

# **The Norman Thomas Papers Guide**

**1904-1967**

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NOTE TO THE RESEARCHER

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## CHRONOLOGY

- 1884 Born November 20, son of Reverend Welling and Emma Mattoon Thomas
- 1901 Thomas family moves to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania  
Norman attends Bucknell College
- 1902 Enters Princeton University
- 1905 Graduates from Princeton  
Begins work at Spring Street Presbyterian Church and Neighborhood House, New York City
- 1907 World tour with Reverend Roswell Bates and other Spring Street settlement workers
- 1908 Assistant to the minister, Christ Presbyterian Church and Church House, New York City  
Enters Union Theological Seminary
- 1910 Associate pastor, Brick Presbyterian Church  
Marries Frances Violet Stewart
- 1911 Appointed pastor of the East Harlem Presbyterian Church and director of the American Parish
- 1917 Executive secretary, American Union Against Militarism  
Secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation
- 1918 Resigns position as pastor of the East Harlem Church and director of the American Parish  
Editor, The World Tomorrow  
Joins the Socialist Party of America
- 1921 Associate editor, The Nation
- 1922 Co-director, League for Industrial Democracy
- 1923 Editor, New York Leader
- 1924 Candidate for Governor of New York
- 1925 Candidate for Mayor of New York City
- 1926 Candidate for New York State Senate
- 1927 Candidate for New York City Alderman
- 1928 Candidate for U.S. President, James H. Maurer as running mate
- 1929 Candidate for Mayor of New York City
- 1930 Candidate for U.S. House of Representatives from Brooklyn, N.Y.

1931 Candidate for Manhattan Borough President, New York City  
Demits ministry

1932 Candidate for U.S. President, James H. Maurer as running mate

1934 Candidate for U.S. Senate from New York

1936 Candidate for U.S. President, George Nelson as running mate

1937 Visits Europe and the Soviet Union

1938 Candidate for Governor of New York  
Founding member of the Keep America Out of War Committee

1940 Candidate for U.S. President, Maynard Krueger as running mate

1941 Begins radio series sponsored by the Socialist Call

1942 Chairman, Post War World Council

1944 Candidate for U.S. President, Maynard Krueger as running mate

1948 Candidate for U.S. President, Tucker P. Smith as running mate

1949 Columnist for the Denver Post

1953 Chairman, Union for Democratic Socialism

1956 First Arden House Conference

1957 Co-founder, National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy  
Chairman, Institute of International Labor Research

1958 Second Arden House Conference

1961 Chairman, Turn Toward Peace  
Gould House Conference

1966 Chairman, Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic

1967 Closes office in November and retires from public life

1968 Suffers a stroke and dies December 19

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Norman Mattoon Thomas was born November 20, 1884 in Marion, Ohio, the first of six children of Reverend Welling Thomas and Emma Mattoon Thomas. After his graduation from high school, the Thomas family moved to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, where Norman entered the local college, Bucknell. But after one year a gift of \$400 from a wealthy uncle made it possible for him to attend Princeton University. Thomas distinguished himself there as an excellent student and debater, and developed a fond attachment to the school that was to last throughout his life.

After graduating with the class of 1905, Thomas was undecided about a career. It was expected that he would follow the path of his father and grandfathers and study for the Presbyterian ministry. But he postponed that decision and accepted the offer of a job as a settlement worker at Spring Street Presbyterian Church and Neighborhood House in New York City. It was here that Thomas became acquainted with the poverty and squalor of urban slums and the violence of life there. He worked at everything from setting up boys clubs to mediating in family disputes. The experience instilled in him both a commitment to the ministry and to relieving the misery of the poor.

In 1908 Thomas became assistant to the minister of Christ Presbyterian Church and began attending Union Theological Seminary. He was ordained before his graduation and took a post as associate pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church in 1910. Brick Church served a wealthy Fifth Avenue congregation, and the salary he received enabled him to marry a fellow settlement worker from Christ Church, Frances Violet Stewart. They eventually had six children: Norman Jr. (who died at age nine), William, Mary (Polly), Frances, Rebekah, and Evan.

Graduating from Union Seminary in 1911, Thomas left Brick Church to return to his work among the poor. He became pastor of the East Harlem Presbyterian Church and director of the American Parish, an association of Presbyterian churches, neighborhood houses, and other social agencies serving the predominantly Italian and Hungarian population of East Harlem and the southeast Bronx. Thomas became closely acquainted with the problems of urban immigrants during the seven years he spent with the American Parish. He used this expertise to develop a course that he taught at Teachers College, Columbia University to prepare settlement workers for service in immigrant communities.

Thomas' training at the liberal Union Seminary and his exposure there to the works of Christian socialist Walter Rauschenbusch contributed to a religious outlook more progressive than that of mainstream Presbyterianism, but it was the outbreak of World War I that radicalized him. Believing true Christianity and war to be incompatible, Thomas joined the Christian pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Union Against Militarism in 1916. By 1917 he was secretary of the former and a member of the executive board of the latter. He lobbied in Washington for the American Union on behalf of conscientious objectors, and helped Roger Baldwin establish its Civil Liberties Bureau (later the American Civil Liberties Union). Working closely with socialist intellectuals who shared his views, Thomas gravitated toward the Socialist Party of America because of its strong antiwar stance. He



campaigned for Party leader Morris Hillquit in the New York City mayoral race of 1917 but was still wary of becoming a member himself.

By the end of 1917 Thomas was eager to devote all of his energy to antiwar work. His highly unpopular views embarrassed church leaders and angered influential supporters. Rather than jeopardize financial support for its projects, Thomas resigned his positions with the Presbyterian church as of March 1918.

However, Thomas had already assumed the editorship of the newly founded journal, The World Tomorrow, published under Fellowship of Reconciliation auspices. Almost immediately he became known to the government as a dangerous radical. The magazine was banned repeatedly for its "seditious" articles, and Thomas was kept out of jail only through the intervention of his former professor at Princeton, President Woodrow Wilson.

In the pages of The World Tomorrow Thomas called attention to the abuses suffered by conscientious objectors. His brother Evan had been imprisoned as a conscientious objector and was writing to Thomas describing the miserable conditions and shocking brutalities suffered by his fellow inmates. After leading a hunger strike at Fort Riley in August of 1918, Evan Thomas was court-martialed, transferred to Fort Leavenworth, and sentenced to life imprisonment. By the end of that year, Norman Thomas had joined the Socialist Party.

By 1921 Thomas' religious faith had wavered to the point that he thought it better to turn over his responsibilities at the Fellowship of Reconciliation and The World Tomorrow to more devout Christians. He spent a year as associate editor of Oswald Garrison Villard's The Nation and in 1922 was made co-director with Harry W. Laidler of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID). Formerly the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, the LID was a national organization of students and intellectuals interested in the labor movement, economics, and socialism, which functioned as an educational adjunct to the Party.

Thomas' abilities as a speaker, his fervent belief in social justice, his indefatigable energy, and his respectable Anglo-Saxon background contributed to his rapid rise within the Socialist Party. After the death of Eugene V. Debs in 1926, Thomas became the Party's perennial political candidate. Thomas ran for office fifteen times between 1924 and 1948, including six campaigns for the presidency. In his first presidential campaign in 1932, Thomas led the Party to its greatest electoral success since the war, although he captured only 884,781 votes.

Yet the period of Thomas' leadership coincided with the disintegration of the Socialist Party. The decade of the 1930s was a period of intense factionalism within the Party. The "Old Guard," avowedly Marxist but anti-Russian trade unionists battled the younger "Militant" faction which demanded closer ties with the Communist Party and advocated a radical revolutionary stance. When the "Old Guard" defected in 1936 and formed the rival Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist Party lost not only members, but much of its financial support. This was only the first of numerous splits; further factional disputes would continue to weaken the Party throughout Thomas' tenure as leader.

Despite the Socialist Party's declining influence, Thomas himself remained a forceful and effective crusader for social and economic justice. He supported striking workers throughout the nation, fought the Ku Klux Klan and police brutality in Tampa, battled fascists and corrupt politicians in New York and New Jersey, and publicized the plight of sharecroppers in Arkansas. Often banned from public platforms, Thomas was at various times egged, teargassed, and even kidnapped and deported when he tried to speak. He also battled members of his own party in his zeal to investigate cases of labor union corruption and racketeering.

In 1938 Thomas and other socialists founded the Keep America Out of War Committee to avert the nation's drift into war. After hostilities broke out in Europe, he continued to affirm what he called his "non-interventionist" (rather than isolationist) stand and came under severe attack from many of his former friends and supporters. Even those who agreed with him balked at his willingness to speak alongside Charles Lindbergh and other right-wing members of the America First Committee. When Thomas' antiwar view was accepted as the official Socialist Party policy, a wave of resignations followed. It was not until the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the ensuing declaration of war that Thomas gave American participation his critical support.

During World War II Thomas was again active on behalf of conscientious objectors. He also protested the internment of Japanese-Americans. In fact, he nearly broke his long-standing affiliation with the American Civil Liberties Union over its failure to challenge either forced deportations or the legality of conscription.

But peace remained Thomas' major concern. He reorganized the Keep America Out of War Committee as the Post War World Council and began to develop peace plans and a strategy to prevent all future wars. Universal disarmament became his overriding concern. As chairman of the Post War World Council, Thomas published his views in newsletters, editorials, press releases and letters to influential government officials. He attended and hosted numerous disarmament conferences and was instrumental in founding the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) in 1957 and Turn Toward Peace, a federation of peace groups, in 1961. Both organizations worked to bring the seriousness of nuclear war and the hazards of nuclear testing to national public attention.

During the early 1950s, Thomas took a prominent role in defending democratic freedoms from attack by extremists of both the right and left. A staunch anti-communist, he spoke out against communism in domestic speeches and articles and over Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. He sponsored numerous committees that were dedicated both to protesting the Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and to calling attention to the ruthless persecutions committed by the communist regimes. Thomas also led the purge of communists from the ACLU and SANE and supported the idea that they should be prohibited from teaching in public schools.

However, Thomas also denounced the methods of Senator Joseph McCarthy, as well as steps taken by the government to suppress domestic communists. He ceaselessly called for the repeal of the Smith and McCarran Acts as both unconstitutional and ineffective, and coordinated drives to obtain amnesty for those convicted under the acts. He aided the many people subjected to loyalty investigations who turned to him for help.

As the 1952 election approached, Thomas realized that the Socialist Party would merely be wasting money by running its own candidates. When the Party opposed him and ran a slate that made a miserable showing in the campaign, Thomas understood that what was needed more than a political party was a socialist educational organization along the lines of the British Fabian Society. In 1953 he helped establish the Union for Democratic Socialism to combat the prevalent idea that communism and socialism were synonymous and to teach Americans that capitalism was not necessarily synonymous with democracy and freedom.

Thomas was also concerned with the fight against dictatorship abroad. As chairman of the Institute of International Labor Research he worked for the advancement of democratic institutions in Latin American and other third world nations and supported efforts of colonial nations to become independent. Thomas attacked the American government for its conciliatory policy toward Franco and decried the U.S. military interference in Cuba and the Dominican Republic. In 1966 he led the Committee On Free Elections in the Dominican Republic in its attempt to ensure a fair and open election of a new president. Thomas was also an early and outspoken critic of the escalating American involvement in Vietnam.

Thomas was a commanding and effective speaker. Although paid a modest salary by the League for Industrial Democracy, he made his living through his speaking engagements and writings. He made numerous nationwide tours and was an extremely popular speaker with college and high school students and civic and church groups. He was also a favorite guest on radio debate broadcasts and, in later years, on television talk shows and news programs.

A prolific writer, Thomas published over twenty books and hundreds of pamphlets and magazine articles. He had written regularly for socialist newspapers throughout his career but gained an even wider audience when the semiweekly column that he wrote for the Denver Post was syndicated nationwide in 1952.

Crippled by arthritis and legally blind by 1965, Thomas continued to write his column and sustain a heavy schedule of speaking engagements. However, returning from a speech in Chicago, he suffered a stroke that made immediate retirement imperative. His office closed in December of 1967 but he dictated one last book, The Choices, before his death on December 19, 1968.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE COLLECTION AND COMPLETE REEL LIST

The Norman Thomas Papers are an indispensable resource for the study of the Socialist Party leader and perennial political candidate. Thomas' varied interests and wide range of activities are well represented, making this a rich source for the study of the 20th century American political and intellectual history. The papers document his participation in numerous organizations dedicated to political, social, and economic causes including socialism, civil liberties, racial equality, conscientious objection, universal disarmament, the labor movement, and the fight against communism. Thomas worked with nearly all the major figures in these areas, many of whom were his personal friends and long time associates in these movements.

Thomas' voluminous daily correspondence forms the heart of a collection which includes manuscripts, typescripts, and carbon copies of hundreds of his speeches and writings, his extensive subject files of printed material on a wide variety of topics, and papers generated and collected by Thomas during the course of his work for various organizations. The papers also contain records and memorabilia from several testimonial celebrations held in Thomas' honor, scattered financial papers, correspondence and memorabilia of members of his family, photographs, and a small amount of personal ephemera and printed publicity material.

The Norman Thomas Papers span the years 1904-1967 with an emphasis on the period 1933-1967. They are arranged in the following series:

Series I	General Correspondence, 1905-1967
Series II	Organizational Files, 1904-1967
Series III	Speeches, 1911-1967
Series IV	Writings, 1917-1967
Series V	Subject Files, 1905-1967
Series VI	Testimonials, 1936-1964
Series VII	Financial Papers, 1933-1967
Series VIII	Family Papers, 1915-1969
Series IX	Biographical and Publicity Material, 1903-1964
Series X	Photographs, ca. 1900-1966

For the types and arrangement of materials found in each series, the researcher should consult the individual series descriptions which begin on page 3. This microfilm edition of the Norman Thomas Papers does not include the scrapbooks, press clippings and tape recordings in the collection. These items may be consulted in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library.

Series I, General Correspondence (Reels 1-53), is in chronological order by year, month, and day. In this microfilm edition, the correspondence for each month is preceded by a target bearing the name of the month and year of the correspondence to follow. Where only a small amount of correspondence exists for a particular year, the target designates only the year.

For Series II-X (Reels 54-85) each frame of the microfilm carries a manual identification number consisting of series, subseries, and file numbers. For

example, II:A:1 would indicate that the frame falls within Series II (Organizational Files), Subseries A (Socialist Party of America), File 1 (Correspondence). The numbers are identical to those used on the complete reel lists which follow each of the series descriptions below.

An automatic frame counter was also used on every reel of the microfilm to facilitate scholarly citation.

## SERIES I. GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1905-1967

The General Correspondence accounts for over 60% of the collection. It contains Thomas' incoming and outgoing letters, arranged chronologically, and provides an almost daily record of his activities and concerns. Thomas wrote or dictated from two to twenty letters a day, five days a week. Except for abusive mail, he answered nearly every letter he received, including most form letters.

For each date, the incoming correspondence, arranged alphabetically by writer's last name, is filed first. Copies of Thomas' outgoing mail (or that of his secretaries and assistants) follow, arranged alphabetically by addressee. When a name is unknown or illegible, the letter is filed at the end of the appropriate section of the correspondence (incoming or outgoing) for that date.

Incoming correspondence written on organizational letterhead stationery is arranged alphabetically by the name of the person signing the letter. Outgoing letters are filed by the name of the recipient rather than that of the organization.

Correspondence that is dated only by month follows the dated material for that month. Letters dated only by year follow the undated material for December of that year and are arranged alphabetically, incoming preceding outgoing. Totally undated material has been separated into incoming and outgoing sections and placed at the end of the entire series.

An index to selected correspondence from Series I can be found on page 35.

Certain types of correspondence are found in abundance throughout the series. Most important are Thomas' letters relating to the large number of organizations to which he belonged, including the Socialist Party, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Workers Defense League, and the Post War World Council. For some organizations additional material of this type can be found in Series II as well.

Thomas' correspondence with the general public makes up a large part of the series. He received hundreds of letters, particularly following his radio broadcasts and public appearances, from people challenging or supporting his views, requesting information about the Socialist Party, or seeking his intervention in civil liberties cases and other legal, medical, or personal matters. These letters contain significant information on everyday life during the period and reflect public opinion on a variety of issues. Thomas' replies to these letters contain some of the most informative explanations of his views to be found in the collection. He often went out of his way to help his "constituents," and his correspondence with individual members of the public sometimes continued for years.

Thomas's views can also be ascertained from the multitude of letters he wrote to presidents, congressmen, other government officials, and the press. These often highly critical letters cover nearly every issue of national importance between 1933 and 1967.

Finally, the series contains a significant amount of correspondence related

to his career as a writer and public speaker. This includes many letters to and from literary and booking agents; book, magazine and newspaper publishers and editors; and individual organizations wishing to arrange speaking engagements.

Because of the extent of the correspondence in this series, description of the series has been divided into five chronological units, as follows.

#### 1905-1932

When Thomas donated his papers, he pointed out the paucity of material concerning his early years. There is a handful of letters from Thomas' friends and church associates for the years 1905-1914, but Thomas' outgoing letters do not appear with any frequency until 1915.

The correspondence is fullest for the years 1916-1918. Ample evidence of Thomas' views on war and religion can be found in his letters to friends and family and in the correspondence concerning his work for the American Union Against Militarism, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the New York No-Conscription League. Other correspondence deals with his Teachers College course on immigration, his efforts on behalf of his parishioners, and routine church matters, including communications with William P. Shriver of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions. Thomas exchanged many important letters with his brother Evan discussing the latter's imprisonment as a conscientious objector and the brutalities inflicted upon him and his fellow prisoners.

Although some letters regarding the Fellowship of Reconciliation and conscientious objection date from between 1919 and 1932, the amount of material from that period is quite small. Thomas explained that his correspondence for those years was left with the organizations for which he worked. The few letters available for the period 1928-1932 relate mostly to Socialist Party business; they include letters and telegrams exchanged with the Party office while Thomas was on the campaign trail, as well as two letters to Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt that were written by Thomas as chairman of the Party's Public Affairs Committee.

#### 1933-1937

By September of 1933, the correspondence assumes its character as a daily record of Thomas' activities. Most prevalent during this period are letters dealing with Thomas' Socialist Party and LID affairs. This includes activities of the New York State Socialist Party, the New York City locals and committees, as well as the national organization. These were years of intense internal conflict for the Party, particularly between the "Militant" and "Old Guard" factions, and Thomas was heavily involved in the controversy. He kept in constant touch with Party Secretary Clarence Senior and corresponded frequently with Party chiefs, leaders of various factions, and his informants throughout the nation. The letters document such controversies as the debate over participation in united front activities with the Communist Party; the 1934 Declaration of Principles; the rivalry between the New Leader and the Socialist Call; Upton Sinclair's Epic Program; possible alliances with Farmer-Labor parties; the actions of the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Revolutionary Policy Committee; the revocation of the characters of the Indiana and New York State Socialist Parties; the creation of a Debs Brigade to fight in the Spanish Civil War; and the invitation of Trotskyites into the Party and

their subsequent expulsion. Included are exchanges of correspondence with William Feigenbaum, B. Charney Vladeck, Julius Gerber, Jack Altman, Frank Trager, Devere Allen, Alfred Baker Lewis, Glen Trimble, Paul Porter, and Herbert Merrill, as well as confidential memos to many Thomas allies.

In addition to internal communications there is a good deal of correspondence with members of other left-wing organizations, including the Communist Party, Communist Party Opposition, American League Against War and Fascism, Workers Alliance, Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, and the American Students Union.

Among Thomas' major concerns were corruption, racketeering, and the lack of democratic procedure in the labor unions. This brought him into conflict with members of the Old Guard who were often officials in these unions. Dissatisfaction with union leadership led members to join Communist-led rival unions. When the established union attempted to crush the new opposition, Thomas was called in to mediate the dispute. At other times workers wrote to him for help when existing unions were threatened by company-controlled unions or disrupted by communist factions. The correspondence covers controversies in the fur industry, the Waiters and Waitresses Union, the Joint Council of Retail Clerks, the Brotherhood of Painters, the Cloth, Hat, Cap, and Millinery Workers Union, the Boot and Shoe Workers Union and others.

Thomas championed the causes of striking workers, often giving their disputes national publicity. This encouraged other strike leaders to write to him for assistance. Thomas corresponded with Party organizers on the scene, and with government officials if the situation erupted into violence. Some of the strikes discussed in the series involve the American Federation of Silk Workers, cotton workers in North Carolina, motion picture operators, Ohio onion weeders, the National Biscuit Company, southern sharecroppers, and the Technical, Editorial, and Office Assistants Union.

During the mid-1930s Thomas publicized many cases of injustice or suspension of civil liberties. In two cases he helped organize defense committees. He chaired the Terzani Defense Committee, which was formed when Athos Terzani was put on trail for the murder of a student at a fascist Khaki Shirt meeting in New York City. Terzani was accused of the killing by the group's leader, one of whose men really committed the murder. The Committee persuaded Arthur Garfield Hays to act as legal counsel, publicized the trial, and pointed out the inadequacy of the prosecution by the Queens County District Attorney and his responsibility for letting the real murderer escape.

Similarly, Thomas chaired the Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, which was formed in 1935 after a private meeting of Modern Democrats, an alliance of liberals, socialists, and union members, was broken up by local police and some of its members were abducted, tortured, and, in one instance, murdered. Thomas and Socialist Party organizer Frank McCallister pressured state and local officials, demanding the arrest and trial of the murderers and an investigation into police cooperation with the Ku Klux Klan. In response to such invasions of civil liberties, Thomas, McCallister, and others founded a permanent Workers Defense League in 1936 that would be prepared for immediate action in such cases. Correspondence with McCallister, Morris Milgram, and other WDL members appears throughout Series I.



## 1938-1947

Beginning in 1938, the volume of Thomas' correspondence concerning Socialist Party activities drops considerably. Letters to Party Secretary Roy Burt deal mostly with routine matters such as speaking engagements and fund raising. There are some letters to Socialist Party members discussing possible Socialist support for the American Labor Party, ways to reverse the Party's decline, a merger with the Social Democratic Federation, and the move of the national headquarters to New York City. Ben Fischer and Arthur G. McDowell kept Thomas posted on the labor situation, particularly on factionalism and possible Communist influence in the automobile industry and the United Automobile Workers.

Much of the correspondence for this period documents Thomas' efforts to keep the United States out of a possible war in Europe. This includes his efforts on behalf of the Keep America Out of War Committee, attempts to rally support from politicians and labor leaders, protests against Lend-Lease, peacetime conscription, and violations of the neutrality laws. Thomas also worked to coordinate efforts of all groups opposing American intervention. Among Thomas' correspondents on these issues were Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Dorothy Detzer of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Frederick J. Libby of the National Council for the Prevention of War, John T. Flynn of the America First Committee, John Nevin Sayre of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Fay Bennett of the Youth Committee Against War, and George Hartmann of Peace Now.

Refugees from both communist and fascist regimes were another of Thomas' concerns during these years. He corresponded with President Franklin D. Roosevelt on the need for the United States to accept more refugees, with the New World Resettlement Fund on agricultural colonies in Ecuador, and with Cordell Hull and others on the fate of defeated Loyalists in Spain. He protested both the Communist Party's murder of Jewish Labor Bund leaders in Poland and its attempts to have Trotskyites expelled from Mexico.

During the war, Thomas defended the rights of Japanese-Americans and conscientious objectors. He considered the internment of Japanese-Americans to be one of the most egregious violations of civil liberties ever committed by the American government. Thomas received first-hand reports on conditions in the detention camps from Sam Hohri and other internees. He also corresponded with Hugh Macbeth and Ann Ray of the Northern California Civil Liberties Union, Caleb Foote of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, members of the California State Race Relations Commission and the Japanese-American Citizens League. Conscientious objectors Howard Penley, Arthur Billings, and Herman Benson kept him posted on their hearings, trials, and appeals, while others wrote to him from Civilian Public Service Camps. He also corresponded with many organizations aiding conscientious objectors, including the American Friends Service Committee and the Legal Service to Conscientious Objectors.

Correspondence of this period also includes discussions of the murder of Carlo Tresca with his widow Margaret de Silver and other Italian anti-fascists in New York, with Frank Zeidler and Anthony Kinch on defrauding of the Navy Department by the Falk Corporation of Milwaukee, and with Elmer Davis and other Office of War Information officials on Communist fellow-travellers in their ranks.

Beginning in 1942, much of Thomas' correspondence is written on behalf of the Post War World Council. He discussed peace plans, the treatment of defeated Axis nations, the expulsion of Germans from Czechoslovakia, the fate of Yugoslav dissidents, and the political situation around the world with Ely Culbertson, Christopher Emmet, and his many friends stationed overseas.

#### 1948-1957

The issue of communism dominates the correspondence for this period. Thomas was concerned with the two-fold need to check the spread of communism at home and abroad while defending civil liberties. To this end he joined the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. His correspondence includes exchanges with fellow members James T. Farrell, Richard Rovere, Sidney Hook, and Sol Stein. There is also correspondence with other anti-communist organizations such as the American Friends of Russian Freedom, the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism, American Aid to Victims of Communism, and the Council Against Communist Aggression, headed by former Socialist Party Secretary Arthur G. McDowell.

There is also considerable correspondence from Socialists and former Socialists who came under attack during the period of anti-communist hysteria. When necessary, Thomas sent out affidavits attesting to their loyalty and the innocent nature of the organizations to which they had belonged. Correspondents include Milwaukee mayor Frank Zeidler, Travers Clement, Tucker Smith, Walter Bergman, and many socialists purged from government service.

Thomas was also heavily involved in opposition to Congressional initiatives seeking to prohibit the Communist Party, deport foreign-born left-wing activists, and prevent the immigration of individuals not believing in the free enterprise system.

Although the correspondence for this period is dominated by the issue of communism, it addresses a multitude of other topics. Thomas testified before Congressional Committees on the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact and sent his views on foreign policy to President Harry S. Truman, Allen and John Foster Dulles, and many congressmen, including Chester Bowles, William Benton, Hubert Humphrey, and Arthur Vandenberg. There is correspondence with Sol Sanders, who briefed Thomas on events in the Far East, and with Joseph Buttinger of the American Friends of Vietnam. Thomas joined this organization in 1955, believing that Vietnamese anti-communists could benefit from U.S. support. But by 1957 the mounting number of civil rights violations committed by the regime led him to withdraw his support.

Thomas' most important prescription for world peace had become universal disarmament under United Nations supervision. He discussed the issue with hundreds of people, including William Bross Lloyd, Ely Culbertson and other individuals advancing plans for world government.

Thomas came under considerable attack for his condemnation of "theocracy." His criticism of the newly created state of Israel and his willingness to ally with ultra-conservative anti-Zionist American Jewish groups incensed Jewish Socialists who had long supported Thomas. The correspondence contains much discussion of this issue with Socialists, religious leaders, and particularly with Thomas' anti-Zionist ally, William Zuckerman, editor of the Jewish Newsletter. Similarly, many Catholics were angered by Thomas' opposition to

the recognition of Franco's government, his attacks on parochial schools, and his support for his old friend Paul Blanshard, whose books had "exposed" the wealth and secular power of the Catholic Church.

Thomas' attention to right-wing dictatorships increased after the disappearance of his Basque friend and fellow enemy of Franco, Jesus de Galindez. Galindez was about to publish his book attacking the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic when he was apparently murdered by Trujillo's agents. Thomas corresponded with Frances Grant of the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom and others about the case, and about further attacks on anti-Trujillistas, which suggested possible complicity of the U.S. government in the attacks.

During this period, Thomas was also concerned with his alma mater, Princeton University. Although he loved the school, he challenged it as a bastion of elitism, anti-Semitism, and racism. There is a good deal of correspondence, particularly with President Harold Dodds, Thomas' long-time friend Julian Boyd, Coleman Brown, and the staff of the school's campus and alumni newspapers about the need to change the system of eating club memberships and to open enrollment to black students.

Correspondence regarding the Socialist Party is much slimmer during this period, although there is still correspondence with Party secretaries and close friends. Much of the exchanges with Party members Bill Gausmann, Hugh Sheehan, Martin Diamond, and Erich Fromm deal with the future of the Party, the development of its foreign policy and negotiations for a merger with the Social Democratic Federation.

#### 1958-1967

The final decade of the correspondence covers a period in which Thomas' activities were gradually restricted. He resigned from the governing boards of the Socialist Party, the ACLU, and other organizations. Although he continued to make his opinions known on all issues of importance, much of the correspondence from this period deals with his participation in activities initiated by others. Incoming mail exceeds outgoing as Thomas was deluged with requests of all kinds. As the "grand old man of dissent," he was asked to sponsor all manner of protests, to review books, to give interviews, to donate money, and to sign petitions. Although his active involvement in various organizations decreased, the correspondence he received from them to keep him informed of current activities did not. Much of his personal correspondence with such friends as Max Nomad is given to reminiscing about the past.

The most important issue discussed in these years was the situation in Vietnam. In 1963 Thomas' correspondence on the need to stop American support of its "corrupt" government was frequent and by 1966 had become his primary concern. He wrote to the White House, Congress, and the press and helped plan or encourage numerous protest initiatives.

Thomas also supported numerous protests to stop nuclear testing. He corresponded with peace groups planning to sail vessels into nuclear testing zones, with Homer Jack on the 3rd World Conference Against A and H Bombs, and with Lawrence Scott of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons. He became a plaintiff in the lawsuits brought against the United States and the Soviet Union to stop their nuclear tests (the "Fallout Suits"). Among Thomas'

close associates who were involved in the growing peace movement were A.J. Muste, Clarence Pickett, Stewart Meacham, Linus Pauling, Norman Cousins, Edward Gottlieb, and Al Hassler.

Thomas was also concerned about such foreign relations issues as American intervention in Cuba and the Dominican Republic. He also corresponded with Moshe Decter and Harry Fleischman about the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union, with Don Peretz about the political situation in the Middle East, and with George Hauser on various African nations.

Thomas maintained an active interest in Socialist Party affairs. He advised Irwin Suall and David McReynolds on the drafting of the Party's policy statements and on resolving internal disputes, such as that over the admission of members of the Independent Socialist League into the Party.

On the domestic front, Thomas continued his longstanding interest in labor unions. He corresponded with Herman Benson of Union Democracy In Action about the murder of union members daring to oppose union leadership, warned union officials about the growing unpopularity of unions with the general public, and the dangers of their alliance with political conservatives. Thomas supported striking hospital workers in New York City and endorsed the right of employees of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union to have the Federation of Union Representatives bargain with union management on their behalf.

Thomas also corresponded about the growing civil rights movement with A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, and Roy Wilkins, as well as with lesser-known individuals conducting local efforts to end segregation in public facilities across the South. He wrote many letters lobbying for civil rights legislation and deploring the Democratic Party's tolerance of racists like Senator James Eastland in key congressional positions of power.

The final section of the general correspondence also contains material concerning accusations that the Central Intelligence Agency was funding certain Socialist activities. In December of 1961 Thomas and Irwin Suall challenged CIA director John McCone's allegations that the CIA had funded international Socialist conferences. In September of 1964 and again in 1967, Thomas was forced to answer charges that CIA money was accepted to finance the efforts of his Institute of International Labor Research. Thomas' letters to newspapers and responses to inquiring individuals disavowed all knowledge of CIA support.

#### Reel List

	SERIES I. GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1905-1967
Reel 1	Oct. 1905 - Oct. 1933
Reel 2	Nov. 1933 - Apr. 12, 1934
Reel 3	Apr. 13, 1934 - Sept. 1934
Reel 4	Oct. 1934 - Apr. 1935
Reel 5	May 1935 - Dec. 1935
Reel 6	Jan. 1936 - Oct. 1936
Reel 7	Nov. 1936 - Aug. 1938
Reel 8	Sept. 1938 - May 1939
Reel 9	June 1939 - July 1940

Reel 10	Aug. 1940 - Feb. 1941
Reel 11	Mar. 1941 - Oct. 1941
Reel 12	Nov. 1941 - May 1942
Reel 13	June 1942 - Feb. 1943
Reel 14	Mar. 1943 - Apr. 1944
Reel 15	May 1944 - Dec. 1945
Reel 16	Jan. 1946 - June 1947
Reel 17	July 1947 - Oct. 1948
Reel 18	Nov. 1948 - June 1949
Reel 19	July 1949 - Feb. 1950
Reel 20	Mar. 1950 - Oct. 1950
Reel 21	Nov. 1950 - May 1951
Reel 22	June 1951 - Dec. 1951
Reel 23	Jan. 1952 - July 1952
Reel 24	Aug. 1952 - Feb. 1953
Reel 25	Mar. 1953 - Sept. 1953
Reel 26	Oct. 1953 - Apr. 1954
Reel 27	May 1954 - Nov. 1954
Reel 28	Dec. 1954 - Apr. 1955
Reel 29	May 1955 - Nov. 1955
Reel 30	Dec. 1955 - May 1956
Reel 31	June 1956 - Dec. 1956
Reel 32	Jan. 1957 - July 1957
Reel 33	Aug. 1957 - Feb. 1958
Reel 34	Mar. 1958 - July 1958
Reel 35	Aug. 1958 - Dec. 1958
Reel 36	Jan. 1959 - June 1959
Reel 37	July 1959 - Dec. 1959
Reel 38	Jan. 1960 - June 1960
Reel 39	July 1960 - Dec. 1960
Reel 40	Jan. 1961 - June 15, 1961
Reel 41	June 16, 1961 - Dec. 15, 1961
Reel 42	Dec. 16, 1961 - May 1962
Reel 43	June 1962 - Dec. 1962
Reel 44	Jan. 1963 - June 1963
Reel 45	July 1963 - Dec. 1963
Reel 46	Jan. 1964 - June 1964
Reel 47	July 1964 - Dec. 1964
Reel 48	Jan. 1965 - May 1965
Reel 49	June 1965 - Nov. 1965
Reel 50	Dec. 1965 - Apr. 1966
Reel 51	May 1966 - Nov. 1966
Reel 52	Dec. 1966 - Apr. 1967
Reel 53	July 1967 - Dec. 1967

## SERIES II. ORGANIZATIONAL FILES, 1904-1967

Series II consists of documents created or received by Thomas in the course of his work for several of the organizations in which he was involved throughout his life. They are arranged in ten subseries as follows:

- A. Socialist Party of America, 1904-1967
- B. American Civil Liberties Union, 1933-1967
- C. Southern Tenant Farmers Union, 1933-1966
- D. Post War World Council, 1942-1966
- E. Union for Democratic Socialism, 1953-1957
- F. National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 1957-1967
- G. Turn Toward Peace, 1961-1967
- H. Institute of International Labor Research, 1957-1967
- I. Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic, 1966
- J. Other Organizations, 1910-1967

Each subseries is divided into files and will be described separately below.

It should be noted that the existence of a correspondence file for a particular organization does not indicate that all of the correspondence pertaining to that organization is found there. Except in the case of Subseries A, Socialist Party of America (discussed below), all official letterhead correspondence can be found with the papers of that organization. But due to the unusual degree of overlap between the personnel and activities of various organizations and the difficulty of identifying Thomas' outgoing letters by organization, much important organizational correspondence can be found in Series I. Thus, Series I and II complement each other and should be used together.

### Subseries A. Socialist Party of America, 1904-1967

Norman Thomas' Socialist Party files contain memoranda, reports, meeting minutes, correspondence, and various types of published and unpublished printed material relating to his activities in the Party, predominantly for the years 1933 through 1938.

The correspondence in File II:A:1 is limited to letters and memoranda that Thomas received and sent as a member of the National Executive Committee (NEC), the Party's governing board, and other Party committees. This file represents about 15% of Thomas' letters dealing with Socialist Party affairs. The bulk of his Party correspondence, the more personal communications, can be found in Series I. In contrast, this file is dominated by communications from the Party Secretary relating details of important business, requesting votes on motions before the NEC, and circulating the committee members' views and votes on these matters. The secretary also often circulated copies of his incoming and outgoing correspondence as well. In addition, there are numerous letters from the New York State and New York City branches of the Party and their committees as well as from locals around the nation. The topics addressed in the correspondence include both the major issues of contention during the period, including relations with the Communist Party, the adoption of the Declaration of Principles, internal Party discipline and factionalism, support for U.S. participation in World War II, as well as routine matters such as the drafting of an electoral platform,

attempts to get on the ballot, and fundraising.

The correspondence is complemented by Files II:A:2 through II:A:8 which contain supporting background material on many of the same activities and controversies addressed in the correspondence. Included are minutes and reports of party committees, public statements, electoral platform proposals, manifestos of various factions, statements and resolutions of Party branches and committees, financial statements, membership reports, and Socialist Party publications and campaign ephemera.

#### Subseries B. American Civil Liberties Union, 1933-1967

Norman Thomas was a life-long member of the ACLU from its inception as the Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union Against Militarism and served on its Board of Directors until 1958. He was active on committees investigating problems such as academic freedom, conscientious objection, censorship, radio and television broadcasting, and the civil rights of racial and political minorities, military personnel, and labor union members.

The subseries includes correspondence (File II:B:1), about both Union policy and individual cases, with ACLU staff, legal counsel, and such prominent members as Roger Baldwin, John Haynes Holmes, Arthur Garfield Hays, Harry F. Ward, Corliss and Margaret Lamont, and Morris Ernst. The file also includes the many letters that Thomas received from rank and file members and the general public expressing opinions on ACLU actions or suggesting cases requiring ACLU intervention.

Files II:B:2 and II:B:3 include minutes, reports, and resolutions of ACLU committees, membership lists, weekly bulletins, and short publications issued by the Union.

Files II:B:4 through II:B:8 contain correspondence, fund-raising letters, petitions, advertisements, memoranda, mailing lists, press clippings and other materials pertaining to civil liberties cases that were not handled by the ACLU but which Thomas felt deserved active support. The correspondence within each file is chronological and contains communications between Thomas and other members of the "defense committees," as well as with his friends and other prominent liberals whose support and financial help he solicited for these cases. Drafts and final copies of publicity material, petitions, and other supporting material follow the correspondence. The Ciepley-Rappaport Case, File II:B:4, concerns the lawsuit brought by two tool and die makers protesting their expulsion from the International Association of Machinists. Thomas chaired the Ciepley-Rappaport Legal Fund to raise money for the prosecution of the case. Files II:B:5 through II:B:7 document Thomas' attempts to help members of the Communist Party of America arrested under the Smith Act of 1940. File II:B:8 concerns the drafting of a petition to be signed by non-communists protesting the McCarran Act (Subversive Activities Control Act) and the gathering of signatures for that petition.

#### Subseries C. Southern Tenant Farmers Union, 1933-1966

Thomas played a major role in the formation and development of the STFU. He advised its leadership, lobbied the government on its behalf, helped raise money, and gave national publicity to the plight of the sharecroppers. The subseries, which is strongest for the 1930s, is made up primarily of correspondence (File II:C:1) between Thomas and the STFU founder and secretary, H.L. Mitchell.

The file also contains Thomas' correspondence with other Union leaders and advisers and with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and members of his administration. There is also a limited number of STFU reports, press clippings, bulletins, press releases, financial statements, funding requests, and short publications.

Subseries D. Post War World Council, 1942-1966

The Post War World Council was created in 1942 by Thomas and his associates as a successor to the Keep America Out of War Committee. Its initial goal was to bring about a democratic, non-imperialist peace settlement. The organization was so closely connected with Thomas and his views that it virtually became his political action office.

All of Thomas' PWWC correspondence is in Series I (with the exception of that dealing with the conferences mentioned below). However, Subseries D does contain scattered minutes, form letters, press releases, and newsletters generated by the organization, and materials relating to the planning of the annual National Conference on World Disarmament and World Development, of which the PWWC was one of the many sponsors.

Files II:D:4 through II:D:8 contain correspondence and printed material documenting the several conferences on disarmament arranged by the PWWC. The two Arden House conferences were held to draw up a program for disarmament and to develop procedures for alerting the world to the need for universal disarmament. The PWWC received a grant from the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, and Thomas secured the sponsorship of Senators John Sparkman of Alabama, Ralph Flanders of Vermont, and, for the second conference, Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. A wide variety of prominent individuals from non-profit corporations, peace groups, and the fields of politics, religion, economics, education, and science were invited to attend. The conferences were held at Columbia University's Arden House, and final reports of the proceedings and the conferees' recommendations were published.

Files II:D:4 and II:D:5 contain PWWC correspondence with the above-mentioned senators, those invited to participate, Columbia University, the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Following the correspondence in each file is a variety of materials including a copy of the final conference report, lists of participants, budgets, drafts of discussion outlines and other papers sent to participants, room lists, copies of essays on disarmament, and other materials sent to Thomas by participants.

Among the participants at one or both of the conferences were Erich Fromm, Clark Eichelberger, Eleanor Roosevelt, Representative Charles Porter, Jerome Spingarn, David Cavers, E. Raymond Wilson, Roy McCorkel, Benjamin V. Cohen, John Kenneth Galbraith, Representative Brooks Hays, Robert Reno, and James Warburg.

File II:D:6 consists of correspondence about a proposed international conference, never held, based on the Arden House model. Correspondents with Thomas include Michael Kahn of the Christopher Reynolds Foundation, Prynne Hopkins, Homer Jack, Arlo Tatum, the Fabian Society, The American Friends Service Committee, and the Society of Friends Peace Committee.

File II:D:7 contains the records for the cancelled Conference on Thermonuclear



War, an attempt to call congressional-style hearings on the nature and consequences of such a war. An impressive list of panelists and witnesses was drawn up, including Paul Tillich, C. Wright Mills, Lewis Mumford, Herman Kahn, George Kennan, Henry Kissinger, Harold Urey, Linus Pauling, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Bentley Glass, Douglas MacArthur, and Bertrand Russell. The file includes lists of panelists and witnesses, a list of questions to be addressed, correspondence with prospective participants, and printed background materials on atomic energy, fallout, and related topics.

File II:D:8 concerns the Gould House conference, called by the PWWC in response to the often expressed opinion that the unpopularity of disarmament was based on people's fear that it would lead to economic disaster. Correspondence, mostly with those invited to participate, is alphabetical. Following the correspondence are form letters and all information and printed materials sent to participants, a draft of the conference report, the final report in booklet form, a summary of the transcript of the proceedings, and the transcript itself. Lastly, there are the planning records, including name lists, financial records, invoices, and drafts of reading lists.

#### Subseries E. Union for Democratic Socialism, 1953-1957

The Union for Democratic Socialism (UDS) was designed to educate the public about the principles of democratic socialism and to act as a forum for avowed socialists to reexamine their goals and develop more effective programs of action. Thomas chaired the organization, which included such Socialists and intellectuals as Sidney Hook, A. Philip Randolph, Seymour Martin Lipset, Daniel Bell, Will Herberg, Upton Sinclair, and Erich Fromm.

The subseries consists of files kept by UDS secretary Charlie Taibi, and his successors Earl Mittleman and Meyer Miller, containing correspondence with the membership and the executive committee, press releases, announcements, newsletters, questionnaires, and financial records. Included also are some copies of Thomas' correspondence with the UDS secretaries.

#### Subseries F. National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, 1957-1967

Thomas was one of the founders of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE) in 1957, and served as a member of its National Board and many of its committees until 1967. The organization was committed to combating the threat of nuclear war, promoting peace, publicizing the danger of nuclear testing, and eventually, opposing the war in Vietnam. The subseries contains Thomas' correspondence written on behalf of the organization and exchanged with leading SANE personnel, including Homer Jack, Donald Keys, Trevor Thomas, Norman Cousins, Clarence Pickett, David Riesman, Sanford Gottlieb, and Benjamin Spock, concerning the establishment of the organization, its activities, the determination of its policies and its internal feuds. This includes many carbon copies of letters exchanged between these members. The subseries also contains an abundance of printed material, including copies of mass mailings to the SANE membership and special committees, committee meeting minutes, internal memoranda, an incomplete run of the SANE Action Newsletter and other publications.

#### Subseries G. Turn Toward Peace, 1961-1967

Turn Toward Peace (TTP) was established in 1961 to coordinate the activities of the nation's many individual groups working for peace. Among its participating organizations were SANE, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters

League, the American Veterans Committee, and Americans for Democratic Action. The correspondence includes letters from Robert Pickus, Robert Gilmore, Sanford Gottlieb, Lawrence Scott, and E. Raymond Wilson dealing with the organization of regional TTP groups, funding, the development of promotional materials, the creation of mailing lists, the planning of peace walks, demonstrations, and discussions of such issues as the Berlin crisis, disarmament, strengthening the U.N., the development of a policy toward China, and the Vietnam War. In addition to the personal correspondence there are many memoranda to members of the national committee and copies of correspondence between members. Drafts of fliers, minutes, advertising layouts (much of which was originally enclosed with letters) can now be found with undated correspondence for the pertinent year. Much of the correspondence was addressed to Stephen Siteman, Thomas' secretary.

The printed material includes committee meeting minutes, bulletins, un-addressed memoranda, reports, drafts of statements, mailing pieces, information kits, and printed material prepared for TTP sponsored conferences.

#### Subseries H. Institute of International Labor Research, 1957-1967

The Institute of International Labor Research (IILR) was founded by Thomas and his colleagues in 1957 to oppose dictatorship and to promote democratic institutions in third world nations. Eventually its activities were focused on Latin America and the Caribbean. The papers document four of the Institute's initiatives in particular: support for the left-wing Costa Rican newspaper Combate; the establishment of the Interamerican Institute for Political Education (CIDAP), also in Costa Rica; the development of the Interamerican Institute for Economic and Social Studies, which supported the government of Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic; and the operation of the Center for Social Documentation and Research in Mexico City, which acted as the IILR's publishing house.

File II:H:1 contains correspondence sent to Thomas (the chairman) by the IILR staff, much of it from the organization's secretary and manager of operations, Sacha Volman. Enclosed with much of the correspondence are minutes of board meetings, reports, press clippings, and lists of courses, faculty and students at CIDAP. Enclosures that have become separated from cover letters are filed at the end of the correspondence for each year. The file also includes correspondence between the IILR and such financial backers and advisors as the J.M. Kaplan Fund, the Free Europe Committee, and Theodore O. Prounis Associates. Also, there are copies of Thomas' letters to Volman and others on Institute policy and Latin American affairs, and those that he wrote soliciting support for the IILR from important figures such as Richard Nixon, William O. Douglas, and J. William Fulbright. Of particular interest, in the light of charges that the J.M. Kaplan Fund acted as a conduit for CIA money, is Thomas' 1963 correspondence with Kaplan, as well as copies of Kaplan's letters to Juan Bosch, the U.S. Department of State, and Special Assistant to the President Ralph Dungan.

The subseries also includes numerous reports, clippings from the Spanish and English language press on Institute and Latin American affairs, and a collection of essays published by the Institute.

#### Subseries I. Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic, 1966

The ad-hoc Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic was formed

to ensure that the June 1966 election in the Dominican Republic would not be held in the atmosphere of terror and repression that had prevailed for most of the year. The Committee organized a nonpartisan investigating commission, which visited the D.R. and spoke with citizens, government officials, and military and political leaders. The commission then reported to the Committee, which published a report on the situation and the observers' recommendations. A second set of representatives was sent to observe the elections. Members of both commissions included Victor Reuther, Bayard Rustin, and Allard Lowenstein.

The correspondence (File II:I:1) consists mostly of letters to prominent individuals in the worlds of business, religion, and politics asking them to serve on the commissions, and their responses, mailings of the commission reports, and letters exchanged between office staff members. Thomas' letters soliciting sponsorship for the Committee are in Series I.

Other records of the Committee in the subseries include form letters, reports, and press releases, informational materials prepared for the observers, and a collection of clippings and reprints from English and Spanish language sources about the election, the Committee, and Latin American politics in general.

Subseries J. Other Organizations, 1910-1967

This subseries contains separate files for some of the other organizations to which Thomas belonged. They consist of various types of printed material and vary in size from one to fifty items. Included are meeting minutes, memoranda, resolutions, press releases, reports, and leaflets. With the exception of the file for the American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees, which contains all material sent by this organization, the files contain no correspondence other than form letters. All regular correspondence between Thomas and these organizations can be found in Series I. The names of each organization can be found in the reel list on page

SERIES II. ORGANIZATIONAL FILES, 1904-1967

Subseries A. Socialist Party of America, 1904-1967

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| Reel 54 | 1. Correspondence, 1929-1967<br>2. Printed material, 1917-1935  |
| Reel 55 | 2. Printed material, 1936-1967<br>3. National Executive Committee minutes, 1934-1956<br>4. National Action Committee minutes, 1936-1956<br>5. Young Peoples Socialist League, 1934-1966 |
| Reel 56 | 6. Minutes and reports, Berkeley, California, 1961-1964<br>7. Press releases, 1932-1962<br>8. Campaign ephemera and publications, 1904-1960   |

Subseries B. American Civil Liberties Union, 1933-1967

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| Reel 57 | 1. Correspondence, 1954-1967<br>2. Printed material, 1934-1967 |
| Reel 58 | 3. Pamphlets and leaflets, 1938-1954                           |

Reel 58 (cont.)

4. Ciepley-Rappaport case, 1959-1962
5. Charney-Trachtenberg case, 1955-1956
6. Green-Winston case, 1958-1961
7. Junius Scales case, 1961-1962
8. McCarran Act petition, 1962-1963

Reel 59      Subseries C. Southern Tenant Farmers Union, 1933-1966  
1. Correspondence, 1933-1966  
2. Printed material, 1934-1964

Subseries D. Post War World Council, 1942-1966  
1. Press releases and form letters, 1942-1966  
2. United Nations, 1956-1964  
3. Conference on World Disarmament and Development, 1952-1954

Reel 60      3. Conference on World Disarmament and Development, 1955-1961  
4. Arden House Conference (Dec. 14-17, 1956), 1956-1957  
5. Arden House Conference (Mar. 20-23, 1958), 1957-1958  
6. International Conference on Disarmament, 1957-1958  
7. Conference on Thermonuclear War, 1954-1960  
8. Gould House Conference on the Economics of Disarmament  
(Jan. 28-30, 1961), A-M

Reel 61      8. Gould House Conference on the Economics of Disarmament  
(Jan. 28-30, 1961), N-Z

Subseries E. Union for Democratic Socialism, 1953-1957  
1. Correspondence, 1953-1957  
2. Executive Committee minutes and form letters, 1953-1957  
3. Printed material, 1953-1955  
4. Personnel questionnaires, ca. 1953  
5. Mailing lists, 1952-1956  
6. Fund raising waivers, 1954  
7. Tax records, 1954-1955  
8. Bank statements and cancelled checks, 1953-1955  
9. Invoices and receipts, 1953-1955

Subseries F. National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy,  
1957-1967

1. Correspondence, 1957-1961  
Reel 62      1. Correspondence, 1962-1967  
2. Minutes, 1957-1967  
3. Printed material, 1957-1961

Reel 63      3. Printed material, 1962-1967  
4. SANE Action, 1960-1967  
5. By-laws and local committee charters, 1959-1961  
6. Leaflets, press clippings, and reprints, 1959-1967

Reel 64      Subseries G. Turn Toward Peace, 1961-1967  
1. Correspondence, 1961-1967  
2. Printed material, 1961-1963

- Reel 65
2. Printed material, 1964-1967
  3. Voluntary Organizations and a World Without War Conference, 1963-1966

Subseries H. Institute of International Labor Research, 1957-1967

1. Correspondence, 1957-1961

- Reel 66
1. Correspondence, 1962-1966
  2. Reports and press clippings, 1958-1967

Subseries I. Committee on Free Elections in the Dominican Republic, 1966

- Reel 67
1. Correspondence, Mar.-Sept. 1966
  2. Form letters and press releases, Apr.-June 1966
  3. Reports, Apr.-Oct. 1966
  4. Observer information packet, Apr.-May 1966
  5. Memoranda, notes, and mailing lists, Apr.-May 1966
  6. Observer agreements, vouchers, and liability statements, May-June 1966
  7. Press clippings and reprints, Oct.-Dec. 1965; May-July 1966

Subseries J. Other Organizations, 1910-1967

1. American Committee for Cultural Freedom, 1939-1967
  2. American Emergency Committee for Tibetan Refugees, 1959-1967
  3. American Fund for Public Service, 1934-1938
  4. American Union Against Militarism, 1917-1919
  5. Citizens' Committee on Improvement of the Divorce Laws, 1949-1951
  6. Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Tampa, 1935-1937
  7. Cooperative Distributors, 1936
  8. Eugene V. Debs Foundation, 1962-1967
  9. Emergency Committee for Strikers Relief, 1936
  10. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1917-1943
  11. International League for the Rights of Man, 1946-1950
- Reel 68
12. Keep America Out of War Committee, 1938-1941
  13. League for Industrial Democracy, 1918?-1967
  14. New York City Affairs Committee, 1951-1954  
City Affairs Committee of New York, 1934
  15. Princeton University, 1910-1950
  16. Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund for Racial Equality, 1964-1967
  17. Terzani Defense Committee, 1933-1934
  18. Town Hall, 1939-1956
  19. Tresca Memorial Committee, 1943-1945
  20. Workers Defense League, 1937-1967

SERIES III. SPEECHES, 1911-1967

Norman Thomas was one of the foremost speakers of his day, a fact well documented in Series III, which includes drafts and final copies of his speeches, statements, and interviews, publicity materials, and many of Thomas' speaking schedules.

Subseries A contains a chronologically arranged file of speeches, radio addresses, press statements, debates, congressional testimony, interviews, and notes used as speech material by Thomas. Some of the speeches are holographs; some are typed originals or carbon copies with manuscript additions; others are in the form of press releases issued by the Socialist Party and its campaign committees; and a few of the speeches and public statements are contained in printed booklets or leaflets.

Although a few early speeches can be found here (including a 1911 sermon), the bulk of the material in Subseries A falls between 1932 and 1967. The material is heaviest for the 1930s and 1940s and includes many items dated only by decade. The topics include socialism, world peace and foreign affairs, communism, civil liberties, and topical political issues. Of particular note are the stenographic report of the 1935 Madison Square Garden debate between Thomas and Earl Browder, and the transcript of a 1960 phonograph record entitled, "Norman Thomas Reminiscences."

Subseries B consists of a very small file of publicity fliers announcing particular speaking engagements. The file also contains promotional booklets and leaflets published by lecture agencies advertising Thomas as a speaker.

Subseries C contains schedules and itineraries of Thomas' speaking tours, most of which were drawn up by the Socialist Party, by his personal secretaries, or by lecture agents. Included with the schedules for 1934 are pages from a notebook Thomas kept on his 1934 national tour.

	SERIES III. SPEECHES, 1911-1967
	<u>Subseries A. Speeches, Debates, and Interviews, 1911-1967</u>
Reel 69	<u>1911-1939</u>
Reel 70	1930s, n.d.-1947
Reel 71	1948-1967
	<u>Subseries B. Publicity Material for Speaking Engagements, 1912-1965</u>
	<u>1912-1965</u>
	<u>Subseries C. Speaking Schedules and Itineraries, 1932-1967</u>
Reel 72	<u>1932-1967</u>

#### SERIES IV. WRITINGS, 1917-1967

This series contains many of Thomas' published and unpublished essays, books, and newspaper columns, as well as autobiographical materials not intended for publication.

Thomas' private writings can be found in Subseries A. Although he admitted that he was not good at daily diary writing, he twice attempted to keep a journal. The first diary in File IV:A:1 contains seven entries between 1940 and 1942; the second has entries between 1947 and 1954, plus two more in 1957. These diaries contain Thomas' reflections on World War II, the draft, the fate of the Socialist Party, the death of his wife, religion, his career choices, and the fate of the world.

File IV:A:2 contains Thomas' unpublished autobiography. Written for his children between 1944 and 1946, the work is informative about Thomas' career but contains little personal material beyond a discussion of his boyhood in Marion, Ohio.

Fourteen of Thomas' desk diaries used to record such matters as speaking engagements and luncheon dates comprise File IV:A:3. There is a volume for each year between 1945 and 1960, with the exceptions of 1951 and 1957.

Subseries B contains Thomas' shorter writings, including holograph manuscripts, original typescripts, carbon and printed copies of essays, magazine, newspaper, and encyclopedia articles, statements for the press and congressional committees, news releases, editorials, book reviews, and drafts of leaflets and pamphlets. Although most open letters and letters to the editor appear in Series I, some can be found here as well.

There are a few articles for the years 1917-1918, including pieces on World War I, conscientious objection, and the church. However, the bulk of the writings in Subseries IV:B date from the 1930s through the 1950s. The subseries is in chronological order, with a substantial amount of undated material filed at the end. Undated writings for the 1940s and 1950s are located after the dated material for each of those decades.

Subseries C contains newspaper columns written by Thomas between 1934 and 1967. Each file within the subseries is in chronological order.

Thomas' weekly column, "Timely Topics", ran in the New Leader and in a variety of socialist, labor, and college newspapers. In 1935 Thomas broke with the Old Guard-controlled New Leader and began sending his columns to the new Party paper, the Socialist Call. File IV:C:1 includes typed copies of some of these "Timely Topics" columns. Most of them date from 1934, with a few from 1935 and 1936.

File IV:C:2 contains columns Thomas wrote for the Socialist Call. The file begins in June 1936 with Thomas' "At the Front" series and includes his 1937 stories from Europe. There are scattered columns from 1938-1942 and a few more from 1947-1960. Many undated columns can be found at the end of the file.

File IV:C:3 contains columns Thomas wrote between 1960 and 1965 for New America, which succeeded the Call as the Party's official newspaper. Most of the columns in this incomplete file date from 1961 and 1962.

In 1948 Thomas began working for the Denver Post. During that year he became the first presidential candidate ever to cover both the Democratic and Republican national conventions for a major newspaper. The assignment worked out so well that the Post gave him a semi-weekly editorial column. He submitted the first samples in 1948, and the column was carried twice weekly in 1949. It appeared in other western newspapers as well, including the Oakland Tribune, Portland Oregonian, Seattle Times, Boise Statesman, Salt Lake City Tribune and the Los Angeles Mirror. In 1952 the Mirror Enterprises Syndicate picked up the column and sold it nationally and abroad. But by February of 1958 it had lost popularity, and so was dropped by the Syndicate. The Denver Post continued to carry the column until Thomas resigned due to illness in 1967.

File IV:C:4 consists of a nearly complete run of Thomas' Denver Post/Mirror Syndicate columns. The file is incomplete for 1948 to 1951 and contains many columns dated only by year. For the period 1952-1967 there is a typescript of almost every column he wrote. The file also contains columns that were never published.

Subseries D contains holograph manuscripts of two of Thomas' full-length books, Great Dissenters and Socialism Re-Examined; a preliminary typescript of The Conscientious Objector; and a typescript of four chapters from his book A Socialist's Faith.

- Reel 72 continued from III:C  
SERIES IV. WRITINGS, 1917-1967  
Subseries A. Autobiographical Material, 1940-1960
- Reel 72      1. Diary, 1940-1942 and 1947-1957  
              2. Autobiography, 1946  
              3. Day books, 1945-1952
- Reel 73      3. Day books, 1953-1960
- Subseries B. Essays, Articles, and Statements, 1917-1967  
1917-1936
- Reel 74      1937-1951
- Reel 75      1952-1967
- Subseries C. Newspaper Columns, 1933-1967
- Reel 76      1. "Timely Topics", 1933-1936  
              2. Socialist Call, 1936-1960  
              3. New America, 1960-1965  
              4. Denver Post/Mirror Enterprises Syndicate, 1948-1952
- Reel 77      4. Denver Post/Mirror Enterprises Syndicate, 1953-1960
- Reel 78      4. Denver Post/Mirror Enterprises Syndicate, 1961-1967



Reel 79

Subseries D. Books, ca. 1923-ca. 1963

1. The Conscientious Objector in America, typescript, ca. 1923
2. A Socialist's Faith, typescript of four chapters, ca. 1951
3. Great Dissenters, manuscript, ca. 1961
4. Socialism Re-examined, manuscript, ca. 1963

## SERIES V. SUBJECT FILES, 1905-1967

Series V contains booklets, leaflets, fliers, reports, essays, press clippings, and reprints. Most of this material was either collected by Thomas as background information for his books and speeches or was sent to him by his correspondents (including enclosures removed from the General Correspondence). The material is arranged in subseries and filed by subject (subject headings were not created by Thomas). Each file is arranged chronologically, except where several items on a particular topic within the file have been grouped together. In some cases only the cover and title page of lengthy published items were microfilmed.

### Subseries A. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1967

Subseries A is divided into files for various foreign nations or regions. Much of this material deals with colonialism, dictatorships, and socialist parties abroad.

### Subseries B. Domestic Affairs, 1917-1967

This section contains material relating to a variety of social, political, and economic issues in the United States. The files include discussions of strikes and union disputes, schemes to end the Great Depression, management of national defense industries, school integration and the education of minority children, socialized medicine, and public utilities, as well as copies of legislation before Congress and campaign materials of non-socialist parties.

### Subseries C. Civil Liberties and Discrimination, 1932-1967

This subseries contains materials dealing with free speech, immigration and deportation abuses, academic freedom, political prisoners, the persecution of suspected subversives, and racial and ethnic discrimination. In addition to the printed material which makes up most of the subseries, File V:C:4 includes letters given to Thomas describing the conditions in Japanese-American internment camps during World War II, and File V:C:5 contains notes made by Mayor Frank Zeidler on racism in Milwaukee.

### Subseries D. War and Peace, 1915-1967

Subseries D contains material related to war and efforts to achieve peace. Files V:D:1 and V:D:2 concern opposition to war and conscription from World War I through the Vietnam War. The former file contains signed statements made by C.O.s during World War I, copies of the charges against them, and their letters to their families describing their treatment in prison. Files V:D:3 through V:D:6 concern the World War II-related issues of fascism, refugees, and aid to Europe, while Files V:D:7 through V:D:10 discuss plans for world peace and the forces necessary to maintain it. Included are such topics as world government, the North Atlantic Pact, disarmament, and nuclear weapons.

### Subseries E through H

Each of these four subseries contains very few items. Subseries E contains essays, sent to Thomas by his constituents, addressing such broad topics as the state of the world. Subseries F is a file of research notes made by and for Thomas, including notes he made during his 1957 trip to the Middle East. Thomas' teaching notes in Subseries G relate to courses he taught at Teachers College in 1917 and at the New School for Social Research in 1952. Subseries H includes

ephemera related to Thomas' career in the ministry. In addition, there are letters and documents concerning two ministers in the American Parish.

Reel 79 continued from IV:D:4

SERIES V. SUBJECT FILES, 1905-1967

Subseries A. Foreign Affairs, 1935-1967

- Reel 79
1. Latin America and Caribbean, 1935-1967
  2. Spain and Portugal, 1937-1962
  3. Germany, Austria, Italy, and Ireland, ca. 1935-1967
  4. Eastern Europe and Greece, 1937-1966
  5. Russia, 1936-1967
  6. Africa (except North Africa), 1945-1967

- Reel 80
7. North Africa and Middle East, 1948-1967
  8. Japan, China, Korea, and Indonesia, 1944-1966
  9. Vietnam, 1954-1967
  10. India, 1937-1956

Subseries B. Domestic Affairs, 1917-1967

1. Labor, 1933-1967
  2. Economics, 1919-1965
- Reel 81
3. Elections and politics, 1932-1967
  4. Legislation, 1928-1961
  5. Social security, relief, and health, ca. 1917-1953
  6. Public utilities, housing, transportation, and communication, 1935-1954
  7. Education, 1929-1967
  8. Religion, 1935-1959
  9. Youth, 1934-1946

Subseries C. Civil Liberties and Discrimination, 1932-1967

1. Civil liberties, 1934-1967
  2. Communists and witch hunts, 1943-1966
  3. Anti-socialist propaganda, 1948
- Reel 82
3. Anti-socialist propaganda, 1949-1953
  4. Japanese-Americans, 1934-1956
  5. Minorities, civil rights, and discrimination, 1932-1966

Subseries D. War and Peace, 1915-1967

1. Conscientious objection, 1917-1967
  2. Peace, pacifism, and conscription, 1915-1959
- Reel 83
3. Fascism, 1935-1946
  4. Civil defense, 1942
  5. Relief and refugees, 1938-1951
  6. Policy toward Axis nations, 1943-1948
  7. Post war peace plans, United Nations, and world government, 1941-1967
  8. North Atlantic Pact, 1949
  9. Disarmament, 1946-1961

Reel 84

10. Nuclear tests and nuclear war, 1947-1966

Subseries E. General Commentary, 1933-1966  
1933-1966

Subseries F. Research Notes, ca. 1940, 1950s, 1957  
ca. 1940, 1950s, 1957

Subseries G. Teaching Notes, 1917; 1952  
1917; 1952

Subseries H. Ministry, 1905-1918  
1905-1918

SERIES VI. TESTIMONIALS, 1936-1964

Norman Thomas was a much beloved and respected figure, even among those who did not share his views. The many dinners and receptions given in his honor testified to this fact, and they were an effective way of raising money for the causes Thomas espoused.

The records of these events found in Series VI include invitations, guest lists, letters confirming or declining attendance, office records of the committees planning the events, programs and other memorabilia, as well as testimonial letters and congratulatory telegrams from fellow socialists and enough prominent persons to fill a "who's who" of liberal intellectuals, politicians, labor and religious leaders, and political activists. Among these individuals are John Dewey, Morris Ernst, John L. Lewis, Van Wyck Brooks, Morris R. Cohen, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the Reuther brothers, Martin Luther King, Bertrand Russell, David Ben Gurion, Robert F. Kennedy, Henry S. Coffin, Jawaharlal Nehru, Martin Buber, and Alan Paton.

The papers are arranged in subseries by individual event and further divided into files according to type of material where necessary.

Reel 84 continued from V:H

SERIES VI. TESTIMONIALS, 1936-1964

Subseries A. General, ca. 1917-1959

Reel 84

1. Introductory speeches, ca. 1917-1959
2. Presentation scrapbook, 1934

Subseries B. 52nd Birthday Dinner, Hotel Edison (Nov. 20, 1936)

1. Invitations and guest lists, Nov. 1936
2. Greetings, Oct.-Nov. 1936

Subseries C. Testimonial Luncheon, Commodore Hotel (Feb. 4, 1950),  
ca. Feb. 1950

Subseries D. 70th Anniversary Reception, Town Hall Club (Nov. 21,  
1954), Oct.-Dec. 1954

Subseries E. 75th Birthday Dinner, Waldorf-Astoria Hotel (Nov. 18,  
1959)

1. Invitations and guest lists, Oct.-Nov. 1959
2. Acceptances, regrets, and testimonials, July-Dec. 1959
3. Telegrams, Nov. 1959
4. Norman Thomas 75th Birthday Dinner Committee records, May-Dec. 1959
5. Memorabilia, July-Nov. 1959

Subseries F. 80th Birthday Celebrations, 1964

1. Memorabilia, Nov. 1964-Jan. 1965
2. "Norman Thomas at 80", presentation album, 80th birthday reception, Hotel Astor (Dec. 6, 1964)

Reel 85

2. "Norman Thomas at 80", presentation album, 80th birthday reception, Hotel Astor (Dec. 6, 1964)

SERIES VII. FINANCIAL PAPERS, 1933-1967

Series VII consists of documents dealing primarily with the fees that Thomas received for his writing. Subseries A is a very small, unarranged file of publishing contracts, royalty statements, and receipts for lecture honoraria. Subseries B is an incomplete run of monthly commission statements for Thomas' syndicated newspaper column. Subseries C contains copies of monthly statements which Thomas sent to the Denver Post from 1961 through 1967 and to the Purdue Exponent in 1963 and 1964.

Reel 85 continued from VI:F:2

SERIES VII. FINANCIAL PAPERS, 1933-1967

Subseries A. Publishing Contracts, Royalty Statements, and Honoraria

Reel 85 1933-1967

Subseries B. Mirror Enterprises Syndicate commission analyses, 1952-1954

1952-1954

Subseries C. Monthly Statements to Denver Post, Purdue Exponent, 1961-1967

1961-1967

SERIES VIII. FAMILY PAPERS, 1915-1969

Series VIII contains correspondence and memorabilia of the Thomas family, excluding items sent or received by Norman Thomas. The latter can be found in Series I.

Subseries A consists of letters written and received by Norman Thomas' brothers Evan and Ralph, his mother Emma, his wife Violet, and his son Evan. File VIII:A:1 consists mostly of letters written by Evan Thomas (Norman's brother) to his mother during his stay in Great Britain and his imprisonment at Fort Riley, Kansas. Ralph Thomas' letters to his mother in File VIII:A:2 describe his military service in World War I. The small amount of correspondence of other family members has been combined in File VIII:A:3. Each file is arranged chronologically.

Subseries B is a small collection of family memorabilia, including family histories, an interview with Norman Thomas' children, and sermons delivered by Thomas' father, Reverend Welling E. Thomas.

Reel 85 continued from VII:C

SERIES VIII. FAMILY PAPERS, 1915-1969

Subseries A. Correspondence, 1915-1969

Reel 85

1. Evan Thomas, 1915-1918, 1939
2. Ralph Thomas, 1917-1918
3. Emma M. Thomas, Frances Violet Thomas, and Evan W. Thomas, II, 1915-1969

Subseries B. Memorabilia, 1889-ca. 1962

SERIES IX. BIOGRAPHICAL AND PUBLICITY MATERIAL, 1903-1964

Series IX contains publicity fliers about Norman Thomas, biographical sketches, and personal items, including passports, membership cards, and pages from his Princeton sophomore yearbook. The series is arranged chronologically.

Reel 85                    Reel 85 continued from VIII:B  
Reel 85                    SERIES IX. BIOGRAPHICAL AND PUBLICITY MATERIAL, 1903-1964



SERIES X. PHOTOGRAPHS, ca. 1900-1966

Series X contains photographs of Thomas and members of his family, and many snapshots sent to him by friends and supporters. Many of the images are unidentified. Caption information, when available, appears on the frame following the photograph. The series begins with photographs of Thomas, followed by those showing members of his family. All other pictures are grouped together at the end of the series. Of particular note are a photograph of Thomas being pelted with eggs while trying to give a speech in Newark, New Jersey, a group portrait of Evan Thomas and fellow conscientious objectors, and a photograph of members of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

Reel 85 continued from IX

Reel 85

SERIES X. PHOTOGRAPHS, ca. 1900-1966

BRIEF REEL LIST

SERIES I

GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE, 1905-1967

Reel 1	Oct. 1905 - Oct. 1933
Reel 2	Nov. 1933 - Apr. 12, 1934
Reel 3	Apr. 13, 1934 - Sept. 1934
Reel 4	Oct. 1934 - Apr. 1935
Reel 5	May 1935 - Dec. 1935
Reel 6	Jan. 1936 - Oct. 1936
Reel 7	Nov. 1936 - Aug. 1938
Reel 8	Sept. 1938 - May 1939
Reel 9	June 1939 - July 1940
Reel 10	Aug. 1940 - Feb. 1941
Reel 11	Mar. 1941 - Oct. 1941
Reel 12	Nov. 1941 - May 1942
Reel 13	June 1942 - Feb. 1943
Reel 14	Mar. 1943 - Apr. 1944
Reel 15	May 1944 - Dec. 1945
Reel 16	Jan. 1946 - June 1947
Reel 17	July 1947 - Oct. 1948
Reel 18	Nov. 1948 - June 1949
Reel 19	July 1949 - Feb. 1950
Reel 20	Mar. 1950 - Oct. 1950
Reel 21	Nov. 1950 - May 1951
Reel 22	June 1951 - Dec. 1951
Reel 23	Jan. 1952 - July 1952
Reel 24	Aug. 1952 - Feb. 1953
Reel 25	Mar. 1953 - Sept. 1953
Reel 26	Oct. 1953 - Apr. 1954
Reel 27	May 1954 - Nov. 1954
Reel 28	Dec. 1954 - Apr. 1955
Reel 29	May 1955 - Nov. 1955
Reel 30	Dec. 1955 - May 1956
Reel 31	June 1956 - Dec. 1956
Reel 32	Jan. 1957 - July 1957
Reel 33	Aug. 1957 - Feb. 1958
Reel 34	Mar. 1958 - July 1958
Reel 35	Aug. 1958 - Dec. 1958
Reel 36	Jan. 1959 - June 1959
Reel 37	July 1959 - Dec. 1959
Reel 38	Jan. 1960 - June 1960
Reel 39	July 1960 - Dec. 1960
Reel 40	Jan. 1961 - June 15, 1961
Reel 41	June 16, 1961 - Dec. 15, 1961
Reel 42	Dec. 16, 1961 - May 1962
Reel 43	June 1962 - Dec. 1962
Reel 44	Jan. 1963 - June 1963
Reel 45	July 1963 - Dec. 1963
Reel 46	Jan. 1964 - June 1964
Reel 47	July 1964 - Dec. 1964
Reel 48	Jan. 1965 - May 1965
Reel 49	June 1965 - Nov. 1965

Reel 50	Dec. 1965 - Apr. 1966
Reel 51	May 1966 - Nov. 1966
Reel 52	Dec. 1966 - Apr. 1967
Reel 53	July 1967 - Dec. 1967

SERIES II

ORGANIZATIONAL RECORDS, 1904-1967

Reel 54	II:A:1 - II:A:2, 1935
Reel 55	II:A:2, 1936 - II:A:5
Reel 56	II:A:6 - II:B:1, 1953
Reel 57	II:B:1, 1954 - II:B:2
Reel 58	II:B:3 - II:B:8
Reel 59	II:C:1 - II:D:3, 1954
Reel 60	II:D:3, 1955 - II:D:8, A-M
Reel 61	II:D:8, N-Z - II:F:1, 1961
Reel 62	II:F:1, 1962 - II:F:3, 1961
Reel 63	II:F:3, 1962 - II:F:6
Reel 64	II:G:1 - II:G:2, 1963
Reel 65	II:G:2, 1964 - II:H:1, 1961
Reel 66	II:H:1, 1962 - II:H:2
Reel 67	II:I:1 - II:J:11
Reel 68	II:J:12 - II:J:20

SERIES III

SPEECHES, 1911-1967

Reel 69	III:A, 1911 - III:A, 1939
Reel 70	III:A, 1930s, n.d. - III:A, 1947
Reel 71	III:A, 1948 - III:B
Reel 72	III:C

SERIES IV

WRITINGS, 1917-1967

Reel 72	IV:A:1 - IV:A:3, 1952
Reel 73	IV:A:3, 1953 - IV:B, 1936
Reel 74	IV:B, 1937 - IV:B, 1951
Reel 75	IV:B, 1952 - IV:B, 1967
Reel 76	IV:C:1 - IV:C:4, 1952
Reel 77	IV:C:4, 1953 - IV:C:4, 1960
Reel 78	IV:C:4, 1961 - IV:C:4, 1967
Reel 79	IV:D:1 - IV:D:4

SERIES V

SUBJECT FILES, 1905-1967

Reel 79	V:A:1 - V:A:6
Reel 80	V:A:7 - V:B:2
Reel 81	V:B:3 - V:C:2
Reel 82	V:C:3 - V:D:2
Reel 83	V:D:3 - V:D:10, 1958
Reel 84	V:D:10, 1960 - V:H

SERIES VI

TESTIMONIALS, 1936-1964

Reel 84	VI:A:1 - VI:F:2
Reel 85	VI:F:2

SERIES VII

Reel 85

FINANCIAL PAPERS, 1933-1967

VII:A - VII:C

SERIES VIII

Reel 85

FAMILY PAPERS, 1915-1969

VIII:A:1 - VIII:B

SERIES IX

Reel 85

BIOGRAPHICAL AND PUBLICITY MATERIAL, 1903-1964

IX

SERIES X

Reel 85

PHOTOGRAPHS, ca. 1900-1966

X



## DESCRIPTION OF INDEX TO SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE IN SERIES I

This is a partial index to Norman Thomas' incoming correspondence in Series I. The index lists all of the letters of a select group of correspondents, who were chosen on the basis of their historical importance or the amount and/or the significance of their correspondence within the series. Letters written by secretaries or aides to prominent individuals have not been included, except where noted.

In the entry for each person, the letters are listed chronologically by year, month, and day. Undated letters are listed at the end of the individual entry. Figures in parentheses following a date indicate the number of letters from that correspondent for that date. Letters not originally addressed to Thomas are identified by the word "to" plus the addressee's name in parentheses. In the index entries for organizations, the date of each letter is followed by the name of the person signing the letter.

Following the index is a list of prominent correspondents in Series I, including those names comprising the index.

INDEX TO SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE IN SERIES I

ADLER, FRIEDRICH

1934	Apr 4	Jul 28
	Jul 23	Aug 20 (to Roy Burt)
1935	Jul 16	Sep 22 (2)
	Oct 19	Oct 7
	Nov 12	Oct 22
1937	Jun 5	Oct 25 (to Roy Burt)
	Nov 19	Nov 3
1939	Dec 23	Nov 10
1954	Aug 10	Nov 29 (2)

ALLEN, DEVERE

1933	Oct 13	1938	Mar 22
	Dec 29		Mar 23 (to Amicus Most)
1934	Jun 16		Mar 25
	Oct 26		Jun 13 (to Roy Burt)
1935	Apr 24		Nov 16
	Aug 2		Nov 18
	Sep 20		Dec 9
	Oct 22		Dec 12
	Oct ?	1939	Dec 24 (2)
	Nov 4		Apr 13
	Nov 6		Aug 25
	Nov 26		Oct 4
	Dec 3	1940	Oct 26
	Dec 10 (2)		Jan 16
	Dec 23		Jan 30
1936	Feb 5		Feb 10
	Feb 6		ante Mar 10
	Feb 18 (to Clarence Senior)		Jun 4
	Aug 26		Jul 9
	Aug 31 (to Clarence Senior)	1941	Jul 29
	Sep 16		Dec 31
	Sep 22		Jan 13
	Sep 26		Jan 20
	Dec 21 (to Irving Barshop)		Jan 22
	Dec 30 (to Abe Kaufman)		Mar 4
1937	Jan 5		Apr 7
	Jan 21 (to Irving Barshop)		Apr 15
	Jan 27		Dec 4
	Feb 2	1942	Dec 10
	Feb 27 (2)		Dec 11
	Mar 1 (to George Novack)	1943	Jan 21
	Mar 9 (2)		Feb 4
	Mar 16 (to Alfred Baker Lewis)	1945	Jan 15
	Mar 18		ca. Oct 10
	Mar 19 (to Michael Harris)	1946	Apr 17
	Jun 30 (2)	1949	Dec 14
	Jul 7	1950	Jun 30
	Jul 12		Aug 9
	Jul 19 (to Roy Burt)	1952	Sep 18
			Aug 21
			Oct 30
			Nov 7

1954 Feb 3  
 Feb 8  
 Feb 12  
 Mar 12  
 n.d. (fragment)

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE

1940 Nov 15 R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.  
 1941 Jan 2 R.E. Wood  
 Jan 13 R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.  
 Feb 27 Nathan Alexander  
 Apr 29 R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.  
 May 2 R.E. Wood  
 May 22 R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.  
 May 29 R.E. Wood  
 Jun 11 Kendrick Lee  
 Jun 17 Bertha Tallman  
 Jul 12 J.K. Clark  
 Aug 1 Joseph R. (?)  
 Aug 15 Evelyn Palmer  
 Aug 15 R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.  
 Sep 16 Kathryn Holmes  
 Sep 24 Janet Ayer Fairbank  
 Sep 26 R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.  
 Oct 20 Nancy Schoonmaker  
 Nov 11 M.E. Armbruster  
 Nov 11 R. Douglas Stuart, Jr.  
 Nov 15 M.E. Armbruster  
 Nov 26 Mrs. Donald B. Armstrong  
 Nov 26 William S. Foulis  
 Nov 27 Evelyn Palmer  
 Dec 1 M.E. Armbruster  
 Dec 2 Jimmie Lipsig  
 Dec 6 Joseph Boldt, Jr.  
 Dec 11 Joseph Boldt, Jr.  
 Dec 31 Bertha Tallman

BALDWIN, ROGER

1917 May 8  
 1918 Aug 29 (to Mrs. H.H. Tittman)  
 1920 Jun 21  
 1934 Jul 22  
 Jul 23  
 Jul 29  
 Aug 26  
 Nov 21  
 1935 Mar 26  
 Dec 13  
 1937 Feb 3 (to Aaron Levenstein)  
 May 13 (to Board of Directors,  
 American Fund for Public Service)  
 Jul 7  
 Nov 5  
 1938 n.d.

1940 Nov 29  
 1941 Mar 13  
 1942 Dec 30 (to Dorothy Detzer)  
 1947 Jan 13 (to Herman Berman)  
 May 28  
 1948 Jan 21  
 Mar 15  
 Oct 10  
 1949 May 22  
 May 27  
 1950 May 3  
 1951 Jan 22  
 Mar 15  
 Jul 11  
 Sep 26 (to Trustees, Ford Foundation)  
 1952 Jan 28 (to Ales Bebler)  
 Feb 18  
 Jun 13  
 1955 Aug 7  
 Nov 23  
 1956 Apr 27  
 1957 Apr 8  
 Apr 15 (to Dissent Magazine)  
 Jul 5  
 Jul 16  
 Oct 2  
 1958 Mar 12  
 Oct 6  
 1959 Mar 10  
 May 11  
 Jun  
 Jul 1  
 Sep 17  
 Nov 26  
 Dec 1  
 1960 Mar 17  
 1961 May 1  
 May 25  
 Jun 24  
 Jul 21  
 1962 Jan 19  
 Apr 19  
 1963 Mar 27  
 Apr 26  
 May 9  
 Jun 2 (to John de J. Pemberton)  
 Jun 7  
 Jun 14 (to John de J. Pemberton)  
 Sep 11 (to Chul Kim)  
 Dec 16  
 1964 May 5 (to L.N. Palar)  
 Nov 12  
 1965 Mar 3  
 Jun 3  
 Aug 25



1966	Jan 13	<u>BURT, ROY</u>
	Feb 23	1937 Jan 8
	Feb 28	Jan 19
	Mar 11	Jan 20
	Mar 25	Jan 23
	May 31	Feb 2
	Jun 14	Feb 4
	Jul 16	Feb 24
	Jul 22	Mar 12
1967	Jan 25	Mar 19
	Feb 13	Mar
	Mar 10	May 24
	Apr 18	Jun 7 (to Carl Fichandler)
	May 23	Jun 23 (2)
	Sep 1	Jul 6
	Sep 20	Jul 7
	Nov 18	Jul 20
		Aug 24 (2)
		Sep 17
		Sep 21
		Sep 22
		Sep 24
		Oct 2
		Oct 15
		Nov 23
<u>BRANDT, WILLY</u>		
1958	Aug 25	
1959	Jan 31	
1963	Feb	
1965	May 11	
1966	Mar 4	
<u>BRITTAIN, VERA</u>		1938
1938	Nov 12	Jan 10
1955	Feb 16	Jan 20
		Jan 22
		Jan 31
		Mar 15
<u>BROWDER, EARL</u>		Mar 17
1934	Aug 17	Mar 19
	Aug 24	Mar 22
	Oct 10	Mar 24
1935	Feb 7	Mar 25
	Apr 12	Mar 29
	Dec 10 (to Jack Altman)	Mar 31
1936	Jun 17	Jun 8
1950	Dec 8	Oct 5
1953	Jun 23	Nov 1
	Jun 30	Nov 7
	Jul 22 (to Editor, <u>Harper's Magazine</u> )	Nov 15
		Nov 21
	Oct 16	Dec 7
1956	Sep 17	Dec 17
1957	Mar 9	1939
	Mar 25	Jan 3
	May 18	Jan 7
	May 25	Jan 9
	Jun 22	Jan 10
	Jun 24	Feb 18
		Feb 20
1958	Feb 6	Feb 21
1959	Dec 12	Dec 20
		1941
		Dec 16
		1966
		May 6

CLAESSENS, AUGUST

1928 May 21  
 1934 Apr 5  
       Oct 11 (to Joseph Cadden)  
       Oct 16 (to Samuel Douglas)  
 1935 Jun 8  
 1949 Jul 8  
 1950 May 15  
       Oct 11  
 1951 Mar 15  
       Aug 22  
       Aug 27  
       Oct 4  
       Oct 31  
 1952 Jun 24  
 1953 Jun 5  
       Sep 22  
       Oct 6  
       Oct 8  
       Oct 15  
 1954 Mar 8  
       Apr 28  
       May 21  
       Aug 27  
       Sep 10  
       Sep 23  
       Sep 30

CLARK, GRENVILLE

1938 Dec 9  
 1952 Mar 1  
       Mar 21  
 1954 Feb 15  
       Feb 25  
 1957 Dec 17  
 1958 Jan 23  
       Feb 24  
       Mar 4  
       Apr 2  
       Jun 13  
 1959 Apr 15  
 1960 Feb 17  
       Feb 26  
       Dec 6  
 1962 Sep 12  
       Sep 19  
 1963 May 24  
       Jul 5  
       Aug 9  
       Dec 10  
 1964 Feb 21  
 1965 Oct 18

CLEMENT, TRAVERS

1939 May 25  
       Jun 1  
       Jun 5  
       Jul 5  
       Jul 10 (to Comrade Briggs)  
       Jul 12  
       Jul 13  
       Aug 2  
       Aug 10  
       Sep 16  
       Sep 19  
       Sep 20  
       Sep 25  
       Oct 5  
       Oct 9  
       Oct 11  
       Oct 14 (to Alfred Baker Lewis)  
       Oct 20 (to Paul Allen)  
       Oct 25  
       Dec 13  
       Dec 16  
       Dec 21  
 1940 Jan 5  
       Jan 8  
       Jan 16  
       Jan 17  
       Jan 22  
       Jan 22 (to Alfred Baker Lewis)  
       Jan 24  
       Jan 29  
       Jan 31  
       Feb 1  
       Feb 2  
       Feb 8  
       Feb 12  
       Feb 20  
       Feb 29  
       Mar 4  
       Apr 11  
       May 23  
       Jun 7  
       Jun 25  
       Jun 25 (to Arthur G. McDowell)  
       Jul 9  
       Jul 17  
       Jul 27  
       Nov 11  
       Dec 3  
 1941 Jun 15  
       Jul 31  
       Aug 18  
       Dec 24  
       n.d.

1943 Aug 28 (to Maynard Krueger)  
 Dec 8  
 1944 May 12  
 Oct 26  
 1945 Jul 25  
 1946 Jun 21  
 Jul 31  
 Sep 17  
 1947 Jan 3  
 Dec 3  
 1948 May 10  
 1949 Jan 16  
 Jan 26  
 1950 May 10  
 May 20  
 Jun 30  
 Jul 18  
 Aug 4  
 Sep 9  
 1951 Mar 6  
 Aug 1  
 1964 Nov  
 n.d. (fragment)

COOLIDGE, ALBERT SPRAGUE

1934 Jun 18  
 Sep 27  
 1935 Dec 4  
 Dec 5  
 1937 Jun 12  
 Jun 17  
 1938 Jun 24  
 Aug 20  
 1939 May 29 (to Alice Dodge)  
 Jun 4  
 Jun 12  
 Oct 1  
 1940 Feb 5  
 Mar 27  
 1941 Mar 1 (to Frank Trager)  
 Apr 19  
 1942 Jan 29  
 Jun 24  
 1943 Feb 13  
 1945 Mar 4 (to James Loeb, Jr.)  
 1946 May 11  
 1949 May 20  
 1954 Jan 29  
 Feb 5  
 1959 Aug 9  
 Sep 4  
 1960 Dec 13  
 1962 Jul 13  
 1966 Jun 16  
 Jun 22

1967 Apr 28  
 Nov 14  
 Nov 19  
 Nov 25

COUGHLIN, CHARLES E.

1934 May 11  
 Nov (to Stewart Woods Taylor)  
 1935 May 31

COUSINS, NORMAN

1947 Aug 6  
 Aug 27  
 1955 Sep 26  
 1957 Aug 7  
 1958 Apr 7  
 1960 Mar 25  
 1961 Feb 8  
 Sep 27  
 1962 Nov 9  
 1964 Sep 29  
 Nov 23  
 1965 Jan 22  
 Jan 26  
 Mar 19  
 1966 Feb 25  
 May 24 (to Encampment for  
 Citizenship)  
 1967 Mar 29  
 Nov 13

CROSSWAITH, FRANK

1934 Apr 28  
 Dec 18  
 1935 Jun 17  
 Dec 30  
 1936 Feb 7  
 Aug 3  
 Sep 2 (to Rex Farrier)  
 1937 Jan 28  
 1938 Oct 25  
 Nov 26  
 Dec 27  
 1939 Oct 10 (to Alex Rose)  
 1942 Jul 1  
 1944 Dec 19  
 1946 May 27  
 1948 Apr 26  
 Sep 29  
 1949 Oct 27  
 1951 May 15  
 Oct 19  
 1952 Feb 11  
 1955 Jul 26

1957 Jan 15  
May 23  
1958 Jun 11  
1963 Jul 30

CULBERTSON, ELY

1942 Jun 11  
Jul 29  
Sep 4  
1949 Mar 28 (from Lucinda Hazen)  
1950 Jul 25  
Aug 1  
1954 Feb 10  
1955 Apr 22

DETZER, DOROTHY

1938 Feb 18  
1939 May 25  
1940 Feb 10  
Mar 7  
May 1  
Nov 8  
Dec 3  
1941 Sep 22 (to Hugh Chamberlain Burr)  
Nov 12  
Nov 24  
1942 Feb 4  
Jul 31  
Sep 30  
1943 Jun 11  
Jun 18  
1944 May 2  
1949 Jun 27  
1950 Apr 3  
1951 Jun 19  
Sep 21  
1952 Jan  
Sep 9  
1954 Jul  
Aug 30  
n.d.  
n.d.

DOS PASSOS, JOHN

1956 Aug 25  
1962 Dec 2

DULLES, ALLEN W.

1948 Dec 17  
1951 Mar 12  
1953 Feb 24  
1954 Mar 8  
Apr 14  
1955 May 3

1958 Jul 2  
1960 Feb 13  
May 14  
May 31  
1963 Jun 28

DULLES, JOHN FOSTER

1949 Aug 11  
Sep 14  
1950 Aug 8  
1952 Sep 23  
Dec 1  
1953 Mar 5  
Mar 23  
Apr 3  
May 1  
Jul 8  
Aug 31  
Sep 8  
Oct 21  
Nov 18  
Dec 31  
1954 Jan 15  
May 25  
Aug 6  
Oct 9  
Nov 1  
Nov 4  
1955 Apr 18  
1956 Jan 13  
Jun 22  
1957 Jul 12  
1960 Oct 6

EINSTEIN, ALBERT

1954 Mar 10  
Mar 23  
Apr 6

EISENHOWER, DWIGHT D.

1953 Dec 19  
1957 Jul 23  
Oct 11  
1964 Jan 31

EMMET, CHRISTOPHER

1946 Mar 8  
Apr 9  
Apr 23  
1948 Nov 10  
1949 Jan 27  
Feb 3  
Apr 18  
Sep 26

1950	Oct 6 (to Anne O'Hare McCormick)	Aug 4
	Oct 9 (to Anne O'Hare McCormick)	Sep 13
1952	Apr 9	Sep 22
1955	Aug 3	Oct 6
	Aug 17	Nov 11 (to Mary Pincus)
	Sep 7	Nov 14
1956	Jan 26	1956 Mar 23
1957	May 14	Aug 23
	May 15	1960 Apr 6
	May 17	Jun 26
1961	Apr 28	Jul 14
1964	May 6	Sep 7
		Sep 10
		1967 Sep 8
		Oct 17
		n.d. (2)
<u>FARRELL, JAMES T.</u>		<u>FEIGENBAUM, WILLIAM</u>
1937	Jan 9	1933 Jun 5
	Jan 26	Aug 17
	Jan 31	Nov 23
	Feb 9	Dec 15
1938	Oct 27	1934 Jan 22
	Dec 17 (to Albert H. Gross)	Oct 19
1939	Feb 22	Oct 23
	Feb 26	Oct 24
	Dec 6	Oct 29
1941	Mar 16	Oct
1946	Aug 11	1935 Feb 23
	Aug 15	Sep 30
	Aug 16	1956 Aug 28 (to Norman Jacobs)
	Aug 24	
1947	Nov 12	<u>FROMM, ERICH</u>
	Nov 18 (to Edwin L. James)	1948 May 25
1948	Mar 15 (to Barry Miller)	1949 Dec 7
	May 11	1950 Jun 9
	Jul 17	Aug 28
	Jul 23	n.d.
	Jul 28	1951 Dec 28
	Jul 29	1952 Jun 11
	Aug 6 (2)	Jun 24
	Aug 13	1953 Jun 23
	Nov 4	Jul 2
	Nov 6 (to Norman Rosenberg)	1954 Nov 17
1949	Feb 17	1955 Mar 27
	Mar 2	Mar 29
1950	Feb 14	Apr 5
1951	Jan 2	Apr 5 (to Stephen Siteman)
	Jan 15	Apr 8
	May 11	Apr 13
	May 31	Apr 14
	Sep 2	Apr 21
1952	Mar 10	Apr 22
	Mar 24 (2)	Apr 22 (to Stephen Siteman)
	Apr 11	
1955	Feb 23 (to Michael Straight)	
	Jun 13	
	Jun 29	

	May 3	1964	Jan 6
	May		Jan 24
	Aug 16		Mar 9
1956	Jul 31		Apr 2
	Aug 14		Jun 23
	Sep 6		Jul 8
1957	Jul 18		Jul 13
1958	Jan 7		Jul 19
	Dec 23		Aug 13
1959	Mar 3		Nov 13
	Mar 10	1965	May 18
	Mar 12		Sep 24
	Mar 17		Oct 30
	Mar 26		Nov 23
	Jun 4		Dec 23
	Jun 15	1966	Jan 17 (to Stewart Meacham)
	Jun 22		Aug 19
	Jun 26		Sep 14
	Jul 2		Sep 16
	Jul 13		Sep 20
	Sep 20		Oct 26
	Nov 6		Nov 8
	Dec 1	1967	Jan 3
1960	Feb 23		Mar 5
	Jun 24		Apr 10
	Jul 15		Apr 20
	Sep 20		May 20
	Nov 28		Jun 8
1961	May 20		Jun 14
	Jun 15		Nov 20
	Jul 20		n.d.
	Oct 14		
	Oct 15		
	Nov 13		
	Nov 28		
	Dec 29		
	n.d.		
1962	Jan 20		
	May 18		
	May 30		
	Jun 7		
	Jun 14		
	Jul 21		
	Oct 1		
	Oct 17		
	Oct 26		
	Nov 5		
1963	Jan 18		
	Jan 26		
	Apr 30		
	Jul 26		
	Aug 12		
	Dec 10		
1963	n.d.		

  

	<u>GAUSMANN, WILLIAM C.</u>
1944	Jan 17
1946	Jun 24
	Sep 21
	Sep 24
	Sep 27
1948	Jan 1
	Jan 7
	Feb 9
	Feb (2)
	Mar 23
	Apr 27
	May 3
	May 17
	Jun 15
	Jul 17
	Aug 9
	Oct 21
	Nov 12 (to Mrs. Williams)
	Nov
1949	Jan 12
1950	Aug 3 (2)
	Aug 16

1951	Feb 23		Nov 19
	Apr 30		n.d.
	May 16	1957	Jan 19
	Sep 27		Jan ?
	Oct 6		Feb 21
	Dec 20		Aug 7
1952	Jan 15		Aug 21
	Jan 29 (2)		Sep 19
	Feb 16		Sep 24
	Feb 28		Sep 26
	Mar 4		Oct 22
	Mar 18		n.d. (2)
	Apr 8	1958	Jan 10
	May 7 (to Rex Barley)		Apr 2
	May 29 (to Rex Barley)		Apr 20
	Jul 28		Apr 24
	Sep 13		Jul 18
	Sep ?	1959	Jan 8
	Nov ?		Feb 20
1953	Jan 13		Mar 4
	Feb 4		Jun 23 (to R. Prentice)
	Apr 18 (to Tom Brooks)		Sep 16
	Apr 20		Nov 20
	May 7		n.d. (2)
	Jun 5	1960	Aug 12
	Aug 28		Sep 15
	Sep 24		Sep 28
	Oct 9		Nov 16
1954	Jan 26		Dec 30
	Oct 14		n.d.
	Nov 15	1961	Jan 27
1955	Jan 27		Feb 15
	Mar 21		Feb 27
	ante Jun 6		Sep 18
	Jun 8	1962	May 28
	Jun 10		Oct 2
	Jul 25		Oct 3
	Aug 31		Nov 16
	Sep 21	1964	Jan 4
	Oct 6	1965	Aug 9
	n.d.		Nov 29
1956	Jan 21	1966	Aug 26
	Feb 9	1967	May 30
	Feb 24 (to Benjamin Naumoff)		Nov 21
	Mar 5		
	Mar		
	Apr 12	<u>GERBER, JULIUS</u>	
	Apr 28	1933	Jun 5
	May 8		Oct 26
	Jun 3		Nov 23
	Jun 9	1934	Jan 3
	Jun 29		Mar 26
	Jul 18		May 25
	Aug 10		Jun 8
			Jun 26

	Aug 15		Sep 21
	Aug 23		Nov 4
	Sep 25		Nov 28
	Dec 12	1936	Jan 28 (to Clarence Senior)
1935	Jan 8		Nov 18
	Jan 12	1937	Oct 19
	Feb 25	1938	Jul 3
	Mar 2	1940	Sep 8
	Jul 24		Nov 13
	Aug 5	1941	Sep 28
	Oct 4 (2)		Dec 16

GILMAN, ELIZABETH

1934	Mar 26		Jan 18
	Jun 26		Feb 13
	Jul 3		Mar 28
	Nov 21		May 20
	Dec 27 (to Mary Fox)		Nov 2
1935	Apr 24	1943	Feb 21
	Nov 13		May 30
	Nov 18		Jun 30
1936	Jan 6		Jul 5
	Feb 4		Jul 16
	Feb 6		Jul 19
	May 15	1945	Sep 5
	May 25	1946	May 15
	Jun 5		Feb 26
	Jun 15		Jul 4
	Nov 16		Sep 29
	Dec 14		Oct 16
	Dec 24		Nov 7 (to William Becker)
	Dec 31		Nov 7
1937	Jan 4		Nov 28
1938	Nov 28		Dec 19
1939	Mar 23	1947	Apr 27
	Jul 7	1948	Jul 28
1940	Nov 25		Sep 17
1942	Apr 2	1949	Feb 18
	Apr 11		Sep 1
	Sep 4		Nov 4
	Nov 3		
	Dec 19		
1943	Feb 25		
	May 3		

GREEN, WILLIAM

1934	Jan 12		Jan 12
	Jan 19		Jan 19
	Apr 2		Apr 2
	Sep 13		Sep 13
	Oct 22		Oct 22
	n.d.		n.d.
1935	Apr 15		Apr 15
	May 9		May 9
	Sep 24		Sep 24
	Oct 28		Oct 28
1936	Nov 21		Nov 21
1937	Sep 4		Sep 4
1938	n.d.		n.d.

GOLDMAN, EMMA

1934	Jun 18
	Jun 27
1935	Apr 13

GRAHAM, JAMES D.

1934	Mar 30
	Jul 29
1935	Mar 31



1942 Apr 15  
 May 5  
 Sep 8  
 Oct 28  
 1950 Sep 24  
 1951 Feb 5  
 1952 Feb 11

HAPGOOD, POWERS

1934 Jun 14  
 Jul 3 (to Maynard Krueger)  
 Aug 19  
 1935 May 11  
 Dec 17  
 1937 Mar 20  
 1940 Jan 1  
 1941 Jul 13  
 Oct 4

HARLOW, RALPH

1917 Aug 20  
 Sep 6  
 Sep 8  
 1933 Jan 5  
 Dec 18  
 Dec 21  
 1936 Jul 6  
 Sep 3 (to Rex Farrier)  
 1939 Oct 15  
 1940 Mar 21  
 Apr 3  
 Sep 10  
 1941 Jan 19  
 Jun 5  
 Sep 9  
 Nov 15  
 1943 Mar 6  
 1944 Feb 6  
 1949 Sep 30  
 1950 Aug 30  
 1956 Apr 16  
 Jun 23  
 1957 Feb 7  
 1958 Nov 22  
 1959 Mar 2  
 1961 Aug 26  
 1962 Jun 14  
 Jul 16  
 Jul 24  
 1963 Feb 14  
 1964 Feb 17  
 Dec 9  
 1965 Feb 11  
 Feb 17

1966 Mar 2  
 1967 Oct 6  
 Nov 17  
 n.d.

HOAN, DANIEL

1934 May 21  
 Aug 21  
 Dec 15  
 1935 Jan 23  
 Feb 4  
 Feb 26  
 Mar 7  
 Mar 8 (to Leo Krzycki et al.)  
 Apr 8  
 May 10  
 May 28  
 Jul 12  
 1936 Jul 14  
 Aug 5  
 Oct 2  
 Dec 22  
 1937 Jan 7  
 Jan 15  
 Jan 27  
 Mar 22  
 Apr 7  
 1938 Feb 11  
 1940 Feb 23 (to Travers Clement)  
 Mar 11  
 Apr 10  
 Sep 3  
 Sep 11  
 1947 Aug 20

HOHRI, SAM

1941 Dec 6  
 1942 Apr 20  
 May 19  
 Jun 9  
 Oct 20  
 Oct 26  
 Dec 29  
 1943 Jan 25  
 Oct 17  
 1946 May 31  
 Nov 11

HOLMES, JOHN HAYNES

1916 Jan 1  
 1917 Jun 9  
 1933 Oct 11  
 1934 Jan 8  
 Oct 4

1935	Mar 14	<u>HOOK, SIDNEY</u>
	Mar 27	1939 Mar 27
	Nov 20	1942 Feb 21
1936	May 18	1944 Jan 22
	Dec 23	1951 Jan 19
1937	Jan 7	Jun 13
	Jan 14	Sep 26
1938	Mar 14	1952 Apr 2 (to Richard Rovere)
	Oct	Apr 3
	Dec 14	1953 Feb 13
1939	Jul 27	Feb 19
1940	Nov 25	Apr 9 (to Program Dir., WMCA)
1942	Mar 12	1954 ca. Apr 20
1947	Feb 10	Jun 24
1949	Feb 1	Nov 10
	Feb 3	1955 Jun 30
	Mar 1	1956 Apr 4
	Nov 21	Aug 18
1953	Mar 24	Dec 4
	Mar 26	1957 Feb 1
	Mar 27	1958 Jul 22
	Mar 31	1967 Feb 8
1954	Jan 22	
	Jan 28	<u>HOOPEs, DARLINGTON</u>
	Apr 7	1933 Sep 27
1955	Nov 9	Oct 24
	Nov 17	Nov 25
	Dec 9	Dec 28
	Dec 16	1934 Jun 27
1956	Jan 25	Jun 28
	Jul 24	Jul 2
	Dec 28	Aug 22
1957	Oct 15	Sep 19
1958	Jan 31	n.d. (fragment)
	Feb 26	1935 Apr 27
	Apr 2	Apr 28
	Apr 8	Nov 29
	Nov 19	1936 Apr 8
	Dec 2	Aug 7
	Dec 8	Aug 26
1959	Jan 28	1937 Nov 29
	Feb 25	1944 May 3
	Apr 15	1945 Jan 16
	Jun 30	1948 Nov 13
1960	Sep 20	1949 Sep 12
1961	Mar 7	1950 Mar 27
	Apr 30	May 27
	Jun 3	Jun 21
	Oct 13	1951 Feb 7
1962	Apr 30	Feb 20 (to Robin Myers)
	Dec 14	Feb 24
1963	Jan 2	Mar 13
	Oct 25	Oct 30
	Nov 7	Dec 27
1964	Jan 3	

1952	Jan 30		Aug 12
	Feb 15		Oct 25
	Mar 4	1951	Oct 8
	Mar 10		Oct 18
1953	May 1	1952	Feb 19
	May 14		Jul 3
	May 26		Oct 21
	Jun 18	1953	May 28
	Jun 24	1955	Mar 31
1954	Nov 29		Jun 29
	Dec 16		Nov 15
1956	Jan 4	1956	Mar 15
	Apr 5		Mar 19
	Aug 28		Jun 22
	Oct 29		Jul 3
1958	Oct 2		Aug 4
1959	Mar 6 (to Irwin Suall)		Dec 7
	Jun 22	1957	Jan 14
1960	Aug 26		Feb 8
1962	Feb 19		Mar 4
	Jun 14		Mar 8
1963	Jun 25		Apr 12
1964	May 20		Jul 3
1966	Oct 26		Jul 15
1967	Jul 28		Jul 23
	Nov 1		Aug 17
			Oct 4
			Oct 8
			Oct 29
		1958	Jan 28
			Apr 9
			Jun 18
			Jun 27 (to Robert Lasch)
			Jul 2
			Jul 8
			Jul 18
			Aug 4
		1959	Jan 14
			Jan 20
			Feb 4
			Apr 17
			Jun 19
			Aug 7
			Aug 10
			Sep 23
			Dec 11
		1960	Jan 11
			Feb 10
			Feb 11
			Feb 18
			Jul 8
		1961	Jul 17
			Jul 24
			Aug 10
			Sep 14

HOOVER, HERBERT

1942 Nov 4  
 Nov 8  
 Nov 19  
 1943 Feb 15  
 Feb 17 (from Bernice Miller)  
 Feb 21  
 1945 Mar 29  
 Apr 28  
 1949 Mar 11  
 Mar 18 (from Carol de Weese)  
 Mar 26  
 Aug 29  
 Nov 18  
 1953 Apr 14

HOOVER, J. EDGAR

1946 Apr 26  
 1950 Apr 19  
 Sep 5  
 Sep 14  
 1954 Mar 31

HUMPHREY, HUBERT H.

1949 Jun 27  
 Jul 26  
 1950 Jan 13 (to Mary Hillyer)

1963 May 21  
 Aug 2  
 1964 Apr 2  
 Jul 23  
 Sep 2  
 Dec 1  
 Dec 24  
 1965 Oct 15  
 Nov 23  
 Dec 8  
 1966 Jan 4  
 Jan 10  
 Mar 3  
 May 6  
 May 24 (to William J. Butler)  
 Jun 21 (to Robert A. Scalpino)  
 Jun 23  
 Jun 27  
 Jul 2  
 Jul 15  
 Aug 30  
 Sep 2  
 Dec 16  
 1967 Mar 1  
 Sep 14  
 Nov 16

JAVITS, JACOB K.

1953 Jul 9  
 Sep 18  
 1954 Nov 19  
 1955 Mar 29  
 1957 Feb 6  
 Apr 1  
 Apr 10  
 Jun 26  
 Jul 24  
 Aug 12  
 Oct 24  
 Dec 28  
 1958 Jan 27  
 Mar 21  
 Sep 10  
 1959 Jun 25  
 Aug 20  
 Nov 19  
 1960 May 19  
 Oct 6  
 1961 Aug 8  
 1963 Jan 16  
 Oct 10  
 1964 Apr 27  
 1965 Jul 8  
 Oct 8  
 Oct 28

1966 Sep 8  
 1967 Feb 7  
 Aug 31

JOHNSON, LYNDON B.

1956 Feb 7  
 1957 Jan 11  
 1961 Sep 13  
 Dec 9  
 1965 Mar 29  
 1966 May 24 (to William J. Butler)

KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR COMMITTEE

1938 Jul 14 Leonard Bright  
 Aug 9 Lillie Megrath  
 Oct 14 Verne F. Harris  
 Nov 9 Leonard Bright  
 Nov 15 Alvaine Hollister  
 Dec 7 Leonard Bright  
 Dec 12 Leonard Bright  
 Dec 20 Leonard Bright (3)  
 1939 Jan 18 Alice Dodge  
 Jun 28 Leonard Bright  
 Jul 13 Leonard Bright  
 Jul 18 Leonard Bright  
 Oct 10 Leonard Bright  
 Dec 16 Leonard Bright  
 Dec 22 Lyn Smith  
 1940 Feb 14 Leonard Bright  
 Jul 6 Alice Dodge  
 Aug 4 Rosamund Clark  
 Aug 26 Pauli Murray  
 Oct 28 Gustave Holmstrum  
 Nov 2 Kenneth Cuthbertson  
 Dec 30 Alice Dodge  
 1941 Jan 9 Gustave Holmstrum  
 Jan 22 Alice Dodge  
 Jan 24 Kenneth Cuthbertson  
 Jan 31 Henry Dyer  
 Feb 13 Kenneth Cuthbertson  
 Mar 1 Kenneth Cuthbertson  
 Mar 7 Gustave Holmstrum  
 Mar 13 Mary Hillyer  
 Mar 14 Mary Hillyer  
 Nov 25 Fay Bennett  
 Dec 4 Fay Bennett

KENNEDY, JOHN F.

1959 Jun 18  
 1960 Mar 4  
 1961 Sep 14  
 Sep 21

KESTER, HOWARD

1933 Oct 22  
 1934 Feb 3  
       Oct 30  
 1935 Aug 24  
       Oct 6  
 1937 Jan 8 (to Roger Baldwin)  
       Aug 21  
 1947 Aug 23

KRUEGER, MAYNARD

1933 Mar 13  
 1934 Mar 19  
       Jun 27  
       Oct 9  
       Oct 25  
       Dec 10  
 1935 Mar 4  
       May 21  
       May 28  
       May  
       Dec 4  
       Dec  
 1936 ca. Jul  
       n.d.  
 1938 Mar 20  
 1940 May 24  
 1950 Oct 8  
 1951 Sep 5  
       Dec 7

LAGUARDIA, FIORELLO

1936 Nov 6  
 1939 Jan 31  
       Sep 21?  
 1940 Feb 21  
       Mar 20  
 1943 Oct 11  
 1946 Sep 22

LONDON, ALFRED M.

1936 Jul 29  
 1938 Jun 2  
 1941 Aug 13  
 1942 Sep 5  
 1943 Oct 6  
 1945 Mar 6  
       May 3  
       Jul 20  
       Aug 10  
 1962 Aug 9 (to Harry Fleischman)

LEWIS, ALFRED BAKER

1933 Dec 12

1934 Jan 22  
       Mar 5  
       Jun 11  
       Oct 19  
       Dec 4  
       Dec 20  
 1935 Mar 20  
       Apr 2  
       May 4  
       May 25  
       Jun 10 (2)  
       Oct 7  
       Oct 21  
       Oct 30  
       Oct 31  
       Nov 1  
       Nov 5  
       Nov 19  
       Nov 27  
       Nov 29 (2)  
       Dec 5  
       Dec 11  
       Dec 21 (2)  
       Dec 28  
 1936 Jan 8  
       Jan 11  
       Jan 13  
       Jan 22  
       Apr 6  
       Apr 9  
       Jun 16  
       Oct 21  
       Nov 13 (to Clarence Senior)  
 1937 Jan 27  
       Feb 1  
       Mar 11 (to John Newton Thurber)  
       Mar 15  
       Jul 21  
       Aug 19  
       Aug 20  
       Oct 20 (to Roy Burt)  
       Oct 22  
       Oct 27  
       Oct 28  
       Oct 29  
       Nov 12  
       Nov 27  
       Dec (to State Executive Comm.)  
 1938 Dec 16  
 1939 Jan 16  
       Feb 17  
       Feb 21  
       Feb 26  
       May 2

Aug 7  
 Aug 9  
 Sep 30  
 Nov 29  
 Dec 9  
 1940 Jan 10 (to Arthur G. McDowell)  
 Jan 13  
 Jan 19 (to Socialist Party of  
 Mass.)  
 Jun 5  
 Jun 19  
 Jun 25  
 Jul 19 (to Frank Trager)  
 Jul 22  
 1941 Feb 3  
 1942 Feb 3  
 1945 Sep 20  
 1946 May 17  
 Oct 21  
 Dec 20  
 1948 Jul 13  
 1949 Jan 27  
 Feb 21  
 Feb 25  
 Jun 6  
 1950 Apr 25  
 1952 Apr 21  
 1953 Mar 16  
 Apr 13  
 May 21  
 Jul 27  
 1956 Mar 12  
 Jul 6  
 1963 Jan 12  
 May 17

LEWIS, JOHN L.

1936 Jan 14  
 1941 Nov 27  
 1942 Jan 23  
 Apr 10  
 May 5  
 Oct 1  
 Oct 24  
 1954 Oct 7

LOVESTONE, JAY

1934 May 7  
 May 16  
 Jul 30  
 Aug 2  
 Aug 8  
 Oct 4  
 Oct 15

1935 Dec 17  
 1937 Jan 22  
 Jun 19  
 Oct 6  
 1939 May 24  
 1940 Jan 3  
 1953 Apr 28  
 Jun 8  
 Jun 10  
 Sep 14  
 Oct 7  
 Nov 4  
 1954 Jan 21  
 Feb 1  
 Oct 12  
 1955 Jan 21  
 Jun 27  
 Jun 30  
 Jul 8  
 Jul 19  
 1956 Jul 26  
 1962 Feb 12

LOVETT, SIDNEY

1934 Oct 9  
 1938 Nov 7  
 1939 Sep 25  
 1940 Jan 3  
 Nov 12  
 Nov 19  
 1941 Apr 7  
 1942 Mar 12  
 Mar 14  
 1948 Dec 1  
 1950 Oct 20  
 1952 Feb 20  
 Mar 4  
 1955 Feb 25  
 Mar 2  
 Apr 4  
 1956 Feb 10  
 1958 Jun 26  
 1966 May 6  
 1967 Oct 26

McCALLISTER, FRANK

1934 Dec 16  
 1935 Dec 2  
 Dec 8  
 1936 Jan 3  
 Jan 28  
 Mar 16 (to Aron Gilmartin)  
 1937 Jul 6  
 Oct 1  
 Oct 4

1938	Dec 14	<u>McDOWELL, ARTHUR G.</u>
1939	Mar 6	1937 Oct 5
	Mar 13	Oct 26
	Apr 21 (to David Clendenin et al.)	Oct 28
	Jul 21	Nov 3
1940	Feb 11	Nov 17
	Feb 19	Nov 22
	May 20	1938 Jan 12
	Nov 26	Dec 2
	Dec 5	Dec 6
1941	Feb 17	Dec 7
	May 16	1939 Jan 9
	Jun 16	Jan 17 (to Lee S. Morgan)
	Dec 29	Apr 28
1942	Jan 15	May 10
	Jan 21	May 16
	Feb 23	Jul 21
	May 1	Jul 31 (to Tom Mooney)
	Jul 28	Oct 2
	Sep 10	Oct
	Dec 2	1940 Jan 6
1943	Aug 25	Jan 17 (to Alfred Baker Lewis)
1948	Jan 13	Jan 23 (to Irving Barshop)
1950	Jan 23	Feb 15
1953	Mar 20	Feb 21
1954	Jan 26	Feb 22 (to Frank Trager)
1955	Feb 28	Feb 22 (to Rose Stein)
	Apr 8	Feb 27 (to Mabel Synder)
	Apr 13	Mar 13
	Apr 15	May 7
	Apr 18	May 11 (to Travers Clement)
1956	Jul 3	May 27 (to Travers Clement)
	Jul 9	Jun 17 (to Travers Clement)
1958	Feb 26	Jul 5
	Aug 19	Jul 15
	Nov 17	Jul 17
1959	Jun 19	Aug 6
	Jul 1	Aug 7
	Oct 3	Oct 7
	Nov 23	Dec 9
1960	Oct 11	1941 Jan 7 (to Robert Parker)
	Oct 19	Jan 14
1961	May 9	ca. Jan 24
	Nov 22 (to Edward R. Murrow)	1951 Aug 17
1962	Oct 19	Oct 5
	Oct 29	Oct 9
1964	Apr 3	Oct 12
1965	Jan 11	Oct 25
	Apr 15	Nov 14
	Dec 21	1952 Feb 29
1967	Jun 29	Mar 3
	Dec 4	Mar 28 (to Robert R. Phelps)
n.d.		Apr 1
		Apr 16

1953	Jul 3	Sep 26
1954	Sep 20	Oct 2
	Sep 28	Nov 26
	Oct 5	1957 Feb 18
1955	May 24	May 7
	Sep 12	May 13
	Oct 5	May
1957	Mar 13	Jul 1
	Jul 26	Jul 22
1958	May 28	1958 May 27
	Sep 17	Sep 15
	Nov 13	Oct 13
	Nov 25	n.d. (to Ernst Papanek)
1959	Mar 9	1959 Oct 20
	Mar 25	Nov 20
1960	May 18	1960 Feb 4 (to Warren Morse)
	Jun 27	Feb 8
	Jul 1	Apr 5
	Jul 13	Jul 27
	Aug 2	1961 Apr 10
	Sep 2	Apr 25
	Oct 11	1962 May 1
1961	Jan 27	Jun 2
	Feb 24	Jun 14
1962	Feb 5	Jun 19 (2)
	Feb 22	Jul 16
	May 8	Jul 23
	May 21	Jul 27
	Jul 20 (to William L. Abbott)	Nov 3
	Aug 8	n.d.
	Aug 17	1963 Feb 20
	Sep 7	1964 Mar ?
	Sep 27	May 18
	Dec 14	Aug 20
1963	Jul 19	Nov 25
	Jul 31	Dec 23
	Aug 28	n.d.
	Sep 3	1965 Jun 1
	Sep 6	Jun 16
1964	Jul 27	Jul 12
	Aug 3	Aug 10 (to Ronald H. Wright)
	Oct 26	Aug 25 (to Arlo Tatum)
	Oct 27	Aug 30
	Nov 16	Sep 9
	Nov 18	Oct 5
1965	n.d.	Nov 9
		Dec 6
<u>McREYNOLDS, DAVID</u>		1966 Mar 5
1954	Jan 6	Mar 7
	Jan 16	Apr 11
1955	Nov 8	Jun 7
1956	Aug 2	Jun 30
	Aug 6	Jul 28
	Aug 15	Aug 3



Aug 9  
 Sep 8  
 Sep 20  
 Oct 3  
 1967 Feb 28  
 Mar 27  
 Apr 25  
 May 12  
 Jun 14  
 Aug 2  
 Aug 28  
 Sep 27 (2)  
 Nov 16

MARSH, BENJAMIN

1934 May 1  
 May 2  
 1935 Mar 28  
 Apr 5  
 Apr 25 (to Sen. E.D. Smith)  
 Jul 1  
 Jul 16  
 Nov 25  
 Dec 30  
 1940 Sep 25  
 1942 Jul 21  
 Dec 21  
 1948 Nov 5  
 1949 Feb 28  
 Mar 21  
 Apr 11  
 Apr 18

MEANY, GEORGE

1952 Dec 4  
 1954 Feb 25  
 Mar 24 (to Louise Crane)  
 Apr 29  
 Dec 16  
 1956 May 18

MITCHELL, H.L.

1934 Jul 3  
 Dec 18  
 1937 Aug 19 (to J.B. Nathan)  
 1961 May 2  
 1963 Aug 27  
 1964 ante Nov 30  
 1966 Feb 9  
 Nov 10

MUSTE, A.J.

1933 Sep 14  
 1939 Aug 17

1940 Jan 26  
 Feb 16  
 Jul 31  
 1941 Jan 4  
 Jan 31  
 Feb 21  
 1942 Dec 21  
 1943 Jan 5  
 Apr 7  
 1944 May 4  
 1946 May 24  
 Oct 14  
 Oct 21  
 Dec 20  
 1949 Nov 11 (to Carl A. Wittfogel)  
 1951 Jan  
 Feb 19  
 Jul 21  
 Oct 15  
 1953 Nov 5  
 1954 Jan 11  
 Jan 28  
 Feb 5  
 Mar 12  
 Mar 31  
 Apr 23 (2)  
 Jun 17  
 1955 Jan 26  
 Jul 12  
 Nov 22  
 1956 Feb 15  
 Mar 28  
 Apr 13  
 May 4  
 May 10  
 Jun 2  
 Jun 21  
 Jul 9  
 Jul  
 Aug 30  
 Sep 13  
 Sep  
 Oct 31  
 Nov 28 (2)  
 Dec 4  
 Dec 19  
 Dec 28  
 1957 Mar 19  
 Apr 2  
 Apr 4  
 May 8  
 May 23  
 1958 Sep 19  
 Nov 10  
 Dec 3

1959 Feb 24  
 Mar 13  
 May 7  
 Jun 1  
 Jun 11  
 Jul 24  
 Aug 4  
 Sep 22  
 Oct 19  
 Nov 20  
 1960 Jan 8  
 Mar 10  
 May 23  
 Jun 27  
 Oct 3  
 Oct 18  
 Nov 7  
 1961 Jan 31  
 Feb 16  
 May 1  
 May 10  
 Oct 23  
 Nov 6 (to Clarence Pickett)  
 1962 Feb 2  
 Sep 19  
 Sep 24  
 Nov 23  
 1963 Apr 8  
 Jun 18  
 Aug 8  
 1964 May 5  
 May  
 Jun 10  
 Jun 26  
 Nov 24  
 Dec 18  
 1965 Jan 8  
 Jan 14  
 Mar 10  
 Mar  
 May 31  
 Sep 1  
 Sep 29  
 Oct 7  
 n.d.  
 1966 Jan 14  
 Feb 19  
 Apr 5  
 Jun 22  
 Jul 14  
 Aug 12  
 Oct 5  
 Nov 18  
 Dec 13  
 1967 Jan 30

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE PREVENTION  
OF WAR

1932 Nov 4 Frederick J. Libby  
 1937 Jan 1 Frederick J. Libby  
 1938 Mar 15 Jo Seminaris  
 1939 Jan 7 Frederick J. Libby  
 1940 Jun 27 Frederick J. Libby  
 1941 Jan 13 Frederick J. Libby  
 May 13 Frederick J. Libby  
 Jun 4 Frederick J. Libby  
 Jun 12 Frederick J. Libby  
 Sep 3 Frederick J. Libby  
 Sep 9 Mark R. Shaw  
 Sep 22 Frederick J. Libby (2)  
 Oct 20 Mark R. Shaw  
 Nov 1 Frederick J. Libby  
 Nov 8 Frederick J. Libby  
 1942 Jul 1 Frederick J. Libby  
 Sep 17 Mark R. Shaw  
 Oct 31 Frederick J. Libby  
 1943 May 15 J.J. Handsaker  
 1946 Aug 30 Frederick J. Libby  
 1948 Mar 2 Frederick J. Libby  
 1949 Mar 14 Frederick J. Libby  
 1950 Jan 10 Frederick J. Libby  
 1951 Apr 27 Frederick J. Libby  
 1952 Feb 20 James Finucane  
 1953 Apr 16 Frederick J. Libby  
 1954 Dec 10 Frederick J. Libby  
 1955 Dec 7 Frederick J. Libby  
 1956 Jun 22 Frederick J. Libby

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD

1935 Apr 2  
 Apr 4  
 Dec 4  
 1939 Feb 17  
 1941 May 13  
 May 23  
 1944 Jan 5  
 1948 n.d.  
 1950 Oct 17  
 Oct 27  
 1953 Aug 7  
 Aug 20  
 Sep 16  
 1955 Mar 30  
 1956 Apr 4  
 Nov 14  
 Dec 5  
 Dec 7  
 1957 Sep 27  
 Nov 25  
 1959 Jun  
 1961 May 2

NIXON, RICHARD M.

1958 Aug 18  
Oct 6  
1959 May 4  
Sep 4

PAGE, KIRBY

1934 Mar 21  
Jul 9  
Aug 1  
1936 May 19  
1940 Jun 28  
Aug 24  
1941 Jan 10  
Apr 10  
1946 Mar 19  
1953 May 19

PAULING, LINUS

1958 Aug 29  
Oct 6  
1959 Jun 4  
1960 Jun 16  
Jul 12  
1961 Jan 15  
Mar 1  
Jun 15  
1962 May 8  
May 14  
Dec 13  
1963 Oct 30

PORTER, PAUL

1933 Mar 9  
Jun 17  
Nov 27  
1934 Jan 10  
Jan 28  
Jun 17  
Jul 23  
Jul 29  
Sep 28  
n.d.  
1935 Jan 24  
Apr 25  
Apr 25 (to H.A. Rasmussen)  
Oct 6  
1936 Jan 18  
Jan 30  
Feb 8  
May 9  
Jun 5  
1937 Feb 3  
Jul 14  
Oct 6

1938 Jun 13  
Dec 12 (to Roy Burt)  
Dec 23 (to Murray Baron)

1939 Feb 20  
Jul 24  
Aug 1  
Sep 25

1940 Mar 25  
Apr 23  
Jun 5  
Jun 17  
Jun 23  
Sep 4

1941 Feb 20  
Mar 12 (to Frank ?)  
Apr 8

1945 Feb 13  
1946 Apr 25  
Dec 12

1947 Mar 7  
Jun 30

1950 Nov 16  
1951 Jun 9  
1952 Feb 28

Sep 1  
1953 Feb 14  
Nov 23

1954 Feb 16  
1956 Feb 24  
1960 Aug 1

Sep 2  
1964 Aug 1  
Dec 9

RANDOLPH, A. PHILIP

1935 May 3  
Oct 26  
1939 ante Oct 17  
1940 May 18  
Oct 11  
1942 Feb 24  
Mar ?  
Jul 20  
Dec 2  
1945 Aug 20  
1948 Nov 5  
1949 Apr 4  
1950 Apr 7  
Jul 21  
Aug 30  
1953 Jan 16  
Mar 10  
1954 Dec 20  
1956 Jan 18  
Jan 23

	Feb 17		Sep 19
	Mar 7 (to Ella Baker)		Sep 21
	Mar 13		Dec 18
	Mar 15	1960	Jan 11
	Mar 22	1961	May 2
	Sep 18		Jun 20
1957	Aug 7		Jun 26
1958	Apr 28		Jun 27
	Sep 3		Jul 19 (to Bob Gilmore)
	Nov 5		Jul 26
1959	Jan 23		Aug 3
	May 26		Aug 4 (to Joyce Mertz)
	Jun 2		Aug 16
1960	Jun 15		Aug 29
	Sep 27	1962	Feb 19
	Oct 6		Mar 8
	Nov 17		Mar 13
	Nov 28		Mar 16
1961	Jan 3		May 17
	Feb 8		Oct 25
	Mar 9	1963	Apr 2
	May 1		Jul 16
	Oct 17		Jul 22
	Oct 27		Nov 8
1962	Jan 12	1966	Jan 19
	Feb 5		May 23
	Feb 21		
	Feb 23		<u>ROCKEFELLER, NELSON A.</u>
	Apr 23	1959	Sep 30
	May 29	1962	Mar 30
	Jul 16		Jun 25
	Jul 18	1965	Apr 7
1963	Jan 29	1966	May 24 (to William J. Butler)
	May 14		
1964	Jan 6		<u>ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR</u>
	Jul 10	1946	May 1 ?
	Jul 22	1954	Nov 12
	Aug 5	1956	Mar 26
1965	May 7		Apr 6
	May 21		Oct 8
	Sep 10		Nov 8
1966	Jun 22		Nov 16
	Aug 1		Dec 18
	Aug 2	1957	Jun 28
1967	Feb 15	1958	May 21
	Nov 1		Dec 29
		1959	Jul 31
		1961	Apr 29
			May 22
		1962	Mar 27
			<u>ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN D.</u>
<u>RIESMAN, DAVID</u>		1934	Jan 8
1955	Feb 28	1937	Dec 25
1957	Nov 18		
1958	Jan 13		
1959	Jul 30		
	Aug 19		
	Sep 8		

1938	Aug 22		Sep 18
	Oct 26		Sep 19
	Oct 29		
	Nov 28		
	Dec 30 (from H.H. McIntyre)		<u>SAYRE, JOHN NEVIN</u>
1939	Jul 26		1917 Apr 25
	Sep 28		May 1
1940	Jun 15		1918 Oct 15
	Jun 29		n.d.
	Jul 31		1933 Nov 13
	Aug 12		1935 May 20
	Aug 19		Dec 23
	Nov 9		1936 Dec 29
1941	Jan 9		1941 Jan 3
	May 14		Feb 4
1942	Aug 25		Sep 12
	Nov 20		1942 Jan 10
1943	Apr 29		Jan 14
	May 20		1960 May 16
1944	Jun 15		1961 Jun 30
			Jul 14
			Oct 9
			1963 Jan 21
			1965 Mar 22 (to Louisa Thomas)
			1967 Nov 15
			<u>SENIOR, CLARENCE</u>
			1933 Sep 9
			Sep 14
			Sep 22 (to Julius Gerber)
			Sep 26
			Sep
			Nov 16
			Nov 20
			Nov 22 (2)
			Nov 23
			Nov 27
			Dec 1
			Dec 2 (to H.L. Coggins)
			Dec 7
			Dec 22 (2)
			Dec 23
			Dec 27
			1934 Jan 4
			Jan 16
			Jan 17
			Jan 22
			Jan 22 (to Darlington Hoopes)
			Mar 8
			Mar 15
			Mar 20
			Mar 22 (2)
			Mar 28
			Apr 2
			Apr 3
			<u>RUSSELL, BERTRAND</u>
			1957 Feb 25
			1958 Aug 15
			1960 Jul 20 (to Mr. Yauden-Trebull)
			1961 Nov 25
			1963 Sep 9
			Sep 27
			Sep 30
			Dec 4
			1964 Nov 7
			1965 Jan 29
			<u>RUSTIN, BAYARD</u>
			1948 Jul 27
			1951 Nov 14
			1955 Oct 13
			1956 Nov 4
			1958 Jan 20
			1960 Mar 18
			Oct 6
			n.d.
			1961 Nov 27
			Dec 4
			1964 Apr 6
			May 14
			1965 Mar 8
			Jun 7
			1966 Mar 7
			May 6
			Aug 24
			Nov 10
			Dec 15
			1967 Jan 4

Apr 16		Oct 1
Apr 24		Oct 25
Jun 12		Oct 29
Jun 13		Oct 31
Jun 14		Nov 7
Jun 18		Nov 8
Jun 19		Nov 13 (to William Amberson et al.)
Jun 25		Nov 18
Jul 30		Nov 20
Aug 1 (2)		Nov 22
Aug 3		Nov 29
Aug 10		Dec 10 (to Chas. E. Jensen and Frank McCallister)
Aug 14		Dec 20
Aug 17		n.d. (to Franz Daniel)
Aug 18		
Aug 24	1936	Jan 14
Aug 29		Jan 20
Sep 13		Jan 21
Sep 24		Jan 22
Oct 2		Jan 28
Oct 9		Jan 29
Oct 10		Feb 6
Oct 17		Feb 8 (to Devere Allen)
Oct 20		Feb 12
Oct 24		Feb 19
Nov 20		Feb 20
Dec 11		Feb 23
Dec 13		Apr 1 (to Emil Limbach)
Dec 19		Apr 2
Dec 27 (to Mary Fox)		Apr 8
Dec 28		Apr 17 (to George W. Goler)
Dec 31		May 18
1935		Jun 2
Jan 2		Jun 4
Jan 3		Jun 13 (to Elizabeth Gilman)
Jan 7		Jul 23
Jan 10		Jul 27
Jan 28		Aug 21
Jan 29		Sep 21
Feb 4		Oct 2
Apr 22		Oct 6
Apr 29 (3)		Oct 24
Jun 5		Nov 2
Jul 6		Nov 11
Jul 24		Nov 30
Aug 6		Dec 1
Aug 26		Dec 3 (to Jimmy Lipsig)
Sep 3		Dec 17
Sep 4		
Sep 17	1937	Jan 16
Sep 19		Jan 25
Sep 20		Feb 3
Sep 25		Mar 19
Sep 27 (to Jack Fies)		Aug 16
Sep 30		Dec 7

1938 Mar 22  
       Oct 13  
       Nov 28  
 1940 Feb 6  
       Aug 23  
 1941 Jan 20  
       Mar 30  
       Apr 29  
       Jul 11  
 1942 Mar 17  
 1945 Nov 28  
       n.d.  
 1948 Oct 8  
       Oct 13  
       Nov 5  
 1949 Jan 18  
       n.d.  
 1951 Sep 20  
       Nov 10  
 1952 Mar 6  
 1954 Mar  
       Jun 11  
       Jul 8  
       Jul 14  
 1955 Apr 8  
 1956 Aug 13 (to Herberto M. Sein)  
       Aug 13 (to Salomon de la Selva)  
       Aug 13 (to Edwin Duckles)  
 1961 Feb 29  
       Oct 19  
 1963 Jan 7 (to Board of Education)  
       Mar 8  
 1964 n.d.  
 1965 Feb 11  
       May 13  
       Jun 9  
       Nov 17  
 1967 Jan 12  
       Feb 27  
       Mar 6  
       Jun 29  
 n.d.

SHRIVER, WILLIAM P.

1916 Jan 25  
       Feb 23  
       Jul 20  
       Jul 22  
       Oct 27  
 1917 Jan 8  
       May 14  
       Oct 16  
       Dec 19  
       n.d.

SIMON, S. FANNY

1939 Dec 26  
 1940 Feb 9  
 1941 Nov 23  
       Nov 27  
 1942 Mar 18  
       May 3  
 1945 Aug 7  
 1948 Oct 13  
       Dec 1  
 1949 Apr 2  
 1950 Jul 11  
 1952 Dec 13  
 1953 Mar 23  
       May 8  
       May 13  
 1954 Jul 1  
       Jul 19  
 1957 Feb 24  
       Jul 23  
 1959 Aug 11  
       Aug 16  
       Dec 5  
 1960 May 17  
       Sep 5  
 1961 Feb 14  
 1962 Feb 5  
       Mar 17  
 1965 May 1 (to Mr. Vice President)  
       Sep 26  
 1966 Oct 16  
 1967 May 20  
       Oct 30

SINCLAIR, UPTON

1933 Sep 6  
 1934 Apr 25  
 1943 Mar 29  
       Sep 3  
       Sep 15  
 1948 Feb 16  
       ante Oct 29  
 1950 Oct 30  
 1951 Apr 22 (to Eleanor Roosevelt)  
       Sep 25  
 1952 Oct  
       Nov 24  
       Dec 8  
       Dec  
 1953 Jan 26 (from Mary Craig Sinclair)  
       Feb 9  
       Feb 21  
 1954 Feb 27  
       Jul 3

Aug 19  
 Nov 4  
 1955 Apr 22 (to Erich Fromm)  
     ante Jun 27  
     Oct 28 (to Lush)  
 1956 Apr 2  
     Aug 21  
     Sep 30  
 1957 Apr 6  
     Apr 8?  
 1958 Dec 1  
 1959 Nov 19  
     Nov 30  
 1961 May 19  
     Oct 8  
     Nov 17  
     Nov 23  
 1963 Jan 30  
 1964 Jul 12  
 1966 Jul 21

SMITH, GERALD L.K.

1941 Apr 16

SMITH, TUCKER P.

1934 May 23  
 1935 Dec 20  
 1937 Oct 8  
     Nov ?  
 1949 Jan 10 (to Harry Fleischman)  
     Feb 4  
     Feb 7  
     Mar 25  
     Dec 4  
 1950 Mar 27  
     Jul 10  
     Jul 13  
     Jul 24  
     Aug 25  
     Sep 26  
     Oct 25  
 1951 Jul 20 (to William Hart)  
 1952 Feb 25  
 1955 Oct 30  
 1956 May 13  
     May  
 1960 Aug 8  
     Sep 17  
 1961 Apr 30  
 1962 Jan 7  
     Jan 21  
     Oct 15  
     Nov 26  
 1963 Jul 15

1964 Oct 6  
     Dec 8  
 1965 Jan 16 (to Mrs. Oscar Marx)  
     Jan 19  
     Jan 28 (to Mrs. Oscar Marx)  
     Jul 2  
 1967 Apr 20

STONE, I.F.

1956 Jun 8  
     Nov 27  
 1957 Aug 17  
 1958 Dec 18  
 1959 Jan 15  
     Feb 8  
     Jul 19  
     Oct 1  
 1964 Oct 9  
 1965 Feb 18  
     Feb 24  
     May 22  
 1967 Sep 4  
     Sep 23

STREATOR, GEORGE

1933 Aug 30  
     Sep 13  
     Oct 11  
     Nov 2  
 1934 Mar 27  
     Aug 12  
 1940 Dec 5  
 1950 Apr 12  
     Apr 26

THOMAS, EVAN

1915 Nov 5  
     Nov 12  
     Nov 30  
     Dec 30  
 1916 Jun 28  
     Dec 24  
     n.d.  
 1917 Jan 15  
     Feb 2  
     Mar 2  
 1918 May 8  
     May 16  
     May 29  
     May  
     Jun 8  
     Jul 28  
     Jul 29  
     Jul 31



	Aug 3		Mar 14
	Aug 4		Mar 16
	Aug 14		Mar 19
	Aug 21 (2)		Jun 29 (to Glen Trimble)
	Aug 23 (2)		Jun 30 (to J.B. Nathan)
	Aug 25		Sep 16
	Sep 5	1938	Nov 22
	Sep 12		Dec 28 (to Arthur G. McDowell)
	Nov 7	1939	Sep 13
1952	Jan		Dec 20
1962	Sep 29	1940	Jan 11
	Dec 12		Feb 5
1963	Sep 3		Feb 8
	Sep 18		Mar 28 (to Ben Horowitz)
	Oct		Apr 17
1964	May 3		May 24 (to Anton Garden)
	Sep 16		May 29
	Sep		Jun 6 (to Albert Sprague Coolidge)
	Dec 1		Jun 7
1966	Feb 7 (to Frances Gates)		Jul 9
	Dec 7	1941	Jan 7 (to Arthur G. McDowell)
1967	May 20		Jan 29
n.d.			Feb 10 (to Frank McCallister)

TRAGER, FRANK

1934	Feb 6
	Mar 7
	Mar 29
	Apr 19
	Aug ?
	Oct 27
1935	ca. Aug
	Nov 18
	Dec 2?
	n.d.
1936	Jun 17
	Aug 24
	Sep 3
	Oct 23
	Dec 10
	Dec 15
	Dec 16
	Dec 30
	n.d.
1937	Jan 12
	Jan 15
	Jan 18
	Jan 20 (2)
	Jan 29 (to Brendon Sexton)
	Feb 4
	Feb 11
	Feb 17 (to Francis King)
	Feb 23
	Feb 25

	Mar 14
	Mar 16
	Mar 19
	Jun 29 (to Glen Trimble)
	Jun 30 (to J.B. Nathan)
	Sep 16
1938	Nov 22
	Dec 28 (to Arthur G. McDowell)
1939	Sep 13
	Dec 20
1940	Jan 11
	Feb 5
	Feb 8
	Mar 28 (to Ben Horowitz)
	Apr 17
	May 24 (to Anton Garden)
	May 29
	Jun 6 (to Albert Sprague Coolidge)
	Jun 7
	Jul 9
1941	Jan 7 (to Arthur G. McDowell)
	Jan 29
	Feb 10 (to Frank McCallister)
	Mar 31 (to Travers Clement)
	May 7
	Jun 6
	Jun 17
1942	Nov 23
1943	Apr 29
1949	Jan 21
	Apr 22
1950	Feb 1
	Mar 31
	Apr 12
1951	Aug 15
	Sep 20
1956	Jan
	Feb 24
	Feb 27
	Mar 6
	Mar 26 (to Roy McCorkle)
	Dec 18
1957	Jan 22
	ca. Aug 8
1959	Feb 5 (to Adelaide Schulkind)
	Feb 13 (to Adelaide Schulkind)
1960	Sep 13
1965	Nov 18
1967	Oct 25

TRESCA, CARLO

1937	Jun 16
1938	Oct 6
	ante Nov 25 (see Nov 25 NT to Tresca)
1941	Feb 10

TRUMAN, HARRY S.

1944 Feb 11  
Sep 14  
1949 Feb 2  
1950 Aug 10  
Aug 30  
Sep 28  
Oct 28  
Nov 3  
1951 Jan 6  
Feb 6  
Mar 10  
Apr 18  
May 17  
Jul 5  
Jul 19  
Aug 9  
Sep 26  
Oct 17  
Nov 6  
1952 Apr 10  
Jul 31  
Sep 25  
1953 Oct 23  
1954 May 3  
1955 Mar 14  
1957 Jul 24  
1959 Jun 1

VILLARD, OSWALD GARRISON

1917 Dec 26  
1919 Apr 30  
1938 Mar 15  
1940 Jul 16  
Dec 3  
Dec 27  
1941 Nov 12  
1942 Apr 22  
Jul 9  
Aug 17  
Aug 18  
Sep 15  
Dec 14  
1943 Sep 20  
1944 May 3  
1946 Apr  
1949 Feb 17

VLADECK, B. CHARNEY

1933 Dec 28 (to Daniel Hoan)  
1934 Jan 2  
Apr 12  
Apr 20 (to Daniel Hoan)  
Jun 14

Jul 5  
Aug 1  
Aug 14  
Oct 29  
Oct 30  
Oct 31  
Nov 20  
1935 Jan 7  
Jan 11  
Feb 14  
Apr 22  
Dec 13  
1936 May 20  
1937 Jul 19

VOORHIS, JERRY

1932 Jun 2  
1933 Sep 18  
Sep 25  
1934 Apr 2  
1939 Jun 1  
Jun 14  
1940 Oct 2  
1941 Nov 25  
Dec 8  
1942 Jan 3  
1944 Feb 8  
Mar 17  
1952 Aug 13  
1955 Sep 30

WALDMAN, LOUIS

1933 Sep 20  
1934 Jan 24  
Mar 29  
Apr 2  
Jun 9  
1939 Jul 19

WHEELER, BURTON K.

1937 Mar 8  
1940 Jun 27  
Aug 21  
Sep 6  
1941 Jan 7  
Jan 23  
Jan 24  
Mar 1  
Aug 27  
Nov 25  
Nov 26  
Dec 1  
1942 Jan 23  
Mar 3  
Apr 1

1944 Feb 10  
 1946 Aug 3  
     Aug 10  
 1963 Feb 4  
     Oct 21  
 1967 Nov 15

WHITE, WALTER

1934 May 8  
 1935 Aug 19  
 1936 Jan 30  
     Feb 1  
     Feb 4  
 1937 Jun 25  
     Oct 21  
 1939 Aug 11  
     Dec 6  
     Dec 12  
     Dec 19  
 1942 Jan 26  
 1953 Jan 5  
     Jan 13  
     May 4  
     May 28  
     Sep 24

WILKINS, ROY

1936 Jun 17  
 1950 Apr 18  
     May 15 (to Watson B. Miller)  
 1954 Nov 1  
     Nov 5  
     Dec 15  
 1955 Jul 7  
 1956 Feb 9  
     Jun 22  
     Jul 25  
 1959 Mar 23  
     Jul 8  
     Dec 4  
 1962 Jun 21  
 1964 Apr 16  
     May 15  
 1965 Mar 5  
 1967 Apr 24

WILSON, WOODROW

1909 Nov 5

WOLFE, BERTRAM D.

1938 Oct 13  
     Nov 18 (to Clarence Senior)  
     Dec 12  
 1940 Nov 4

1941 Sep 9  
 1944 May 2  
     Oct 13  
 1948 Sep 13  
 1949 Mar 2  
     Nov 7  
 1950 Apr 3  
 1951 Mar 7  
 1952 Feb 12  
     Feb 18  
 1957 ante Nov 6

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE  
 AND FREEDOM

1938 Feb 18 Dorothy Detzer  
     Mar 14 Dora Weiner  
 1939 May 25 Dorothy Detzer  
     Oct 2 Hannah Clothier Hull  
     Oct 19  
 1940 Feb 10 Dorothy Detzer  
     Mar 2 Mercedes Randall  
     Mar 7 Dorothy Detzer  
     Apr 10 Dorothy Detzer  
     May 1 Dorothy Detzer  
     Jun 26 Eleanor A. Eaton  
     Nov 8 Dorothy Detzer  
     Dec 3 Dorothy Detzer  
 1941 Jan 14 Emily Eaton  
     Jan 21 E.L.E.  
     Sep 22 Dorothy Detzer to H.C. Burr  
     Oct 31 Alvaine Hamilton  
     Nov 12 Dorothy Detzer  
     Nov 24 Dorothy Detzer  
 1942 Feb 4 Dorothy Detzer  
     Mar 30 Gertrude C. Bussey  
     Jul 31 Dorothy Detzer  
     Sep 4 Roberta C. Kramer  
     Sep 30 Dorothy Detzer  
     Dec 19 Elizabeth Gilman  
 1943 Jun 11 Dorothy Detzer  
     Jun 18 Dorothy Detzer  
     Oct 20 Heloise Brainerd  
 1944 May 2 Dorothy Detzer  
 1946 Jun 1 Elizabeth F. Haswell  
 1947 May 16 Mildred Scott Olmsted  
 1950 Mar 24 Lydia C. Cadbury  
     Apr 28 Gladys Walser  
     May 17 Gertrude C. Bussey  
     Sep 29 Gertrude C. Bussey  
 1952 Jun Tano Jodai  
 1953 Jan 3 Jean Smith  
     Jan 19 Jean Smith  
     Apr 20 Meta Riseman  
     May 13 Meta Riseman  
     Oct 29 Janet N. Neuman



	Sep 18		May 3
	Sep 23		Jul 23 (to Dorothy Heath)
	Oct 14 (to Herman W. & Harold S. Falk)		Sep 6
	Oct 21		n.d.
	Nov 1	1955	Jan 1
	Dec 3		Jan 4
	Dec 4		Jan 25
	Dec 11		Mar 1
	Dec 28		Apr 25
1944	Feb 7		Jun 14
	Mar 22		Oct 4
	Dec 11	1956	Mar 16
1945	Jan 1		Apr 9
	Jul 2		Jul 10
1947	Jan 10		Sep 10
1948	Jan 9		Dec 5
	Apr 8	1957	Jan 8
1949	Sep 26		Jan 10 (to Maurice Goldbloom)
1950	Apr 28		Jan 30
	Dec 23		Jul 9
1951	ca. Jan (to Darlington Hoopes)		Sep 26
1952	Jan 8		Oct 4
	Feb 4		Dec 10 (to Max Shachtman)
	ante Feb 28		Dec 10 (to Francis Heisler)
	Mar 13 (to Paul Betterers)	1958	Jan 10
	Mar 18		Feb 28 (to Leo Mates)
	Apr 2		May 19
	Apr 7		May 27 (to Jacob Goldner)
	Aug 21		Jun 20 (to Irwin Suall)
	Sep 1		Jul 21
	Sep 29		Jul 28
	Nov 9		Aug 8
1953	Jan 28		Sep 3
	Feb 26		Sep 5
	Mar 13		Nov 12 (to Francis Heisler)
	Mar 16	1959	Jan 2
	Mar 19		Jun 15
	Apr 5		Jul 28
	Apr 16	1960	Feb 6
	Jun 1		Feb 25
	Oct 9		Mar 9
	Nov 13	1961	May 2
	Dec 18		Jun 26
	Dec 28		Jul 28
	n.d.		Aug 3
1954	Jan 30		Oct 31
	Jan 31	1962	Oct 13
	Feb 14		Nov 16
	Mar 15	1963	Jan 9
	Mar 16		Jul 10
	Mar 19		Dec 19
	Apr 12	1964	Mar 29
	Apr 26		Nov 20
		1965	Jan 14

Apr 16  
Aug 8 (to Betty Elkin)  
Sep 21  
Dec 20  
1966 Jan 24  
Jan 28  
Jul 5  
Aug 1  
Aug 10  
1967 Aug 31



LIST OF PROMINENT CORRESPONDENTS IN SERIES I

Acheson, Dean	Berle, A.A.
Adler, Friedrich	Berle, A.A., Jr.
Alexander, Archibald	Berman, Herman
Alexander, Robert J.	Betancourt, Romulo
Alfred, Helen	Bevan, Aneurin
Allard, Gerry	Biddle, Francis
Allen, Devere	Biemiller, Andrew J.
Allen, Frederick Lewis	Bigony, Ralph
Altbach, Philip	Billings, Arthur
Altman, Jack	Blanshard, Mary Hillyer
Aly, Bower	Blanshard, Paul
Ameringer, Siegfried	Blum, Leon
Anderson, Jack	Bohn, William
Angell, Ernest	Bosch, Juan
Antonini, Luigi	Bourdon, Eli
Atkinson, Brooks	Boudin, Louis
Attlee, Clement	Bowles, Chester
Balabanoff, Angelica	Braatoy, Bjarne
Baldwin, Roger	Brandt, Willy
Barnes, Harry Elmer	Brandstein, Rae
Barnes, Katrina McCormick	Braunthal, Julius
Baron, Samuel	Briggs, William
Barshop, Irving	Bright, Leonard
Baruch, Bernard	Brittain, Vera
Beard, Charles	Brock, Hugh
Becker, Selma	Brockway, Fenner
Becker, William	Brooks, Van Wyck
Beffel, John N.	Brophy, John
Bell, Daniel	Broun, Heywood
Bennett, Fay	Browder, Earl
Benson, Herman	Brown, Edmund
Benton, William	Buck, Pearl S.
Berger, Meta	Buckley, William F.
Bergman, Walter G.	Bullitt, William



Bundy, McGeorge  
Burke, John P.  
Burt, Roy  
Buttinger, Joseph  
Bynner, Witter  
Calverton, V.F.  
Carthy, Albert  
Case, Clifford  
Celler, Emanuel  
Chalmers, Allan Knight  
Chamberlain, William Henry  
Chase, Stuart  
Cherne, Leo  
Church, Frank  
Claessens, August  
Clark, Grenville  
Clarke, Dumont  
Clemens, Cyril  
Clement, Travers  
Clendenin, David  
Clinchy, Everett  
Coffin, Henry Sloan  
Coffin, William Sloan  
Cohen, Felix  
Coleman, McAlister  
Conrad, Leticia  
Coolidge, Albert Sprague  
Coser, Lewis  
Coughlin, Charles E.  
Cousins, Norman  
Cowley, Malcolm  
Crane, Henry Hitt  
Crane, Louise  
Cripps, Sir Stafford  
Croly, Herbert  
Crosswaith, Frank

Culbertson, Ely  
Cypin, Jack  
Dancis, Winston  
Daniel, Franz  
Das, Takernath  
Dasch, Marie  
Davidson, Vern  
Davis, Anna Mae  
Davis, Elmer  
Debs, Theodore  
Decter, Moshe  
DeLeon, Solon  
Dellinger, David  
Delson, Max  
Delson, Robert  
Dempster, Milen  
Denitch, Bodgan  
DeSilver, Margaret  
Despres, Leon  
Detzer, Dorothy  
Deutsch, Babette  
Dewey, John  
Dewey, Thomas E.  
Diamond, Martin  
Donahue, Daniel  
Dos Passos, John  
Douglas, Helen Gehagan  
Douglas, Paul  
Douglas, William O.  
Draper, Theodore  
Drob, Judah  
Dubinsky, David  
Dubois, W.E.B.  
Dulles, Allen W.  
Dulles, John Foster  
Eastland, James

Eastman, Max  
Eaton, Cyrus  
Eichelberger, Clark  
Einstein, Albert  
Eisenhower, Dwight D.  
Elkin, Betty  
Emmet, Christopher  
Ernst, Morris  
Farley, James  
Farmer, James  
Farrell, James T.  
Feigenbaum, William  
Feldman, Paul  
Felix, David H.  
Ferry, W.H.  
Fies, Jack  
Fischer, Ben  
Fish, Hamilton  
Fish, Hy  
Fitelson, William  
Flamm, Irving  
Flanders, Ralph  
Fleischman, Harry  
Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley  
Flynn, John T.  
Foote, Caleb  
Foreman, James  
Fosdick, Harry Emerson  
Fosdick, Raymond  
Freeman, Joseph  
Friedman, Samuel H.  
Fromm, Erich  
Fulbright, J. William  
Gaitskell, Hugh M.  
Galbraith, John Kenneth  
Garden, Anton

Gartz, Kate Crane  
Gausmann, William C.  
Gerber, G. August  
Gerber, Julius  
Gerson, Simon  
Gilman, Elizabeth  
Gilmartin, Aron S.  
Gitlow, Benjamin  
Goebel, George  
Goldberg, Arthur  
Golden, Harry  
Goldman, Emma  
Goldwater, Barry  
Gorman, Patrick  
Gottlieb, Edward P.  
Graham, Frank P.  
Graham, James D  
Grant, Frances  
Green, William  
Gross, Murray  
Gruening, Ernest  
Guerin, Daniel  
Haber, Robert  
Hall, Gus  
Hamilton, Albert  
Hand, Learned  
Hapgood, Mary Donovan  
Hapgood, Powers  
Harlow, Ralph  
Harriman, W. Averill  
Harrington, Donald S.  
Hartmann, George  
Hassler, Alfred  
Hayden, Thomas  
Hays, Arthur Garfield  
Heckscher, August

Heisler, Francis  
Heller, Philip  
Henderson, Fred  
Hendin, Louis  
Henson, Francis  
Herling, John  
Herrick, Elinore  
Hertzberg, Sidney  
Hillquit, Morris  
Hillyer, Mary  
Hoan, Daniel  
Hohri, Sam  
Hollister, William Ernest  
Holmes, John Haynes  
Hook, Sidney  
Hoopes, Darlington  
Hoover, Herbert  
Hoover, J. Edgar  
Hopkins, Harry L.  
Howe, Irving  
Huebsch, B.W.  
Hughan, Jessie Wallace  
Hughes, H. Stuart  
Hull, Cordell  
Humphrey, Hubert H.  
Huntley, Chet  
Hutchinson, Dorothy  
Ickes, Harold  
Isaacs, Stanley  
Ives, Irving  
Jackson, Gardner  
Jacobs, Paul  
Javits, Jacob K.  
Johnson, Edward L.  
Johnson, Hugh  
Johnson, Lyndon B.

Johnson, Martha B.  
Johnson, Oscar  
Kampelman, Max  
Kantor, Harry  
Kefauver, Estes  
Kelley, Nicholas  
Kennan, George F.  
Kennedy, John F.  
Kennedy, Robert F.  
Kent, Victoria  
Kerr, Clark  
Kester, Howard  
Kelthy, Anna  
Kinch, Anthony  
King, Martin Luther  
Kirchwey, Freda  
Klein, Alexander  
Kolko, Gabriel  
Krishnamurty, M.V.  
Kristol, Irving  
Krueger, Maynard  
Krzycki, Leo  
Kunstler, William  
Kussy, Bella  
LaFollette, Phillip  
LaFollette, Robert M., Jr.  
LaFollette, Suzanne  
LaGuardia, Fiorello  
Laidler, Harry  
Lamont, Corliss  
Lamont, Margaret  
Landon, Alfred M.  
Langer, William  
Lash, Joseph P.  
Lasky, Victor  
Laucks, Irving

Lawrence, Alton  
Lehman, Herbert  
Lens, Sidney  
Levenstein, Aaron  
Levinson, Edward  
Levitas, S.M.  
Levy, Matthew  
Lewine, John Lester  
Lewis, Alfred Baker  
Lewis, John L.  
Libby, Frederick J.  
Lindbergh, Charles  
Lindsay, John V.  
Linville, Henry  
Lipsig, James  
Lloyd, Georgia  
Lloyd, Lola Maverick  
Lloyd, William Bross  
Lodge, Henry Cabot  
Lovestone, Jay  
Lovett, Sidney  
Lowenstein, Allard  
Luce, Clare Booth  
Luce, Henry  
Lynd, Staughton  
Lyons, Eugene  
McCallister, Frank  
McCarran, Patrick  
McCarthy, Eugene  
McDonald, Duncan  
MacDonald, Dwight  
MacDonald, Nancy  
McDowell, Arthur G.  
McGovern, George  
MacLeish, Archibald  
McLevy, Jasper

McMahon, Thomas  
McReynolds, David  
Magnuson, Warren  
Man, Albon  
Marsh, Benjamin  
Marshall, James  
Marshall, Lenore  
Marshall, Thurgood  
Martin, David  
Meacham, Stewart  
Meany, George  
Mecartney, John M.  
Mehta, Asoka  
Mehta, G.L.  
Melman, Seymour  
Mencken, H.L.  
Merrill, Herbert M.  
Merton, Robert  
Metzenbaum, James  
Milgram, Morris  
Mitchell, H.L.  
Mooney, Tom  
Morse, Wayne  
Most, Amicus  
Most, Melos  
Mundt, Karl  
Muravchik, Emanuel  
Murphy, Frank  
Murray, Philip  
Muste, A.J.  
Myrdal, Gunnar  
Myers, Robin  
Naminow, Djab  
Nearing, Scott  
Newton, Ray  
Niebuhr, Reinhold

Nixon, Richard M.  
Nomad, Max  
Nowogrudsky, Emanuel  
Nye, Gerald  
Oak, Liston  
Odets, Clifford  
Olson, Floyd  
Oppenheimer, J. Robert  
Page, Kirby  
Papanek, Ernst  
Papcun, George  
Parker, Ben  
Paton, Alan  
Pauling, Linus  
Pesotta, Rose  
Pearson, Drew  
Penley, Howard  
Peretz, Don  
Perkins, Frances  
Pickens, William  
Pickett, Clarence  
Plastrick, Stanely  
Porter, Charles  
Porter, Paul  
Powell, Adam Clayton  
Rahv, Philip  
Randolph, A. Philip  
Rankin, Jeanette  
Rauh, Joseph L., Jr.  
Ray, Ann  
Reuther, Victor  
Reuther, Walter  
Riesman, David  
Rieve, Emil  
Robinson, Jackie  
Rockefeller, David

Rockefeller, Nelson A.  
Romer, Samuel  
Roosevelt, Eleanor  
Roosevelt, Franklin D.  
Rony, Vera  
Roper, Elmo  
Rorty, James  
Rubin, Morris  
Rusk, Dean  
Russell, Bertrand  
Rustin, Bayard  
Ryskind, Morrie  
Sanders, Sol  
Sanger, Margaret  
Sayre, John Nevin  
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr.  
Schwimmer, Rosika  
Scott, Lawrence  
Segal, Ben  
Senior, Clarence  
Serge, Victor  
Shachtman, Max  
Sheehan, Hugh  
Shriver, William P.  
Simon, S. Fanny  
Sinclair, Upton  
Singer, Herman  
Smedley, Frederick  
Smith, Gerald L.K.  
Smith, Tucker P.  
Sobell, Helen  
Sparkman, John  
Spock, Benjamin  
Starr, Mark  
Stein, Sol  
Stevenson, Adlai

Stokes, Helen Phelps  
Stone, I.F.  
Stout, Rex  
Straight, Michael  
Streator, George  
Suall, Irwin  
Sulzberger, Arthur Hays  
Sweetland, Monroe M.  
Swomley, John  
Taft, Robert A.  
Taibi, Cagolero (Charlie)  
Talmadge, Herman  
Taylor, Harold  
Terkel, Studs  
Thant, U.  
Thomas, Evan  
Thomas, Lowell  
Thompson, Dorothy  
Trachtenberg, Alexander  
Trager, Frank  
Tresca, Carlo  
Trikamdas, Purshottam  
Trilling, Diana  
Trimble, Glen  
Truman, Harry S.  
Tulchen, Lena  
Tyler, August  
Udall, Stewart  
Uphaus, Willard  
Uphoff, Walter  
Valentino, Girolamo  
Vandenberg, Arthur  
Villard, Oswald Garrison  
Vladeck, B. Charney  
Volman, Sacha  
Voorhis, Jerry

Wagner, Robert  
Wagner, Robert, Jr.  
Wald, Lillian  
Waldman, Louis  
Wallace, Henry A.  
Warburg, James  
Watts, Rowland  
Wechsler, James  
Wheeler, Burton K.  
White, Samuel  
White, Walter  
Whitehead, Ailene  
Whitehead, Carle  
Whitten, Richard Babb  
Wilkins, Roy  
Willkie, Wendell  
Wilson, Harold  
Wilson, Raymond  
Wilson, Woodrow  
Wolfe, Bertram D.  
Woodcock, Leonard  
Worthy, William  
Wright, Frank Lloyd  
Young, Art  
Zaritsky, Max  
Zeidler, Frank  
Zuckerman, William