

The emblem of the Socialist Labor Party of America is a circular design. It features a central figure of a worker, possibly a miner or a laborer, holding a pickaxe and a hammer. The figure is set against a background of horizontal lines. The entire emblem is enclosed within a decorative wreath of leaves and branches.

**PAPERS OF
THE SOCIALIST
LABOR PARTY
OF AMERICA**

GUIDE TO A MICROFILM EDITION



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**RECORDS OF THE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA**

Guide to a Microfilm Edition

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LABOR PARTY
OF AMERICA

Guide to a Microfilm Edition

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for scholarship.

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PREFACE

THIS MICROFILM EDITION of the records of the Socialist Labor Party of America is the second in a series of such publications to be produced by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin under the sponsorship of the National Historical Publications Commission.

These records provide important documentation on the response of the American workingman to the process of industrialization during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Reflected in these letters and other documents is the attempt of one segment of the working force, largely immigrant in composition, to cope with a system that seemed bent on destroying it. The collections also reveal the evolution of an ideology, heavily influenced by the writings of Karl Marx as interpreted by Daniel De Leon, which was counterposed to the traditional American notions of entrepreneurship and industrial democracy. It is toward a clearer understanding of these historical processes and ideologies that we have prepared this microfilm edition.

This publication project has been a co-operative effort utilizing the talents and knowledge of several people whose contributions are inadequately acknowledged in this prefatory note. The associate editor, Miss Carole Sue Warmbrodt, supervised the preparation of the papers for microfilming and compiled a major part of this descriptive guide to the collection. With her resignation from the project to become Mrs. Ronald R. De Laite, we turned to an accomplished writer of descriptive guides, Dr. Josephine L. Harper, who, in addition to her regular duties as Reference Curator, completed the manuscript of this pamphlet. Mr. Lee E. Steinberg, the project's manuscript preparator, organized most of the records for this microfilm edition. W. Robert Austin, head of the Society's Photoduplication Laboratory, set high technical standards in the production of the microfilm copy. Many part-time assistants performed the necessary but tedious tasks of typing, checking documents, and editing microfilm. One of these assistants, Mrs. Waltraud B. Tepfenhardt, merits special mention for identifying many of the documents written in German script.

Important support came from several persons. The project greatly benefited from the guidance and counseling of Oliver W. Holmes, Executive Director of the National Historical Publications Commission, and his assistant, Fred Shelley. The former director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., and the acting director, Richard A. Erney, provided strong institutional support for the project; and Mrs. Margaret R. Hafstad, Manuscripts Curator, assisted the editors in the problems of arrangement, description, and documentation.

The editor is grateful to these many persons for their contributions to this microfilm edition of the Socialist Labor Party records.

F. GERALD HAM

Madison, Wisconsin

TO THE RESEARCHER

THE PRIMARY OBJECTIVE of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in issuing this microfilm edition is to make the records of the Socialist Labor Party widely available and freely accessible to researchers. Generally accepted research use of the collection is unrestricted.

The researcher is cautioned, however, that the Society, as exclusive custodian of the Socialist Labor Party records, expressly prohibits the unauthorized reproduction of this material by any institution or private individual. With the exception of brief extracts, permission to publish any of the letters, reports, or drafts of articles in the Socialist Labor Party papers must be secured from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The researcher is further cautioned that neither the Society's exclusive ownership of the collection nor authorization to publish material in the papers constitutes a conveyance of those literary rights not held by the Society. It is the responsibility of the author or his publisher to secure the permission of the owner of literary property rights in unpublished writings.

In citing documents in the Socialist Labor Party collection, the researcher should credit the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as custodian of the original papers. The following is a suggested citation: Socialist Labor Party of America Records (microfilm edition), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1970.

THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

FOUNDED IN 1877, the Socialist Labor Party developed into the foremost socialist organization in the United States at the turn of the century and was the first American Marxist party to survive and maintain its existence over a long span of years. During the middle 1870's several attempts were made to achieve an effective union of socialist organizations in the United States. In 1876 delegates from four diverse groups—the North American Federation of the International Workingmen's Association, the Social Democratic Working-Men's Party of North America, the Labor Party of Illinois, and the Socio-Political Labor-Union of Cincinnati—representing a membership estimated at between 2000 and 3000 persons, in convention at Philadelphia consolidated under the

name of the Workingmen's Party of the United States. At its next convention in Newark, New Jersey, in December of 1877, this organization reorganized and changed its name to Sozialistische Arbeiter-Partei, or, in its English version, the Socialistic Labor Party, a title which fifteen years later was revised to Socialist Labor Party. The German party name first chosen reflected the composition of the membership. In his *History of Socialism in the United States*, Morris Hillquit estimated that not more than 10 per cent of the members in the early years were American-born. Of the 90 per cent of the members of foreign origin, Germans formed the most numerous nationality segment and furnished many of the leaders, although the first secretary, Philip Van Patten, was a native American.

Throughout its early decades the Socialist Labor Party was frequently torn by internal factional disputes and controversies. One group of militant unionists led by F. A. Sorge of the former International Workingmen's Association withdrew in 1877-1878. Two other factions, syndicalist and anarchist in tendency, led by Albert Parsons, August Spies, and Johann Most, withdrew in 1881. Within the remaining membership conflicts were waged between the Lassalleans, the right-wing members committed to political action, and the Marxists, the left-wing revolutionary members emphasizing militant unionism. The Lassalleans controlled the party organization until 1889, but in the 1890's through the influence of new leaders, including Daniel De Leon, Hugo Vogt, Lucien Sanial, and Henry Kuhn, the party developed an aggressive program of its own along Marxist lines designed to appeal not only to the predominantly foreign-born members of the party but also to more native-born American workers. In striving to achieve party goals, De Leon and his associates emphasized that both militant trade unions and independent political action should be utilized in party strategy.

The shifting viewpoints of the party and its leadership are illustrated by its relationship with labor organizations and by its political behavior. Some members of the Socialist Labor Party, including Philip Van Patten, were members of the Knights of Labor. Others belonged to the American Federation of Labor. As individual socialists these members exerted some personal influence in both of these labor organizations. By 1895, however, there was an open breach between the Socialist Labor Party and these other labor groups. To compete with the rapidly growing American Federation of Labor, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was formed under the party's auspices. Although the Alliance stirred troublesome controversy and dissension within a few AF of L locals, the Alliance failed in its appeals to the great majority of American workers. It was never able to mount any serious challenge to the American Federation of Labor, and its remnants joined in founding the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905.

In national politics the Socialist Labor Party gave its official endorsement to the Greenback Party in 1880, but four years later it supported none of the capitalist candidates for president and vice-president. It put its first national

ticket in the field in 1892 with the nomination of Simon Wing of Boston for president and Charles H. Matchett of Brooklyn for vice-president. These candidates polled more than 21,000 votes. By 1894 the party was clearly committed to its own independent candidates and platform to promote a revolutionary industrial democracy. In 1896 Matchett was the party's presidential nominee with Matthew Maguire as the vice-presidential candidate. After a vigorous national campaign, the party's vote was approximately double that of 1892. In state and local politics, particularly in New York state, the party provided candidates for various offices in numerous elections beginning in 1879. Nevertheless, until the 1890's the party sometimes found it expedient to support progressive or populist candidates running under other party labels in some state and local contests. In 1892 the party had an estimated membership of 3000, a figure which doubled by 1898. In 1898 the party's own candidates in state and local elections received more than 82,000 votes, the peak of its political achievement.

Although these membership and voting statistics seemed highly favorable, the Socialist Labor Party had in reality reached the zenith of its size and influence, for dissatisfaction with party policies and leaders was seething among members friendly to the American Federation of Labor, members evolutionary in their concept of socialistic thought and action, and members who resented De Leon's autocratic personality and firm party discipline. Led by Morris Hillquit, many of these dissenters withdrew in 1899 to form the Socialist Party. and from this schism the Socialist Labor Party never fully recovered.

HISTORY OF THE COLLECTION

IN 1904, Professor Richard T. Ely of the University of Wisconsin School of Economics and Sociology established the American Bureau of Industrial Research to collect source materials relevant to the study of the labor movement in the United States. During the next few years, the Bureau amassed an impressive collection of documents and presented the materials to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the University of Wisconsin Library for preservation and research.

As part of the search for labor resources, in the summer of 1906 James B. Andrews, field representative for the Bureau, talked with Frank Bohn, national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, about acquiring the official records of the party. Later that year, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party voted to give the records of the party's national office to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and to solicit the records of the party's state committees and local sections for inclusion in the gift. In 1907, the party presented to the Society the papers that comprise this microfilm publication.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COLLECTION

THE COLLECTION at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin which has been microfilmed consists of official papers of the Socialist Labor Party from its organization in 1877 until 1907. The records are divided into the following major series:

- A. Records of the National Executive Committee, 1878–1906.
- B. Records of the Party Press, 1885–1904.
- C. Records of the National Board of Appeals (National Board of Supervision), 1878–1900.
- D. Records of the National Conventions, 1877–1904.
- E. Records concerning Party Activities: Notebooks, Scrapbooks, and Clippings, 1880–1905.
- F. Records of State Committees and Local Sections, 1878–1906.

None of these series spans the thirty-year period of party history without many gaps in the files. The scope and content of each series are therefore described individually. Despite the fragmentation or paucity of some types of records, the collection as a whole documents many facets of the party's development, organization, thought, and tactics, as well as its contribution to the labor and socialist movements in a turbulent era of industrial change and of social and economic stress in the United States.

A. Records of the National Executive Committee, 1878–1906

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE was the governing body of the Socialist Labor Party and made all major decisions between conventions. The duties of the Committee included carrying out the resolutions of the national conventions and enforcing their observance by all officers and members of the party; managing agitation; representing the party internally, publicly, and internationally; managing the party press; preparing for conventions; and reporting the status of the party to conventions.

Between 1876 and 1900, delegates to the national conventions chose the seat of the Committee, and the party membership ratified the decision. Then the party sections in the designated locality elected the members of the Committee (seven or nine in number), who served from convention to convention. In 1904, the national convention changed the method of election. Thereafter the Committee was composed of one delegate from every state which had a state executive committee. These delegates, chosen by a general vote of the state party membership, served for a term of one year.

Minutes, 1889 August 28–1891 September 27. Volume 1

This official minute book of the National Executive Committee contains

a record in German of the regular weekly meetings and the special meetings of the Committee, as well as financial statements and reports of the Committee, the Board of Supervision, and the party press.

Outgoing Correspondence, 1883–1892

These five volumes of letter-press copy books, with incomplete alphabetical indexes, contain copies of letters written by the secretaries of the National Executive Committee and other national officials of the party to the Board of Supervision, the sections, the section officials, the agitators, the party newspapers, and individual party members. This correspondence, written primarily in German and English with some scattered letters in French, largely concerns routine party business such as section meetings and activities, orders for literature and dues stamps, newspaper subscriptions, agitation tours, finances, and National Executive Committee actions. These letter-press copy books are deteriorating, and some of the letters are almost illegible.

Letter Book, 1883 June 20–1885 June 5. Volume 2.

Letters signed by Emil Kreis, Hugo Vogt, and W. L. Rosenberg.

Letter Book, 1888 August 14–1889 June 4. Volume 3.

Letters signed by William Hintze.

Letter Book, 1889 June 4–1891 May 26. Volume 4.

Letters signed by William Hintze, W. L. Rosenberg, Joseph H. Sauter, Adolf Gerecke, and Benjamin J. Gretsches.

Letter Book, 1891 June 6–1892 March 25. Volume 5.

Letters signed by Benjamin J. Gretsches and Henry Kuhn.

Letter Book, 1892 March 26–December 27. Volume 6.

Letters signed by Henry Kuhn.

Lists of Letters Received, 1891–1894, 1897–1899

These three volumes compiled by National Secretary Henry Kuhn contain an inventory in English of the correspondence received by the National Executive Committee. Upon receiving correspondence, Kuhn numbered each letter and recorded in these volumes the number, the surname of the correspondent, his city, and the date of receipt.

1891 October 16–1893 June 23. Volume 7.

This volume contains not only a list of letters received, 1891 November 2–1893 June 23, but also a list of sections organized or dissolved between 1891 October 16 and 1893 May 24, with notations on their nationality.

1893 June 23–1894 October 9. Volume 8.

1897 January 20–1899 May 10. Volume 9.

Incoming Correspondence, 1878–1906

The National Executive Committee incoming correspondence file consists primarily of letters and reports in German and English addressed to the National Executive Committee and the national secretary from other national officials

and party divisions, city and state committee secretaries, section officers, agitators, newspaper editors, and other party members. Other materials include letters addressed to the party newspapers and referred to the national secretary for reply; correspondence addressed to the New York Labor News Company, the *Daily People* Fund, the national treasurer, and party presidential candidates and agitators; reports of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance; copies or drafts of some letters written by the national secretary; and reports and financial statements of the National Executive Committee. Numerous printed party leaflets, handbills, and small broadsides occur as enclosures.

Much of the correspondence pertains to the mechanics of party operations and includes section and committee reports on finances, meetings, and other activities; agitators' reports; orders for literature and dues stamps; requests for speakers; newspaper subscriptions; contributions to campaign, newspaper, and strike funds; and requests for information about the party. Topics discussed are party philosophy and strategy; internal party controversies, particularly during 1888 and 1889 and after the organization of the Social Democracy of America in 1897; campaigns and elections; Board of Appeals cases; strikes; publication and editorial policies of the party press; organization and operation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance; other labor organizations; agitation tours; national conventions; international affiliations; and party finances. The majority of the correspondence falls in the period between 1895 and 1899, and was chiefly addressed to National Secretary Henry Kuhn. The political campaign of 1896 waged by the Socialist Labor Party on national, state, and local levels is documented by hundreds of letters from party officials in all sections of the nation, discussing not only the zeal displayed by candidates and organizers but also the many problems they encountered. After 1899 the files are again very fragmentary. Throughout the correspondence there are a very few letters from some of the leaders who became dissenters and eventually left the party during the various factional disputes.

Between 1878 and 1883 most of the existing correspondence was addressed to Philip Van Patten and includes letters written by John Dougherty, John Ehmann, Paul Ehmann, P. F. Fitzpatrick, Frank Fowler, Laurence Gronlund, Joseph Holler, C. T. Kuhl, P. M. McGuire, Fred Meiselbach, Thomas J. Morgan, Henry J. Rice, H. C. Schlegel, George A. Schilling, and C. Osborne Ward. From 1883 through 1894 the correspondence file remains sparse, but contains letters by McGuire and Morgan as well as scattered pieces by Martha Moore Avery, Daniel De Leon, Alfred Fuhrman, Benjamin J. Gretsche, Henry Kuhn, W. L. Rosenberg, Albert E. Sanderson, and Lucien Sanial. During the peak of party activity in the late 1890's, the National Executive Committee and National Secretary Henry Kuhn were in close touch with national, state, and municipal party officials, editors, speakers, and organizers. Among the correspondents represented by letters in the collection after 1894 are Lazarus Abelson, H. H. Acton, H. S. Aley, Rose Asch, Henry B. Ashplant, Emil Auerbach, Martha Moore Avery, J. Waldron Badger, J. Mahlon Barnes, Charles A. Baustian, Charles

F. Bechtold, J. Wilson Becker, Frederick Bennetts, B. Berlyn (Illinois state committee officer), Ernest Bohm, Thomas C. Brophy, John Buckley, Peter E. Burrowes, Harry Carless, P. C. Christiansen, Charles B. Copp, Thomas Crimmins, Thomas Curran, Peter Damm, T. J. Dean, Daniel De Leon, Daniel De Lury, Charles M. Du Puy, Leonard Fish, Max Forker, Lewis C. Fry, Garnet Futvoye, F. W. Gessner, David Goldstein, Thomas J. Griffiths, Otto Gundermann, J. Keir Hardie, Edel Hecht, Thomas A. Hickey, O. M. Howard, Karl Ibsen, Alexander Jonas, Frank Jordan, Fritz Kalbitz, Arthur Keep, B. F. Keinard, Charles F. Kelley, R. J. Kerrigan, Alfred C. Kihn, E. T. Kingsley, William Kittel, W. E. Krumroy, Algernon Lee, George B. Leonard, Ernest Liebing, Herbert Littlewood, Frances MacDaniel, Matthew Maguire, Charles R. Martin, M. C. Massie, Joseph A. Masson, Charles H. Matchett, R. T. Maycumber, George Moore, Donald L. Munro, Julian Pierce, S. E. Putney, Max Richter, David Rudnick, Moritz Ruther, Lucien Sanial, Joseph H. Sauter, Joseph Schlossberg, Herman Schlueter, F. Serrer (Connecticut state committee officer), F. J. Sieverman, Algie M. Simons, Hugo Vogt, H. Warnecke (Colorado state committee officer), George H. Warner, Rosamund D. Watkins, John C. Wieland, Frank R. Wilke, M. W. Wilkins, and Charles F. Wilson. Drafts or copies of Henry Kuhn's replies are included occasionally.

Ballots, 1880, 1899–1904

Official ballots of the Socialist Labor Party sections and the members at large on assorted questions of party policy and selection of party officials compose this group.

1880 March 10 — Ratification of the platform and the amendments to the constitution adopted by the national convention.

1899 October 10 — Votes on the question to hold a special national convention and the selection of a date and site.

1900 March 31 — Selection of a site for the national convention.

1901 January 19 — Election of the National Executive Committee members.

1901 July 10 — Ratification of the National Executive Committee action regarding an invitation from the National Executive Board of the Social Democratic Party to participate in the Indianapolis Socialist Unity Convention.

1902 March 14 — Selection of the amendments to the constitution concerning the party press.

1902 September 15 — Votes on the question to hold a special national convention.

1903 March 27 — Election of the National Executive Committee members.

1904 November 9 — Ratification of the actions of the national convention.

1904 November 9 — Ratification of the constitution adopted by the national convention.

Financial Records, 1881–1899

Official accounting records of the National Executive Committee kept by

the national treasurer or the national secretary. Most volumes contain a record of the receipts and expenditures of the National Executive Committee, but some volumes also include the accounts of special funds administered by the Committee.

Account Book, 1881 November 17–1885 January 31. Volume 10. Entries include National Executive Committee receipts and expenditures, 1881 November 17–1884 December 31; Deutsche Reichstagswahl Fund Accounts, 1883 April 3–1884 December 31; Party Paper Fund Accounts, 1884 February 8–1885 January 31; Subscriptions to the Party Press, 1884 November 19–December 31; and Hocking Valley Strikers Fund Accounts, 1885 January 20.

Account Book, 1884 January 1–1888 February 6. Volume 11. Entries include National Executive Committee receipts and expenditures, 1884 January 1–1887 December 31; Cigar Maker's Progressive Union Lockout Fund Accounts, 1886 February 1–June 6; Liebknecht-Aveling Agitation Fund Accounts, 1886 March 29–December 31; English Party Organ Accounts, 1885 October 26–1887 May 27; Central Party Organ Accounts, 1884 May 1–1888 February 6; and Deutsche Reichstagswahl Fund Accounts, 1884 April–1885 January 26. Indexed.

Account Book, 1888 October 17–1890 November 7. Volume 12. Day Journal of National Executive Committee receipts and expenditures.

Account Book, 1890 November 8–1891 August 21. Volume 13. Day Journal of National Executive Committee receipts and expenditures.

Deutsche Reichstagswahl Account Book, 1884 April 20–December 31. Volume 14. Record book of the Deutsche Reichstagswahl Fund subscription list.

Account Book of Money Orders, 1886 October 30–1888 March 16. Day Journal of money orders received by the National Executive Committee.

Account Book of Special Funds, 1893 January 17–1896 July 17. Entries include A. Monteleone Accounts, 1893 January 17–1895 July 19; [Grand Rapids, Michigan] *Volkstribun* Accounts, 1896 January 14–March 25; and Accounts for J. Wilson Becker, party agitator, 1896 June 12–July 17.

Account Book of Dead Debts, 1895–1899. Entries include the names of debtors and the amount of the debts. The records may pertain to one of the party newspapers.

Agitators' Date Book, 1896 August 1–November 1. Volume 15

This volume contains the itineraries of Socialist Labor Party agitators and candidates during the 1896 presidential campaign. Speaking dates were recorded for Martha Moore Avery, Howard Balkam, Harry Carless, Daniel De Leon, Max Forker, Alexander Jonas, W. E. Krumroy, Matthew Maguire, Charles H. Matchett, Lucien Sanial, F. J. Sieverman, and Charles Wilson.

List of Sections and Officers, ca. 1896. Volume 16.

This volume, prepared by National Secretary Henry Kuhn, lists the Socialist Labor Party state committees, local sections, and the names and addresses of their officers.

B. Records of the Party Press, 1885–1904

THE PHRASE “party press” was used by Socialist Labor Party officers to signify the official newspapers owned by the party. However, other socialist-oriented newspapers at times also endorsed and advocated the principles of the Socialist Labor Party, and in turn the party welcomed the aid of independent newspapers in the conduct of its intensive propaganda campaign. Among the press records in this collection are not only those relating to party-owned publishing companies and publications but also some pertaining to two other newspapers which were at times edited by members of the Socialist Labor Party or by men friendly to the party’s aims and policies. All of these publishing ventures had their headquarters in New York City.

Represented in the collection by records are several party-owned enterprises: the New York Labor News Company, a division of the party’s national office which for many years handled publication of party pamphlets and their sale and distribution; the Workmen’s Printing Company, also a firm sponsored by the party to issue party literature; *Der Sozialist*, a German weekly magazine published from 1885 to 1892; *Vorwärts*, the official party newspaper in German, which replaced *Der Sozialist* in 1892; *The People*, official party weekly newspaper in English, begun in 1891 and still the official organ of the party; the *Daily People* Committee, organized in 1895 to raise money for publication of a daily newspaper in English, which was issued from 1900 to 1914; the *Abendblatt*, a one-cent afternoon daily published in Yiddish, for which the party also had a fund-raising committee. Men active in the journalistic programs of the party included William Hintze of the New York Labor News Company, Hugo Vogt, editor of *Vorwärts*, and Daniel De Leon, editor of *The People* and the *Daily People*. De Leon joined the party in 1886. Upon becoming editor of *The People* six years later he proved most effective in molding the paper as the voice of the party and in formulating and promoting the independent platform of thought and action which the party displayed in the late 1890’s.

Among the records are a few relating to two papers outside party ownership, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* and the *New Yorker Volkzeitung*. Independent but sympathetic to labor and socialist causes, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* was a Yiddish weekly established in 1890 by Abraham Cahan, Louis E. Miller, and Morris Hillquit. It was succeeded in 1902 by the *Jewish Daily Forward*. The *New Yorker Volkzeitung*, an independent socialist daily, was issued from 1878 to 1932. During the period covered by this collection (1877–1907), it was

edited by several men who were either party members or who were at times sympathetic to the party: Adolph Douai, Sergius E. Schevitsch, Alexander Jonas, and Herman Schlueter. *Vorwärts*, which became the party's official German newspaper, was started in 1892 as the Sunday edition of the *Volkzeitung*. The Socialist Publishing Association, which issued the *Volkzeitung* and *Vorwärts*, also printed *The People* during the first few years of its publication. Nevertheless, in its editorial policy the *Volkzeitung* frequently did not adhere to the official Socialist Labor Party program, particularly after the party began advocating independent socialist political action, while the *Volkzeitung* urged abstention from politics and promoted trade unionism and a program of socialist education for workers.

New York Labor News Company

Letter Book, 1889 April 9–August 21. Volume 17. This letter-press copy book, with an incomplete alphabetical index, contains copies of letters written by William Hintze for the New York Labor News Company to party members, section officials, and publishers. The correspondence, written primarily in German with some letters in English, concerns mainly literature orders and statements of sections and individuals in account with the company.

Orders for Books, 1904 May 24–July 30

Entries include name and address of persons placing orders, titles of literature requested, dates ordered and filled, number of copies, and cost.

Der Sozialist

List of Subscribers, 1885–1891. Volume 18. Entries include names and addresses of subscribers to *Der Sozialist* arranged by state and city.

News Dealers' Accounts, 1889 July 1–1891 April 2. Accounts Receivable Ledger for news dealers who purchased and sold *Der Sozialist*. Indexed.

Arbeiter Zeitung

Account Book, 1898 May 2–1899 July 29. Volume 19. Day Journal of receipts and expenditures of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

New Yorker Volkzeitung and Vorwärts

Correspondence, 1889, 1891–1899. This correspondence file consists of letters, mainly in German, addressed to the editors of the *Volkzeitung* and *Vorwärts* from section officials, representatives of city and state committees, and other party members. The correspondence contains articles and reports of sections and agitators for publication, letters from readers for publication in the newspaper letter boxes, orders for subscriptions, and inquiries about editorial policy, finances, the trade-union movement, and the Socialist Labor Party program.

The People

Correspondence, 1892, 1894–1900. Formerly entitled the Daniel De Leon Papers, this correspondence file consists of letters, reports, and articles addressed to *The People* or to its editor, Daniel De Leon, from section officers, national party officials, and agitators. In content this file is similar to the National Executive Committee correspondence. Many of the reports and articles were marked for publication in *The People*. Included are also a few letters, drafts of letters, and articles written by De Leon himself. Among De Leon's correspondents were Henry B. Ashplant, Martha Moore Avery, J. Waldron Badger, J. Mahlon Barnes, Charles A. Baustian, Charles F. Bechtold, J. Wilson Becker, Victor L. Berger, B. Berlyn (Illinois state committee officer), Ernest Bohm, Thomas C. Brophy, Peter E. Burrowes, Harry Carless, Charles B. Copp, Thomas Curran, Daniel De Lury, Richard T. Ely, Leonard Fish, David Goldstein, J. Keir Hardie, Thomas A. Hickey, Pablo Iglesias, Arthur Keep, R. J. Kerrigan, Henry Kuhn, Algernon Lee. George B. Leonard, Frances MacDaniel, Lawrence J. McParlin, Matthew Maguire, Charles R. Martin, M. C. Massie, George Moore, S. E. Putney, Moritz Ruther, Lucien Sanial, Joseph H. Sauter, Walker Sawyer, F. Serrer (Connecticut state committee officer), James R. Sovereign, Hugo Vogt, and Walter Vrooman.

Daily People Committee

Minutes, 1895 February 13–1899 December 3. This official minute book of the *Daily People* Committee includes minutes of regular and special meetings, the names and addresses of committee members and trustees, financial statements, committee reports and appointments, and a savings account agreement.

Abendblatt

Minutes, 1901 October 21. This file contains the draft of the minutes of a meeting of the Board of Directors of the *Abendblatt*.

Abendblatt Fund

List of Subscribers, 1900–1901[?]. Entries record receipts from subscriptions and donations to the *Abendblatt* Fund. Each entry includes the subscription list number, the amount of the subscription or donation, the name and address of the subscriber. Indexed alphabetically.

Workmen's Printing Company

Records, 1901 May 14–1902 April 15. This file includes by-laws; minutes of a meeting, 1902 April 3; weekly financial statements of shares collections, 1901 July 12–1902 April 15; stock certificates, 1901 May 14–1902 January 6; and a list of the shareholders and the amount of stock held in May, 1901.

C. Records of the National Board of Appeals (National Board of Supervision), 1878–1900

A DIVISION of the Socialist Labor Party national office, the National Board of Appeals was authorized by the constitution of the party to supervise the actions of the National Executive Committee and of the party as a whole. The seat of the board was chosen by the national convention, and the board members were then elected by the party members in the locality selected by the convention. Among the headquarters of the board between 1877 and 1900 were Newark, New Jersey; Chicago, Illinois; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Cleveland, Ohio; and Providence, Rhode Island. The duties of the board included the settlement of party difficulties upon appeal, and the communication of the decisions to the National Executive Committee. The board could temporarily suspend any executive committees, officers, sections, or members of the party. Although its actions were subject to regulation by a vote of the general party membership, the board in practice had the final decision in suspension or expulsion cases. Known as the National Board of Supervision between 1877 and 1896 and as the National Board of Appeals between 1896 and 1900, the board was abolished by the national convention of the party in 1900.

Minutes, 1879, 1899–1900

Official minutes in English of the regular and special meetings of the National Board of Appeals. The minutes include the names of attending board members, the secretary's reports, and the decisions of the board in appeal cases. Entries cover 1879 November 8–December 1 and 1899 August 16–1900 May 27.

Letter Book, 1878 April 1–1880 April 20. Volume 20

This volume includes copies and drafts of letters in German and English to the National Executive Committee, national secretary, party sections, party newspapers and their editors about the actions of the Board of Supervision in appeal cases.

Correspondence, 1888–1889, 1893, 1895–1900

This correspondence file contains letters in German and English to the National Board of Appeals or to its secretary from the national secretary, party members, and sections; drafts or copies of letters from the board to the National Executive Committee, sections, or members; affidavits and testimony in appeal cases; and reports of the board to the national conventions. The file includes information about the cases of H. N. Casson (1895), Sections Rockville and Syracuse (1896), J. Wilson Becker (1896), Charles F. Kelley (1896), F. G. R. Gordon (1897), T. F. Burns (1899), Job Harriman (1899), C. Claus (1900), Jules Magnette (1900), Section Los Angeles (1900), and Section Cincinnati and Edward G. Jacobs (1900), as well as about the party controversies and difficulties in 1888 and 1889.

D. Records of the National Conventions, 1877—1904

THE NATIONAL CONVENTIONS of the Socialist Labor Party were called by a general vote of the party membership and were composed of delegates selected by the party sections. The conventions framed the national platform, could select or alter the form of organization of the party, chose the seats of the National Executive Committee and the National Board of Appeals, and rendered decisions on problems and controversies within the party. All acts of the conventions were submitted to a general vote of the party members for ratification.

1877 National Convention. Records. Printed platform, constitution, resolutions, and proceedings of the convention in English.

1880 National Convention. Records. Printed platforms, constitutions, resolutions, and proceedings of the convention in English and German.

1881 National Convention. Records. Printed platform and constitution of the convention in German.

1883 National Convention. Records. Printed platforms and constitutions in English and German; printed proceedings of the convention in German.

1885 National Convention. Records. Printed platforms and constitutions in English and German; printed proceedings of the convention in German.

1887 National Convention. Records. Printed platforms, constitutions, and proceedings of the convention in English and German.

1889 National Convention. Records. Printed platforms and constitutions of the convention in English and German; holograph proceedings in German; holograph report of the National Board of Supervision in German; correspondence in German and English; credentials in English; votes in German.

1893 National Convention. Records. Printed platforms and constitutions in German and English; typescript and holograph reports of the National Executive Committee, the Labor News Company. *Vorwärts*, and the National Board of Grievances in English and German; correspondence and credentials in English.

1896 National Convention. Records. Printed platforms and constitutions in English and German; printed proceedings in English; typescript reports of the National Executive Committee, the general manager of the Socialist Newspaper Union, and the National Board of Grievances in English; correspondence, credentials, and votes in English.

1900 National Convention. Records. Printed constitution in English; typescript proceedings and correspondence in English.

1904 National Convention. Records. Printed constitution in English, typescript proceedings, and reports in English; resolutions and correspondence in English.

E. Records Concerning Party Activities: Notebooks, Scrapbooks, and Clippings, 1880–1905

TWO NOTEBOOKS kept by party leaders, W. L. Rosenberg, and Daniel De Leon and an assortment of bound and unbound newspaper clippings, mainly from socialist publications, compose this series. The unbound clippings and the first three scrapbooks all pertain to the labor and socialist movements in the United States, but particularly to the activities of the Socialist Labor Party including its debates, conventions, party philosophy, agitation and speaking tours, and political campaigns. The collectors and organizers of these first three scrapbooks have not been identified. The compiler of Scrapbook IV was Moritz Ruther, Socialist Labor Party member in Holyoke, Massachusetts. Scrapbook V was compiled by Fred W. Long, member of the party in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Notebooks, 1884, 1896–1897

W. L. Rosenberg, Notebook, 1884. Notebook in German kept by Rosenberg while national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party. Entries include names and addresses of party members, literature lists, and notes on sections.

Daniel De Leon, Notebook, 1896 January 2–1897 January 2. Notebook in English kept by De Leon, Socialist Labor Party leader and editor of *The People*. Entries include short diary notes during 1896, assorted names and addresses, agitation accounts and distances traveled for the party, especially during the presidential campaign.

Scrapbooks, 1880–1905

Scrapbook I, 1880–1898. Clippings from socialist publications and Socialist Labor Party leaflets, in English and German.

Scrapbook II, 1880–1905. Clippings on the labor and socialist movements from socialist and non-socialist newspapers in English and German; and Socialist Labor Party leaflets and political campaign materials in English and German.

Scrapbooks III, 1892–1897. Newspaper clippings on the labor movement in English and German; and New York state Socialist Labor Party political campaign leaflets, mainly 1893, in English and German.

Scrapbook IV (Moritz Ruther Scrapbook), 1886–1900. Clippings in English gathered by Ruther, a member of the Socialist Labor Party in Holyoke, Massachusetts. Included are clippings of his letters and articles published in newspapers and accounts of the meetings of the Holyoke Board of Aldermen in 1899 when Ruther was a member of the board.

Scrapbook V (Fred W. Long Scrapbook), 1894–1900. Clippings in English of articles and poems on the socialist movement assembled by Long, member of the Socialist Labor Party in Philadelphia, Pennsyl-

vania. A few handbills and clippings pertain to Long's candidacy for state and city offices on the Socialist Labor Party tickets in Pennsylvania in 1894 and 1896.

Clippings, 1880, 1889–1890, 1892, 1894–1901, 1903, and undated

F. Records of State Committees and Local Sections, 1878–1906

WITHIN THE Socialist Labor Party the local units of membership were known as sections. Many of these were organized by nationality groups. In states in which the party had considerable strength, there were also state committees to co-ordinate and direct state party activities. At the national convention of the Socialist Labor Party in 1879, twenty sections were represented by delegates. In 1889 the party had seventy sections, but by 1893 that figure had more than doubled. By 1899, at the height of its membership growth, the party had more than 350 sections in at least thirty states and in Canada. Although German and American groups predominated, there were also sections composed of members of many other European national origins.

The records within this series embrace only a very small number of the state and local organizations within the Socialist Labor Party. Four states and one Canadian province are represented through records of sections of American, German, Flemish, Italian, and Scandinavian membership. There are also incomplete files of minutes and correspondence of the New York State Committee within the period 1884–1902. Fragmentary as it is, this series of records does illustrate the varied international composition of the party membership and the organization and operation of the party on the state and local levels.

Massachusetts

Adams Section, Records, 1884–1897.

Minutes, 1884 November 23–1886 June 13. Volume 21.

Minutes, 1886 July 30–1888 October 2. Volume 22.

Minutes, 1886 April 15–1890 September 18. Volume 23.

Minutes, 1895 July 10–1897 September 29. Volume 24.

These four volumes are official minute books in German of the Adams Section of the party. The records include by-laws, dues payments, financial statements, and lists of literature. Volume 22 contains a draft of some of the minutes recorded in Volume 23.

Account Book, 1885 December–1897 November. Volume 25.

Day Journal in German of the receipts and expenditures of the Adams Section.

Dues Book, 1885 January–1896 December. Volume 26.

Membership lists and records of dues payments in German. Entries also include a list of section property.

Boston, Flemish Section, Records, 1892–1894.

Dues Book, 1892 December–1894 September. Volume 27.

Individual accounts of dues payments in Flemish. Indexed alphabetically.

Boston, Scandinavian Section, Records, 1904–1906.

Minutes, 1904 March 31–1906 March 16. Volume 28.

Official minute book in Swedish.

New York

New York State Committee, Records, 1884–1902.

Minutes, 1896 August 23–1901 November 11. Volume 29.

Official minute book in English of the New York State Committee. Entries include the names and addresses of the members of the committee, as well as the minutes of regular and special meetings.

Minutes, 1899 April 28.

Rough draft in English of the minutes of a meeting of the New York State Committee.

Correspondence, 1884–1885, 1894–1902, and undated.

Correspondence in German and English addressed to the New York State Committee or to its secretaries, Hugo Vogt and Lucien Sanial, from national party officials, agitators, and officers and members of the New York sections of the Socialist Labor Party. Most of the letters pertain to the daily routine of party business: section meetings, committee reports, agitation tours, membership, dues payments, newspaper subscriptions, and political campaigns.

Buffalo Section, Branch 2 (11th Ward), Records, 1899–1901.

Minutes, 1899 June 10–1901 April 13. Volume 30.

Official minute book in English for this section from its date of organization. Additional entries include membership lists, charter, financial statements, and the undated minutes of the organizational meeting of the Central Labor Federation, District Alliance No. 5, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance of Buffalo.

Mount Vernon Section, Records, 1894–1898.

Minutes, 1894 April 29–1898 August 20. Volume 31.

Official minute book of this section. Entries include the minutes of regular and special meetings in German of the German section between 1894 April 29 and 1895 September 4, as well as minutes of the section in English after it reorganized as the American section on 1895 December 2. Additional entries include membership lists, minutes of committee meetings, and financial statements.

Account Book, 1894 June 2–1898 August 20. Volume 32.

Receipts and expenditures of the section, written in German and English.

Dues Book, 1894 May 5–1898 July. Volume 33.

Individual accounts of dues payments. Entries include membership lists and some accounting records of the section. Indexed alphabetically.

New York City, Central Committee, Records, 1879.

Minutes, 1879 April 25–October 25. Volume 34.

Official minute book in English of the New York City Central Committee. Entries include minutes of regular meetings, correspondence, receipts, accounts, broadsides, membership lists, roll calls, and lists of committee members and officers. The volume also contains official minutes and related papers—correspondence, receipts, and accounts—of the New York City and County Executive Committee during the 1879 campaign.

New York City, American Section, Records, 1878–1879.

Minutes, 1878 January 3–1879 October 15. Volume 35.

Official minute book of this section in English. Records include the minutes of regular and special meetings, accounts of dues payments, correspondence, financial statements, and broadsides.

Newtown Section, Ridgewood-Glendale Branch. Records, 1889–1891.

Minutes, 1889 May 19–1891 October 24. Volume 36.

Official minute book in German for this section.

Account Book, 1889 May–1891 October. Volume 37.

Day Journal in German of receipts and expenditures of the Ridgewood Branch. Entries include a record of dues payments.

Texas

Houston, Italian Section, Records, 1896–1898.

Minutes, 1896 February 22–1898 May 9. Volume 38.

Official minute book of the section in Italian.

Dues Book, 1896 February–1898 April. Volume 39.

Records in Italian, including individual accounts of dues payments and contributions to special funds.

Washington

Everett Section, Records, 1897–1898.

Minutes, 1897 October 1–1898 April 7. Volume 40.

Official minute book in English from the organization of this section until its dissolution. Entries include membership lists, dues information, and a list of charter members.

British Columbia

Vancouver, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Local Alliance No. 250, Records, 1899–1900.

Minutes, 1899 June 4–1900 December 21. Volume 41.

Official minute book in English. Entries include minutes of meet-

ings from the organization to the dissolution of this section of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, as well as a list of charter members, financial statements, and by-laws.

Account Book, 1899 June 4–1900 December 23. Volume 42.

Receipts and expenditures of this organization, written in English.

THE MICROFILM

A. Records of the National Executive Committee, 1878–1906

- Reel 1. Minutes, 1889 August 28–1891 September 27. Vol. 1.
Outgoing Correspondence, Letter Book, 1883 June 20–1885 June 5.
Vol. 2.
- Reel 2. Outgoing Correspondence, Letter Book, 1888 August 14–1889 June 4.
Vol. 3.
- Reel 3. Outgoing Correspondence, Letter Book, 1889 June 4–1891 May 26.
Vol. 4.
- Reel 4. Outgoing Correspondence, Letter Book, 1891 June 6–1892 March 25.
Vol. 5.
Outgoing Correspondence, Letter Book, 1892 March 26–December 27.
Vol. 6.
List of Letters Received, 1891 October 16–1893 June 23. Vol. 7.
List of Letters Received, 1893 June 23–1894 October 9. Vol. 8.
- Reel 5. List of Letters Received, 1897 January 20–1899 May 10. Vol. 9.
Incoming Correspondence, 1878–1885 January 19.
- Reel 6. Incoming Correspondence, 1885 January 20–1895.
- Reel 7. Incoming Correspondence, 1896 January–June.
- Reel 8. Incoming Correspondence, 1896 July–August.
- Reel 9. Incoming Correspondence, 1896 September.
- Reel 10. Incoming Correspondence, 1896 October.
- Reel 11. Incoming Correspondence, 1896 November–December.
- Reel 12. Incoming Correspondence, 1897 January–March 18.
- Reel 13. Incoming Correspondence, 1897 March 19–May.
- Reel 14. Incoming Correspondence, 1897 June–July.
- Reel 15. Incoming Correspondence, 1897 August–September.
- Reel 16. Incoming Correspondence, 1897 October–November.
- Reel 17. Incoming Correspondence, 1897 December–1898 January.
- Reel 18. Incoming Correspondence, 1898 February–April.
- Reel 19. Incoming Correspondence, 1898 May–June.
- Reel 20. Incoming Correspondence. 1898 July–August.
- Reel 21. Incoming Correspondence, 1898 September–October.
- Reel 22. Incoming Correspondence, 1898 November–December.
- Reel 23. Incoming Correspondence, 1899 January–March 22.
- Reel 24. Incoming Correspondence, 1899 March 23–May 22.

- Reel 25. Incoming Correspondence, 1899 May 23–December.
- Reel 26. Incoming Correspondence, 1900–1906; undated.
Ballots, 1880, 1899–1900.
- Reel 27. Ballots, 1901–1904.
- Reel 28. Financial Records, 1881–1899.
Account Book, 1881 November 17–1885 January 31. Vol. 10.
Account Book, 1884 January 1–1888 February 6. Vol. 11.
Account Book, 1888 October 17–1890 November 7. Vol. 12.
Account Book, 1890 November 8–1891 August 21. Vol. 13.
Deutsche Reichstagswahl Account Book, 1884 April 20–December 31. Vol. 14.
Account Book, Money Orders, 1886 October 30–1888 March 16.
Account Book, Special Funds, 1893 January 17–1896 July 17.
Account Book, Dead Debts, 1895–1899.
Agitators' Date Book, 1896 August 1–November 1. Vol. 15.
List of Sections and Officers, ca. 1896. Vol. 16.

B. Records of the Party Press, 1885–1904

- Reel 28. New York Labor News Company, Letter Book, 1889 April 9–August (cont.) 21. Vol. 17.
New York Labor News Company, Orders for Books, 1904 May 24–July 30.
Der Sozialist, List of Subscribers, 1885–1891. Vol. 18.
Der Sozialist, News Dealers' Accounts, 1889 July 1–1891 April 2.
Arbeiter Zeitung, Account Book, 1898 May 2–1899 July 29. Vol. 19.
New Yorker Volkzeitung and *Vorwärts*, Correspondence, 1889, 1891–1895.
- Reel 29. *New Yorker Volkzeitung* and *Vorwärts*, Correspondence, 1896–1899, undated.
- Reel 30. *The People*, Correspondence, 1892, 1894–1895 October.
- Reel 31. *The People*, Correspondence, 1895 November–1896 October.
- Reel 32. *The People*, Correspondence, 1896 November–1897 September.
- Reel 33. *The People*, Correspondence, 1897 October–1901, undated.
- Reel 34. *Daily People* Committee, Minutes, 1895 February 13– 1899, December 3.
Abendblatt, Minutes, 1901 October 21.
Abendblatt Fund, List of Subscribers, 1900–1901[?].
Workmen's Printing Company, Records, 1901 May 14–1902 April 15.

C. Records of the National Board of Appeals, 1878–1900

- Reel 34. Minutes, 1879 November 8–December 1: 1899 August 16–1900 May 27. (cont.)
Letter Book, 1878 April 1–1880 April 20. Vol. 20.
Correspondence, 1883–1889, 1893, 1895–1900.

D. Records of the National Conventions, 1877–1904

- Reel 35. 1877 Convention: platform, constitution, resolutions, and proceedings.
1880 Convention: platforms, constitutions, resolutions, and proceedings.
1881 Convention: platform and constitution.
1883 Convention: platforms, constitution, and proceedings.
1885 Convention: platforms, constitutions, and proceedings.
1887 Convention: platforms, constitutions, and proceedings.
1889 Convention: platforms, constitutions, proceedings, report, correspondence, credentials, and votes.
1893 Convention: platforms, constitutions, reports, correspondence, and credentials.
1896 Convention: platforms, constitutions, proceedings, reports, correspondence, credentials, and votes.
1900 Convention: constitution and proceedings.
- Reel 36. 1900 Convention (cont.): proceedings (cont.) and correspondence.
1904 Convention: constitution, proceedings, reports, resolutions, and correspondence.

E. Records concerning Party Activities: Notebooks, Scrapbooks, and Clippings, 1880–1905

- Reel 36. Notebooks, 1884–1897.
(cont.)

W. L. Rosenberg, Notebook, 1884.
Daniel De Leon, Notebook, 1896 January 2–1897 January 2.
Scrapbooks, 1880–1905:
Scrapbook I, 1880–1898.
Scrapbook II, 1880–1905.
Scrapbook III, 1892–1897.
Scrapbook IV (Moritz Ruther Scrapbook), 1886–1900.
Scrapbook V (Fred W. Long Scrapbook), 1894–1900.
Clippings, 1880, 1889–1890, 1892, 1894–1901, 1903, undated.

F. Records of State Committees and Local Sections, 1878–1906

- Reel 37. Massachusetts:

Adams Section, Minutes, 1884 November 23–1886 June 13. Vol. 21.
Adams Section, Minutes, 1886 July 30–1888 October 2. Vol. 22.
Adams Section, Minutes, 1886 April 15–1890 September 18. Vol. 23.
Adams Section, Minutes, 1895 July 10–1897 September 29. Vol. 24.
Adams Section, Account Book, 1885 December–1897 November. Vol. 25.
Adams Section, Dues Book, 1885 January–1896 December. Vol. 26.

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- Boston, Flemish Section, Dues Book, 1892-1894 September. Vol. 27.
- Boston, Scandinavian Section, Minutes, 1904 March 31-1905 March 16. Vol. 28.
- New York:
- New York State Committee, Minutes, 1896 August 23-1901 November 11. Vol. 29.
- New York State Committee, Minutes, 1899 April 28.
- New York State Committee, Correspondence, 1884-1885, 1894-1895.
- Reel 38. New York State Committee, Correspondence, 1896-1902, undated.
- Buffalo Section, Branch 2 (11th Ward), Minutes, 1899 June 10-1901 April 13. Vol. 30.
- Mount Vernon Section, Minutes, 1894 April 29-1898 August 20. Vol. 31.
- Mount Vernon Section, Account Book, 1894 June 2-1898 August 20. Vol. 32.
- Mount Vernon Section, Dues Book, 1894 May 5-1898 July. Vol. 33.
- New York City Central Committee, Minutes, 1879 April 25-October 25. Vol. 34.
- Reel 39. New York City, American Section, Minutes, 1878 January 3-1879 October 15. Vol. 35.
- Newtown Section, Ridgewood-Glendale Branch, Minutes, 1889 May 19-1891 October 24. Vol. 36.
- Newtown Section, Ridgewood Branch, Account Book, 1889 May-1891 October. Vol. 37.
- Texas:
- Houston, Italian Section, Minutes, 1896 February 22-1898 May 9. Vol. 38.
- Houston, Italian Section, Dues Book, 1896 February-1898 April. Vol. 39.
- Washington:
- Everett Section, Minutes, 1897 October 1-1898 April 7. Vol. 40.
- British Columbia:
- Vancouver, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Local Alliance No. 250, Minutes, 1899 June 4-1900 December 21. Vol. 41.
- Vancouver, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, Local Alliance No. 250, Account Book, 1899 June 4-1900 December 23. Vol. 42.

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