

Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Victor L. Berger Papers

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and
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Editors***

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Contents

Publisher's Note, **iv**

To the Researcher, **1**

Acknowledgments, **2**

Provenance, **3**

Biographies of Members of the Berger Household, **4**

The Berger and Schlichting Families, **9**

Names Used Frequently in the Berger Family Correspondence, **11**

Scope and Content, **14**

 General Notes, **14**

 Berger Family Correspondence, **16**

 Victor Berger Papers, **18**

 Meta Berger Papers, **23**

 Milwaukee County Historical Society, Social Democratic Party Collection, **25**

Notes on Materials Not Available through Scholarly Resources Inc., **27**

Reel Contents, **28**

Index to Selected Prominent Correspondents, **33**

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To the Researcher

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin's primary objective in issuing this microfilm is to make the Victor L. Berger Papers widely available and freely accessible to researchers. This microfilm edition includes both the State Historical Society's Victor L. Berger Papers and the Milwaukee County Historical Society's records relating to Victor Berger from its Social Democratic Party collection.

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Acknowledgments

This edition would not have been possible without the cooperation and assistance of a number of people and organizations. We are grateful to the granddaughters of Victor and Meta Berger—Deborah Hardy, Polly Keusink, and Bridget Dobson—who generously donated their grandparents' papers to the State Historical Society and who assisted the project in innumerable other ways. The Milwaukee County Historical Society, especially its executive director, Harry H. Anderson, and its curator of research collections, Judith A. Simonsen, not only made its holdings of Berger's papers available for this edition but also assisted us with research questions. Dr. Frederick I. Olson participated in early discussions about the contents of the edition and offered useful advice; he also loaned original Berger documents from his private collection for inclusion in the edition. The Milwaukee Public Library and its humanities coordinator, Virginia C. Schwartz, aided the project by arranging for the transfer of the library's holdings of Berger materials to the State Historical Society.

The staff of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin contributed extensively to the completion of the project. Virginia Fritzsche directed the original sorting and arrangement of the Society's holdings of Berger's papers—a task complicated by the disordered state of the collection. Several student workers assisted in the collection arrangement and microfilm preparation and checking, especially Kyle Knoeck, Christopher O'Neill, James O'Neill, H. Louise Pubols, and Susan Wirka. Assistant state archivist Susan Davis provided useful advice throughout the project on arrangement and description questions. John Friend, supervisor of the Society's Microfilm Lab, and Sam Rowe, the camera operator who filmed the edition, were eager to achieve the highest quality possible for this challenging project. Ellen Goldlust provided valuable assistance in the preparation of the guide to the edition and also aided in the identification and dating of problem manuscripts.

Provenance

This microfilm edition brings together two major holdings of manuscripts related to Victor Berger—the Victor L. Berger Papers at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and a segment of the records of the Milwaukee Social Democratic Party related to Victor Berger at the Milwaukee County Historical Society—as well as three smaller collections. Until recently, the main corpus of Victor Berger's papers remained with his heirs and generally was closed to researchers. Following Meta Berger's death in 1944, custody of the papers passed to Doris Berger Hursley, who took them to California with her after World War II and commingled them with notes and drafts of a planned biography of her father. After her death in 1984 and the death of her husband, Frank Hursley, in 1989, the granddaughters of Victor and Meta Berger—Deborah Hardy, Polly Keusink, and Bridget Dobson—transferred ownership of the Berger papers to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1990 and 1991.

The Milwaukee County Historical Society loaned portions of its Social Democratic Party collection to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for filming in 1993. The provenance of these materials, which consist of Berger's congressional files for his first term and some general correspondence through the end of World War I, is unclear. It seems likely that Berger stored some of his personal papers at Brisbane Hall, which housed the offices of both the *Milwaukee Leader* and the Socialist Party. The papers apparently remained at Brisbane Hall after his death and were transferred to the Milwaukee County Historical Society along with the party's records during the 1930s. Some of these records may have been among those seized by the federal government following Berger's indictment in 1918 and later returned after the trial.

Two smaller collections of materials have been integrated into the Victor L. Berger Papers at the State Historical Society and are included in this microfilm edition. In 1992 the Milwaukee Public Library transferred to the State Historical Society several folders of Berger's typescript speeches, campaign literature, and clippings. These items were incorporated into the appropriate series. In addition, papers donated to the Society in 1969 and 1976 by Miriam Frink, a neighbor and friend of Meta's, were integrated into Meta's papers. These include a manuscript and typescript autobiography as well as a small collection of Meta's correspondence, clippings, and the records of the Meta Berger Memorial Committee. Finally, in 1993, Frederick I. Olson of Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, loaned five letters written by Victor Berger to the State Historical Society for this edition; they have been filmed with Berger's general correspondence.

Biographies of Members of the Berger Household

Congressman, newspaper editor, and co-founder of the Socialist Party of America, Victor L. Berger (February 28, 1860–August 7, 1929) was arguably the most successful politician in his party's history. Elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Wisconsin's Fifth Congressional District six times, Berger was the first Socialist to sit in Congress. He built his national successes on a well-organized Milwaukee political machine that remained a power throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century. Temperamental, egotistical, and caustic, he nonetheless retained the respect and admiration of many. He had a reputation for personal generosity, and even his opponents described him as personally charming. Believing that socialism would evolve gradually rather than come about through revolution, Berger called for social and economic reforms, such as unemployment compensation and federal old-age pensions.

Born to a comfortable Jewish family in Nieder-Rehbach in Austria-Hungary, Berger received extensive schooling in Budapest and Vienna, although he never was awarded a college degree. The threat of conscription into the Austro-Hungarian army led to Victor's emigration to America in 1878, followed shortly thereafter by his family. After living briefly in New York City, his parents and siblings settled in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Victor, however, traveled around the country, holding odd jobs before moving to Milwaukee in 1881. The large German-speaking community there provided ample opportunities for Berger, who soon became active in German-American organizations and wrote for the German-language press as a drama critic. He began teaching German and other subjects in the Milwaukee public schools in 1883 and in 1886 became a naturalized citizen.

During the 1880s, Berger became fascinated with the political and social issues of his time, imbibing the latest socialist thought imported from Germany through Milwaukee's active Turnverein (social and athletic clubs that promoted free thinking). In December 1892 he resigned his teaching position and purchased the German-language labor newspaper *Milwaukee's Volkszeitung*, renaming it *Wisconsin-Vorwaerts* (Forward). Berger ran the *Vorwaerts* as a daily from 1893 until 1898 and as a weekly thereafter. Although he gave up the editorship of the paper in 1911, he retained financial control through the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company, a firm he created for his publishing operations.

Berger's publishing endeavors were always designed to promote his political views, and he recognized that he needed an English-language vehicle to succeed. He acquired the weekly *Social-Democratic Herald* in 1901, moved the paper from Chicago to Milwaukee, and published it until 1913. Nonetheless, a weekly paper could not compete with the English-language dailies that criticized socialism. Consequently, Berger founded the daily *Milwaukee Leader* in 1911 and served as its editor until his death. Although the *Leader* usually failed to show a profit, it provided Berger with a living and an opportunity to promote his ideas. In addition to the *Leader* and the *Vorwaerts*, Berger (and later the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company) published *Wahrheit* (1893–1910), the *Vanguard* (1902–1908), *Naprzod* (1909–1915), the *Wisconsin Comrade* (1914–1916), the *Coming Nation* (1916–1917), the *Commonwealth* (1918–1921), and *New Day* (1921–1922).

Although Berger earned his livelihood from his newspapers, he remained greatly interested in politics and the labor movement. During the 1880s, Berger joined the Knights of Labor and

became a member of the Socialist Labor Party, but he left the latter organization in 1889. From the beginning, he sought to tie his publishing operations to the labor movement. The *Vorwaerts* served as the official newspaper of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor and the Milwaukee Federated Trades Council, thus creating the links between organized labor and Berger's political machine. The support of organized labor provided Berger with the funds needed for financing the *Leader* and for Brisbane Hall, which served as headquarters for the *Leader* and for the party. Starting in 1898, Berger began attending national conventions of the American Federation of Labor, where he regularly locked horns with Samuel Gompers, who opposed Berger's efforts to tie the labor movement to the socialist cause.

During the 1890s, Berger dabbled with Populism, serving as a delegate to the 1894 state convention of the People's Party and as a delegate to the party's 1896 national convention, where he attempted to secure the presidential nomination for Eugene V. Debs. The party's endorsement of William Jennings Bryan ended Berger's connections to the Populists. In the following year, Berger assisted Debs in converting the remnants of the American Railway Union into the Social Democracy of America. Berger and Debs bolted from their own organization in 1898 and formed the Social Democratic Party, which led in 1900 to the first of Debs's five runs for the presidency.

In 1901 the Social Democratic Party merged with a dissenting faction of the Socialist Labor Party to create the Socialist Party of America, and Berger retained an important leadership role. (Berger opposed the name change and the Milwaukee branch retained the Social Democrat label until 1916.) The party was racked with factional disputes, most notably in 1905, when Berger was removed and later restored to a seat on the National Executive Committee; in 1912, when the party adopted an antisabotage clause in its constitution, an action that led to the expulsion of William "Bill" Haywood; and in 1919, when the party splintered and its left-wing members formed two communist parties.

Berger occasionally lost party battles, but his faction of right-wing Socialists usually remained firmly in control of the party's apparatus. Despite charges of bossism, Berger remained popular with the party's rank and file and regularly won reelection to the party's governing National Executive Committee. He served as the party's delegate to international socialist conventions in 1909, 1910, 1923, and 1925. As a "constructive socialist" influenced by the writings of German Social Democrat Eduard Bernstein, Berger remained at odds with the more radical members of his party. Berger believed that the cooperative commonwealth would come about through gradual evolution, just as capitalism evolved from feudalism.

Although Berger was a force in the formation of the Socialist Party on the national level, his greatest successes were local. Berger built a disciplined party organization in Milwaukee; with its ties to local labor organizations and with the help of Berger's publishing operations, it remained a city power for decades. Berger established a local branch of the Social Democracy of America in 1897 and offered a slate of candidates for office the following year.

Building on criticism of corruption in city government, Berger's party began to win local elections in 1904, when the Socialists elected nine city aldermen, four county supervisors, four state assemblymen, and one state senator. Berger himself ran for mayor in the spring of that year, finishing third with 25 percent of the vote, and for Congress in the fall, finishing second with 28 percent of the vote. The Socialist sweep of 1910 captured national attention, with the party winning control of the mayor's office, the city council, and the county board and gaining in the Wisconsin state legislature. Berger won election to the U.S. House of Representatives, becoming the first Socialist elected to that body.

As the sole member of his party in Congress, Berger hoped to accomplish little more than promoting socialism. He viewed himself as the representative of all workers, and the substantial amount of his congressional correspondence that came from outside his district shows that many rank-and-file Socialists concurred with that opinion. Given his minority status, Berger gained publicity for his old-age pension bill, the first of its kind introduced into Congress, won a

congressional investigation into the 1912 textile strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and initiated impeachment proceedings that led to the resignation of a federal judge who revoked the naturalization papers of an IWW member.

Although Berger and his comrades believed that their party was on the upswing and that their success would be duplicated throughout the country, they in fact had reached their high point. Even though he would be elected to Congress five more times and Socialist Daniel Webster Hoan held the Milwaukee mayor's office from 1916 to 1940, never again would Berger's machine achieve such power. A coalition of Democrats and Republicans swept the Socialists from office in 1912 and brought Berger home from Congress.

American involvement in World War I effectively destroyed the Socialist Party as a national vehicle, made Berger into a vigorous civil libertarian, and curiously revitalized his political career. Ironically, in view of his later persecution for his opposition to the war, Berger lost the 1914 congressional election to a candidate who charged that Berger was unsympathetic to Germany. Before American entry into the war, Berger favored neutrality and attended the founding meeting of William Howard Taft's League to Enforce Peace.

Berger consistently opposed American involvement in any wars except strictly defensive ones. In light of increasing American support for the war, Berger's stance cost him dearly. The Socialist Party met in an emergency convention the day after the United States entered the war and condemned American participation. Berger openly opposed the war and organized a local branch of the antiwar People's Council, although he attempted to walk a careful line in the *Milwaukee Leader*. Nonetheless, on October 3, 1917, the *Leader* lost its second-class postal permit. Berger appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, eventually losing on March 7, 1921, with Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis dissenting. The Harding administration restored the *Leader's* mailing privileges on May 31, 1921. The loss of the postal permit was nearly disastrous; the paper lost mail subscribers and local businesses felt pressured to drop their advertising. In addition, the post office opened Berger's personal mail throughout the summer of 1918 and refused to deliver any mail to the *Leader* starting in August 1918.

While Berger found ways to keep the newspaper in business, he became increasingly enmeshed in legal difficulties. Indictments were handed down in Wisconsin and Illinois, charging him with conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act. Despite the charges (or perhaps because of them) Berger's political career was more successful than ever. He received 26 percent of the popular vote when he ran for the U.S. Senate in April 1918, and carried eleven Wisconsin counties, even though newspapers refused to print his advertisements, his billboards were defaced, and he was unable to rent halls for speeches. The following November, Berger won election to the U.S. House of Representatives with 43 percent of the popular vote.

Berger had little time to savor his victory; between December 9, 1918, and January 8, 1919, he and four other Socialists stood trial in Chicago for conspiracy. J. Louis Engdahl (editor of the *American Socialist*), Adolph Germer (the party's secretary), William Kruse (secretary of the Young People's Socialist League), Irwin St. John Tucker (editor of the party's literature department), and Berger were found guilty in a trial over which Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis presided. On February 20, Judge Landis sentenced each of the men to twenty years in federal prison and refused to set bail. The defendants immediately appealed their conviction and were set free after posting a \$500,000 bond. The U.S. Supreme Court eventually heard the case and overturned the conviction by a six-to-three vote on January 31, 1921, ruling that Judge Landis had acted improperly when he denied the defendants' request for a change of venue because he had expressed bias against German-Americans. The Justice Department formally dropped the case and entered a nolle prosequi motion on January 8, 1923.

Berger's conviction raised questions about whether the House of Representatives would seat him when he attempted to claim his seat. Berger maintained that until the courts decided his appeal, he was eligible for his seat, but when he appeared in the House on May 19, 1919, Speaker

Frederick H. Gillett prohibited him from taking the oath of office and appointed a special committee to consider his eligibility. The committee held hearings that dragged on through September 1919 and eventually decided that Berger was ineligible because he had given aid and comfort to the enemy. On November 10 the House declared Berger's seat vacant by a vote of 311 to 1.

The Socialists immediately renominated Berger, while the Democrats and Republicans agreed on a fusion candidate. In the special election of December 19, 1919, Berger won the biggest victory of his life, with more than 55 percent of the popular vote. He appeared in the House with his credentials on January 10, 1920, and the House again refused to seat him, this time by a 330-to-6 vote. The Socialist Party again renominated Berger, but Wisconsin Governor Emanuel Philipp refused to call a third election, and the Fifth Congressional District remained unrepresented for the remainder of the Sixty-sixth Congress.

Berger won 45 percent of the vote in the November 1920 general election but lost to a fusion candidate. Beginning in 1922, Berger won three consecutive elections to the U.S. House of Representatives with 53, 42, and 49 percent of the vote, respectively. Each time, he was seated without objection. During his six years in Congress, Berger won the respect of his non-Socialist colleagues. In addition to such usual socialist causes as nationalization of the railroads and telegraph and telephone companies, he advocated civil-liberties legislation, repeal of Prohibition, revision of the Versailles Treaty, and rehabilitation of Germany.

Although Berger remained a Socialist for the rest of his life and served as the party's national chairman from 1927 until his death, he realized that the party was dead except in Wisconsin and cooperated with efforts to create a new national reform party. He convinced Wisconsin's Socialists not to oppose Robert M. La Follette, Sr.'s, candidacy for the U.S. Senate in 1922, and he attended an organizational meeting of the Conference for Progressive Political Action that year. Two years later, he persuaded the national party not to nominate a presidential candidate but rather to offer its slot to La Follette. The failure of the La Follette campaign to develop into a new party disappointed Berger, who had hoped that the Socialists would take part in a new national coalition.

Berger ran for reelection to Congress in 1928, but he lost by about seven hundred votes. Following his defeat, he hoped to retire from the newspaper business and sought a purchaser for the *Milwaukee Leader*. Before he could dispose of the paper, however, he was seriously injured in a streetcar accident on July 27, 1929, and he died eleven days later, on August 7.

Berger's party did not achieve the success it sought, but viewed from the perspective of mainstream American politics rather than by standards of Marxist purity, he was far from a failure. By keeping social and civil liberties issues in the public eye, he helped transform the debate over what was politically possible. His congressional service provided a degree of respectability that social democracy had previously lacked because of its association in the public mind with violence and anarchism. His fight for free speech chipped away at narrow interpretations of the First Amendment, and many of the once-radical ideas he advocated, such as unemployment compensation and federal old-age pensions, have become commonplace—but only after they shed the taint of socialism.

Throughout his career, Berger was assisted by his wife, Meta Schlichting Berger (February 23, 1873–June 16, 1944) who achieved prominence in her own right in local educational circles. The daughter of a Milwaukee school commissioner, Meta was a student of Victor's, and he frequently dined at the Schlichting house following the death of her father in 1883. She graduated from Milwaukee State Normal School in 1894 and taught until her marriage to Victor on December 4, 1897. With his prodding, she became involved in Socialist politics and in 1909 was elected to the Milwaukee school board, a post to which she was reelected in 1915, 1921, 1927, and 1933. In 1915–1916 she served as president of the board.

Meta supported her husband's political activities and was active in educational, pacifist, and women's rights issues. She played a crucial role on her husband's behalf in 1918 and 1919. While Victor was preoccupied with avoiding imprisonment, she helped run his successful campaign for

Congress. After his conviction in 1919, she and other women raised \$500,000 in a single day to post bond for Berger and the other defendants.

Meta also took an active part in the women's suffrage movement, serving as a vice president of the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association from 1914 until 1917, when she resigned to join the more radical National Woman's Party. She served on the Wisconsin Board of Education, 1917–1919, the Wisconsin Board of Regents of Normal Schools, 1927–1928, and the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, 1928–1934.

Following Victor's death in 1929, Meta assumed his seat on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. She was proposed as a congressional candidate in 1930, but her use of nonunion labor on the family's farmhouse north of Milwaukee cost her the nomination. Two years later, she was considered for the vice-presidential nomination at the Socialist Party convention, but she withdrew her name. During the 1930s and especially after her 1935 trip to Russia, Meta became increasingly sympathetic toward the Soviet Union. Socialist Mayor Daniel Hoan forced her off his campaign committee in 1936 because of her public procommunist stance, but despite her affiliation with communist-front organizations, the Socialist Party tolerated her membership out of respect for her position as widow of the party's former leader. By 1940, however, the party's national leadership lost its patience and requested that Meta withdraw from the front organizations. She refused and resigned from the Socialist Party in 1940. Because of ill health, she remained relatively politically inactive until her death on June 16, 1944.

The Bergers had two daughters, Doris and Elsa. Doris Berger Welles (later Doris Berger Hursley) (September 29, 1898–May 5, 1984) received a B.A. from the University of Wisconsin in 1920 and a law degree from Marquette University in 1926. In 1920 she married Colin Welles (1896–1962), a doctoral candidate in botany at the University of Wisconsin. The couple lived in the Philippines while Colin taught at the University of Manila during 1921 and 1922, and after their return to the United States Doris and Colin lived north of Milwaukee on a fox farm owned by her parents. Colin taught science at the Milwaukee Vocational School from 1925 to 1950, and Doris practiced law in Milwaukee. Both Colin and Doris occasionally contributed articles to the *Leader*, although Doris never took an interest in taking over the paper as Victor had hoped. Colin and Doris divorced in 1935, and a year later Doris married Frank Hursley (1902–1989), an English professor at the University of Wisconsin's Milwaukee Extension. Doris worked as an unemployment compensation examiner for the state of Wisconsin from 1936 to 1941 and wrote for radio with her husband during World War II. In 1946 the couple moved to California, where they had successful careers as radio and television scriptwriters.

Elsa Berger Edelman (March 26, 1900–February 16, 1984) received a B.S. in medicine from the University of Wisconsin in 1921 and an M.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1923. After an internship in Washington, DC, and additional study at the University of Vienna (Austria), she was licensed to practice medicine in Massachusetts in 1927. She returned to Milwaukee in 1930 and practiced medicine there almost continuously until 1964, when she moved to California. She unsuccessfully ran for the Milwaukee school board in 1945. In 1927 she married Jan Edelman (1900–1963), a native of the Netherlands who worked as an electrical engineer in Milwaukee after receiving a degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1935.

Following Victor Berger's death, some obituaries incorrectly stated that he was survived by a son. Jack Anderson (September 9, 1899–October 26, 1970), who lived in the Berger home for most of his youth, was the son of Meta's sister, Paula, who died in 1902. Anderson lived with the Bergers from around the time of his mother's death until approximately 1918. He later studied animal husbandry and worked for the federal and Louisiana state governments.

The Berger and Schlichting Families

Berger Family

Children of Ignatz (1830–1925) and Julia Berger (1837–1915):

Victor (1860–1929)

married: Meta Schlichting (1873–1944)

children:

Doris (1898–1984) (m. Colin Welles [1896–1962], 1920; divorced, 1935; m. Frank Hursley [1902–1989], 1936); children: Deborah Welles Hardy (b. 1927); Polly Welles Keusink (b. 1930); Bridget Hursley Dobson (b. 1938)
Elsa (1900–1984) (m. Jan Edelman [1900–1963], 1927) (no children)

Rose (1861–1928)

married: Sigmund Morganstern (d. ca. 1893–1900)

children:

Edith (b. 1886) (m. Louis Lehman [b. 1872?], 1914) (no children)
Hilda (1887–1942) (m. William Loewenthal [1877–1973], 1913); child: Alan (b. 1914)
Sidney (1893–1971) (m. Viola ?) (no children)
Milton (1893–1918) (twin brother of Sidney)

Mathilde (1863–1957)

married: Hyman Weingarten (1854–1940)

child:

Edna (1894–1992) (m. Arthur B. Weiss [1895–1966], 1922)

Anna (1866–1950)

married: William Gorman (1863–1918)

children:

Sybil (1892–1968) (m. Charles Schwab); child: Helenrose
Helen (1895–1911)
Edna (1897–1966) (m. David Mock); child: Robert

Rebecca (1868–1936)

married: Alexander Gottlieb (1873–1922) (2nd marriage, ca. 1900)

children:

Richard G. Berger (1893–1977) (child of Rebecca's first marriage, originally named George Leverthal and later adopted by Ignatz and Julia Berger)
Leah (1901–1982) (m. Harold Steck); children: Roger and Susan
Ruth (1902–1983) (m. Morton Greene); children: Judith and Richard

George (b. 1871, d. after 1929)

Schlichting Family

Reinhard (b. 1794?) and Eliza (b. 1805?) Schlichting (Meta's paternal grandparents), both born in Germany, came to the United States approximately 1848. Their children:

Gerard (b. 1825?)

Helena/Helen (b. 1831?)

married: Henry F. Belitz (1817?–ca. 1873–1880)

children:

Helena (b. 1855?)

Elizabeth (b. 1855?)

Franklin (b. 1860)

William (b. 1864?)

Alfred (1866–1953)

Clara (1868–1938) (m. Gustave Hipke [1867–1954])

Antoinette (b. 1872) (m. Herman C. Lammers, 1898)

Arthur (b. 1872)

Herman (b. 1833?)

Reinhard (b. 1835?)

married: Bertha Belitz (1842–1914)

children:

Herman (b. 1867?)

Oscar (b. 1868?)

Jennie (b. 1869) (m. Charles Goessling)

Carl (b. 1871)

Bernhard (1838–1883) (Meta's father)

married: Mathilde Krak/Krack (1847–1905) (Meta's mother)

children:

Paula (1871–1902) (m. Archibald Anderson [1861–1936]); child: Jack (1899–1970)
(raised by Victor and Meta Berger)

Meta (1873–1944) (m. Victor Berger [1860–1929], 1897); children: Doris (1898–1984);
Elsa (1900–1984)

Hedwig/Hattie (1874–1959) (m. Frank Schweers [1868–1948], 1909); stepchildren:
Franklin/Hi (1896–1948); Edwin (b. 1898); Kermit (1901–1974); Carl (1904–1959);
Marie (b. 1905); child: Harriet (b. 1913?)

Ernst (1876–1920) (m. Arline Warnke [b. 1899])

Walter (1883–1898)

Johanna (Jane) (b. 1841?)

Eliza (b. 1843?)

Anthony (Anton) (b. 1848?)

Names Used Frequently in the Berger Family Correspondence

Alma	Alma Jacobus, <i>Leader</i> employee; traveled to the Philippines with Meta
Annie	Anna Gorman, sister of Victor
Archie	Archibald Anderson, husband of Meta's sister, Paula
Arthur	Arthur Brisbane, Hearst newspaper columnist in New York; helped finance the <i>Leader</i>
Beckie	Rebecca Gottlieb, sister of Victor
Betty	Elizabeth Thomas, president of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company and assistant to Victor
Bob	Robert Filtzer, Milwaukee engineer and Berger family friend
Carl	Carl Schweers, stepson of Meta's sister, Hedwig (Hattie)
Clara	Clara Belitz Hipke, Meta's first cousin and wife of Dr. Gustave Hipke
Co, Coie, or Colin	Colin Welles, first husband of Doris Berger and son-in-law of Victor and Meta
Debby	Deborah Welles, elder daughter of Colin and Doris Berger Welles and granddaughter of Victor and Meta
Dod, Doddie, Doris, Dudd, or Duddie	Doris Berger (Welles) (later Hursley), daughter of Victor and Meta
Edwin	Edwin Schweers, stepson of Meta's sister, Hedwig (Hattie)
Elsa	Elsa Berger (Edelman), daughter of Victor and Meta
Ernie	Ernst Schlichting, brother of Meta
Eva	Eva Kurz (Filtzer), Milwaukee schoolteacher and Berger family friend
Frank	Frank Schweers, husband of Meta's sister, Hedwig (Hattie)
Franklin	Franklin Schweers, stepson of Meta's sister, Hedwig (Hattie)

George	George Berger, brother of Victor
Harriet	Harriet Schweers, daughter of Meta's sister, Hedwig (Hattie)
Hattie	Hedwig (Hattie) Schlichting (Schweers), sister of Meta
Hi	Franklin Schweers, stepson of Meta's sister, Hedwig (Hattie)
Howard	Howard Gill, Washington, DC, industrial consultant and prison reformer and Berger family friend
Jack	Jack Anderson, son of Meta's sister Paula; lived with Victor and Meta
Jan	Jan Edelman, husband of Elsa Berger and son-in-law of Victor and Meta
Jennie	Jennie Schlichting Goessling, Meta's cousin; lived with the Bergers and the Welleses and helped with household chores
Josie	Josephine Rudkowsky (Skobis), housekeeper for the Bergers
Kermit	Kermit Schweers, stepson of Meta's sister, Hedwig (Hattie)
Laura	Laura Duggan, Milwaukee schoolteacher and friend of Meta
Mama	Meta Berger
Marie	Marie Schweers, stepdaughter of Meta's sister, Hedwig (Hattie)
Mathilde	Mathilde Weingarten, sister of Victor
Matta	Matta Soik, Milwaukee schoolteacher and friend of Meta
Nettie	Annette Rosenthal (Gould), Milwaukee schoolteacher and friend of Meta
Oscar	Oscar Ameringer, Oklahoma Socialist and friend of Victor
Papa	Victor Berger
Paula	Paula Schlichting Anderson, sister of Meta
Pudge	Doris Berger (Welles) (later Hursley), daughter of Victor and Meta
Rosa/Rose/Rosie	Rose Morganstern, sister of Victor
Sally	Isabelle Kendig Gill, Washington, DC, peace and women's rights activist and Berger family friend

Schatzl	"Little darling," literally "little treasure." Term of affection used by Victor and Meta for each other
Schnuckie/Schnucks	"Little darling," literally "small sheep." Term of affection used by the Bergers for their daughters, Doris and Elsa; after 1919 used exclusively for Elsa
Stedy	Seymour Stedman, Chicago Socialist attorney
Tillie	Mathilde Weingarten, sister of Victor
Walter	Walter Schlichting, brother of Meta

Scope and Content

General Notes

This edition documents the public and private lives of Victor L. Berger and his wife, Meta Schlichting Berger. The manuscripts filmed here, covering primarily 1895 to 1929, provide resources for study in the fields of labor, reform, politics, socialism, foreign affairs, civil liberties, pacifism, labor, and women's history. The Berger papers contain a substantial amount of family correspondence that supplies an insider's view of congressional, labor, and party politics and also paints a full portrait of the marriage of an activist couple. This edition also contains substantive correspondence from an array of significant individuals involved in socialist, labor, and reform politics (see Index to Selected Prominent Correspondents). It not only provides insight into national and local politics but also offers information on Berger's role as a leader of Milwaukee's German-American community and as the editor and publisher of a daily newspaper.

The Berger papers consist of family and professional correspondence, biographical materials, campaign literature and constituent newsletters, speeches and writings, and other related documents. Except for the subject files and congressional casework (series B.2.b. and B.2.c), it is impossible to reconstruct the original order of the papers as maintained by the Berbers. The papers that remained in the family's custody had frequently been rearranged, apparently by Doris Berger Hursley, to serve as a research file for her proposed biography of her father. Those papers held by the Milwaukee County Historical Society have been integrated into the records of the Social Democratic Party. The papers have been organized as follows for this microfilm edition. Within each section listed, the papers have been arranged chronologically, unless otherwise noted in the following descriptions.

When a document could be dated only by month or year, it was filed at the end of that month or year. Thus, a letter dated July 1916 can be found after letters dated July 31, 1916, and a letter dated 1916 will appear after letters dated December 31, 1916. When an undated document could have been written during a span of years, it was filed at the end of the first year of the period. For example, a letter possibly written between 1917 and 1921 will appear at the end of the documents for 1917.

A. Berger Family Correspondence, 1882-1929, n.d. (Reels 1-10)

B. Victor Berger Papers

1. Biographical materials

- a. Scrapbooks, ca. 1888-1912 (Reel 11)
- b. Memorandum books, 1915-1919 (Reel 12)
- c. Address books, ca. 1927-1929 (Reel 12)
- d. Other documents, 1883-1929 (Reel 12)
- e. Biography (unpublished) by Doris Berger, ca. 1926-1980 (Reels 12-13)

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- f. Brief memoir by Elsa Berger, ca. 1973 (Reel 13)
 - g. Articles, clippings, biographical sketches by others, 1895–1935, n.d. (Reel 13)
 - 2. Correspondence
 - a. General, 1886, 1894–1929, n.d. (Reels 14–19)
 - b. Congressional subject files, 1921–1929 (Reels 19–21)
 - c. Constituent casework, 1923–1929 (Reels 21–25)
 - d. General mailings, ca. 1880s–1929, n.d. (Reels 25–27)
 - 3. Speeches and writings
 - a. By Berger, 1901–1929, n.d. (Reels 28–29)
 - b. By others and unattributed, 1902–1929, n.d. (Reel 30)
 - 4. Legal documentation, 1909–1923 (Reel 30)
 - 5. Campaign documentation, 1894–1928 (Reel 31)
 - 6. Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company materials, 1905–1929 (Reel 31)
 - 7. Miscellany, 1898–ca. 1927 (Reel 31)
 - C. Meta Berger Papers
 - 1. Biographical materials
 - a. Autobiography (unpublished), 1943–1944 (Reel 32)
 - b. Notebooks and diary, 1918–1919, 1932, 1935 (Reels 32–33)
 - c. Other documents, 1862–1945, n.d. (Reel 33)
 - d. Manuscript of a brief interview by Doris Berger, 1936 (Reel 33)
 - e. Meta Berger Memorial Committee materials, 1944–1945 (Reel 33)
 - f. Clippings, 1915–1918, 1930–1945, n.d. (Reel 33)
 - g. Funeral register, 1944 (Reel 33)
 - 2. Correspondence, 1907–1940, n.d. (Reels 33–35)
 - 3. Speeches and writings, 1912–ca. 1938, n.d. (Reel 35)
 - D. Milwaukee County Historical Society, Social Democratic Party Collection, n.d., 1897–1919 (Reels 36–55)

Major related manuscript collections at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin include the Elizabeth H. Thomas Papers, a small collection that contains a history of Berger and socialism up to 1910; the Vorwaerts Publishing Company Minutes, 1906–1909; and the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company Minutes, 1905–1935. The Milwaukee County Historical Society holds the Social Democratic Party collection, only part of which is filmed here. Both the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (816 State St., Madison, WI 53706) and the Milwaukee County Historical Society (910 N. Old World 3rd St., Milwaukee, WI 53203) hold extensive collections of manuscript and printed materials related to socialism.

A. Berger Family Correspondence, 1882–1929, n.d. (Reels 1–10)

The Berger Family Correspondence is one of the most important and comprehensive series in this edition for documenting the lives of Victor and Meta Berger. This body of material is unusually extensive and complete, consisting of nearly ten thousand pages spanning from 1882 to 1929. The series includes correspondence exchanged prior to Victor's death on August 7, 1929, by Victor; Meta; their children, Doris and Elsa; their sons-in-law, Colin Welles and Jan Edelman; and other extended family members, including Victor's and Meta's siblings. (Meta's letters to and from her daughters after Victor's death are filmed with her other correspondence; see series C.2 below.)

The salutations on many letters are vague or contain nicknames, such as "Schatzl" and "Mama" for Meta; "Schatzl," "Wonderman," and "Papa" for Victor; "Duddie" or "Pudge" for Doris; "Schnuckie" for Doris or Elsa; and "Coie" for Colin. The name of the person addressed has been added in brackets on the letters. (The Berger and Schlichting family charts, above, provide full names of relatives mentioned in the text and explain their relationship to Victor and Meta. The list of names used frequently in the family correspondence, above, identifies many of the individuals mentioned only by first name or nickname.) Some letters have dates that were apparently added by Doris while working on her father's biography; these dates are often inaccurate. Undated or obviously misdated letters have been dated as closely as possible, and the correct information has been added in brackets on the letters.

The correspondence in this series is extensive because Victor Berger's activities frequently took him away from home while he took part in labor conventions, party meetings, rallies on behalf of Socialists throughout the country, speaking tours, international socialist congresses, fund raising for political campaigns and his newspaper, and sessions of the U.S. House of Representatives. In addition, Meta Berger regularly spent summers with the Berger children in northern Wisconsin while Victor remained in Milwaukee. When separated, the Berbers wrote almost daily, leaving a full record of their activities and opinions. After Doris and Elsa left home, Meta maintained an extensive correspondence with the children, reporting on her own and Victor's lives.

The family correspondence documents various activities in which the Berbers were interested—socialism, pacifism, education, the women's movement, labor, civil liberties, the newspaper business, urban ethnic life, and politics. The letters offer a unique glimpse into the family life of a prominent socialist couple. The Berbers mixed family news with information about politics, the newspaper business, analysis of contemporary events, and commentary on their meetings with the leading individuals of their day.

Victor and Meta were exceedingly frank about public issues and personalities in their private letters, with politics frequently a topic for discussion. In his early courtship letters, Victor tells of his plans to visit Eugene V. Debs in the Woodstock jail and his efforts at the Populist Party convention of 1896, in which he tried to win the presidential nomination for Debs. Victor's letters continued in a political vein for the next thirty-five years, as he shared with Meta his observations and opinions about public life. Whether discussing the intricacies of Socialist Party politics, labor organizing, the status of workers in postwar Germany, the Bolshevik revolution, or meetings with figures such as Adolph Ochs, Warren Harding, or Samuel Gompers, Berger wrote as both an interested observer and an active participant who sought to shape events.

Victor Berger knew almost every leading figure in the socialist movement, and his letters comment on most of them, including Oscar Ameringer, Eduard Bernstein, Eugene V. Debs, Bill Haywood, Morris Hillquit, Daniel Hoan, Karl Kautsky, Meyer London, Jean Longuet, Upton Sinclair, Seymour Stedman, and Lincoln Steffens. Berger traveled and spoke extensively on behalf of the Socialist Party, and as a result his letters include insights into the successes and failures of

Socialists in California, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, New York, and Oklahoma. His letters also discuss national and international socialist meetings.

Because of his prominence as the nation's leading Socialist politician and his orientation to practical politics, Berger's circle of contacts extended far beyond the socialist movement. A number of his letters discuss his strained relationship with AFL President Samuel Gompers. After his first election to Congress in 1910, Berger's letters discuss his dealings with non-Socialist politicians, comment on political leaders such as Robert M. La Follette, Sr., and describe meetings with Presidents Taft, Harding, and Coolidge.

Berger's letters also offer details on organized labor. He reports on strikes and labor relations in Milwaukee as well as at the national level. In 1913, while traveling with Eugene Debs and Adolph Germer on behalf of the Socialist Party to West Virginia to investigate a particularly violent coal miners' strike, Berger wrote a series of letters to Meta describing what he learned.

The family correspondence also contains details about Victor and Meta Berger's activities during World War I, their free-speech efforts, his trial and conviction under the Espionage Act, the denial of his congressional seat, and his postwar career in the House of Representatives after the Supreme Court reversed his conviction. The Bergers also discuss federal tampering with their mail during World War I and restrictions on speaking engagements during the war and the subsequent Red Scare.

In addition to discussing politics, the family letters also document Victor's efforts to run a successful Socialist daily newspaper. The letters reveal both his role as a publisher seeking financing for the paper and his attention to editorial content. In one letter, Meta complained about the writing of the young Carl Sandburg, who was secretary to Milwaukee's first Socialist mayor. The letters during the 1920s provide information on Victor's role in establishing the *Oklahoma Leader*, a daily Socialist paper edited by Oscar Ameringer in Oklahoma City, and Berger's efforts prior to his death to sell the *Milwaukee Leader* in anticipation of his retirement.

Meta's letters are also extraordinarily full, mixing love notes, news about family matters, political commentary, and information about the newspaper business. Although less political in content than Victor's, her letters offer insights into local and occasionally national politics. Meta's correspondence often contains details about Milwaukee politics when Victor was absent from the city. Her letters reveal changes in her self-perception from that of a deferential wife who originally had little interest in politics to that of an activist who served as an elected member of the Milwaukee school board for thirty years. They also document her role in Milwaukee educational politics, her increasing participation in Victor's campaigns, her role in state and national women's suffrage and peace movements, and her involvement with the 1924 Progressive campaign of Robert M. La Follette, Sr. Meta's letters also discuss her participation in and later resignation from the National American Woman Suffrage Association, her support for the National Woman's Party, and her involvement in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

During World War I, Meta's letters to her daughters, who were away from home attending college, provide fuller accounts of Victor's indictment, trial, and conviction than do Victor's own letters. Meta attended some of the hearings over Victor's seating in Congress during 1919, and her letters not only informed her daughters of events in Congress but also tried to analyze the causes of race riots in Washington, DC. Beginning in the 1920s, Meta traveled outside the country on several occasions, and her letters to family members contain her observations about the Philippines, China, and Japan (1921–1922), Germany (1923), and Haiti and Panama (1925).

Most of the correspondence is in English, although a few of the letters exchanged between Victor, Meta, and Doris are in German. Early letters from Victor's sisters and father are often in German, and a few are in Yiddish. Some letters are in poor condition, having been damaged by water and poor storage conditions, and may be difficult to read.

The following additional family correspondence can be found in the Milwaukee County Historical Society, Records of the Social Democratic Party (Series D), and is filmed with that series:

- Meta to Victor, 2/28/13 (Reel 45)
- Meta to Victor, n.d. [filed in April 1913] (Reel 45)
- Doris to Victor and Meta, n.d. [filed in April 1914] (Reel 47)
- Rose Berger Morganstern to Victor and Meta, 10/10/14 (Reel 48)
- Victor to Meta, 1/17/15 (Reel 49)
- Meta to Victor, 8/7/17 (Reel 53)
- Meta to Victor, 8/24/17 (Reel 53)
- Meta to Victor, 7/31/18 (Reel 54)
- Meta to Victor, undated [filed in July 1918] (Reel 54)
- Meta to Victor, 8/5/18 (Reel 54)
- Meta to Victor, 8/21/18 (Reel 54)
- Mathilde Berger Weingarten to Victor and Meta, 1/3/19 (Reel 54)
- Mathilde Berger Weingarten to Meta, 1/27/19 (Reel 54)
- Victor to Doris, 5/9/19 (Reel 55)

B. Victor Berger Papers

1. Biographical materials

a. Scrapbooks, ca. 1888–1912 (Reel 11)

The scrapbooks contain clippings in English and German, including editorials and theater reviews by Berger, along with a few items of ephemera. Topics include local German-American cultural and political organizations and events, such as the Milwaukee Socialist Party and the Southside Milwaukee Turnverein, and Berger's 1910 election and subsequent service in the U.S. House of Representatives. The scrapbook on the Kress controversy of 1905 concerns the compatibility of socialism and religion. The State Historical Society has retained only the ephemera in hard copy after microfilming because of problems in preserving the originals.

b. Memorandum books, 1915–1919 (Reel 12)

These small books contain clippings, addresses, a few cash account transactions, and some Socialist Party voting records.

c. Address books, ca. 1927–1929 (Reel 12)

Although both books cover the same time period, these two small volumes generally contain different entries. The second also includes a list of personal assets and liabilities.

d. Other documents, 1883–1929 (Reel 12)

These miscellaneous documents include Berger's naturalization papers, certificates of election, credentials, membership cards, press passes, passports, letters of introduction, and White House invitations. Also included are early documents concerning teaching in Milwaukee, a 1925 will, a 1928 petition for an election recount, and several of Berger's business cards, as well as resolutions passed after his death.

e. Biography (unpublished) by Doris Berger, ca. 1926–1980 (Reels 12–13)

Reworked repeatedly for more than fifty years but never completed, Doris's manuscript biography of her father includes valuable anecdotal information based on her recollections that cannot be found elsewhere. She writes about her parents' early lives and families, their characters, and her relationship with them. Rather than emphasizing her father's public and political career and philosophy, the writings are of a more personal nature. Prominent individuals mentioned include Arthur Brisbane, Eugene Debs, Inez Milholland, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., and Upton Sinclair.

The manuscript consists of a synopsis, outline, introduction, and eight chapters. The synopsis and outline, though not always followed, provide a general guide to chapter contents. Each of the eight chapters consists of one or more drafts, along with notes and fragments. The latest draft version (when this could be determined) is filmed first. The notes and fragments, while partially duplicative of the drafts, contain additional information not found elsewhere.

f. Brief memoir by Elsa Berger, ca. 1973 (Reel 13)

In this memoir, Elsa discusses her childhood, education, and relationship with her parents. It may have been written in 1973 for the fiftieth anniversary of her graduation from the University of Pennsylvania's medical school.

g. Articles, clippings, biographical sketches by others, 1895–1935, n.d. (Reel 13)

This folder consists of miscellaneous short newspaper clippings, magazine articles, and typescript and mimeographed materials concerning Berger. These materials are not comprehensive. Posthumous materials include a funeral address, a brochure issued by the Victor L. Berger Foundation, and a draft bill to pay the portion of Berger's congressional salary that was withheld when he was denied his seat in the House of Representatives.

2. Correspondence

a. General, 1886, 1894–1929, n.d. (Reels 14–19)

This series consists primarily of correspondence with individuals, both prominent and lesser known, discussing political issues and Berger's publishing enterprises. It includes correspondence with many of the leading members of the Socialist Party and the labor movement. The bulk of the correspondence dates from Berger's congressional terms (1911–1913, 1923–1929), although this series tends to be more substantive than the correspondence found in the congressional subject files and constituent casework series (B.2.b and B.2.c).

The early correspondence (pre-1910) tends to be largely incoming letters and is not as voluminous as that of the later period. Nonetheless, it contains a number of significant letters that shed light on Berger and the Socialist movement. Nine letters from Eugene V. Debs, dated between 1898 and 1905, illustrate Berger's and Debs's early work in founding the Social Democratic Party and later the Socialist Party of America, as well as the growing split between the two men. The early part of the collection also contains letters from prominent Socialists, including Edward Ellis Carr, Morris Hillquit, Robert Hunter, Algie Simons, and Lincoln Steffens, that provide information on the development of the Socialist Party.

The correspondence also provides background on Berger's efforts to finance and operate the *Milwaukee Leader*. Letters from Arthur Brisbane, a Hearst newspaper chain columnist, reveal Berger's efforts to raise money for the paper. The letters of Elizabeth H. Thomas, Berger's aide and the associate editor of the paper, and Herman W. Bistorius, the *Leader's* business manager, are especially valuable for understanding the day-to-day operations of the paper and its relationship to the Socialist Party and to local labor unions. Thomas's letters, and later those of Milwaukee's Mayor Daniel W. Hoan and of his aide, Thomas M. Duncan, are helpful for Milwaukee Socialist politics.

The World War I-era correspondence documents Berger's unsuccessful efforts to obtain a passport to attend an international socialist peace conference in 1917 as well as his increasing legal difficulties with the federal government. The collection also contains many letters from Wisconsin newspapers that refused to run Berger's advertisements during his 1918 campaign for the U.S. Senate.

Berger traveled and spoke extensively on behalf of the party, and as a result his letters include insights into the successes and failures of local Socialist organizations. Berger's correspondents wrote asking his views or offering their opinions on current affairs and party matters. In letters to his colleagues, he wrote of his strategies and ideas for strengthening the party, of his vision for the movement's future, and of his position on issues.

Widely regarded as the representative not only of Wisconsin's Fifth Congressional District but of socialism itself in Congress, Berger also received considerable correspondence from people all over the country, both supporters and opponents of his positions. The letters discuss a range of topics, including tariffs, the Sacco and Vanzetti case, and foreign affairs. A number of letters are routine requests for copies of Berger's speeches. A letter of October 1928 includes a scrapbook of a congressional inspection tour of Minnesota boundary waters in which Berger participated. Some correspondence is from Marx Lewis, Berger's congressional secretary from 1923 to 1929.

Beginning in 1925, Berger apparently filed related correspondence together in packets. These packets have been kept together and are filed by the date of the earliest letter. Important correspondents include Arthur Brisbane, Eugene V. Debs, William T. Evjue, Adolph Germer, Emma Goldman, Morris Hillquit, Daniel Hoan, Robert Hunter, Ada James, Frank Kellogg, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., Fiorello La Guardia, H. L. Mencken, Frank Morrison, Gifford Pinchot, Lincoln Steffens, William Howard Taft, and Norman Thomas. For a more complete list, see the Index to Selected Prominent Correspondents below.

b. Congressional subject files, 1921-1929 (Reels 19-21)

These research files are generally not substantive but serve to indicate some of Berger's interests during his congressional terms. They consist mainly of research and background materials and correspondence, arranged alphabetically by subject. Congress gave Berger a platform to promote some long-standing interests, such as immigration reform and old-age pensions. Other areas of interest arose in the aftermath of the war, including French debt resolution, military appropriations, return of alien property, and revision of the Versailles Treaty.

c. Constituent casework, 1923–1929 (Reels 21–25)

These files deal with problems that Berger's constituents encountered with the government, such as immigration and naturalization laws and regulations, pensions, public employment, and paroles. They date largely from the end of his congressional service, especially 1926 to 1929, and are arranged alphabetically by constituent name.

d. General mailings, ca. 1880s–1929, n.d. (Reels 25–27)

The mailings issued by Berger consist of only one folder. Topics include early Turnverein activities (some in German); other local activities (in English and German); congressional reports to constituents; and press releases, many containing entire speeches or excerpts. One notable document is Berger's minority report at the International Socialist Conference Committee on Reparations and the Ruhr, about 1923.

The mailings received by Berger date generally from 1917 to 1920 and from 1923 to 1929. They are primarily Socialist Party materials—from the press service, containing news and speeches and writings of prominent Socialists such as Norman Thomas and Eugene Debs; from the National Executive Committee, including minutes of committee meetings and conventions; and from international, national, state, and local organizations. The mailings discuss party issues and finances; the war; disarmament and the peace negotiations; support for indicted, convicted, or imprisoned Socialists (most prominently Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, and Berger); party relations with Russia and the communists; and the coalition with the Progressives.

The mailings also include several letters of appeal—a 1926 plea by Emma Goldman on behalf of imprisoned Russian revolutionaries; a 1928 letter from "Allen-A Locked-Out Knitters," Kenosha, Wisconsin; and a 1929 letter on behalf of Rosika Schwimmer, a European suffragist and peace advocate who was denied U.S. citizenship.

3. Speeches and writings

a. By Berger, 1901–1929, n.d. (Reels 28–29)

Although he was a poor public speaker, Berger's contemporaries lauded his skills as a writer and editor. This series offers insight into Berger's public statements on the issues of his day. Fuller documentation can be found in the *Congressional Record*, the editorial columns of the *Milwaukee Leader*, the *Vorwaerts*, and the *Social-Democratic Herald*, and two volumes of his collected writings: *Berger's Broadides* (Milwaukee, 1912) and *Voice and Pen of Victor L. Berger: Congressional Speeches and Editorials* (Milwaukee, 1929).

Many speeches and writings in this section concern Socialist Party history, platforms, and issues, a few of which deal with Milwaukee politics. Subjects addressed during the congressional periods reflect those in his congressional subject file, including constitutional reform, immigration, tariff reform, U.S. policy toward Mexico, old-age pensions (1911), antilynching (1927), and Prohibition (1928).

World War I occasioned much writing and speaking by Berger on the causes of the war, U.S. participation, postwar peace negotiations and disarmament, the League of Nations, French debt settlement, relations with Germany, and revision of the Versailles Treaty. The federal government's actions against Berger and the *Leader* also resulted in numerous speeches and articles. Particularly notable are the pamphlet containing the addresses to the court of Berger and his co-defendants in the Espionage Act trial (January 1919); Berger's history of the post office's actions

against the *Leader* (May 23, 1919); the brochure containing his open letter and statements to members of the House of Representatives on the question of his seating (1919); and his farewell speech to Congress, as reprinted in *American Monthly* (April 1929).

This section also contains a signed report to the Socialist Party from the committee (of which Berger was a member) appointed to investigate a miners' strike in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (February 14, 1915). His 1909 speeches in Berlin and Vienna and two 1924 speeches on proposed credits for Germany are in German.

The notecards for his speeches have been organized as much as possible from an initially disordered state and given approximate dates. Subjects include the Teapot Dome scandal, public ownership of railroads, capitalism, communism, international economics and trade, revenue bills and income tax, support for the presidential candidacy of Robert M. La Follette, Sr., in 1924, and farm subsidies. Some 1917 speech notes are in German.

b. By others and unattributed, 1902–1929, n.d. (Reel 30)

This section contains some interesting items on socialism and on war issues. They include writings on the history of the *Social-Democratic Herald* and the founding of the Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company, printed about 1909; "In Self-Defense," a 1912 typescript criticizing of Eugene Debs by Morris Hillquit; "Berger's Hits and Misses . . .," a 1917 reprint of a 1912 booklet containing editorials by Daniel De Leon from the Socialist Labor Party's *New York Daily People*; ten unpublished leaflets on war by Scott Nearing, 1918; and a 1926 speech by U.S. Senator Robert L. Owen concerning war reparations, reprinted in German in Berlin.

4. *Legal documentation, 1909–1923 (Reel 30)*

Legal papers concern federal actions against Berger, as well as *Carney v. Berger*, the hearings on the question of Berger's seating in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1919. The papers include indictments, findings of fact, reports, briefs and arguments, and decisions. Further documentation of the hearings, including a transcript of the Chicago trial, can be found in official government publications. Other materials in this file concern 1909 and 1912 lawsuits against Berger's publishing company and the 1918 case of Wisconsin resident Julius Henning, who was indicted for obstructing recruitment and enlistment.

5. *Campaign documentation, 1894–1928 (Reel 31)*

The campaign literature includes flyers, special newspaper editions, brochures, mass mailings, and posters. A few pieces are in German and Polish. Several items issued by the Socialist Party and by Berger's opponents are found here. The 1926 campaign ledger is a record of contributions and appears to be in Meta Berger's hand. The volume also contains a list of periodical subscriptions from about 1923 to 1925. The first part of the 1928 volume lists receipts and expenses for the state Socialist Party from February and March; the latter part appears to be a record of contributions and expenses from Berger's 1928 congressional campaign. The miscellaneous campaign expenses mostly concern billboard postings.

6. *Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company (MSDPC) materials, 1905–1929 (Reel 31)*

These materials consist of annual reports, financial reports, reports on advertising and circulation, some legal papers, and miscellaneous items. The legal papers include the state 1905 incorporation charter of the Vorwaerts Publishing Company, mortgages, bonds issued, bylaws, and draft contracts between the MSDPC and the Oklahoma Leader Publishing Company. Weekly payroll ledger sheets for November 2–3, 1928, and a 1922–1923 sheet listing individual staff members give some indication of the size and nature of the publishing operation.

7. *Miscellany, 1898–ca. 1927 (Reel 31)*

This section includes an extensive order list for copies of Berger's congressional speeches in 1912, indicating their quantity and widespread distribution; analyses of Socialist voting records, especially in Berger's 1918 Senate campaign; a mimeographed chart from about 1924 on women's participation (by country) in the Socialist Party, politics, trade unions and journalism; and some typescripts concerning financial intrigues in Mexico and the Tampico flag incident.

C. Meta Berger Papers

1. *Biographical materials*

a. *Autobiography (unpublished), 1943–1944 (Reel 32)*

Meta Berger wrote this manuscript in her last years at the suggestion of a neighbor, Miriam Frink, who donated the materials. Meta describes her own and her husband's early life, their meeting and subsequent marriage and family life, Victor's career, and her participation in civic and political affairs. It ends with Victor's death in 1929, except for a description of Meta's trip to Russia in 1935. The collection includes both manuscript and typescript copies, except for the portion covering 1920–1929, which appears only in the manuscript form. Editorial notes and corrections on both versions are probably by Frink.

b. *Notebooks and diary, 1918–1919, 1932, 1935 (Reels 32–33)*

In these journals, Meta details her observations, experiences, and reflections during three important events—her husband's trial, her trip as an unofficial delegate of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom to a disarmament conference in Geneva, and her visit to Russia. The notebook kept during the trial, 1918–1919, consists of brief penciled notes on testimony. It largely lacks personal observations and may have been used for defense strategy discussions. Some pages contain drawings of courtroom figures. In the 1932 diary, Meta discusses people she met, interviews she conducted, conference issues, and her impressions as a tourist in Italy and Monaco.

The 1935 notebook from her Russian trip is divided into four sections. The first contains typed questions by subject, with a few handwritten answers. The second is a diary in which Meta describes the educational experiences provided by the Russians, which included a May Day celebration; visits with soldiers and trade unionists; tours of schools, factories, construction sites, collective farms, and mines; and cultural and social events. Meta also describes her meeting with U.S. Ambassador William C. Bullitt. The last two sections contain several addresses and a few

miscellaneous handwritten pages. The published pamphlet resulting from this trip, which lists her as the author, is included with her writings (Series C.3).

c. Other documents, 1862–1945, n.d. (Reel 33)

This section contains not only Meta's documents but also several belonging to her parents, Bernhard and Mathilde Krak (or Krack) Schlichting, and her grandfather, Dr. Carl (Charles) Krak (Krack), a surgeon who served in the Civil War. Meta's own papers include her birth certificate, State Normal School diploma, an 1898 letter of reference as a teacher, passport, election certificates for the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, appointment to the State Board of Education, Socialist Party membership cards and delegate credentials, and a program from the 1939 testimonial dinner given upon her retirement after thirty years on the Milwaukee Board of School Directors.

d. Manuscript of a brief interview by Doris Berger, 1936 (Reel 33)

This is a manuscript of an interview of Meta by Doris, using the pseudonym "Debby Poll," along with correspondence regarding its publication. A different version of this interview was published as Judith Post, "I Say What I Think," *The Woman Today* 1 (October 1936), 14, 30.

e. Meta Berger Memorial Committee materials, 1944–1945 (Reel 33)

The activity of this committee, formed after Meta's death, culminated in a memorial program on April 26, 1945, with William T. Evjue and Marshall Field as the main speakers. The correspondence of Norbert Enzer, chairman, and Miriam Frink, corresponding secretary, with prospective sponsors includes letters from many of Meta's colleagues, friends, and admirers.

f. Clippings, 1915–1918, 1930–1945, n.d. (Reel 33)

These scattered clippings concern Meta's local civic and political work. Miriam Frink donated some materials, including those about Meta's death, funeral, and posthumous tributes.

g. Funeral register, 1944 (Reel 33)

The funeral register contains signatures of attendees and an envelope of condolence cards.

2. *Correspondence, 1907–1940, n.d. (Reels 33–35)*

Only selected correspondence has survived, mostly incoming. The largest portion consists of condolence letters received by her on the occasion of Victor's death in 1929. Among the more important items are a 1919 letter from Isaac Ferguson discussing communist opposition to Victor Berger; a 1929 letter from Daniel Hoan attempting to convince Meta to run for Congress; and a series of 1940 letters concerning her break with the Socialist Party because of her involvement with communist-front organizations. The series also includes correspondence with Genevieve Clark,

wife of House Speaker James Beauchamp "Champ" Clark, with Marx Lewis and Clarence Darrow regarding efforts to establish the Victor L. Berger Foundation, and with Theodora Youmans and Ada James regarding women's suffrage.

Other correspondence concerns the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, the women's suffrage movement, the Socialist Party, peace organizations, and the formation of the Conference for Progressive Political Action. A letter from the Milwaukee Board of School Directors, September 17, 1930, details Victor Berger's service in the Milwaukee schools.

Correspondence between Meta and her family following Victor's death is filed here rather than in the Berger Family Correspondence series. Family correspondence includes letters written during her 1932 trip to Europe and her 1935 trip to the Soviet Union. There are some letters in German, especially following her 1923 trip to Europe and after Victor's death. Some of the correspondence in this series is listed in the Index to Selected Prominent Correspondents.

3. *Speeches and writings, 1912-ca. 1938, n.d. (Reel 35)*

Topics of these few speeches, writings, and radio talks include the *Leader*, education, Russia, women's suffrage, Prohibition, and peace.

D. **Milwaukee County Historical Society, Social Democratic Party Collection, n.d., 1897-1919 (Reels 36-55)**

This series represents a portion of the Social Democratic Party collection at the Milwaukee County Historical Society. Although filed with the party's records, these papers appear to have been Berger's own personal files. This series deals almost exclusively with the public life of Victor Berger and is strongest for the period from 1911 to 1919, with few records from before or after that time. Some of these papers may have been among those seized from Berger's office by government agents as evidence for his trial. Some pencil notations, usually date or year, may have been made by government agents.

The bulk of this series consists of Berger's congressional correspondence files. Many of the letters are routine constituent requests for assistance with the government, requests for copies of Berger's speeches, or comments on public issues, although the congressional years also contain substantive correspondence with Socialist leaders on party issues. Some of the letters are written by William Ghent, who served as Berger's secretary for most of his first term. The congressional files are useful for illustrating the operation of his office.

The materials dating from after Berger's departure from Congress in 1913 contain fewer routine items. The letters include discussions of Socialist Party politics, attempts to raise funds for the *Milwaukee Leader*, and Berger's opposition to American participation in World War I. Correspondence following American entry in the war, although not extensive compared to the earlier years, is especially useful in illuminating Berger's unsuccessful efforts to prevent the post office from revoking the *Leader's* mailing privileges and his prosecution by the federal government for his opposition to the war.

The series also includes fourteen family letters—eight from Meta (1913, 1917, 1918), two from Victor (1915, 1919), one from Doris (1914), and three from Victor's sisters (1914, 1919)—and they are listed in the description of the Berger Family Correspondence (Series A), above.

Well-known correspondents include Oscar Ameringer, Allan Benson, Arthur Brisbane, Eugene V. Debs, J. Louis Engdahl, Adolph Germer, Samuel Gompers, Morris Hillquit, Edward M. House, Robert M. La Follette, Sr., Algernon Lee, Scott Nearing, Gifford Pinchot,

Algie Simons, William Howard Taft, and Carl Thompson. For a more complete list, see the Index to Selected Prominent Correspondents.

This series is arranged chronologically, except where the original order kept related correspondence together. These packets are filed by the date of the earliest letter. In addition to the initial file of undated materials, other undated materials within the chronological file were left at the end of the month where found.

Notes on Materials Not Available through Scholarly Resources Inc.

This edition includes the Victor L. Berger Papers at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as well as records relating to Victor Berger from the Milwaukee County Historical Society's Social Democratic Party collection. Both collections, however, contain additional materials that researchers may wish to consult.

The State Historical Society's holdings of Berger papers also include the Doris Berger Papers and the Elsa Berger Papers, consisting of approximately 0.6 cubic feet of largely personal correspondence and writings of Victor and Meta's daughters. In addition, the Berger papers contain a number of photographs. Subjects include Victor and Meta Berger and their family, political associates, and Meta's visit to Doris and Colin Welles in the Philippines, 1921–1922. The photographic collection also includes sets of postcard-size reproductions of English, German, and French socialists. These materials can be used at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 816 State St., Madison, WI 53706.

The Social Democratic Party collection at the Milwaukee County Historical Society also contains additional materials not included in this edition. This collection consists of 12 cubic feet of records, dating from 1897 to 1955. It includes materials from national and state party conventions, essays and plays, youth membership records, texts of radio broadcasts, records of social activities, membership information, financial records, and party correspondence. Most of the unfiled materials—but not all of them—date from after Victor Berger's death in 1929. The collection is available for research use at the Milwaukee County Historical Society, 910 N. Old World 3rd St., Milwaukee, WI 53203.

Reel Contents

Reel Frame

Berger Family Correspondence

1	1882-1885, 1894-1898, 1900-1909
2	1910-1911
3	1912-1913
4	1914-1916
5	1917-1919
6	1920-1921, June
7	1921, July-1922
8	1923-1925
9	1926-1927
10	1928-1929, n.d.

Victor Berger Papers

Biographical materials

Scrapbooks

11	1-242	"First Scrap Book," ca. 1888-1906
	243-414	"Second Scrap Book," ca. 1888-1900
	415-474	"The Kress Controversy," 1905
	475-616	1908
	617-708	1909-1910
	709-778	1911, April-1912, July

Memorandum books

12	1-47	1915
	48-102	1915-1917
	103-124	1917-1919

Address books

	125-173	ca. 1927-1928
	174-228	ca. 1927-1929
	229-390	Other documents, 1883-1929

Biography (unpublished) by Doris Berger, ca. 1926-1980

	391-403	Synopsis
	404-427	Outline
		Introduction
	428-509	Drafts
	510-524	Notes and fragments
		Chapter I (general impressions)
	525-593	Drafts
	594-601	Notes and fragments

Reel Frame

		Chapter II (childhood to marriage, 1859–1897)
12	602–647	Drafts
	648–700	Notes and fragments
		Chapter III (early marriage and family life, 1897–1910)
13	1–17	Drafts
	18–41	Notes and fragments
		Chapter IV (Congress, threat of war in Europe, 1910–1914)
	42–81	Drafts
	82–90	Notes and fragments
		Chapter V (World War I, 1914–1916)
	91–113	Drafts
	114–141	Notes and fragments
		Chapter VI (World War I, indictment, 1917–1918)
	142–166	Drafts
	167–220	Notes and fragments
		Chapter VII (trial, 1918–1919)
	221–266	Drafts
	267–281	Notes and fragments
		Chapter VIII (later career, women in his life, character analysis, 1919–1929)
	282–307	Drafts
	308–384	Notes and fragments
	385–390	Brief memoir by Elsa Berger, ca. 1973
	391–521	Articles, clippings, biographical sketches by others, 1895–1935, n.d.
		Correspondence
		General
14		1886, 1894–1912
15		1913–1922
16		1923–1926, May
17		1926, June–1928, June
18		1928, July–1929, February 8
19	1–375	1929, February 9–August, n.d.
		Congressional subject files, [ca. 1913], 1921–1929
	376–384	Bills (for stationery allowance), 1928–1929
	385–416	Centralia (Washington, IWW Hall attack of 1919), 1924–1928
	417–494	Curious, ca. 1923–1928
	495–506	Daugherty case (U.S. Attorney General Harry M.), ca. 1923–1924
	507–603	Debs citizenship resolution, 1926
	604–612	Detective bill, 1927–1928
	613–617	District of Columbia legislation, 1928
	618–627	Education bill, 1924–1928
	628–676	Fascist activities, 1923–1928
	677–776	French debt resolution, 1925–1926
20	1–18	Gary (Indiana) explosion, 1926
	19–118	Immigration, 1923–1924
	119–142	Literacy bill, 1921–1928
	143–208	Lynching, 1922–1928
	209–287	Military appropriations, 1922–1928

Reel Frame

20	288-350	Milwaukee harbor development, [ca. 1913], 1928-1929
	351-424	Mines, miners, and mining, 1925-1928
	425-462	Muscle Shoals (power development project), 1925-1928
	463-501	Naval Academy, 1927-1929
	502-518	Oil bill, 1928
	519-606	Old-age pension bill, 1927-1929
	607-634	Postal employees legislation, 1928-1929
	635-857	Prohibition, 1924-1929
21	1-55	Radio commission, 1928
	56-158	Radio publication requests, 1928-1929
	159-171	Railroad employees legislation, 1924
	172-247	Reapportionment, 1921-1929
	248-430	Return of alien property, 1923-1928
	431-458	Roumanian Jews, 1926-1928
	459-482	Sesquicentennial celebration, 1925-1926
	483-594	Versailles Treaty revision, 1923-1928
		Constituent casework, 1923-1929
	595-680	A-Be
22		Bi-He
23		Ho-N
24		O-U
25	1-290	V-Z
		General mailings
	291-453	Issued by Berger, ca. 1880s-1929
		Received
	454-796	1908-1918
26		1919-1925
27		1926-1929, n.d.
		Speeches and writings
		By Berger
		Typescript and published materials
28		1901-1919
29	1-331	1920-1929, n.d.
	332-899	Notecards, ca. 1910-ca. 1929, n.d.
30	1-429	By others and unattributed, 1902-1929, n.d.
	430-790	Legal documentation, 1909, 1912, 1917-1923
		Campaign documentation
31	1-191	Campaign literature, 1894-1928
		Campaign financial records
	192-241	Contribution ledger, 1926
	242-300	"1928 Berger Congressional Campaign Donations" ledger
	301-314	Miscellaneous campaign expense records, 1924-1928
	315-451	Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company materials, 1905-1929
	452-547	Miscellany, 1898-ca. 1927

Reel Frame

Meta Berger Papers

Biographical materials

- | | | |
|----|----------|--|
| | | Autobiography (unpublished), 1943–1944 |
| 32 | 1–213 | Typescript |
| | 214–569 | Manuscript |
| | 570–576 | Miscellaneous notes by Meta Berger |
| | 577–653 | Notes by Miriam Frink |
| | | Notebooks and diary |
| | 654–738 | Notebook, 1918, December–1919, January |
| 33 | 1–49 | Diary, 1932, January 15–April 5 |
| | 50–174 | Notebook, 1935, April–May |
| | 175–264 | Other documents, 1862–1945, n.d. |
| | 265–275 | Manuscript of a brief interview by Doris Berger, 1936 |
| | | Meta Berger Memorial Committee materials, 1944–1945 |
| | | Correspondence |
| | 276–302 | Norbert Enzer, chairman |
| | 303–423 | Miriam Frink, corresponding secretary |
| | | Materials from memorial program, April 26, 1945 |
| | 424–438 | Speeches by Marshall Field and William T. Evjue |
| | 439–451 | Lists of prospective sponsors |
| | 452–537 | Clippings, 1915–1918, 1930–1945, n.d. |
| | 538–569 | Funeral register, 1944 |
| | | Correspondence |
| | | General |
| | 570–1088 | 1907–1929, July |
| 34 | | 1929, August–1931 |
| 35 | 1–285 | 1932–1940, n.d. |
| | 286–333 | Milwaukee Board of School Directors materials, 1915–1939 |
| | 334–471 | Speeches and writings, 1912–ca. 1938, n.d. |

Milwaukee County Historical Society, Social Democratic Party Collection

Victor Berger Correspondence (Files 26–45)

- | | |
|----|-------------------------|
| 36 | n.d., 1897–1910 |
| 37 | 1911, January–April 15 |
| 38 | 1911, April 16–May 15 |
| 39 | 1911, May 16–June 30 |
| 40 | 1911, July |
| 41 | 1911, August–October |
| 42 | 1911, November–December |
| 43 | 1912, January–April |
| 44 | 1912, May–December |
| 45 | 1913, January–June |
| 46 | 1913, July–December |
| 47 | 1914, January–June |
| 48 | 1914, July–December |

Reel Frame

49	1915, January–June
50	1915, July–1916, February
51	1916, March–August
52	1916, September–1917, February
53	1917, March–October
54	1917, November–1919, February
55	1–153 1919, March–December
154–277	Speeches, Handouts, Correspondence, Victor Berger, 1904–1914 (File 20)
278–284	Victor Berger, 1919 (Oversized file)

Index to Selected Prominent Correspondents

The following is a list of some prominent correspondents found in the microfilm edition; it is not intended to be comprehensive. Victor L. Berger is abbreviated VLB; Meta Berger is abbreviated MB. The list has been compiled from Victor and Meta's general correspondence and from the Social Democratic Party collection (series B.2.a, C.2, and D). The indexed letters can be found in chronological order within the respective series. If a letter is part of a packet or is an enclosure, the date of the first letter in the packet or of the cover letter is listed. Additional correspondence from some of these individuals may be found in other series, such as the congressional subject files and constituent casework series (B.2.b. and B.2.c.)

MCHS Milwaukee County Historical Society, Social Democratic Party Collection
(Series D) (Reels 36–55)

SHSW VLB GC State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Victor L. Berger General
Correspondence (Series B.2.a) (Reels 14–19)

SHSW MB GC State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Meta Berger General
Correspondence (Series C.2) (Reels 33–35)

Jane Addams to VLB (with Percy to VLB, 10/22/10), SHSW VLB GC
Jane Addams to MB, 8/11/29, SHSW MB GC
MB to Jane Addams, 1/24/31, SHSW MB GC

VLB to Oscar Ameringer, 1/11/17, MCHS
VLB to Oscar Ameringer, 11/23/17, MCHS
VLB to Oscar Ameringer, 12/28/17, MCHS
VLB to Oscar Ameringer, 1/3/18, MCHS
Oscar Ameringer to F. W. Rehfeld, 1/14–15/18, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Oscar Ameringer, 1/16/18, MCHS
Oscar Ameringer to VLB, 11/17/21, SHSW VLB GC

Roger Baldwin to VLB, 4/21/23, SHSW VLB GC
Roger Baldwin to Linn A. E. Gale, 3/31/25, SHSW VLB GC
Roger Baldwin to MB, 8/13/29, SHSW MB GC

Bernard M. Baruch to H. V. Brougham, 7/12/20, SHSW VLB GC

Allan L. Benson to VLB, 6/21/11, SHSW VLB GC
Allan L. Benson to VLB, 5/7/12, MCHS
Allan L. Benson to VLB, 9/4/12, SHSW VLB GC
Allan L. Benson to VLB, 9/6/12, SHSW VLB GC
Allan L. Benson to VLB, 9/4/13, MCHS

VLB to Allan L. Benson, 9/9/13 (filed w. 9/4/13)
Allan L. Benson to VLB, 3/22/16, MCHS
VLB to Allan L. Benson, 4/27/16 (filed w. 3/22/16)
Allan L. Benson to VLB, 10/5/16, MCHS

Eduard Bernstein to _____, 5/30/22, SHSW VLB GC

Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 2/19/1899, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 2/27/05, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/18/05, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/24/05, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/21/05, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 3/21/07, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 10/10/07, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/18/07, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/2/08, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 5/27/08, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 6/1/08, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/6/08, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/13/08, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/28/08, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 3/31/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/2/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/16/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to MB, 4/24/09, SHSW MB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 5/8/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 5/19/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 5/31/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/12/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/12/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/17/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/21/09, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/23/09, SHSW VLB GC
MB to Arthur Brisbane, 9/24/09, SHSW MB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/19/10, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 6/21/11, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/3/11, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 7/7/11 (filed w. 7/3/11)
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/25/11, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/1/11, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/30/11, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 10/4/11, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 10/16/11, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 5/8/12, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 6/10/12, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/30/12, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/5/12, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/9/12, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 1/3/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 2/4/13, SHSW VLB GC

Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/8/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/16/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/16/13, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 9/4/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 9/9/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 9/16/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 9/20/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 9/23/13, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 10/18/13, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 10/20/13 (filed w. 10/18/13)
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 10/28/13, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 10/29/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/1/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/6/13, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 11/6/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/10/13, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/13/13, SHSW VLB GC (3 items)
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/28/13, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 11/28/13, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/29/13, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 11/29/13, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 12/1/13, SHSW VLB GC (2 items)
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 12/5/13, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 12/5/13, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 12/6/13, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 12/20/13, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 5/21/14, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 5/23/14, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 8/7/14, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/10/14, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/23/14, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 1/13/15, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 1/18/15, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 1/19/15, MCHS (3 items)
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 1/26/15, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 1/27/15, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 1/29/15, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 5/4/15, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 7/1/15, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 7/7/15, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/13/15, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 1/20/16, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 2/3/16, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 2/5/16, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 3/22/16, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 3/23/16, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 3/25/16, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 3/27/16, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 3/28/16, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 4/6/16, MCHS

Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/8/16, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/26/16, SHSW VLB GC
Elizabeth Thomas to Arthur Brisbane, 5/17/16, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to Elizabeth Thomas, 5/22/16, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to Elizabeth Thomas, 5/31/16, SHSW VLB GC
Elizabeth Thomas to Arthur Brisbane, 6/1/16, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 8/29/16, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 9/21/16, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 1/13/17, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 6/5/17, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 10/23/17, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 10/27/17, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/5/17, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 11/15/17, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/26/17, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 12/14/17, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 1/16/18, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 4/29/18, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 5/9/18, MCHS
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 1/10/19, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 2/4/19, MCHS
Arthur Brisbane to MB, 10/18/20, SHSW MB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 12/17/25, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 11/22/26, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/11/28, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 4/12/28 (filed w. 4/11/28)
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 4/13/28 (filed w. 4/11/28)
VLB to Arthur Brisbane, 5/29/28 (filed w. 4/11/28)
Arthur Brisbane to VLB, 1/28/29, SHSW VLB GC
Arthur Brisbane to MB, 8/15/29, SHSW MB GC
Arthur Brisbane to MB, 8/9/29, SHSW MB GC
Arthur Brisbane to MB, 9/3/29, SHSW MB GC
Arthur Brisbane to MB, 1/2/30, SHSW MB GC
Arthur Brisbane to MB, 1/13/30, SHSW MB GC
Arthur Brisbane to MB, 4/30/35, SHSW MB GC

William Jennings Bryan to William C. Redfield, 12/19/14, SHSW VLB GC

Edward Ellis Carr to VLB, 7/29/07, SHSW VLB GC
Edward Ellis Carr to VLB, 5/4/08, SHSW VLB GC

Calvin Coolidge to VLB, 4/18/28, SHSW VLB GC

John R. Commons to VLB, 4/11/10, MCHS

VLB to Herbert Croly, 8/5/19, SHSW VLB GC

Clarence Darrow to VLB, 8/6/09, SHSW VLB GC
MB to Clarence Darrow, 1/24/31, SHSW MB GC
MB to Clarence Darrow, 1931, SHSW MB GC

Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 5/27/1898, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 6/8/1899, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 8/14/1899, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 3/10/02, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 4/4/04, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 4/13/05, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to Frederick Heath, 4/22/05, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to Frederick Heath, 4/26/05, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 4/26/05, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 1/27/12, MCHS
William J. Ghent to Eugene V. Debs, 1/29/12 (filed w. 1/27/12)
Eugene V. Debs to William J. Ghent, 1/31/12 (filed w. 1/27/12)
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 3/14/12, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 5/29/12, MCHS
VLB to Eugene V. Debs, 4/13/18, MCHS
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 8/13/18, MCHS
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 11/6/18, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Eugene V. Debs, 12/24/21, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 11/9/22, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Eugene V. Debs, 11/21/22, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 4/30/24, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 11/8/24, SHSW VLB GC
Eugene V. Debs to VLB, 2/24/26, SHSW VLB GC
Marx Lewis to Eugene V. Debs, 3/4/26 (filed w. 2/24/26)

VLB to Theodore Debs, 7/26/16 (filed w. 7/16?)
Theodore Debs to VLB, 7/28/16 (filed w. 7/16?)
Theodore Debs to VLB, no date, 7/16?, MCHS
Theodore Debs to VLB, 4/30/19, SHSW VLB GC
Theodore Debs to VLB, 8/1/20, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Theodore Debs, 2/4/24, SHSW VLB GC
Theodore Debs to VLB, 2/6/24, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Theodore Debs, 2/8/24, SHSW VLB GC
Theodore Debs to VLB, 2/9/24, SHSW VLB GC
Theodore Debs to Linn A. E. Gale, 4/24/25, SHSW VLB GC
Theodore Debs to VLB, 2/4/26, SHSW VLB GC
Theodore Debs to VLB, 3/5/26, SHSW VLB GC
Theodore Debs to VLB, 6/21/26, SHSW VLB GC
Marx Lewis to Theodore Debs, 6/24/26 (filed w. 6/21/26)
Theodore Debs to Marx Lewis, 6/26/26 (filed w. 6/21/26)
Marx Lewis to Theodore Debs, 7/9/26 (filed w. 6/21/26)
Theodore Debs to Leo Wolfsohn, 5/22/29, SHSW VLB GC

Frederic Heath and Edward H. James to Daniel De Leon, 10/22/97, MCHS

Max Eastman to VLB, 4/25/13, MCHS
Max Eastman to VLB, 4/17/19, SHSW VLB GC
Max Eastman to Henry Cochems, 4/21/19, SHSW VLB GC

Fritz Ebert Jr. to VLB, 3/1/24, SHSW VLB GC

J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 12/1/10, MCHS
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 1/18/13, SHSW VLB GC
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 7/13/14, MCHS
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 11/5/14, MCHS
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 12/5/14, MCHS
VLB to J. Louis Engdahl, 4/20/15, MCHS
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 4/21/15 (filed w. 4/20/15)
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 9/1/16, MCHS
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 10/6/16, MCHS
VLB to J. Louis Engdahl, 3/1/17, MCHS
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 4/24/17, SHSW VLB GC
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 9/18/17, MCHS
VLB to J. Louis Engdahl, 11/6/18, MCHS
J. Louis Engdahl to VLB, 11/12/18, SHSW VLB GC

William T. Evjue to VLB, 3/4/26, SHSW VLB GC
William T. Evjue to VLB, 1/15/27, SHSW VLB GC
William T. Evjue to VLB, 2/28/27, SHSW VLB GC
William T. Evjue to MB, 5/26/27, SHSW MB GC
William T. Evjue to VLB, 9/16/27, SHSW VLB GC
William T. Evjue to VLB, 12/12/27, SHSW VLB GC
William T. Evjue to VLB, 3/28/28, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to William T. Evjue, 7/3/28, SHSW VLB GC
William T. Evjue to MB, 7/18/29, SHSW MB GC
William T. Evjue to MB, 8/9/29, SHSW MB GC
William T. Evjue to MB, 1/10/30, SHSW MB GC
William T. Evjue to MB, 5/16/30, SHSW MB GC
William T. Evjue to MB, 12/23/30, SHSW MB GC
William T. Evjue to MB, 12/19/30, SHSW MB GC
William T. Evjue to MB, 1/22/31, SHSW MB GC

Isaac Edward Ferguson to MB, 5/4/19, SHSW MB GC

VLB to Henry Ford, 2/7/16, MCHS

Zona Gale to VLB, 7/24/16, MCHS
VLB to Zona Gale, 7/26/16, MCHS
MB to Zona Gale, 1/24/31, SHSW MB GC
Zona Gale (Breese) to MB, 12/26/36, SHSW MB GC

Adolph Germer to VLB, 4/10/11, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 5/13/11, MCHS
William Ghent to Algie Simons, 7/17/11, MCHS
Algie Simons to J. Mahlon Barnes, 7/18/11 (filed w. 7/17/11)
Algie Simons to William Ghent, 7/18/11 (filed w. 7/17/11)
Algie Simons to William Ghent, 9/9/11, MCHS
William Ghent to Algie Simons, 9/13/11 (filed w. 9/9/11)
Adolph Germer to VLB, 6/1/14, MCHS
VLB to Adolph Germer, 8/15/16, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 10/5/16, MCHS

VLB to Adolph Germer, 10/25/16, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 1/27/17, MCHS
VLB to Adolph Germer, 1/29/17, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 1/30/17, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 3/26/17, MCHS
Algie Simons to Adolph Germer, 4/25/17, SHSW VLB GC
Algie Simons to Adolph Germer, 5/5/17, SHSW VLB GC
Adolph Germer to Algie Simons, 5/8/17, SHSW VLB GC
Adolph Germer to VLB, 5/9/17, MCHS
VLB, A. Germer, and J. M. Work to C. E. Russell, 5/15/17, SHSW VLB GC
Adolph Germer to the New York Call, 5/16/17, SHSW VLB GC
Adolph Germer to VLB, 5/17/17, SHSW VLB GC (2)
Adolph Germer to VLB, 5/18/17, SHSW VLB GC (2)
Adolph Germer to VLB, 5/23/17, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 6/13/17, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 8/25/17, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 9/5/17, MCHS
VLB to Adolph Germer, 10/5/17, MCHS
VLB to Adolph Germer, 10/25/17, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 10/26/17, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 10/29/17, MCHS
VLB to Adolph Germer, 2/25/18, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 3/4/18, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 3/20/18, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 9/20/18, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, undated [January 1919], MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 2/10/19, MCHS
Adolph Germer to VLB, 5/26/19, SHSW VLB GC
Adolph Germer to VLB, 11/11/22, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Adolph Germer, 11/22/22, SHSW VLB GC

Emma Goldman to VLB, 12/8/27, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Emma Goldman, 12/19/27 (filed w. 12/8/27)
Emma Goldman to VLB, 12/29/27 (filed w. 12/8/27)

Samuel Gompers to VLB, 3/22/11, MCHS
VLB to Samuel Gompers, 4/29/11 (filed w. 3/22/11)
Samuel Gompers to VLB, 5/23/11 (filed w. 3/22/11)

Carl Haessler to VLB, 10/28/15, MCHS
VLB to Carl Haessler, 11/11/15 (filed w. 10/28/15)

VLB to Norman Hapgood, 11/24/13, MCHS
Norman Hapgood to VLB, 11/26/13 (filed w. 11/24/13)
VLB to Norman Hapgood, 11/28/13 (filed w. 11/24/13)
VLB to Norman Hapgood, 11/29/13 (filed w. 11/24/13)

VLB to Job Harriman, 9/15/16, MCHS
Job Harriman to VLB, 9/22/16, MCHS
VLB to Job Harriman, 9/26/16, MCHS

Max S. Hayes to VLB, 6/29/10, SHSW VLB GC
Max S. Hayes to VLB, 11/9/10, MCHS

Morris Hillquit to VLB, 4/24/05, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 11/24/08, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 7/1/09, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 7/12/09, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 8/17/09, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 11/23/10, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 10/17/11, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 11/1/11, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 12/14/11, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 7/31/12, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 8/12/12, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 10/16/13, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 10/23/13 (filed w. 10/16/13)
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 11/14/13, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to Louis Arnold, 12/24/13, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 1/19/14, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 2/13/14 (filed w. 1/19/14)
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 2/18/14 (filed w. 1/19/14)
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 5/29/14, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 6/16/14, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 6/20/14, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 4/26/15, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 4/27/15, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 4/30/15, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 9/16/15, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 9/25/15, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 10/29/15, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 11/9/15, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 4/7/16, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 5/29/16, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 6/30/16, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 5/14/17, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 6/6/17, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 6/7/17, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 6/7/17, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 6/9/17 (filed w. 6/7/17)
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 6/11/17, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 6/13/17, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 7/17/17, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 8/2/17, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 8/11/17, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 8/16/17, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 10/13/17, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 10/24/17, MCHS
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 10/29/17, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 11/6/17, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 11/13/17, SHSW VLB GC

Morris Hillquit to VLB, ca. 1917, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 3/12/18, MCHS
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 12/17/23, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 12/18/23, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 5/29/25, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 6/3/25, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 11/24/25, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 7/29/26, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to VLB, 8/10/26 (filed w. 7/29/26)
VLB to Morris Hillquit, 11/9/26, SHSW VLB GC
Marx Lewis to Morris Hillquit, 3/14/28, SHSW VLB GC
Morris Hillquit to Marx Lewis, 3/15/28 (filed w. 3/14/28)
Morris and Vera Hillquit to MB, 8/8/29, SHSW MB GC
Morris Hillquit to MB, 10/8/29, SHSW MB GC
Morris Hillquit to MB, 7/17/30, SHSW MB GC

Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 1/14/11, SHSW VLB GC
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 9/30/15, MCHS
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 4/11/19, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Daniel W. Hoan, 2/14/24, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Daniel W. Hoan, 4/2/24, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Daniel W. Hoan, 4/4/24, SHSW VLB GC
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 7/22/24, SHSW VLB GC
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 4/13/26, SHSW VLB GC
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 2/17/28, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Daniel W. Hoan, 2/20/28 (filed w. 2/17/28)
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 3/12/28 (filed w. VLB to Hillquit 3/14/28)
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 3/23/28, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Daniel W. Hoan, 3/27/28 (filed w. 3/23/28)
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 3/31/28, SHSW VLB GC
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 6/13/28, SHSW VLB GC
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 1/11/29, SHSW VLB GC
Daniel W. Hoan to VLB, 1/21/29, SHSW VLB GC
Daniel W. Hoan to MB, 8/12/29, SHSW MB GC
MB to Daniel W. Hoan, 11/13/39, SHSW MB GC

VLB to Edward M. House, 10/2/17, MCHS
VLB to Edward M. House, 10/29/17, MCHS
VLB to Edward M. House, 12/29/17, MCHS

William Dean Howells to VLB, 6/20/11, SHSW VLB GC

Robert Hunter to VLB, 8/29/05, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 10/3/05, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 10/9/05, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 1/3/07, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 1/20/09, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 7/30/09, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 10/8/09, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 12/8/09, SHSW VLB GC

Robert Hunter to VLB, 1910, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 1/24/10, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 1/27/10, MCHS
Robert Hunter to VLB, ca. 1912, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, ca. 1912, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to VLB, 12/30/12, SHSW VLB GC
Robert Hunter to John Spargo, 12/30/12, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Robert Hunter, 6/20/14, MCHS

Ada James to MB, 8/10/17, SHSW MB GC
Ada James to MB, 9/21/17, SHSW MB GC
Ada James to VLB and MB, 11/14/22, SHSW VLB GC
MB to Ada James, 11/22/22, SHSW VLB GC
Ada James to MB, 1/8/25, SHSW MB GC

Luise Kautsky to MB, 12/29/09, SHSW MB GC

Florence Kelley to VLB, 12/19/23, SHSW VLB GC

Frank Kellogg to VLB, 1/11/26, SHSW VLB GC

Belle Case La Follette to MB, 3/8/17, SHSW MB GC
VLB to Belle Case La Follette, 6/19/25, SHSW VLB GC

Philip La Follette to MB, 8/7/29, SHSW MB GC

Robert M. La Follette Jr. to VLB, 4/22/29, SHSW VLB GC
Robert M. La Follette Jr. to MB, 8/9/29, SHSW MB GC
Robert M. La Follette Jr. to MB, 3/6/34, SHSW MB GC

VLB to Robert M. La Follette Sr., 6/13/13, MCHS
VLB to Robert M. La Follette Sr., 3/2/17, MCHS
VLB to Robert M. La Follette Sr., 3/23/17, MCHS
Robert M. La Follette Sr. to VLB, 3/26/17 (2 items) (filed w. 3/23/17)
VLB to Robert M. La Follette Sr., 7/17/17, MCHS
Robert M. La Follette Sr. to VLB, 7/9/17, SHSW VLB GC
Robert M. La Follette Sr. to VLB, 8/27/17, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Robert M. La Follette Sr., 10/23/17, SHSW VLB GC
Robert M. La Follette Sr. to VLB, 1/14/18, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Robert M. La Follette Sr., 2/2/18, MCHS
VLB to Robert M. La Follette Sr., 11/12/18, MCHS
G. Schilling to Robert M. La Follette Sr., 11/12/18, MCHS

Fiorello La Guardia to VLB, 7/26/26, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Fiorello La Guardia, 7/29/26 (filed w. 7/26/26)
VLB to Fiorello La Guardia, 8/3/26 (filed w. 7/26/26)
VLB to Fiorello La Guardia, 8/12/26 (filed w. 7/26/26)
Fiorello La Guardia to VLB, 8/16/26 (filed w. 7/26/26)
Fiorello and Marie La Guardia to VLB, 7/22/29, SHSW VLB GC

Harry W. Laidler to VLB, 2/13/11, MCHS
VLB to Harry W. Laidler, 1/8/12, MCHS
Harry W. Laidler to VLB, 1/7/14, MCHS
Harry W. Laidler to VLB, 11/5/14, MCHS
Harry W. Laidler to VLB, 5/15/16, MCHS
Harry W. Laidler to MB, 8/16/29, SHSW MB GC
Harry W. Laidler to MB, 4/8/30, SHSW MB GC

Algernon Lee to VLB, 4/6/05, MCHS
Algernon Lee to VLB, 1/8/12, MCHS
VLB to Algernon Lee, 1/10/12 (filed w. 1/8/12)
VLB to Algernon Lee, 6/23/17, MCHS

Lena Morrow Lewis to VLB, 2/18/11, MCHS
Lena Morrow Lewis to MB, 8/26/29, SHSW MB GC

Karl Liebknecht to VLB, 11/7/10, SHSW VLB GC

VLB to Walter Lippmann, 8/29/19, SHSW VLB GC

William Bross Lloyd to VLB, 1/9/14, MCHS
VLB to William Bross Lloyd, 1/15/14 (filed w. 1/9/14)
William Bross Lloyd to VLB, 1/16/14 (filed w. 1/9/14)
VLB to William Bross Lloyd, 4/19/16, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to VLB, 4/22/16, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to National Executive Committee, 2/28/18, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to VLB, 3/5/18, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to Morris Hillquit, 3/26/18, SHSW VLB GC
William Bross Lloyd to Upton Sinclair, 3/26/18, SHSW VLB GC
William Bross Lloyd to VLB, 4/6/18, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to William Bross Lloyd, 4/19/18, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to VLB, 5/31/18, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to VLB, 7/25/18, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to VLB, 2/19/19, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to F. W. Rehfeld, 7/17/19, SHSW VLB GC

Louis Lochner to VLB, 10/29/15, MCHS
VLB to Louis Lochner, 7/17/17, MCHS
Louis Lochner to MB, 2/29/24, SHSW MB GC

Huey P. Long to VLB, 12/21/25, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Huey P. Long, 1/13/26 (filed w. 12/21/25)

Jean Longuet to VLB, 11/14/28, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Jean Longuet, 12/3/28 (filed w. 11/14/28)
Jean Longuet to MB, 8/10/29, SHSW MB GC

Ramsay MacDonald to VLB, 11/10/10, SHSW VLB GC
Ramsay MacDonald to VLB, 12/18/23, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Ramsay MacDonald, 1/22/24, SHSW VLB GC

H. L. Mencken to VLB, 2/17/22, SHSW VLB GC
H. L. Mencken to VLB, 11/1/22, SHSW VLB GC
H. L. Mencken to VLB, 5/3/23, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to H. L. Mencken, 3/5/25, SHSW VLB GC
H. L. Mencken to VLB, 3/9/25, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to H. L. Mencken, 2/15/27, SHSW VLB GC
H. L. Mencken to VLB, 3/1/29, SHSW VLB GC
H. L. Mencken to VLB, 7/24/29, SHSW VLB GC

Tom Mooney to Adolph Germer, 3/14/18, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Tom Mooney, 8/23/28, SHSW VLB GC

Frank Morrison to VLB, 12/10/06, SHSW VLB GC
Frank Morrison to VLB, 12/9/09, SHSW VLB GC

Scott Nearing to VLB, 3/29/16, MCHS
Scott Nearing to Hornell Hart, 2/23/17, MCHS
Scott Nearing to VLB, 7/1/17, MCHS
Scott Nearing to VLB, 3/22/18, SHSW VLB GC
Scott Nearing to VLB, 1/29/19, MCHS
Scott Nearing to VLB, 8/14/19, MCHS

Kate Richards O'Hare to VLB, 2/18/11, MCHS
VLB to Kate Richards O'Hare, 4/23/28, SHSW VLB GC

Lord Eustace Percy to VLB, 10/19/10, SHSW VLB GC
Lord Eustace Percy to VLB, 10/22/10, SHSW VLB GC
Lord Eustace Percy to VLB, 6/5/11, SHSW VLB GC
Lord Eustace Percy to VLB, 7/5/12, SHSW VLB GC
Lord Eustace Percy to VLB, 8/10/12, SHSW VLB GC

Amos Pinchot to VLB, 10/13/17, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Amos Pinchot, 10/25/17, MCHS
Amos Pinchot to VLB, 10/31/17, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Amos Pinchot, 9/12/19, SHSW VLB GC

Gifford Pinchot, 7/27/12, MCHS
Gifford Pinchot to VLB, 1/10/13, MCHS
Gifford Pinchot to VLB, 5/19/14, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Gifford Pinchot, 5/25/14, MCHS
Gifford Pinchot to VLB, 5/5/16, MCHS
Gifford Pinchot to VLB, 9/7/16, MCHS
Gifford Pinchot to VLB, 11/15/16, MCHS
VLB to Gifford Pinchot, 12/8/25, SHSW VLB GC
Gifford Pinchot to VLB, 12/16/25 (filed w. 12/8/25)

VLB to William C. Redfield, 10/10/13, MCHS
William C. Redfield to VLB, 10/13/13 (filed w. 10/10/13)
William C. Redfield to VLB, 11/6/14, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to William C. Redfield, 12/1/14, SHSW VLB GC

William C. Redfield to VLB, 12/5/14, SHSW VLB GC
William Jennings Bryan to William C. Redfield, 12/19/14, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to William C. Redfield, 1/6/15, MCHS
William C. Redfield to VLB, 1/11/15, SHSW VLB GC
William C. Redfield to VLB, 7/16/17, SHSW VLB GC

Charles Edward Russell to VLB, 12/16/13, SHSW VLB GC
Charles Edward Russell to VLB, 12/17/13, SHSW VLB GC
VLB, A. Germer, and J. M. Work to C. E. Russell, 5/15/17, SHSW VLB GC

George Bernard Shaw to J. Mahlon Barnes, 7/28/21, SHSW VLB GC

Algie Simons to VLB, 3/13/11, MCHS
VLB to Algie Simons, 3/21/11 (filed w. 3/13/11)
Algie Simons to VLB, 6/13/13, SHSW VLB GC
Algie Simons to Germer, 4/25/17, SHSW VLB GC
Algie Simons to Adolph Germer, 5/5/17, SHSW VLB GC
Adolph Germer to Algie Simons, 5/8/17, SHSW VLB GC
Algie Simons to VLB, 4/18/11, MCHS
VLB to Algie Simons, 5/1/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
Algie Simons to VLB, 6/3/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
Algie Simons to William Ghent, 6/6/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
William Ghent to Algie Simons, 6/8/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
Algie Simons to William Ghent, 6/17/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
Algie Simons to William Ghent, 6/24/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
Algie Simons to William Ghent, 7/1/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
Algie Simons to VLB, 7/3/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
William Ghent to Algie Simons, 7/10/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
Algie Simons to William Ghent, 7/13/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
VLB to Algie Simons, 11/2/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
William Ghent to Algie Simons, 1/25/12 (filed w. 4/18/11)
William Ghent to Algie Simons, 6/21/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)
Algie Simons to William Ghent, 7/20/11 (filed w. 4/18/11)

Upton Sinclair to VLB, 2/2/11, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Upton Sinclair, 11/19/10, MCHS
William Bross Lloyd to Upton Sinclair, 3/26/18, SHSW VLB GC
Upton Sinclair to MB, 8/8/29, SHSW MB GC

John Spargo to National Executive Committee, 8/8/12, SHSW VLB GC
John Spargo to B. W. Huebsch, 8/8/12, SHSW VLB GC
John Spargo to Adolph Germer, 11/22/16, MCHS

Lincoln Steffens to VLB, 8/13/08, SHSW VLB GC
Lincoln Steffens to VLB, 2/16/09, SHSW VLB GC
Lincoln Steffens to VLB and MB, 8/24/09, SHSW VLB GC
Lincoln Steffens to VLB, 11/24/09, SHSW VLB GC
Lincoln Steffens to VLB, 12/9/09, SHSW VLB GC

Rose Pastor Stokes and J. G. Phelps Stokes to VLB, 8/20/06, SHSW VLB GC
J. G. Phelps Stokes to VLB, 8/9/12, MCHS
J. G. Phelps Stokes to VLB, 10/8/13, MCHS

William Howard Taft to VLB, 7/28/11, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to William Howard Taft, 2/7/16, MCHS
William Howard Taft to VLB, 2/13/16, SHSW VLB GC
William Howard Taft to VLB, 4/18/16, MCHS
VLB to William Howard Taft, 5/22/16, MCHS
William Howard Taft to VLB, 5/28/16, MCHS
William Howard Taft to VLB and MB, 12/21/26, SHSW VLB GC
William Howard Taft to Nicholas Longworth, 1/20/28, SHSW VLB GC

Norman Thomas to VLB, 5/7/26, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Norman Thomas, 5/11/26 (filed w. 5/7/26)
Norman Thomas to VLB, 8/17/26, SHSW VLB GC
Norman Thomas to VLB, 2/2/28, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Norman Thomas, 2/3/28 (filed w. 2/2/28)
Norman Thomas to VLB, 11/10/28, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Norman Thomas, 11/20/28 (filed w. 11/10/28)
Norman Thomas to VLB, 2/11/29, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Norman Thomas, 2/14/29 (filed w. 2/11/29)
Norman Thomas to VLB, 5/2/29, SHSW VLB GC

Carl Thompson to VLB, 11/16/07, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 9/24/09, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 7/19/11, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, ca. 1912-14, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 8/22/12, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 11/29/12, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 1/14/13, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 2/25/13, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 2/26/13, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 2/28/13, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 4/23/13, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 5/17/14, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 6/20/14, MCHS
VLB to Carl Thompson, 6/24/14 (filed w. 6/20/14)
Carl Thompson to VLB, 2/12/15, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 3/16/15, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 3/27/15, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 5/20/15, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 6/11/15, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 9/3/15, MCHS
VLB to Carl Thompson, 9/4/15 (filed w. 9/3/15)
Carl Thompson to VLB, 10/6/15, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 10/22/15 (filed w. 10/6/15)
Carl Thompson to VLB, 10/29/15 (filed w. 10/6/15)
VLB to Carl Thompson, 10/29/15 (filed w. 10/6/15)
Carl Thompson to VLB, 10/30/15, MCHS

Carl Thompson to VLB, 5/27/16, MCHS
VLB to Carl Thompson, 5/31/16, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 8/17/16, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 9/18/16, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 9/21/16, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 9/26/16, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 11/25/16, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 11/30/16, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 1/6/17, MCHS
VLB to Carl Thompson, 7/25/17, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 7/27/17 (filed w. 7/25/17)
VLB to Carl Thompson, 8/23/17, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 9/9/17, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB et al., 10/5/17, MCHS
Carl Thompson to VLB, 11/17/17, MCHS
VLB to Carl Thompson, 11/21/17 (filed w. 11/17/17)
Carl Thompson to VLB, 11/13/22, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Carl Thompson, 11/22/22, SHSW VLB GC
Carl Thompson to VLB, 4/27/26, SHSW VLB GC
VLB to Carl Thompson, 4/29/26 (filed w. 4/27/26)
Carl Thompson to MB, 7/17/29, SHSW MB GC
Carl Thompson to MB, 8/8/29, SHSW MB GC

Gaylord Wilshire to VLB, 12/18/08, SHSW VLB GC

VLB to Woodrow Wilson, 12/1/14, SHSW VLB GC

John M. Work to VLB, 1/28/13, SHSW VLB GC
VLB, A. Germer, and J. M. Work to C. E. Russell, 5/15/17, SHSW VLB GC

