 21(6), 21, 22(2), 23(2), 25, Nov 7, 9, Dec 12, 25, 1927 Jan 30, 1928 Jun 23, Sep 17, 1931 Oct 14, Nov 15, 1936 Jan 25, 1937 Jul 22, 1941 Mar 2, Sep 15, 1942 Jun 18, Jul 13, 27, Sep 11, 23, 1943 Jul 16, Sep 29, Dec 10, 1944 May 10, Aug 15, Nov 9, Dec 4, 27, 1945 Jan 24, Mar 1, Apr 5, n.d.(3)

People's College, Secretary
From EVD: 1917 Nov 13

Pepperberg, A.J.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 5

Perkins, Maud R. Ingersoll
 To Cyprien Odilon Mailloux:
 n.d.(1)
 To Emily Debs Mailloux:
 n.d.(1)

Perman, Pearl
 To EVD: 1919 Dec 20, 1920 Feb
 5

Perry, John A.
 To TD: 1919 Nov 10

Person, Carl E.
 To EVD: 1913 Jun 6, 1914 Aug
 10, Oct 8
 From EVD: 1914 Feb 14

Persons, Ellen
 To EVD: 1925 Aug 26

Pervuninsky, Feodor
 To EVD: 1917 Nov 5

Peterson, Clytie
 To EVD: 1920 Dec(1), 1921 Mar
 23, 27, Jul 24

Peterson, Ida
 To EVD: 1920 Jul 12, 1921 Jul
 12

Peterson, Mrs. Louis R.
 To EVD: 1919 Dec 19

Petrich, Frank
 From EVD: 1923 Jun 12

Pettigrew, R.F.
 To EVD: 1916 Aug 24
 To TD: 1917 Nov 26

Peyton, David C.
 To EVD: 1913 Dec 1

Pflugam?, George F.
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 3

Phifer, Lincoln
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1921
 Jul 19, Oct 19, 1926 Aug 10
 From EVD: 1922 Jan 18, Jun 5,
 Dec 22, 1923 Feb 16, Sep 1,
 1925 Aug 13, Dec 17,
 n.d.(1)
 To Katherine Metzel Debs:
 1926 Oct 21
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Phifer, Mrs. Lincoln
 From EVD: n.d.(1)

Phillips, -----
 From TD: 1935 Oct 22

Phillips, Albert
 To TD: 1936 Jul 2

Phillips, J.A.
 To EVD: 1918 Apr 21
 From TD: 1937 Apr 4, May 10
 To Friends: 1944 Mar 25

Phillips, J.E.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Phillips, P.D.
 To EVD: 1926 May 4

Pickens, William
 To TD: 1921 Nov 28

Pierce, Julian
 To TD: 1929 Nov 14

Pierson, C.V.
 To EVD: 1926 Oct 18

Pierson, R. Howard
 To EVD: 1920 Apr 25

Pike, W.C.
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Piltz, Mrs. Carl
 To Katherine Metzel Debs:
 1926 Oct 24
 To TD: 1926 Oct 24

Pinchot, Amos R.E.
 To TD: 1917 Nov 8, 1918 Nov
 23

Pine, Max
 To Otto Branstetter: 1921 May
 20

Pinkham, Henry W.
 To EVD: 1926 Jun 14

Pintow, David
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Pittsburgh Jewish Branch,
 Socialist Party
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Pittsburgh Socialist
 To EVD: 1913 May 31
 From EVD: 1913 Jun 1

Pivar, Rose
 From TD: 1920 Oct 6

Pixley, C.L.
 To EVD: 1921 Apr 4
 To Katherine Metzel Debs: 1926
 Oct 24
 To TD: 1926 Oct 24

Plotkin, H.
 To EVD: 1920 Apr 29, May 24

Plunkett, Martin F.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Poetz, J.A.
 To EVD: 1917 Jul 9

Poland, W.C.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec(1)

Poole, Grace
 To EVD: 1920 Jan 15

Poor, Katherine Hilwood
 To EVD: 1921 Feb 28

Port, Bertha
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 22

PORTER, ANNA — REA

Porter, Anna
To TD: 1926 Nov(1)

Porter, John Addison
To EVD: 1897 May 7

Powderly, Terence V.
To EVD: 1893 Jan 26, 16
From EVD: 1890 Jun 13, 1893
Jan 20, 24, 1895 Aug 1

Powers, Guy
To EVD: 1919 Nov 11

Powys, John Cowper
To TD: 1920(1)

Preston, A.C.
To EVD: 1926 Jun 17

Prevey, Marguerite
To EVD: 1918 Oct 7, 1921(1),
1921 Apr 2, Aug 6, Nov 17
From EVD: 1920 Dec 25,
To TD: 1919-1921(1), 1919
Apr(1), Apr 30, Aug 20, 1921
Aug 2

Price, Mrs. Dave
To EVD: 1921 Apr 2

Pritchett, Anna
From TD: 1934 Jan 14

Pritchett, Harley A.
From TD: 1934 Jan 14

Prosser, William A.
To EVD: 1917 Mar 26

Pruden, O.L.
To EVD: 1886 Sep 9

Puerto Rico
1915 Aug 24, 1926 Oct 22

Purcell, A.A.
To EVD: 1925 Nov 27

Putnam, Frank
To E.T. Clark: 1925 Mar 9
To EVD: 1914 Jul 1, 1925 Jan
19, Mar 9, Apr 6, 15, 23,
Dec 9, 1926 Oct 19
To TD: 1918 Mar 8, 1920 Nov
6, 1925 May 14, 1926 Mar 26,
May 30, Jun 14, 1933 Jan 2,
Dec 11
From TD: 1933 Dec 21,
To Morris Hillquit: 1926 Mar
26
To J. Pierpont Morgan: 1925
Dec 9
To John G. Sargent: 1925 Apr
24
To James C. White: 1925 Apr 6

Quarles, Elizabeth M.
From TD: 1920 Aug 23

Quelch, Harry
To EVD: 1911 Mar 23

Quinlan, Patrick L.
To EVD: 1919 Dec 22
To TD: 1919 Dec 22

Quinlivan, Frances Blanche
To EVD: 1919 Dec 22, 1920 Aug
23, 1921 Oct 17

Quinn, T.P.
To EVD: 1921 Jun 24

R., Mrs.
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1905 Mar 7

Raab, Helen H.
To EVD: 1924 Dec 30

Rahm, Herman
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1926 Oct 23
To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Rahming, Alex
To EVD: 1920 Mar 15, Dec 20

Rand Book Store
From TD: 1945 Jan 11

Rand School
From Emily Debs Mailloux:
1923 May 22

Randall, W.H.
From Martha Root: 1921 Jul 24

Raper, Frederic W.
To EVD: 1913 Dec 5
To TD: 1926 Oct 21, 1931 Dec
15, 1932 Jan 17, 31

Rapport, Anna
To EVD: 1919-1921(2)

Ratliff, L.D.
To EVD: 1921 Jul 24, Oct 13
To TD: 1921 Aug 6, Sep 5

Rauschenbusch, Pauline
To EVD: 1926 May 3
From EVD: 1926 May 22, Jun 3

Rawson, Fred S.
To EVD: 1920 Oct(1)

Ray, Ethel
From TD: 1941 Jul 2

Ray, Ida
From TD: 1941 Jul 2

Ray, J.C.
To TD: 1920 Oct 18

Ray, Winifred
From TD: 1941 Jul 2

Rea, Eugene Debs
To EVD: 1921 Nov 4

Reader, Ella Rawls
 To EVD: 1920 Jul 11

Readings?
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1903
 May 25

Reardon, Retza Fruman
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Reasor, P.S.
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 17

Reddy, Annie
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 24

Redlich, Oscar R.
 To EVD: 1922 Nov 29

Reed, James A.
 From EVD: 1913 Apr 22

Reed, John
 To EVD: 1919 Feb 28
 From EVD: 1918 Sep 21

Reese, C.W.
 To EVD: 1925 May 7

Reilly, James M.
 To EVD: 1912 Aug 1, 1913 Jun
 17, 26
 From EVD: 1912 Aug 7, 1913
 Jun 30

Reilly, Katherine
 To EVD: 1921 Oct 21, Dec 1
 To TD: 1921 Nov 27, Dec 8

Reilly, William P.
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 3

Reimer, Arthur E.
 To EVD: 1916 Sep 9

Reis, H.S.
 To TD: 1920 Jan 8
 From TD: 1920 Jan 14

Reisel, Victor
 To TD: 1941 Mar 5
 From TD: 1941 Mar 15

Renz, Fred William
 To EVD: 1920(1)

Republican National Committee
 From EVD: 1924 Oct 11

Reynolds, Jessica
 From EVD: 1909 Nov 12, 1910
 Mar 10

Reynolds, Reginald
 From TD: 1938 Sep 29

Reynolds, Stephen Marion
 To EVD: 1885 Jun(1), 1910 Dec
 20
 From EVD: 1900 Mar 10, Jun 6,
 1903 Dec 29, 1904 May 30,
 1905 Jan 19, 23, Jun 20, Nov
 23, Dec 25, 1906 Feb 28, Apr
 2, May 4, Jul 17, Sep 25,
 Dec 13, 1907 Apr 12, 27,
 1908 Feb 19, Apr 6, Jun 12,
 1909 Jul 23, Nov 12, 1910
 Mar 10, Nov 6, 1911 Dec 12,
 1912 Jan 15, 17, 19, 26, 1916
 Aug 17, 1917 Feb 25, 1918
 Jan 3, May 25, n.d.(2)

From Katherine Metzger Debs:
 1919 Jul 26

To TD: 1921 Mar 23, 1926 Oct
 24, 1927 May(1), 1929 Dec
 23

From TD: 1906 Jul 12, 1908
 Jan 10, 1911 Feb 2, 7, 1918
 Feb 3, 1921 Mar 18

Reynolds, Wayland F.
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 29
 To TD: 1926 Oct 29

Rhode Island
 1903 Jun 8, 1908 Oct 7(2),
 1917 Mar 7, 1920 Oct 29, 1921
 Sep 20, 1944 Oct 15

Rhodes, Lee L.
 To EVD: 1914 Dec 6

Richards, E.
 To EVD: 1920(1)

Richardson, C.L.
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
 To TD: 1926 Oct(1)

Richardson, Eugene Victor
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 20

Richardson, Virginia Madeline
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 20

Richardson, Vivian Fern
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 20

Richardson, W.F.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21
 To William H. Henry: 1926 Oct
 21

Richie, D.H.
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Richter, H.
 To EVD: 1917 Nov 8
 From EVD: 1914 Jun 3

Ricker, A.W.
 To EVD: 1915 Oct 18

Riggs, L.E.
 To EVD: 1925 Apr 23

Riley, James Whitcomb
 To EVD: 1887(3), 1892 Apr 13,
 1895 Aug 6, 1898 Nov 6, 1911
 Aug 11
 From EVD: 1885 Jan 3, 1890
 Apr 1, 1892 Feb 2, 1893 Sep
 27, Dec 16, 1896 Aug 25, Nov

RILEY, cont. — RONIKER

16, 1898 Nov 11, 1896 Jul 21
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1915 Oct 14
From Katherine Metzger Debs: 1910 Aug 12
To TD: 1915 Oct 14
Rinehart, Ivah
To EVD: 1920 Dec 21
Rines, George Edwin
To EVD: 1907 Mar 26
Ring, J.
To Debs Family: 1926 Oct 22
Rinney, Frank
To EVD: 1923 Sep 3
Ritchell, Rella
To EVD: 1926 Mar 9
To TD: 1919(1), 1919 Nov 6, 1920 Feb 26, 28, Mar 10, 1926(1), 1926 Feb 7, Mar 9, 1927 Aug 3, 1930 Sep 19, Oct 19, 1941(1), 1942 Oct 19, 1943 Dec(1)
From TD: 1930 Sep 20, 1935 Oct 22
Ritter, T.T.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 7
Rivinius, Jean
To EVD: 1926 Oct 22
To TD: 1926 Oct 22
Roberts, Albert
To EVD: 1926 Aug 29
Roberts, J. Ralph
To EVD: 1916(1)
Roberts, U.G.
To EVD: 1912 Jul 19
From EVD: 1912 Jul 23
Roberts, William G.
To EVD: 1921 Oct 23
Robertson, D.B.
To EVD: 1925 Sep 5, 22
From EVD: 1925 Sep 10
Robertson, T.H.
To EVD: 1918 Mar 23
Robins, Lucy
From Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1920 Jul 5, 31, Aug 15, Oct 6, 21, Nov 9, 27, 1921 Jan 2
To EVD: 1920 Apr 24, Jul 21, Oct 19
From EVD: 1920 Jul 5, 16, 31, Aug 15, Oct(3), Oct 21, Nov 9, 1921 Jan 2, Feb 1, May 4, 1922 Mar 30, May 12, 24, Jun

12, Aug 26, Sep 9, 1925 May 3, Oct 9, 16, 18
To TD: 1920 Sep 10, 21, 1921 Jan 31, 1941 Jul 7
From TD: 1920 May 1, 28, 31, Aug 30, Sep 17, 24, Oct 18, 27, Nov 11, Dec 14, 22, 1921 Jan 11, Feb 2, 18, Mar 18, 26, Apr 5, May 4, 24, 28, Jun 22, Aug 10, 27, Sep 21, Nov 1, 9, 29, 1922 Jan 20, Mar 17
see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1), 1921(1), 1921 May(1)
Robinson, Arthur
To EVD: 1926 May 19, Jun 2
From EVD: 1926 Mar 4
To TD: 1926 Jun 8
Robinson, Frederic H.
To EVD: 1912 Oct 10, 1915 Jan 21
Robinson, Victor
From EVD: 1907 Oct 7
Robson, D. Douglas
To EVD: 1921 Nov 11
From TD: 1925 Aug 28
Rochester, Anna
To EVD: 1926 Mar 5
Roderus, Frank
To Marguerite Debs Cooper: 1906 Jan 30
To TD: 1927 Aug 11
Rodriguez, Sophia Vera
To EVD: 1924 Oct 20
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
From TD: 1928 Aug 1
"Rody"
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1908(1)
Rogers, Bruce
To EVD: 1908 Apr 9, 1917 Apr 1
From EVD: 1917 Apr 9
Rogers, L.W.
To EVD: 1926 Jan 9,
To TD: 1942 Jun 3, 17, 1943 Apr 5, Aug 6, Dec 20, 1944 Dec 15
From TD: 1942 Jun 8, 1944 Jan 12
Rolland, Romain
From Jacques Sadoul: 1918 Nov 19
Roniker, William
sketch 1920 Jul 11

Root, Martha
 To EVD: 1921 Jul 24, Oct 29,
 Nov 10
 To TD: 1921 Sep 1
see also EVD to TD, 1921(1),
 1921 Sep 16

Roper, S.R.C.
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 27

Rose, Alex
 To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Rose, John
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 6

Rose, Sumner W.
 To EVD: 1919 Nov 11, Dec 21,
 1920 May 1, Oct 6, 1921 May 9,
 Aug 30

Rosenberg, W.L.
 To TD: 1925 May 20, 1926 Nov
 27

Rosenspire, Leonora
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 23

Rosenthal, Olga Judith
 To EVD: 1920 Mar 19, Nov 2

Ross, Harold W.
 To EVD: 1920 Sep 10
 From TD: 1920 Sep 14

Rothstein, Dorothy
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 29

Roundy, W.N.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 20, Nov 14

Rowe, Francis
 To EVD: 1921 Jan(1)

Rowe, Nita
 To EVD: 1921 Jan(1)

Royce, Clarence A.
 From EVD : 1917 May 31
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23
 From EVD: 1917 May 31

Rude, Olive Oneal
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 28
see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1)

Rundle, Marquis A.
 To TD: 1920 Apr 12, Nov 28, 1926
 Oct 21

Rush, Debs Backus
 To TD: 1920 Oct 22

Russell, Charles Edward
 To EVD: 1917 May 13

Russell, Phyllis
 To EVD: 1921 Jun 15

Russia
 1918 Nov 19, 1923 Mar 30, 31,
 Apr 5

Ruthenberg, Charles E.
 To EVD: 1919 Mar 6, 1925 Jul
 6
 From EVD: 1925 Jul 13
 From Tomsy and Andreyev: 1923
 Apr 5

Ryan, Margaret M.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 6

Ryckman, J.H.
 To EVD: 1918 Apr 30, May 25
 To TD: 1918 May 16

Ryerson, Orlando F.
 To EVD: 1918 Aug 23

Sacco, Nicola
 To EVD: 1926 Oct 20
 To TD: 1926 Oct 22, 1927 Apr
 15, 16

Sacco and Vanzetti Defense
 Committee
 To TD: 1926 Oct 20, 21, 27,
 1927 Aug 24
 From TD: 1927 Aug 24

Sadoul, Jacques
 To Romain Rolland: 1918 Nov
 19

Saint Clair, John W.
 To EVD: 1920 Jul 13, 15

Salisbury, H. Ervin
 To TD: 1926 Oct 27

Salmon, Benjamin
 From EVD: 1920 Dec 31

Salutsky, J.B.
 To EVD: 1918 May 31, Aug 26

Sandburg, Carl
 To EVD: 1922 Nov 28, 1924 Oct
 18, 1926 May 18
 From EVD: 1908 Nov 27, 1922
 Dec 9, 1923 Nov 6, 1924 Sep
 4, Oct 21
 To TD: 1920(1)

Sandburg, Lilian Steichen
 From EVD: 1924 Oct 1

Sanders, Everett
 To EVD: 1918 Apr 1, 1925 Jan
 23
 From EVD: 1925 Jan 19
 To Marie Debs Heinl: 1926 Oct
 21

Sands, John
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 22, 1921 Aug 29
 1926 Oct 20

SANDY — SEBREE

Sandy, Newton B.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 29, 1921 Jan 24

Sanford, Jane Lathrop
To EVD: 1894 Jul 1

Sanger, Margaret
To EVD: 1916 Jan 26, 1918 Feb 20, Aug 21, 1921 Oct 17
To TD: 1918 Mar 4

Sanial, Lucien
To EVD: 1913 Jan 27, 1915 Oct 23, Dec 3, 8

Sant?, Mary E.
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926 Oct(1)
To TD: 1926 Oct(1)

Saphir, Rebecca
To EVD: 1920 Nov 3

Sargent, H.E.
From EVD: 1881 Mar 11

Sargent, John G.
From Morris Hillquit: 1926 Mar 15
From Frank Putnam: 1925 Apr 24

Saunders, C.
To EVD: 1921 Dec 27

Sawyer, Roland D.
To EVD: 1920 May 8, 1921 Nov 19

Sayre, William N.
To EVD: 1875 Mar 17

Scarborough, Mr. and Mrs. John
To EVD: 1920 Aug 29

Scarborough, W.B.
To EVD: 1917 Dec 27

Scharer?, Anne L.
To TD: 1920 Oct 23

Schenectady Trades Assembly
To Katherine Metzels Debs: 1926 Oct 28
To TD: 1926 Oct 28

Schiffer, Jacob, Jr.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 22

Schilling, George A.
From EVD: 1895 Jan 17, 30, Mar 13, Jul 5, Dec 13
From TD: 1924 Apr 17

Schindler, Pauline Gibling
To EVD: 1920 Aug 22

Schlesinger, Benjamin
To EVD: 1925 Jun 22
From EVD: 1925 Jun 25

Schlossberg, Joseph
To EVD: 1918 Mar 18, May 6, 1923 May 6, 1926 Jun 22
To TD: 1924 Mar 17, 1926 Oct 21

Schmarak, Sidney
To EVD: 1920 Oct 25

Schmidt, Katherine L.
To EVD: 1916 Jul 29
To TD: 1927 Oct 18, 1931 Apr 2, 1932 May 20
From TD: 1931 Apr 24, 1932 Jun 15

Schnittkind, Henry T.
To TD: 1929 May 15
From TD: 1929 May 24

Schoenberger, Herman
To EVD: 1919 Oct 27

Schroeder, Theodore
From EVD: 1905 Dec 11

Schuhardt, Lena
From EVD: 1918 Apr 16
To TD: 1926 Oct 29

Schuhardt, W.F.
To TD: 1917 Apr 5

Schuyler, Eric
To EVD: 1918 Apr 10

Schwarzschild, -----
From EVD: 1915 May 15

Schwerzgen, J.H.
To TD: 1895 Nov(1)

Schwerzgen, Mrs. C.E.
To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Scotland
1908 Sep 24, 1920 Sep 11, 1921 Jul 9, Oct 27, 1924 Oct 4, 1930 Apr 7, 1932 Dec 22, 1933 Dec 4, 1934 Dec 3, 1935 Dec 13, 18, 1937 Dec 10

Scott, John Milton
From TD: 1919 May 28

Scott, Leroy
To EVD: 1915 Sep 10, 1918 Apr 10

Scudder, Vida D.
To EVD: 1912 Jul 27

Seay, William A.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 16

Sebree, Shubert
From EVD: 1916 Dec 27, 1918 Aug 21, Sep 20
To TD: 1916 Jan 13, 1917 Dec 25
From TD: 1917 Dec 23, 1918 Dec 24, 1919 May 20, Dec 24, 1920 Dec 29, n.d.(1)

Seckels, N.D.
 To EVD: 1920 Sep 25

Secord, William E.
 To EVD: 1923 Oct 5

Seeley, H.H.
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 18

Seidel, Emil
 To EVD: 1918 Mar 29
 From EVD: n.d.(1)
 From Gustave J. Fraenkel et al.: 1912 Jun(1)

Seidel, Mrs. Emil
 From EVD: n.d.(1)

Selby, Eugenie Debs
 From EVD: 1874 Oct 3, 8, 1881 Oct 17, 1886 Dec(1), 1895 Nov 5
 To TD: 1902 Nov 11
 From Robert G. Ingersoll: 1881 Jul 28
 From Ernest Koenig: 1882 Dec 8
 To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1883 Jun 21
 To Mrs. S.J. Toy: 1883 Nov 9
 From Auguste Waldner: 1893 Jul 21

Selby, Howard Debs
 To Marguerite Debs Cooper: 1909 Jul 20, 21
 From EVD: 1905 Sep 28, Oct 11
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1909 Jul 4
 To TD: 1909 Jul 4

Seldomridge, Ed
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 8

Senior, Clarence
 To TD: 1933 Sep 29, 1934 Mar 30
 From TD: 1931 Feb 14, 1933 Oct 5

Sercombe, Parker H.
 To EVD: 1923 Oct 13

Sesinger, Lawrence F.
 To EVD: 1914 Apr 15, 1916 Oct 10

Sessions, Alanson
 To EVD: 1918 Jun 3

Settles, Claude N.
 To EVD: 1926 May 6

Shaffer, L.
 To EVD: n.d.(1)

Shannon, John R.
 From TD: 1941 Dec 7

Shapiro, Chaim
 To EVD: 1921 May 4

Sharts, Joseph W.
 From EVD: 1922 May 23

Shawhan, James Martin
 To EVD: 1921 Jul 26

Shay, Felix
 To EVD: 1915 Dec 15
 To TD: 1916 Sep 6

Shedd, Kendrick P.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 3, Dec 20
 From EVD: 1912 Feb 29, 1915 Jul 12, 1924 Dec 22
 To TD: 1920 Dec 20, 1926 Oct 23, 1936 Feb 23, Dec 30, 1942 Dec 22, 1944 Dec 7
 From TD: 1920 Jan 13, 1922 Dec 23, 1923 Dec 26, 1941 Jan 7, 1945 Jan 11
 To James P.B. Duffy: 1936 Feb 23

Shedd, Tamara
 From EVD: 1924 Dec 22
 To TD: 1936 Dec 30, 1942 Dec 22
 From TD: 1923 Dec 26

Sheppard, Jake I.
 To EVD: 1916 Jul 3
 From EVD: 1914 Dec 22

Sheppard, Leonora
 To EVD: 1921 Aug 8

Sheridan, Frank
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 14, 28
 From EVD: 1922 Aug 31

Sherwood, Isaac R.
 To EVD: 1923 Aug 18

Shields, James
 To EVD: 1920 Sep 18

Shingle, S.E.
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 28

Shinn, Minnie A.
 To Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1921 Mar 1
 To EVD: 1921 Jan 16, Feb 28, Mar 28, Jul 18, Sep 25, Nov 12, 1923 Oct 23, 1926 May 16
 To TD: 1921 Jul 26, Nov 19
see also EVD to TD, 1921(1)

Shipley, Maynard
 To EVD: 1926 Jul 4
 To TD: 1916 May 30, 1920 Nov 24, 1921 May 31, Oct 17, 1924 Jun 3, 1926 Jul 4, Oct 21, 28, Dec 7, 1927 May 26

SHIPLEY, MIRIAM DE FORD — SMITH, OSCAR D.

Shipley, Miriam de Ford
To TD: 1926 Oct 21, 1934 Jun 29,
Jul 18, 1940 Feb 25, Mar 13
From TD: 1934 Jul 6, Aug 16,
1940 Mar 8

Shoemaker, J.E.
To EVD: 1921 Feb 2

Shorey, Leforest
To EVD: 1920 Jul 4

Showalter, Phil
To EVD: 1920 Dec 26

Shrague, J.W.
From EVD: 1893 Nov 17

Shults, Harrison
To TD: 1926 Oct 20, 26

Shutt, W.P.
To TD: 1926 Oct 20

Siegel, Joseph
To EVD: 1920 Mar 3

Siegl, Helen
see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1)

Sigman, Morris
To EVD: 1924 Apr 23, May 7,
1926 May 5
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1926 Oct 21
From William Z. Foster: 1923
Oct 25

Silverman, Frank A.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 25

Simone, S.
To EVD: 1922 Aug 15

Simons, Algie M.
To EVD: 1915 Oct 14, Nov 21,
27
To TD: 1911 Apr 17

Sims, Robert B.
To EVD: 1913 May 14
From EVD: 1913 May 23

Sinclair, Heck
To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Sinclair, Upton
To W.B. Conkey Company: 1920
Oct 7
From Mabel Dunlap Curry: 1920
Feb 16, Jun 10, Nov 7, 28,
Dec 7
To EVD: 1910 Oct 28, 1914 Jul
27, 1916 Jan 7, 1920 Nov 16,
1926 Jan 9
From EVD: 1915 Mar 15, Jul
23, 1916 Jan 12, 1918 Mar 5,
Sep 19, Oct 28, 1919 May 4,

1920 Feb 16, Jun 10, Oct 26,
Nov 7, 28, Dec 7, 1925 Mar 2,
Aug 31, Oct 24, Aug 31, Nov 11
To TD: 1920 Oct 7(2), 14, 19,
Nov 13, 1923 Apr 23, 1926
Oct 28, 1927 Jul 16, 1928
Jan 16, 1930 Jul 17, 28
From TD: 1914 Aug 15, 1918
Nov 6, 1919 Jun 2, Nov 25,
1920 Jan 20, Jun 10, Oct 26,
Nov 19, 1923 Jan 9, Feb 13,
Apr 7, 1925 Jul 31, 1926 Apr
2, 1927 Aug 2, 1928 Jan 22,
1930 Jul 23
To Ruth Le Prade: 1920 Oct 7

Sinton, Leslie
To EVD: 1921 Nov 4
From TD: 1921 Nov 17

Skemp, J.C.
To EVD: 1921 Oct 10

Skoog, Karl F.
To TD: 1919 Nov 18, 1920 Jan
15

Sleigh?, Fred
To TD: 1926 Oct 29

Sloan, Anna
To EVD: 1919 Oct 30

Sloan, Boyd
To EVD: 1920 Oct 11

Slobodin, Harry L.
To EVD: 1916 Oct 23

Slonimsky, Marion C.
To EVD: 1923 Jun 21, 23

Smiley, James L.
To EVD: 1920 Feb 2, 1921 May 15,
Oct 9

Smillie, Robert
To EVD: 1924 Oct 4

Smith, Anna Ferry
To TD: 1908 Dec 21
From TD: 1908 Dec 16

Smith, E.G.
To EVD: 1921 Mar 18

Smith, Frank
Agreement 1895 Sep 4

Smith, Harry T.
To TD: 1926 Dec 22, 1927 Jan
17

Smith, Ledyard L.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 4

Smith, Oscar D.
To EVD: 1920 Apr 12

SMITH, OSMORE R. — SOUTH DAKOTA

Smith, Osmore R.
 Statement 1916 Aug 15

Smith, Richard M.
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 18

Snelgrove, Isabel
 To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Snider, R.S.
 To EVD: 1920(1)

Snodgrass, S.C.
 To TD: 1926 Nov 23

Snow, G.
 To EVD: 1921 Aug 3

Snow, W.R.
 To EVD: 1925 May 8
 To TD: 1926 Oct 20, 27
 To Socialist Party, National
 Committee: 1925 May 8

Snyder, J. Calvin
 To EVD: 1923 Oct 21

Snyder, J.E.
 To EVD: 1915 Dec 28, 1917 Feb
 24
 To TD: 1908 Aug 3, 1916 Oct
 5, 1919 Nov 26, 1926 Oct 23

Snyder, W.L.
 To EVD: 1921 Feb 24

Social Democratic Party,
 National Campaign Committee
 To EVD: 1900 Aug 13

Social Democratic Party,
 National Committee
 From TD: 1900 Mar 1

Social Scientific Society of New
 York
 To EVD: 1920 Sep 23

Socialist Party, Ashtabula Local
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 2

Socialist Party, Boro Park
 Branch
 To Katherine Metzler Debs:
 1926 Oct 22

Socialist Party, Dayton Local
 To Katherine Metzler Debs:
 1922 Jan 14

Socialist Party, General
 Secretary
 From ----- Torres: 1926 Oct
 22

Socialist Party, Members
 From EVD: 1912 Jun(1), 1925,
 Feb(1)

Socialist Party, Morgantown,
 West Virginia Local
 To TD: 1926 Oct 24

Socialist Party, National
 Committee
 From W.R. Snow: 1925 May 8

Socialist Party, National
 Convention
 To TD: 1928 Apr 18

Socialist Party, National
 Executive Committee
 To EVD: 1921 Dec 1

Socialist Party, National Office
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 5, 1922 May
 26
 From TD: 1922 May 11

Socialist Party, New York State
 Committee
 To TD: 1926 Nov 1

Socialist Party, Pittsburgh
 Jewish Branch
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Socialist Party, Staunton,
 Illinois Local
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Socialist Party, Vigo County
 Local
 From TD: 1936 Jul 30

Socialist Party, Yonkers Local
 To TD: 1926 Nov 6

Socialist Party of Illinois,
 Executive Committee
 To TD: 1926 Oct 20

Socialist Party of New York
 State
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Socialist and Labor Star, Editor
 From EVD: 1913 Jun 16, 21,
 30

Solberg, Mrs. S.P.
 To EVD: 1921 Oct 19
 To TD: 1926 Nov 5

Solomon, Isabel
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 16

Solomon, U.
 To EVD: 1915 Dec 17

Sonnanstine, E.F.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 23

South, Mary
 From TD: 1941 Oct 21

South Carolina
 1920 Sep 3, Oct 10, 25, 1921
 Mar 25, 28, 29, Apr 19, May 2,
 13, 1926 Oct 22, Nov 4, 1939
 Oct 17

South Dakota
 1907 Aug 23, 1908 Sep 19, 1916

SOUTH DAKOTA, cont. — STEPHENSON, O.B.

Aug 24, 1920 Apr 2, May 14,
Dec 19, 1921 Mar 4, Jul 29,
Nov 7
Southworth, Otis M.
To TD: 1926 Oct 12
Spaan, H.N.
To EVD: 1916 Apr 10
Spargo, John
From EVD: 1912 Jun 19, Jul
12
Spence, J.K.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Spencer, Irving L.
To EVD: 1920 Feb 4
To TD: 1920 Mar 3
Sperry, Marvin Gates
To EVD: 1921 Aug 2, 15
To Warren G. Harding: 1921
Aug 2
Spicker, Samuel
To TD: 1920 Apr 4
Sprague, Frank L.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 25
Stahlberg, Gust.
To EVD: 1919 Apr 15
Stake, Carl
From EVD: 1916 May 7, Jun 24
Stake, Mary
From EVD: 1916 May 7, Jun 24
Stallard, H.H.
To EVD: 1918 May 7
Stalley, W.A.
To EVD: 1918 Mar 18
Stamm, Cora
To EVD: 1921 Sep 22
Standard Publishing Company
From G.W. Hamilton: 1904 Oct
6
Standifer, W.H.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Stanford, Jane Lathrop
To EVD: 1894 Jul 2
From EVD: 1894 Jul 2
Stanton, Thomas
To TD: 1926 Oct 25
Stark, C.W.
To EVD: 1920 Aug 2
Starkey, Julia
To EVD: 1926 Oct 1
Starks, S. Margaret
To EVD: 1920 Nov 2
Staunton, Illinois Local,
Socialist Party
To Katherine Metzger Debs:
1926 Oct 23
To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Stavenow, Edward
To EVD: 1921 Oct 31
Stedman, Irene
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1905 Feb 10
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1903
Sep 8
To TD: 1944 Oct 27
From TD: 1944 Apr 23
Stedman, Seymour
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1908 Jul 2
To EVD: 1912 Jul 22, 1918 Nov
20, 27, 1920 Sep 29, Dec 27
From EVD: 1912 Jul 12
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1903
Sep 8, 12
To TD: 1916 May 4, 1919 Dec
20, 1934 Feb 23, 1939 May
12, 1943 Jan 7, 1944 Jan 9,
Mar 16, Jul 1, Oct 27
From TD: 1916 Feb 29, May 1,
1918 Nov 30, 1920 Oct 8,
1921 Jan 24, 1944 Apr 23,
Dec 19
To D.C. Westenhaver: 1918 Nov
20
Steffens, Lincoln
To EVD: 1908 Aug 1, 13
From EVD: 1908 Aug 12, 18,
27, Sep 21
From Fred D. Warren: 1908 Aug
13
Steffes, John G.
To EVD: 1918 May 6
Stein, Morris C.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 15
Steiner, J.S.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 5, 1921 Oct
5
Stephan, Louise Caroline Debs
To Cyprien Odilon Mailloux:
1884 Mar 23
To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1884
Mar 23
Stephens, Madge Patton
To EVD: 1920 Sep 26, 1921 Sep
22
From EVD: 1919 May 7
To TD: 1920 May 13
Stephens, William D.
To EVD: 1918 Apr 2
Stephenson, Cora Bennett
To TD: 1910 Jul 28
Stephenson, O.B.
To EVD: 1917 Feb 12, Mar 26

STERNBERG, ELSIE E. — SULGER

Sternberg, Elsie E.
 To EVD: 1921 Apr 2

Sternberg, Freda
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 8

Stevens, A.J.
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 10

Stevens, Hattie
 To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1908 Sep 24, Oct 28
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926
 Oct 20, Nov 4
 To TD: 1926 Oct 20

Stevens, Hubert
 To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926
 Oct 20
 To TD: 1926 Oct 20

Stevenson, Frederick Boyd
 To EVD: 1912 Nov 11

Stewart, B.
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 27

Stewart, I.F.
 To EVD: 1926 Jun 17

Stewart, S.V.
 To EVD: 1914 Jul 13
 From EVD: 1914 July 20

Stiles, J.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 9

Stille, Samuel H.
 To EVD: 1926 Jun 4
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21, Nov 3

Stockton, Constance P.
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 6

Stockton, Marjory
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 6

Stodwad?, Grill?
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 11

Stokes, Albert
 From TD: 1926 Nov 27

Stokes, Rose Pastor
 To EVD: 1916 Jul 22, 1919 Feb
 28, Apr 30
 From EVD: 1918 Dec 5, 1919
 Feb 17, 1925 Oct 19, 27,
 n.d.(3)
 To TD: 1920 Mar 22
 From TD: 1919 May 16

Stone, -----
 From EVD: 1911 Oct 23

Stone, Irving
 From Marguerite Debs Cooper:
 1945 Jan 8
 To TD: 1944 Sep 5, 8, 15, Oct
 5, Nov 11, 23, Dec 3, 17,
 1945 Jan 5, 17, Feb 4, 13,
 19, Mar 10, 17, 20, 31

From TD: 1944(2), 1944 Sep
 12, 22, Oct 11, Nov 5, 18,
 27, 28, Dec(1), Dec 3, 15,
 17, 26, 1945 Jan 4, 17, 23,
 Feb 14, Mar 7, 14, 24

From Rosalie Goodyear: 1945
 Mar 18

Stone, Jean
 From TD: 1944 Dec(1), 1945
 Feb 28

Stone, Lulu
 To EVD: 1922 Jul 20

Stone, Melville E.
 To EVD: 1912 Apr 6
 From EVD: 1912 Apr 20

Story, Eugene Le Prade
 To TD: 1931 Jul 6, 1932 Sep
 7
 From TD: 1925 Nov 14, 1931
 Feb 26, Apr 13, Sep 2, 1932
 Mar 27, 1933 Feb 23, 1934
 Apr 24, 1938 Dec 18, 1939
 Dec 27, 1941 Jan 1, Dec 19,
 1943 Dec 15

Story, Harold H.
 To TD: 1920 May 14
 From TD: 1919 Apr 16, 1920
 May 27, 1923 Dec 27, 1925
 Aug 13, 1926 Oct(1)

Stout, W.A.
 To EVD: 1919 Feb 7

Stowe, Beecher
 To EVD: 1925 Jan 10

Strachan, James A.
 To EVD: 1910 Nov 21

Strawberry Mansion, Mothers'
 Protective League
 To EVD: 1921 Dec(1)

Strickland, Frederick G.
 To EVD: 1906 May 3
 To TD: 1906 May 3
 From TD: 1941 Mar 12, 1920
 Dec 9, 1926 Oct 23

Strickland, May McDonald
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23
 From TD: 1941 Mar 12,

Strobell, Caro Lloyd, see Lloyd,
 Caro

Strong, Sydney
 To TD: 1925 Jan 25, 1926 Oct
 23, Dec 16

Stubbs, Sybil Combs
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 12

Sulger, John E.
 To Marie Debs Heinl: 1927 Oct
 21

SUSSMAN — THOMPSON, CARL D.

Sussman, A.
To EVD: 1918 Feb 20

Sutton, Joseph
From TD: 1908 Dec 8

Swasey, Eva Ingersoll
To TD: 1930 Jan 21
From TD: 1930 Mar 13

Sweden
n.d.(1)

Sweet, Channing
To EVD: 1921 Jan 7, 1926 Oct 1
From EVD: 1915 Aug 28
To TD: 1926 Oct 21, 22, 1927 Jan 10

Sweet, William E.
To EVD: 1915 Aug 26
To TD: 1931 Dec 6, 12
From TD: 1931 Dec 7, 1933 Jan 17

Swinton, John
To EVD: 1894 Jun 29

Switzerland
1900 Sep 3, 1916 Jan 24, Dec 19, 1917 Jan 10, 1919 Aug 29, Sep 26, Oct 4(2), 27, Dec 6, 1920 Jan 6, Feb 13, Apr 16, Aug 8, 1921 Sep 18

Taylor, F.W.
To TD: 1919 Nov 5, 1926 Oct 23, Nov 22
From Tom Mann: 1919 Nov 5

Taylor, Fred
To EVD: 1904 Sep 25

Taylor, I. Paul
To EVD: 1920 Sep 13

Taylor, Michael J.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 1

Taylor, Rose
To EVD: 1921 Jul 2

Taylor, S. Earle
From Scott Nearing: 1920 Feb 20

Teeters, Josephine
To EVD: 1920 Jul 17

Tennessee
1896 May 29, 1904 Sep 12, 1905 Sep 4, 1909 Jul 29
1919-1921(1), 1919(1). 1920 Mar 26, Oct 6, 20, Nov 5, 6, 7, 1921 Apr 2, 13, 1922 May 10, 1926 Nov 8, 1943 Aug 5

Tenney, Daniel G.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 25
To TD: 1920 Apr 21

Terrell, J.Z.
From EVD: 1919 Jun 27

Terry, J. William
To TD: 1926 Dec 6

Texas
1907 Nov 17, 1910 May 9, 1911 Jan 22, 27, 1912 Feb 13, Mar 14, Sep 10, 11, 1914 Sep 26, Dec 6, 1915 Jul 2, 1919-1921(2). 1919 Nov 6, 27, Dec 24. 1920 Jan 1, Oct 22, Nov 12, 25, Dec 26, 1921 Mar 12, May 5, Jun 20, Jul 24, Aug 3, Nov 10, 1926 May 4, Oct 19, 21(2), 22, 23, 30, Nov 1, 1933 Jan 2, Dec 11, 1934 Mar 29, 1940 Jun 13, 1942 Dec 21

Thailand
n.d. (1)

Thayer, J.B.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 4

Thobe?, John J.
To EVD: 1920 Sep 6

Thomas, -----
From EVD: 1899 Mar 14, 15

Thomas, Elizabeth H.
To EVD: 1913 Nov 26, Dec 19, 1915 Nov 4
To TD: 1901 Aug 21, Sep 2, 7

Thomas, Norman
To New Leader: 1935 Feb 8
To EVD: 1919 Nov 11, 1925 May 2, Jul 1
To TD: 1926 Nov 9, 1928 Feb 1, 1931 Sep 23, 1933 Nov 16, 1935 Feb 8
From TD: 1926 Nov 3, 27, 1928 Feb 8, 1933 Nov 5, 1936 Feb 13

Thompson, -----
From EVD: 1914 Jun 20

Thompson, Beatrice S.
To EVD: 1916 Jun 15

Thompson, Carl D.
To EVD: 1914 Dec 23, 1918 Apr 12
From EVD: 1910 Nov 26, 29, Dec 5, 1914 Dec 16
To TD: 1915 May 18, 25, 1926 Oct 20, 1927 Sep 29
From TD: 1915 May 22

THOMPSON, EDWARD — TRAUBEL, HORACE

Thompson, Edward
To EVD: 1920 Oct 11

Thompson, R.J.
see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1)

Thompson, R.W.
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926
Oct 21

Thompson, Mr. and Mrs. S.C.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 1

Thompson, W.H.
To EVD: 1913 May 19, Jun 17,
21
From EVD: 1913 Jun 19, 26

Tichenor, Henry M.
To EVD: 1914 May 6, 1915 Mar
5, 1918 Jan 19, Mar 8
To TD: 1918 Jan 19

Tilton, Josephine S.
To EVD: 1920 Oct 3, 26
To TD: 1920 Oct 17, Nov 2
From TD: 1920 Nov 4

Tilton, Kate Thompson
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926
Oct 21
To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Timberlake, Charles Bateman
From W. Penn Collins: 1921
Mar 8

Tipton, Mr. and Mrs. Charles J.
To TD: 1926 Oct 25

Todd, Albert M.
To EVD: 1921 Aug 10
To Katherine Metzel Debs:
n.d.(1)
To TD: 1921 Sep 7, Oct 4, 24,
31, Nov 1, Dec 21, 1922 Dec
21
From TD: 1921 Oct 29, Nov 14

Toivonen, Pearl
To EVD: 1920 Oct 28

Tomsky, M.
To EVD: 1923 Apr 5
From EVD: 1923 Apr 14

Torrance, Catherine
To EVD: 1920 Dec 6

Torres, -----
To Socialist Party, General
Secretary: 1926 Oct 22

Touse, Peter
To EVD: 1921 Sep 28

Townlun?, A.C.
To EVD: 1921 Dec 7

Townshend, J.S.
To TD: 1888 May 4

Toy, Edward
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926 Oct
22
To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Toy, Mrs. S.J.
To Gertrude Toy Debs:
n.d.(1)
From Eugenie Debs Selby: 1883
Nov 9

Toy, Ranita
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926
Oct 22
To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Toy, S.J.
To Jean Daniel Debs: 1899 Sep
26
To Marguerite Bettrich Debs:
1899 Sep 26

Trachtenberg, Alexander
From Henri Barbusse: 1920 Jun
16
To EVD: 1918 Mar 20, 1920 Jun
16
To TD: 1928 Oct 25

Trades and Labor Assembly,
Minneapolis and Hennepin Co.
To EVD: 1921 Nov 4

Traubel, Anne Montgomerie
To EVD: 1919 Sep 8
From Katherine Metzel Debs:
1927 Dec(1)
To TD: 1920 Jul 21

Traubel, Gertrude
From EVD: 1910 Jan(1)
From Katherine Metzel Debs:
1910 Jan(1)

Traubel, Horace
To EVD: 1908 Oct 16, Nov 1,
Oct 25, 1909 Jun 22, 1914
Dec 19, 1918 Oct 24, 1919
Jun 14
From EVD: 1906 Nov 14, 1908
May 12, Nov 16, 1912 Nov 2,
1916 Sep 11, Nov 14, Dec 11,
16, 18, 1917 Mar 7, 17, 19,
Jun 27, 1918 Jun 21, Dec 6,
19
To TD: 1908 Oct 21, Nov 3,
1909 Oct 25, Nov 8, 1910 Mar
15, 1914 Dec 19, 1918 Nov
26, 1919 Jul 27
From TD: 1908 Oct 30, 1910
Mar 23

TRAUTMAN — UTAH

Trautman, William E.
To EVD: 1913 Jul(1), 1921 Nov
1
From EVD: 1913 Jul 11
Tresca, Carlo
To EVD: 1916 Sep(1), 1920 Dec
25
Trevino, Ricardo
To EVD: 1924 Oct 6
Triay, F.C.
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Trinkle, Dr.
To TD: 1908 Aug 28
Trinkle, Dr. and Mrs.
To TD: 1926 Oct 23
Troilo, -----
To TD: 1926 Oct 23
Truman, Ethel
To EVD: 1920 Nov(1), Nov 2,
1923 Oct 6
To Katherine Metzler Debs:
1926 Oct(1)
To TD: 1926 Oct(1)
Tuck, H.C.
To EVD: 1915 Dec 28
Tucker, Alan L.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 8
Tucker, Fran C.
To EVD: 1920 Mar 2
From EVD: 1922 Jan 21, Jun
14, Sep 9
Tucker, Irwin St. John
see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1)
Tuell, Sudie P.
To TD: 1916 Jan 26
From TD: 1916 Jan 27
Tulin, Lee
To EVD: 1926 Jan 8
Tumulty, Joseph Patrick:
From Edward H. Kintzer: 1920
Jun 9
Turner, John Kenneth
To EVD: 1922 Jun 19
Turner, Robert H.
To EVD: 1921 Feb 2
Tuttle, Howard
To EVD: 1908 Sep 2
To TD: 1907 Dec 24, 1908 Jun
30. Jul 19, Aug 9(2)
Tuvim, Abraham
From EVD: 1922 Mar 22
To TD: 1921 May 20
From TD: 1921 May 25
To EVD: 1915 Dec 25
1919-1921(1)

Twining, Luella
From TD: 1911 Jun(1)
Tymcio, A.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 15
Ulrich, O.E.
To TD: 1920 Apr 17
Unidentified Correspondents
To Marguerite Debs Cooper:
1907 Aug 16, 1909 Feb 2,
1926 Oct 21, n.d.(1)
To EVD: 1913 Apr(1),
1919-1921(2), 1920 Sep 11,
Oct 23, Nov 13, 25, Dec 19,
1921 Feb 1, Mar 6, 27, Apr
6, 30, May 30, Oct 24, Nov
3, 1925 Sep 25, n.d.(4)
From EVD: 1886 Dec(1), 1905
Apr 11, 1908 Sep(1), 1912
Jan 25, 1919-1921(2).
1920(1), 1921 Dec 15, 1922
Nov(1), 1923 Feb 2, Jul 5,
n.d.(2)
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1908
Jan 20, Aug 30
To Katherine Metzler Debs:
1926 Oct 21
To TD: 1907 Mar 23, Aug 23,
1909 Apr(1), 1918 Oct 9,
1921 Mar 25, 1922 Jul 15,
1926 Oct 21
From TD: 1882(1), 1897(1),
1921 Feb 15, 1944 May 10,
n.d.(1)
To Joseph A. Labadie: 1922
Jul 22
United Electric Company
From TD: 1915 Jan 20
United Hebrew Trades Conference
To EVD: 1926 Feb 11, 15
Untermann, Ernest
To EVD: 1911 Nov 18
From EVD: 1911 Nov 24
Ushkuris, Vincent Roosevelt
Gregory
To EVD: 1921 Nov 5
Utah
1920 May 24, 1910 Nov 6, 1915
Sep 18, 1916 Jul 2, Aug 26,
1920 Jan 8, Sep 30, 1921 Jan
16, Mar 1, 28, Jul 18, 26, Sep
25, Nov 12, 24, 1923 Oct 23,
1925 Apr 23, 1926 May 16, Oct
1943 Aug 2

Uzzell, Thomas H.
 To EVD: 1918 Apr 3
 From EVD: 1918 Apr 6

Valenti, Girolamo
 To TD: 1926 Sep 1

Van Essen, William J.
 To EVD: 1926 May 6, Jul 10
 To Katherine Metzels Debs:
 1930 Aug 5
 From Katherine Metzels Debs:
 1930 Aug 12
 To TD: 1926 Oct 22

Van Horn, C.W.
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 13

Van Lear, Thomas
 To EVD: 1916 Nov 16

Van Valkenburgh, W.S.
 To EVD: 1926 Jan 6, 21, Mar 31
 From EVD: 1926 Jan 15, 28
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21, 1927 Oct 1, 13, 1928 Jan 22, Feb 7

Vance, Louis Joseph
 To EVD: 1915 Sep 10

Vanderberg, L.
 To EVD: 1916 Jun 15

Vanderkirk?, S.A.
 To EVD: 1920 Jan 23

Vanzetti, Bartolomeo
 To EVD: 1923 Sep 29, 1926 Jan 30, May 31, Jun 26
 To TD: 1926 Aug 5, Nov(1), Nov 3, 25, Dec 19, 1927 Apr 15, Jun 11, Jul 22
 From TD: 1927 Apr 12

Varian, J.O.
 To EVD: 1921(1), 1921 Sep 3

Varney, Harold L.
 To EVD: 1917 Dec 12

Veblen, Ellen Rolfe
 To EVD: 1921 Jun 30, Aug(1), Sep 3, Oct 2, Nov 11

Vermont
 1920 Oct 26, 1921 Feb 5, 1926 Nov 22, 26

Vest Makers Union, Trade Board
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Vickery, N.H.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 25

Viereck, George Sylvester
 To EVD: 1919 Nov 10, 1920 Oct 2, 30, 1921 Jan 27, Feb 2, Aug 4. 1925 Sep 16, 1926 Apr 1

From EVD: 1920 Oct 21, 23, 1922 Feb 14, 1926 May 7
 To TD: 1924 Jul 16, 1926 Oct 30
 From TD: 1923 Jul 5, Nov 16, 1924 Apr 5

Vigo County Central Labor Union
 To EVD: 1918 Mar 25
 To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Vigo County Local, Socialist Party
 From TD: 1936 Jul 30

Viking, John O.
 To TD: 1926 Oct 29

Villard, Fanny G.
 To Emily Debs Mailloux: 1912 Feb 16

Villard, Oswald Garrison
 To EVD: 1920 May 5
 From TD: 1921 Aug 2

Vincent, Elizabeth
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 17, 1921 Nov 5
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23
 From TD: 1920 Oct 29, Nov 12, Dec 2, 1922 Nov 9, 1926 Nov 4

Vincent, Henry
 To EVD: 1920 Oct 17
 To TD: 1908 Jul 28, 1926 Oct 23
 From TD: 1920 Dec 2, 1922 Nov 9, 1926 Nov 4

Vincent, Mary
 From EVD: 1909 Oct 27, Nov 8, Dec 30, 1910 Nov 8, 1912 Feb 15, Nov 7, 1917 Nov 12, 1924 Nov 6, 12
 From Katherine Metzels Debs:
 1924 Dec 27
 From TD: 1921 Nov 21

Vinchevsky, Morris
 From EVD: 1899 Dec 2, 1901 May 4, 16, Jul 10, Aug 10, 1907 Nov 7, 1908 Mar 9, Apr 6, 13, Dec 28, 1909 Feb 2, 1915 Nov 10, 1925(1)

Virginia
 1912 Jun 12, 1919 Dec 23, 1920 Nov 14, 24, 1921 Feb 2, Mar(1)

Vladeck, B. Charney
 To EVD: 1926 Jan 5, Feb 13, Sep 25
 From EVD: 1926 Jan 16, Feb 15

VLADECK, cont. — WARREN, ELAINE

To TD: 1926 Oct 26, 1927 Jan 14
From TD: 1927 Jan 10, 25, 26
Volen?, Zara
To EVD: 1920 Jul 26
Von Staden, Harry A.
To EVD: 1923 Mar 10

Wachter, John
From TD: 1908 Dec 8
Wagenknecht, Alfred
To EVD: 1919 Mar 19
From EVD: 1919 Jan 16
Wagenknecht, H.
To EVD: 1918 Nov 19, 1919 Mar 6
Wagner, Bena
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Wagner, Charles
To TD: 1926 Nov 2
Wagner, Mary
To TD: 1926 Oct 21
Wagner, Phil
To EVD: 1918 May 17, 1919 Jan 17
From EVD: 1915 Mar 22, 1916 Jun 24, 26, 1918 Feb 1
From TD: 1915 Sep 30
Wailles, Gladys
To EVD: 1920 Dec 10
Wakefield, Eva Ingersoll
To TD: 1932 Sep 15, 1936 Dec 11
From TD: 1936 Dec 18
Waldner, Auguste
To Eugenie Debs Selby: 1893 Jul 21
Waldo, Richard H.
To Robert D. Heinl: 1926 Oct 21
Walker, Cora
To EVD: 1920 Dec(1)
Walker, J.H.
To EVD: 1908 Mar 26
From EVD: 1908 Mar 28
Walker, Maud Helena Davis
To EVD: 1920 Dec(1)
From EVD: 1912 Aug 5, Dec 5, 1917 Aug(1). n.d.(2)
Walker, Ryan
To EVD: 1912 Aug 19, 1913 Jul 19, 1919 Dec 16, 1920(1), 1920 May(1), Dec(1)

From EVD: 1912 May 30, 31, Jun 1, 8, 10, 14, Aug 5, Dec 28, 1917 Aug(1), 1923 Apr 20, n.d.(3)
To TD: 1920 May 12, 1926 Oct 21
Wallace, J.W.
To EVD: 1921 Dec 28
Wallace, James L.
To EVD: 1918 Dec 10
Walling, Anna Strunsky
To EVD: 1920 Dec 25, 1925 Jan 4
From EVD: 1915 Oct 7
To Katherine Metzel Debs: 1926 Oct 23
To TD: 1926 Oct 23
Walling, Sadie M.
To Marguerite Debs Cooper: 1908 Oct 28, 1909 Jul 19, n.d.(1)
To Gertrude Toy Debs: n.d.(1)
To TD: 1908 Sep 4, Oct 15, 20, 21, 27, Nov 2, 1909 Aug 2
Walling, William English
To EVD: 1909 Dec 14, 1910 Feb 12, 1913 Mar 2
From EVD: 1909 Dec 7, 13, 1913 Mar 5
Walsh, Frank P.
To EVD: 1914 May 12, 18, 1915 Jul 18, 1920 Apr(1)
Wannemacher, Edward H.
To Katherine Metzel Debs: 1926 Oct 21
Warbasse, Agnes
From TD: 1920 Jan 30
Warbasse, James Peter
From EVD: 1922 Oct 17, Nov 21
From Katherine Metzel Debs: 1921 Jan 5
From TD: 1920 Jan 25
Warbasse, James Peter, Jr.
To EVD: 1920 Dec(1)
Warbasse, Vera
To EVD: 1920 Dec(1)
Ward, Charles E.
To EVD: 1921 Aug 3
Ware, Bethel
To EVD: 1920 Oct 24
Warren, Elaine
To EVD: 1920 Nov 5

Warren, Fred D.

To EVD: 1906 Feb 28, 1912 Jun 24, Jul 5, 27, 31, Aug 8, 16, Nov 15, 1913 Nov 15, 1915(1), 1915 Mar(1), Apr(1), Apr 12, May 4, 1917 Mar 22

From EVD: 1912 Jun 20, 1910(1), 1910 Jan 3, 4, 5, 8(2), 21, Feb 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 18, Mar 1, 2, 3(2), 7, 12, 22, Apr 1, May 16, 17(2), 20(2), Jun 29, Jul 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19(2), 30, Aug 17, Oct 12, Nov 8, 21, 25, 28, 29, Dec 2, 5, 7, 8(2), 9, 10(3), 1911 Jun 5(2), 6, 7(2), 17, 1912(3), 1912 Jan 28, May 31, Jun(1), Jun 10, 18, 19(2), 21, 22, Jul 1, 2(2), 3, 6(2), 14, 16, 23(2), 27, 29, 31, Aug 2(2), 3, 5(2), 7(2), 9, 11, 12(2), 13, 19, Nov 19, 25, 29, Dec 2, 3(2), 13, 18(3), 20, 23, 26, 1913 Jan 3, 11, 13, Feb 7, 8, Apr 25(3), Jun 2, Sep 8, 1914 Jan 19, Sep 6, 1915 May 18, 1917 Mar 23, n.d.(2)

From Katherine Metzger Debs:

1910 Aug 1, 2

To TD: n.d.(1)

From TD: 1910 Jan 10, 11, Jul 29, 1912 Jun(1), Jul 1, 29, Nov 19

To Lincoln Steffens: 1908 Aug 13

Washington, Booker T.

To Odilon C. Mailloux: 1915 Oct 23

Washington, D.C.

1881 Jul 28, 1905 Mar 7, 1907 May 1, 1908 Jun 4, Aug 8, 1910 Jul 16, 1912 Apr 5, 6, 1913 May 7, Jul 7, 1914 May 12, 1915 Apr 21, Oct 9, Dec(1), Dec 24, 1916 Jan 17, Jul 19, 1917 May 13, 1918 Apr 1, 1920 Jan 14, Apr 23, 19, 20(2), 29, Jul 8, Aug 8, Sep(1), Sep 2, 17(2), Oct 14, Nov 7(2), 14,

20, 28, Dec(1), Dec 3, 7, 1921 Jan 31(2), Feb 1, 2, 4, Mar 17, 21, 25, Apr 14, Jul 29, Aug 2, 15, Sep 6, Oct 18, Nov 3, 15(2), 24, 1922 Jan 30, Feb 3, 1926 Mar 12, Jun 17, Oct 21(2), 21, 27, 1928 Apr 18, 1929 Feb 26, Nov 14, Dec 24, 1930 Feb 23, 1931 Nov 15, 1932 Nov 5, 1934 Feb 22, Mar 7, Dec 28, 1935 Jan 5, Nov 30, Dec 16, 1936 Feb 19, Oct 6, Nov 12, 18, 1940 Feb 9, 1943 Jan 12, May 4, Aug 30(2), n.d.(1)

Washington State

1920 May 27, 1908 Sep 16, 1912 Sep 1, 1915 Jan 24, 25, Dec 24, 1916 May 30, 1917 Apr 1, 1918 Apr 14, 1919 Nov 7, Dec 13, 1920 May 21, 23, Jun 6, 14, 27, Aug 2, 14, 27, Nov 2, 3, 5, Dec 24, 1921 Mar 24, Sep 21, Oct 7, Nov 20, 1922 Nov 29, 1923 Sep 10, 11, 12, 13, 1925 Jan 25, 1926 Mar 16, Apr 11, Jul 4, 27, 30, Oct 12, 21(3), 22, 23, 24, 25(2), 26, Nov(1), Nov 1, 5(2), 8, 13, Dec 7, 16, 31, 1927 Mar 9, Jun 1, Nov 7, 1928 1941 Feb 2, May(1), 1942 Jan 16, 1943 Dec 26, 1944 Dec 14

Watkins, Lucian B.

To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Watson, Albert Durrant?

To EVD: 1921 Aug 17

Watson, Blanche

From Clarence Darrow: 1926 May 10

To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1919 Dec(1), 1920 Sep(1), Oct 15, Nov(1), 1921 Aug 14, Sep 13, Nov 15, 1926 Jun(1)

To TD: 1925 Oct 29, 1926 May 10, Oct 24, Nov 27, 1927 Feb 8, 10, 21(2), 21, Apr 17, Oct 20

From TD: 1920 Jan 25, 1921 Sep 20, 1926 Oct(1)

From Mohandas K. Gandhi: 1927 Feb 10

From John Haynes Holmes: 1927 Feb 21

Wattay, Anna

To EVD: 1919 Dec 26

WAYLAND — WHITE, BOUCK

Wayland, Julius A.
To TD: 1899 Jun 28
From TD: 1899 Jul 3
Weaver, B.F.
To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
Weaver, I.M.
To EVD: 1926 Feb 15
To TD: 1926 Oct 30
Weber, Mrs. Edward H.
From EVD: 1926 Feb 3
Weber, John
From EVD: 1925 Sep 19
Weber, Mrs. L.
To EVD: 1920 Jan 8
Webster, Frank L.
To EVD: 1913 Dec 26
Weekly People, Editor
To EVD: 1916 Aug 15
From EVD: 1916 Jul 31, Aug
12, 1918 Sep 27
Weil, Mathilda
To TD: 1939 Nov 13
Weinberger, Harry
To EVD: 1921 Nov 8, 25, Dec
7, 1925 Jan 29, May 25
To TD: 1925 Feb 4
From TD: 1925 Feb 2, 6
To Miriam A. Ferguson: 1925
Jan 29
Weinmann, Edna
To EVD: 1920 May 29
Weisberg, Julius
To TD: 1926 Oct 23
Weiss, David
To EVD: 1920 Apr 13
Weiss, Rose
To EVD: 1920 Feb 22, Mar 14
Welch, S.W.
To TD: 1943 Aug 3
Wells-Barnett, Ida B.
To EVD: 1916 Jan 17
Wentworth, Franklin H.
To EVD: 1908 Mar 31, 1920 Oct
13
Wentworth, Lydia G.
To EVD: 1920 Nov 12
Werker, P.J.
To EVD: 1925 Mar 12
Wernette, Louise Schiffer
To EVD: 1920 Dec(1), 1921 Jan
15
Wessel, K.
From EVD: 1917 Jun 7

West Virginia
1908 Jan 28, 29, 30, 1912 Jul
28, 1913 Apr 17, May 18, 19, 23(2),
Jun 2, 12, 17, 18, 21, 27, 1914
Oct 18, 1915 Jan 30, Dec 31,
1919-1921(1), 1919 Apr 16, 21,
22(2), 27, 30, May 3, 4, 7, 9,
15, 17, 29, Jun 7, 10, 14, Dec 22,
1920 Jan 20, Mar 28, Apr 25,
Jun 9, Aug 18, Oct 29, Dec 4,
29, 1921 Jan 24, Feb 3, 9, Aug
29, Nov 5, 15, 1926 Oct 20(2),
24, 25, 26, 29, Nov 8, 1928
Mar 30, Jul 15, 1933 Dec 10,
1936 May 24
Westenhaver, D.C.
To EVD: 1926 Jun 5,
From EVD: 1926 Jun 3, 8,
From Seymour Stedman: 1918 Nov
20
Wheeler, Bernal E.
To EVD: 1920 Dec 22
Wheeler, John N.
To EVD: 1922 May 26
From EVD: 1922 May 4, 30
Wheelock, Edwin D.
To EVD: 1908 Aug 5, 1919 Dec
31
Whitaker, Claire E.
To TD: 1926 Oct(1)
Whitaker, Robert
To EVD: 1920 Mar 4, 1926 Jan
25
To TD: 1926 Oct(1), 1927(1),
1927 Dec 31, 1928 Dec 23,
1930 Jan 4
White, B.B.
From TD: 1919 Aug 25
White, Bertha Hale
To EVD: 1920 Oct 20, 1921 Nov
16, 23, 24, 1922 Mar 3, 1924
Oct 22, 1925 Sep 8, 1926 Jun
17
From EVD: 1925 Jun 3, 11, 29
To TD: 1920 Oct 15, 1921 May
25, Nov 27, Dec 16, 20, 1926
Oct 22, 1934 Feb 22
From TD: 1921 Nov 9, 25, Dec
3, 6
To Morris Hillquit: 1925 Jun
3
White, Bouck
To EVD: 1916 Jun 25

WHITE, ELLA N. — WISCONSIN

White, Ella N.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 21

White, James C.
 From Frank Putnam: 1925 Apr
 6

White, John P.
 To EVD: 1915 Apr 16
 From TD: 1915 Apr 20

White, Lillian J.
 To TD: 1919 Sep 6
 From TD: 1919 Sep 15

White, Maggie A.
 To EVD: 1915 Jan 13

White, William Allen
 From EVD: 1911 Jan 27

Whitehead, Celia Baldwin
 To TD: 1920 Apr 22

Whitehead, Hazel
 To TD: 1926 Nov 5

Whitford, Stanley R.
 To EVD: 1920 Jan 24, Nov 18

Whitman, Lillian
 To EVD: 1921 Jan 20

Whitman, Susanna
 To EVD: 1921 Jan 20

Whitney, A.F.
 To TD: 1942 Sep 1, Dec 14,
 1943 Jan 13
 From TD: 1934 Jan 20, 1942
 Dec 9

Wierse, Paul
 To TD: 1920 Oct 25

Wiksell, Percival
 To TD: 1926 Oct(1)

Wilcox, A.E.
 To TD: 1923 Feb 6

Wilcox, Raymond
 To EVD: 1919 Jan 23, Feb 10,
 20

Wiley, Mrs.
 From TD: 1932 Jun 1

Wilhelm, Roy C.
 From Martha Root: 1921 Jul 24

Wilkinson, Ellen
 To TD: 1926 Aug 23

Willert, Ethelbert K.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 10

Williams, Charles
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 7

Williams, George Vail
 To EVD: 1919 Dec 21, 1921 Nov
 2(2)
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Williams, J.M.
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 25

Williams, James
 To EVD: 1921 Mar 19

Williams, Sam F.
 To EVD: 1923 Mar 26

Williams, Sophie
 To EVD: 1921 Feb 3, Nov 1

Williams, T.B.
 To TD: 1920 Nov 12, 1926 Nov
 9

Williams, T.W.
 From EVD: 1915 Jul 25

Williams, William G.
 To EVD: 1914 Jan 7
 From TD: 1914 Jan 8

Willis, A.E.
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)

Wilson, F.W.
 To TD: 1917 Nov 15

Wilson, Jennie L.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 20

Wilson, Noble C.
 To EVD: 1915 Jul 13
 From EVD: 1915 Jul 17, 1918
 Aug 7

Wilson, Oliver C.
 To EVD: 1918 Jun 5
 To TD: 1918 Aug 22
 From TD: 1918 Jul 19

Wilson, Woodrow
 From J.T. Landis: 1920 Dec
 29

Wilt, John A.
 To EVD: 1921 Jan 30
 To TD: 1921 Dec 14, 1926 Oct
 24

Winship, Amy Davis
 To EVD: 1921 Jul 26

Winship, Mrs.
see also EVD to TD, 1920(1)

Winston, E.M.
 To EVD: 1912 Jun 11

Winston, Isabel Constance
 To EVD: 1920 May 14

Winterich, John T.
 To TD: 1924 May 31

Wirth, C.
 To EVD: 1921 Nov 3
 From TD: 1911 Apr 26

Wisconsin
 1896 Jan 9, 1901 Aug 21, Sep
 2, 7, 1905 Oct 14, 1906 Apr
 29, Jul 30, 1908 Jun 30, Jul
 2, 19, Aug 9(2), Sep 2, 24,
 Oct 30, 1912 Jul 15, 19, 1913
 Jul(1), Nov 26, Dec 19, 1915

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Oct 14, Nov 4, 21, 27, 1916
Aug 15, 1917 Feb 13, Mar 22,
1918 Mar 8, 29, 1919-1921(1),
1919 Sep 4, Dec 24, 1920 Jan
2, Feb 5, 26, 28, Mar 4, 10,
17, 19, Apr 10, 13, Jun 29,
Aug 22, Sep 9, Oct 1, 22, Nov
1, 2(2), 6, 21, Dec(1), Dec 9,
24, 1921 Jan 7, Feb 1, 10, 22,
Mar 23, 27, Apr 5, Jun 5, 6,
24, 26, 27, Jul 24, 26, Aug 8,
16, Oct 29, 1923 Apr 20, Sep
3, 1926 Jun 14, 1924 Aug 29,
Dec 30, 1925 Jan 19, Mar 9,
Apr 6, 15, 24, May 14, 1926
May 30, Jun 22, Oct 19, 21(3).
Nov 3, 11, 26, 1927 Dec 3,
1936 Feb 18, Jul 14, Dec 8,
1942 Oct 18, Nov 26, Dec 26,
1945 Jan 23, 28, n.d.(1)

Wisconsin State Federation of
Labor
see also EVD to TD, 1919-21(1)

Wise, William N.
To EVD: 1904 Dec 19

Withington, Caro Lloyd, see
Lloyd, Caro

Witt, Peter
To EVD: 1916 Oct 27, 1921 Mar
26
From EVD: 1895 Nov 4, 1910
Feb 15, 1916 Nov 14, 1922
Feb 1, 1923 Jan 13, 1924 Jan
8
To TD: 1921 Apr 5
see also EVD to TD, 1921 Mar
21

Wittig, Viola
To EVD: 1920 Nov 21

Witting, Arthur
To EVD: 1920 Oct 30

Wohin, Louie
To EVD: 1920 Jan 20

Wolfe, Mrs. V.R.
To TD: 1926 Oct 20

Womsley, Bessie M.
To EVD: 1917 Apr 11

Wood, L. Hollingsworth
To EVD: 1916 Jan 17

Wood, O.G.
To TD: 1920 May 30, Nov 9,
29

Woodbey, G.W.
To EVD: 1921 Mar 31

Woodburn, J.A.
To EVD: 1894 Jul 7

Woodcock, L.B.
To EVD: 1914 Oct 10

Woodsworth, J.S.
To EVD: 1924 Dec 17
From EVD: 1924 Dec 22
To TD: 1927 Feb 7

Woodward, C. Vann
To TD: 1938 Dec 9

Wooh, Earl
To EVD: 1921 Apr 12

Work, John M.
To EVD: 1913 Apr 8
From EVD: 1913 Apr 4
To TD: 1926 Jun 22, 1945 Jan
28, 23
From TD: 1945 Jan 25, Feb 3

Workers' Culture Club of Bath
Beach
To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Workmen's Circle, Branch 69
To TD: 1926 Oct 21

Workmen's Circle, Branch 112
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1926 Oct 22

Workmen's Circle, Branch 457
To Debs Family: 1926 Oct 22

Workmen's Circle, Debs English
Speaking Branch 665
To TD: 1941 Feb 14
From TD: 1941 Feb 22

Workmen's Circle, New York
To TD: 1926 Oct 23

Wright, Alexander W.
To EVD: 1893 Jan 23, Feb 6

Wright, Manfred C.
To EVD: 1915 Nov 19

Wright, Pearl M.
To Gertrude Toy Debs: 1926
Nov 6
To Katherine Metzels Debs:
1926 Nov 6
To TD: 1926 Nov 6

Wright, R.
To EVD: 1921 Feb 1

Wykoff, Joseph M.
To EVD: 1920 Aug 31

Wyneken, Luise
To EVD: 1920 Jan 15
From EVD: 1926 Jan 29

Wyoming
1915 Apr 12, 1920 Dec 22

Yaffe, William
 To EVD: 1920 Mar 2
 Yanowitz, Joseph
 To EVD: 1918 Mar 10
 Yates, Emerin
 To Ola Bagly Hume: 1927 Jan
 23
 Yearwood, John
 To Harry Daugherty: 1921 Oct
 13
 To EVD: 1921 Jun 9, Sep 22,
 27, Oct 1, 4
 To TD: 1921 Oct 3, 30
 Yellen, Sidney
 From EVD: 1922 Apr 29
 Yerex, Mrs. Albert E.
 To TD: 1909 Jan 12
 From TD: 1909 Jan 21
 Yonkers Local, Socialist Party
 To TD: 1926 Nov 6
 York, A.W.
 To EVD: 1919 Nov 8
 Young, Art
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1)
 To TD: 1926 Nov(1), 1938 Jan
 25
 Young, Irene
 To EVD: 1920 Nov 5
 Young, R.J.
 To EVD: 1920 Apr 7

 Youtz, A.M.
 To EVD: 1921 Sep 1

 Zackheim, E.D.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 20, 21
 Zetland, Rubin
 To EVD: 1926 Feb 11, 15
 Zeuch, William Edward
 To EVD: 1919 Nov 19
 Ziegler, William
 To TD: 1926 Oct 23
 Zilberman, Bertha Neumann, see
 Neumann-Zilberman, Bertha
 Zimand, S.
 To EVD: 1917 Oct 31
 Zimbalist, Efrem
 To EVD: 1921 Jan 10
 Zimmerman, Rose
 To EVD: 1921 Oct 30
 Zondervan, Lillian
 To EVD: 1919-1921(1), 1920
 Dec 20, 1921 Jan 22, Apr 23,
 26, Jun 6, Oct 11
 Zondervan, S.
 To EVD: 1920 Dec 20
 Zsak, Joseph
 To EVD: 1915 Dec 14
 Zueblin, Charles
 To EVD: 1912 Jul 6

Description of Checklist of Published Writings and Speeches in Series II

This checklist is an alphabetical listing by title of the published writings and speeches in Series II. A few items are untitled and have been listed under a brief description of the contents, e.g., "letter on imprisonment, SLL, July 30, 1927." Debs' speeches and interviews are listed under their original titles or headlines and are also cross-listed, under "interview," followed by the name of the interviewer, and under "Speeches," in a separate chronological listing. Individual entries in the "Speeches" listing give the place where the speech was delivered, the date, and the place and date of publication (if published). Published speeches are located on the microfilm under the date of publication, and unpublished speeches under the date of delivery.

Checklist of Published Writings and Speeches in Series II

- ABC of Socialism--No. 7. Seattle Socialist, Oct. 26, 1902
- Abolishing Trusts. ALUJ, July 2, 1903
- About the Union. RT, Jan. 1, 1894
- According to Request. Workers' Call, Oct. 27, 1900
- Accused Miners. CS, Mar. 16, 1907
- Across the Line. MM, Aug. 1902
- Address of Eugene V. Debs, At Handel Hall, Chicago, Tuesday, June 15, 1897. RT, June 15, 1897
- Address. President Debs Outlines the Principles of the A.R.U. RT, June 15, 1894
- address to Convention. BLFM, Oct. 1877
- Address to Railway Employes. RT, Sept. 15, 1896
- Address to the American People. RT, Jan 15, 1895
- After the Battle. SW, Jan. 15, 1921
- Against Fusion. SD, May 19, 1898
- Agitation In Denver. SDH, June 7, 1902
- Agony and Prayer. RT, July 15, 1895
- Aims and Objects of the Social Democratic Party. ATR, Nov. 18, 1899
- All Humanity. The Rebel, July 15, 1911
- Allen Cook: A Tribute. SLL, Sept. 26, 1925
- Along the Highway. The Toiler. Nov. 27, 1903
- Altgeld, the Liberator. MM, Mar. 9, 1905
- Amalgamated and May Day. Advance, May 2, 1924
- American Labor Party. SW, Jan. 1925
- American Legion of Saviors. CS, Nov. 14, 1925
- American Militarism. NYC, Jan. 17, 1915
- American Movement. pamphlet, 1904
- American Railway Union. RT, May 15, 1894
- American Socialist Forerunner of Powerful Revolutionary Press. AS, July 18, 1914
- American University and the Labor Problem. The Adelbert, Feb. 1896
- America's Political Prisoners. Advance, Oct. 8, 1920
- Anita Whitney. SLL, Dec 12, 1925
- Anniversary Sentiment. NYC, July 30, 1916
- Another Kidnaping Plot! ATR, Apr. 29, 1911
- Another Talk on the Chicago and Northwestern Conspiracy. Journal of the Switchmen's Union, Aug. 1906
- Another Word from Debs on Christianity. MVS, Aug. 1, 1913
- Anthracite Arbitration. ALUJ, Jan. 8, 1903
- Appeal Breaking All the World's Circulation Records. ATR, Feb. 23, 1907
- Appeal by Eugene V. Debs. NYC, Dec. 10, 1922
- Appeal Everywhere. ATR, June 17, 1899

APPEAL — BEWARE

- Appeal In Behalf of Carl Person.
NRS, May 1914
- Appeal To Labor. RT, Sept.
1, 1894
- Appeal To Magazine Agents.
BLFM, Aug. 1880
- Appeal to Reason's Greatest
Victory. ATR, June 14, 1913
- Appeal to the Miners of West
Virginia. ATR, June 21,
1913
- Appeal to Young America. Labor,
July 1, 1905
- Appeal's Agitation Tour.
ATR, Mar. 19, 1910
- Appreciation of Two Comrades.
NL, Apr. 12, 1924
- Approaching Election. SD,
Oct. 21, 1897
- April 22, 1912 at Girard. ATR,
May 4, 1912
- Arbitration Farce. SDH,
Jan. 24, 1903
- Arbitration Will Fail. SDH,
Feb. 27, 1904
- Are the Workers Ready for the
World? NYC, Sept. 5, 1920
- Arms Conference Fails by
Ignoring Cause, Says Debs.
ATR, Jan. 7, 1922
- Army and the Appeal. ATR,
Mar. 9, 1912
- Arouse, Ye Hosts of Labor!
Indianapolis Union, May 6,
1911
- Arouse, Ye Hosts of Labor!
NYC, Aug. 22, 1912
- Arouse, Ye Slaves! SDH, Nov.
12, 1898
- Arouse, Ye Slaves! ATR, Mar.
10, 1906
- Arrest of Eugene Debs.
The Rebel. Feb 1, 1913
- Arrest of Mother Jones. SLL,
July 8, 1913
- As Eugene V. Debs Sees It. SDH,
Apr. 16, 1904
- As Ithers See Us. Wilshire's
Magazine, Jan. 1902
- As to Books and Writer. The
Conservator, Sept. 1911
- As to the Labor Defense Council.
SW, Mar. 1925
- As to the Labor Defense Council.
SLL, Mar. 7, 1925
- As to True Brotherhood. SDH, Jan.
30, 1904
- As Usual Roosevelt Is Belied By
His Own Words. CS, Apr. 25,
1907
- Ashamed. Cincinnati Inquirer.
Nov. 8, 1920
- Asserts Public Ownership Is
Only Solution To Coal Issue.
Newark Ledger, Oct. 5, 1925
- At the Auditorium. RT, Mar. 15,
1895
- Attention: William Allen White
and Pals. clipping, n.d.
- Auguries for the New Year--
E.V. Deb Writes of His Late
Tour. SDH, Jan. 3, 1903
- Back on the Job. AA, May 1,
1926
- Back Up the Teachers. AS,
Sept. 25, 1915
- Barons At the White House.
The Toiler, Oct. 10, 1902
- Base Passion of Military Glory.
NYC, Jan. 14, 1917
- Battle Cry of Superstition.
SDH, Mar. 22, 1902
- Be Ye Vigilant. ATR, July 27,
1907
- Bears No Hate, Says Debs in
Speech in Indianapolis. ATR,
Jan. 7, 1922
- Before and After. New Day,
Dec. 4, 1920
- Behind Prison Walls. Century
Magazine, July 1922.
- Belgium's Great Victory. ATR,
May 10, 1913
- Ben Butler and the Millowners.
ATR, Jan. 11, 1913
- Ben Hanford. ATR, Feb. 5, 1910
- Benjamin Harrison and His
Press Apologists. SDH,
Apr. 13, 1901
- Benson and Kirkpatrick. AS,
Apr. 15, 1916
- Benson is Worthy Standard
Bearer, Says Debs. ATR,
Apr. 1, 1916
- Between Comrades. NYC, Feb.
16, 1914
- Beware of Debs. ATR, Oct. 28,
1911

- Big Crowd Hears Debs at Rockford, Ill. SLL, Oct. 22, 1910
- Big Red Year of 1916. ATR, July 8, 1916
- Bigelow and the Blacksnake Brutes. SR, Dec. 1917
- Birthday Greetings to the Call. NYC, May 26, 1922
- Bishop's Bewilderment. SDH, Feb. 20, 1904
- Black Persecution. AA, Feb. 20, 1926
- Bluff that Failed. NYC, Aug. 25, 1918
- Body Snatchers. CS, Aug. 25, 1906
- Bossing the Bosses. NL, June 28, 1924
- Boston Speech. SLL, May 19, 1923
- Bouck White's Great Book. CN, May 10, 1913
- Bourgeois Idealists. AS, Feb. 12, 1916
- Brace of Capitalist Court Decisions. NYC, Mar. 11, 1915
- Brand of Justice in Hocror's Case the Kind That Brings Contempt of Courts. Terre Haute Tribune, Dec. 7, 1910
- Bravo, Arkansas Coal-diggers. MM, July 30, 1914
- Brewer's Victory. NYC, Apr. 18, 1915
- Brothers and Friends. RT, July 15, 1894
- Brother Debs' Address. BLFM, Oct. 1878
- Brutal Guards and Horrible Food. Washington Times, July 23, 1922
- Bryan and 'The Commoner'. ATR, Mar. 30, 1907
- Build Up Your Press. MVS, Jan. 6, 1922
- Burning Questions. RT, Sept. 2, 1895
- But Two Parties and But One Issue. pamphlet, June 16, 1912. (incomplete)
- 'But Two Parties and One Issue,' Says Debs. Chicago Evening World, June 17, 1912
- Butte Affair Reviewed. MM, July 30, 1914
- By Eugene V. Debs. Indianapolis Bulletin, June 1918
- Call for a Chicago Conference. SD, Sept. 16, 1897
- 'Call Off the Dogs of War.' ATR, Mar. 25, 1911
- Call to Arms!. SW, Oct. 1925
- Call to the People. SD, Aug. 26, 1897
- Calls on Party to Wipe Out Debt. MVS, Jan. 14, 1921
- Call's Struggles Presage Certain Triumph, Says Debs. NYC, May 25, 1923
- Call's Work Is of Inestimable Value. NYC, May 14, 1914
- Calumniating the Dead. ATR, Jan. 11, 1908
- Calumny Noticed. SDH, Feb. 17, 1900
- Cameos of Comment. SDH, Dec. 19, 1903
- Campaign Before Us. Indianapolis Bulletin, Mar. 1916
- Campaign Liars! Attention. Workers' Call, Oct. 20, 1900
- Campaign This Year, Indianapolis Bulletin, Feb. 1918
- Campaign This Year. SW, Sept. 1924
- Candidate Debs Is a Beneficent Influence In Prison, But Still a Revolutionist. Literary Digest, Oct. 23, 1920
- Candidate In Felon's Garb. Washington Times, July 9, 1922
- Canton speech, see June 16, 1918
- Capital versus Labor. SDH, Aug. 1, 1903
- Capitalism. AA, 1927
- Capitalism and Crime. ATR, May 11, 1912
- Capitalism and Labor. SLL, Sept. 19, 1925
- Capitalism and Marriage. ATR, Sept. 27, 1913
- Capitalism Condemned. AS, Sept. 25, 1915

CAPITALISM — COMRADE

- Capitalism in its Dotage.
ATR, Feb. 17, 1912
- Capitalism vs. Socialism.
CS, Nov. 21, 1906
- Capitalist Crime In Colorado.
Labor, Apr. 30, 1904
- Capitalist Press and Fair
Play. MVS, Feb. 27, 1925
- Capitalistic Cracksmen
a Modern "Benefactor." SDH,
Apr. 6, 1901
- Capitalists Behind the
Dynamiting Plots. ATR, Jan.
6, 1912
- Capitalist Dynamiters. ATR,
Jan. 13, 1912
- Capitalist Infernalism. CS,
June 25, 1904
- Capitalist Philanthropy. The
Challenge, May 1, 1901
- Carnegie, Man of Peace. The
New Review, Sept. 1914
- Carnival of Capitalism.
SDH, May 24, 1902
- Cartoonist and the Social
Revolution. CN, June
7, 1913
- Case of Freeman Knowles.
ATR, June 27, 1908
- Case of Warren and the Appeal.
ATR, May 2, 1908
- Caustic Thrusts from the
Trenchant Pen of Debs. MM,
Apr. 11, 1907
- Chains. NYC, Feb. 14, 1919
- Charity Balls and Banquets.
MM, Apr. 17, 1913
- Chattering Chauncey Challenged.
SDH, July 11, 1903
- Chautauqua Platform and Its
Opportunities, ATR,
Aug. 26, 1905
- Cheer Up Comrades! ATR, May
22, 1909
- Cheering Words. Western
Clarion, n.d.
- Cheering Words from Debs.
ATR, Aug. 3, 1907
- Chicago and Its Crooked Union
Labor Leaders. MVS, June 16,
1922
- Chicago Movement. CDS,
Sept. 8, 1911
- Child. The New World, Sept. 1916
- Childhood. ATR, Dec. 21, 1907
- Children of the Poor.
pamphlet, Jan. 15, 1911
- Christmas in Prison. ATR,
Aug. 12, 1922
- Christmas Message. NYC, Dec.
25, 1919
- Christmas Message from Debs.
NYC, Dec. 22, 1920
- Civilization of the Whipping
Post. CN, Feb. 10, 1912
- Clara Zetkin's Inspiring Call.
NYC, Mar. 16, 1915
- Class-Conscious Courts. SDH,
July 4, 1903
- Class Conscious Solidarity.
Ohio Socialist, Oct. 24, 1903
- Class Power. ATR, Oct. 26, 1912
- Class Struggle, and Its
Impediments. SDH, July 30,
1904
- Class Unionism. pamphlet, Nov.
24, 1905
- Class War and Its Outlook.
ISR, Sept. 1916
- Clear Vision of a Prophet,
NYC, Oct. 12, 1919
- Closing in to Slaughter the
Appeal. ATR, Dec. 23, 1911
- Collapse of the Conspiracy.
ATR, July 7, 1906
- Colorado Day. MM, July 7,
1904
- Come, Let's Reason Together.
ATR, Mar. 10, 1906
- Coming Climax in the
Irrepressible Struggle for
Emancipation. ATR, May 18, 1907
- Coming Labor Union.
MM, Oct. 26, 1905
- Coming Mass Conventions.
SW, May 1925
- Coming of Socialism.
SR, Sept. 1917
- Coming Republic. RT, June 1, 1897
- Coming Workingman. CN,
July 13, 1895
- Comment on the Catholic Church
and Socialism. Wayland's
Monthly, Dec. 1907
- Common Laborer.
Indianapolis Bulletin,
Nov. 1918
- Comrade Debs' Address.
Schenectady Citizen, Dec.
18, 1925

- Comrade Debs in Overalls. SLL,
Nov. 8, 1913
- Comrade Debs' Message. The
Open Letter, Dec 1, 1910
- Comrade Debs' View of the
Socialist Special. SP
Official Bulletin, July
1908
- Comrade Debs Writes On Our
Mother Jones Edition. SLL,
May 17, 1913
- Comrades Cheer Inspiring
Words of Eugene V. Debs.
Providence Labor Advocate,
Oct. 17, 1914
- Comrade's Tribute. SDH,
June 6, 1903
- Confederation of Labor Organi-
zations Essential to Labor's
Prosperity. American Journal
of Politics, July 1892
- Conflict. RT, May 1, 1896
- Congressional Campaign.
The Worker, July 7, 1906
- Congressional Campaign Is a
Hot One. ATR, Aug. 12, 1916
- Consolidation. RT, Jan. 15, 1896
- Continuous Campaign.
Western Clarion. Oct. 22,
1903
- Convention and the Outlook.
ATR, May 1, 1904
- Convicted Iron Workers.
NYC, May 12, 1913
- Co-operative Commonwealth.
ATR, Dec. 29, 1900
- Correction of Error. Party
Builder, July 26, 1913
- Court Makes Constitution
a Scrap of Paper. clipping,
Sept. 1918
- Courts and the People.
NYC, Dec 30, 1910
- Courts and Organized Labor.
Milwaukee Leader,
Mar. 22, 1915
- Craft Unionism. pamphlet,
Nov. 23, 1905
- Creed of Constantine.
MP, Jan. 1917
- Crime Against Quinlan.
ATR, Mar. 6, 1916
- Crimes of Carnegie. Missouri
Socialist, Apr. 13, 1901
- Crime of Craft Unionism.
ISR, Feb. 1911
- Crime of Fraternalizing.
NYC, Feb. 7, 1915
- Crime To Quit Work. ATR,
Oct. 31, 1908
- Crimes of Capitalism. SDH,
Oct. 24, 1903
- Crimes of Capitalism in
Colorado. CS, Apr. 9, 1904
- Criminal and Cowardly
Capitalism. EO, Nov. 24,
1917
- Crimson Standard. ATR, n.d.
- Crisis In Mexico. ISR,
July 1911
- Crooking His Knee To Royaltee.
SDH, May 31, 1902
- Crowded House at LaPorte. SDH,
Nov. 25, 1899
- Crowds Greet Debs In Kansas.
CDS, Aug. 24, 1908
- Crucial Contest in Colorado.
NRS, July 1914
- Crumbling Capitalism.
Socialist Review, Sept. 1,
1906
- Crying Need of the Day.
New Day, Nov. 6, 1920
- Cuban Rebellion. RT, Oct.
15, 1895
- Current Comment. Debs
Magazine, Nov. 1922
- Current Events Passed in
Review. SDH, Sept. 2, 1899
- Current Literature. The
Worker, Mar. 17, 1906
- Current Topics. RT, Oct.
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