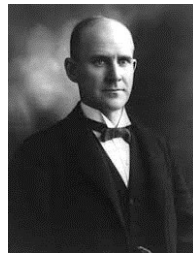
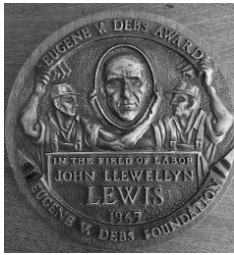


# **Collective Lives / Collective Struggles**

**The Individuals Who Joined Together to Save Gene &  
Kate's Home and Created the Eugene V. Debs  
Foundation**



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**Prepared for the Eugene V. Debs Foundation Archives**

**by**

**Timothy J. Kelley  
Foundation Board Member**

**September 2018**

*We're all immortal, as long as our stories are told.*

*Elizabeth Hunter*

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Stone, Irving	Photo taken from back panel of the dust jacket - <i>Adversary In The House</i> - Garden City, Doubleday & Co. 1947 / Irving Stone
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Whalen, Edward J.	<i>Terre Haute Tribune</i> , July 12, 1953 p. 77



**COLLECTIVE LIVES / COLLECTIVE STRUGGLES**  
**The Individuals Who Joined Together**  
**To Save Gene and Kate's Home**  
**And Created the Eugene V. Debs Foundation**

**PREFACE**

There has never been a better time than now to understand the life and work of Eugene Victor Debs. As the peoples of the earth once again attempt to reorganize themselves politically and economically in the early decades of the twenty-first century, the leaders of the struggles of the 1800s and 1900s provide us with striking examples of virtue and vice. For those of us who have been deeply influenced in our own lives by the writings and speeches of Debs as well as by the courageous actions of his life, we are humbled, strengthened and energized by this railroad man from Terre Haute, Indiana.

This book by my longtime friend and comrade Tim Kelley is an introduction to an amazing collection of individuals who understood that the legacy of Debs had to be preserved and then publicized widely. In 1962 the home of Kate and Gene Debs was about to be gutted and turned into apartments or torn down to make way for a parking lot. At that time there was no organization that existed which had as its fundamental purpose the perpetuation of Debs' vision of a world where peace and justice would prevail against war and domination. Had the house been irreparably damaged or destroyed, there likely never would have been a central location for displaying and discussing the artifacts of a life that was lived on the barricades.

As Tim describes in his opening pages, fortunately there were those in Terre Haute and around the world who were ready to rally to the cause of securing Debs' rightful place in the history of his times. It took guts to talk about socialism and revolution in the political climate of the United States in the early 1960s. And it took personal sacrifices to raise the funds to purchase and then restore the home.

Equally important was the establishment of the annual Debs Award Banquet which provides for a yearly celebration of those who continue to pursue social justice in the tradition of Debs. When I review the list of those who have been honored over the last fifty-three years, I feel enormous gratitude that the charter members had the wisdom to create an award and an event that not only memorializes Debs but also inspires those who attend to stay in the fight.

Tim has created herein a time capsule of enormous value. The impressive range and depth of life experiences of the individuals who came together and formed the Foundation are remarkable. We repay the debt we owe them as we replicate in the context of our times their determination and deeds.

Noel Beasley  
Foundation President

## Introduction

Early in the winter of 1962, a meeting held at the office of Professor Earl Stephanson in Stalker Hall, on the Indiana State campus, led to the purchase of the Eugene V. Debs home, and the creation of the Debs Foundation. Those in attendance were Stephanson, Professors J. Robert Constantine, Howard Hamilton, Woodrow Creason, and Tilford Dudley, the director of the Speakers Bureau for the national AFL-CIO.<sup>1</sup> Tilford was a graduate of Harvard Law School, and a Charleston, Illinois, native who occasionally returned to the area to visit relatives. He was also a friend of Professor Stephanson, having previously served as a lecturer for a labor union leadership program directed by Stephanson and sponsored by the college.

For some time, Dudley had been advocating for the purchase of the Debs home as a memorial, and it was at the Stalker Hall meeting that his plan was finally put into action. According to Professor Constantine, it was Tilford Dudley who:

...played the key role in getting the Foundation off the ground. Dudley steadily pushed the idea on ISU faculty members, drew up the articles of incorporation and solicited essential 'seed money' from his acquaintances at the national level of union leadership. Ted Dudley was a very persuasive man!<sup>2</sup>

From this meeting, the delegation adjourned to the Debs home, where they were joined by Ned Bush and Curtis Culver, members of the Wabash Valley Central Labor Council, Debs Committee. The group met with the owner of the property, William Heck, a local contractor, who planned to cut the house up into small apartments. Constantine remembered Heck was not opposed to historic preservation and declared "Look, I'm in business. Show me the money".<sup>3</sup> They negotiated an agreement for a purchase price of \$9,000.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "I Remember When: Charter Members Tell Their Stories", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2002, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana) spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1987-2002 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> "Form Group to Preserve Home of Gene Debs", *Terre Haute Tribune*, (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 14, 1962, p. 1.

Curtis Culver recalled, "...each person (in the small group) gave \$100 to use as earnest money in order to give us time to raise the purchase money".

A fundraising effort began immediately, as Howard Hamilton, assisted by Earl Stephanson, "personally typed scores of letters to colleagues in academia, and in labor and socialist circles, seeking and getting charter members for the Foundation".<sup>5</sup> In addition, Howard Hamilton and his wife Leavitta took out a second mortgage on their home in order to provide temporary funds for use by the struggling organization, while awaiting responses to the groups many appeals.<sup>6</sup> As contributions began to arrive, the foundation's core group of local academics and labor union members also expanded. ISC faculty, including Professors Edward Spann, Eugene Dyche, Ronald Elperin and Quentin Bone enlisted in the cause. Teamsters' official, William Coakley, Virgil Morris from the Laborers and John McDaniel from the painters union also offered their assistance and all joined as charter members.

To achieve charter membership status, a contribution of \$100 had to be received by March 17, 1962. A list compiled in 1987, by Bob Constantine, identified 58 charter membership contributions, however five of those payments were made by couples, therefore, 63 names actually appear on the charter membership list. It is important to understand, a \$100 contribution in 1962, translates into \$821.75, in 2018, adjusted for inflation.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, such a donation was a significant commitment in 1962.

Professor Constantine described the charter members as "...an alliance of Indiana State University faculty members, organized labor representatives, and a mixed group of men and women who shared "Debsian Ideals".<sup>8</sup> This diverse group of 63 individuals included union members, socialists, pacifists, college students and retired workers. The charter membership roll also included notables such as Norman Thomas, Roger Baldwin, Upton Sinclair and Albert Schweitzer.

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<sup>5</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period".

<sup>6</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase (personal communication with author), May 6, 2018; Ann Seltzer (family friend of the Hamiltons), personal communication with the author), May 7, 2018.

<sup>7</sup> Saving.org, financial calculator website, (accessed Aug 27, 2018), <https://www.saving.org/inflation/inflation.php?amount=100&year=1962>

<sup>8</sup> "I Remember When: Charter Members Tell Their Stories", Debs Foundation Newsletter, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2002, p. 5, 8, 9.

The Eugene V. Debs Foundation was founded at a time when the political environment, nationally and in Terre Haute, was not welcoming to such an effort. Some in the community considered the project in a negative light since it was advocated by “commies up at the university”.<sup>9</sup>

In the spring, 2012, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, an article written by Secretary Charles King, to commemorate the organizations 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, noted:

McCarthyism definitely was not dead in the conservative Terre Haute community and in Indiana...Looking back, it is amazing that there were enough men and women of sufficient awareness of history and Debs’ considerable contributions to society, and sufficiently progressive in their personal commitments, that they could come together, found a society for historical preservation and education, and could succeed these 50 years to preserve a unique historical site and a great legacy!<sup>10</sup>

Professor Constantine stated in his 1987 article that the history of the early days of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation “suffers from a shortage of documentary evidence and from inevitable memory lapses, so at the outset a disclaimer and apology are in order”. It is understandable that the fledgling Debs Foundation, of nearly 60 years ago, was more focused on protecting the Debs home and strengthening the organization so as to insure the home’s future preservation, rather than maintaining detailed historical records.

Now in its sixth decade, the Debs Foundation’s institutional memory seemed to be in some jeopardy, with the passing of nearly all of the figures involved in the founding, and the group’s limited historical documentation, as referenced by Professor Constantine. This prompted me to begin this research project in hopes of helping to better preserve some of the organization’s historical legacy. My intent was to offer a brief glimpse of the lives of each of the charter members, in order to recognize them individually and to clarify their role in the organization’s founding. At the same time, their collective stories will hopefully provide the foundation with a more substantial history of the group’s origin.

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<sup>9</sup> “Debs Foundation 1962-2012, Fifty Fruitful Years”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring, 2012, p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> “Debs Foundation 1962-2012, Fifty Fruitful Years”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, p. 6.

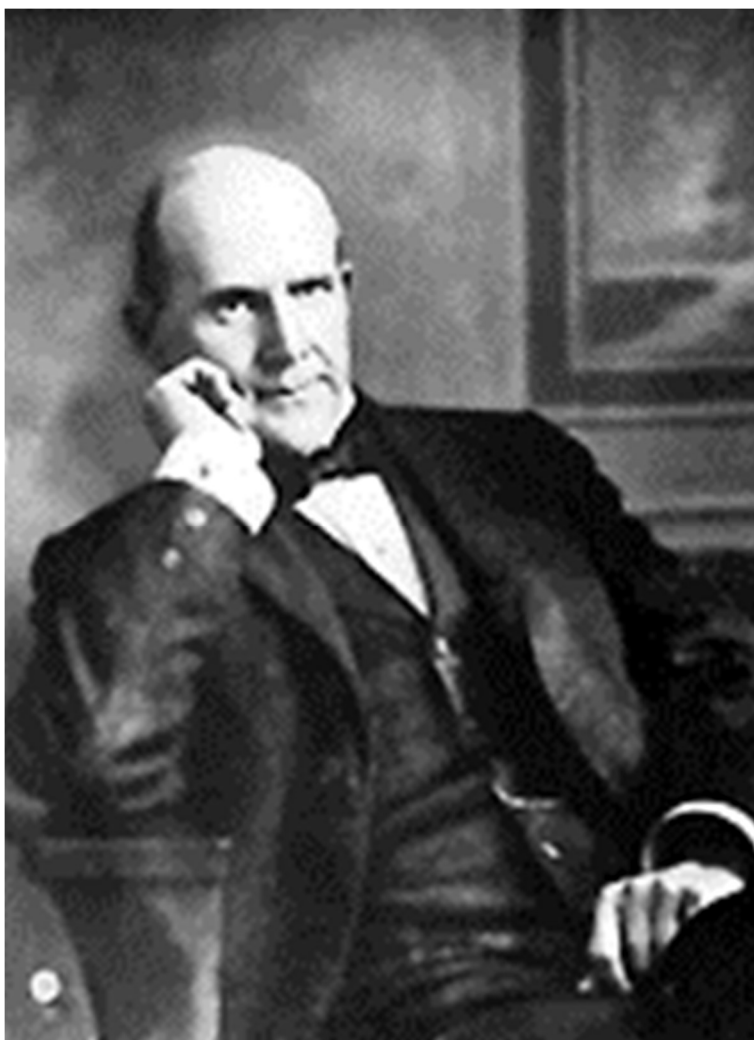
The list, provided by Professor Constantine's 1987 article, served as a "Rosetta Stone" for this project. Without that document, these biographical sketches of the founders could not have been written and considerable history of the Debs Foundation would have been lost. It should be mentioned, the list did include a number of spelling errors. In addition, the 1987 article referred to Brad Miller as a retired coal miner, when in fact, he was a former railroad worker.

The most significant issue with the list involved Marjorie McDonald. She appeared on the list, just before Duncan McDonald, and following John McDaniel. Initially, it was thought Marjorie was a spouse or other relative of Duncan, but research found his wife's name was Nella and she died in 1959. Duncan's obituary listed few survivors and they were nephews and nieces, with none named Marjorie.

When researching the biography of John McDaniel, a local painters' union official, it was discovered his wife's name was Marjorie. She was a faculty member at Indiana State and the president of a Terre Haute local of the American Federation of Teachers. When she died in 1976, Indiana AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer, Max Wright, delivered the eulogy. Wright was also a member of the Debs Foundation. Based upon this "circumstantial evidence", I have revised the charter membership list to include Marjorie McDaniel in the place of Marjorie McDonald.

In the end, I was able to complete biographical sketches of 61 charter members. This material was obtained from genealogical websites, newspapers and through correspondence with friends and family of some charter members. In the case of Professor Bernard Brommel, he directly shared his recollections and included useful documents in a letter to this writer. Despite significant effort, the identities of 2 foundation charter members remain elusive. They are H. A. Abramson and Robert Haagerson. We at least have their names and recognize them for the part they played in preserving the Debs home and in creating the Foundation.

The following paper is presented to the Eugene V. Debs Foundation as an additional resource for its archives, in the hope that it will provide current and future members of the organization, a better appreciation of the role these individuals played in preserving the Eugene V. Debs home and in launching the Debs Foundation, nearly 60 years ago.



**1916 photo of Eugene Debs by Terre Haute photographer, George Graham Holloway. From the Eugene V. Debs Foundation collection.**

## Donald Allen (1939-1996)

Donald Wayne Allen, a native of Terre Haute, Indiana, was born on May 27, 1939, the son of George Allen and Gladys Jones Allen.<sup>1</sup> He graduated from Terre Haute Wiley High School in 1957.<sup>2</sup> Allen enrolled as an undergraduate at Indiana State College, majoring in social studies, and was active in Young Democrats.<sup>3</sup> He was also a member of the social service organization, Civitan International.<sup>4</sup>



While attending college, he was an employee of the Stran Steel Corporation and a member of the United Steel Workers Union, Local 3489.<sup>5</sup> In 1961, Vigo County was in the midst of a debate over the implementation of area planning. Allen defended the concept in a letter to the editor of the *Terre Haute Tribune*. He argued communities should be able to defend themselves from irresponsible landowners "...by protecting it from dumps, junk yards, etc." Allen went on to contend a leader of the group, opposed to area planning, was arguing the community should bend to the landowners' demands:

What he unwittingly implies is a submission of the masses to a land-owning aristocracy; he would reinstate a subjugation which is historically one of the greatest grievances of the common man. This exploitation of the masses is common to the ages. It was the basis of feudalism.<sup>6</sup>

In March of 1962, Allen became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation, along with his fellow social studies student and Young Democrats colleague, James O'Connell.<sup>7</sup>

After college, Donald served with the U.S. Army and the Air Force, and was stationed for a time in Thailand. He was an employee of the United States Postal

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<sup>1</sup> "Donald Wayne Allen", *Terre Haute Tribune Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Mar 29, 1996, p. 2; Ancestry.com, "Indiana Birth Certificates", on-line database (accessed Jul 30, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60871&h=5083331&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu70&phstart=successSource>

<sup>2</sup> "Donald Wayne Allen" *Wileyan*, Terre Haute, Indiana Wiley High School, 1957 Yearbook, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> "Donald Wayne Allen" *Sycamore*, Indiana State College, Terre Haute, Indiana, 1962 Yearbook, p. 203; "Young Democrats", *Sycamore*, Indiana State College, Terre Haute, Indiana, 1962 Yearbook, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> "Civitans To Elect During Meeting", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 19, 1961, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Allen, Donald W. "Dear Editor" *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Mar 23, 1961, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter* (Eugene V. Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.



Service in San Francisco, California, for a number of years, from where he later retired. Donald relocated to Fort Myers, Florida, and died there on March 21, 1996.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

## V. Dewey Annakin (1898-1981)

Professor Virgil Dewey Annakin was born on June 26, 1898, at Akron, Ohio.<sup>1</sup> His father, George D. Annakin, emigrated from England to America in 1874, first settling in Ohio.<sup>2</sup> U.S. Census data shows the family had moved to Indiana by 1910, where the elder Annakin secured employment in area coal mines. George Annakin continued to work as a miner for nearly two decades, until his death in a slate fall at the Grasselli mine in northern Vigo County.<sup>3</sup>



Dr. Annakin attended public schools in West Terre Haute, Indiana, and served in the U.S. Army during World War I.<sup>4</sup> He received his A. B. from Depauw University, his graduate degree from the University of Wisconsin, and obtained his Ph.D. from Ohio State University, as well as post doctorate work at Yale University.<sup>5</sup> Annakin taught sociology at Indiana State University from 1926 until 1965, and also served as the ISU Dean of Men.<sup>6</sup>

Dewey was an outstanding speaker, making presentations to numerous civic and social groups, as well as delivering many high school commencement speeches across the state.<sup>7</sup> Annakin also served two terms as an Indiana State Senator, being first elected in 1958 by an impressive majority of 16,000 votes.<sup>8</sup> In 1961, he delivered an impassioned speech on the Senate floor, advocating support for his proposed civil rights legislation which would guarantee equal accommodations for all persons in public places. His Senate colleagues were impressed and the legislation was approved by a 40-8 vote.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, the Indiana House removed the enforcement provisions of the Senate version, sending the watered

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, Public Trees – Subject- V. Dewey Annakin, on-line database (accessed Feb 12, 2018)

<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/20781399/person/310077682034/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, 1880 U.S. Census – Subject- George D. Annakin, on-line database (accessed Feb 12, 2018)

<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/20781399/person/310077682034/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>3</sup> “Miner is Killed by Fall of Slate”, *Terre Haute Tribune*, Feb 10, 1926, p.1

<sup>4</sup> “V. Dewey Annakin, Former ISU Dean”, *Indianapolis News*, Aug 19, 1981, p.50

<sup>5</sup> “Prof. Dewey Annakin to Address Center Grove Graduating Seniors”, *Franklin Evening Star* (Franklin, Indiana) May 5, 1959, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> “Dewey Annakin Candidate for State Senator”, *Terre Haute Tribune*, Mar 26, 1958, p. 3

<sup>7</sup> “Management Club to Hear Dr. Annakin”, *Call Leader* (Elwood, Indiana) Mar 17, 1961, p. 1; “Prof. Dewey Annakin to Address Center Grove Graduating Seniors” *Franklin Evening Star*, (Franklin, Indiana) May 5, 1959, p. 1; “Rotary Hears Talk by Dewey Annakin” *Terre Haute Tribune*, (Terre Haute, Indiana) Apr 8, 1958, p. 13; “Graduation Exercises Set At Owensville”, *Princeton Daily Clarion*, (Princeton, Indiana), Apr 28, 1953, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> “Annakin Winner by Over 16,000”, *Terre Haute Star*, Nov 6, 1958, p. 14

<sup>9</sup> Flynn, Robert, “State Senators Moved By Annakin’s Civil Rights Talk”, *Terre Haute Tribune*, Feb 17, 1961, p. 11

down bill to a conference committee. This doomed the passage of any significant legislation, on this subject, for that legislative session.<sup>10</sup>

When long-time Terre Haute Mayor, Ralph Tucker sought a fourth term, in 1963, Dr. Annakin made an unsuccessful primary challenge in what became an extremely rancorous campaign.<sup>11</sup>

Dewey retired from ISU in 1965, but was appointed Dean of Faculty at Allen University, in South Carolina. The predominantly African-American school was struggling to achieve accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Universities. Annakin was hired to complete that task but eventually clashed with the board of trustees. Professor Annakin attempted to dismiss a few faculty members he viewed as unqualified, as part of his reform efforts. He believed the changes were critical in order for the school to achieve accreditation, but the board blocked his recommendations, prompting Annakin to tender his resignation.<sup>12</sup>

Ken Barnes, an Allen University student, in an interview with a UPI reporter, asserted Annakin's work had nearly achieved accreditation for the college. "If Dean Annakin goes ... quality education at Allen is gone". The students petitioned the board for the reinstatement of their Dean, launched protest marches and eventually shutdown the campus. Dr. Annakin intervened to convince the students to reopen the school so they could complete finals.<sup>13</sup>

Annakin's reform strategy had been supported by university president, Benjamin Glover, which led the board of trustees to oust him. NAACP executive director, Roy Wilkins, the Allen University commencement speaker, that spring, chided the board in his remarks. Wilkins praised Annakin and Glover for fighting against "forces that wish to make this campus a place of conformity, even if it means mediocrity".<sup>14</sup>

Following the Allen University controversy, Dewey Annakin continued his career in education by accepting a teaching position with Eastern Kentucky University at Richmond, for the 1967-1968 school year.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> "2 Civil Rights Bills Passed", *Indianapolis Star*, Mar 2, 1961, p. 5

<sup>11</sup> "V. Dewey Annakin, Former ISU Dean", *Indianapolis News*, Aug 19, 1981, p. 50

<sup>12</sup> "Negroes Rally to White", *Muncie Evening Press*, May 5, 1967, p. 6

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> "College Head Lauded by Wilkins Is Fired", *Miami News* (Miami, Florida) May 26, 1967, p. 4

<sup>15</sup> Eastern Kentucky University President's Office Records 1914-1976, On-line database, (accessed Feb 12, 2018), <http://findingaids.eku.edu/index.php?p=collections/findingaid&id=42&q=&rootcontentid=4697>

Professor Annakin contributed to the preservation of the Debs home by becoming a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation, in March of 1962.<sup>16</sup>

V. Dewey Annakin died at Terre Haute, Indiana on August 18, 1981.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> "V. Dewey Annakin, Former ISU Dean", *Indianapolis News*, (Indianapolis, Indiana), Aug 19, 1981, p. 50.

## Roger Baldwin (1884-1981)

Roger Nash Baldwin was born on January 21, 1884, at Wellesley, Massachusetts, the son of wealthy and influential parents. He grew up in a progressive household, whose family friends included W.E.B. DuBois and Louis Brandeis. Baldwin received his undergraduate and graduate degrees from Harvard University, and then followed the advice of Louis Brandeis, to relocate to St Louis, Missouri, where he launched a career in social work. There, he was part of the settlement movement, taught sociology at Washington University and co-authored a book on juvenile justice and the court system. During this period, he became a friend of anarchist Emma Goldman and was active in radical politics.<sup>1</sup>



During World War I, he was a member of the American Union Against Militarism, which attempted to assist conscientious objectors. The AUAM formed a separate group, the Civil Liberties Bureau in 1917, led by Baldwin. As a pacifist, he refused to register for the draft and was jailed.<sup>2</sup> Baldwin was tried in Federal court in New York City and sentenced to one year in prison. A newspaper account described his surrender:

Baldwin is an extreme pacifist and anti-militarist and voluntarily gave himself up to Assistant United States Attorney Ben Matthews... for the last twenty days he has been in the Tombs where he has resolutely refused to be bailed out.<sup>3</sup>

Once Baldwin completed his prison sentence, he traveled around the country, working as a laborer. It was during this period he joined the IWW's Cooks and Waiters Union. He said of the Wobblies, "I liked the IWW men, they had guts, hope, a philosophy". Baldwin also participated in the 1919 Steel Strike, serving as a union spy.<sup>4</sup>

The Civil Liberties Bureau became the American Civil Liberties Union in 1920, with a declared mission to protect the freedoms provided by the U.S. Constitution.

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<sup>1</sup> "Roger N. Baldwin-Biography", *Human Rights First* on-line website (accessed July 1, 2018) <https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/baldwin-award/roger-n-baldwin-biography>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Roger Baldwin Sentenced to Year in Prison", *St Louis Star & Times* (St Louis, Missouri), Oct 30, 1918, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Roger Baldwin, 97, Is Dead; Crusader for Civil Rights, Founded the ACLU", *New York Times* (New York, New York) Aug 27, 1981, p. D-18, National edition.

Baldwin was named director, a post he would hold for thirty years.<sup>5</sup> The ACLU took an active part in many of the major court cases of the day, including the 1925 Scopes Trial, and the Sacco and Vanzetti case in 1927. Under Baldwin's leadership, the organization was able to lift the publishing restrictions on James Joyce's book, *Ulysses*; won a free speech fight for the Jehovah's Witnesses; fought to protect the free speech rights of Henry Ford, the Ku Klux Klan and the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco. Baldwin explained: "I always felt from the beginning that you had to defend people you dislike and feared as well as those you admired."<sup>6</sup>

Roger Baldwin fought against the internment of thousands of Japanese-Americans during World War II. At the end of the war, Baldwin provided recommendations to General MacArthur in establishing civil liberties guidelines for the administration of occupied Japan.<sup>7</sup> In 1950, Baldwin focused his efforts in support of the International League for the Rights of Man, becoming the organization's chair. The mission of the group was "defending human rights advocates who risk their lives to promote the ideals of a just and civil society in their homelands".<sup>8</sup>

In 1962, Roger Baldwin supported the creation of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation by becoming a charter member. Letters from Roger Baldwin to Eugene Debs and Theodore Debs are preserved in the Debs Collection at Indiana State University.

Shortly before his death, Baldwin was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom. He died on August 26, 1981, at Ridgewood, New Jersey. Upon his passing, ACLU director, Ira Glasser said of Baldwin, he was "...one of the titans of American history" and "in a way one of our country's founding fathers- they wrote the Constitution, and he invented a way to enforce it".<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Willcox, Kris. "Roger Nash Baldwin, Unitarian Co-Founder of ACLU" *Unitarian Universalist World Website*, (accessed Jul 1, 2018) <https://www.uuworld.org/artoc/es;pplomg-back-roger-nash-baldwin>

<sup>6</sup> "Roger Baldwin, 97, Is Dead; Crusader For Civil Rights, Founded the ACLU".

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "Roger N. Baldwin Biography", *Human Rights First*.

<sup>9</sup> "Roger Baldwin, 97, Is Dead: Crusader For Civil Rights, Founded the ACLU", p. D-18.

## Morris Blumberg (1917-1999)

A Terre Haute attorney and civic leader, Blumberg was educated in the Terre Haute public schools, as well as Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire.<sup>1</sup> He graduated magna cum laude from Harvard University with a degree in sociology. Blumberg then spent twenty five years working in business and finance. Later, Morris changed careers, returning to school, where he received a law degree from the Indiana University School of Law in 1967. He became a law partner in the firm of McCormick and Blumberg, at Terre Haute in 1968.<sup>2</sup>



His father, Benjamin Blumberg, was a noted Terre Haute businessman and philanthropist. During the Great Depression, Benjamin offered occasional financial support to the Debs Educational Society, a small Terre Haute group, headed by Shubert Sebree. The group was a vehicle for the promotion of socialism and to keep alive the memory of Eugene V. Debs. Sebree once asked Blumberg's father why, as a wealthy man, he was willing to support a socialist organization. Ben Blumberg replied, "I will need friends on both sides of the barricades, when the revolution comes".<sup>3</sup>

Morris Blumberg served on numerous business and civic boards and foundations during his career, including the Terre Haute Chamber of Commerce, Indiana State University Foundation, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College, Union Hospital and Merchants National Bank.<sup>4</sup> He became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in March of 1962.<sup>5</sup> Morris also served as president of the Vigo County Community Chest.<sup>6</sup> An October 18, 1964, *Terre Haute Tribune* article reported Blumberg received a plaque and special recognition for his efforts as the 1963 Israel Bond campaign chairman.

During the tumultuous political year of 1968, Blumberg was the co-chairmen of the Indiana seventh district McCarthy for President Committee. The main focus of the group was to apply pressure on Democrat national convention delegates from Indiana, reminding them that the late Senator Robert Kennedy and Senator Eugene

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<sup>1</sup> "Elect 3 New Woods Board Members", *Terre Haute Tribune*, Sept 20, 1971, p.1

<sup>2</sup> "Two Attorneys Form New Law Firm In City", *Terre Haute Tribune*, May 17, 1968, p.9

<sup>3</sup> Shubert Sebree (associate of Eugene V. Debs). Timothy Kelley, personal interview, April 17, 1976

<sup>4</sup> "Elect 3 New Woods Board Members", p.1

<sup>5</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Proffitt, Sally, "United Community Chest Quota Announced", *Terre Haute Tribune*, Sept. 7, 1952, p.20

McCarthy had a combined vote total of 69% in the Indiana primary. The effort was an attempt to prevent a “locked-up” convention for Hubert Humphrey.<sup>7</sup>

Morris B. Blumberg passed away on June 26, 1999, at Terre Haute, Indiana. He was 82 years old.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “New McCarthy Office Opened in Terre Haute”, *Terre Haute Tribune*, Aug 4, 1968, p.

<sup>8</sup> “Morris Burgheim Blumberg”, genealogybuff.com website, Harvard University obituaries and death notices, (online database (accessed on Mar 31, 2018).

[http://www.genealogybuff.com/ma/harvard/webbbs\\_config.pl/noframes/read/23](http://www.genealogybuff.com/ma/harvard/webbbs_config.pl/noframes/read/23)



## Quentin Bone (1918-1999)

Born near Greenville, Illinois, Professor Bone served in the U. S. Army Air Corps during World War II. He received his undergraduate and graduate degrees, as well as his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois and joined the Indiana State University faculty as a professor of history in 1955.<sup>1</sup>



In his 1987 article, Professor Bob Constantine recalled that a group of ISU faculty members, including Quentin Bone, "... helped launch the foundation and kept it going".<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bone served on the organization's historical and restoration committee which was responsible for locating "... furniture as well as for collecting Debs books, pamphlets and correspondence".<sup>3</sup> He also collaborated with Edward Spann and J. Robert Constantine in a project to interview and record individuals who had known or had contact with Eugene V. Debs. An effort that received a research grant from the ISC board of trustees.<sup>4</sup>

Bone was recognized as a specialist in the field of modern British history. He authored a number of articles including "Legislation to Revive Small Farming in England 1887-1914", which was published in the October, 1975, issue of *Agricultural History*.<sup>5</sup> Professor Bone was also the author of the book, *Henrietta Marie, Queen of the Cavaliers*, published by the University of Illinois Press, in 1972. The volume defended the wife of Charles I and challenged earlier views that she had considerable influence over the king's policies. Historian, W. Emerson Wilson, described Bone's book as an excellent biography.<sup>6</sup>

Professor Bone retired from Indiana State University in 1989, and died at Terre Haute in December of 1999.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Quentin Bone Writes Book About Queen", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), June 8, 1972, p. 26

<sup>2</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, spring 2012, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> "Launch Drive to Restore Home of Debs", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) May 7, 1962, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> "Board Approves ISC Athletic Filed Plans", (board of trustees-ISTC) *Terre Haute Tribune*, (Terre Haute, Indiana), Dec. 20, 1963, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> "Bone's Article on Farming Published", *Terre Haute Tribune*, (Terre Haute, Indiana), Dec 30, 1975, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Wilson, W. Emerson, "Charles I's Queen Was Maligned", *Morning News* (Wilmington, Delaware), June 26, 1972, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> "In Memoriam-Quentin Bone", Indiana State University Board of Trustees, Feb 4, 2000, Section 1, Exhibit 1.

## Bernard J. Brommel (1930-2018)

Born in Warren County, Iowa, to Wilbur and Nellie Brommel, his father and grandfather were both Iowa farmers.<sup>1</sup> He received his BA from Northern Iowa University, MA from Iowa State University and Ph.D. from Indiana University.<sup>2</sup> Later, he completed a post doctorate in clinical psychology from Northwestern University.<sup>3</sup>



Professor Brommel was named to the Indiana State Teachers College faculty in 1959, where he taught speech and theater. In addition to his teaching role, his interest in Eugene Debs led him to interview Terre Haute residents who had known Debs. He also began to assemble a collection of socialist pamphlets and campaign materials. Brommel was the author of a number of articles, including, “Debs’s Cooperative Commonwealth Plan for Workers”, published in *Labor History*. Dr. Brommel’s biography of Debs, *Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism*, was published by Charles H. Kerr in 1978.<sup>4</sup>

Professor Brommel played a key role in the development of the Debs Foundation. He was named to the historical and restoration committee, whose task was the gathering of furniture, books, pamphlets and letters linked to Debs. Also on the committee was Marguerite Debs Cooper, niece of Eugene Debs.<sup>5</sup> Brommel befriended her and through his encouragement, she donated her uncle’s letters and papers to Indiana State University where they are maintained by the Cunningham Memorial Library.<sup>6</sup> Brommel provided some detail of his friendship with Marguerite in his recollections of the foundation’s early days:

She spoke of burning many of the manuscripts and personal letters she had carefully stored in her basement, in the same desks and furniture

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, 1910 U.S. Census- on-line database- subject- Joseph H. Brommel- Warren County, Iowa, (accessed Dec 12, 2017), [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1920usfedcen&h=44501957&indiv=try&o\\_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=2442](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1920usfedcen&h=44501957&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=2442)

Ancestry.com, 1940 U.S. Census- on-line database-subject- Wilbur B. Brommel- Warren County, Iowa (accessed Dec 12, 2017) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/42410686/person/19941809575/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> Book Jacket Notes. Bernard Brommel, *Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism*, Chicago, Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1978.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard Brommel, letter to the author, Jan 4, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> Book Jacket Notes. Brommel.

<sup>5</sup> “Launch Drive to Restore Home of Debs”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute Indiana), May 7, 1962, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard Brommel. “I Remember When-Charter Members Tell Their Stories”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Spring 2002, pp. 5 & 8.

that had been in the Debs' office when her father closed it. She still feared more of the Red witch-hunts and did not want any of "Uncle or Dad's" letters to be used against them. I convinced her over several days that her Alma Mater, Indiana State, was a safe place to preserve them.<sup>7</sup>

Once Marguerite agreed to preserve and donate the letters, the sorting process required a daily effort, over the course of two months, in order to complete the task. Brommel recalled:

She wanted to reread every letter before releasing any of them to "the public". We sat across her dining room table, night after night, sorting and filing. I would group letters or pamphlets by date, author or subject and she would read them. Some letters that were personal about her own failed marriage and family disputes, she did destroy, but all the important letters were saved.<sup>8</sup>

Professor Brommel left ISU in 1967 for a position at the University Of North Dakota at Grand Forks.<sup>9</sup> In 1971, he joined the faculty of Northeastern Illinois University, in Chicago, and taught there for more than 30 years.<sup>10</sup> Dr. Brommel has been a major benefactor to NEIU and has funded numerous scholarships for students. As a result of Brommel's support for the university, NEIU named a classroom building in his honor.<sup>11</sup> Since his retirement, he co-authored the book, *Family Communication: Cohesion and Change*, with Kathleen Galvin and Carma Bylund in 2004. Personal health issues prompted him to research and publish the article, "Sense-making on Dialysis", which is now being used by medical students.<sup>12</sup> Professor Brommel died at Kalamazoo, Michigan, on September 22, 2018.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Tribune Staff, "Nosey News Hawks", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 2, 1967, p.4.

<sup>10</sup> Bernard Brommel, "Dedication Remarks at Naming of Bernard J. Brommel Hall", Nov 18, 2010, Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago, Illinois. (Written transcript provided by Brommel to the author).

<sup>11</sup> "Visionary Philanthropy: Bernard J. Brommel Blazes a New Trail at Northeastern", Founders Society, Northeastern University Foundation website, Winter 2015, (accessed Mar. 10, 2018), <https://www.neiu.edu/alumni-and-giving/giving/impact-your-gift/brommel-scholarships>

<sup>12</sup> Bernard Brommel, letter to author.

<sup>13</sup> "Bernard Brommel, Ph.D." *Kalamazoo Gazette*, Kalamazoo, Michigan, on-line edition, Sept 27, 2018, <http://obits.mlive.com/obituaries/kalamazoo/obituary.aspx?n=bernard-brommel&pid=190313172&fhid=16489>

## John P. Burke (1884-1966)

Longtime President of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, Burke was born at North Duxbury, Vermont on April 21, 1884. The family moved to Franklin, New Hampshire in 1896. At the age of 13, he secured a job in the carding room of a local hosiery mill, working a ten hour day. His father was killed in a pulp mill accident in 1901. John began work at the International Paper mill in Franklin, New Hampshire, in 1906, the same year the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers held its first convention at Burlington, VT.<sup>1</sup>



Burke became an activist in the Socialist Party and was selected as the first permanent New Hampshire organizer during the party's 1909 state convention.<sup>2</sup> A Portsmouth, New Hampshire, newspaper described John as an "enthusiastic socialist state organizer" when reporting on one of his speaking tours.<sup>3</sup> He was nominated for governor by the New Hampshire Socialist Party, in the 1914, however, Burke's gubernatorial campaign was only able to capture 1.7% of the vote.<sup>4</sup>

John was active in his union, and by 1914, he was selected first vice president of the paper mill workers union. In 1917, the union membership elected Burke the union's international president, a post he held for the next 48 years. During his tenure, the union grew from 22 locals to 700. In 1963, the paper mill workers' union membership exceeded 175,000. John P. Burke died on May 1, 1966, at Miami, Florida, where he had been attending a union meeting.<sup>5</sup>

John Burke contributed to the formation of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation when he became a charter member in March of 1962.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Maury Thompson, "An Unknown Celebrity: John P. Burke", *Post-Star*, (Glens Falls, New York), Sept. 3, 2007, p. A 1

<sup>2</sup> "Woman Suffrage Resolutions, Tell of Party Gains", *Portsmouth Herald* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), Apr 23, 1909, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> "John Burke of Franklin", *Portsmouth Herald* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), Sept 30, 1909, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> "New Hampshire Governor", Our Campaigns.com, (data from Congressional Quarterly Guide to US Elections) accessed on Mar 9, 2018, <https://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=266680>.

<sup>5</sup> Maury Thompson.

<sup>6</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

## Ned Bush Sr. (1905-1979)

Ned Aaron Bush, a newspaper reporter and editor, was born to Bazzle and Pearl Snediker Bush, on August 22, 1905, at Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>1</sup> His father was a wheel maker for the Terre Haute Wheel Works.<sup>2</sup> Ned launched his career as a journalist, while a high school junior, when he was hired as a sports reporter for the *Terre Haute Star*.<sup>3</sup> He was working the *Star*'s "police beat" by his senior year. In his fifty-one years in journalism, he worked in seven mid-western states, for twenty newspapers.<sup>4</sup>



Ned married Lucile Hohl on April 19, 1925, and they were the parents of five children, Ned Jr., Donald, Hildreth, Frances and Barbara.<sup>5</sup>

Bush's journalism career included work for the *St Louis Post Dispatch*, The *Chicago Sun* and the *Chicago Times*. When working in Chicago, he helped organize the Chicago Newspaper Guild. Ned's significant interviews, during his newspaper career, included Billy Sunday, Al Smith and President Harry S. Truman. Bush eventually returned to Terre Haute where he worked for the *Terre Haute Tribune*, retiring as city editor in 1973.<sup>6</sup>

Bush played an extremely important role during the formation of the Debs Foundation. Bob Constantine, in an article written in 1987, recalled Ned's contribution:

At the local labor level, clearly the most important "charter member" was Ned Bush, who served the Foundation as executive vice president and as curator of the Debs home for many years before his death in 1979. Looking back on it, it seems unlikely that the Foundation could have grown as it has without Ned's services.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, Public Trees- Subject-Ned A. Bush Sr. Terre Haute, Indiana (accessed Mar 10, 2018)

<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/53363910/person/13638435515/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1910 U.S. Census – Subject- Bazzle Bush, Terre Haute, Indiana, (accessed Aug 23, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/102832528/person/140032706250/facts>

<sup>3</sup> "Ned A. Bush Sr. Dies; Newsman 51 Years", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Feb 12, 1979, page 29.

<sup>4</sup> "City Editor of Tribune Retires", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Feb 15, 1973, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Ned A. Bush Sr. Dies; Newsman 51 Years"; "City Editor of Tribune Retires".

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, (reprinted) spring 2012, p. 6.

Ned A. Bush died on February 10, 1979, at Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "Ned A. Bush Sr. Dies; Newsman 51 Years".

## William Coakley (1920-1972)

James William “Bill” Coakley was born on January 17, 1920, in Pana, Illinois.<sup>1</sup> He was a veteran of World War II and was associated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters for twenty six years, Bill served as secretary of his local and was later elected president and business agent for Teamsters Local 144 of Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>2</sup> In 1963 he was appointed to the position of general auditor, working as a staff member for the international union.<sup>3</sup>



Bill, as a local labor official, was active in the Debs Foundation, serving on the foundation’s board of directors.<sup>4</sup> Coakley also represented Teamsters’ general president, James R. Hoffa, when presenting a check from the union to the Debs Foundation on November 10, 1963. The check was accompanied by a letter from Hoffa in which he stated, “The tremendous contribution made by Eugene V. Debs to our movement well merits the work that this foundation is performing. We are happy to be able to participate.”<sup>5</sup>

William Coakley died at Monticello, Indiana, on August 19, 1972.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com. , Public Trees, Subject - James William Coakley (accessed Mar 10, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/81992180/person/340141882079/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> “End of Taxi Strike Still Not In Sight”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Oct 17, 1950 p. 6; “J.W. Coakley, Local Union Official Dies”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Aug 21, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> “Expanded Teamsters’ Local 144 Appoints Acting Exec. President”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Oct 19, 1963, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> “Norman Thomas Will Dedicate Home of Debs”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Apr 5, 1964, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> “Teamsters’ Gift for Debs Home”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Nov 10, 1963, p.1.

<sup>6</sup> “J.W. Coakley, Local Union Official Dies”, *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Aug 21, 1972, p. 2.

## J. Robert Constantine (1924-2017)

James Robert Constantine, longtime professor of American history at Indiana State University, was born at Jeffersonville, Indiana, on January 28, 1924, to Dennis and Gertrude Keuhn Constantine.<sup>1</sup> His father, a mechanic for the George S. Anderson Foundry, died when Bob was only four years old.<sup>2</sup> He graduated from Jeffersonville High School and attended Butler University, prior to service in the U.S. Army, during World War II.<sup>3</sup>



After the war, he married Velva Hoffman in September of 1946. They were the parents of two daughters, Cassandra and Melissa.<sup>4</sup> Constantine used the GI Bill to complete his education, earning a Ph.D. in American history at Indiana University. He first taught at Vincennes University and then Indiana University-South Bend, before accepting a faculty position at Indiana State Teachers' College.<sup>5</sup>

Dr. Constantine wrote numerous articles, including “Debs, (Poetry) and the Poets”, published in *Contemporary Education*, fall, 1983, and “Eugene V. Debs: an American paradox”, published by the *Monthly Labor Review* in August of 1991. He also edited the 3 volume, *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, published by the University of Illinois Press, in 1990. An abridged, one volume edition was released in 1995, under the title, *Gentle Rebel*. He led the Debs Papers Project which began

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<sup>1</sup> “James Robert Constantine, Age 93”, *Terre Haute Tribune Star*, May 27, 2017, on-line, (accessed Mar 2, 2018) <http://obituaries.tribstar.com/obituary/james-constantine-2017-929955341> ;

Ancestry.com, on-line database, Birth Certificate, James Robert Constantine, Indiana State Board of Health, Regis. No. 547, (accessed Mar 2, 2018) [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60871&h=1925879&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu124&phstart=successSource)

[bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60871&h=1925879&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu124&phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60871&h=1925879&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu124&phstart=successSource)  
<sup>2</sup>Ancestry.com, on-line database, Death Certificate, Dennis Constantine, Indiana State Board of Health registration number 403, filed Feb. 1, 1929, Gertrude Constantine, informant, (accessed Mar 2, 2018) [https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/34/?name=Dennis\\_Constantine&death=1928\\_jeffersonville-clark-indiana-usa\\_39321](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/34/?name=Dennis_Constantine&death=1928_jeffersonville-clark-indiana-usa_39321)

<sup>3</sup> “Jeffersonville High School 1942 Topic”, INGen Website, on-line database, List of Senior Class members, (accessed Mar 2, 2018) <http://www.ingenweb.org/inclark/yearbooks/1942jeffhigh.html> ; “James Robert Constantine, Age 93”, *Terre Haute Tribune Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana) on-line (accessed Mar 2, 2018) <http://obituaries.tribstar.com/obituary/james-constantine-2017-929955341>

<sup>4</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Marriage License Registration, Clark County Indiana-James Robert Constantine & Velva Hoffman, Sept 4, 1946 (accessed Mar 2, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60282&h=2314983&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu123&phstart=successSource> ; “James Robert Constantine, Age 93”. *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) May 27, 2017, on-line (accessed Mar 2, 2018). <http://obituaries.tribstar.com/obituary/james-constantine-2017-929955341>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



in 1979, focusing initially on the 4,000 letters donated by Marguerite Debs Cooper, niece of Eugene Debs. In addition, the effort located an additional 3,000 items.<sup>6</sup>

Professor Constantine was a member of the small group who negotiated the purchase of the Debs home from Terre Haute contractor, William Heck, in March of 1962.<sup>7</sup> Bob went on to serve the foundation as secretary from 1962 until 1983. During that time, he actively promoted membership, planned special events and award dinners, as well as serving as the foundation's contact person. Constantine was also involved in soliciting donations from unions and labor leaders in order to assist in the preservation of the home and in the creation of the endowment fund. One such fund-raising effort, in 1963, took him to Washington D. C., where he met with Teamsters Union General President, James M. Hoffa. This was during a time when Hoffa was undergoing federal scrutiny. The meeting, held at Hoffa's office, included a presentation by Professor Constantine outlining the efforts of the Debs Foundation in preserving the Debs Home. He personalized the appeal by noting Hoffa was also an Indiana born labor leader and reminded Hoffa that Debs had also been persecuted by the federal government.<sup>8</sup> The meeting was a success, as Hoffa donated \$5,000 to the foundation.<sup>9</sup>

Bob recalled a gathering in the shared office of Professors Woodrow Creason and Earl Stephanson early in 1962, which was actually the first meeting of the Debs Foundation:

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At the meeting, in addition to Woody and me, there were Howard Hamilton, a political scientist, Earl Stephanson, an economist, and a fellow we met for the first time, Tilford Dudley, who was at the time, head of the Speakers Bureau of the AFL-CIO's national headquarters, in Washington. Dudley had gotten interested in trying to preserve the Debs home during frequent trips to Terre Haute, on his way to his home town, Charleston, Illinois. At this meeting it was agreed that an attempt be made to raise the money for the purchase price of the home ... (as I recall) \$9,500.00.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Crittenden, Susan, "Socialist Debs' views preserved for posterity", *Indianapolis Star*, Mar 7, 1982 p. 22

<sup>7</sup> "Fifty Fruitful Years" (50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Issue) *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, spring, 2012, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, conversation with Tim Kelley, Nov. 7, 1981.

<sup>9</sup> "Teamsters' Gift to Debs Home", *Terre Haute Tribune*, (Terre Haute, Indiana) Nov. 10, 1963, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Constantine, Prof. J. Robert, "I Remember When: Charter Members Tell Their Stories", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Terre Haute, Indiana, spring, 2002, p. 5.

Professor Constantine retired from Indiana State University in 1989. He later moved to Austin, Texas, where he died on May 25, 2017.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> "James Robert Constantine, Age 93'.

## Marguerite Debs Cooper (1894-1987)

Marguerite Toy Debs was the only child of Theodore and Gertrude Debs and the niece of Eugene V. Debs. She was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, on May 26, 1894, when her father and uncle were in the midst of the Pullman Strike.<sup>1</sup> As Gene and Kate Debs had no children, he became quite fond of Marguerite, sending her cards and presents when he traveled.<sup>2</sup> She was raised in Terre Haute, except for a brief time when the family lived in Chicago, while her father served as national secretary-treasurer of the Social Democratic Party.<sup>3</sup>



In July of 1901, a unity convention of socialist factions, met to form the Socialist Party of America. The new party moved its headquarters to St Louis and selected Leon Greenbaum as party secretary.<sup>4</sup> These organizational changes impacted Theodore's employment and therefore the family moved back to Terre Haute. Based upon Terre Haute City Directory listings, the family moved several times before finally acquiring the house at 1819 Ohio Street, in about 1910.

Marguerite enrolled at Indiana State Normal where she received her A.B. in 1917.<sup>5</sup> Following graduation, she taught in the Terre Haute public schools and was a member of the first faculty assigned to the new Sarah Scott Junior High School, in 1919.<sup>6</sup> Marguerite was appointed professor of home economics at Indiana State

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com. Marguerite T. Debs, "Vigo County, Indiana Index to Birth Records, 1882-1920, Vol. II, Book CH 18, p. 18, accessed Mar 14, 2018. [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=4745&h=566179&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP6462&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=4745&h=566179&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP6462&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>2</sup> Brommel, Bernard, *Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism*, Chicago, Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1978, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Ancestry.com, online database, 1900 U.S. Census, Subject - Marguerite T. Debs, Chicago, Illinois, (accessed Mar 14, 2018).

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7602&h=11599353&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP6463&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7602&h=11599353&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP6463&_phstart=successSource); marxisthistory.org, "Socialist Party of America (1897-1946)", Party Officials,

history website, accessed Mar 15, 2018, <http://www.marxisthistory.org/subject/usa/earn/spaofficials.html>

<sup>4</sup> Ross, Jack, *The Socialist Party of America: A Complete History*, Lincoln, Nebraska, Potomac Books / University of Nebraska Press, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> "Catalog and Announcements, 1929-1930", Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana, February 1929, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> "Sarah Scott to Mark 50<sup>th</sup> Year March 19", Terre Haute Tribune (Terre Haute, Indiana) Mar 13, 1969, p. 22.;

Ancestry.com. *Terre Haute, Indiana City Directory, 1918*, (database on-line), page 256, (accessed Mar 15, 2018),

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2469&h=642551138&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu132&_phstart=successSource)

[bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2469&h=642551138&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=zLu132&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2469&h=642551138&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu132&_phstart=successSource)

Normal-Eastern Division (now Ball State University), in 1921, and relocated to Muncie, Indiana. She was named department head in 1924, but obtained a leave of absence to enroll in graduate school at Columbia University, where she completed her M.A in 1926.<sup>7</sup>

A dinner party was held in her honor in December of 1928, as she left the college to marry Gordon Cooper of Lambertville, New Jersey.<sup>8</sup> Cooper was a New Jersey newspaper editor and publisher, who owned the *New Hope News* and the *Lambertville Record*.<sup>9</sup> The Library of Congress description for the *Lambertville Record*, shows it was founded as a Republican newspaper in 1872, however no details of its later political leanings were recorded in the entry.<sup>10</sup> The couple married on January 8, 1929, at the Community Church of New York, where the Rev. John Haynes Holmes was minister.<sup>11</sup> Holmes was a close friend of Eugene Debs and a co-founder of the pacifist organization, Fellowship of Reconciliation. Holmes later became a charter member of the Debs Foundation.

Their marriage failed in less than a year, at which time, Marguerite returned to Indiana.<sup>12</sup> In Terre Haute, she resumed a teaching career with the Terre Haute public schools, becoming a faculty member at McLean Junior High School. Being the niece of Eugene Debs caused her difficulty. At one point, right-wing conservatives unsuccessfully attempted to have her removed from her teaching post.<sup>13</sup> Living as a resident in her home town, she faced prank phone calls and accusations that she was from a “Red” family.<sup>14</sup> Such harassment left her quite protective of the Debs family legacy. Bernard Brommel found she was initially hesitant to support the Debs house project in 1962, because “...she feared there would not be funds to sustain it and if she gave materials that they would be lost or stolen”. However, she eventually became enthusiastic about the restoration effort

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<sup>7</sup> “Catalog and Announcements, 1929-1930, p.14.

<sup>8</sup> “Society Column”, *Muncie Star-Press* (Muncie, Indiana), Dec 4, 1928, p.6.

<sup>9</sup> “Cooper Wins Divorce”, *Central News* (Perkasie, Pennsylvania), May 17, 1933, p. 1; “Newsman Dies”, *Standard-Speaker* (Hazleton, Pennsylvania) Feb 7, 1967, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Library of Congress (Chronicling America), “About the *Lambertville Record 1872-1968*” (Lambertville, New Jersey), LCCN: sn 84026089, on-line database, (accessed on Mar 15, 2018)

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84026089/>

<sup>11</sup> “Society Announcements”, *Muncie Star-Press* (Muncie, Indiana), Jan 22, 1929, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Cooper Wins Divorce”.

<sup>13</sup> Brommel, Bernard. “I Remember When”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, spring 2002, p. 8. ; “Teacher Assignments In City Made by Terre Haute School Board”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Aug 29, 1948, p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> Brommel. P. 8

and was a key charter member in the renovation of the house and the establishment of the organization.<sup>15</sup>

Marguerite was a member of the Foundation's historical and restoration committee, responsible for locating furniture, books, pamphlets and correspondence that were linked to the Debs family.<sup>16</sup> Her historical knowledge was critical in the restoration of the Debs Home and she personally donated many historical items and furniture that belonged to Debs.<sup>17</sup> She also provided the Eugene V. Debs Foundation with exclusive rights to the use of the name, Eugene Victor Debs, "...in any way the board of directors may find appropriate", in a letter issued on June 10, 1964.<sup>18</sup>

In 1967, at the urging of ISU Professor Bernard Brommel, Marguerite donated her father's and uncle's letters to Indiana State University. She had previously hesitated at releasing the letters, as she was still afraid of "Red witch-hunts" and did not want "...Uncle or Dad's letters to be used against them".<sup>19</sup> Brommel convinced her that "...her Alma Mater, Indiana State, was a safe place to preserve them."<sup>20</sup> The collection, now in excess of 7,000 items, is maintained at Cunningham Memorial Library on the Indiana State University campus.<sup>21</sup>

Marguerite Debs Cooper died on December 27, 1987, in Terre Haute. She was 93 years old.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "Launch Drive to Restore Home of Debs", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), May 7, 1962, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> "They Passed This Way", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, spring 1988, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> "Rubin Levin 1975 Recipient of Debs Award", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), May 11, 1975, p. 32.

<sup>19</sup> Brommel. P. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, editor. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1990, xxxi.

<sup>22</sup> Ancestry.com. Indiana Death Certificates, 1899-2011 (database on-line) accessed Mar. 15, 2018, [https://search.ancestry.com/cgibin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=2011958&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=B RP6481&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgibin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=2011958&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=B RP6481&_phstart=successSource)

## Rolla Cowger (1885-1978)

Rolla was born at Rose Hill in Jasper County, Illinois on February 22, 1885. Data from the 1910 U.S. Census reveals he was a telegrapher for the Big Four Railroad (Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St Louis Railway).<sup>1</sup>



During the First World War, the United States government temporarily nationalized most of the nation's rail system. Rolla's draft card, from that period, shows his occupation as railroad agent and telegraphy and listed his employer as the U.S. government.<sup>2</sup>

Later, he worked as a ticket agent for the Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad at the Clinton, Indiana, station.<sup>3</sup> He was active in the Morse Telegraph Club, Terre Haute chapter, and was identified as the oldest member of the state organization in 1976, when he was 91 years old.<sup>4</sup>

Rolla Elbert Cowger joined the Eugene V. Debs Foundation as a charter member in March of 1962.<sup>5</sup> He died at Terre Haute, Indiana on March 15, 1978, at the age of 93.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, 1910 U. S. Federal Census, on-line database, Subject- Rolla Cowger, Nevins,Vigo, Indiana, (accessed Mar 6, 2018) <http://ancestry.com>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, World War I Draft Registration Cards 1917-1918,Rolla Cowger, database, (accessed Mar 6, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/4105841/person/6020311860/facts?src=>

<sup>3</sup> "State's Telegraph Club to Meet in Terre Haute", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 23, 1976, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period" *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana) spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Cowger, Roller E., Findagrave.com,( accessed Mar 6, 2018) <https://old.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=Cowger&GSfn=Rolla&GSmn=Elbert&GSby=1885&GSdy=1978&GRid=8041697&>

## Woodrow Creason (1921-2014)

Woodrow Wilson Creason was born on February 6, 1921, in Sioux County, Nebraska, to Rev. Walter A. and Hattie Thomasson Creason.<sup>1</sup> The family was living in North Carolina in 1930 and eventually relocated to Michigan.<sup>2</sup> Woody graduated from high school at Fennville, Michigan, and then completed one year of college at the University of Michigan. He then transferred to Western Michigan College, before entering the U. S. Army Air Corps, serving in the Pacific with a B-29 group, during World War II.<sup>3</sup> In January of 1944, he married Maxine Harmon, a schoolteacher from Camden, Michigan.<sup>4</sup>



At the end of the war, he returned to Western Michigan College, and completed his undergraduate degree in 1947.<sup>5</sup> Creason went on to earn his master's degree at the University of Michigan and a Ph.D. in economics from Indiana University.<sup>6</sup>

Woody taught economics at Indiana State University, beginning in 1956 and retiring in 1991. While teaching at ISU, he assisted in the creation of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation, and the Indiana State Credit Union.<sup>7</sup> He arranged a series of lectures on the history of the labor movement in the United States, which included academics and labor officials, and was offered as an outreach program to the community.<sup>8</sup> Creason was called upon to serve as a panelist for various community meetings covering economic issues and was the co-author of the book, *Money and Banking*.<sup>9</sup> Professor Creason also served as a member of the Terre Haute Economic Development Commission.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Woodrow Wilson Creason", *Terre Haute Tribune Star*, (Terre Haute, Indiana), Feb 22, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, 1930 U. S. Census, Subject-Walter A. Creason family-Forsyth, North Carolina, (accessed May 3, 2018)

[https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/35/?name=walter\\_creason&event=michigan-usa\\_25&residence=North+Carolina](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/35/?name=walter_creason&event=michigan-usa_25&residence=North+Carolina)

<sup>3</sup> "Woodrow Wilson Creason", Feb 22, 2014,

<sup>4</sup> "Fennville Boy Weds Camden School Teacher", *News-Palladium* (Benton Harbor, Michigan), Jan 8, 1944, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> "Fennville News", *News-Palladium*, (Benton Harbor, Michigan), Jun 11, 1947, p.20

<sup>6</sup> "Woodrow Wilson Creason". Feb 22, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "Labor Seminars Set at ISU", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Feb 28, 1966, p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> "Business Outlook Forum to Take a Look at Economy", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Dec 2, 1977, p.10.

<sup>10</sup> "Woodrow Wilson Creason".Feb 22, 2014

Woody offered his recollections of the formation of the Debs Foundation in a spring 2002, article, written for the fiftieth anniversary issue of the foundation newsletter. Creason stated he shared an office with Earl Stephanson, a professor of economics at ISU. Stephanson had a special interest in labor history and was a good friend of Tilford Dudley, the national AFL-CIO Speakers Bureau director. Dudley was a frequent visitor to Terre Haute and was occasionally a lecturer at the university. During a visit in 1962, Dudley pressed Stephanson and Bob Constantine that the time had come to take action to buy the Debs home which was on the market. Applying a bit of humor, Creason described the group as misfits, attempting to preserve the home of Eugene Debs, “another misfit for his social times”. Woody defined a misfit as someone who is concerned with social injustice, corporate and government corruption as well as various forms of social and environmental pollution. He said a museum was established, “...dedicated to the great social misfit, created by some great social misfits”.<sup>11</sup> Creason further declared:

Social change occurs when “we” come together to create a more just and democratic society. I find it nice to have the longevity genes that allow me to look back over my shoulder and write a few words about some wonderful misfits.<sup>12</sup>

Professor Woodrow Creason died on February 11, 2014, in Terre Haute.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Woodrow Creason. “I Remember When-Charter Members Tell Their Stories”, *Eugene V. Debs Newsletter*, spring 2002, p. 5, 8.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> “Woodrow Wilson Creason”. Feb 22, 2014.



## Curtis B. Culver (1920-2014)

Curtis Benjamin Culver, a native of Joppa, Illinois, was born on April 5, 1920.<sup>1</sup> His father was a union barber and a member of Local 490, in Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>2</sup> Curt was 15 years old at the time of the Terre Haute general strike, and he later recalled seeing armed national guardsmen patrolling the streets of the city.<sup>3</sup>

Culver worked as a railroad brakeman before enlisting in the U.S. Army during World War II.<sup>4</sup> He fought in the Pacific Theater and was a platoon leader.<sup>5</sup>



He was a contract compliance officer for the U. S. Department of Labor and the General Services Administration.<sup>6</sup> Culver also worked with the United States Postal Service and was state president of the Indiana Postal Workers Union. Curt was also an ordained minister and chaplain, who served as a missionary in Latvia, Costa Rica and Venezuela.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to being a charter member of the Debs Foundation, Curt was a member of the core group who negotiated the purchase of the Debs home from William Heck. He was a member of the board of directors, as well as having served as the foundation's treasurer and executive vice president.<sup>8</sup>

Curtis B. Culver died on July 2, 2014, at the age of 94.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com. on-line database, Public Family Trees- Subject- Curtis Benjamin Culver, Vigo County, Indiana, (accessed on Mar 8, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/20280394/person/160026696559/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> "Clyde W. Culver", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Dec 24, 1963, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Curtis Culver, personal communication with the author, Terre Haute, Indiana, Sept 29, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Ancestry.com. "U.S. World War II Army Enlistment Records, 1938-1946", Curtis Culver, (accessed Mar 8, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/20280394/person/160026696559/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>5</sup> "Curtis B. Culver", *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, Jul 6, 2014, on-line obituary (accessed Mar 8, 2018)

<https://www.dignitymemorial.com/obituaries/terre-haute-in/curtis-culver-6035422>

<sup>6</sup> "Foundation for Civitan Club", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Feb 6, 1969, p. 9; "Curtis B. Culver", Jul 6, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> "Curtis B. Culver", Jul 6, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> "Ex-Senator Douglas Named To Debs Award", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) May 16, 1971, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup> "Curtis B. Culver, 94". Jul 6, 2014.

## William Davey (1913-1999)

American novelist and poet, William Davy, was born in New York City on March 20, 1913. He was the son of acclaimed painter, Randall Davey and Florence Sittenham Davey.<sup>1</sup> His father was adamantly opposed to the United States entry into World War I, and fled with his family to Cuba, in 1917, to avoid the draft. In 1919, they moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where Randall purchased an old mill and converted it for his studio.<sup>2</sup>



William was raised in Santa Fe, where he began writing at a young age. Davey began to study and write poetry and was tutored by noted poet, Witter Bynner, who was also a Santa Fe resident. Davey's first collection of poetry, *Arms, Angels, Epitaphs and Bones*, was published when he was in his teens.<sup>3</sup> He further developed his literary talents at Princeton University, New York University, the University of California at Berkeley and the Sorbonne in Paris.<sup>4</sup>

Davey's first novel, *Dawn Breaks the Heart*, was published by Howell-Soskin in March of 1941. The book received considerable attention, and was positively reviewed by the *New York Herald-Tribune* and *Time*. Some compared his biographical style to that of Thomas Wolfe. It was noted there was an additional link to Wolfe, as Davey's literary agent was Madeleine Boyd, who had also represented Wolfe.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Public Trees- Subject- William Davey (1913-1999), (accessed on May 26, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/26098982/person/1902890177/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> "Randall Vernon Davey / Artist Biography", Mark Sublette Medicine Man Gallery Website (accessed May 26, 2018) <https://www.medicinemangallery.com/randall-vernon-davey-biography/>

<sup>3</sup> "William Davey", author biography, Amazon.com Website (accessed May 26, 2018) <https://www.amazon.com/William-Davey/e/B001K7WPE6>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> "Bill Davey's New Novel Is Reviewed in Current *Time*", *Santa Fe New Mexican* (Santa Fe, New Mexico) Mar 12, 1941, p. 2. ; "Reviewer Mentions Clear, Tender, Realistic and Poignant Pictures In William Davey's First Novel", *Santa Fe New Mexican* (Santa Fe, New Mexico) Apr 3, 1941, p.2.

American entry into World War II led to Davey's enlistment and assignment to the elite First Special Service Force, a U.S.-Canadian commando unit.<sup>6</sup> He served from September of 1942 until January of 1946 and was discharged a First Lieutenant.<sup>7</sup>

After the war, he continued his literary career, producing a number of novels and works of poetry. His books included, *Splendor from Darkness*, *The Angry Dust*, *Lost Adulteries and Other Poems*, *The Trial of Pythagoras and Other Poems* and *Bitter Rainbows and other Poems*.<sup>8</sup>

His novel, *The Angry Dust*, is the story of a family who leaves America's dust bowl for California, but his story is certainly not another *The Grapes of Wrath*. The novel covers the conflicts of the Barnes family, including Prescott Barnes; his grandfather, a wealthy preacher; as well as Prescott's disinherited father. A reviewer offered a brief synopsis of the novel:

The plot unfolds as inevitably as an eclipse, and the forces of nature, like the tornado that strikes them are vividly and unforgettably described. Most importantly, Prescott Barnes's tragic confrontation with the world compellingly reveals how common people can possess power and grandeur.<sup>9</sup>

Davey joined the Eugene V. Debs Foundation as a charter member in 1962.<sup>10</sup>

He died at the age of 86, on August 24, 1999, in Charlottesville, Virginia.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "William Davey", Amazon.com. author's biography, on-line catalog, (accessed May 26, 2018)

[https://www.amazon.com/William-Davey/e/B001K7WPE6/ref=dp\\_byline\\_cont\\_book\\_1](https://www.amazon.com/William-Davey/e/B001K7WPE6/ref=dp_byline_cont_book_1)

<sup>7</sup> Ancestry.com, New Mexico Military Records-World War II, Subject- William Davey, on-line database (accessed on May 26, 2018) [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=8867&h=20544&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP7056&_phstart=successSource)

[bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=8867&h=20544&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP7056&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=8867&h=20544&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP7056&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>8</sup> "William Davey", Amazon.com.

<sup>9</sup> "The Angry Dust", eBay Book Review, on-line database (accessed May 26, 2018),

<https://www.ebay.com/itm/The-Angry-Dust-by-William-Davey-/142543412348>

<sup>10</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation (Terre Haute, Indiana) spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> "William Davey" biography, William Davey Official Website (accessed May 26, 2018)

<http://www.williamdavey.com/DaveyBiograph.htm>

## S. A. Dewitt (1891-1963)

A native of New York City, Samuel Aaron Dewitt was born on December 15, 1891.<sup>1</sup> Dewitt was a poet, playwright and a self-employed businessman, engaged in the sale of machinery and tools.<sup>2</sup>



In 1919, he was elected as a Socialist, to the New York State Assembly, representing the seventh assembly district, from the Bronx. On January 7, 1920, Dewitt and four other Socialist Assemblymen were called before Assembly Speaker Thaddeus Sweet who declared, “You have been elected on a platform that is absolutely inimical to the best interests of the state of New York and the United States”. Sweet, the owner of Sweet Paper Manufacturing and a Republican, refused to allow the five Socialists to be seated, as he viewed them disloyal to the United States.<sup>3</sup>

The case was then turned over to the Assembly Judiciary Committee, who initiated a trial. A verdict was reached on April 1, 1920, with all five being expelled from the Assembly for disloyalty. Theodore Roosevelt Jr., recently elected to the chamber, came to the defense of the Socialists, declaring:

As this power is subject to no external control, it is doubly necessary for us to exercise it only with self-control, because the greater the power, the more dangerous the abuse.<sup>4</sup>

A special election was held to fill the vacated seats and all five Socialists were re-elected. The Assembly again expelled three of the Socialists, but allowed Samuel A. Dewitt and Samuel Orr to take their seats. Some thought the seating of Dewitt and Orr was an attempt to reduce political backlash for

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database “Passenger List - Ile De France” [sailed from Le Havre France to New York, April 1938, S.A. DeWitt a passenger] (accessed Apr 29, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/search/category.aspx?cat=40>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1920 & 1930 U.S. Census, Subject-Samuel A. DeWitt family, New York City, New York, (accessed Feb 12, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/search/category.aspx?cat=35> ; *The Greenwich Village Bookshop Door: A Portal to Bohemia, 1920-192*”, Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin, <http://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/bookshopdoor/signature.cfm?item=24#1>

<sup>3</sup> Staff Correspondence. “State Assembly Bars Out Five Socialists Members”, *New York Tribune* (New York, New York), Jan 8, 1920, p 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Associated Press. “Socialists Are Expelled”, *Moline Dispatch* (Moline, Illinois), Apr 1, 1920, p. 1.

some Republican members. Eventually, Dewitt and Orr resigned in protest of the Assembly's failure to reinstate their comrades.<sup>5</sup> Dewitt continued to be an active member of the New York Socialist Party, running unsuccessfully for Congress in 1928 and 1932.<sup>6</sup> He was also the Socialist candidate in several other elections but was never successful.<sup>7</sup>

As a writer, Dewitt's articles appeared in a number of left-wing magazines and newspapers, including the *Call Magazine*. In a letter from Eugene Debs to David Karsner in May of 1919, Debs directed Karsner to poems written by Dewitt and two other poets that were published in the May 11, 1919, issue of the *Call*. Debs went on to describe the poems:

“They are all perfectly fine & so very noble in spirit. Can you do me the kindness to thank these three beautiful poet-comrades for me & give them my love- Tell them how very deeply I feel touched by their flattering tribute...”<sup>8</sup>

Dewitt's poem, “To Eugene Debs”, was included as part of the book, *Debs and the Poets*, edited by Ruth Le Prade, in 1920.<sup>9</sup> Frank Shay, of the Greenwich Village Bookshop, published Dewitt's, *Iron Monger: A Book of Poems*, in 1921.<sup>10</sup> In a letter to journalist and historian, Claude Bowers, Eugene Debs suggested he might want to meet Sam A. Dewitt, “...the beautiful and brilliant Jewish poet, associated with (James) Oneal on the Leader” (New York newspaper, the *New Leader*).<sup>11</sup>

Plays written by S. A. Dewitt included, *Three Plays for Non-Puritans*; *Shoes for the Stars*; and *Rhyme without Reason*.<sup>12</sup> Dewitt was also a close friend of

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<sup>5</sup> “Evicted Socialists Challenge Ouster”, *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania), Sep 23, 1920, p. 2; Associated Press. “New York Assembly Ousts 3 Socialists and Other 2 Resign”, *Dixon Evening Telegraph* (Dixon, Illinois) Sep 22, 1920, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> “Election Statistics 1920-2016”, United States House of Representatives History Art and Archives on-line website (accessed May 1, 2018), <http://history.house.gov/Institution/Election-Statistics/Election-Statistics/>

<sup>7</sup> “The Greenwich Village Bookshop Door: A Portal to Bohemia, 1920-1925”.

<sup>8</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990, vol. 2, p. 522.

<sup>9</sup> Le Prade, Ruth, editor. *Debs and the Poets*, Pasadena, California, Published by Upton Sinclair, 1920, p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> “The Greenwich Village Bookshop Door: A Portal to Bohemia, 1920-1925”.

<sup>11</sup> Constantine. Vol. 3, pp. 534, 535.

<sup>12</sup> “Works of S. A. DeWitt”, Advanced Book Exchange, on-line database (accessed on May 1, 2018), [https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?sts=t&cm\\_sp=SearchF--home--](https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?sts=t&cm_sp=SearchF--home--)

novelist Upton Sinclair. The character of Nicholas Schliemann in Sinclair's book, *The Jungle*, was based upon Dewitt.<sup>13</sup> Sam used his literary and political skills to become an early broadcast personality on the New York radio station, WEVD, with a regularly scheduled, thirty minute program, entitled the "Chatterbox".<sup>14</sup>

He became a political ally of Norman Thomas, assisting him within the New York Socialist Party. On the night of August 22, 1927, Norman Thomas was leading a program at the Community Church of New York, with 1,200 people in attendance. They were awaiting word on the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti, and it was Sam Dewitt who brought the news to the gathering that the men had been executed.<sup>15</sup> When Norman Thomas took on the Socialist Party's Old Guard in the 1930's, he did so with the backing of Sam Dewitt.<sup>16</sup>

Samuel Aaron Dewitt helped preserve the home of his old comrade, when he became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in March of 1962.<sup>17</sup> Dewitt died at Yonkers, New York, on January 22, 1963.<sup>18</sup>

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[Results&an=DeWitt%2C+S.+A.&tn=Rhyme+without+reason&kn=&isbn=](https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?sts=t&cm_sp=SearchF--home--Results&an=DeWitt%2C+S.+A.&tn=Rhyme+without+reason&kn=&isbn=) and [https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?sts=t&cm\\_sp=SearchF--home--](https://www.abebooks.com/servlet/SearchResults?sts=t&cm_sp=SearchF--home--)

<sup>13</sup> "S.A. DeWitt, *The Plays of Non-Puritans*", book description, Antic Hay Rare Book Website, (accessed May 1, 2018), <https://www.antichay.com/pages/books/2061/s-a-dewitt/three-plays-for-non-puritans>

<sup>14</sup> "WEVD-Sam Dewitt-Chatterbox", *Daily News* (New York, New York), Jan 8, 1929, p. 310; "WEVD-Sam Dewitt-Chatterbox", *Daily News* (New York, New York), "WEVD-Chatterbox-Sam Dewitt", *Daily News* (New York, New York), Apr 30, 1929, p. 272.

<sup>15</sup> Fleischman, Harry. *Norman Thomas A Biography: 1884-1968*, New York, W.W. Norton & Co., Inc. 1969, p. 109.

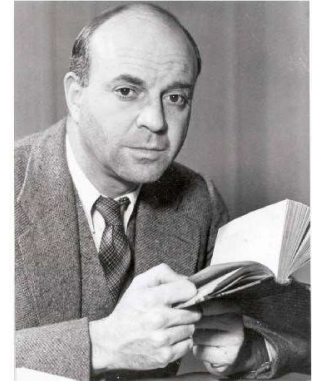
<sup>16</sup> Swanberg, W. A. *Norman Thomas, The Last Idealist*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976, p. 189.

<sup>17</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> "Dewitt, Samuel Aaron (1891-1963), Political Graveyard website (accessed May 1, 2018), <http://politicalgraveyard.com/bio/dewine-dewson.html>

## John Dos Passos (1896-1970)

American novelist, John Dos Passos, was born at Chicago on January 14, 1896. His mother, Lucy Sprigg Madison, was from an influential Virginia family. John's father, John R. Dos Passos, was a prominent corporate attorney who was a devout Catholic and already married when Dos Passos was born. From birth until 1912, he was known as John R. Madison. Following the death of his father's first wife, John's parents were married in 1910. His name was legally changed to John R. Dos Passos in 1912.<sup>1</sup>



Dos Passos was educated at Choate School, graduating in 1911, which was followed by an extended tour of Europe.<sup>2</sup> John entered Harvard at the age of 16, in 1912, and graduated cum laude in 1916.<sup>3</sup> While at Harvard, his mother died suddenly, and by early 1917, his father also died. During his college years he opposed U.S. military involvement in Mexico, as well as being against U.S. entry into World War I. John was also an admirer of the journalist, John Reed. As America entered the war, John, with no close family, joined the Norton-Harjes Ambulance Corps, to serve in France.<sup>4</sup> Despite being non-combatants, the ambulance crews found themselves under attack. In *Ambulance Drivers*, author James McGrath Morris described a scene experienced by Dos Passos:

It was like the children's game of dodgeball but on a deadly scale, as German shells descended on them... In each trip back from the fighting, Dos Passos's ambulance was loaded down with more wounded soldiers than it was meant to carry. Sometimes those soldiers with more manageable injuries stood on the running boards or squeezed into the front seat...<sup>5</sup>

Dos Passos and his fellow ambulance drivers also found themselves exposed to mustard gas, forcing them to frantically don their gas masks.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ludington, Townsend. *John Dos Passos: A Twentieth Century Odyssey*, New York, E.P. Dutton, 1980, p. 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 33, 46, 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Morris, James McGrath. *The Ambulance Drivers*, Philadelphia, Da Capo Press, 2017, p. 10, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, p. 26, 27.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 28.

He eventually left France, volunteering for duty with the Red Cross ambulance service in Italy.<sup>7</sup>

Following the war, he worked as a journalist and established himself as a major novelist of the 1920's and 1930's. A biography from the official John Dos Passos website describes his literary career:

He wrote over forty books, including plays, poetry, novels, biographies, histories and memoirs...he chose the moniker of “chronicler” because he was happiest working at the edge of fiction and nonfiction. Both genres benefited from his mastery of observation-his “camera eye”... His most memorable fiction- *Three Soldiers* (1920), *Manhattan Transfer* (1925), *USA* (1938)-possesses the authority of history and the allure of myth.<sup>8</sup>

Dos Passos was described by Jean Paul Sartre as the “greatest novelist of the century”. He was also viewed as the literary darling of the Left.<sup>9</sup> That title translated into political action, as he immersed himself into the Sacco-Vanzetti case, interviewing both men and publishing an article about them, “The Pit and the Pendulum”, which appeared in *the New Masses*. Dos Passos believed they were innocent and joined the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee as an investigator.<sup>10</sup> He was even arrested for “sauntering and loitering” while picketing outside the trial in Boston.<sup>11</sup>

Dos Passos also became a member of the Dreiser Committee in 1931, to investigate the plight of coal miners in Harlan County, Kentucky. The group included Theodore Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson and Dos Passos. Committee hearings were held in a number of communities in the county, with miners describing how they were entirely controlled financially by the coal companies. Horrible living conditions were documented, and the committee

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<sup>7</sup> Ludington, Townsend, p. 139.

<sup>8</sup> Official John Dos Passos Website, *Biography of John Dos Passos*, Estate of John Dos Passos, New York, New York (accessed Jun 15, 2018) <http://www.johndospassos.com/>

<sup>9</sup> Hill, Richard F., “Dos Passos: A Reassessment”, *The University Bookman*, Vol. 10, #2 (Winter 1970), Russell Kirk Center Website, Mecosta, Michigan, (accessed Jun 16, 2018), <http://www.kirkcenter.org/bookman/article/dos-passos-a-reassessment>

<sup>10</sup> Carr, Virginia Spencer. *Dos Passos: A Life*, Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 2004, p. 222.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p. 227.



exposed the frequent assaults on the miners carried out by a sheriff who admitted his deputies were on the payroll of area mining companies. Before their work was completed, all three members of the committee were indicted for “criminal syndicalism” which was actually a local strategy to end the investigation. The committee left Kentucky and never returned for trial. Dos Passos did provide details of the hearings in the *New Republic*. The committee also published, *Harlan Miners Speak*, a volume outlining the findings of their investigation.<sup>12</sup>

John was in Spain in 1937, in the midst of the Spanish Civil War. His friend, Jose Robles, disappeared and Dos Passos was asked by the Robles family to find him. Eventually it was revealed, Robles had been secretly arrested, tried and executed by the ‘special section’ of the Communist Party, which claimed Robles was a fascist spy. Dos Passos did not believe the charges, and writer, Edmund Wilson, also a friend of Robles, stated “no one was less likely to have worked for the fascists”.<sup>13</sup> The death of Robles led to a break with the communists. Out of concern for the safety of the Robles family, he did not write about the Robles matter until July 1939, when he detailed his disillusioned position in a letter submitted to the *New Republic*.<sup>14</sup>

He began an evolutionary shift to the Right which found him speaking before a Madison Square Garden rally for the Young Americans for Freedom in 1961. He became a friend of William F. Buckley Jr. and wrote articles for the *National Review*, and supported Barry Goldwater in 1964.<sup>15</sup>

Despite his political transformation, Dos Passos became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in 1962.<sup>16</sup> He was an admirer of Eugene Debs and had included a biographical sketch of the socialist and labor leader, in the form of a poem, as part of his novel, *The 42<sup>nd</sup> Parallel*:

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<sup>12</sup> Ludington, Townsend. p. 297-299.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, pp. 367-369.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 375.

<sup>15</sup> “John Dos Passos Is Dead at 74: Acclaimed for U.S.A. Trilogy”, *New York Times*, (New York, New York), Sept 29, 1970, (New York edition) p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. “The 1962-1987 Period”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

Debs was a railroadman, born in a weatherboarded shack at Terre Haute.

He was one of ten children.

His father had come to America in a sailingship in '49, an Alsatian from Colmar; not much of a moneymaker, fond of music and reading, he gave his children a chance to finish public school and that was about all he could do.

At fifteen Gene Debs was already working as a machinist on the Indianapolis and Terre Haute Railway. He worked as a locomotive fireman,

clerked in a store.

Joined the local of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen...

Later in the poem, Dos Passos challenges the inaction of the "brothers" of Debs in 1918, asking:

But where were Gene Debs' brothers in nineteen eighteen when Woodrow Wilson had him locked up in Atlanta for speaking against war,

where were the big men fond of whiskey and fond of each other, gentle rambling tellers of stories over bars in small towns in the Middle West,

quiet men who wanted a house with a porch to putter around and a fat wife to cook for them, a few drinks and cigars, a garden to dig in, cronies to chew the rag with and wanted to work for it and others to work for it;

where were the locomotive firemen and engineers when they hustled him off to Atlanta Penitentiary?

And they brought him back to die in Terre Haute

To sit on his porch in a rocker with a cigar in his mouth, beside him American Beauty roses his wife fixed in a bowl; and the people of Terre Haute and the people of Indiana and the people of the Middle West were fond of him and afraid of him and thought of him as an old kindly uncle who loved them, and wanted to be with him and to have him give them candy...<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Dos Passos, John. *The 42<sup>nd</sup> Parallel*, New York City, Harcourt Brace & Company, 1938, pp. 19-21.

John Dos Passos died on September 28, 1970, at Baltimore Maryland.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> "John Dos Passos Is Dead at 74: Acclaimed For U.S.A. Trilogy".

## Tilford G. Dudley (1907-1990)

Born at Charleston, Illinois, Tilford was raised in a household where education was extremely important. His father, Dr. Gerry Brown Dudley, completed an undergraduate degree at Swarthmore College in 1897, and was Phi Beta Kappa. He then pursued a career in medicine, graduating from Cornell University Medical School in 1904.<sup>1</sup> Esther Shoot Dudley, Tilford's mother, completed two years of college, according to 1940 U.S. Census records.<sup>2</sup>



His father was a captain in the U.S. Army Medical Corps and a member of the American Expeditionary Force, in France during World War I.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, as a teenager, Tilford publicly denounced war, according to research by Debra Reid, professor of history at Eastern Illinois University. Young Dudley made an anti-war speech when in a debate during a church program. The oration, “left his mother in tears”.<sup>4</sup> The incident clearly reveals Tilford, at an early age, was not afraid to be outside the prevailing opinion of the day.

Dudley received his undergraduate degree in 1928, from Wesleyan University in Connecticut. He then enrolled at the Harvard University School of Law, graduating in 1931.<sup>5</sup> During his second year at the law school, Dudley supported the cause of twenty Widener Library scrubwomen who had been fired by the university.<sup>6</sup> The women had been paid 35 cents per hour for cleaning the university library, however, the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission ordered a 2.5 cent per hour increase. The university, rather than pay the higher rate, fired the workers. A campaign organized by students and alumni raised \$3,880 to help the unemployed

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<sup>1</sup> “Dr. G.B. Dudley, Charleston, Dies”, *Journal Gazette*, (Mattoon, Illinois), Jan 16, 1958, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1940 U.S. Census- Subject- Dr. Gerry Brown Dudley family, Charleston, IL, (accessed Feb 4, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/22939378/person/12234290859/facts?src=>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Meeker, Herb, “Upcoming Lectures Remember”, *Mattoon (Illinois) Journal Gazette*, Oct 13, 2007, p.6

<sup>5</sup> “Tilford E. Dudley: A Man of Conviction”, Tilford E. Dudley Digital Archives, 20007-2008 Historical Administration Class Project, Eastern Illinois University, Charleston, Illinois, [www.eiu.edu/localite/dudleyarchiveshome.php](http://www.eiu.edu/localite/dudleyarchiveshome.php)

<sup>6</sup> DeParle, Jason. “Tilford E. Dudley, 82, Dies; New Deal Labor Aide”, *New York Times*, Jan 22, 1990, National Edition, p. D-10.

workers.<sup>7</sup> EIU professor, Debra Reid, states the situation of the scrubwomen outraged Dudley. According to Reid, Tillford's life-long role of labor advocate likely developed from this incident.<sup>8</sup>

Upon graduation from law school, Dudley returned to Illinois where he practiced law in Aurora.<sup>9</sup> In 1934, he was recruited to join the Roosevelt administration by Felix Frankfurter, his former law professor. Frankfurter had been delegated by FDR to assemble a team of "young legal minds". The group became known as "Felix's Happy Hot Dogs".<sup>10</sup> Tilford served as a New Deal attorney, working in the Emergency Relief Administration, National Park Service, National Labor Relations Board and the National War Labor Board.<sup>11</sup>

He left government service in 1944, shifting to a career in the labor movement. He first served as associate general counsel for the Packinghouse Workers of America.<sup>12</sup> Dudley then became personal assistant to Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and chairman of the powerful CIO Political Action Committee.<sup>13</sup> Tilford was a vice chairman of the PAC until the death of Hillman in 1946. He and two other PAC co-chairs were mentioned as possible successors to Hillman.<sup>14</sup> However, the CIO reorganized their PAC, establishing a five member board, and naming Jack Kroll as director of the PAC. Kroll had been a vice president of Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers union.<sup>15</sup> Dudley continued as an assistant director of the reorganized PAC until 1958, when he was named the national director of the AFL-CIO's Speakers' Bureau.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Bernstein, Irving. *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1929-1933*, First published 1969, Introduction, Frances Fox Piven, Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2010, p. 233.

<sup>8</sup> Meeker, Herb, p.6

<sup>9</sup> DeParle, Jason.

<sup>10</sup> Hurst, Rev. Robert (personal friend of Dudley), "Saints I Have Known: Tilford Dudley", *Pastor Blog United Church of Huntsville* (Alabama), blog at WordPress.com, Mid Mo Design, July 12, 2015, (accessed Mar 3, 2018) <https://hurstrobert.wordpress.com/2015/07/12/saints-i-have-known-tilford-dudley/>

<sup>11</sup> Pearson, Richard, "Tilford E. Dudley Dies At 82", *Washington Post*, Jan 23, 1990, on-line edition (accessed Mar 3, 2018) [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1990/01/23/tilford-e-dudley-dies-at-82/ab50eb1f-1ca9-4f03-9ee0-622128be6d29/?utm\\_term=.bc18fadddee4](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1990/01/23/tilford-e-dudley-dies-at-82/ab50eb1f-1ca9-4f03-9ee0-622128be6d29/?utm_term=.bc18fadddee4)

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> "Labor Executive Will Give Talks At College Here", *Terre Haute Tribune*, (Terre Haute, IN) May 29, 1961 p. 20

<sup>14</sup> Associated Press, "Hillman's PAC Place Wide Open in Middle of Elections", *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, (Corpus Christi, Texas) July 11, 1946, p. 8

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> "Labor Executive" May 29, 1961.

During the 1950's, Tilford joined with a group of prominent Protestants, including the famous theologian, Reinhold Niebuhr, in publicly opposing Senator Joe McCarthy.<sup>17</sup> Dudley also participated in a weekly radio series (running nine weeks) with Niebuhr, on the NBC program, "Faith in Action".<sup>18</sup>

Tilford was vice chairman of the District of Columbia, Democratic Central Committee, from 1964 until 1967 and was then named D. C. party chairman. He publicly broke with President Lyndon Johnson over of the Vietnam War in March of 1968, which prompted LBJ to orchestrate Tilford's removal as chairman.<sup>19</sup> Within a year of losing the chairmanship, Dudley also left his position with the AFL-CIO. His friend, Rev. Robert Hurst, who was a member of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church, claimed in an article from 2015, that AFL-CIO President, George Meany fired Dudley in retaliation for his break with President Johnson. A search of national newspapers from that time period revealed no public coverage of such a dismissal.<sup>20</sup>

In 1969, Dudley was named director of the Washington office of the Council for Social Action of the United Church of Christ, serving in this role until 1975.<sup>21</sup> Tilford also assisted in the formation of the American Committee on East-West Accord.<sup>22</sup> The group described itself "...as an independent educational organization aimed at improving East-West relations with special focus on U.S.-Soviet affairs".<sup>23</sup> Twenty-one board members were listed on the ACEWA letterhead in 1979, and they included George F. Kennan, John Kenneth Galbraith, Theodore Hesburgh and Dudley. According to his 1990 obituary in the *Washington Post*, Tilford was the committee's secretary-treasurer from 1983 to 1985.<sup>24</sup>

In the spring, 2002, issue of *the Debs Foundation Newsletter*, J. Robert Constantine described a meeting, in early 1962, where he, Woodrow Creason,

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<sup>17</sup> Hurst, Rev. Robert.

<sup>18</sup> AP, "Faith In Action Starts Tomorrow On NBC Radio", *Asbury Park Press* (Asbury Park, N. J.), May 2, 1953, p. 5

<sup>19</sup> Pearson, Richard.

<sup>20</sup> Hurst, Rev. Robert.

<sup>21</sup> Pearson, Richard.

<sup>22</sup> Negro, Linda, "EIU to Honor Charleston Native for His 'energy, initiative'", *Decatur Herald* (Decatur Illinois), May 11, 1979, p. 29.

<sup>23</sup> Corddry, Charles, "New 'agenda' urged on U.S.-Soviet ties", *Baltimore Sun*, (Baltimore, Maryland), May 18, 1983, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> Pearson, Richard.

Howard Hamilton and Earl Stephanson met with Tilford Dudley, to discuss the purchase of the Debs house. Professor Stephanson had previously worked with Dudley in connection with a union training program, but for the rest of the group it was their first meeting with Tilford. From that session, the committee launched a plan to raise the \$9,000 to buy the Debs house. Dudley, as an attorney, agreed to draw up the articles of incorporation, and to use his contacts with national and international unions to raise money for the project. Constantine further stated in the Foundation's newsletter of spring 2012, that Tilford Dudley "...played the key role in getting the foundation off the ground".

Tilford Dudley died at Bellingham, Washington, on January 18, 1990, at the age of 82.<sup>25</sup>

To quote EIU professor, Donald Tingley, "I think he (Dudley) was one of the finest human beings I ever knew. He not only believed the right things, but he lived them".<sup>26</sup>

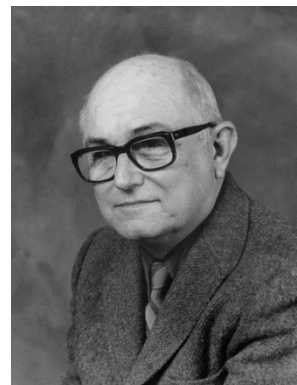
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<sup>25</sup> Pearson, Richard.

<sup>26</sup> Keith, Allen H., "Charleston Native Dies in Washington", *Decatur Herald and Review*, (Decatur Illinois), Jan 23, 1990, p. A-3

## Eugene I. Dyche (1910-1995)

Professor Dyche, a native of Chickasha, Oklahoma, was born on June 25, 1910.<sup>1</sup> He graduated from Oklahoma City, Central High School, in 1926, having been a member of the school's Jeffersonian Debating Society.<sup>2</sup> His debate team won the Jeff Cup, in statewide competition during his senior year.<sup>3</sup> Dyche was also editor in chief of *the Student Annual*, the school yearbook.<sup>4</sup> He pursued further education, receiving his A. B. degree from Oklahoma City University, a graduate degree from Oklahoma University and his Ph.D.



from the University of Southern California. Gene Dyche briefly taught at Stephens College at Columbia, Missouri, before accepting a position to teach philosophy at Indiana State Teachers College in 1946.<sup>5</sup> He later became chairman of the department.<sup>6</sup>

His father, Ed Dyche, was an Oklahoma Republican who helped sway the state's delegation to support Senator Warren Harding at the 1920 National Republican Convention. As a reward, Ed Dyche was appointed warden of the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta.<sup>7</sup> He received the post despite some in-state opposition, including that of U.S. Senator John Harreld.<sup>8</sup> In December of 1921, *The Durant Weekly* quipped, "Warden Dyche has adopted the custom of speaking to the prisoners. Good. That is more than Ed would do to some Republicans when he left

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com. Indiana Death Certificate -Eugene I. Dyche, Indiana State Department of Health, Certificate No. 95-038158, Sept 5, 1995, Informant-Lucille Dyche, (on-line database)

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=3066294&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=B RP6496&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=3066294&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=B RP6496&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com. on-line database, Subject - Eugene I. Dyche, *Central High School Student Annual* (Oklahoma City, Oklahoma) 1926, p. 90, (accessed Mar 17, 2018),

[https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/37/?name=Eugene\\_Dyche&event=1926\\_oklahoma+city-oklahoma-oklahoma-usa\\_75675](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/37/?name=Eugene_Dyche&event=1926_oklahoma+city-oklahoma-oklahoma-usa_75675)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> "Vanderbilt Chancellor Addresses ISU Graduates", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 7, 1971, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> "Eugene Dyche, Philosophy Department Chair" Indiana Memory, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana) Website (accessed Mar. 17, 2018)

[https://digital.library.in.gov/Record/WV3\\_isuarchive-50840](https://digital.library.in.gov/Record/WV3_isuarchive-50840)

<sup>7</sup> Eugene Dyche, letter to Eugene V. Debs Foundation, 1963, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana) Website (accessed Mar 17, 2018)

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8080/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/evdc&CISOPTR=6864>

<sup>8</sup> Hinds, C.W.B, "More Candidates Than There Are Stumps", *Morning Tulsa Daily World* (Tulsa, Oklahoma), Sept. 18, 1921, p. 30.



to take the job.”<sup>9</sup> Professor Dyche described his father as not being qualified for the post of warden, but he was able to develop a “rather remarkable rapport” with the prison population. In addition, Warden Dyche attempted to make prison life “as humane as possible” for his famous prisoner, Eugene V. Debs.<sup>10</sup> On the morning of his release, Debs had breakfast with the Dyche family. Gene Dyche later recalled that morning, in a 1963 letter:

I remember with especial clarity the Sunday morning of Debs release...his farewell breakfast with us at the Residence,...and I will never forget old dour Sam Gompers, slowly coming up the long driveway to the Residence in his great black hearse of a Cabriolet with curtains drawn on the windows to pick up Debs and return him to the world he never left...And the rapport at that breakfast table between two human beings, the unregenerate Republican politician, Ed Dyche, and the saintly Socialist, Gene Debs, was natural, complete and touching and memorable, even to an eleven-year old boy-child, Gene Dyche.<sup>11</sup>

In May of 1926, he invited Debs to his high school graduation. In reply, Theodore Debs indicated Gene was too ill to respond personally, but they remembered the Dyche family “pleasantly” and wished them well. The Theodore Debs letter and a letter from Eugene Dyche, explaining his family’s connection to Debs, are included as part of the Debs collection at Indiana State University.<sup>12</sup>

Professor Dyche was often a speaker for community and church groups, addressing philosophy, theology and social justice.<sup>13</sup> He was a board member for the West

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<sup>9</sup> “Ed Dyche”, *Durant Weekly News* (Durant, Oklahoma) Dec 30, 1921, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>Eugene Dyche, letter to Eugene V. Debs Foundation, 1963, Eugene V. Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University (Terre Haute, Indiana), Wabash Valley Visions & Voices on-line database (accessed Mar 17, 2018), <http://visions.indstate.edu:8080/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/evdc&CISOPTR=6864>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Theodore Debs, letter to Eugene Dyche, May 22, 1926, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana), Wabash Valley Visions & Voices on-line database (accessed Mar 17, 2018), <http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/compoundobject/collection/evdc/id/6861/rec/2>

<sup>13</sup> “Dr. Eugene Dyche Is Temple Forum Speaker”, *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 11, 1950, p. 7; “Professor Dyche Unitarian Speaker”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 26, 1963, p. 2.

Central Indiana Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and active with the Americans for Democratic Action.<sup>14</sup>

When Terre Haute mayor, Ralph Tucker, was nominated by the Democrats for Indiana governor in 1956, the Terre Haute ADA launched a political attack on the new nominee. Dyche declared, in the *Indianapolis Star*, that the Tucker nomination:

...signalized the disappearance of the old Indiana Democratic Party which will, unless Tucker is defeated in November, become the personal creation of Ralph Tucker and Pete Mandich (Mayor of Gary, Indiana) - the Terre Haute-Gary axis.<sup>15</sup>

A policy statement issued by the Terre Haute ADA, declared a Tucker victory would make the party "...vulnerable to gambler and underworld influences".<sup>16</sup> They called on Democrats to vote for the Republican candidate, Harold Handley for governor, but to support a straight Democrat ticket for the remainder of the ballot. Tucker referred to the ADA chapter in Terre Haute as a "one man organization" and declared they had never been affiliated with the Vigo County Democratic Party.<sup>17</sup> Mayor Tucker lost the race to Handley, receiving only 44% of the vote.<sup>18</sup>

Debs Foundation charter member, Eugene Dyche, was a well-respected professor at Indiana State University. His skills as an educator were noted when he received the school's Caleb Mills Distinguished Teaching Award in 1971.<sup>19</sup> Professor Dyche passed away on September 1, 1995.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "CLU Elects New Officers", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), May 8, 1976; "Speakers Laud FDR for His Effort to Preserve American Way of Life", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jan 27, 1950, p. 8.

<sup>15</sup> "Unfriendly ADA One-Man Group", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Jul 10, 1956, p. 19, (Peter Mandich was the mayor of Gary, Indiana, and Tucker ally).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> "Handley Favors Increase In Gasoline Tax", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Nov 8, 1956, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> "Caleb Mills Distinguished Teaching Award Recipients", Indiana State University-Academic Affairs website, (accessed Mar 25, 2018), <https://www.indstate.edu/academic-affairs/miscellaneous/awards/caleb-mills/past-winners>

<sup>20</sup> Ancestry.com. on-line database, Eugene I. Dyche, Indiana Death Certificate. Informant. 23,2018)[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=3066294&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP6496&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=3066294&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP6496&_phstart=successSource)

## Oscar K. Edelman (1897-1987)

Oscar was born on April 9, 1897, at Dayton, Ohio, to German immigrants, John and Catharine Stadmann Edelman.<sup>1</sup> The 1910 U.S Census reveals John Edelman was a cabinet maker for a Dayton lumber yard.<sup>2</sup> A biographical sketch of Edelman, prepared by Wright State University Special Collections, reported his interest in socialism was initiated by his participation in Fred Guy Strickland's "Workers Ethical Platform Series" in 1911. By 1914, Oscar was active in the Young People's Socialist League and served as the Dayton chapter's organizing chairman.<sup>3</sup>



After completing high school, Edelman became a member of the Socialist Party of America, Dayton chapter, joining on his eighteenth birthday. Research by the WSU Special Collections found Oscar temporarily relocated to Detroit from 1916 to 1917, where he joined a Detroit YPSL chapter. He returned to Dayton but was soon off again, this time to New York City where he had received a scholarship for the Rand School of Social Science. Edelman attended classes during the 1918-1919 school year and graduated valedictorian of his class.<sup>4</sup>

WSU researchers discovered Oscar worked, for a time, with the American Cigar Company and then was hired as office manager for Rieck Sheet Metal and Roofing Company in 1929. They also found Edelman remained active in the Socialist Party during the 1920's and 1930's. From 1919 to 1924, he worked as the business manager for the *Miami Valley Socialist*. He was named a member of the Ohio Socialist Party, executive committee in 1922, and also served as the state party secretary from 1923 to 1925. Edelman was elected Socialist Party national committeeman from the state of Ohio, in 1931. He sought county office on the Socialist ticket in 1932 and 1934, and ran for state representative in 1936. Oscar continued to support causes in the fight for social justice, including the Socialist

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1910 U.S. Census, Subject- John Edelman- Dayton, Ohio, (accessed Feb 12, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/72169792/person/420074512348/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Moore, Kerrie, "Oscar Edelman Papers", Introduction-Biographical Sketch, Wright State University Special Collections and Archives, 1990, (accessed Feb 12, 2018), <https://www.libraries.wright.edu/special/collectionguides/files/ms144.pdf>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

Democratic Federation, Socialist International, Workers' Defense League and the ACLU.<sup>5</sup>

Edelman played an important role in the formation of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. His financial support of the project was significant and he is recognized as the Foundation's largest individual benefactor. He also donated his personal library of more than 1,000 books on socialism and labor history to the Debs Foundation, as well as a collection of 4,000 political pamphlets. Those items are now part of the Debs Collection at Cunningham Memorial Library at Indiana State University. Oscar was a board member from the beginning of the organization and was a Foundation vice president.<sup>6</sup>

Edelman was interviewed by a researcher from Antioch College in January of 1973. The conversation included a discussion of his involvement in the Young People's Socialist League in Dayton, Ohio, as well as politics, and the Socialist Party of America. A copy of the interview is part of the digital collection of the Greene County, Ohio, Public Library and is accessible on-line.<sup>7</sup> In 1976, he traveled to Great Britain where he was able to meet with Labour Party members of the House of Commons.<sup>8</sup>

Until the last few years of his life, Edelman never missed a board meeting or awards dinner, usually making the trip from Dayton to Terre Haute via Greyhound Bus.<sup>9</sup>

Oscar Edelman died on November 2, 1987, at Dayton, Ohio.<sup>10</sup> His will named the Debs Foundation as the main beneficiary, resulting in a bequest of \$112,495.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> "Debs Books Catalogued, Available for Research", *Terre Haute Tribune*, Feb 6, 1977, p. 1

<sup>7</sup> Edelman, Oscar, Interview with Ellis Jacobs, WYSO FM 91.3 Public Radio, Antioch College, January 1973, Greene County (Ohio) Public Library, Greene County Room Digital Collections, <http://www.greenecountyroom.info/cdm/ref/collection/WYSOProgram/id/56>

<sup>8</sup> "Debs Books Catalogued", Feb 6, 1977, p 1

<sup>9</sup> Ibid; Timothy Kelley, personal recollections of Oscar Edelman.

<sup>10</sup> Moore, Kerrie, "Oscar Edelman Papers", Introduction-Biographical Sketch.

<sup>11</sup> "Oscar Edelman's Enduring Commitment", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), fall, 1989, p. 1.

## Ronald Elperin (1913-2009)

He was born to Russian immigrants, Jacob and Lena Elperin at Rochester, New York, on April 24, 1913. Ronald Elperin was a sergeant in the U. S. Army during World War II. Following the war, Elperin studied at the London School of Economics and received his Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Wisconsin at Madison, in 1954.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Elperin was an associate professor at Lakeland College in Plymouth, Wisconsin, before securing a faculty position at Indiana State Teachers College, in 1958.<sup>2</sup>



During the Vietnam War demonstrations on Moratorium Day, October 15, 1969, a number of students were suspended from Terre Haute Garfield High School for alleged actions during the protest. Following the suspensions, Professor Elperin attended a Vigo County School Board meeting where he called on the board to revoke the suspensions, provide the students with makeup assistance and establish a policy requiring board investigations before any future suspensions.<sup>3</sup>

Professor Constantine, in his 1987 article, declared that ISU faculty members, including Professor Elperin, played significant roles in establishing the foundation and maintaining it in the early years.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Ronald Herman Elperin died on April 13, 2009, at Hyde Park, Massachusetts.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Find A Grave*, database and image (accessed Mar 8, 2018) memorial page to Dr. Ronald Herman Elperin. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/65628860>

<sup>2</sup> "Seven Appointments to ISTC Staff Approved; Two Retire From Faculty", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Apr 24, 1958, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Dr. Huys Funds Are Aired Again" (article reporting on Vigo Co. School Board), *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Nov 11, 1969, p.7.

<sup>4</sup> "The Eugene V. Debs Foundation 1962-1987", *Debs Newsletter*, spring 1987, p.3.

<sup>5</sup> *Find A Grave*/65628860.

## William Fox (1880-1972)

William Dill Fox was born in Pickaway County, Ohio, on August 22, 1880, to Luther A. and Hattie Dill Fox.<sup>1</sup> William married Bessie Cook, of Staunton, Indiana, on December 15, 1903. They were the parents of ten children.<sup>2</sup>



The 1900 U. S. Census reported William Fox and his father were both working as coal miners. The census further revealed William was employed by the Weiner Coal Company, and resided in Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>3</sup> By 1910, the Fox family had moved to Clay County, Indiana, and William was continuing to work in the mines.<sup>4</sup> In September 1918, his draft registration listed him as a miner in Franklin County, Illinois<sup>5</sup> William and his family returned to Terre Haute by 1930, where he secured work as a railroad laborer.<sup>6</sup>

Fox became a charter member of the Eugene Debs Foundation in 1962.<sup>7</sup> William's obituary from 1972, reported he was a friend of Eugene V. Debs and was known as the oldest member of the Eugene Debs Foundation. The article also noted William regularly attended the Debs Foundation award dinners and the annual memorial service for Eugene Debs at Highland Lawn Cemetery.<sup>8</sup>

William Dill Fox died on June 12, 1972, at Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, online database, Public Trees-Subject-William Dill Fox (1880-1972), (Accessed Jun 20, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/6865563/person/-1212449215/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> "Clubs and Socials", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Dec 6, 1953, p.33.

<sup>3</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, 1900 U.S. Census, Subject-William Dill Fox, (accessed Jun 20, 2018) [https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/35/?name=William+Dill\\_Fox&birth=1880\\_Ohio&residence=terre+haute-vigo-indiana-usa\\_40776](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/35/?name=William+Dill_Fox&birth=1880_Ohio&residence=terre+haute-vigo-indiana-usa_40776)

<sup>4</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1910 U.S. Census, Subject-William Dill Fox (accessed Jun 20, 2018) [https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/35/?name=William+Dill\\_Fox&birth=1880\\_Ohio&residence=terre+haute-vigo-indiana-usa\\_40776](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/35/?name=William+Dill_Fox&birth=1880_Ohio&residence=terre+haute-vigo-indiana-usa_40776)

<sup>5</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, World War I Draft Registration Cards, William Fox, Franklin County, Illinois, 1918 (accessed Jun 20, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/6865563/person/-1212449215/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>6</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1930 U.S. Census, Subject- William Dill Fox (accessed Jun 20, 2018) [https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/35/?name=William+Dill\\_Fox&birth=1880\\_Ohio&residence=terre+haute-vigo-indiana-usa\\_40776](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/35/?name=William+Dill_Fox&birth=1880_Ohio&residence=terre+haute-vigo-indiana-usa_40776)

<sup>7</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The Eugene V. Debs Foundation: 1962-1987", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 1987, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> "William D. Fox Services Set", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Jun 14, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

## Albert Frampton (1918-1994)

Albert S. Frampton Jr. was born in Evanston, Illinois, on November 14, 1918, to Albert S. and Anna Goodchild Frampton.<sup>1</sup> Later, the family moved to St Louis, Missouri, where his father was president of the National Investment Corporation and the vice president of the Hudson-Frampton Motor Car Company.<sup>2</sup> The elder Frampton died in 1934, when his son was 16 years old.<sup>3</sup>

During World War II, Frampton enlisted into the U.S Army on January 6, 1942.<sup>4</sup>

Frampton was a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation.<sup>5</sup> This writer recalls he was a frequent attendee at Debs award dinners and foundation board meetings during the late 1970's and early 1980's. During one conversation that I remember, Albert promoted his personal assessment that McAlister Coleman's book, *Eugene V. Debs, Man Unafraid*, was the best Debs biography written.

Albert Stewart Frampton Jr., died at St Louis, Missouri, on February 23, 1994.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Public Trees-Subject- Albert S. Frampton Jr., St Louis, Missouri, (accessed Mar 3, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/71139476/person/42230811948/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, St Louis City Directory, 1933, Albert S. Frampton, p. 399, (accessed Mar 3, 2018) [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2469&h=632580157&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu168&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>3</sup> "Albert S. Frampton to Be Buried Tomorrow", *St. Louis Star & Times*, (St. Louis Missouri), Oct 2, 1934, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, U.S. Veterans Gravesites – Subject- Albert S. Frampton, (accessed Mar 3, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/70420330/person/30214339758/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>5</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p.6.

<sup>6</sup> "Albert Frampton", *St Louis Post Dispatch*, (St. Louis, Missouri) Feb 25, 1994, p. 18.

## Royal France (1883-1962)

Born at Lowville, New York, on July 27, 1883, Royal Wilber France was the son of the Rev. Joseph Henry France, a Presbyterian minister, and Hannah James France.<sup>1</sup>



Royal received his B.A and M.A. from Hamilton College. He graduated from Albany Law School and was admitted to the New York Bar in 1906. For a time he was the vice president of a motion picture company, but resigned to enter the U.S. Army during World War I. He entered with the rank of Captain and advanced to Major by the time he left the military. Following the war, he briefly returned to business, but eventually left to accept an appointment as an economics professor for Rollins College at Winter Park, Florida.<sup>2</sup> While teaching at Rollins, he published a novel, *Compromise*, which detailed the moral battles of an idealist, struggling with his time.<sup>3</sup>

In April of 1920, he was called upon to address a Philadelphia protest rally supporting five Socialist, New York Assemblyman who had been expelled from the New York state legislature during the first Red Scare. While France was seated on stage, another speaker began to read from the Declaration of Independence. When the speaker reached the words “When any government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it”, the police sprang to the stage and arrested all of the speakers, including France, for threatening to overthrow the government. The next morning, attorney France defended the group in court, and insisted the record include the fact that the accused had been jailed for quoting the Declaration of Independence “within the sound of the Liberty Bell”. The embarrassed judge dismissed all charges. This incident was a catalyst that led France to become a major advocate for civil liberties.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Public Trees- Subject- Royal Wilbur France, Lowville, New York, (accessed Mar 25, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/100628951/person/110005692822/facts?src=> ; Alia Alli. “Royal Wilber France: Lawyer, Teach & Idealist”, (part of Golden Celebrities Project-Notable People of Rollins and Winter Park), Rollins College, Olin Library, Winter Park, Florida, on-line database (accessed Mar 25, 2018) <http://lib.rollins.edu/olin/oldsite/archives/golden/France.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Lane, Jack C. “Rabble Rouser”, Apr 14, 2015, *Rollins 360*, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, on-line database (accessed Mar 25, 2018) . <https://360.rollins.edu/people/rabble-rouser>



In 1932, he supported the presidential campaign of Norman Thomas and shortly after was named chairman of the Florida Socialist Party. Living in the segregated south, France and his wife, Ethel were strongly criticized for “unconventional behavior”, when they invited their friend, African-American novelist, Zora Neale Hurston, to be their overnight guest. Following a lynching in Marianna, Florida, Royal chastised the Florida governor for his inaction. He published a letter in the local newspaper which prompted the governor to demand Rollins College dismiss France. The university president responded he would not fire France, as he agreed with the letter.<sup>5</sup>

France retired from academia in 1952, announcing he would focus the remainder of his life in defending the constitutional rights of minorities. He became a consultant to the American Civil Liberties Union, and handled the appeal for six convicted communists. Following the death of Ethel, his wife of forty four years, in 1956, he focused on the fight for social justice.<sup>6</sup> France headed the National Lawyers Guild beginning in 1958.<sup>7</sup> Royal married Ruth Crowder, socialist activist and writer, in 1959.

In March of 1962, Royal and Ruth France became charter members of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation.<sup>8</sup> Royal France died on July 10, 1962, in New York City, at the age of 78.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Alli.

<sup>7</sup> Lane.

<sup>8</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. “The 1962-1987 Period”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana) spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Alli.

## Ruth France (1901-1989)

Ruth Crawford was born in Belleville, Illinois, on January 24, 1901, the daughter of Edward and Elizabeth Hassall Crawford.<sup>1</sup> She attended Indiana State Normal College at Terre Haute, Indiana. In the 1920's, Crawford worked for the *Saturday Spectator*, in Terre Haute and during the Great Depression, she was a writer for the WPA Federal Writers Project's, *American Guide Series*. She served as the press officer for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund from 1947-1952.<sup>2</sup>



Called before the McCarran Senate sub-committee in 1952, she defiantly admitted a brief membership in the Communist Party in 1935 and declared she was currently a member of the Progressive Party. She refused to tell the committee who recruited her into the Communist Party and stated she was still sympathetic with some of the party's aims. Ruth declared "I believe we all have the right to join any party which does not actively engage in subversive activity...I have never been ashamed of or hidden my connection with the Communist Party."<sup>3</sup> Crawford and eleven other employees were fired from their UN jobs because of their links to the Communist Party. The group appealed their dismissals and requested relief from the United Nations high tribunal. The administrative panel awarded compensation for all twelve employees, with reinstatement ordered in the cases of four staff members, including Crawford.<sup>4</sup> However, Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold refused to reinstate the four employees, but agreed the dismissed employees would receive the ordered financial compensation.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Death Certificate- Ruth Norrick, Portage, Indiana, Indiana State Board of Health Certif. No. 89-049196, (accessed Mar 25, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=91763&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu190&phstart=successSource>

<sup>2</sup> *Indiana Authors and Their Books (1867-1980)*, Indiana University (Bloomington, Indiana) on-line website, (accessed Mar 28, 2018), p. 286, [http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/inauthors/search?text1=\\*;field1=facetContent\\_Type;sort=creator;browseText=Author;expand=Author\\_Browse;f1-Author\\_Browse=0](http://webapp1.dlib.indiana.edu/inauthors/search?text1=*;field1=facetContent_Type;sort=creator;browseText=Author;expand=Author_Browse;f1-Author_Browse=0) ;

"Free Unitarians To Hear Longtime Indiana Socialist", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Nov 4, 1972, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> "UN Worker Admits Being Communist", *Times Record* (Troy, New York), Oct 15, 1952, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Associated Press, "12 Fired Aides Vindicated by UN", *Terre Haute Tribune Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Sept. 1, 1953, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> United Press, "UN Secretary Refuses to Reinstates 4", *Pharos-Tribune* (Logansport, Indiana), Sept 4, 1953, p. 12.

Afterwards, Crawford continued work as a free-lance writer and was a civil liberties activist. Her articles appeared in such diverse publications as the *Indianapolis Star* and the *Daily World*. Ruth also became an active member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.<sup>6</sup> In 1959, Crawford married attorney and civil libertarian, Royal W. France, who died in 1962.<sup>7</sup> She married Joseph Norrick, a steelworker from Gary, Indiana, in 1968.<sup>8</sup> Together, Ruth and Joe fought for the cause of social justice and trade unionism. In 1980, they served as Indiana presidential electors for the Communist Party's presidential ticket of Gus Hall and Angela Davis.<sup>9</sup>

Ruth and her husband Royal France joined the Debs Foundation as charter members in 1962.<sup>10</sup> She and her second husband, Joseph Norrick, actively continued that affiliation. This writer recalls their attendance at Debs award dinners and a meeting with the couple, at the Debs Home, on one of their visits in the early 1980's.

Ruth Crawford France Norrick passed away on December 20, 1989, at Portage, Indiana.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "Free Unitarians To Hear Longtime Indiana Socialist", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Nov 4, 1972, p. 6; "The Story of One Unemployed Woman's Struggle", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Apr 8, 1987, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Alia Alli. "Royal Wilber France: Lawyer, Teach & Idealist", (part of Golden Celebrities Project-Notable People of Rollins and Winter Park), Rollins College, Olin Library, Winter Park, Florida, on-line database (accessed Mar 25, 2018), <http://lib.rollins.edu/olin/oldsite/archives/golden/France.htm>

<sup>8</sup> *Indiana Authors and Their Books*.

<sup>9</sup> Legal Notice, *Kokomo Tribune* (Kokomo, Indiana) Oct 17, 1980, p. 17 (Legal Notice listing Presidential candidates and their electors for the 1980 Indiana General Election Ballot).

<sup>10</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The Eugene V. Debs Foundation: 1962-1987", Debs Foundation Newsletter (Terre Haute, Indiana) spring 2002, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Death Certificate - Ruth E. Norrick, Portage, Indiana, Indiana State Department of Health, certify. 89-049196, Sept 22, 1995, Informant- Beverly Fannin, ( accessed Mar 29, 2018)

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=91763&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP6550&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=91763&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP6550&_phstart=successSource)

## Erich Fromm (1900-1980)

American social philosopher, psychoanalyst and democratic socialist, Erich Fromm, was born in Frankfurt, Germany, on March 23, 1900.<sup>1</sup> As a young student during World War I, Fromm lost faith in “jingoistic nationalism” and turned to an advocacy of peace and a personal philosophy of humanism.<sup>2</sup> He received his Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Heidelberg in 1922. Fromm fled Nazi Germany, immigrating to the United States in 1934.<sup>3</sup>



He secured a faculty position at Columbia University, teaching there from 1934 until 1941. He also taught at Yale, and was a professor at Bennington College. Later, Fromm was a member of the faculty at the National Autonomous University of Mexico, as well as Michigan State University and New York State University.<sup>4</sup>

Fromm was the author of numerous books and many articles on psychoanalysis and philosophy. His most popular books included *Escape from Freedom*, and *The Art of Loving*. In viewing society, he argued man was “...a product of his culture and that man becomes estranged from himself in industrial society”.<sup>5</sup>

Fromm became politically active during the 1948 presidential campaign, serving on the Independent Committee for Norman Thomas.<sup>6</sup> Fromm’s biographer, Lawrence Friedman described his involvement with politics and social causes:

He gave generously to the American Friends Service Committee and promoted its peace policies. As a friend of Norman Thomas, the head of the American Socialist Party, Fromm became one of its major financial supporters. In 1960, he wrote the party’s manifesto of

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<sup>1</sup> Times Wire Service. “German Psychoanalyst Erich Fromm Dies” *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, California), Mar 18, 1980, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Friedman, Lawrence J. *The Lives of Erich Fromm: Loves Prophet*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2013, p. 1.

<sup>3</sup> “Erich Fromm”, Erich Fromm Website, (accessed Aug 1, 2018) <http://www.erichfromm.net/>

<sup>4</sup> Cherry, Kendra. “Bio of Social Psychologist Erich Fromm” Very Well Mind Website (accessed Aug 1, 2018) <https://www.verywellmind.com/erich-fromm-1900-1980-2795506>

<sup>5</sup> Times Wire Service. p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Ross, Jack. *The Socialist Party of American: A Complete History* Lincoln, Nebraska, Potomac Books/University of Nebraska Press, 2015, p. 441.

principles, which advocated international coexistence and an end to the Cold War.<sup>7</sup>

In March of 1962, Erich Fromm contributed to the establishment of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation by becoming a charter member.<sup>8</sup>

In the book, *On Disobedience: Why Freedom Means Saying No to Power*, Fromm declared:

The supreme principle of socialism is that man takes precedence over things, life over property, and hence, work over capital; that power follows creation, and not possession; that man must not be governed by circumstances, but circumstances must be governed by man.<sup>9</sup>

Fromm argued the threat of nuclear war had damaged mankind's instinct for survival. In his 1955 book, *The Sane Society*, he detailed plans for a "good society", arguing "...we must try to bring the voice of sanity to the people".<sup>10</sup> These concepts became founding principles of the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), which was organized in 1957, with the assistance of Fromm.<sup>11</sup>

He was also an early opponent of the Vietnam War. In December of 1966, Fromm addressed a peace rally in Madison Square Garden, attended by 17,000 people. The event was sponsored by SANE, and other speakers included Dr. Benjamin Spock, Ossie Davis and Pete Seeger. In Fromm's speech, he contended more civilians were being killed than enemy soldiers. He further stated:

We report our successes not as was done in previous wars by mentioning territory gained, but by the number of enemies killed in a hunt. If this trend goes on still further, the last remnant of conscience

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<sup>7</sup> Friedman, Lawrence J. p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, (Eugene V. Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Fromm, Erich. *On Disobedience: Why Freedom Means Saying "No" To Power*, New York, Harper Perennial, 1981, p. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Friedman, Lawrence J. p. 185.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 184; "Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE)", Peace/Action Website, Oakland, California (accessed Aug 4, 2018) <https://www.peaceaction.org/who-we-are/contact/>

will have been removed from the souls of men and universal dehumanization will take place.<sup>12</sup>

During the presidential primaries of 1968, Fromm was a strong supporter of Senator Eugene McCarthy. He donated \$20,000 to the McCarthy campaign and spoke at campaign rallies, paying his own travel expenses when he moved from state to state<sup>13</sup>.

McCarthy's loss of the nomination, followed by Richard Nixon's election to the presidency, left Fromm "...exhausted... and probably somewhat depressed". He spent much less time in the United States, living in Mexico in the winter and traveling to Switzerland during the summer months.<sup>14</sup>In 1973, Fromm established a permanent residence in Locarno, Switzerland.<sup>15</sup>

Dr. Erich Fromm died at Locarno on March 18, 1980, shortly before his eightieth birthday.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Associated Press. "N.Y. Rally Pleads Bring GIs Home", *Gazette and Daily* (York, Pennsylvania) Dec 10, 1966, p. 1; "SANE Rally" *Barnard Bulletin* (Barnard College, New York, New York) Dec 8, 1966, p. 4; "17,000 Gather At Peace Rally" *Daily News* (New York, New York) Dec 9, 1966, p.9.

<sup>13</sup> Friedman, Lawrence J. p. 272.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid*, p. 277.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid*, p. 295.

<sup>16</sup> "Erich Fromm Dead At 79; Was Psychoanalyst, Author", *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Missouri), Mar 18, 1980, p. 11.

## Adolph Germer (1881-1966)

American socialist and industrial unionist, Adolph Germer was born in Welan, East Prussia, Germany. The Germer family immigrated to the United States in 1888, settling in Illinois. Like his father, Germer worked as a coal miner, beginning his career in the mines near Staunton, Illinois, at the age of 11.<sup>1</sup> He joined the United Mine Workers of America and was involved in his first strike at age 13.<sup>2</sup> He was dispatched by the UMW to lead the Colorado miners' strike in 1913-1914. During the strike, he was jailed for nine days without the filing of charges. A great outpouring of protest from Socialist and labor newspapers resulted in his release.<sup>3</sup> It was during this strike that the Ludlow Massacre occurred on April 20, 1914.<sup>4</sup> Germer eventually became president of the Belleville, Illinois district of the UMW.<sup>5</sup> He was also the leader of a dissenting group within the miners' organization, opposing John L. Lewis.<sup>6</sup>



Adolph joined the Social Democratic Party in 1900.<sup>7</sup> In 1912, he was a Socialist candidate for the Illinois legislature<sup>8</sup> Germer was nominated as the 1914 Illinois Socialist candidate for United States Senate, receiving 29,931 votes.<sup>9</sup> In 1916, Germer urged Theodore Debs to seek the post of national executive secretary of the Socialist Party. After Debs, declined, Germer entered the race and won,

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<sup>1</sup> *Adolph Germer Papers, (1898-1966) on Microfilm*, Collection Number 5809 mf, Biographical Note, Kneel Center for Labor Management Documentation and Archives, Martin P. Catherwood Industrial and Labor Relations Library, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, Archive Website (accessed Apr 14, 2018), [rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/KCL05809mf.html#d0e163](http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/EAD/htmldocs/KCL05809mf.html#d0e163)

<sup>2</sup> *Adolph Germer Papers, 1898-1966*, Biography Outline, Wisconsin Historical Society, Division of Library, Archives, and Museum Collections, Madison, Wisconsin, Archive Website (accessed Apr 14, 2018) <http://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi/f/findaid/findaid-idx?c=wiarchives;view=reslist;subview=standard;didno=uw-whs-us00125a;focusrgn=bioghist;cc=wiarchives;byte=413314559>

<sup>3</sup> "Germer Is Released", *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, Kansas) Jan 10, 1914, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Adolph Germer Papers*, Wisconsin Historical Society.

<sup>5</sup> "Adolph Germer, Labor Organizer, Dies at 84", *Journal Gazette* (Mattoon, Illinois) May 27, 1966, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Adolph Germer Papers*, Wisconsin Historical Society.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> "Nominees of the Socialist Party", *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois) Apr 10, 1912, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> "Election Returns", *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, Kansas) Nov 21, 1914, p. 3.

defeating two other candidates.<sup>10</sup> He served as national executive secretary from 1916 through 1919.<sup>11</sup>

Germer opposed U.S. entry into World War I and actively supported the party's 1917, St. Louis proclamation. In that same year, Germer, and eleven other men, were charged with conspiracy to circulate pamphlets that encouraged young men not to register for the draft. He surrendered to federal authorities at Grand Rapids, Michigan, on June 13, 1917 and entered a plea of not guilty.<sup>12</sup> The group was tried in Federal District Court at Grand Rapids. Despite the government's efforts, the jury found no evidence of a conspiracy and the men were acquitted.<sup>13</sup> Federal prosecutors tried again in March of 1918, when Germer, Congressman Victor Berger and two other Socialists were indicted for "...obstructing recruiting, encouraging disloyalty and interfering with the prosecution of the war".<sup>14</sup> The actions of the men were viewed as violations of the Espionage Act and the four were tried in the court of Federal Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis at Chicago. The case involved controversial rulings by Judge Landis, including his refusal to allow a change of venue and his failure to rule out some evidence.<sup>15</sup> All four men were convicted and Landis ordered the maximum possible sentence of twenty years for each defendant.<sup>16</sup>

The case was appealed and eventually reached the U. S. Supreme Court, where a new trial was ordered.<sup>17</sup> In the appeal, the defendants argued they had asked for the assignment of a new judge as Landis was personally biased and prejudiced against them because they were German-Americans. Landis ruled on the motion himself, refusing their request. The Supreme Court, voting 6 to 3, agreed with the defendants and ordered a new trial.<sup>18</sup> Later, Federal Judge Wilkerson dismissed all charges against the defendants in February of 1923.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, editor. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990, vol. 2, pp 191, 192.

<sup>11</sup> "Adolph Germer, Labor Organizer, Dies at 84".

<sup>12</sup> "Indicted Socialist Leader Appears in U.S. Court, Stands Mute", *Detroit Free Press* (Detroit, Michigan), Jun 14, 1917, p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> "Anti-Draft Men Are Acquitted", *Star-Press* (Muncie, Indiana), Oct 19, 1917, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> "Berger Tried to Block War Work Grand Jury Says" *Topeka Daily Capital* (Topeka, Kansas), Mar 10, 1918, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> "Dismiss Berger Conspiracy Case", *Decatur Herald* (Decatur Herald) Feb 27, 1923), Feb 27, 1923, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> "Berger Sentenced to Twenty Years in Prison", *Reno Gazette-Journal* (Reno, Nevada) Feb 21, 1919, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> "Berger Wins A New Trial", *Barre Daily Times* (Barre, Vermont), Jan 31, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*; Sunderland, Edson R. "Disqualification of Judges by Prejudice", University of Michigan Law School Scholarship Repository-Articles, Michigan Law Review, 1921 p. 637) HeinOnline (accessed Apr 15, 2018)

<https://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2330&context=articles>

<sup>19</sup> "Dismiss Berger Conspiracy Case".



He remained an active member of the Socialist Party until 1932 when he shifted his support to Franklin Roosevelt's presidential campaign. Despite his past conflict with John L. Lewis, he helped organize the CIO, and became a close advisor to Lewis. Germer was sent to Detroit to assist in organizing autoworkers and it was Germer who aided Walter Reuther in establishing a role in the United Auto Workers union.<sup>20</sup> An editorial in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* on January 24, 1937, credited Germer with being "...the moving force in unionization of the automobile industry".<sup>21</sup> He was one of the strategists in developing and carrying out the GM sit-down strike at Flint, Michigan, in late 1936. After the strike began and the union had seized the Fisher plants, the company obtained an injunction from Judge Edward D. Black, ordering the workers to withdraw from GM property and to end picketing. Germer, along with Maurice Sugar and Lee Pressman, quickly worked behind the scenes to research and then confirm that Judge Black held 2,365 shares of GM stock, worth \$219,000. They publicly announced their findings and demanded the judge be impeached for violating Michigan law which prohibited such conflicts of interest. The incident all but ended any discussion of the enforcement of the judge's order.<sup>22</sup> The union achieved victory in their strike with GM on February 11, 1937. Germer personally met with the workers in each occupied plant to present the agreement and to obtain their acceptance.<sup>23</sup>

Adolph continued to play an important role in the Congress of Industrial Organizations until April 1, 1955, when he retired to Rockford, Illinois.<sup>24</sup> He became a charter member of the Debs Foundation in March of 1962. When Norman Thomas was presented the Debs Award in 1964, Germer attended the ceremony in Terre Haute. News accounts listed him as a distinguished guest and mentioned he had been a personal friend of Eugene V. Debs.<sup>25</sup>

Adolph F. Germer died at Rockford, Illinois on May 26, 1966.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Adolph Germer Papers, 1898-1966*, Wisconsin Historical Society; "Adolph Germer, Labor Organizer, Dies at 84.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Keeran, Roger. *The Communist Party and the Auto Workers Unions*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1980, pp. 166, 172."

<sup>23</sup> "GM, Union Sign Peace Agreement", *Evening Independent* (Massillon, Ohio) Feb. 11, 1937, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> *Adolph Germer Papers, 1898-1966*, Wisconsin Historical Society.

<sup>25</sup> "Norman Thomas Memorializes Eugene V. Debs" *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), May 10, 1964, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> "Adolph Germer, Labor Organizer Dies at 84".

## John Grindrod, M.D. (1918-1996)

Dr. John Madison Grindrod was a native of Kent, Washington, born on April 12, 1918. His parents, George and Marguerite Madison Grindrod, later moved the family to Waukesha County, Wisconsin. His father was a chemical engineer who held a graduate degree, while John's mother possessed a bachelor's degree, at a time when only 5% of Americans graduated from college.<sup>1</sup> John trained to be a teacher and engineer, receiving his bachelor's degree from the University of Wisconsin.<sup>2</sup> Grindrod was also active in the Young People's Socialist League, serving on the Wisconsin YPSL state committee.<sup>3</sup> He was the Socialist State Senate candidate in Wisconsin's 33<sup>rd</sup> District, in 1946.<sup>4</sup>



When the United States entered World War II, he was a registered conscientious objector and was soon ordered to a Civilian Public Service camp in Stronach, Michigan. Later, he was moved to a camp at Wellston, Michigan, and eventually assigned to the Norwich State Hospital in Norwich, Connecticut.<sup>5</sup> His experiences there prompted him to enroll in medical school following the war.<sup>6</sup>

His wife, Shirley Holzman Grindrod, was a registered nurse who supported the family while Grindrod attended medical school.<sup>7</sup> John received his medical degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1950, and interned at King County Hospital in Seattle Washington.<sup>8</sup> The Grindrod family returned to Wisconsin, where John practiced medicine in the town of Oregon. In the autumn of 1956, Dr. Grindrod

His wife, Shirley Holzman Grindrod, was a registered nurse who supported the family while Grindrod attended medical school.<sup>7</sup> John received his medical degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1950, and interned at King County Hospital in Seattle Washington.<sup>8</sup> The Grindrod family returned to Wisconsin, where John practiced medicine in the town of Oregon. In the autumn of 1956, Dr. Grindrod

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com. on-line database, 1930 U. S. Census Data, Subjects- George & Marguerite Grindrod, Oconomowoc, Wisconsin, (accessed Mar 31, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/67988786/person/42328997941/facts?src=> ; "Percentage of the U.S. Population who have completed 4 years of college or more 1940-2016", Statista, on-line statistical database,

<https://www.statista.com/statistics/184272/educational-attainment-of-college-diploma-or-higher-by-gender/>

<sup>2</sup> "John M. Grindrod", *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, Wisconsin), Jan 5, 1996, p. 38;

<sup>3</sup> "Committee Members", *Waukesha Daily Freeman* (Waukesha, Wisconsin) Sept 4, 1946, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Sample Ballot", *Waukesha Daily Freeman* (Waukesha, Wisconsin), Nov 4, 1946, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Civilian Public Service Website, Subject- John Grindrod, (accessed Apr 22, 2018),

<http://civilianpublicservice.org/workers/3686>

<sup>6</sup> "John M. Grindrod", *Wisconsin State Journal*, (Madison, Wisconsin), Jan 5, 1996, p. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, *Wright's Madison (Dane County, Wisconsin) City Directory 1950*, p. 255,

(accessed Mar 31, 2018) [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=USDirectories&h=880403395&indiv=try&o\\_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=6224](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=USDirectories&h=880403395&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=6224) ; "Sane Nuclear Policy Group Offers Speakers", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 13, 2018, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> "Here to Congratulate Graduates", *Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin) Jun 17, 1950, p. 6.

moved his family to Terre Haute, Indiana, when he was named college physician at Indiana State Teachers College.<sup>9</sup>

### **Shirley Grindrod (1921-2001)**

Shirley J. Holzman was born at Milwaukee, Wisconsin on April 22, 1921. Her parents, Abe and Fannie Holzman, had emigrated from Russia in 1913, settling in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where they opened a grocery store.<sup>10</sup> During World War II, Shirley served in the United States Cadet Nurse Corps.<sup>11</sup> In 1947, Shirley married John Grindrod, and they were the parents of six children including David, Meg, James, Paul, Suzy and Lisa.<sup>12</sup>



In Terre Haute, John and Shirley were social activists, speaking out against nuclear weapons. A letter, which appeared in the April 8, 1959, *Terre Haute Tribune*, called for an end to nuclear testing, and was signed by a contingent from ISTC, including the Grindrods. As medical professionals, they used their knowledge to assist in the organization of a Terre Haute chapter of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.<sup>13</sup> A March 13, 1960, article in the *Terre Haute Tribune*, described the couple as a “husband and wife team” making presentations on the effects of radiation on health and heredity.<sup>14</sup> John and Shirley Grindrod joined the Eugene V. Debs Foundation as charter members in March of 1962.<sup>15</sup>

The Grindrods were honored with a reception by Terre Haute Unitarians, in December 1962, as the family prepared to return to Wisconsin.<sup>16</sup> John had received an appointment as a physician in student services with the University of Wisconsin

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<sup>9</sup> “Sane Nuclear Policy Group Offers Speakers”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 13, 2018, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1930 U. S. Census- Subjects- Abe & Fannie Holzman, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, (accessed Mar 24, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1930Uusfedcen&indiv=try&h=58823879>

<sup>11</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, public family trees, Subject-Shirley Holzman, (accessed Mar 24, 2018),

<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/67988786/person/160053835043/facts?src=>

<sup>12</sup> “Husband and Wife Team”, *Terre Haute Tribune*, (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 13, 1960, p. 37; “John M. Grindrod”, *Wisconsin State Journal*, (Madison, Wisconsin), Jan 5, 1996, p. 38.

<sup>13</sup> “Club for Sane Nuclear Policy”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Apr 23, 1959, p. 24.

<sup>14</sup> “Sane Nuclear Policy Group Offers Speakers”.

<sup>15</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. “The 1962-1987 Period”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> “Unitarian Service Program Planned”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Dec 13, 1962, p. 39.

Medical Center at Madison, prompting their move.<sup>17</sup> He remained in that role until his retirement in 1983. John was active with the Physicians for Social Responsibility, a member of the United States Power Squadron and a supporter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.<sup>18</sup> Dr. Grindrod died at his home in Madison, Wisconsin, on January 3, 1996.<sup>19</sup>

After returning to Madison, Shirley Grindrod was an active member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She continued to speak out on progressive issues, including opposition to the Vietnam War<sup>20</sup>. Shirley also supported international understanding, with her presentation, "A Visit with the Common People of Russia"<sup>21</sup>. Shirley Holzman Grindrod died in Madison, Wisconsin, on October 1, 2001.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> University of Wisconsin Archives/Brendan (personal communication with author, Feb 22, 2018); "John M. Grindrod".

<sup>18</sup> "John M. Grindrod".

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> "Your Tax Dollars At Work", *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, Wisconsin) Feb 25, 1974, p. 22.

<sup>21</sup> "Church Notes", *Waukesha Daily Freeman* (Waukesha, Wisconsin), Feb 3, 1970, p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> U. S. Social Security Death Index, 1935-2014, Ancestry.com on-line database (accessed Feb 12, 2018) [https://search.ancestry.com/cgibin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=3693&h=24038257&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=B RP6579&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgibin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=3693&h=24038257&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=B RP6579&_phstart=successSource)

## Doyt Hamilton (1922-2003)

Doyt Brooks Hamilton was born on October 4, 1922, at Greenfield, Indiana, to Brooks S. and Irene Poer Hamilton.<sup>1</sup> His father was a farmer and he and his older brother, Howard, were raised on a farm in Brandywine Township.<sup>2</sup> Doyt attended Purdue University before transferring to Lynchburg College in Virginia, where he completed his B. A with majors in psychology and philosophy, in 1947.<sup>3</sup> Later, he earned a master's degree in social work.<sup>4</sup>



Doyt worked as a social worker for the Community Service Council of Indianapolis.<sup>5</sup> While at the Community Service Council, he was outspoken concerning poverty and the elderly, arguing the lack of federal and state benefit coordination was harmful for seniors, sometimes pushing them further into poverty.<sup>6</sup> Hamilton also worked for the Indianapolis Public School System, as a counselor for children with developmental disabilities.<sup>7</sup>

In 1952, Doyt married Constance Muste, the daughter of Rev. A.J. Muste, internationally known pacifist. The wedding ceremony was held at the Community Church of New York City.<sup>8</sup> The church was famous for its community programs created by retired pastor and pacifist, John Haynes Holmes.<sup>9</sup>

Doyt's brother, Professor Howard Hamilton, was an important member of the core group that launched the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. Doyt and Connie supported his efforts and became charter members in 1962.

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<sup>1</sup> "Doyt B. Hamilton", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Mar. 31, 2003, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1930 U.S. Census, Subject-Hamilton Family, Brandywine, Hancock, Indiana, (accessed Apr 24, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1930usfedcen&indiv=try&h=117253797>

<sup>3</sup> "Doyt B. Hamilton". ; "Doyt B. Hamilton Gets Degree from Virginia College", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Jun 10, 1947, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> "Doyt B. Hamilton".

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> "It's Not Heaven Here on Earth", *Republic* (Columbus, Indiana), Jan 8, 1974, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> "Unitarians to Hear Speaker", *Rushville Republican* (Rushville, Indiana), May 6, 1971, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> "Hamilton-Muste", *Hancock Democrat* (Greenfield, Indiana), Oct 9, 1952, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> "John Haynes Holmes", *Dictionary of Unitarian and Unitarian Biography* on-line database (accessed Apr 24, 2018), [uudb.org/articles/johnhaynesholmes.html](http://uudb.org/articles/johnhaynesholmes.html)

Constance Hamilton passed away on January 3, 1966.<sup>10</sup> Doyt continued as a social worker and was also a Hancock County farmer. He died at Greenfield, Indiana on March 28, 2003.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> "County Resident Dies In Hospital", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Jan 4, 1966, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> "Doyt B. Hamilton".

## Constance “Connie” Hamilton (1919-1966)

Constance Muste Hamilton, daughter of Rev. Abraham John Muste and Anna Huizenga Muste, was born in New York City on August 18, 1919.<sup>1</sup> Her father was the noted pacifist and a co-founder of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, along with Jane Addams, John Haynes Holmes and others, in 1915. Rev. Muste’s opposition to World War I forced him to resign as pastor from his Newtonville, Massachusetts church.<sup>2</sup> He worked closely with Sidney Hillman and the Amalgamated Clothing workers and was the Educational Director for the Brookwood Labor College.<sup>3</sup> He opposed war from the First World War through Vietnam. During the Vietnam War, he was very active, traveling to Hanoi to meet with Ho Chi Minh and protesting the war in Saigon where he was deported.<sup>4</sup> *Time* dubbed him “America’s No. 1 Pacifist”.<sup>5</sup>



Connie graduated from Columbia University and was active in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. She worked for ten years as associate editor of *Fellowship*, the organization’s magazine. Hamilton was also associated with Harper’s Publishing in New York.<sup>6</sup> Bayard Rustin, a friend of the family, described Connie and her two siblings as having the “...same kind of maturity, dignity and independence that characterized their parents”.<sup>7</sup> Her father declared: “I’m batting .333 with my children with regard to pacifism... Connie’s the only thoroughgoing pacifist”.<sup>8</sup>

She recalled what it was like growing up in the household of a famous American pacifist:

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<sup>1</sup>Ancestry.com, on-line database, Indiana Death Certificate- Constance Muste Hamilton, Indiana State Board of Health, certificate 66 000839, Jan 4, 1966, (accessed Apr 25, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=1989576&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu211&phstart=successSource>

<sup>2</sup> “Unitarians To Hear Message”, *Rushville Republican* (Rushville, Indiana), Dec 24, 1964, p. 2; Hentoff, Nat, *Peace Agitator: The Story of A.J. Muste*, New York, Macmillan Company, 1963, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Hentoff, Nat., pp. 56-58.

<sup>4</sup> “Rev. Muste Dead at 82; Crusader Against War”, *Daily News* (New York, New York), Feb 12, 1967, p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> “Unitarians to Hear Message”.

<sup>6</sup> “County Resident Dies in Hospital”, *Daily Reporter*, (Greenfield, Indiana), Jan 4, 1966, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Hentoff, Nat, p. 144.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 145.

Our parents never tried to pass on specific opinions to us, but they did teach us to be truthful and to be concerned about other people and what went on in the world. Naturally we picked up some specific points of view, but we were at liberty to accept or reject them or to suit them to ourselves. We were encouraged to ask questions and to discuss anything in which we were interested. Our dinner table was usually the scene of lively discussion...one thing that impressed me about my future husband was the one evening, when he had been invited to dinner, he stood up to all of us in an argument about European political history, and he came out on top.<sup>9</sup>

She married Doyt Hamilton in 1952 and they had four children, Alan, Philip, Anne and Dana. Constance Muste Hamilton died on January 3, 1966, at Greenfield, Indiana. She was 46 years old.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 147.

<sup>10</sup> "County Resident Dies in Hospital"; "Hamilton-Muste".



## Howard D. Hamilton (1920-2004)

Professor Howard Devon Hamilton was born in Hancock County, Indiana, on December 18, 1920, to Brooks and Irene Poer Hamilton. His father was a farmer and Howard and his younger brother Doyt were raised on a farm in Brandywine Township.<sup>1</sup> He was a graduate of Greenfield High School and then enrolled at Purdue University.<sup>2</sup> Hamilton received his undergraduate degree from Purdue in 1942. *Debris*, the school's year book, identified him as a Distinguished Student and member of the Religious Council.<sup>3</sup> The following school year he completed a master's degree at Syracuse University.<sup>4</sup>



Howard was drafted in November of 1943<sup>5</sup>. As a Quaker, he had registered as a conscientious objector and was assigned alternative service at Civilian Public Service camps in Wellston, Michigan and Cascade Locks, Oregon. Peace churches including the American Friends Service Committee, Bretheren Service Committee and the Mennonite Central Committee had negotiated with the Roosevelt Administration and Congress to establish these alternative service options for conscientious objectors. The daily administration of a camp was under the direction of one of the church service committees, however the Selective Service was in complete control of the program. CO's received no pay for their work and participants remained in service for months after the end of the war.<sup>6</sup> At the Wellston, Michigan, camp, Howard was assigned work clearing fire breaks and agricultural assignments.<sup>7</sup> When he was moved to the Cascade Locks camp,

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Birth Certificate- Howard Devon Hamilton, Indiana State Board of Health, certificate registration number 63099, issued Dec 21, 1920, (accessed Apr 17, 2018)

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60871&h=8206302&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP6715&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60871&h=8206302&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP6715&_phstart=successSource); Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1930 U. S. Census, Subject- Hamilton Family, Brandywine, Hancock, Indiana, (accessed Apr 17, 2018) [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60871&h=8206302&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=zLu214&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60871&h=8206302&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu214&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>2</sup> "Howard D. Hamilton", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Jun 25, 2004, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Purdue University Yearbook. *The Debris*, (West Lafayette, Indiana) 1942, p. 75, (accessed Apr 17, 2018) [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=1265&h=305385128&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=zLu218&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=1265&h=305385128&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu218&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>4</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase, personal communication, Apr 21, 2018.

<sup>5</sup> Civilian Public Service Website, (accessed Apr 22, 2018), [civilianpublicservice.org](http://civilianpublicservice.org)

<sup>6</sup> Krehbiel, Nicholas A. "Conscription, World War II, And Civilian Public Service", Civilian Public Service Website (accessed Apr 22, 2018) [civilianpublicservice.org](http://civilianpublicservice.org)

<sup>7</sup> "Mom's Woods", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Apr 22, 2000, p. 1.

Hamilton and his fellow draftees were engaged in significant physical work, fighting forest fires, building trails and reforesting burned forest acreage. Those at Cascades Locks were described as “a talented group of CO’s with interests in literature, architecture, music, politics, philosophy, religion and the arts”. The men established their own camp government and using the Roachdale Principles, and created a cooperative store “...to provide personal items such as toiletries, stationary and work gloves.”<sup>8</sup> Hamilton left the CPS on June 25, 1946, nearly a year after the war ended.<sup>9</sup>

Howard then enrolled at the University of Illinois where he obtained a doctorate in political science. While at U of I, he met Leavitta Brewer, who was also a pacifist. They were married in September of 1947. Their daughter, Anna Hamilton Chase, described her parents as coming from similar backgrounds. “In addition to their rural midwestern heritage, they shared a passion for peace and social justice”. According to Anna, her parents were wed in a traditional Quaker ceremony.<sup>10</sup>

During the 1950’s and 60’s he was a professor of political science at Indiana State University. As a Terre Haute resident, Howard was a regular contributor to the editorial page of the *Terre Haute Tribune*, offering his views on the corruption of Mayor Tucker’s political machine; the need for a national health care policy; and the debate over nuclear weapons.<sup>11</sup> In an editorial critical of the Tucker administration, he advised the readers: “Before I am accused of being a Republican stooge, may I mention that I am a New Dealer who has ghosted perorations for (Michigan Governor) Mennen Williams and other Democratic politicians”.<sup>12</sup> Hamilton went on to state:

Once our little city was rather famous as the birthplace of the Dreiser  
brothers and the saintly Eugene Debs. How sad that now it is better

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<sup>8</sup> “CPS Unit Number 021-01”, Civilian Public Service Website, (accessed Apr 22, 2018) [civilianpublicservice.org/camps/21/1](http://civilianpublicservice.org/camps/21/1)

<sup>9</sup> “CPS Worker 003843-Hamilton, Howard D.”, Civilian Public Service Website, (accessed Apr 22, 2018), [civilianpublicservice.org/workers/3843](http://civilianpublicservice.org/workers/3843)

<sup>10</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase.

<sup>11</sup> “Letter to the Editor”, (Mayor Tucker) *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Nov 4, 1958, p. 15; “the Editor’s Mail” (Nuclear Testing), *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Apr 8, 1959, p. 6; “the Editor’s Mail” (Mayor Tucker) *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Feb 29, 1960, p. 7; “Letters to the Editor” (American Healthcare) *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Jul 17, 1962, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> “Letters to the Editor”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Nov 4, 1958, p. 15.

known for its little Chicago political machine, its vice, smoke, stench and blight.<sup>13</sup>

In addition to his criticisms of the Tucker political machine in Terre Haute, Professor Hamilton was an activist in support of good government. His article covering the Indiana highway scandals that erupted in 1957, was published in the National Civil Service League publication, *Good Government*. Hamilton criticized Indiana Governor Harold Handley for suppressing news of the scandal until after he was able to push a 2 cent gasoline tax increase through the legislature. The misdeeds occurred during the administration of Handley's predecessor, Governor George Craig, however Hamilton credited Craig for his attempt to place the Indiana Highway Department under a merit system.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Hamilton also completed two separate studies, authorized by the Indiana General Assembly on the possibility of using a sales tax to generate revenue. The first study occurred in 1958 and his report recommended Indiana avoid such a revenue option. In his 1962 analysis, he confirmed such a tax offered a "high and stable yield", as seen in the thirty six states where it was already in place, however he argued the tax was regressive and would negatively impact the poor. If Indiana authorized such a tax, Hamilton advocated groceries be exempted in order to lessen the strain on low income families.<sup>15</sup>

He was also called upon by the states of Michigan and Ohio to assist them with reapportionment. Details of the Ohio project were presented in a book edited by Professor Hamilton, *Reapportioning Legislatures*, published by Charles E. Merrill Books, in 1966.<sup>16</sup>

As a life-long pacifist, Hamilton continued his work for peace while teaching at Indiana State. These efforts included demonstrations such as the

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Star's Washington Bureau. "Patronage Politics Blamed for Scandals by Professor" *Star-Press* (Muncie Indiana) Oct 20, 1957, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> United Press. "Researcher Suggests Indiana Shy Away From Sales Tax", *Commercial-Mail* (Columbia City, Indiana), Feb 26, 1958, p. 1; Associated Press. "Sales Tax Can Boost Revenue", *Journal and Courier* (Lafayette, Indiana), May 11, 1962, p. 25; Associated Press. "3 Percent Sales Tax Is Studied", *Vidette-Messenger* (Valparaiso, Indiana), Sep 7, 1962, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase.

Easter Witness for Peace vigil, outside the Army Chemical Depot at Newport, Indiana. The demonstration was sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee, an organization of which Professor Hamilton had served as a lobbyist.<sup>17</sup> He was also an active member of the local chapter of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.<sup>18</sup> Howard and Leavitta were members of the NAACP, where he was directly involved in a project to uncover discrimination in real estate and finance.<sup>19</sup>

Professor Hamilton played a significant role in the founding of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in 1962. Robert Constantine, in an article commemorating the Foundation's fiftieth anniversary, identified Howard as one of the most important charter members, as he "...personally typed scores of letters to colleagues in academia, labor and socialist circles, seeking and getting charter members for the Foundation".<sup>20</sup> In addition, Howard and Leavitta Hamilton, mortgaged their home in order to provide immediate funds to support the fledgling Debs Foundation while it awaited responses to the group's fund raising appeals.<sup>21</sup> Howard was a Foundation board member and named a vice president of the organization in recognition of his many contributions. He also served for a time as treasurer.

Hamilton later taught at Indiana University, Bowling Green University, and Kent State University.<sup>22</sup> At Bowling Green University, he was chairman of the political science department.<sup>23</sup>

Professor Hamilton was a life-long advocate for peace and social justice. He died on June 23, 2004, at Indianapolis.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> "Witnesses for Peace Start Week's Vigil At Newport Chemical Facility", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 27, 1961, p. 1; "Howard D. Hamilton", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Jun 25, 2004, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> "Press for Ban on Nuclear Tests", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Feb 8, 1960, p. 2.

<sup>19</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase.

<sup>20</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987", *Debs Foundation Newsletter* (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>21</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase.

<sup>22</sup> "Howard D. Hamilton".

<sup>23</sup> "Saxbe to Speak at BGU About Apportionment", *News-Messenger* (Fremont, Ohio), Feb 15, 1966, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> "Howard D. Hamilton".

## Leavitta B. Hamilton (1924-1999)

Leavitta Brewer was born on April 2, 1924, at Wood River, Illinois, the daughter of Rance and Vesta Brewer.<sup>1</sup> Her father was a foreman in an oil refinery and later farmed in Cumberland County, Illinois.<sup>2</sup> She began her formal education in an Illinois one-room school house and completed it at the University of Illinois, where she earned an undergraduate degree in journalism and a master's in literature.<sup>3</sup>



Brewer, a pacifist, and Howard Hamilton, a conscientious objector, met while they were students at the University of Illinois. They were married in September of 1947, and the couple had four daughters, Anna, Sarah, Ora Lynn and Felicity.<sup>4</sup>

Howard was a college professor and the family moved a number of times during his professorial career. Leavitta, as a journalist, completed special assignments for a number of newspapers over the years.<sup>5</sup> While living in Terre Haute, Indiana, she occasionally wrote theater reviews.<sup>6</sup> Leavitta was an active member of several organizations including Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women.<sup>7</sup>

Leavitta and her husband were charter members of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. They demonstrated a real commitment to the Debs Foundation in early 1962, when they mortgaged their home in order to supply initial funding, while the group awaited responses to their various financial appeals.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Leavitta B. Hamilton", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Jun 18, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> 1930 U. S. Census. Subject- Rance Brewer family, Wood River, Madison, Illinois, Ancestry.com on-line database (accessed Apr 20, 2018, <https://www.ancestry.com/> ; 1940 U. S. Census. Rance Brewer family, Sumpter, Cumberland, Illinois, Ancestry.com on-line database (accessed Apr 20, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/> .

<sup>3</sup> Wagner, Mary Beth. "Love of Literature Drives Collection", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Jan 6, 2003, p. 1; "Leavitta B. Hamilton", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Jun 18, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> "Leavitta B. Hamilton".

<sup>6</sup> Hamilton, Leavitta. "C.T. Audience Enjoys Hilarity of Gay Comedy", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 24, 1962, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> "Leavitta B. Hamilton".

<sup>8</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase, personal communication, Apr 21, 2018.

Hamilton, a master gardener, had a life-long passion for nature.<sup>9</sup> While living in Kent, Ohio, she personally lobbied city officials to implement a composting program which would recycle the community's leaves and grass clippings. Initially, officials were not interested in her proposal, however she persisted. In time, Kent, Ohio became one of the first cities in the nation to launch such a program.<sup>10</sup> As a member of the Kent Environmental Council, she helped create a linear park on a strip of land near the Cuyahoga River. Again, the city was not initially supportive of the effort, but the KEC's efforts were eventually successful.<sup>11</sup>

Leavitta and Howard moved to a farm in Hancock County, Indiana in 1980, where she developed a wildflower preserve in the woods, located on the property. A naturalist once noted there were 70 types of plants that bloomed in Leavitta's woods, throughout the season".<sup>12</sup> In a 1989 letter to the editor, Hamilton outlined her philosophy concerning nature, when she appealed to the Greenfield, Indiana, Park Board to protect Mary Moore Park:

...it is not difficult to imagine that our grandchildren will never know the woodlands with their wild flowers and animals of our pioneer ancestors. We owe it to the future to keep as much natural land as we can.<sup>13</sup>

Leavitta Brewer Hamilton, pacifist, naturalist and environmentalist, passed away on June 15, 1999, while attending a meeting of the local garden club.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> "Park To Open For Walks", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Mar 29, 1990, p. 2, "In the Spirit of Mom's Woods", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Apr 22, 2000, p. 1, 2.

<sup>10</sup> "Tree City Tries to Make Its Piles", *Akron Beacon Journal* (Akron, Ohio), Nov 25, 1974, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> "Kent Park Project Stirs Disagreement", *Akron Beacon Journal* (Akron, Ohio), Oct 29, 1974, p. 4; "Leavitta B. Hamilton".

<sup>12</sup> "In the Spirit of Mom's Woods", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Apr 22, 2000, pp. 1, 2...

<sup>13</sup> Hamilton, Leavitta. "Save Mary Moore Park", *Daily Reporter* (Greenfield, Indiana), Jun 7, 1989, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase.

## Mary Donovan Hapgood (1886-1973)

Mary Donovan was born in North Brookfield, Massachusetts, the daughter of Irish immigrants. Her father, Dennis Donovan, was a Fenian who left Ireland for Massachusetts in 1871. He secured work in the region's shoe factories and joined the Knights of Labor. Mary was raised by an aunt, as her mother had died when Donovan was very young. In an interview from 1940, she recalled the family was quite poor, "...I didn't have to get interested in the under-dog, I was one myself."<sup>1</sup>



Her brother was a member of the IWW and the Socialist Party and through his encouragement she also joined party. Mary clashed with the Catholic Church because of her activism and political views, and as a result, "got tossed out".<sup>2</sup> She was a 1912 graduate of the University of Michigan, and then launched a career as a social activist and union organizer. Donovan was a member of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers & Office Employees Union and served as president of her local.<sup>3</sup>

Mary was a stalwart in defense of the anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti. This public support was viewed as too radical and she lost her job as an inspector with the Massachusetts Department of Labor.<sup>4</sup> Donovan joined the Sacco and Vanzetti Defense Committee and served several years as corresponding secretary. Novelist, Upton Sinclair, in his documentary novel, *Boston*, dubbed Mary Donovan the "Joan of Arc of the labor movement" for her efforts in defense of the anarchists.<sup>5</sup> Following their executions, more than 100,000 mourners viewed the coffins, while one estimate claimed nearly one million mourners stood outside the funeral home

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<sup>1</sup> Mary E. Bostwick. "Mrs. Hapgood, Socialist for Governor, Says She's Proud of One-Track Mind", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana), May 5, 1940, p. 64; Robert Bussel, *From Harvard to the Ranks of Labor: Powers Hapgood and the American Working Class*, University Park, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999, p. 102; Ancestry.com., on-line database, Subject in Public Trees,- Mary Donovan Hapgood, (accessed Feb 12, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/10235417/person/1986074827/facts>

<sup>2</sup> Mary E. Bostwick. p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Associated Press. "Precedent Is Broken by Woman's Campaign to Govern Bay State", *News-Press* (Fort Myers, Florida) Sept 6, 1928, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Vera Weisbord. "Remember Sacco & Vanzetti", *La Parola de Popolo*, July 1977 – Marxist Internet Archive, on-line database, (accessed Mar 30, 2018) <https://www.marxists.org/archive/weisbord/SaccoVanzetti.htm>

<sup>5</sup> "Mary D. Hapgood, Socialist Leader", *Indianapolis News* (Indianapolis, Indiana) Jun 26, 1973, p. 6.

and along the procession route. In a small chapel, Mary Donovan delivered their eulogy.<sup>6</sup> In her oration she declared:

You, Sacco and Vanzetti are the victims of the crassest plutocracy the world has known since ancient Rome- and now Massachusetts and America have killed you-murdered you because you were Italian anarchists- In your martyrdom we will fight on and conquer.<sup>7</sup>

While working with the defense committee, she met, and later married, Powers Hapgood, a Harvard graduate and nationally prominent union organizer.<sup>8</sup> Within weeks of their wedding, both were jailed in Pennsylvania for trying to organize a mass-meeting at Pittston during a miners' strike.<sup>9</sup> Powers was an organizer for the UMWA, and later became the New England secretary for the CIO. Mary joined him on the picket line and was just as active on her own. A newspaper story describing a Lewiston, Maine, shoe factory strike, detailed her speech to a "...wildly cheering crowd of 3,000 strikers".<sup>10</sup> A union food pantry that assisted striking workers was ordered closed by a judge, prompting Donovan and the strikers to defy the order. Mary declared, "Only the point of a bayonet" would shut down the facility.<sup>11</sup>

Donovan-Hapgood entered the political arena in 1928, when she received the Socialist Party nomination for governor of Massachusetts. Although she garnered only 7,486 votes, she finished ahead of all other third party candidates and made history as the first woman nominated for governor in Massachusetts.<sup>12</sup>

Later, the Hapgoods relocated to Indiana, Power's home state, where he received the 1932 Socialist Party nomination for governor. The party, that year, also nominated Theodore Debs for lieutenant governor and Mary entered the campaign

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<sup>6</sup> Grippo, Theodore W. *With Malice Aforethought: The Execution of Nicolai Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti*, Bloomington, Indiana, IUniverse, Inc., 2011, p. 199.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 200.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Bussel, p. 102.

<sup>9</sup> "Hapgoods' Friends Fail to Send Bail", *Scranton Republican* (Scranton, Pennsylvania) Mar 6, 1928, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> "Strikers in Maine Defy Court Order", *Independent Record* (Helena, Montana) Apr 26, 1937, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Associated Press. "Precedent Is Broken by Woman's Campaign to Govern Bay State; Our Campaigns Website, "Massachusetts Governor 1928", on-line database, (accessed Mar 31, 2018), election results for the 1928 gubernatorial race in Massachusetts.

<https://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=266565>



as a candidate for the Indiana House of Representatives.<sup>13</sup> Although Power's received more votes than any of the other third party candidates, only 18,735 Hoosier ballots (1.2%) were cast for him.<sup>14</sup> Mary remained active in the party and became Indiana's first woman nominated for governor in 1940, when she received the Socialist nomination.<sup>15</sup> As a nationally known activist and Socialist, she was mentioned numerous times as a possible Socialist Party candidate for vice president, including 1932, 1936, 1940 and 1948. Her name was placed into nomination, for second place on the ticket, at the 1936 and 1948 Socialist Party conventions.<sup>16</sup>

Powers Hapgood died in 1949 but Mary continued her fight for social justice. She helped organize the Indianapolis chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and was a founder of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union. She was active in the peace movement of the 1960's, and supported Eugene McCarthy's bid for presidency in 1968. Mary was also a supporter of the 1972 campaign of George McGovern.<sup>17</sup>

Mary Donovan Hapgood assisted in the formation of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation, in March of 1962, when she became a charter member. She died at Indianapolis, Indiana, on June 24, 1973.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Hapgood Nominated for Governorship", *Palladium-Item* (Richmond, Indiana) May 20, 1932, p. 2; "Socialists Pick Lehnert in Twelfth", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana) June 12, 1932, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> "Indiana Governor 1932", Our Campaigns Website, (accessed Mar 31, 2018), election results for the 1932 gubernatorial race in Indiana. <https://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=262954>

<sup>15</sup> Mary Bostwick. p. 64.

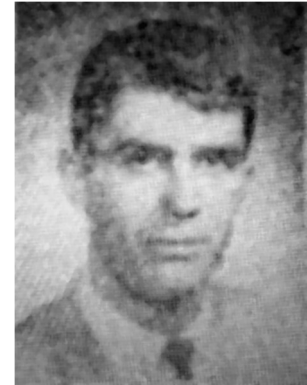
<sup>16</sup> Associated Press. "Socialists Pick Norman Thomas", *Call-Leader* (Elwood, Indiana), May 26, 1936, p. 1; "Thomas Accepts Sixth Nomination by Socialist Party", *Hartford Courant* (Hartford, Connecticut), May 10, 1948, p. 8; Associated Press. "Socialists Condemn Dies, Reds", *Times Herald* (Port Huron, Michigan), Apr 6, 1940, p. 2; United Press. "Mrs. Hapgood Mentioned as a Running Mate on Socialist Ticket", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Jan 31, 1932, p. 4.

<sup>17</sup> "Mary D. Hapgood, Socialist Leader", *Indianapolis News* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Jun 26, 1973, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid; Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012; "Mary D. Hapgood, Socialist Leader".

## William J. Hillis (1935-2018)

William Joseph Hillis was born on March 14, 1935, at Sullivan, Indiana, but was raised in Terre Haute, Indiana. His father, Paul Hillis, was a shipping clerk with a local factory.<sup>1</sup> William joined the United States Marine Corps, and served fifteen months in Korea, receiving the Purple Heart.<sup>2</sup> He was honorably discharged in December of 1956.<sup>3</sup>



Hillis was employed as a bookkeeper with the Terre Haute Savings Bank in 1958.<sup>4</sup> While working at the bank, he also enrolled at Indiana State College where he received his undergraduate degree in 1963.<sup>5</sup> While a student at ISC, William assisted with the formation of the Debs Foundation. He joined as a charter member in March of 1962, and served for a time as the foundation treasurer.<sup>6</sup> Hillis was elected as an investment officer with American Fletcher National Bank at Indianapolis in 1971.<sup>7</sup> The Indianapolis investment firm, Traub and Company, promoted William to the position of vice president in 1984.<sup>8</sup>

William Hillis died at Placida, Florida, on August 4, 2018.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Certificate of Birth -William Joseph Hillis, Mar 14, 1935, Indiana State Board of Health, Certificate Number 12041,(accessed Apr 9, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/34/?name=William+J.+Hillis&event=1963+terre+haute-vigo-indiana-usa+40776&birth=1935-3-14+sullivan-indiana-usa+2815>

<sup>2</sup> "3 Join Marines", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), July 13, 1953, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, U.S. Marines Muster Rolls 1893-1958, Microfilm Publication, T977, 460 rolls ID 922159, National Archives, Washington, D.C.,(accessed Apr 13, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=1089&h=41705438&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu232&phstart=successSource>

<sup>4</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, *Polk's Terre Haute City Directory 1958*, R.L. Polk & Co., Publishers, St Louis, MO, p. 224, (accessed Apr 14, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2469&h=654075995&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=BRP6699&phstart=successSource>

<sup>5</sup> *The Sycamore*, Indiana State College, Terre Haute, Indiana, 1963, p. 218.

<sup>6</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation,(Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 7; "Meeting of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Nov 25, 1962, Rotogravure Section.

<sup>7</sup> Tribune staff. "Nosey News Hawk" column, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Mar 18, 1971, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> "Who's News", *Indianapolis News* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Aug 20, 1984, p. 20

<sup>9</sup> "William J. Hillis", *Indianapolis Star*, (Indianapolis, Indiana), Aug 19, 2018, on-line edition.

## John Haynes Holmes (1879-1964)

Reverend John Haynes Holmes was born in Philadelphia but raised at Malden, Massachusetts, near Boston. He graduated from Harvard College in 1902 and the Harvard Divinity School in 1904. As a Unitarian minister at the Church of the Messiah in New York City, he "...delivered sermons on traditional Unitarian topics, interspersed with political sermons on social salvation and class conflict drawn from his involvement with the social and political struggles of the city".<sup>1</sup> Holmes advocated socialism as "the religion of Jesus". In 1908, he joined 20 colleagues in forming the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice. Holmes was also a co-founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in 1909, and he helped found the American Civil Liberties Union, serving for a time as its chairman. Reverend Holmes was also an American founder of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.<sup>2</sup>



He renounced all wars in a 1915 sermon. On the eve of America's entry into World War I, Holmes described the war as an "open and utter violation of Christianity".<sup>3</sup> In a 1917 committee report, prepared for the Unitarian's Montreal General Conference, Holmes defended opposition to war, stating "...the cause of all dissent is our cause". He introduced a resolution, favoring "...the ministry of reconciliation, the preparation of peace, the establishment of social justice, the proclamation of God's law". Former President William Howard Taft called the report an "insidious document" while the American Unitarian Association's magazine editor called such anti-war efforts treason.<sup>4</sup> The AUA Board ordered the defunding of churches not supporting the U.S. war effort in 1918. This led Holmes to cut his connections with the American Unitarian Association. He continued to preach anti-war sermons with federal agents regularly attending his Sunday services.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "John Haynes Holmes", *Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography*, Unitarian Universalist Association, Boston, Massachusetts, Website (accessed Apr 16, 2018) <http://uudb.org/articles/johnhaynesholmes.html>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Following the war, Holmes convinced the membership to make significant changes, including a name change to the Community Church of New York and making the church a center for assisting needs of the community. He had hoped for an independent church but the members insisted they remain affiliated with the AUA. These modifications led to a "...diverse and multicultural congregation".<sup>6</sup> The church established health clinics, sponsored political and social lectures and supported Margaret Sanger's birth control efforts.<sup>7</sup> Holmes became aware of Mahatma Gandhi in 1918 and delivered a 1921 sermon, *The Greatest Man in the World*, which highlighted Gandhi's nonviolence as providing "...a vision of what religion could be in the contemporary world".<sup>8</sup>

Following the stock market crash of 1929, Holmes, in a sermon, attacked the Stock Exchange as "the Monte Carlo of Wall Street". He went on to declare bankers and brokers were "keepers of the gambling palace".<sup>9</sup> Holmes worked with Rabbi Stephen Wise to form the city affairs committee which exposed the corruption of New York Mayor, Jimmy Walker. Their alliance led to a formal investigations that brought down the mayor.<sup>10</sup> The attack on Pearl Harbor, in December 1941, prompted Holmes to restate his opposition to all war. He understood that many members of the church would support the war and therefore he offered to resign. His parishioners were willing to accept his personal position and refused to accept his resignation.<sup>11</sup>

He retired from the Community Church pulpit in 1949 and dealt with poor health for much of his retirement.<sup>12</sup> He wrote a number of books including *The Revolutionary Function of the Modern Church*, *The Sensible Man's View of Religion and New Churches for Old*. He was also the author of an autobiography, *I Speak for Myself* and numerous articles.<sup>13</sup>

Dr. Holmes died on April 4, 1964 in New York City. His funeral was held at the Community Church of New York, with 1,400 people in attendance. An overflow of

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<sup>6</sup> "John Haynes Holmes", *Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography*.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> "Wall St. 'Monte Carlo' Denounced by Holmes", *New York Times*, Nov 25, 1929, p.30.

<sup>10</sup> "Dr. Holmes, Noted Pastor, Dies at 84", *Chicago Tribune*, Apr 4, 1964, p.14.

<sup>11</sup> "Pacifist Minister Says He'll Stay At Church", *Baltimore Sun*, Dec 17, 1941, p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> "Dr. Holmes Dies", *New York Times*, Apr 4, 1964

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

300 people listened to the service on loud speakers in the church basement. The Rev. Dr. Donald Harrington delivered the eulogy, calling Holmes “perhaps, the greatest leader of the liberal church movement of the past half-century.”<sup>14</sup>

The *Terre Haute Tribune* reported the passing of John Haynes Holmes had been received with sorrow by his Terre Haute friends. The article noted Holmes was a friend of Eugene Debs and also served as a vice president of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. It was noted that Profs. Quentin Bone, Woodrow Creason and Robert Constantine had been working with Holmes, as he prepared an “expression of admiration for Debs”, which was to be included in a new volume being prepared by the professors.<sup>15</sup>

Correspondence between Rev. John Haynes Holmes and Eugene V. Debs is included in the Debs Collection at Indiana State University’s Cunningham Memorial Library.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> “Dr. John Haynes Holmes”, *New York Daily News*, April 6, 1964, p. 35.

<sup>15</sup> “John Haynes Holmes”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 8, 1964, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990.

## Ruth Le Prade (1894-1969)

The poet, Ruth Le Prade Coward, was born near Modesto, California. While a teenager, she dropped her family name and was known as Ruth Le Prade for the remainder of her life. While she was attending high school, the nationally acclaimed poet, Edwin Markham, discovered her literary potential, and from that point, she was his protégé. She later enrolled at the University of California at Berkeley. Her first book of poetry, *A Woman Free, and Other Poems*, was published by J.F. Rowny Press, in 1917, with an introduction written by Markham. Her poetry, with Markham's endorsement, was favorably received by the critics, with positive reviews coming from the *Los Angeles Examiner* and the *Boston Evening Transcript*.<sup>1</sup>



As a socialist and pacifist, Ruth actively opposed U.S. entry into the First World War.<sup>2</sup> Her efforts included the publishing of anti-war poetry in the *Oakland World*, *California Social Democrat*, *Everyman* and other radical magazines and newspapers. She declared her poems "...are making an outcry of the great Social Revolution", referring to them as songs.<sup>3</sup> Ruth was a member of the pacifist organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and while attending meetings of the group, she met her future husband, Harold Story.<sup>4</sup> They were in attendance at a number of peace meetings disrupted by members of the Home Guard. In one episode, more than one hundred "patriots" broke up a meeting being held in a private home, where former U. S. Senator, John D. Works was expected to speak. Le Prade and Story are both mentioned in news accounts of the incident.<sup>5</sup>

The peace activities of Ruth and Harold were significant enough to incur the wrath of *The Los Angeles Times*, when the couple announced their engagement, eleven months after the end of the war. A sneering October 7, 1919 article, reported the

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<sup>1</sup> Le Prade, Ruth, Poets Garden Records, collection 0110, Online Archive of California (OAC), USC Special Collections/University Archive Library, University of Southern California, (Los Angeles, California), (accessed Mar 3, 2018), , [www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt9m3nf74n/dsc/](http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt9m3nf74n/dsc/)

<sup>2</sup> "Love Is Born of Pacifism", *Los Angeles Times*, Oct 7, 1919, p. 17. (Article announces Le Prade's engagement but then critically reviews her anti-war history).

<sup>3</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, "California Biographical Index Cards 1781-1990", Ruth Le Prade, California State Library, Sacramento, California, (accessed Mar 3, 2018),. <https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.asp?dbid=2412>

<sup>4</sup> "Love Is Born of Pacifism", p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> "Hot Time For The Pacifists", *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 4, 1917, p. 13.

upcoming marriage of the “poetess of peace”, Ruth Le Prade and her “notorious pacifist” fiancé, Harold H. Story, “late of a conscientious objectors’ camp”. *The Times* recounted how, during the war, the Home Guard had escorted a pacifist group, including Story and Le Prade, to the city limits of South Pasadena where they were cautioned not to return. The account cites Story’s admitted membership in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and police comments declared Ruth was also a member of the same “radical group”. *The Times* reminded its readers that Harold had been convicted of disturbing the peace in October of 1917. While serving his sentence for that “crime”, his draft board ordered him to military service, which he refused. This led to his incarceration at Ft Leavenworth. The vicious nature of the article, nearly a year after the conclusion of the war, underlines the environment peace activists were forced to endure during this period. Soon after their marriage, they moved to the Berkeley area where Harold enrolled in classes.<sup>6</sup>

The international outrage over the imprisonment of Eugene Debs, at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary, prompted many protests from the literary community. Comments, articles and poetry were a means for writers to express their anger concerning the repressive actions of the U.S. government. Le Prade launched a project to collect, edit and publish these statements of support, as a homage to Debs.<sup>7</sup> She gained the support of Upton Sinclair, who agreed to publish the volume and to pen the introduction. Gene Debs, in a note to Mabel Dunlap Curry, asked her to pass on that he was aware of the Le Prade book and “...am glad it will soon be out”.<sup>8</sup> Also, Theodore Debs acknowledged the project in a letter to Upton Sinclair:

“I am delighted that you are to publish the Ruth Le Prade book, more on Ruth’s account than any other. This little comrade, frail in body, has given her strength and energy for months, to say nothing of the expenses incurred, to gather material for this book and I greatly feared...she would not find anyone to back it. I cannot tell you how glad I am that you have come to the rescue by putting it in print. Glad on her account and glad on our own.”<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> “Love Is Born of Pacifism” p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> “*Debs and the Poets*, Ruth Le Prade”, *Appeal to Reason*, (Girard, Kansas), Nov 6, 1920, p. 2. (Advertisement promoting the book).

<sup>8</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. Editor. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990, Vol. 3, p. 139n.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid*, p. 142.

The letter also referenced 500 copies of the book Debs agreed to autograph. A brief controversy developed concerning these copies when Warden Zerbst refused to allow Debs to sign the books. U.S. Attorney General Palmer overturned the local decision, thus, allowing Debs to sign.<sup>10</sup> When *Debs and the Poets* was released in the fall of 1920, it included contributions from 48 writers, including Carl Sandburg, Helen Keller, H.G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw and many others.

Le Prade's son, Eugene Le Prade Story, was born in 1925. Census records indicate by 1930, Ruth and Harold had divorced.<sup>11</sup> Ruth maintained custody of her son and focused on her literary pursuits. Eugene, upon graduating from high school, entered the US Army during World War II. He was captured during the Battle of the Bulge, in 1944, and died in a POW camp.<sup>12</sup>

Ruth's continued efforts in support of social justice and literary projects continued for the remainder of her life. She created a "Poets' Garden" at her home, where Edwin Markham planted a sycamore tree. Trees were also planted in honor of Chaucer, Kipling, Shakespeare and numerous other writers.<sup>13</sup> Each year, on Markham's birthday, a party was held in Poets' Garden, with music and poetry readings, often attended by as many as 100 writers.<sup>14</sup>

Le Prade also played a significant role in the campaign to reverse the death sentence of Wesley Robert Wells, a prisoner in the California penal system. Her efforts included letter writing and direct appeals to Gov. Pat Brown. Eventually, the campaign to remove Wells from death row was successful.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Debs, Eugene V., "Debs Describes How Pardon Was Refused to Him by Wilson", *St Louis Star and Times*, Jul 23, 1922, p. 15 (Debs describes the book autographing controversy).

<sup>11</sup> Ancestry.com, 1930 U.S. Census, Subject- Ruth Story (Le Prade), Los Angeles, California, (accessed Mar. 4, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/20174965/person/908051227/facts?src=>

<sup>12</sup> "Fire Commission Aide Learns of Son's Death", *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1945, p. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Ruth Le Prade. Poets Garden Records, American Literature Archival Collections, University of Southern California, (Los Angeles, California), USC Libraries Department of Special Collections, (accessed Mar 3, 2018) <http://libguides.usc.edu/c.php?g=235099&p=1560332>

<sup>14</sup> "Memory of Edwin Markham Paid Tribute on Birthday", *Los Angeles Times*, Apr 21, 1941, p. 38; "Poet's Garden Planting Fetes Edwin Markham", *Los Angeles Times*, Apr 25, 1948, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Ruth Le Prade. Poets Garden Records.



Ruth continued to show her admiration for Eugene V. Debs when she became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in March of 1962.<sup>16</sup>

Ruth Le Prade died at Los Angeles, California, on May 25, 1969. Upon her death, a bequest was provided to the University of Southern California Library, to fund an annual Le Prade-Markham Poetry program, in memory of Edwin Markham.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>17</sup> Ruth Le Prade, Poets Garden Records. "Browne to Narrate Poetry Program", *Los Angeles Times*, Apr 20, 1975, p. 136.

## Mitchell Loeb (1889-1968)

Mitchell Loeb was born in Poland on December 24, 1887, to Solomon and Pauline Garfinkle Loeb. The Loeb family immigrated to the United States in 1900, settling in New York City.<sup>1</sup> Loeb became a successful commercial artist, an activist in the Socialist Party and an advocate for American labor.<sup>2</sup>



He was selected as a presidential elector from New York for the Socialist Party, in the 1912 election.<sup>3</sup> In 1918, Mitchell directed Meyer London's campaign, in New York's twelfth congressional district. London was the incumbent congressman, having been elected as the nation's second Socialist congressman in 1914 and again in 1916. The Democrats and Republicans ran a fusion campaign in 1918 in an effort to unseat London.<sup>4</sup> On Election Day, there were reports by Socialist poll watchers and lawyers that they had been ejected from polling places. Campaign manager Loeb, reported being beaten unconscious by a policeman who was assisted by a Tammany member of the election board. There were also charges of defaced ballots and the buying of votes. The fusion ticket received 52.9% of the vote to London's 47%. Even though the London campaign saw an increased vote over 1916, they were unable to overcome the fusion strategy, coupled with Tammany's corrupt actions.<sup>5</sup>

Loeb, the artist, secured work with the *Jewish Daily Forward* and the *Jewish Day*, just after the end of World War I.<sup>6</sup> The advertising trade magazine, *Printer's Ink*, reported in August of 1919, that Loeb had been a commercial art instructor in the New York City schools and was the art director for Arthur Rosenberg

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<sup>1</sup> Geni.com website, on-line database, Subject – Mitchell Loeb, New York, New York (accessed Apr 26, 2018) <https://www.geni.com/people/mitchell-loeb/6000000002799217798>

<sup>2</sup> Legacy.com, on-line database, "Jacqueline V. Loeb Obituary", Nov 1, 2017, Legacy.com, on-line database (accessed Apr 25, 2018)

<http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/name/jacqueline-loeb-obituary?pid=155873686&view=guestbook>

<sup>3</sup> "Candidates Nominated by the Socialist Party", *Buffalo Morning Express* (Buffalo, New York), Nov 1, 1912, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Goldberg, Gordon J. *Meyer London: A Biography of the Socialist New York Congressman 1871-1926*, Jefferson, North Carolina, McFarland & Co. Inc., Publishers, 2013, p. 212-214.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> "Mitchell Loeb Papers", The Tamiment Library & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives Website, Loeb biographical note, TAM.627, (viewed on Apr 26, 2018) [http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/tamwag/tam\\_627/](http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/tamwag/tam_627/)

Advertising and Printing.<sup>7</sup> By 1920, Loeb had opened his own commercial art studio, the Mitchell Loeb Art Service, in New York City.<sup>8</sup>

Loeb became noted for his colorful posters, including those supporting a Jewish homeland in Palestine; posters opposing fascism; as well as American political posters.<sup>9</sup> New York City Directories show Loeb as an active artist, as late as 1960.

Mitchell responded to the Debs Foundation appeal in 1962 and became a charter member. In 1963, he was elected to the organization's board of directors.<sup>10</sup> On April 5, 1964, Loeb joined Norman Thomas and Tilford Dudley in a thirty minute radio broadcast discussing the Eugene V. Debs Home.<sup>11</sup>

Mitchell Loeb died on November 18, 1968, in New York City.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> "Mitchell Loeb", *Printer's Ink* (New York, New York) Printer's Ink Publishing Co., Vol. 108, August 21, 1919, p. 164.

<sup>8</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, "U.S. City Directories 1822-1995, Subject- Mitchell Loeb, New York City, 1920, p. 1148, (accessed Apr 27, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2469&h=77699284&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=zLu244&phstart=successSource>

<sup>9</sup> "Mitchell Loeb", Palestine Poster Project Archives, Dan Walsh, Silver Spring, Maryland, 2009, on line database (accessed Apr 27, 2018) <https://www.palestineposterproject.org/artist/mitchell-loeb-1889-1968> ; "Roosevelt 1940 Presidential Campaign Poster" (American Labor Party of New York) by Mitchell Loeb, liveauctioneers.com on-line database (accessed Apr 27, 2018, [https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/44933844\\_roosevelt-1940-presidential-campaign-poster](https://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/44933844_roosevelt-1940-presidential-campaign-poster)

<sup>10</sup> "Teamsters' Gift for Debs Home", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Nov 10, 1963, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> "Thomas on Air", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 5, 1964, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> "Mitchell Loeb", Geni.com.

## Dora Mayer (1891-1989)

She was the daughter of pacifist and socialist, Rev. James Henry George Chapple and Florence Gough Chapple. Dora Bessie Valerie Chapple was born at Barossa, Australia, where her father was an officer in the Salvation Army, assigned to mission work in that region. Later the family relocated to New Zealand where Rev. Chapple became an ordained Presbyterian minister. He was quite vocal in the struggle for social justice, and openly defended the needs of the working class, prompting him to join the Socialist Party. His social and political views soon led to a forced resignation from the pulpit. Rev. Chapple then organized a Unitarian ministry.<sup>1</sup> Dora focused on her education, earning a teaching degree from New Zealand's Otago University.<sup>2</sup>



Rev. Chapple relocated his family to neutral America during the first year of World War I. Just before America entered the war, most of the Chapple family moved back to New Zealand. Chapple continued to speak out against the war, and as a result, he spent eleven months in a New Zealand jail for making “seditious utterances”.<sup>3</sup> Dora, however, remained in San Francisco.<sup>4</sup>

In America, Dora became an active socialist and pacifist. She began writing poetry which she shared in the *Oakland World*, a Socialist Party newspaper.<sup>5</sup> While living in San Francisco, she met and married Hendrik S. Hagemeyer, a bookkeeper, who had emigrated from the Netherlands. Dora and Hendrik had two sons, David and Max, and in 1924, the family moved to Carmel by the Sea. Hendrik secured a position as a salesman while Dora worked in the public library. Her artistic talent and poetry soon linked them to the bohemian society of Carmel. Dora became a contributing editor to the town's alternative newspaper, *The Carmelite* and also

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<sup>1</sup> Chapple, Geoff. “Chapple, James Henry George”, *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 1996, website, (accessed Jan 28, 2018) <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3c12/chapple-james-henry-george>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, “Dora Valerie Bessie Chapple Hagemeyer”, California Biographical Index Cards 1781-1990, California State Library (Sacramento, California), [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=CABiogAuthors&h=5518&indiv=try&o\\_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=2442](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=CABiogAuthors&h=5518&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=2442)

<sup>3</sup> Chapple, Geoff;

<sup>4</sup> Brown, Kathleen A. “Dissenters from the Religion of Patriotism: Women's Poetic Response to World War I in the *Oakland World* (Oakland, California), *Peace and Change*, Vol. 40, Issue 1, Jan 20, 2015, Wiley Online Library website, (accessed Apr 27, 2018), <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/pech.1211>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

wrote for two other publications, *The Carmel Pine Cone* and *The Carmel Cymbal*. In 1926, Hendrik was killed in an automobile accident. After his death, Dora and the boys remained in Carmel.<sup>6</sup>

Hagemeyer's circle of friends included Hugh Comstock, noted house designer, known for his "Hansel & Gretel" style cottages. Hugh's brother, Hurd, was an Evanston, Illinois, banker, who retired and returned to Carmel in 1930. Hugh introduced them and by 1931, Dora and Hurd were married. She continued her writing career, publishing more than a dozen volumes of poetry and contributing many of her poems to newspapers and magazines.<sup>7</sup> Hurd Comstock died in 1952.<sup>8</sup>

Five years later, Dora married the acclaimed sculptor, Louis Mayer. A newspaper account reported Mayer had received a book of poetry from Hagemeyer as a Christmas present in 1956. Louis declared he was "struck by fire" when he read Dora's poetry and they were married the following August. The couple spent their honeymoon traveling in Europe. During the trip, Dora and Louis stopped to see his close friend, Dr. Albert Schweitzer.<sup>9</sup> While in Germany, Dr. Schweitzer performed a ceremony, marrying them a second time.<sup>10</sup>

Louis and Dora Mayer were both charter members of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. The couple traveled to Terre Haute for the September 23, 1967, dedication of the Debs Home as a National Historic Landmark, when Louis was in his mid-nineties.<sup>11</sup>

Louis died on January 21, 1969, at Carmel, California.<sup>12</sup> Dora Mayer passed away on March 18, 1989 at Monterey, California.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Crosse, John. "The Schindlers In Carmel, 1924", Southern California Architectural History Blog, (accessed on Feb 4, 2018), (details of Hagemeyer family in Carmel, California) <https://socalarchhistory.blogspot.com/2012/07/>

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "Judge Comstock's Brother Dies", *Petaluma Argus-Courier* (Petaluma, California), May 10, 1952, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> "Sculptor, 87 Weds Poetess; Her Book Set Him on Fire", *Morning News* (Wilmington, Delaware), Aug 17, 1957, p. 2

<sup>10</sup> "Louis Mayer, 99, Dies; Famous Painter, Sculptor", *Poughkeepsie Journal* (Poughkeepsie, New York), Feb 4, 1969, p. 15

<sup>11</sup> "Noted Sculptor Coming For Debs Home Event", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Sept. 17, 1967, p. 18

<sup>12</sup> "Louis Mayer, 99".

<sup>13</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, "Dora Chapple Hagemeyer Mayer", California Death Index, (accessed Jan 17, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=5180&h=4717380&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=BRP6811&phstart=successSource>

## Louis Mayer (1869-1969)

Louis was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on November 26, 1869, the son of Frederick and Philippine Mayer who had emigrated from Germany to America around 1850. Census data indicates both his father and mother were shoemakers.<sup>1</sup> Mayer began his study of art at the Wisconsin Art Institute, training under Otto von Ernst and Richard Lorenz. He continued his training at the Weimar Art School, the Munich Academy of Fine Arts and the Julian Academy in Paris.<sup>2</sup>



Mayer returned to Milwaukee, where he became an important figure in the city's art community. In addition to his work as a painter, Louis was a co-founder of what would become the Milwaukee Art Institute, and served as an art critic for a Milwaukee newspaper. He was nationally known, receiving a Silver Medal at the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition, for oil painting. Mayer eventually moved east, where he established a studio on 42<sup>nd</sup> Street in New York City. He also purchased a farm, just north of the city, at Fishkill, New York, where he built a house and studio. It was in New York, where he became internationally known as a sculptor. His works included busts of Lincoln, Albert Schweitzer, Eugene Debs, Robert La Follette, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Norman Thomas. He also completed a bronze portrait of Walt Whitman and created a sculpture of Beethoven for the Frankfurt, Germany Concert Hall.<sup>3</sup>

The bust of Eugene V. Debs was created by Mayer in a borrowed studio at Akron, Ohio, in between sessions of Debs' 1918 federal trial, at Cleveland.<sup>4</sup> Plaster copies of the bust were presented to the Rand School and to Kate Debs.<sup>5</sup> It is unclear why the bust was not cast in bronze as planned. That did not occur until 1968, when

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<sup>1</sup>Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1870 and 1880 U.S. Census, Subjects-Frederick and Phillippine Mayer, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, (accessed Apr 27, 2018). <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/44627043/person/130052200271/facts> ; <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/44627043/person/130042761067/facts>

<sup>2</sup> "Louis Mayer", Wisconsin Visual Art Achievement Awards Website on-line database, (accessed Jan 17, 2018), (biography of Louis Mayer, inducted into the WVAAA in 2006). <http://wvaaa.com/inductee/louis-mayer-28>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid; Levy, Hannah Heidi. *Famous Wisconsin Artists and Architects*, Oregon, Wisconsin, Badger Books, Inc., 2004, p. 83, 84.

<sup>4</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, editor. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Champaign, Illinois, University of Illinois, Press, 1990, vol. 3, p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, vol. 2, p. 519.

Mayer, then ninety eight years old, presented the bronze casting as part of the Debs birthplace memorial, located on the Indiana State University campus.<sup>6</sup> The bust was set on a large limestone pedestal, located in front of the University Arena.<sup>7</sup> The Mayer bust of Debs remained at that location for a number of years, before being moved to the Debs Home. The sculptor also created a second bronze casting of the Debs bust, which was placed in the Smithsonian, national portrait gallery in Washington, D.C., in October of 1968.<sup>8</sup>

Louis Mayer once described his recollection of a speech made by Debs. He watched the faces of the crowd, as Debs spoke, and recorded in his mind the response of those in attendance:

I'll never forget, the old gentlemen who stood just drinking in whatever Debs said, with tears running down their cheeks, and ...an Italian newsboy... leaning on the table with his eyes riveted on Debs, like some of the little murals of cherubs in the Madonna pictures.<sup>9</sup>

In a February 28, 1919, letter from Debs to John Haynes Holmes, he offered his opinion of his friend and famed sculptor, Louis Mayer: “He is one of the really fine souls who grows upon one with contact, and becomes nearer and dearer with association”.<sup>10</sup>

Mayer and his first wife, Frida “May” Benzenberg, were married for forty eight years, until her death in 1952. The couple had two sons, Sandro and Philip.<sup>11</sup> At the age of eighty seven, Louis married the noted California poet, Dora Hagemeyer, in 1957. The couple maintained homes in both New York and in Carmel, California.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> “Eugene V. Debs Birthplace to Be Marked”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Sept. 8, 1968, p. 71.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> “Eugene V. Debs Birthplace to Be Marked”.

<sup>9</sup> Young, Jeremy C. *The Age of Charisma: Leaders, Followers and Emotions in American Society, 1870-1940*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2017, p. 110.

<sup>10</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, editor. Vol 2, p. 495.

<sup>11</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Public Family Trees, Subject- Frida May Benzenberg Mayer (accessed Mar 15, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/56060503/person/36160978704/facts?src=>

<sup>12</sup> “Louis Mayer, 99, Dies; Famous Painter, Sculptor”, *Poughkeepsie Journal* (Poughkeepsie, New York), Feb 4, 1969, p. 15.

In addition to his donation of the Debs bust, in 1968, he and Dora were both charter members of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. They also attended the dedication of the Debs Home as a National Historic Landmark in 1967, when Louis was 98 years old.<sup>13</sup> Louis Mayer died on January 21, 1969, at Carmel, California.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Noted Sculptor Coming For Debs Home Event", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Sept 17, 1967, p. 18

<sup>14</sup> "Louis Mayer, 99, Dies".



## John McDaniel (1903-1978)

A native of Terre Haute, Indiana, John P. McDaniel was born, on November 26, 1903, the son of James O. and Nora McDaniel. His father was a railroad laborer.<sup>1</sup> He became the business agent of Local 197, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators, in Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>2</sup> John also served as second vice president of the union's state organization. In another labor post, he was selected as vice president of the Vigo County Building and Construction Trades Council.<sup>3</sup> City directories and Census data identify McDaniel as a painter, as early as 1930.



John and other union painters, often volunteered their time and skills to support community projects, including redecorating the Vigo County Historical Society. McDaniel and others, also assisted with painting the Paul Dresser Birthplace, when it was restored in 1963.<sup>4</sup>

John's wife, Dr. Marjorie Clark McDaniel, was a professor of elementary education at Indiana State University.<sup>5</sup> She was also president of the Vigo County Council of Classroom Teachers, Local 764, of the American Federation of Teachers.<sup>6</sup>

John P. McDaniel, painters' union official and Debs Foundation charter member, died at Terre Haute, Indiana on January 7, 1978.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1910 U. S. Census-Subject James O. McDaniel, Terre Haute, Indiana, (accessed Jan 30, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/collections/7884/records/6985096/printer-friendly?>; Ancestry.com, on-line database, Death Certificate-John P. McDaniel, Indiana State Board of Health, registration number 78-003580, filed Jan 18, 1978, Marie McDaniel, informant, (accessed Jan 30, 2018), [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=IndianaVitalsDeaths&h=3537797&indiv=try&o\\_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7884](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=IndianaVitalsDeaths&h=3537797&indiv=try&o_vc=Record:OtherRecord&rhSource=7884)

<sup>2</sup> "McDaniel Named Painters' Official", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 27, 1960, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> "Vigo County Building Trades Council", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 17, 1958, p. 7

<sup>4</sup> "Unions Donate Work At Museum", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jan 31, 1958, p. 9; "Terre Haute Painters Aid Dresser Memorial Restoration", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Sept 14, 1963, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> "Dr. McDaniel, Educator, Dies", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 15, 1976, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> "Appears on Teacher's Conference Panel", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Oct 23, 1957, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Death Certificate- John P. McDaniel.

## Marjorie McDaniel (1912-1976)

Dr. Marjorie Causey Reynolds McDaniel was born in Jackson Parish, Louisiana, on January 24, 1912, the daughter of Elmore William Causey and Jennie Harris Causey.<sup>1</sup> Her father, “Elmo” Causey was a farmer.<sup>2</sup>



Marjorie attended Louisiana Polytechnic Institute at Ruston, Louisiana, before transferring to the University of Houston where she completed her B.A. and graduate degrees.<sup>3</sup>

She was briefly married to Blanchard Reynolds, in Arkansas, but divorced in 1938.<sup>4</sup> They were the parents of one son, William Reynolds.<sup>5</sup> During World War II she served 21 months in the U.S. military.<sup>6</sup> She moved to Terre Haute, Indiana in 1952, where she accepted a faculty position with Indiana State Teachers College, teaching at the ISTC Laboratory School. Marjorie completed her doctorate at ISTC in 1957.<sup>7</sup> While at Indiana State, she was recognized nationally for her efforts in support of programs for gifted children.<sup>8</sup>

Marjorie was active in her union, serving as president of the Vigo Council of the American Federation of Teachers Local 764. During a property tax dispute that blocked teacher pay, McDaniel organized efforts to help teachers with personal

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Public Trees-Marjorie Elizabeth Causey McDaniel, Jackson Parish, Louisiana, (accessed Jun 23, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/42401845/person/19779225941/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1910 U. S. Census, Subject- Elmore William Causey, Jackson Parish, Louisiana, (accessed Jun 23, 2018) [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7884&h=9194417&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP7374&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7884&h=9194417&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP7374&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>3</sup> “Checkup Shows Scholarship At Louisiana Tech Has Improved During Each Succeeding Term”, *Ruston Leader* (Ruston, Louisiana), Jun 11, 1930, p. 1 ; “Dr. McDaniel, Educator, Dies”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 15, 1976, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Arkansas Divorce Records 1929-1939, (Accessed Jun 23, 2018)

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=8770&h=92037&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP7379&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=8770&h=92037&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP7379&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>5</sup> “Dr. McDaniel, Educator, Dies”.

<sup>6</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs, BIRLS Death File 1850-2010, (Accessed Jun 23, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/42401845/person/19779225941/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>7</sup> “Dr. McDaniel, Educator, Dies”..

<sup>8</sup> “Society Honors Dr. McDaniel”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) May 5, 1964, p. 10; “Association for Gifted Children Plans Chapter”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Oct 20, 1961, p 7.

emergencies, negotiated with local retailers and other lending agencies to accommodate the financial emergency of teachers and convinced teachers to remain on the job until the dispute was settled.<sup>9</sup>

On August 21, 1957, she married John Paul McDaniel, in Terre Haute, Indiana. John was the Business Agent for Local 197 of the Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators Union. John and Marjorie both joined the Eugene V. Debs Foundation, as charter members, in March of 1962.

Dr. Marjorie McDaniel died on June 13, 1976, at Terre Haute. Max F. Wright, Indiana AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer and ordained minister, officiated at Marjorie's funeral.<sup>10</sup> This writer recalls Max Wright, who was also member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation.

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<sup>9</sup> "Annexation Upheld by High Court", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Dec 10, 1957, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> "Dr. McDaniel, Educator, Dies".

## Duncan McDonald (1873-1965)

Duncan was born on November 25, 1873, at Ore Bank, Ohio, the son of Scottish immigrants, Thomas and Mary Medill McDonald.<sup>1</sup> The family lived in Ohio and Pennsylvania before relocating to La Salle County Illinois, where his father found employment in the region's coal mines. Duncan also entered the mines, beginning work when he was only eleven years of age. He briefly read law in a local attorney's office, but abandoned that effort when he became involved with organized labor. Duncan joined the Knights of Labor and served as secretary of the local. Later, he joined the United Mine Workers of America. The UMW sent him to Pennsylvania and Colorado to organize and to assist with strikes. He was placed on the Illinois Miners' executive board in 1904. Later, he served as secretary-treasurer of the organization.<sup>2</sup>



McDonald was elected president of United Mine Workers, District 12, in 1909. His term of office coincided with the Cherry Mine Disaster, where 259 men and boys were killed in a deadly fire. President McDonald raced to the scene and assisted with rescue attempts. He also ordered a roll call of impacted families and helped raise money for their relief. McDonald was appointed by the Illinois governor to an independent commission which was responsible for the distribution of those funds. Duncan was later elected president of the Illinois Federation of Labor, serving from 1919-1920.<sup>3</sup>

For fifteen years McDonald was an active Socialist, and as a nationally recognized labor leader, he had considerable influence within the party. At the 1912 Socialist Party convention, in Indianapolis, his name was placed into nomination for president, however, Duncan withdrew in favor of the re-nomination of Eugene Debs.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1880 U. S. Census, Subject- Thomas McDonald Family, Hickory, Mercer, Pennsylvania, (accessed Feb 11, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/65398918/person/46140399117/facts?ssrc=> ; "Duncan McDonald Papers, 1894-1961", Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum website, <http://alplm-cdi.com/chroniclingillinois/items/show/440>

<sup>2</sup> Duncan McDonald Papers".

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "Debs Is Named For President", *Decatur Herald* (Decatur, Illinois), May 18, 1912, p. 1.

Duncan grew increasingly frustrated with what he believed was a developing inefficiency and bureaucracy in the labor movement. He viewed many of these problems as being linked with corruption. When Eugene Debs published an article in the January, 1917, issue of *Rip Saw*, “False Leaders of the Workers”, Duncan quickly responded to Debs, declaring his agreement:

No institution in America can be of more real service to the workers than a properly conducted labor union but there is no institution in America that can become more corrupt when used by a band of unscrupulous politicians to further their own interests.<sup>5</sup>

Beginning in 1919, Duncan assisted in the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party. He supported the new party’s 1920 presidential candidate, attorney, Parsley P. Christensen, and was the Farmer-Labor Party candidate for Congress from his district in Illinois. McDonald received 11% of the vote in his race for Congress and was again the party’s congressional nominee in 1922. Duncan also launched a speaking tour, traveling throughout the country to promote the party and its candidates.<sup>6</sup> In 1924, at the Farmer-Labor national convention, in St Paul, Minnesota, Duncan McDonald was nominated as the party’s choice for president. The convention, with McDonald’s support, agreed to withdraw their ticket from the field if Senator Robert M. La Follette ran for president. A month later, La Follette accepted the Progressive Party nomination and Duncan’s short lived presidential campaign came to an end.<sup>7</sup>

Over time, Duncan withdrew from national and labor politics, however he was a speaker at the dedication of the monument to Mother Jones at Mt Olive, Illinois, in 1936.<sup>8</sup> He and his wife, Nella, purchased an antiquarian book store in Springfield, Illinois, which they operated until her death in 1959.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990, vol. 2, pp. 280-281. (Correspondence from Duncan McDonald to Eugene Debs, Jan 3, 1917).

<sup>6</sup> “Duncan McDonald”, Sangamon Link website, Sangamon County (Illinois) Historical Society (accessed Feb 11, 2018) <http://sangamoncountyhistory.org/wp/?p=5868>

<sup>7</sup> “Duncan McDonald Named as “Third Party” Head”, *Palatine Enterprise* (Palatine, Illinois), Jun 27, 1924, p. 6; “McDonald Explains Withdrawal from Race”, *Decatur Herald* (Decatur, Illinois), July 13, 1924, p. 6.

<sup>8</sup> “Duncan McDonald Papers”.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

Duncan provided support for the preservation of the Eugene Debs home and the creation of the Debs Foundation when he became a charter member of the organization in March of 1962.<sup>10</sup>

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Duncan McDonald died at Springfield, Illinois, on November 19, 1965, at the age of 91.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup>"Duncan McDonald, Pioneer in Labor Movement, Dies", *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield, Illinois), Nov 20, 1965.

## **James Bradley Miller (1884-1976)**

James Bradley Miller was born in Orange County, Indiana, on January 9, 1884, the son of Absalom and Mary Pierce Miller.<sup>1</sup> He was raised in Lawrence County, Indiana, where his father was a successful farmer. According to the 1900 U. S. Census, their farm was free of any mortgage. The same census report shows Bradley as being 16 years old and working as a farm laborer.<sup>2</sup>

Bradley married Lilly Martin on September 21, 1916, at Terre Haute, Indiana. At that time, Bradley was working as a car repairer in the Milwaukee Railroad shops, located at Terre Haute.<sup>3</sup> Bradley continued to work for the Milwaukee Railroad, being listed as a machinist for the railroad in the 1930 U. S. Census.<sup>4</sup>

## **Lilly Martin Miller (1887-1975)**

Lilly Martin was born in Monroe County, Indiana on July 12, 1887, the daughter of Rial Martin and Dellia Axxom Martin.<sup>5</sup> The family later moved to Morgan County, Indiana, where her father was in the hotel business. Rial Martin died in 1900 when Lilly was 12 years old.<sup>6</sup> She married James Bradley Miller on September 21, 1916.<sup>7</sup> They resided in Terre Haute, Indiana, where the couple raised three daughters, Thelma, Violet and Maxine.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Marriage Records Vigo County Indiana, Subject- James Bradley Miller & Lilly Shelburn (accessed Jun 17, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?viewrecord=1&r=an&db=FS1INMarriages1811to1959&indiv=try&h=4655519>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1900 U.S. Census, Subject-Abslom Miller, Lawrence County, Indiana, (accessed Jun 17, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/1026404/person/220014244197/facts>

<sup>3</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Marriage Records Vigo County Indiana, - Subjects James Bradley Miller & Lilly Shelburn; Constantine, J. Robert, editor, unpublished manuscript, *Debs Remembered*, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, essay of Lilly Miller, "The Change in the Lives of James B and Lilly Miller Brought About by the Death of Eugene V. Debs".

<sup>4</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1930 U.S. Census, -Subject-James B. Miller, Terre Haute, Indiana, (accessed June 18, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6224>

<sup>5</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Marriage Records Vigo County, Indiana-Subjects James Bradley Miller and Lilly Shelburn.

<sup>6</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1900 U.S Census, Subject-Rial Martin, Washington, Morgan, Indiana, (accessed Jun 18, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7602> ; "Morgan County News", *Jackson County Banner* (Brownstown, Indiana, Aug 16, 1900, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Marriage Records Vigo County Indiana, Subject- James Bradley Miller & Lilly Shelburn (accessed Jun 17, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?viewrecord=1&r=an&db=FS1INMarriages1811to1959&indiv=try&h=4655519>

<sup>8</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, editor. Unpublished manuscript, *Debs Remembered*, Essay of Lilly Martin.

Brad and Lilly Miller became charter members of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in 1962. At the time of the organization's founding, Lilly Miller submitted an essay to the Debs Foundation, outlining their connection with Eugene Debs. Lilly reported her husband worked in the Milwaukee Railroad shops in the 1920's and that she was raising their daughters and taking in work at home. Just before Eugene Debs died, a co-worker gave Brad a socialist newspaper, which they found quite interesting. Then the news came that Eugene Debs had passed away. Lilly and Brad traveled to the Terre Haute Labor Temple, where the body was lying in repose. She described the scene as they viewed the body of Eugene Debs:

As we stood by him there, we both seemed to feel a shock and a terrible pull of some kind. Neither of us could quite explain it and never have yet. We clasped hands and vowed right then we would do our best to help keep the work he did going. It seemed the way just opened for us.<sup>9</sup>

Lilly and Brad began an effort that would link them with comrades Theodore Debs, Eugene's brother; Shubert Sebree, former glass worker, who was nominated for Congress by the Socialists in 1918; and the Barker brothers, Frank and Orville, local coal miners. Since Brad was working full time, she did much of the organizing work that led to the creation of the "Debs local". The group brought in speakers from across the country, including Milwaukee, Chicago and New York. Speakers were also dispatched from the national (Socialist Party) headquarters. Lilly remembered selling newspapers and books, including copies of, *Walls and Bars*, written by Eugene Debs but published after his death:

The comrades helped with meetings for the purpose of petitioning for aged pensions, social security, unemployment insurance, and we carried on as best we knew how and it seemed Gene was right by our side through it all, and is there yet.

The Millers were active in the Socialist Party for ten years, but were forced to give up active involvement because of illness in the family. Lilly stated

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid.



they began paying dues in 1926 and never missed a monthly payment. Concerning the effort to save the Debs home, Lilly stated:

I was never happier in my life than when I knew the Debs home was going to be saved as a shrine for him...In all of these years of being Socialists, we do not feel we are of one race of people, but the whole human race. It all makes us very happy.<sup>10</sup>

Lilly Miller died at Shelburn, Indiana on September 7, 1975, at the age of 88.<sup>11</sup> James Bradley was 92 when he died on June 1, 1976, at Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> "Mrs. Lilly Miller", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Sept 8, 1975, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> "James B. Miller", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 2, 1976, p. 2.

## Clyde R. Miller (1888-1977)

Professor Clyde Raymond Miller was born on July 7, 1888, in Columbus, Ohio, to Charles E. and Josephine Fetter Miller.<sup>1</sup> His father is listed in the 1900 U.S. Census as a commercial salesman for oil products.<sup>2</sup> He is probably the least likely charter member of the Debs Foundation, having been the chief witness against Debs, in the Federal trial, following the Canton speech, in 1918.<sup>3</sup>



Clyde received his A.B. from Ohio State University in 1911, where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa and also Sigma Xi, the scientific research honor society.<sup>4</sup> He obtained his Ed. D from American International College at Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1937.<sup>5</sup>

Miller worked in a variety positions following his graduation from Ohio State University. By 1914, he was the advertising assistant manager for the F & R Lazarus Department Store in Columbus, Ohio.<sup>6</sup> The *Ohio State Monthly* reported Miller had left the Lazarus store, late in 1915, to join the editorial department of the *Ohio State Journal* in Columbus. The report also indicated he was working on

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Ohio Births and Christenings Index, 1774-1973, (accessed Apr 8, 2018); [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2541&h=439010&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=zLu267&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2541&h=439010&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu267&_phstart=successSource)

Find A Grave [database on-line], (accessed Apr 8, 2018), [www.findagrave.com/memorial/71647307](http://www.findagrave.com/memorial/71647307) ; "Obituary Notes-Charles E Miller", *The Fourth Estate* (New York City, New York), May 28, 1921, p. 23 (special note-researchers and on-line websites have often confused Prof. Clyde R. Miller with a fellow Ohioan, Charles R. Miller, who was born in Nov. 1888 and died in Alameda, California, in 1958).

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, *1900 U.S. Federal Census*, Subject- Charles E. Miller, Columbus, Ward 6, Franklin, Ohio, (accessed Apr 8, 2018), [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7602&h=39942310&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=zLu269&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7602&h=39942310&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu269&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>3</sup> Miller, Clyde R. "The Man I Sent to Prison", *The Progressive*, October, 1963, p. 33-35.

<sup>4</sup> *The Makio*, University Yearbook, 1911, Vol.XXX, New Franklin Printing, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, pp. 55, 310, 311.

<sup>5</sup> Columbia University Human Resources. "Miller, Clyde R. Appointment Card", July 1, 1935, Columbia University Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, (Joanna Rios, Records Manager), Columbia University, New York City, New York.

<sup>6</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, *Columbus, Ohio, City Directory 1914*, R.L. Polk & Co., Columbus, Ohio, Vol. XXXIX, p. 1189, [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7602&h=39942310&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=zLu269&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=7602&h=39942310&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu269&_phstart=successSource)

a master's degree at OSU.<sup>7</sup> In February of 1917, the OSU Alumni Association reported Miller had been hired by the editorial department of the *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*.<sup>8</sup>

Clyde Miller, a Republican, voted for Woodrow Wilson in the 1916 presidential election because, "he had kept us out of war, hadn't he?"<sup>9</sup> Working as a reporter for the *Cleveland Plain-Dealer*, during the first part of 1917, Miller changed his mind about the war, traveling to Canada in order to enlist. When he was rejected because of poor eyesight, he returned to Cleveland where he decided to use his journalism talents to help push America into the war.<sup>10</sup> When the U.S. entered the conflict in April of 1917, Miller tried to enlist, but was rejected again because of his vision. Clyde declared, "...not even selective service would select me".<sup>11</sup> He finally got his chance to directly support the war effort when the *Plain-Dealer* assigned him to the "Federal beat". In this role, he regularly met with U. S. District Attorney Edwin Wertz, and was allowed to accompany federal agents on raids to arrest draft evaders and people suspected of sabotage or pro-German political views.<sup>12</sup>

In June 1918, Miller's editor dispatched him to Canton, Ohio, to interview Eugene Debs. He first met Debs in the lobby of the Courtland Hotel, and later recalled that meeting:

He was a tall, lean man with a gaunt face and sparse, graying hair. He wore a black alpaca coat and sleazy gray trousers. As I introduced myself to him I was impressed by his friendliness, and, above all, by his eyes which seemed to radiate tenderness. I liked him immediately. This man, I felt, is not only the embodiment of courtesy and kindness, but he has a sense of right and wrong. I found it impossible to believe that he did not want the utter destruction of those dirty Huns.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> "Class Personals", *Ohio State Monthly* (Columbus, Ohio) Ohio State University Alumni Association, Dec 1915-Jan 1916, Vol. 7 p. 46.

<sup>8</sup> "Class Personals", *Ohio State Monthly* (Columbus, Ohio) Ohio State University Alumni Association, Feb 1917, Vol VIII, No. 6, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Miller, Clyde R. "The Man I Sent to Prison", *The Progressive*, October, 1963, p. 33, (provided by Jess Pernsteiner-*The Progressive*, Madison, Wisconsin).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 34.

During the interview, Debs explained to Miller that the war was caused by greedy rich men on both sides who were exploiting millions of people. Debs went on to declare:

It is appalling to think of young American boys trained to plunge their bayonets into the quivering flesh of German lads, whom they have never met; appalling to think of German boys trained to kill young Americans, to stab, and to blow them to pieces. I'm against this war with every drop of blood in my body.<sup>14</sup>

Miller challenged Debs, asking if he intended to repeat this position in his speech that afternoon. Debs responded, "Why, that's what I'm here to do".<sup>15</sup>

Clyde attended the Canton speech and recorded the words in shorthand. Afterward, he filed the story with his editor which made the front page of the *Plain-Dealer* and was picked up by newspapers across the country. Miller also phoned his friend, District Attorney Wertz, to report, in his view, Debs had violated the Espionage Act. Wertz agreed that Debs should be indicted. Miller then called his editor with this additional information which was added to the growing story. Pressure grew from editorials in newspapers across the nation that Debs should be in jail. This political environment prompted assistant Federal district attorney, Francis Kavanagh to summon Miller to his office. Swearing Miller to secrecy, he allowed him to read a telegram from the U.S. Attorney General instructing Wertz not to indict Debs, restating they did not want Debs on trial. The pressure to do something about Debs eventually reached the Justice Department and they were forced to push for an indictment.<sup>16</sup>

At the trial, Miller was a key prosecution witness and was asked to recount his meeting with Debs at the Courtland Hotel and to offer his firsthand account of the Debs speech in Canton. While testifying, it was noted by some present, that Miller seemed to be a "reluctant witness". David Karsner, journalist and Debs biographer, suggested Miller was in "some

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Miller, Clyde R. p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

discomfiture” when offering his testimony against Debs.<sup>17</sup> The trial ended with a conviction. As court adjourned, Clyde recalled, he stopped Debs and the sheriff, and they briefly spoke. Debs placed his hand on Miller’s shoulder and told him he had been accurate in his testimony and that he admired Miller’s sincerity. Debs also noted he was aware that Miller was on his way to France, as part of the Army Educational Corps. Later, Miller remembered the words spoken by Debs:

You look upon the world and see certain things that you regard as facts and you have come to definite conclusions about them. You are willing to go to France and risk your life. Well, I look upon the same world and see things that I regard as facts, and I have come to conclusions diametrically opposed to yours. You are going to France and you may never come back. I’m going to Atlanta and I don’t know whether I’ll live out my sentence. But what do you say we make a deal? If you get back from France and I get out of jail and we meet, what do you say we get together and tell each other who was more nearly right or wrong about this war?<sup>18</sup>

Miller agreed with the proposal and the men shook hands. Within his first six months in France, Miller said he received a rapid education, learning firsthand about war and government propaganda. “I decided Debs was right and I was wrong”.<sup>19</sup> After he returned from France, he met with Secretary of War, Newton Baker, asking for a pardon for Debs. Baker refused to pass on the request to the President. In further efforts to free Debs, he met with Ohio’s U.S. Senator, Warren Harding. In their meeting, he heard Harding agree the war was a mistake, but that he voted for it in order to assure his reelection. During their talk, Harding said he would free Debs if he became President<sup>20</sup>

Shortly after his release from prison, Debs traveled to Cleveland for a speaking engagement, which prompted a brief reunion with Miller. Clyde

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<sup>17</sup> Freeberg, Ernest, *Democracy’s Prisoner*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2008, p. 94.

<sup>18</sup> Miller, Clyde R., p. 35.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

greeted Debs with the statement, “Mr. Debs, you were right and I was wrong”.<sup>21</sup>

After the war, Clyde secured the position of publicity director for the Cleveland Board of Education.<sup>22</sup> From 1928 until 1943, he was a faculty member of the Teacher’s College at Columbia University and served as the school’s publicity director.<sup>23</sup> In 1937, he co-founded the Institute of Propaganda Analysis at Columbia. The institute focused on “...assisting the public to detect and analyze propaganda”. The organization researched the various methods used to influence people.<sup>24</sup> The institute staff created a method to detect propaganda, identifying seven devices utilized by authoritarians to create misleading information.<sup>25</sup> During his career at Columbia University, Miller also served as a consultant in support of the “Springfield Plan”. The program was created to promote democracy and good citizenship among public school children. It was also designed to fight prejudice in the schools.<sup>26</sup>

Student enrollment at Columbia was greatly reduced during World War II, which left the school struggling financially, prompting the Teacher’s College to order Miller to take an unpaid leave of absence. He argued all faculty should take a pay cut, saving jobs and sharing the burden, however his recommendation was rejected. When the school’s finances improved, Miller was not returned to his post, and was advised to look elsewhere for work. He maintained his affiliation with the Columbia until June 30, 1948, when the school dismissed him.<sup>27</sup> Frederick Woltman, a 1947 Pulitzer Prize winning reporter for the *New York World-Telegram*, published an article critical of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and accused it of Soviet sympathies. Miller was a member of the organization and attacked the story, calling on the Columbia University School of Journalism to

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> *The Fourth Estate*. p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> “Teachers College Drops Dr. Miller”, *New York Times*, May 8, 1948, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> “Institute for Propaganda Analysis records”, New York Public Library, Manuscript and Archives Division Website, Collection summary abstract, (accessed website on Apr 11, 2018), [archives.nypl.org/mss/1513](http://archives.nypl.org/mss/1513)

<sup>25</sup> “The Techniques of Propaganda” (from Clyde R. Miller’s “How to Detect and Analyze Propaganda”), Bronx High School of Science website, Bronx, New York,

<http://www.bxscience.edu/ourpages/auto/2010/5/10/56085562/propaganda.pdf>

<sup>26</sup> “Teachers College Drops Dr. Miller”, *New York Times*, May 8, 1948, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

rescind the Woltman's Pulitzer Prize. The school took no action against Woltman, and Miller believed his dismissal may have been linked to the Pulitzer dispute.<sup>28</sup>

Professor Miller's political views became even more controversial when he was linked to the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace that was held in New York City in March 1949. His name was one of several that appeared in George E. Sokolsky's column, "Sokolsky Says", on March 31, 1949. The columnist claimed the conference ". . . was clearly a Soviet-designed weapon for the invasion of the United States". Miller was in good company as dozens of celebrities and academics were named, including Dalton Trumbo, Aaron Copland, Artie Shaw, Marlon Brando and many others.<sup>29</sup> Professor Miller's problems continued, with the release of an FBI informant's report, during the espionage trial of Judith Coplon. The informant named Miller as a Communist fellow traveler, along with the actors Frederic March, Edward G. Robinson, columnist Dorothy Parker, as well as the president of Boston College and others.<sup>30</sup> Professor Miller continued his political activism, serving as a United States sponsor of the American Continental Congress for Peace, held in Mexico City, in September of 1949. His involvement was not missed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as Miller's activity was noted in their report, "The Communist "Peace" Offensive: A Campaign to Disarm and Defeat the United States", issued in April 1951.<sup>31</sup>

After leaving Columbia University, Miller continued his efforts to educate the public on the dangers of propaganda. He authored a pamphlet, *What Everybody Should Know About Propaganda: How and Why It Works*, which was published by the Methodist Federation for Social Action in 1952.<sup>32</sup> Miller also became a lecturer, explaining how fear of Russia was being used as a propaganda tool. He said this misinformation had resulted in an

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<sup>28</sup> "Dr. Miller Gives Version of Ouster at Columbia", *New York Herald Tribune*, May 8, 1948

<sup>29</sup> Sokolsky, George E., "Names Still Make News", *New-Messenger* (Fremont, Ohio), Mar 31, 1949, p.4.

<sup>30</sup> Associated Press. "List Bared In Spy Trial of Judith Coplon", *Marion Star* (Marion, Ohio) Jun 9, 1949, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> HUAC. "The Communist Peace Offensive", Washington D.C., Internet Archive website (accessed Apr 11, 2018) <https://archive.org/details/reportoncommunis00unit>

<sup>32</sup> Miller, Clyde R. *What Everybody Should Know About Propaganda: How and Why It Works*, Methodist Federation for Social Action, 1952, Social Movement Pamphlets Collection, Bard College at Simon's Rock Library website, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, (accessed Apr 11, 2018) [https://simons-rock.edu/documents/library/smp\\_pamphlets.pdf](https://simons-rock.edu/documents/library/smp_pamphlets.pdf) page 2.

American population willing to accept massive military spending. In one speech, at Newport Rhode Island, in 1954, he said "...people can be taught to hate things labeled with a poisoned word". He went on to discuss the Eugene Debs case and that Debs was right to oppose U.S. involvement in the war. A newspaper article reported "...sharp disagreement was voiced...in the discussion period. In most instances, however, the Ohio born professor stuck to his ground".<sup>33</sup>

Professor Miller returned to the classroom, as a lecturer and visiting professor at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale, where he taught administration and supervision, from March 28, 1960 through June 16, 1960. He also returned to SIU for a similar assignment during the summer of 1963.<sup>34</sup> While teaching at Southern Illinois, Miller was interviewed by a reporter for the *Southern Illinoisan*. 1960 was a presidential election year and Professor Miller declared "Public opinion polls in politics have as much validity as a beauty contests". He went on to say the polls had an unfortunate effect on politics as they draw attention to who people liked and not policies or platforms. In addition, Miller said the candidates seek out the popular viewpoint for their positions instead of showing leadership by defining their positions through debate.<sup>35</sup>

Professor Clyde R. Miller became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in March of 1962.<sup>36</sup> In the following year, he detailed his involvement with the Canton Speech and the trial that sent Debs to prison. His article in *the Progressive*, outlined how he reversed his own opinion and later met with Debs to tell him that his (Debs) anti-war position on U.S. involvement in World War I was correct.<sup>37</sup>

Miller's wife, Lotta MacDonald Miller, died in November of 1964. His son,

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<sup>33</sup> "Speaker's Isolationist Remarks Draw Fire of Discussion Club's Members", *Newport Daily News* (Newport, Rhode Island) Jan 15, 1954, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup> "Minutes of the Board of Trustees Meeting, Southern Illinois Teachers College, (Carbondale, Illinois), Oct 16, 1959; "Minutes of the Board of Trustees Meeting, Southern Illinois Teachers College, (Carbondale, Illinois) June 28, 1963. Southern Illinois University Special Collections and Research Center, provided by Matthew J. Gorzalski, University Archivist (email sent to author - Apr 11, 2018).

<sup>35</sup> "Polls Have Bad Effect On Politics: SIU Professor", *Southern Illinoisan* (Carbondale, Illinois), Jun 14, 1960, p.5.

<sup>36</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Eugene V. Debs Foundation Newsletter*, spring 2012, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> Miller, Clyde R. "The Man I Sent to Prison", *The Progressive*, October 1963, pp. 33-35.



Dr. Robert MacDonald Miller was then a San Francisco physician. Following Lotta's passing, Clyde relocated to New South Wales, Australia with Robert and his family. Clyde Raymond Miller died on August 29, 1977, at Lismore City, Australia.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> "Mrs. Clyde R. Miller", *New York Times*, Nov 16, 1964; "Clyde Raymond Miller", Subject listed in FindAGrave.com, On-line database, (accessed Apr 11, 2018), <https://old.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=miller&GSfn=cllyde&GSmn=raymond&GSby=1888&GSbyrel=exact&GSdy=1977&GSdyrel=exact&GRid=166274641&>; "Dr. Robert MacDonald Miller", Subject listed in FindAGrave.com, On-line database (accessed Apr 11, 2018) <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/123424065/robert-macdonald-miller>

## Virgil Morris (1907-1971)

Born at Indianapolis on November 23, 1907, his family moved to Terre Haute in 1909. Morris was educated in Vigo County Schools, however, he left school after the eighth grade.<sup>1</sup> He first started work in the construction trade in 1927. From the beginning of his career, he focused on the needs of the worker. Morris organized Local 204 of the International Laborers' Union in May of 1934. From the time of the local's charter, until his death, Morris served as treasurer and business representative and never faced opposition for reelection. In 1936, Morris led the formation of Indiana Laborers' District Council 57 and was selected district secretary-treasurer. He was hired as a staff member of the International Laborers' Union in 1937, and was still an international staff member when he died. Virgil also served for twenty two years as the recording secretary of the Vigo County Building Trades Council, and was a delegate and officer with the Vigo County Central Labor Union.<sup>2</sup>



Morris was also active in community affairs, serving on the board of the Vigo County Fair Association, Goodwill Industries, American Red Cross, Wabash Valley Boy Scout Council and the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. He also assisted with fund raising for Union Hospital improvements. Virgil was a member of the Vigo County School Board and served as chairman of the committee advocating the creation of a Vocational Education School for Terre Haute.

Virgil E. Morris died on April 7, 1971.<sup>3</sup>

The Virgil Morris Memorial Garden was constructed in the back yard of the Debs Home in 1972. The project included a six foot high wall to enclose the yard, along with a brick arch entrance. The memorial garden was funded by donations from local labor unions, businesses and friends. Local 204 and other construction unions donated the labor to complete the project.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Laborers' Leader, Virgil Morris, Dies", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 9, 1971, p. 2; Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1940 U. S. Census, Subject-Virgil Morris, Terre Haute, Vigo, Indiana, (accessed Apr 12, 2018)

<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/1069623/person/25805767500/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> "Laborers' Leader". p 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> "Virgil Morris Gardens to Begin", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 31, 1972, p. 1.

## Thomas Mulvihill (1900-1965)

Thomas William Mulvihill was born on August 13, 1900, at Terre Haute, Indiana, to Thomas J. and Catherine McCabe Mulvihill.<sup>1</sup> His father worked as an iron puddler.<sup>2</sup> Thomas was a conductor for the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railway, and he served as the chairman of the local Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. In retirement, he was a member of the Retired Railroadmen's Association, a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation and was named to the Foundation's original board of directors.<sup>3</sup>



In July, 1962, Mulvihill represented Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen president, W. P. Kennedy, when presenting a check to the Eugene V. Debs Foundation, to aid in the restoration project. At that ceremony, Mulvihill declared:

We railroaders think that no man ever did as much for the American labor movement. Through his inspiring leadership in the labor movement and by his presidential campaigns in which he advocated social reforms, which we now have, the saintly Debs made an in calculable contribution to the welfare of America.<sup>4</sup>

Thomas W. Mulvihill died on June 19, 1965, at Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Vigo County, Indiana Index to Birth Records 1882-1920", Thomas W. Mulvihill, Volume IV, book CH-21, p.4.

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, U.S. Census, 1900, Public Trees – Subject: Thomas James Mulvihill, Terre Haute, Indiana, (accessed Mar 6, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/6223206/person/-1327280350/facts>

<sup>3</sup> "T.W. Mulvihill Funeral Set for Wednesday", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), June 21, 1965, p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> "Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen Gives \$1,000 to Debs Foundation, *Terre Haute Tribune*, (Terre Haute, Indiana) July 19, 1962, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> "T.W. Mulvihill Funeral Set for Wednesday".

## James O'Connell (1940- )

A native of Terre Haute, Indiana, James Raymond O'Connell was born on January 16, 1940, to Raymond and Elizabeth McMahon O'Connell. His father was a tinsmith for the Hartman Company.<sup>1</sup> He graduated from Terre Haute Schulte High School, where he was a member of the basketball, football and track team, as well as serving on the student council.<sup>2</sup> James enrolled at Indiana State College at Terre Haute. As an ISC student, he actively supported the formation of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation and was named to the organization's board of directors.<sup>3</sup> An article from the May 7, 1962, *Terre Haute Tribune*, reported James was providing support for the Foundation's publicity efforts. At Indiana State, O'Connell served as president of College Young Democrats, whose faculty adviser was Professor V. Dewey Annakin, another charter member of the Debs Foundation.<sup>4</sup> James was also the first parliamentarian of the Wabash Valley Press Club.<sup>5</sup>



O'Connell graduated from Indiana State College in 1963, with a B.S. in Social Studies. He joined the Peace Corps in 1964, and was stationed in Iran, where he supported village councils.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Indiana Birth Certificate, Subject- James R. O'Connell, Indiana State Board of Health, Registration number 56-4304, (accessed Feb 13, 2018), [https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/34/?name=James+Raymond O%27Connell&birth=1940 terre+haut e-vigo-indiana-usa\\_40776](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/34/?name=James+Raymond+O%27Connell&birth=1940+terre+haute+vigo-indiana-usa_40776)

<sup>2</sup> *Mitre Yearbook 1957*, Terre Haute, Schulte High School, (Terre Haute, Indiana) pages 25,52,53,60, 67 and 93.

<sup>3</sup> Stevens, Howard, "Terre Hautean In Peace Corps", *Terre Haute Tribune*, April 15, 1964, page 1

<sup>4</sup> Indiana State University Archives, Box 6729 isua-martin-186204.01, Mar 8, 1962, "College Young Democrats" photo (members names listed in caption) (accessed Feb 13, 2018).

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/search/collection/isuarchive/searchterm/annakin/order/nosort>

<sup>5</sup> Stevens, Howard, "Terre Hautean In Peace Corps".

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, page 3

## Otto Pragan (1904-1971)

Dr. Otto Pragan was born on March 3, 1904, in Vienna, Austria. His father was an electrician, which allowed Otto to grow up in a middle class household.<sup>1</sup> Upon graduation from the University of Vienna with a doctorate in economics and law, Otto opened a law practice, focusing on labor law.<sup>2</sup> The German annexation of Austria, in early 1938, changed everything for Pragan, as he was arrested and spent eighteen months in a German concentration camp.<sup>3</sup> Otto was able to escape and fled to England, before immigrating to the United States in 1939.<sup>4</sup>



The 1940 U.S. Census records reveal Otto, his wife Gina and their young daughter Karin were living in New York City where he was listed as a lawyer.<sup>5</sup> Gina, was born in Lviv, Ukraine and held a doctorate in sociology from the University of Vienna<sup>6</sup>. The Pragan family eventually settled in Cleveland, Ohio, where Otto enrolled at Western Reserve University and completed a degree in library science. Pragan then secured a position with the Cleveland Public Library in their business information bureau.<sup>7</sup> Otto was often requested, by various civic organizations, to speak on the subject of life under the Nazis and his experience while interned in a German concentration camp.<sup>8</sup>

In 1944, Otto accepted a position with the Akron, Ohio, Public Library. In that role, he developed a unique program, the Business and Labor Service, which

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<sup>1</sup> "Otto Pragan, Law, Libraries and Labor", *Akron Beacon Journal* (Akron, Ohio), April 30, 1950, page 27

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> "Erie Co. Federation to Hold Quarterly Meeting, Wednesday, January 21<sup>st</sup>", *Sandusky Register* (Sandusky, Ohio), Jan 18, 1942, p. 6 (Pragan was a guest speaker, detailing his experiences under the Nazis).

<sup>4</sup> "Otto Pagan, 67, Union Researcher", *Akron Beacon Journal* (Akron, Ohio), Sept. 24, 1971, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1940 U.S. Census, Subject- Otto Pagan, New York City, New York, (accessed Mar 5, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=1940usfedcen&indiv=try&h=5587722>

<sup>6</sup> "Gina Pagan", Washington Post, Jan 1, 1995, on-line database, (accessed Mar 5, 2018) [https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1994/12/31/1994/henry-gichner-dies-at-88/9e8182bf-6586-4167-9bb1-c2b4a52b8efa/?utm\\_term=.e94506a47cf7](https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1994/12/31/1994/henry-gichner-dies-at-88/9e8182bf-6586-4167-9bb1-c2b4a52b8efa/?utm_term=.e94506a47cf7) (obituaries include Geithner and 11 others including Gina Pagan).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> "Erie Rural Youth Banquet Set for Wednesday Night", *Sandusky Register* (Sandusky, Ohio), Nov. 22, 1941, p. 2; "Erie Co. Federation to Hold Quarterly Meeting Wednesday, 21<sup>st</sup>", *Sandusky Register*, (Sandusky, Ohio), Jan. 18, 1942, p. 6; "Quota Club Thanksgiving Dinner", *Akron Beacon Journal* (Akron, Ohio), Nov 16, 1944, p. 16. (All three events included a presentation by Pagan).

assisted users in locating books and materials, but also aided them in addressing specific problems. Such a service had never been offered anywhere else in the nation.<sup>9</sup> During their time in Akron, Otto and Gina were active in civic affairs, including support for the Akron Council on Race Relations. The council organized a program for March, 1948, which included a lecture by the poet, Langston Hughes. Gina was in charge of ticket sales and the lecture was to be delivered in the auditorium of the Akron YWCA.<sup>10</sup>

The announcement of the poet's appearance set off a great controversy. Ministers in two of Akron's churches spoke out against the visit. Rev. William Denton charged Hughes had traveled to Russia to study communism and was a member of the communist linked, International Union of Writers. The minister at the Baptist Temple, Rev. Dallas Billington, attacked the poetry of Hughes and warned communism was threatening America. Local attorney, Clair Trunick, called on the council to stop the program, pointing to a 1947 *Newsweek* article about Hughes and comments made by radio broadcaster, Henry J. Taylor, an outspoken anti-communist. The Council refused to cancel the appearance and prepared for the lecture. Then, a planned talk by Langston Hughes, at South Akron High School, was cancelled by the school administration.<sup>11</sup> The superintendent attempted to shift the blame for Hughes's school program onto Gina Pragan, however, Otto defended his wife and charged the school assembly had been entirely arranged by school officials, and not by his wife.<sup>12</sup>

The YWCA executive board, based upon the continued controversy, voted to bar Langston Hughes from using their auditorium, the day before the scheduled lecture. The board claimed "...the situation was definitely out of control". They also cited threats of a picket line. A local book store, following the YWCA announcement, removed books of Hughes' poetry from public view, preparing them for return to the publisher.<sup>13</sup> Attempts were made to obtain use of the Mt. Olive Baptist Church Auditorium but that request was also turned down. Finally, Local 5 of the United Rubber Workers, agreed to host the event. This late decision prompted the lecture to be rescheduled from Wednesday to Thursday, March 11. However, on Thursday, union president, George Bass, announced the union was

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<sup>9</sup> "Otto Pagan, Law, Libraries and Labor", p.27.

<sup>10</sup> "Negro Playwright Will Talk Here", *Akron Beacon Journal* (Akron, Ohio), Feb 28, 1948, p. 16

<sup>11</sup> "Hatton Bans Hughes Lecture at School", *Akron Beacon-Journal*, (Akron, Ohio), Mar. 8, 1948, p.1.

<sup>12</sup> "Langston Hughes Barred by YWCA", *Akron Journal-Beacon*, (Akron, Ohio), Mar. 9, 1948, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p. 1.

withdrawing the offer because “...pressure was brought to bear on trustees and board members”, which forced cancellation of the event and Hughes then left the city.<sup>14</sup>

Pragan resigned from the Akron Public Library in June of 1949, to become the director of research and education for the International Chemical Workers of America, AFL, located in Akron.<sup>15</sup> He continued in this role until AFL-CIO President, George Meany, appointed him to serve as assistant educational director for the AFL-CIO, in Washington D. C. The new post placed him in charge of summer school programs for the federation’s councils across the country.<sup>16</sup> In 1962, Pragan was appointed by President Kennedy to a committee studying collective bargaining for federal workers. In 1969, he was instrumental in developing the Labor Study Center where he provided union training classes. Pragan also served as a consultant in the creation of the American Institute for Free Labor Development. Otto was also involved in the development of training programs for unemployed workers and taught union classes for visiting Latin American labor leaders.<sup>17</sup>

Pragan joined the Eugene V. Debs Foundation as a charter member, in March of 1962.<sup>18</sup>

Otto Pragan died on September 22, 1971, in Washington, D.C.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> “Hughes Is Refused Again, Leaves Town”, *Akron Journal-Beacon*, (Akron, Ohio), Mar 11, 1948, p. 1.

<sup>15</sup> “Library Aid Quits, Takes Union Post”, *Akron Beacon-Journal*, (Akron, Ohio), May 4, 1949, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> “Akron’s Pragan Gets AFL-CIO Post In D.C.”, *Akron Beacon Journal*, (Akron, Ohio), Oct 12, 1961, p. 25

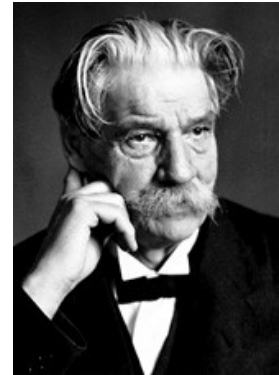
<sup>17</sup> “Otto Pragan, 67, Union Researcher, p.2

<sup>18</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. “The 1962-1987 Period”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), p. 6.

<sup>19</sup> “Otto Pragan, 57, Union Researcher”.

## Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965)

Albert Schweitzer, 1952 Nobel Peace Prize laureate and internationally known physician, missionary, writer and philosopher, was born on January 14, 1875 at Kayserberg, Alsace, Germany (now part of France).<sup>1</sup> He was not the only famous member of his family, as he was a cousin, on his mother's side, to American socialist and labor leader, Eugene V. Debs and French philosopher, Jean-Paul Sartre.<sup>2</sup> Schweitzer biographer, James Brabazon, provided additional details of the family's connection to Eugene Debs:



Albert certainly knew something about socialism. A relation of the family was Eugene Debs, whose father had emigrated from Colmar to the United States, and who was himself to become a leading trade union organizer there, even running for the Presidency. The Schweitzers of Gunsbach had maintained contact with Debs- Mrs. Schweitzer had a family photograph taken specifically for him. So she would certainly have talked to the children about the poverty in the United States at the time, and the appalling conditions that Debs and other Socialists were fighting to improve.<sup>3</sup>

Schweitzer received his theology degree from the University of Strasbourg, where he also completed a doctorate in philosophy in 1899. He was an accomplished concert organist with an international reputation, and pursued significant scholarly studies in musicology, publishing a biography of Bach in 1905. His career also included the pastorate of St Nicholas Church in Strasbourg and he also held a number of administrative positions at the Theological College of St Thomas. In 1906, he published two volumes, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, which established Schweitzer as a religious scholar, and a book on organ construction.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Albert Schweitzer – The Nobel Prize 1952", Nobel Prize Official Website, Stockholm, Sweden, (accessed Aug 4, 2018) [https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1952/schweitzer-bio.html](https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1952/schweitzer-bio.html)

<sup>2</sup> Marshall, George and Poling, David. *Schweitzer, A Biography*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, p. 310; "Albert Schweitzer Felicitates Debs Foundation Here", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana) May 31, 1962, p. 8; Marshall, George. "Sartre's 'Uncle Albert'", *Boston Globe* (Boston, Massachusetts) Sep 14, 1965, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Brabazon, James. *Albert Schweitzer, A Biography*, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> "Albert Schweitzer- The Nobel Prize 1952".



He made a commitment to serve as a missionary in Africa, however he shifted from a pastoral role to medicine. Schweitzer then entered medical studies at the University of Strasbourg, where he completed his medical degree in 1913. Upon graduating from medical school, he traveled to French Equatorial Africa (now Gabon) where he established a hospital at Lambarene. His plans were interrupted during World War I, when he and his wife Helene, were forced into a French internment camp in 1917.<sup>5</sup>

Near the end of the war, he and his wife were released in a prisoner exchange and they returned to Strasbourg where he again served as the pastor of St Nicholas Church.<sup>6</sup> From there, he launched a series of lectures and concerts.<sup>7</sup> He finally returned to his African hospital in April of 1924, however Helene remained behind because of ill health.<sup>8</sup>

According to his Nobel committee biography:

Schweitzer returned to Lambarene in 1924, and except for relatively short periods of time, spent the remainder of his life there. With the funds earned from royalties and personal appearance fees and with those donated from all parts of the world, he expanded the hospital to seventy buildings which by the early 1960's could take care of 500 patients in residence at any one time.<sup>9</sup>

Dr. Schweitzer was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1952, which included the payment of \$33,000. He used the funds to establish a leprosarium at his hospital.<sup>10</sup> In 1957, Schweitzer remarked, "They gave me the Peace Prize- I don't know why. Now I feel I should do something to earn it."<sup>11</sup> On April 24<sup>th</sup> of that year, his "Declaration of Conscience" was broadcast by Radio Oslo. The document warned about atomic testing as well as information on fallout levels and the impact of radiation on the planet.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid; Brabazon, James. p. 236.

<sup>6</sup> Brabazon, James. p. 280.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 284-288.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, pp. 304, 305.

<sup>9</sup> "Albert Schweitzer- Nobel Prize 1952".

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Brabazon, James, p. 430.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 433.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in the spring of 1962. He declared his support for the organization's efforts and described his family's connection with Debs:

Eugene Debs and my mother were related to one another. She was a friend of his father, who immigrated to America from Colmar in Alsace. So it happened that in my youth, I came to be acquainted with Eugene Debs. I regarded him as a profound and noble man. It moves me deeply that people think of him.<sup>13</sup>

His letter indicated the nation of Gabon restricted the mailing of money outside the country. He supplied the foundation with the names of people who would cover his contribution.<sup>14</sup>

Dr. Schweitzer died on September 4, 1965, and was buried near his hospital at Lambarene.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> "Albert Schweitzer Felicitates Debs Foundation Here", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), May 31, 1962, p. 8; "Debs Foundation Commended by Dr. Schweitzer", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) May 31, 1962, p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> "Albert Schweitzer Felicitates Debs Foundation Here".

<sup>15</sup> Brabazon, James. pp. 465, 466.

## Clifford Shanks (1891-1965)

A native of Terre Haute, Indiana, Clifford Reece Shanks was born to William and Rosanna Reece Shanks on October 12, 1891.<sup>1</sup> Clifford attended local schools and graduated from Terre Haute Wiley High School in 1912. He worked as a salesman for the National Cash Register Company before selling Oakland automobiles with Engels Motor Company.<sup>2</sup>



Clifford served with the U. S. Army Air Corps during the First World War. After military service, he returned to his hometown and was hired by the Cole Auto Company where he sold Nash automobiles. In 1923, he opened his own Studebaker dealership in Terre Haute. As a hardworking and successful businessman, he was able to weather the Great Depression.<sup>3</sup>

World War II interrupted the production of automobiles in America, however Shanks managed to remain in business by servicing vehicles and selling parts. He also operated a machine shop in support of a defense contractor from Indianapolis and personally worked for a Decatur, Illinois employer, all to bring in additional income.<sup>4</sup> Following the war, Shanks's business continued to prosper. During the 1950's, he added franchises to sell the Edsel and Volkswagens.<sup>5</sup>

Dorothy Jerse, author of *A Century of Auto Dealers: A History of Vigo County Auto Dealers of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, and a friend of the Shanks family, described Clifford and his son James, as “good businessmen who were very liberal in many matters”.<sup>6</sup> An example of their progressive philosophy included their support for the International Peace Caravan, organized by the American Friends Service Committee. The group visited Terre Haute, Indiana, in July of 1960, when touring the country to advocate strategies to end cold war tensions. The Shanks served as

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Public Trees, Subject- Clifford Reece Shanks, Terre Haute, Indiana, (accessed Jun 12, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/235178/person/6966499314/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> Jerse, Dorothy Weinz. *New Automobile Dealers: Vigo County 1900-1999*, Terre Haute, Indiana, Esten Fuson, 2000, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p.30.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 40-41.

<sup>6</sup> Dorothy Jerse, (Terre Haute historian and friend of the Shanks family), email communication to author, June 12, 2018.

hosts for the group.<sup>7</sup> They were also active in the First Unitarian-Universalist Society of Terre Haute.<sup>8</sup>In 1962, Clifford Shanks became of charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation.<sup>9</sup>

Although Clifford, through his financial contribution, was a founder of the Debs Foundation, it was his son, James, who provided the most active support for the organization. He was an early member of the foundation and served on the board of directors for a number of years.<sup>10</sup> James Shanks graduated from Terre Haute Wiley High School, served in the U. S. Navy and was a graduate of Penn State University. He received a master's degree in labor economics from the University of Illinois before working for the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics at Chicago. James returned to Terre Haute in 1952 to assist with the family business.<sup>11</sup>

Clifford Reece Shanks died on May 12, 1965.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Shanks, Joyce. "International Peace Caravan Will Visit Terre Haute", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jul 6, 1960, p. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Dorothy Jerse.

<sup>9</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, *"The Eugene V. Debs Foundation 1962-1987"*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, Terre Haute, Indiana, spring 2002, p.10.

<sup>10</sup>"Presentation of \$1,000 check to the Eugene V. Debs Foundation", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jul 21, 1963, p. 23; "Norman Thomas Will Dedicate Home of Debs", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 5, 1964, p. 10; "James William Shanks", *Terre Haute Tribune Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Aug 8, 2015, *Tribune Star* website (accessed Jun 7, 2018). [http://www.tribstar.com/obituaries/james-william-shanks/article\\_3802b372-211a-5eaf-921d-afc62971aabe.html](http://www.tribstar.com/obituaries/james-william-shanks/article_3802b372-211a-5eaf-921d-afc62971aabe.html)

<sup>11</sup> "James William Shanks".

<sup>12</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Public Trees-Subject-Clifford Reece Shanks (accessed Jun 15, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/235178/person/6966499314/facts?ssrc=>

## Mulford Sibley (1912-1989)

Professor Mulford Quickert Sibley was born on June 14, 1912, at Marston, Missouri, to Dr. William A. and Erna Quickert Sibley.<sup>1</sup> He came from a line of physicians, including his grandfather, Dr. Charles Wilbur Sibley, who fought with the 34<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry Regiment and was wounded at the battle of Shiloh; his father, Dr. William Austin Sibley, a general practitioner in Missouri and Oklahoma, for forty years; and Mulford's brother, Dr. William A. Sibley, who was a founder of the University of Arizona College of Medicine.<sup>2</sup> His father had also served in the United States Army Medical Corps during World War I.<sup>3</sup>



Sibley followed a different course, becoming a political scientist and college professor. His vocation was not the only family variant, as he developed a personal belief that war was wrong while still in grammar school. Despite having grown up in a Republican family, he was a steadfast Socialist by his college years. Mulford received his A.B. degree from Central State College at Edmond, Oklahoma, in 1933. He earned a master's degree in 1934 at the University of Oklahoma and completed his doctorate at the University of Minnesota in 1938.<sup>4</sup>

Professor Sibley joined the faculty of the University of Illinois where he was an associate professor of political science, from 1938 until 1948.<sup>5</sup> As a pacifist, he actively worked to keep the United States out of World War II. In June of 1941, he organized a meeting on "How to Keep America Out of the War", which was held in the courthouse at Clinton, Illinois. Promotional information stated Sibley would discuss the topic, while others opposed to the war would also speak at the

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Trees -Subject- Mulford Quickert Sibley, (accessed May 19, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/14089631/person/1827346066/facts?ssrc=>

<sup>2</sup> Davis, Len. "Neurology Department Head Has Impressive Record", *Tucson Daily Citizen* (Tucson, Arizona) Sep 20, 1967, p. 7; Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Trees-Subject- Charles Wilbur Sibley (accessed May 19, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/14089631/person/1185861529/facts> ; Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Trees- William Austin Sibley (accessed May 19, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/14089631/person/1186463183/facts>

<sup>3</sup> Find A Grave website, on-line database, Dr. William Austin Sibley, (accessed May 19, 2018) <https://old.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=121229955>

<sup>4</sup> Pheifer, Pat. "Controversial 'U' Professor Mulford Q. Sibley Dies", *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Apr 20, 1989, p. 1. ; Smetanka, Mary Jane. "When Sibley Retires, 'U' To Lose Red Tie, Canvas Shoes, Special Teacher", *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, Minnesota) May 21, 1982, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Trees-Subject-Mulford Quickert Sibley.

gathering.<sup>6</sup> When America entered the war, Sibley, a pacifist, was registered as a conscientious objector.<sup>7</sup>

He was appointed a professor of political science by the University of Minnesota in 1948. Sibley was soon a favorite of students, moving about campus with his red tie, a “flapping symbol of socialism, an emblem he occasionally traded for black, the badge of anarchy”.<sup>8</sup> A newspaper reporter once declared he was “...revered by generations of students as an unusually gentle, open-minded and inspiring teacher whose commitment to speaking his mind led to a somewhat warped public image”.<sup>9</sup> He openly acknowledged he was a socialist, even an anarchist, as well as a pacifist and a rebel. During the 1950’s he warned against nuclear weapons and criticized college football as a form of gladiatorial combat.<sup>10</sup>

Sibley was a strong advocate for academic freedom. In an interview with a reporter with the *Minneapolis Star*, he argued he was opposed to indoctrination and would fight it by encouraging students to “...think for themselves”.<sup>11</sup> In furthering his support for the free expression of ideas on a college campus, he wrote a letter to the *Minnesota Daily*, the student newspaper, in which he argued:

I would like to see on the campus one or two communist professors, a student communist club, a chapter of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, a Society for the Promotion of Free Love, a League for the Overthrow of Government by Jeffersonian Violence, an Anti-Automation League and perhaps a Nudist Club.<sup>12</sup>

Sibley’s offbeat humor, in making his point for an open exchange of ideas, was taken literally by many opponents. The article prompted the Minnesota legislature to investigate the university’s personnel policies.<sup>13</sup> The *Minneapolis Star* was flooded with letters debating Sibley’s comments. The newspaper was finally forced

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<sup>6</sup> “Professor to Conduct Clinton Peace Meeting”, *Decatur Daily Review* (Decatur, Illinois) Jun 23, 1941, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Smetanka, Mary Jane.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> “Accusations Puzzle Sibley; Is Academic Liberty So Weak”, *Minneapolis Star* (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Dec 14, 1963, p. 24.

<sup>12</sup> Brady, Tim. “Mulford Q. Sibley”, *Minnesota Alumni Magazine*, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Winter 2016, on-line edition, (accessed May 20, 2018) <https://umnalumni.org/UAAA-stories/Mulford-Q-Sibley>

<sup>13</sup> Pheifer, Pat.

to run a notice they would no longer print letters concerning Professor Sibley's comments unless "...they concern some new facet of the controversy".<sup>14</sup> William F. Buckley entered the debate, criticizing Sibley, while the American Legion called for a congressional investigation.<sup>15</sup> Fifteen months after the controversy began, Sibley traveled to Winnipeg, Canada to make a speech. Canadian officials blocked his entry into the country, citing his advocacy for college clubs in support of atheism, communism and free love.<sup>16</sup>

His fellow faculty members came to his defense, releasing a statement that condemned his critics. The declaration, supported by more than 200 of his colleagues, described Sibley as "...a man of unusual moral probity and sincere convictions, whose professional competence has been widely and deservedly acclaimed".<sup>17</sup> UM students lampooned "the squares" by wearing buttons that proclaimed they were nudist club members.<sup>18</sup>

Sibley was a frequent speaker at Vietnam War protests in the late 1960's. A former student, David Cooperman, recalled the professor did not organize protests but "...he loved to debate, so he vigorously accepted any speaking engagement having to do with the war." Cooperman also noted Sibley was sometimes frustrated with his fellow demonstrators. As a pacifist, he was opposed to all wars, while many of the Vietnam War protestors were only opposed to that one.<sup>19</sup> At a demonstration in 1965, Sibley predicted the United States would not win the war and would eventually leave Vietnam, either voluntarily or after being forced to withdraw.<sup>20</sup>

Congress considered reviving the draft in 1979, but eventually settled for mandatory registration of 18 year old males. This national debate prompted protests on the University of Minnesota campus, with Professor Sibley at the forefront. The *Minneapolis Star* noted "...Mulford Q. Sibley, a nationally known pacifist and political scientist, was there to renew the antiwar campaign he has

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<sup>14</sup> "Academic Freedom Debate Continues", *Minneapolis Star* (Minneapolis, Minnesota), Dec 21, 1963, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> Brady, Tim. "Mulford Q. Sibley", *Minnesota Alumni Magazine*, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Winter 2016, on-line edition, (accessed May 20, 2018) <https://umnalumni.org/UMAA-stories/Mulford-Q-Sibley>

<sup>16</sup> "Canada Owes Minnesota Apology for Ejecting Professor", *Akron Beacon* (Akron, Ohio) Mar 21, 1965, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup> "Colleagues Condemn Criticism of Sibley", *Minneapolis Star* (Minneapolis, Minnesota), May 20, 1964, p. 21.

<sup>18</sup> Brady, Tim.

<sup>19</sup> Pheifer, Pat.

<sup>20</sup> Associated Press. "Prof Says U.S. to Quit Viet by Choice or Force", *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois), Apr 12, 1965, p. 20.

waged on campus since 1948”.<sup>21</sup> Sibley opened his remarks with “Fellow future slaves!” He argued the draft violated the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment of the U. S. Constitution:

The 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment prohibits all involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime! What crime have you committed? None! You get’em young and you breed’em for war- force them into an indoctrination program of war and violence! We’re told we need a lot of red meat out here to become missile fodder for whatever foreign adventure they want!<sup>22</sup>

Sibley was also known for his accomplishments as a writer and scholar. He wrote a number of books including *Nature and Civilization: Some Implications for Politics*, *The Quiet Battle: Writings on the Theory and Practice of Non-Violent Resistance*, *Life after Death?* , and *Political Ideas and Ideologies: A History of Political Thought*.<sup>23</sup> He co-authored the volume, *Conscription of Conscience: The American State and the Conscientious Objector 1940-1947*, with Philip E. Jacobs. The book, published by Cornell University Press, was awarded the Franklin D. Roosevelt Foundation Prize for “best book on the relation of government to human welfare”.<sup>24</sup>

The University of Minnesota personnel policy forced Professor Sibley to retire in 1982, after 34 years with the school. In an interview prior to his retirement, he described socialism as “...an ideal. We may never attain it but even if it is impossible to attain, it is something to consider and strive for”.<sup>25</sup> After he left UM, he taught classes at Hamline University Law School, Macalester College and Augsburg College. He also wrote, but never published, a Utopian novel, *Sitnalta*, (Atlantis spelled backward).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> “Anti-draft Chant Rings Again at ‘U’”, *Minneapolis Star* (Minneapolis, Minnesota) May 2, 1979, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Pheifer, Pat, p. 20.

<sup>24</sup> “Mulford Q. Sibley Papers”, Sibley Biographical Notes, Minnesota Historical Society Website (accessed May 21, 2018) <http://www2.mnhs.org/library/findaids/00318.xml>

<sup>25</sup> Smetanka, Mary Jane. p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Pheifer, Pat. P. 20.



Dr. Sibley became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in March 1962.<sup>27</sup> He was linked to another Debs Foundation charter member, Professor Howard Hamilton, who had been one of Sibley's students at the University of Illinois in 1947.<sup>28</sup>

Professor Mulford Q. Sibley died on April 19, 1989, at Minneapolis. He was survived by his wife, Marjorie, a daughter, Muriel and his son Martin.<sup>29</sup>

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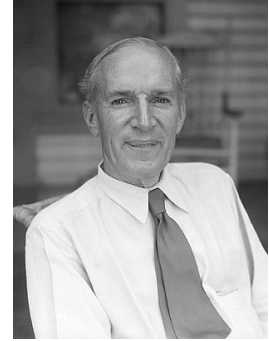
<sup>27</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Anna Hamilton Chase. (Daughter of Professor Howard Hamilton), personal communication, April 21, 2018.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

## Upton Sinclair (1878-1968)

Upton Beall Sinclair, Jr. was born at Baltimore, Maryland, on September 20, 1878.<sup>1</sup> His father, a descendant of an aristocratic Southern family, was unable to keep a job. He was employed at various times as “...a salesman of whisky, straw hats and men’s clothing...but could never get away from drink.”<sup>2</sup> His mother, Priscilla Harden Sinclair, endured a marriage “...poisoned by alcohol”, according to Sinclair.<sup>3</sup> He described his family’s financial condition as shifting between poverty and modest wealth. In describing his childhood, Sinclair recalled:



...I can remember, my life was a series of Cinderella transformations; one night I would be sleeping on a vermin-ridden sofa in a lodging house, and the next night under silken coverlets in a fashionable home. It all depended on whether my father had the money for that week’s board.<sup>4</sup>

The Sinclair family moved to New York City in 1888. Upton’s parents did not enroll him into school until he was ten years old because of health concerns. As a result, he retreated into books, reading Horatio Alger, the Brothers Grimm as well as the Bible and volumes of an encyclopedia. When he did enter public school, he managed to complete the first eight grades within two years, beginning high school when he was 12.<sup>5</sup> And by age 15, Upton completed high school and enrolled at City College of New York. While a college student, he began to work as a freelance writer, publishing an article in *Argosy* magazine, while also writing filler copy and humor for newspapers. Soon, his writing was helping to pay for college and to assist his parents. He completed his undergraduate degree in 1897, when he was 18, and then entered graduate school at Columbia University, but did not complete that degree.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Associated Press, “Muckrake King Dead at Age 90”, Boston Globe (Boston, Massachusetts) Nov 26, 1968, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Whitman, Alden. “Rebel With a Cause”, *New York Times* Website “On This Day”, Nov. 26, 1968 (accessed July 16, 2018) <https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/bday/0920.html>

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur, Anthony. *Radical Innocent: Upton Sinclair*, New York, Random House, 2006, pp. 4-6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 6.

In the summer of 1900, Sinclair launched his career as a novelist, working in a small cabin in Quebec, near the Vermont border. There, he completed his first novel, *Springtime and Harvest*, which was rejected by major publishers. Borrowing money from an uncle, Sinclair printed one thousand copies, but sales raised only enough to repay his uncle. In 1901, Funk & Wagnalls reissued the novel under a new title, *King Midas*. It sold two thousand copies, which helped to restore some of Upton's confidence.<sup>7</sup> His next three novels, *Prince Hagen*, *The Journal of Arthur Stirling*, and *Manassas* were published, but did not generate significant sales.<sup>8</sup>

Sinclair's most famous and successful novel, *The Jungle*, was initially released in serial form by the socialist newspaper, *Appeal to Reason*, on February 25, 1905.<sup>9</sup> In 1904, the *Appeal* had supported striking workers of the Chicago meatpacking industry. When the workers lost the strike, the *Appeal* offered Sinclair \$500 to write a novel about wage slavery which would be serialized in their newspaper.<sup>10</sup> The project began with seven weeks of undercover work in the meat packing area of Chicago.<sup>11</sup> Dressed in ragged clothes, he was able to move about freely, even inside the Armour factory. He talked with people from many backgrounds and experiences, including "...plant foremen, laborers, priests, bartenders and policeman..."<sup>12</sup> The completed novel focused upon the difficult lives of the workers and included detailed accounts of poor working conditions and horrible sanitation in the meatpacking plants.<sup>13</sup> Sinclair had hoped his novel would increase sympathy for the industry's laborers but the public's focus turned to the nightmarish descriptions of the industry's unsanitary conditions. Sinclair commented on this result, stating he "...aimed at the public's heart and by accident I hit it in the stomach".<sup>14</sup> Still, the book was a financial success; the author was now a celebrity, known to millions, and it prompted the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, pp. 11-16.

<sup>8</sup> "Upton Sinclair" *Literary Destinations*, On-line website (accessed Jul 17, 2018) <http://literary-destinations.com/authors/upton-sinclair/timeline>

<sup>9</sup> Arthur, Anthony. p 59.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 56.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 49.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 53-56.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 83.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 81-84,

The publication of *The Jungle* was just the beginning of a long career as a novelist. He was soon dubbed “King of the Muckrakers”, as he continued a literary journey in support of the fight for social justice.<sup>16</sup> Novels such as *King Coal*, 1917, addressing the struggles within the coal industry of Colorado and the coal strike of 1914; *Oil*, 1927, exposed the conflict between the monopolies and independent oil companies; *Boston*, 1928, detailed the campaign to defend Sacco and Vanzetti.<sup>17</sup>

Sinclair became an activist within the Socialist Party, joining the party in 1904.<sup>18</sup> He supported Wilson’s position on U.S. entry into World War I, and broke with the Socialists in July of 1917.<sup>19</sup> By the 1920, he had resumed his association with the Socialist Party, and went on to run twice as their candidate for Congress.<sup>20</sup>

He was the California Socialist candidate for United States Senator in 1922, receiving 50,323 votes, or 5.6%.<sup>21</sup> In 1926, the Socialists nominated Upton Sinclair as their candidate for governor. In an official party announcement, it was stated Eugene Debs would come to California to speak in support of Sinclair.<sup>22</sup> However, Debs died before he could travel to California. Following the death of Debs, a newspaper report, filed by United Press, speculated Upton Sinclair might be called upon to lead the party.<sup>23</sup> In the end, Sinclair’s campaign received 45,972 votes or 4% of the vote.<sup>24</sup> He ran again, as the Socialist’s gubernatorial candidate, in 1930, receiving 50,480 votes in this campaign, for 3.5% of the total vote.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Associated Press. “Muckrake King Dead at Age 90”, *Boston Globe* (Boston, Massachusetts) Nov 26, 1968, p. 42.

<sup>17</sup> “Other Works by Upton Sinclair”, Upton Sinclair Institute Website, Reno, Nevada, Frederick Ellis, Publisher, (accessed Jul 22, 2018) <http://www.uptonsinclairinstitute.com/OtherUptonBooks.html>

<sup>18</sup> Arthur, Anthony. p. 39.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p. 171.

<sup>20</sup> “Top 10 Failed Celebrity Political Campaigns”, *Time*, Website, (accessed Jul 22, 2018), [https://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2009170\\_2009172\\_2009154,00.html](https://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2009170_2009172_2009154,00.html)

<sup>21</sup> “Johnson’s Vote Was 564,356”, *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, California) Nov 30, 1922, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup> AP Night Wire. “Upton Sinclair Heads Socialist Ticket in State”, *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, California) Feb 24, 1926, p. 2.

<sup>23</sup> United Press. “Debs Funeral Plans Made” *Petaluma Argus-Courier*, (Petaluma, California) Oct 21, 1926, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Associated Press. “Young Polled 814,815 Votes, Count Reveals”, *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, California) Dec 10, 1926, p. 34.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*; “Young Polled 814,815 Votes, Count Reveals”.

Sinclair ran for governor a third time in 1934, but this time as a Democrat. His abandoning the Socialists, to seek the Democrat nomination, was seen by some as opportunism rather than an ideological shift.<sup>26</sup> The Democrats had not elected a governor of California since the election of 1894.<sup>27</sup> In each of their two most recent outings, the Democrat gubernatorial nominee received less than 25% of the total vote.<sup>28</sup> However, Sinclair, as an internationally known writer, was familiar to most California voters. At the same time, the Democrat Party was weak and divided, and many voters were seeking something new. All of these indicators suggested he had good chance to capture the nomination.<sup>29</sup>

During the Democrat Primary, he was able to focus his attacks on “the system” rather than fighting with his competitors.<sup>30</sup> In the primary campaign, Sinclair had six opponents but easily won the nomination with 51.7% of the vote. He accumulated a primary vote total greater than that received by either of the party’s last two gubernatorial nominees in the general election, defeating his closest rival by 148,114 votes.<sup>31</sup>

Sinclair published *I, Governor of California, and how I Ended Poverty*, as his platform, known as the EPIC plan.<sup>32</sup> The manifesto called for the establishment of land colonies, using idle land to provide the unemployed with work as well as the acquisition of factories for the same purpose. The plan also established the use of scrip for payments within the new “system”. The EPIC plan advocated the elimination of property taxes for owner occupied homes; significantly increased inheritance taxes and taxes paid by utility companies; as well as proposing a fifty dollar per month pension for people over 60 years of age, as well as for the disabled, and widows with dependent children.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Arthur, Anthony. p. 255.

<sup>27</sup> “The Governors’ Gallery”, California State Library, Sacramento, California, on-line database (accessed Jul 24, 2018) [governors.library.ca.gov/list.html](http://governors.library.ca.gov/list.html)

<sup>28</sup> “Young Polled 814,815 Votes, Count Reveals”, *Oakland Tribune* (Oakland, California) Dec 10, 1926, p. 34; “Official Declaration of Votes in Last Election Shows Rolph with Great Lead Over Democrat”, *San Bernardino County Sun* (San Bernardino, California) Dec 11, 1930, p. 3.

<sup>29</sup> Arthur, Anthony, p. 255.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Our Campaigns Website, on-line electoral database, “California Governor-Democrat Primary, 1934”, (accessed Jul 24, 2018) <https://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=103765>

<sup>32</sup> Arthur, Anthony, p. 248.

<sup>33</sup> “Here Is the Upton Sinclair Epic Plan for California”, *Fresno Bee* (Fresno, California) Aug 2, 1934, p. 5.

Sinclair's opponents attacked from the left and the right of the political spectrum. President Franklin Roosevelt failed to endorse the EPIC campaign, saying he was staying out of local elections.<sup>34</sup> Norman Thomas attacked Sinclair, stating his plan was "a crazy system" and was "very unscientific". Thomas worried that when Sinclair's plan failed, "socialism will be discredited for something that it doesn't claim as its own".<sup>35</sup> Biographer, Anthony Arthur, described the opposition to Sinclair's candidacy was a:

...formidable combination of forces representing that establishment: the career politicians, the big-businessmen and industrialists, the press, and the churches, along with patriotic, social, and charitable organizations such as the American Legion, the Elks and the YMCA.<sup>36</sup>

A series of phony "newsreels", supported by MGM and Louis B. Mayer, were released to California movie theaters as "California Election News". These short films used actors to undermine Sinclair's campaign and promoted the Republican candidate.<sup>37</sup> Historian, Greg Mitchell, in his book, *The Campaign of the Century*, stated:

The prospect of a socialist governing the nation's most volatile state sparked nothing less than a revolution in American politics. With an assist from Hollywood, Sinclair's opponents virtually invented the modern media campaign. It marked a stunning advance in the art of public relations.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Arthur, Anthony. p. 277, 278.

<sup>35</sup>"Norman Thomas Fears Sinclair's Crazy EPIC, Money Nuts and Cranks Will Discredit Socialism", *Reading Times* (Reading, Pennsylvania) Sep 5, 1934, p. 1, 5.

<sup>36</sup> Arthur, Anthony, p. 263.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 274.

<sup>38</sup> Mitchell, Greg. *The Campaign of the Century: Upton Sinclair's Race for Governor of California and the Birth of Media Politics*, New York, Random House, 1992, p. xll.

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., declared “...advertising men now believed they could sell or destroy political candidates as they sold one brand of soap and defamed its competitor”.<sup>39</sup>

Upton Sinclair lost his race for governor, defeated by the coalition of industrialists, businessmen, movie moguls and social groups, however his 879,537 vote tally was 545,564 more votes than that received by the Democrat gubernatorial nominee in 1930.<sup>40</sup> Sinclair was angry on election night, refusing to concede and threatening the governor-elect with a recall attempt. He also expressed a belief that vote fraud had contributed to his loss.<sup>41</sup>

Following his defeat, he returned to writing, though his first book after the loss, *I, Candidate for Governor, and How I Got Licked*, was his account of the campaign.<sup>42</sup> His novel, *The Flivver King*, from 1937, was a work critical of Henry Ford. Sinclair’s 1942 novel about Nazi Germany, *Dragon’s Teeth*, was the winner of the Pulitzer Prize.<sup>43</sup>

Sinclair’s personal life included three marriages. He first married Meta Fuller in 1900 and the couple had one son, David.<sup>44</sup> The marriage ended in a scandalous divorce in 1912.<sup>45</sup> Sinclair was estranged from David for a lengthy period, much of which was orchestrated by his second wife and fellow writer, Mary Craig Kimbrough. She was known as “Craig” and the couple married in 1913, remaining so until her death in April 1961.<sup>46</sup> In the later years of the marriage, Craig became reclusive, requiring Sinclair to spend much of his time caring for his wife.<sup>47</sup> He married his third wife, May Willis, in October 1961. She was very outgoing, declaring she would “put

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Our Campaigns Website, on-line electoral website, “California Governor 1934” (accessed Jul 25, 2018) <https://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=46882>

<sup>41</sup> Arthur, Anthony. p. 278.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid, p. 280.

<sup>43</sup> Associated Press. “Muckrake King Dead at Age 90”. p. 42.

<sup>44</sup> Arthur, Anthony. p. 14-18.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid, p. 137.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, p. 145, 146.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid, p. 318, 319.

the social in socialism, the sin in Sinclair...” The marriage lasted six years until May’s passing in December of 1967.<sup>48</sup>

There are numerous links between Upton Sinclair and Eugene Debs. In a review of *The Jungle* from July 1906, Debs called the book “...the first really great and distinctively proletarian novel”. He declared “the pulse of the proletarian revolution throbs in these pages”.<sup>49</sup> In 1916, Sinclair developed a program that advocated socialists be prepared to defend democratic principles. Debs refused to endorse the program, stating:

...I know of no reason why the workers should fight for what the capitalists own or slaughter one another for countries that belong to their masters.<sup>50</sup>

Sinclair left the Socialist Party in July of 1917, because of his opposition to the party’s position on the war.<sup>51</sup> However, by September of 1918, Debs and Sinclair were exchanging letters concerning the novelist’s new book, *Jimmie Higgins*, of which Debs said “...I am delighted with it”. He also expressed appreciation for Sinclair’s efforts to assist comrades who have been jailed because of their opposition to the war. Debs noted he was aware of letters sent by Sinclair, to the president and cabinet members.<sup>52</sup>

In 1920, Sinclair rescued a project, developed by poet Ruth Le Prade. She had collected poems and articles about Eugene Debs, prepared by writers from across the globe, including H.G. Wells, James Whitcomb Riley, George Bernard Shaw and many others. The book was to be published as a homage to Debs but Le Prade struggled to find a publisher. Sinclair stepped in and agreed to publish the book, as well as to write the introduction.<sup>53</sup> Theodore Debs, in a letter to Sinclair, thanked him for saving the project:

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 319, 322.

<sup>49</sup> “Debs Opinion of *the Jungle*”, *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, Kansas), Jul 21, 1906, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990, Vol. II, p. 227, (Letter from Eugene Debs to Upton Sinclair, Jan 12, 1916).

<sup>51</sup> Arthur, Anthony. p. 169-171.

<sup>52</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. Vol. II, p. 444-445, (Letter from Eugene Debs to Upton Sinclair, Sept 19, 1918).

<sup>53</sup> “Debs and the Poets”, *Appeal to Reason* (Girard, Kansas), Nov 6, 1920, p. 2 (promotional announcement)



I am delighted that you are to publish the Ruth Le Prade book, more on Ruth's account than any other...I greatly feared...she would not find anyone to back it. I cannot tell you how glad I am that you have come to the rescue by putting it in print.<sup>54</sup>

The imprisoned Eugene Debs also approved of the project, communicating to Mabel Dunlap Curry to pass on that he was aware of the Le Prade book, "...am glad it will soon be out".<sup>55</sup>

Debs took *Appeal to Reason* editor, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius, to task, in a January 1926 letter, defending Upton Sinclair. Debs argued Sinclair had made a mistake about the war, but that he had "...confessed his error and done everything in his power to make amends for it..." Debs went on to challenge the editor's double-standard, in that he continued to praise Clarence Darrow, who had also supported Wilson's war, while at the same time, continued to criticize Sinclair.<sup>56</sup>

Correspondence between Upton Sinclair and Eugene Debs as well as communications referring to Sinclair are found in the Debs Collection at Indiana State University.<sup>57</sup> Upton Sinclair's books and papers were acquired by the Lilly Library at Indiana University in 1957.<sup>58</sup>

Sinclair joined the Eugene V. Debs Foundation as a charter member in March of 1962. He died at Bound Brook, New Jersey, on December 18, 1968, when he was 90 years old.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Constantine, J. Robert, editor. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, Vol. III, p. 139 (Letter from Theodore Debs to Upton Sinclair).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* p. 142.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 524-526, (Letter from Eugene Debs to Emanuel Haldeman-Julius).

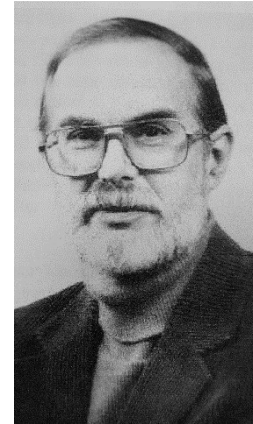
<sup>57</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990, Vol. 1,2,3.

<sup>58</sup> Arthur, Anthony. p. 318.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323.

## Edward Spann (1931-2004)

Born in Fairlawn, New Jersey, on April 12, 1931, Edward Kenneth Spann was the son of Hans and Gladys Hockenberry Spann.<sup>60</sup> His father, an attorney, was born in Germany in 1901, and immigrated with his family to New York in 1905.<sup>61</sup>



Edward attended Colorado College before transferring to Iona College where he completed a Bachelor's degree in history. He later earned his MA and Ph.D. at New York University. Spann first taught at Hunter College, and then New York University, before accepting a faculty position at Indiana State College in September of 1961.<sup>62</sup>

Ed and his wife, Joanne Ellison Spann, were married in August 1961, just prior to beginning his assignment at ISC in Terre Haute. The couple had four children, Laura, Suzan, Bryant and Jason.<sup>63</sup>

Professor Spann was a prolific writer, publishing a number of books and numerous articles. His first volume, *Ideals and Politics: New York Intellectuals and American Liberalism, 1820-1880*, was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize in 1972.<sup>64</sup> Spann's second book, *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857*, received

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<sup>60</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Indiana Death Certificate, Edward K. Spann, Indiana State Board of Health, registration number 104964, filed Jul 14, 2004, Joanne Spann, informant, (accessed May 12, 2018).

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=2146152&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=zLu312&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=2146152&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu312&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>61</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Trees-Subject- Hans Spann (1901-1984) (accessed May 12, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/9153012/person/-846246047/facts?ssrc=> ; Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1940 U.S. Census, Subject- Hans Spann, Fair Lawn, Bergen, New Jersey, (accessed May 12, 2018), [https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2442&h=131321504&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=zLu324&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2442&h=131321504&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=zLu324&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>62</sup> Susott, Marvin. "Edward K. Spann", Indiana State University, website- 2006, (accessed May 12, 2018). <http://baby.indstate.edu/phialphatheta/Edward%20Spann.htm> ; "State College Board Receives Bids for Women's Residence Hall Building", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Apr 8, 1961, p. 2.

<sup>63</sup> "Edward K Spann", World Biographies & Encyclopedia, Inc. website, (accessed May 13, 2018), [https://prabook.com/web/edward\\_k.spann/145153](https://prabook.com/web/edward_k.spann/145153)

<sup>64</sup> Olsen, Christopher J. "Edward K Spann-In Memoriam", American Historical Association, on-line (accessed on May 12, 2018), <https://.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/december2004/in-memoriam-edward-k-spann> ; "Dr. Spann Author of New Book", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 11, 1973, p. 11; "Dr. Edward Spann Publishes Article", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 19, 1968, p. 2.

the New York State Historical Society's Annual Manuscript Award.<sup>65</sup> He also published *Hopedale: From Commune to Company Town, 1840-1920*; *Brotherly Tomorrows: Movements for a Cooperative Society in America, 1820-1920*; *Designing Modern America: The Regional Planning Association of America and Its Members, 1914-1938*; *Gotham at War: New York City, 1860-1865* and *Democracy's Children: The Young Rebels of the 1960's and the Power of Ideals*.<sup>66</sup>

Spann was very much involved in his local community. In the 1960's, he was active in community theater where he adapted the Eugene O'Neil play, "Great God Brown", for the Terre Haute Drama Guild, and then went on to direct the play and was also a cast member.<sup>67</sup> He was also an actor in the Drama Guild's production of Becque's "La Parisienne".<sup>68</sup> Professor Spann actively promoted the city's downtown business district and frequently contributed letters to the editor of the *Terre Haute Tribune-Star*, encouraging Terre Haute's revitalization.<sup>69</sup> He provided the Terre Haute community with two volumes of local history, including *Juliet Peddle of Terre Haute: The Architect, The Historian 1899-1979* (co-authored with Helene C. Steppe) and *Ralph Tucker of Terre Haute: A Mayor and His City*.<sup>70</sup>

Shortly before his death, Dr. Spann completed a biography of Terre Haute artist, Gilbert Wilson. Known especially as a muralist and book illustrator, Wilson had studied with Rockwell Kent and Diego Rivera. His work included many paintings based upon characters and scenes from Melville's novel, *Moby Dick*. Hart and Beard Press is scheduled to publish a new edition of *Moby Dick*, to commemorate Melville's 200<sup>th</sup> birthday, in 2019. The volume will include the text of the novel, Wilson's illustrations and Spann's biography of the artist.<sup>71</sup>

Edward Spann was a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation and was a member of the board of directors from the organization's inception. When the

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid; "ISU Professor Is Honored", *Courier-Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky), Sep 1, 1977, p. 6.

<sup>66</sup> Susott, Marvin.

<sup>67</sup> "Drama Guild", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Nov 29, 1962, p. 17.

<sup>68</sup> "Drama Guild to Present Reading", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Oct 21, 1964, p. 16.

<sup>69</sup> Olsen, Christopher J, "Edward K Spann", Find A Grave, database, memorial page for Edward K. Spann, number 28694645, (accessed on May 14, 2018) <https://findagrave.com/memorial/28694645>

<sup>70</sup> Olsen, Christopher J.

<sup>71</sup> "In 2019 Gilbert Wilson Will Finally Get His Due", *Moby Dick*, Illustrated by Gilbert Wilson Website (accessed April 21, 2018), <https://www.gilbertwilsonmobydick.com/>

foundation began the process to restore the Debs Home, Spann was selected as the chairman of the Restoration Committee, which was responsible for the interior of the home.<sup>72</sup> He was also chairman of the organization's Historical Committee which launched an effort, in June of 1962, to locate friends and associates of Eugene Debs in order to make audio recordings of their recollections.<sup>73</sup>

Following the death of their son, Bryant, the Spanns created the Bryant Spann Memorial Prize in his memory and to also honor Eugene V. Debs. The prize was presented annually for the winning student essay on Debsian values. It was awarded twenty three times from 1979 to 1997. The family restructured the award in 2000, by establishing the Bryant Spann Memorial Scholarship for Indiana State University students, in their junior year, and with a major in history or a history teaching major.<sup>74</sup>

Professor Spann retired from Indiana State University in 1999. During his career, the university honored him with the Theodore Dreiser Research and Creativity Award, and he was also selected as a Distinguished Professor of the College of Arts and Sciences. Edward K. Spann died on July 5, 2004, at Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> "Repairs Authorized For Debs Home", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Sep 12, 1962, p. 13.

<sup>73</sup> "Interviews of Debs' Friends Are Recorded", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 24, 1962, p. 34.

<sup>74</sup> Olsen, Christopher J. ; Susott, Marvin.

<sup>75</sup> Olsen, Christopher J.

## J. Karl Stark (1919-2004)

J. Karl Stark, a native of Braddock, Pennsylvania, was born on February 1, 1919. His parents, Sidney and Sadie Abramowitz Stark, both immigrated to America early in the twentieth century. Sidney emigrated from Poland in 1905, while his wife moved to the United States from Romania in 1908. When Sadie was 17 years old, she worked as a presser in a neckwear factory in New York City. While in the city, she also supported and marched with birth control activist, Margaret Sanger. Karl's father was employed by a men's clothing store and later worked as a salesman for an electric manufacturing firm. In addition, Sidney was an organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers and assisted other New York City unions.<sup>1</sup>



Sadie and Sidney were both activist in the Socialist Party. Between 1920 and 1939, Sidney was the Socialist nominee for a seat in the Pennsylvania General Assembly, a State Senate candidate, nominee for County Commissioner and Sheriff, and a party nominee for Congress. Sadie was a Socialist candidate for the General Assembly in 1930, the State Senate in 1934 and the party nominee for Pittsburgh City Council in 1937.<sup>2</sup>

Karl received an undergraduate degree from the University of Pittsburgh in 1940. During World War II, he served with the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in Iceland, France and Germany. Following the war, he became a Pittsburgh businessman and was the owner of Penn Overall Supply Company, the largest industrial laundry in the city, and a union shop. His general manager, Ed Papania, said of Karl, "he was

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Public Trees- Subject- J. Karl Stark, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, (accessed Aug 30, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/55586121/person/13897175204/facts?ssrc=> ; Rauh Jewish Archives, John Heinz History Center, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on-line database, (accessed Aug 30, 2018) <http://www.jewishfamilieshistory.org/entry/stark-family/>

<sup>2</sup> "Election Proclamation", *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Oct 23, 1920, p. 14; "Vote Tomorrow and Help Get Out the Vote", *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Nov 6, 1922, p. 3; "Official List", *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Aug 23, 1923, p. 2; "Notice, Election Proclamation", *Pittsburgh Press*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Oct 25, 1924, p. 12; "Mark Your Ballot Like This", *Pittsburgh Daily Post*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Nov 2, 1925, p. 4; "Representative In Congress", *Pittsburgh Press*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Oct 23, 1926, p. 19; "Representative In the General Assembly", *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Oct 25, 1930, p. 32; "Senator In the General Assembly", *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Oct. 24, 1934, p. 22; "City of Pittsburgh", *Pittsburgh Press*, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Oct 30, 1937, p. 15; "Auditor General", *Clarion Democrat*, (Clarion, Pennsylvania), Oct 23, 1939, p. 7.

probably the best-read man I was ever around". Stark was also a board member of the Duquesne Brewing Company.<sup>3</sup>

Karl joined the Eugene V. Debs Foundation as a charter member in 1962.<sup>4</sup> He was also a board member with the Hebrew Free Loan Association and established the Stark Listening Center at Hillman Library, on the University of Pittsburgh campus, in memory of his parents.<sup>5</sup>

J. Karl Stark died on September 17, 2004, at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Smith, Pohla. "J.Karl Stark/Owner of Penn Overall, once city's busiest industrial laundry", Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Sept 20, 2004, on-line obituaries, <http://www.post-gazette.com/news/obituaries/2004/09/21/Obituary-J-Karl-Stark-Owner-of-Penn-Overall-once-city-s-busiest-industrial-laundry/stories/200409210190>

<sup>4</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Foundation Newsletter*, Eugene V. Debs Foundation, (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2012, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Smith, Pohla. "J. Karl Stark/Owner of Penn Overall".

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

## Kate Steichmann (1884-1979)

Kathe Rotscheck was born on April 5, 1884, at St. Louis, Missouri, the daughter of Emanuel and Kathe Rotscheck. Her father, a baker by trade, was born in Bohemia, in 1852, and eventually immigrated to New York City.<sup>1</sup> Emanuel became a U. S. citizen in 1876, shortly before he moved to St Louis, Missouri.<sup>2</sup> The Rotscheck family moved from St Louis to Tacoma Washington by 1891.<sup>3</sup> During this period, Kate attended public schools in Tacoma.<sup>4</sup> Her mother died in 1896 and the family returned to St Louis by 1900.<sup>5</sup>



Kate began a career in education when she was hired to teach in a one room school at Black Jack, Missouri, just north of St Louis. It was there she met her husband, Heinrich Ludwig Steichmann (later anglicized to Henry).<sup>6</sup> The U.S. Census for 1910 lists Henry as a newspaper reporter in St Louis, Missouri. The St Louis City Directory, for the same year, records Henry as an associate city editor for the *Westliche Post*, one of the city's German language newspapers.<sup>7</sup>

The Steichmanns moved to Indianapolis, Indiana, probably in 1911, when Henry accepted an administrative post with the Indianapolis Socialer Turnvereine, a gymnastic and German-American cultural club. The group's name would later change to Athenaeum Turners because of anti-German sentiment during World War I. The organization also included the Normal College of the North American Gymnastic Union.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Steichmann, Jay. (great- nephew of Kate Steichmann) email communication with author, May 24, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, U.S. Naturalization Record Index 1791-1992, (accessed Jun 8, 2018) <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/7110223/person/6865922337/facts?ssrc=> ; "Ziebold Gives Nickel to Fund For Wells Home", *St Louis Post-Dispatch* (St Louis, Missouri), Nov 28, 1907, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Steichmann, Jay.

<sup>4</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Debs Remembered* (unpublished manuscript) Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana), Cunningham Memorial Library, Special Collections (biographical note attached to Kate Steichmann's essay on Debs which is part of Constantine's manuscript).

<sup>5</sup> Steichmann, Jay.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1910 U.S. Federal Census, Subject-Henry Steichmann, St Louis Ward 14, St Louis, Missouri, (accessed Jun 12, 2018)

[https://www.ancestry.com/search/?name=henry\\_steichmann&event=st+louis-missouri-usa\\_50043&birth=1877](https://www.ancestry.com/search/?name=henry_steichmann&event=st+louis-missouri-usa_50043&birth=1877) ;

Ancestry.com, on-line database, U.S. Directories, 1822-1995, (St Louis, Missouri, 1910), (accessed June 12, 2018)

[https://www.ancestry.com/search/?name=henry\\_steichmann&event=st+louis-missouri-usa\\_50043&birth=1877](https://www.ancestry.com/search/?name=henry_steichmann&event=st+louis-missouri-usa_50043&birth=1877)

<sup>8</sup> Steichmann, Jay. ; Ancestry.com, on-line database, U.S. Directories, 1822-1995, (Indianapolis, Indiana, 1912-1917 , (accessed Jun 12, 2018), [https://www.ancestry.com/search/?name=henry\\_steichmann&event=1912\\_indianapolis-](https://www.ancestry.com/search/?name=henry_steichmann&event=1912_indianapolis-)

Kate enrolled in Normal College, and completed her bachelor's degree in 1914.<sup>9</sup> She began teaching at Indianapolis Shortridge High School in the fall of 1914, and remained at the school until her retirement in 1950. During this time, she taught physical education and science, and also served as the schools director of physical education.<sup>10</sup> In recalling her teaching career, Kate mentioned two of her more notable students: "Once upon a time: Richard G. Lugar, Mayor of Indianapolis (and later United States Senator) was a student in one of my classes and just to brag a little more, Kurt Vonnegut, author, attended many of my lectures."<sup>11</sup>

Kate Steichmann was a social and union activist which was a family trait, as her father had been a Greenback Party candidate for St. Louis City Council in 1882. He clashed with St. Louis mayor, Rolla Wells, using political satire to launch a campaign to raise funds for a retirement "palace" for the mayor. Emanuel Rotscheck publicly announced his donation of one nickel and declared the mansion should be constructed on Chesley Island, where the mayor's administration had been dumping the city's garbage. His campaign received considerable attention and was covered by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.<sup>12</sup>

Kate described herself as an avid reader of the socialist newspaper, *the Appeal to Reason*, from the time she was a student.<sup>13</sup> When she was 16 years old, Kate first heard Eugene V. Debs speak:

A beautiful Sunday morning in a park in south St Louis, a sixteen year oldster listens to you expound on the efficacy of the strike in labor disputes... As the sun mounted toward the zenith, the wrapt listeners finally awoke to the situation that our speaker threatened to dissolve

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[marion-indiana-usa 40138](#); "Athenaeum Turners Records, 1880-2002", Collection Abstract, Ruth Lilly Special Collections and Archives, IUPUI University Library, Indiana University- Purdue University website (Indianapolis, Indiana) (accessed Jun 12, 2018), <http://www.ulib.iupui.edu/collections/german-american/mss032>

<sup>9</sup> Steichmann, Jay; "A List of Alumni Who Attended the Annual Alumni Meeting, June, 1917", *Alumni Bulletin* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Normal College N.A.G.U., October 1917, p. 2. (Normal College later merged with the Indianapolis campus of Indiana University).

<sup>10</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. ; Ancestry.com, on-line database, U. S. School Yearbooks, 1880-2012, Shortridge High School, Indianapolis, Indiana, 1946, [lists Steichmann as a member of the science faculty] (accessed June 10, 2018), [https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/37/?name=kate Steichmann&birth=1884&residence= indianapolis-marion-indiana-usa 40138](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/37/?name=kate%20Steichmann&birth=1884&residence=indianapolis-marion-indiana-usa%2040138) ; Steichmann, Jay.

<sup>11</sup>"Mini Notes", *Alumni Bulletin*, Normal College/IUPUI, Indianapolis, Indiana, spring 1972, p. 2.

<sup>12</sup> "Ziebold Gives Nickel to Fund for Wells Home", *St Louis Post-Dispatch* (St Louis, Missouri) Nov 25, 1907, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Constantine, J. Robert.



in to perspiration. A murmur then voices: “take off your coat Gene”, “Let’em have it Gene”, “Give it to them”, laughter in which you joined. I see the light. I am converted to the cause...<sup>14</sup>

Based upon her age reference, this speech must have occurred in 1900. The *St Louis Post-Dispatch* reported on June 2, 1900, that Eugene V. Debs was expected to arrive on Sunday morning, June 3, 1900, to make an address in the city that day. So this is likely the rally Kate attended.<sup>15</sup>

Steichmann was also present when Debs stopped in Indianapolis, while returning home to Terre Haute, after his release from the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta.<sup>16</sup> Newspaper accounts for December 28, 1921, describe hundreds of supporters surrounding Debs as he left the train at Union Station in the Indiana capital. Cheers of “Comrade Debs” were heard continuously through the station, as Debs attempted to walk to a nearby hotel. Finally, the services of “two husky friends” were engaged to move Debs through the throng. At the hotel, Debs stood on a table in an assembly room in order to address his supporters.<sup>17</sup> Kate recalled: “Over many heads of the crowd in Indianapolis I won the benediction, the clasp of your (Debs) hand.”<sup>18</sup>

In later years, Steichmann offered insight into her political views. She declared she was a Socialist and a proud Wobbly. Kate also reported she and Henry were friends of Eugene Debs and Debs had visited with them in their Indianapolis home. She also expressed her admiration for the anarchist and social activist, Emma Goldman.<sup>19</sup> A list of subscribers to Goldman’s, *Mother Earth*, magazine, seized by federal agents, after the publication was shut down in August of 1917, includes the name and address of Henry Steichmann.<sup>20</sup> Despite appearing on the subscriber list,

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<sup>14</sup> Steichmann, Kate. “Eugene V. Debs”, an essay included in the unpublished manuscript, *Debs Remembered*, edited by J. Robert Constantine, Cunningham Memorial Library, Special Collections, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana).

<sup>15</sup> “Debs Coming”, *St Louis Post-Dispatch* (St Louis, Missouri), Jun 2, 1900, p. 2.

<sup>16</sup> Constantine, J. Robert.

<sup>17</sup> “Debs Arrives At Indianapolis, To Get Home Tonight”, *St Louis Star and Times* (St Louis, Missouri), Dec 28, 1921, p. 2. ; “Indianapolis Gives Ovation to Red Leader”, *Great Falls Tribune* (Great Falls, Montana), Dec 29, 1921, p. 1. ; “Debs Doubtful of Safety of Making a Speech”, *St Louis Post-Dispatch* (St Louis, Missouri), Dec 29, 1921, p.17.

<sup>18</sup> Steichmann, Kate.

<sup>19</sup> Steichmann, Jay.

<sup>20</sup> “Mother Earth Subscribers”, U.S. Justice Department, Washington, D.C., July 1918, University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley, California, on-line database (accessed on Jun 10, 2018),

[http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~ryanshaw/bio/emma/Mother\\_Earth\\_Subscribers.pdf](http://people.ischool.berkeley.edu/~ryanshaw/bio/emma/Mother_Earth_Subscribers.pdf)

there were apparently no negative repercussions felt by the Steichmanns.<sup>21</sup>The Athenaeum was the location of a 1924 lecture by German pacifist, Professor Von Schultze-Gaevernitz. The professor was a member of the German Reichstag, elected as a candidate of the Pacifist Party, and the speech was part of an American lecture tour. Henry Steichmann was a spokesman for the event, stating it had been arranged by a group of three men who wished to remain anonymous. Steichmann went on to state the Athenaeum was not an official sponsor of the lecture.<sup>22</sup>

During Kate's teaching career, she was an active trade unionist, and helped to revitalize the teachers' union in Indianapolis.<sup>23</sup>She served as a delegate to state conventions of the Classroom Teachers Association of the American Federation of Teachers. At one convention, she introduced a resolution to apply pressure on the state of Indiana to catch up on their late payments to the teachers' retirement fund. Despite a lengthy debate, her proposal was defeated by more conservative delegates<sup>24</sup> Steichmann was also called upon to serve as a teachers' union delegate to the Indianapolis Central Labor Union.<sup>25</sup>Even after her retirement, in 1950, she took on the Indianapolis School Board and Superintendent Virgil Stinebaugh, over what was referred to as spurious contracts created by the superintendent and a local attorney. The details were exposed in testimony offered in Marion County Superior Court in 1953. The lawsuit was an attempt to recover lost wages for Steichmann and 19 other retired teachers.<sup>26</sup>

Henry and Kate retired to California in June of 1951, where they purchased an avocado farm in San Diego, referred to as "Rancho Santa Fe".<sup>27</sup> Following Henry's death in 1954, she continued to reside on the farm. Eventually she sold the property to the farm workers who had assisted her. For a number of years, she traveled about the country, staying with relatives for a period of time. In 1974, she moved to Tacoma, Washington, to live with her sister Ruth.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Steichmann, Jay.

<sup>22</sup> "Member of Reichstag to Make Address Here", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Feb 21, 1924, p. 10.

<sup>23</sup> Constantine, J. Robert.

<sup>24</sup>Power, Fremont, "Teachers Get 2 Views on Russia", *Indianapolis News* (Indianapolis, Indiana) Oct 26, 1946, p. 9.

<sup>25</sup> "Officers Are Selected By Classroom Teachers", *Indianapolis News* (Indianapolis, Indiana), Dec 1, 1943, p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Hunt, Lester M. "Teacher Pay Squeeze Bared In Court", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana) Nov 13, 1953, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> "Departing for Coast", *Indianapolis Star* (Indianapolis, Indiana) Jun 30, 1951, p.6; Steichmann, Jay.

<sup>28</sup> Steichmann, Jay.

For much of her life, Kate was a recycler of things, long before it was the norm. She often recycled greeting cards, crossing off the previous name, to reuse the card. Shortly before her death, she mailed such a greeting to her nephew's family, stating, "Like this card, I am feeling ready to be recycled". Kate passed away, later that year.<sup>29</sup>

Eugene V. Debs Foundation charter member, Kate R. Steichmann, died on October 9, 1979 at Pierce, Washington, she was 95 years of age.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, *Washington, Death Index, 1940-2014*, (accessed Mar 20, 2018), [https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/34/?name=kate+r.\\_steichmann&birth=1884\\_st+louis-missouri-usa\\_50043&death=1979\\_washington-usa\\_50](https://www.ancestry.com/search/categories/34/?name=kate+r._steichmann&birth=1884_st+louis-missouri-usa_50043&death=1979_washington-usa_50)

## Earl Stephanson (1921-1986)

Born in Butte, Montana, on September 21, 1921, Earl M. Stephanson was the son of Elias and Cironna Hausen Stephanson.<sup>1</sup> His father was a telegraph operator for the electric railroad in central Montana.<sup>2</sup> Earl's grandfather emigrated in 1873, from Iceland, settling in North Dakota.<sup>3</sup>



Stephanson served for four years in the U.S. Army during World War II, having completed two years of college before the war interrupted his education.<sup>4</sup> After the war, he earned his bachelor's degree at the University of Montana, and received his graduate degree from Montana State University.<sup>5</sup> He taught economics at Montana State University before accepting a teaching post at Mission House College in Wisconsin, in 1954.<sup>6</sup> Stephanson was appointed as an assistant professor for social studies at Indiana State Teacher's College, beginning in the autumn of 1956.<sup>7</sup>

While at Indiana State, Stephanson arranged a collaboration between the school and the Vigo County Labor Council, creating an educational program to assist union officers and members. He made a presentation to the Labor Council in August of 1958, linking labor education and the advancement of the trade union movement.<sup>8</sup>

Stephanson's proposal came to fruition in February 1959, when 25 trade unionists enrolled in the first of the classes. The labor education program functioned for

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Trees-Subject-Earl M Stephanson, Ringling, Meagher, Montana, <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/40126049/person/410083247688/facts>

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Trees-Subject- Elias Stephanson, Ringling, Meagher, Montana, <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/40126049/person/410083191726/facts>

<sup>3</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Tree-Subject-Magnus Stephanson, <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/40126049/person/410083191633/facts>

<sup>4</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, U.S. World War II Army Enlistment Record, Earl M. Stephanson, <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/40126049/person/410083247688/facts>

<sup>5</sup> "MSU Will Confer 168 Degrees at Exercises Today", *Missoulian* (Missoula, Montana) Aug 17, 1950, p. 1; "Earl Stephanson New Professor at Mission House", *Sheboygan Press* (Sheboygan, Wisconsin) Aug 6, 1954, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> "Earl Stephanson New Professor at Mission House", *Sheboygan Press* (Sheboygan, Wisconsin) Aug 8, 1954 p.4.

<sup>7</sup> "12 Appointments of Indiana State Staff Announced", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 6, 1956, p.5.

<sup>8</sup> "Professor Speaks to Labor Group", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Aug 18, 1958, p. 3.

several years, with Stephanson as director. The 16 week course included five instructors, with a focus on collective bargaining and union leadership training.<sup>9</sup> Professor Stephanson invited Tilford Dudley, national AFL-CIO Speakers Bureau director, to discuss “Automation and Its Impact on Collective Bargaining” for a 1959 class of the labor education program.<sup>10</sup>

That invitation led to an important link between local ISTC faculty and national labor unions that proved critical in 1962, with the establishment of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. It was Stephanson who introduced Tilford Dudley to the small group that would become the core of the new organization and it was Dudley who used his national connections to promote the fledgling organization to unions across the country.<sup>11</sup> Stephanson clearly played a key role in establishing the Debs Foundation. When the organization was established, in the spring of 1962, he was listed as the resident agent on the incorporation documents.<sup>12</sup> In a June 1962, newspaper clipping, Stephanson thanked a group of school children for their donation in support of restoring the Debs Home. The article identified him as the president of the Debs Foundation.<sup>13</sup>

Professor Stephanson left ISU for Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio, where he was an associate professor of economics. He first appears in the university course catalog in the fall of 1969 and is listed as a member of the faculty through 1974.<sup>14</sup> Earl Stephanson left academia in 1975, when he was appointed the assistant director of the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services.<sup>15</sup>

Professor Earl M. Stephanson died on November 11, 1986, at Columbus, Ohio.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> “Indiana State Labor Course Has full Class”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Feb 15, 1959, p. 36;

“Labor Leadership Course Continues”, *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 22, 1961, p. 9.

<sup>10</sup> “Labor Education Chief to Talk to Local Class”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 31, 1959, p. 9.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. ; “I Remember When: Woodrow Creason”, *Debs Foundation Newsletter* (Terre Haute, Indiana), spring 2002, p. 5, 8.

<sup>12</sup> “Group Seeks to Restore Debs Home” *Times* (Munster, Indiana) Apr 17, 1962, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> “Deming Students Aid Debs Home”, *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jun 17, 1962, p. 22.

<sup>14</sup> “Wright State University Undergraduate Course Catalog (1969-1974)”, Wright State University, Dayton Ohio, WSU website (accessed May 31, 2018)

[https://corescholar.libraries.wright.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=archives\\_catalogs](https://corescholar.libraries.wright.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=archives_catalogs)

<sup>15</sup> “Ross Joblessness Hits 11.5% During January”, *Chillicothe Gazette* (Chillicothe, Ohio), Mar 4, 1976, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, Ohio Death Records 1938-2007, Subject- Earl M. Stephanson, (accessed May 31, 2018) <https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=5763&h=1570611&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&phsrc=BRP7091&phstart=successSource>

## Irving Stone (1903-1989)

He was born Irving Tennenbaum at San Francisco, California, on July 14, 1903, the son of Charles and Pauline Rosenberg Tennenbaum. His parents divorced in 1910 and his mother later married Isador Stone. By the time Irving entered college, in 1920, he had legally changed his last name to Stone.<sup>1</sup>



His family moved to Los Angeles where he earned his high school diploma from Manual Arts High School. Stone graduated from the University of California at Berkeley in 1923, having completed an undergraduate degree in political science. He received his graduate degree from the University of Southern California, before returning to Berkeley and two years of work toward a doctorate, which he did not complete.<sup>2</sup>

In 1926, Stone traveled to France, intent on becoming a writer. He quickly completed a number of plays during this period, but none succeeded in gaining him literary attention. While in France, he was persuaded by a friend to attend an exhibition for an artist who was unknown to him. The exhibit turned out to be the paintings of Vincent Van Gogh. Stone was overwhelmed by what he saw, and years later, said “It was the single most compelling emotional experience of my life...”<sup>3</sup> Stone returned to New York, determined to write a book about Van Gogh. He began to generate stories that were sold to mystery magazines, eventually saving enough to finance a frugal research trip to Europe, estimating he could live on \$2 a day for 6 months. His project took him to the Netherlands, Belgium and back to France. To return home, he worked his way across the Atlantic as the member of a ship’s crew.<sup>4</sup>

Stone’s book, *Lust for Life*, was completed in 1931, but was turned down by 17 publishing houses. Around this time, he met and later married, Jean Factor, a book

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<sup>1</sup> Krebs, Albin. “Irving Stone, Author of ‘Lust for Life’, Dies at 86”, *New York Times*, (New York, New York), Aug 28, 1989, p. B-6, national edition; Ancestry.com website, Subject- Isador Stone- Los Angeles, California, (accessed Aug 6, 2018), <https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/7979386/person/-934338047/facts>

<sup>2</sup> Oliver, Myrna. “Irving Stone Dies at Age 86; Best-Selling ‘Biohistorian’”, *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles, California), Aug 28, 1989, pp. 1, 32, 38.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

editor who read *Lust for Life* and made recommendations to reduce its size. The book was then submitted to Longmans, Green & Company, who agreed to publish the novel. Stone's book was well received and quickly became a best seller. Jean served as his editor and assistant for the remainder of Stone's life. The couple had two children, Paula and Kenneth.<sup>5</sup>

In his 55 years as a successful writer, he published 29 books. Most were biographical novels but also included a biography of Governor Earl Warren (later U.S. Chief Justice) and *They Also Ran*, a book of brief biographical sketches of defeated presidential candidates. He wrote biographical novels on fifteen subjects, including Jack London, Clarence Darrow, Mary Todd Lincoln, Michelangelo, and Eugene Debs.<sup>6</sup> In a 1985 interview, Stone described his method for researching and writing his novels:

In the biographical novel there's only one person involved. I, the author, spend two to five years becoming the main character...By the time you get to the bottom of page two or three, you forget your name, where you live, your profession and the year it is. You become the main character of the book.<sup>7</sup>

The origin of the author's interest in Eugene Debs appears to be linked to a 1922 rally in San Francisco, where he heard Debs speak. Stone recalled how the longtime socialist leader united the crowd by merely using his outstretched arms. "He did this without saying one word... a gesture which implied the greatest love for his fellowman."<sup>8</sup> Stone declared, "To see that was one of the most dramatic things that ever happened to me".<sup>9</sup> In 1940, while researching the book, *Clarence Darrow for the Defense*, "Stone came under the Debs spell again and resolved to do this book about him".<sup>10</sup> In late 1940 and early 1941, he began to correspond with Florence Crawford, the chief librarian of the Emeline Fairbanks Memorial Library, in Terre Haute,

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<sup>5</sup> Albin, Krebs.

<sup>6</sup> "Author Irving Stone Dies; His Best-Selling Novels Traced Lives of the Famous", *Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, Georgia) Aug 28, 1989, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas, Bob. Associated Press. "Irving Stone Wants His Readers to Live the Book", *Green Bay Press-Gazette* (Green Bay, Wisconsin) Nov 3, 1985, p. 84.

<sup>8</sup> Kenney, Herbert P. Jr. "Heroic, Unrecognized Painter Subject of Stone's Next Book", *Indianapolis News* (Indianapolis, Indiana) Oct 9, 1947, p. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Patrick, Corbin.

Indiana. Stone, in a February 1941 letter, reported to Crawford that “I am growing more and more interested in the life story of Eugene V. Debs; I think he is beginning to emerge as one of our really important Americans”. He also thanked her for recommendations to interview Theodore Debs, Oscar Baur, the brother-in-law of Debs, and Dr. J. R. Shannon, an ISTC professor who had recently purchased the Debs home. Stone indicated he would soon travel to Terre Haute to further assess the prospect of a Debs project.<sup>11</sup>

Despite Stone’s suggestion, in 1941, that a Debs project was imminent, there is little evidence he began any significant research prior to late 1943. Theodore Debs, in a letter to Joseph Coldwell, in October of 1943, reported he had offered to provide Irving Stone with “material in my possession...and I have in fact supplied him with some already”, to assist with a book. Theodore assures Coldwell “it was not until I had received the finest recommendations from some of the old-timers of highest standing” that a commitment was made to Comrade Stone.<sup>12</sup>

A letter sent by Stone to Theodore Debs, in September 1944, was basically a lobbying effort to convince Debs of his skills and standing as a significant writer. He included an illustrated copy of *Lust for Life*, as well as his book, *They Also Ran*, and a copy of *Clarence Darrow for the Defense*. He referred Debs to the Clarence Darrow volume, as “you will find the material on your late great brother in chapter II...” Stone promised to autograph all three copies when they met in Terre Haute.<sup>13</sup> In reply, Theodore thanked him for the books and endorsed the project, stating:

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<sup>11</sup> Irving Stone, letter to Florence Crawford, Feb 11, 1941, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana), <http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/singleitem/collection/evdc/id/11241/rec/49>

<sup>12</sup> Theodore Debs, letter to Joseph M. Coldwell, Oct 20, 1943, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University (Terre Haute, Indiana) <http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/compoundobject/collection/evdc/id/2313/rec/128>

<sup>13</sup> Irving Stone, letter to Theodore Debs, Sept 8, 1944, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana). <http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/singleitem/collection/evdc/id/11174/rec/13>



Your commendations are satisfactory in a super degree. Whatever material I have that may be helpful in your labors will be gladly placed at your disposal for examination.<sup>14</sup>

A follow-up letter to Theodore by Stone, detailed how the project was underway, with a number of completed interviews in New York, and additional meetings scheduled for the Rand School. Stone provided Debs with a copy of the *New York Times* book review for his new volume, *Immortal Wife*. He also directed Debs to a recent positive review of the book by historian, Allan Nevins. Stone suggested the significant press his new book was receiving "...most certainly will be even better about our book for Eugene V. Debs".<sup>15</sup>

During the next six months, Stone and Debs continued regular communications. Theodore made suggestions on people Stone should interview and began to send letters and other materials to Stone for use in his research. In a letter dated November 11, 1944, Stone advised Debs, "the precious crate of Debsiana arrived safely, and was so securely packed that every last piece of paper is in perfect shape". A letter from Stone to Theodore, dated February 4, 1945, noted another batch of letters had been delivered by Railway Express.<sup>16</sup> Theodore Debs did not live to see the completion of the project, dying on April 13, 1945, at Terre Haute.<sup>17</sup>

Following her father's death, Marguerite Debs Cooper took over as family representative in working with Stone on the Debs project. Considerable correspondence between the two is part of the Debs collection at the Cunningham Memorial Library, at Indiana State University. Marguerite

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<sup>14</sup> Theodore Debs, letter to Irving Stone, Sept 12, 1944, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, and (Terre Haute, Indiana).

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/compoundobject/collection/evdc/id/12416/rec/13>

<sup>15</sup> Irving Stone, letter to Theodore Debs, Oct 5, 1944, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana).

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/singleitem/collection/evdc/id/11175/rec/14>

<sup>16</sup> Irving Stone, letter to Theodore Debs, Nov 11, 1944, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana).

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/singleitem/collection/evdc/id/11176/rec/15> ; Irving Stone, letter to Theodore Debs, Feb 4, 1945, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana),

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/singleitem/collection/evdc/id/11180/rec/19>

<sup>17</sup> "Brother of E.V. Debs Dies in Terre Haute", *Muncie Star* (Muncie, Indiana) Apr 14, 1945, p. 2.

expressed concerns with the book, prior to its September 1947, release. In correspondence to Stone, dated July 9, 1947, Debs Cooper, tells Stone “I cannot say that we are enthusiastic about the title, but there is no doubt, that it will appeal to the reading public.” She also wondered how her father and uncle might react to the book if they could read it. “From your letters I cannot but wonder if they would be disappointed!” Marguerite also took exception with Gloria Weston, a character Stone created as a “love interest” for Debs. She also expressed puzzlement with an additional character, Ned Harkness, Gloria’s husband and a prosecuting attorney. She stated that she and her mother were just beginning to understand the concept of “fictional elements”, as previously described to them by Stone, but advance notices of the book were mentioning characters “...whom mother and I have never heard about”. She further stated, “...as the time draws near for the book to come out, I often wish were living in some secluded spot- away from Terre Haute...away from the outside world”. The overall tone of the letter was amiable, yet Marguerite’s concerns were clearly stated.<sup>18</sup>

Stone quickly responded to Marguerite’s “troubled, though friendly” letter. He assured her Weston and Harkness were the only two fictional characters in the book and declared the relationship between her uncle and Gloria was totally proper. Stone further stated “there is not one word in the entire quarter of a million words of the novel that is improper or could in any way be misinterpreted”. He explained to Marguerite the creation of Gloria Weston was necessary to “maintain structural suspense”. He also confided the character was created from two real people, “a beautiful little red-headed girl” from Debs’ youth, who was mentioned to Stone by Theodore. The girl later married someone else and moved away. He also reported Jessica Reynolds, the wife of Debs confidant, Stephen Marion Reynolds, was the other woman used in creating Weston. Her home was a Terre Haute gathering point for “...artists and independent thinkers” and Stone incorporated attributes of the two women into the character of Gloria. In concluding his response, he appealed to Marguerite:

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<sup>18</sup> Marguerite Debs Cooper, letter to Irving Stone, Jul 9, 1947, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University (Terre Haute, Indiana)  
<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/compoundobject/collection/evdc/id/12436/rec/98>

I only want to tell you that so far in our relationship, neither you nor your father, nor anyone of the hundreds of others of my friends in the union movements or the socialist movement have ever had occasion to lose faith in me or my work. I therefore ask you to hold that faith, and hold it unshatterable, [sic] and do not be disturbed by publishers' advertisements or any other material written by men who have not read the manuscript and whose sole job is to try to make a product look saleable.<sup>19</sup>

Marguerite, in yet another “friendly but troubled letter”, challenged Stone’s details about her uncle’s drinking:

Father would have been hurt, just as we have, because you made such an issue of Uncle’s drinking. He did drink now and then-as many men- but mother and I never saw him take even a glass of wine nor did we ever see him under the influence of liquor...father refused to endorse Coleman’s book (McAlister Coleman, *Eugene Debs, Man Unafraid*, 1930) because of this very issue and when he read it, he just about collapsed. Truly, I’m happy he won’t be hurt again...<sup>20</sup>

In his response, Stone assured Marguerite that it was quite common for most men to drink with friends. However, he insisted there was “...considerable mass evidence...” supporting accounts that Debs drank heavily on occasion. He pointed to dozens of interviews where he was asked “what are you going to do about the drinking”. Stone asked, “What would Eugene V. Debs have wanted me to do about this? I simply could not conceive that Gene would have wanted me to falsify by omission.” He told Marguerite that one early criticism of the book claimed he had “whitewashed Debs’ weaknesses and failures”. From this, he suggested he would be “catching hell” from both sides.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Irving Stone, letter to Marguerite Debs Cooper, Jul 14, 1947, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana)  
<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/compoundobject/collection/evdc/id/12396/rec/86>

<sup>20</sup> Marguerite Debs Cooper, letter to Irving Stone, Sept 8, 1947, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana),  
<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/compoundobject/collection/evdc/id/12445/rec/101>

<sup>21</sup> Irving Stone, letter to Marguerite Debs Cooper, Sept 12, 1947, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana),  
<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/compoundobject/collection/evdc/id/12449/rec/102>

Despite Marguerite's concerns, the book was released by Doubleday & Company on September 26, 1947. Even with their differences, Marguerite and Irving remained friends, continuing their correspondence into the 1950's.<sup>22</sup> The launch of *Adversary in the House* prompted a national book signing tour. The itinerary listed a visit to Terre Haute on the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of October, 1947, which included a book signing "at the local bookstore", however Stone specifically requested spending time with Marguerite and her mother during the stop.<sup>23</sup> In Indianapolis, Stone was interviewed about the new volume, stating there were three reasons he employed the biographical novel instead of a regular biography format:

First there already was a Debs biography (McAlister Coleman's *Eugene V. Debs: Man Unafraid*); Second, 5,000 people will read a novel to every single prospect for the average biography; Third, (Stone) likes the fictional treatment because he believes it leaves the reader, not with a soon-to be forgotten set of names, dates and facts, but with an emotional impression he can't easily lose.<sup>24</sup>

During the interview, Stone clarified facts related to Indiana poet, James Whitcomb Riley. He stated there was no argument that Debs and Riley were friends and that Debs, while walking the streets of Indianapolis, weighing whether to accept the 1900 nomination for president by the Socialists, did come across Riley during his walk. However, Stone clarified that the conversations from this scene in the book were fictional.<sup>25</sup>

There were criticisms of the novel, as Fanny Butcher, literary critic of the *Chicago Tribune*, raised concern about the concept of a biographical novel. She asked, "If 'fictionalized biography' [sic] is to be recognized in the literary field, to what degree of license can a writer impose on his victims?" Butcher also referred to a letter received from a Terre Hautean, critical of Stone's depiction of Kate Debs. The writer defended Mrs. Debs, arguing she never

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<sup>22</sup> Correspondence – Irving Stone / Marguerite Debs Cooper, 1947-1951, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana)

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/search/searchterm/Stone,%20Irving,%201903-1989/mode/exact/page/1>

<sup>23</sup> Irving Stone, letter to Marguerite Debs Cooper, Sept 12, 1947.

<sup>24</sup>Patrick, Corbin.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

tried to interfere with Gene's political career and did not oppose his socialist beliefs. The Terre Haute critic also expressed amazement "...at the heart throb and sex interest" found in the novel, complaining this was not Debs and "borders on ridiculous". Stone's creation of Gloria Weston as a romantic interest of Debs, was also challenged, as she was "...not known to any of Debs' friends".<sup>26</sup>

John Dwight Kern, chairman of the English department at Temple University, reviewed Stone's book for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Kern described *Adversary in the House* as "... a readable book, even though it is in some respects more than a little dubious historically". He further stated it "...is not a profound book; it is glibly written, but the author succeeds in dramatizing the life of Debs and in demonstrating the power of honesty and passionate conviction".<sup>27</sup> Stone's book received much more positive reviews from such newspapers as the *Louisville Courier Journal*; *Baltimore Sun*, "swiftly moving story"; *Ithaca Journal* and the *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, "it is biography disguised as fiction".<sup>28</sup>

In reviewing the correspondence between Marguerite Debs Cooper and Irving Stone, as they discussed and debated *Adversary in the House*, an interesting sidebar is revealed. In her July 9, 1947, letter to Stone, Marguerite mentions in the second to last paragraph:

Uncle Gene's home is again for sale. It is needless to say when we saw the sign up in the front window the other day as we were passing our hearts were struck with a feeling difficult to describe. It is no doubt, like many other old timers, will be bought and turned into a rooming house. A friend- a Social Science teacher- remarked this morning that it ought to be purchased by the city because of its historic interest. One need not expect that of this town.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Butcher, Fanny. "The Literary Spotlight", *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois) Oct 5, 1947, p. 208.

<sup>27</sup> Kern, John Dwight. "Irving Stone Portrays Eugene V. Debs", *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) Sep 28, 1947, p. 152.

<sup>28</sup> Bale, Joy. "Wife Is Called Debs' Greatest Foe", *Louisville Courier Journal* (Louisville, Kentucky), Dec 20, 1947, p. 35; "Hustler's Book Looks", *Baltimore Sun* (Baltimore, Maryland) Oct 10, 1947, p. 5; "Facts & Fiction", *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle*, (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), Nov 28, 1947, p. 8; "Literary Guidepost", *Ithaca Journal* (Ithaca, New York), Oct 2, 1947, p. 12.

<sup>29</sup> Marguerite Debs Cooper, letter to Irving Stone, Jul 9, 1947.

During the following seven months of correspondence, Marguerite and Irving regularly discussed the Debs house and its possible purchase. Stone suggested the Socialist Party might be able to raise the funds to buy the home as a memorial, but then it was discovered the party was in dire financial straits. The somewhat philanthropic Hulman and Blumberg families were also considered as possible contributors but then that idea was dropped. A contact with the Indiana Historical Society ended with their suggestion the friends of Debs might be the best source for the money. On February 15, 1948, a dejected Marguerite advised Stone the house had been sold to a fraternity.<sup>30</sup> In his reply, Stone tried to console her:

I am sorry about the Debs house, but actually we were a long way from collecting a fund. All I could get were pious good wishes, and the promise of individual workmen to send me a dollar or two. I guess the Debs Memorial will have to be in the everyday life of millions of people whose lot Gene and Theodore bettered. And I guess maybe they would be content with that.<sup>31</sup>

In 1962, Irving Stone joined with sixty two other charter members to establish the Eugene V. Debs Foundation. The group was successful in finally purchasing the Debs home, establishing it as the physical memorial he and Marguerite had envisioned, 14 years earlier.<sup>32</sup> Stone maintained his support of the organization and served for a time as a foundation vice president.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Marguerite Debs Cooper, letter to Irving Stone, Jul 9, 1947; Marguerite Debs Cooper, letter to Irving Stone, Jul 27, 1947; Irving Stone, letter to Marguerite Debs Cooper, Aug 2, 1947; Marguerite Debs Cooper, letter to Irving Stone, Aug 14, 1947; Marguerite Debs Cooper, letter to Irving Stone, Dec 14, 1947; Marguerite Debs Cooper, letter to Irving Stone, Feb. 15, 1948, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana).

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/search/searchterm/Stone,%20Irving,%201903-1989/mode/exact/page/1>

<sup>31</sup> Irving Stone, letter to Marguerite Debs Cooper, Feb 20, 1948, Wabash Valley Visions & Voices, Debs Collection, Cunningham Memorial Library, Indiana State University, (Terre Haute, Indiana)

<http://visions.indstate.edu:8888/cdm/singleitem/collection/evdc/id/11210/rec/41>

<sup>32</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", Debs Foundation Newsletter, Eugene V. Debs Foundation (Terre Haute, Indiana) spring 2012, pp. 6-7.

<sup>33</sup> "Bicentennial Conference Set", Terre Haute Tribune, (Terre Haute, Indiana), Oct 10, 1976, p. 29.

Irving Stone died on August 26, 1989, in Los Angeles, California, while in the final stages of completing a biographical novel of John Muir. He was 86 years old.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Oliver, Myrna. Aug 28, 1989, p. 1; "Finding Aid to the Irving Stone Papers", Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, (Berkeley, California) on-line archive, p. 5, (accessed Aug 14, 2018)  
[http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/berkeley/bancroft/m95\\_205\\_cubanc.pdf](http://pdf.oac.cdlib.org/pdf/berkeley/bancroft/m95_205_cubanc.pdf)

## Norman Thomas (1884-1968)

Six time Socialist presidential candidate, Norman Mattoon Thomas had some unique connections with a number of other important figures in American history. He worked as a newsboy for Warren G. Harding; was a student of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton; and delivered the eulogy for Eugene V. Debs at Terre Haute.<sup>1</sup> In addition, First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt once declared she would have voted for Norman Thomas had she not been married to FDR.<sup>2</sup>



Thomas was born at Marion Ohio, on November 20, 1884. His father, Welling Evan Thomas, was a Presbyterian minister. Norman's mother, Emma Mattoon Thomas, was college educated and the daughter of a Presbyterian minister who became the first president of Biddle College, a school for African-American students in Charlotte, North Carolina.<sup>3</sup>

Norman was in ill health much of his early childhood, prompting his parents to enroll him in part time lessons at a local private school. After two years, he was able to begin full time classes in the Marion public schools.<sup>4</sup> In his youth, he was a newsboy, delivering papers for Warren Harding's, *Marion Daily Star*.<sup>5</sup> Thomas graduated from Marion High School in 1901. That summer, the family moved to Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, where his father had been named the minister for that city's First Presbyterian Church. Their new community included the campus of Bucknell University where Norman began classes in the fall of 1901. Thomas became dissatisfied with the school's academic standards, and with the help of an uncle's financial support, transferred to Princeton University in the autumn of 1902.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fleischman, Harry. *Norman Thomas A Biography: 1884-1968*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969, pp. 28, 36, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Goodman, James. "Thomas's Legacy", *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, Vol. 85, No. 8, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, Dec 19, 1984, p.13.

<sup>3</sup> Fleischman, Harry. *Norman Thomas A Biography: 1884-1968*, New York, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1969. pp 21-24.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Swanberg, W.S. *Norman Thomas: The Last Idealist*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, pp. 9' 10, 11...



When Thomas arrived at Princeton, Woodrow Wilson had been elevated to the presidency of the university. Despite his new position, Wilson continued to teach classes and Norman Thomas became one of his students. Later, Norman expressed an opinion of Wilson, “praising his intellect but lamenting his lack of warmth...”<sup>7</sup> Thomas graduated, magna cum laude, from Princeton in 1905, and was class valedictorian and a member of Phi Beta Kappa.<sup>8</sup>

He became involved in the settlement movement, working in a Presbyterian neighborhood center, located in the slums of New York.<sup>9</sup> Later, Thomas enrolled at the Union Theological Seminary, in New York City, which had become a nucleus of activity for the Social Gospel movement.<sup>10</sup> He graduated in the spring of 1911, and accepted an assignment as pastor for the East Harlem Presbyterian Church. The parish was located in an area of the city populated by Italian and Hungarian immigrants, with considerable poverty and crime.<sup>11</sup>

The outbreak of World War I moved Thomas to oppose the war and possible U.S. entry. He joined the American Union Against Militarism and publicly condemned the war. He further expanded his anti-war efforts when he became a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and was editor of their magazine.<sup>12</sup> Thomas also assisted Roger Baldwin in establishing the National Civil Liberties Bureau (which would later become the American Civil Liberties Union).<sup>13</sup> Once America entered the war, Thomas resigned as pastor of his church because of pressure from some parishioners, who disagreed with his position on the war.<sup>14</sup>

Prominent American Socialist, Morris Hillquit, ran for New York City mayor in 1917, on an anti-war platform. Thomas wrote a letter of support to Hillquit and was quickly brought into the campaign. Thomas was an active campaigner, “...speaking night after night about bread, peace and freedom...”<sup>15</sup> He applied for membership with the Socialist Party in 1918. As a pacifist, member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the National Civil Liberties Bureau and the Socialist

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 15.

<sup>9</sup> Fleischman, Harry. pp. 40-41.

<sup>10</sup> Swanberg, W. A., p.24.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 36.

<sup>12</sup> Fleischman, Harry. p. 57, 58, 63.

<sup>13</sup> Swanberg, W.A., p. 56.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 64.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 61.

Party, he became a target of federal agents, with large numbers attending his speeches, while others shadowed his office and tapped his telephone.<sup>16</sup>

After the war, he was named co-director of the League for Industrial Democracy. This was followed, within a year, of Thomas being named editor-in-chief of the *New York Leader*, which was a socialist newspaper created from the failing *New York Call*. The *New York Leader* failed within six weeks. Thomas returned to the League for Industrial Democracy and was able to supplement his income as a speaker and writer.<sup>17</sup>

Norman Thomas became a prominent figure in the New York Socialist Party. He was the party's gubernatorial candidate in 1924, receiving nearly 100,000 votes in his losing effort.<sup>18</sup> He reluctantly accepted the party's nomination for New York City mayor in 1925. In that race, Eugene V. Debs traveled to New York to campaign for Thomas, making three appearances for the Socialist mayoral candidate. Locations included the Hunt Point Palace in the Bronx, Brooklyn Academy of Music and the largest rally at Carnegie Hall.<sup>19</sup> Despite an enthusiastic campaign, Thomas finished a distant third with 3.5% of the vote, losing to Democrat, Jimmy Walker.<sup>20</sup>

The Socialist Party endorsed the third party presidential candidacy of Senator Robert M. La Follette, in 1924. The death of Eugene Debs in October of 1926; and the foreign born status of the party's two most notable figures, Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger, prevented them from seeking the presidency in 1928. The Socialists turned to Norman Thomas, an outstanding speaker, experienced campaigner, and intellectual, nominating him by acclamation.<sup>21</sup> This was the first of six consecutive nominations for the presidency received by Thomas. In his first campaign for the president, Thomas received 267,420 votes. The percentage of the popular vote was

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<sup>16</sup> Fleischman, Harry. p. 67.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, pp. 91-97.

<sup>18</sup> "Norman Thomas Socialist Choice in Governorship", *New York Daily News* (New York, New York), Jul 28, 1924, p. 26; Our Campaigns Website, on-line database, New York Governor's Race, 1924, (accessed Jul 12, 2018), <https://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=94432>

<sup>19</sup> "Welcome Debs To Boro Labor Rally", *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, New York) Oct 16, 1925, p. 14; Ross, Jack. *The Socialist Party of America*, Lincoln, Nebraska, Potomac Books/University of Nebraska Press, 2015, p. 285; Swanberg, W.A. p. 98-99.

<sup>20</sup> Our Campaigns Website, on-line database, New York City Mayoral Race, 1925, (accessed July 12, 2018) <https://www.ourcampaigns.com/RaceDetail.html?RaceID=81946>

<sup>21</sup> Shannon, David A. *The Socialist Party of America A History*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1955, p. 191.

under 1% and less than the party's percent of the vote in 1900. His best showing was during the height of the depression, in 1932. In that year, the Socialist standard bearer garnered 884,885 votes or 2.2% of the popular vote.<sup>22</sup> In August of 1932, *Time* thought his role in the campaign was significant enough that he appeared on their cover.<sup>23</sup> He tirelessly campaigned in four additional runs for the presidency in 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948, but received less than 1% of the popular vote in each of those efforts.<sup>24</sup> David Shannon, in his history of the Socialist Party, contends Franklin Roosevelt's policies greatly reduced the Socialist vote. He points to the shift of labor support from the Socialists to FDR with the creation of the American Labor Party in 1936.<sup>25</sup> Former Vice President Henry Wallace's 1948 Progressive Party run for the White House significantly diverted votes from Thomas's final campaign, as Wallace received more than a million votes. Despite considerable media expectations, the Wallace percentage of the popular vote was actually less than that received by Thomas in 1932.<sup>26</sup>

During the last twenty year of his life, Norman Thomas continued his fight for social justice in America. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in a 1965 essay, called Norman Thomas "the bravest man I ever met". In the article, King described a scene that occurred at the 1963 March on Washington, when a father, standing with his young son, listened to a speech by an impressive orator. The boy asked the father, "who is that man" and the father replied, "That's Norman Thomas, he was for us before any other white folks were".<sup>27</sup> Thomas was a co-founder of the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy in 1957.<sup>28</sup> He opposed the development and testing of nuclear weapons and denounced the Soviet Union for testing a 50-megaton bomb in 1961, calling it a "monstrous crime". He declared such an explosion by the United States would also be a "monstrous crime".<sup>29</sup> Thomas was one of the earliest critics of American involvement in Vietnam, attacking U.S.

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<sup>22</sup> Ross, Jack. p. 327.

<sup>23</sup> "Norman Thomas", *Time* (New York, New York) magazine website (covers 1923-2014) (accessed Jul 14,, 2018) <https://content.time.com/time/covers/0,16641,19320808,00.html>

<sup>24</sup> Our Campaigns Website, on-line database, Presidential Elections, 1936, 1940, 1944, 1948, (accessed July 13, 2018, <https://www.ourcampaigns.com>)

<sup>25</sup> Shannon, David A. pp 235, 246.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 237.

<sup>27</sup> King, Rev. Martin Luther, Jr. *Pageant*, Jun 1965, pp. 23-29, King Center Website (accessed Jul 14, 2018) <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/essay-mlk-entitled-bravest-man-i-ever-met>

<sup>28</sup> Johnpoll, Bernard K. *Pacifist's Progress*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1970, p.272.

<sup>29</sup> "Norman Thomas Denounces Test", *Kansas City Times* (Kansas City, Missouri) Oct 30, 1961, p. 2.

policy in a letter to the *New York Times* in January of 1965. He would spend the remainder of his life speaking out against the war.<sup>30</sup>

The *Washington Post* described Thomas as “America’s conscience”. The *Post* further stated:

There is hardly a cause involving compassion for the luckless or a decent respect for minority rights in which this great nonconformist has not played a part. He has fought hard, and always cleanly. And he will continue, we may be sure, to reproach his country for not being as good as it might and could. More power to his heart and tongue.<sup>31</sup>

Norman Thomas’s connection to Eugene Debs, Terre Haute and the Eugene V. Debs Foundation included a number of visits to the city of Terre Haute. Thomas delivered the principal address and eulogy for Eugene Debs from the porch of the Debs home on October 24, 1926. Thomas said of Debs:

More than any other man, Debs had the courage, the ideals and the visions of the Prophet, and he had that perfect love for his fellowman which casts out fear.<sup>32</sup>

Thomas returned to Terre Haute to speak on August 29, 1935, in order to protest martial law that had been imposed upon the city by Governor Paul McNutt. Terre Haute had experienced a general strike in July 1935. The strike lasted for only 36 hours but the governor was continuing the suspension of civil liberties. Thomas risked arrest as the Indiana National Guard was enforcing the governor’s proclamation, which banned public gatherings. During his visit, he spoke at two mass meetings, including one gathering outside the Vigo County Courthouse, where 2,000 citizens gathered for the speech. Thomas referred to Governor McNutt as a dictator and a “Two-By-Four Fascist” and demanded martial law be lifted.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Johnpoll, Bernard K. p. 283.

<sup>31</sup> Kimmel, Sherri. “Norman Thomas Class of 1905”, *Bucknell Magazine*, Oct. 14, 2016, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, University Website, (accessed Jul 13, 2018) [https://www.bucknell.edu/Norman\\_Thomas](https://www.bucknell.edu/Norman_Thomas)

<sup>32</sup> “Last Tributes Bestowed Upon Eugene V. Debs”, *Dayton Daily News*, (Dayton, Ohio), Oct 24, 1926, p. 13.

<sup>33</sup> “Thomas Defies Indiana Militia” *Reading Times* (Reading, Pennsylvania) Aug 30, 1935, p. 16; “Thomas Speaks at Terre Haute”, *Call-Leader* (Elwood, Indiana) Aug 31, 1935, p. 2; “Norman Thomas Says McNutt Is Two-By-Four Fascist”, *St Louis Post Dispatch* (St Louis, Missouri) Sep 7, 1935, p. 8.

Norman Thomas became a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in March of 1962. He returned to Terre Haute on May 9, 1964, to give the dedication address, establishing the Debs Home as a memorial museum.<sup>34</sup> Thomas received the 1966 Eugene V. Debs Award in recognition of his public service, during a ceremony at Terre Haute on October 20, 1966.<sup>35</sup> Letters between Norman Thomas and Eugene Debs are included in the Debs Collection at Indiana State University.<sup>36</sup>

Norman Mattoon Thomas died at Huntington, New York, on December 19, 1968. He was 84 years old.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> "Sculptor Will Attend Debs Dedication", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) May 3, 1964, pp. 1,2; "Dedication Scenes At Eugene V. Debs Home", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Jun 7, 1964, p. 70.

<sup>35</sup> "Thomas, Reuther Laud Eugene Debs", *Terre Haute Tribune* (Terre Haute, Indiana) Oct 21, 1966, p. 1.

<sup>36</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990, Vol 3, 1919-1926, pp. 33, 34n, 206,474,503, 504n, 508, 508n, 601n

<sup>37</sup> "Norman Thomas Is Dead at 84", *Boston Globe*, (Boston Massachusetts) Dec 20, 1968, p. 2.

## Edward Whalen (1905-1983)

Edward J. Whalen, the son of Edward F. and Margaret Gerren Whalen, was born in Streeter, Illinois on November 29, 1905.<sup>1</sup> The family was living in St Louis, Missouri, in 1910, but relocated to Terre Haute, Indiana by 1918, where his father was a clerk.<sup>2</sup>



Edward married Louise Roach on June 24, 1935. The Whalens were the parents of two sons, Edward and James.<sup>3</sup>

Edward was an advertising salesman for the *Terre Haute Tribune-Star* Publishing Company and later served as the newspaper's circulation manager. He also worked as an assistant manager of Meis Brothers Department Store. Whalen is probably most remembered as the long time proprietor and president of Moore-Langen Printing.<sup>4</sup> The company, founded in 1864, was historically linked to Eugene Debs. The Moore-Langen firm was contracted to provide printing services for the American Railway Union. When the ARU collapsed, after the Pullman Strike, Eugene Debs assumed the union's debts, including money owed the printer. Although it took him twenty years to accomplish, Debs personally paid off all of those obligations.<sup>5</sup>

Edward was an active member of his community, serving on the boards of the Community Chest, Vigo County Historical Society, Goodwill Industries and the

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<sup>1</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, Death Certificate, Edward J. Whalen, Indiana State Board of Health, number 83-023407, (accessed May 18, 2018),

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=3572811&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP6992&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=60716&h=3572811&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP6992&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>2</sup> Ancestry.com, on-line database, 1910 U.S. Census, Subject- Edward F. Whalen, St Louis, Ward 9, St Louis, MO, (accessed May 18, 2018), <https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7884> ;

<sup>3</sup> Ancestry.com on-line database, Public Trees- Subject-Edward J. Whalen (accessed May 18, 2018)

<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/11952676/person/-202911776/facts?ssrc=> ; "Edward Whalen Rites Tomorrow", *Indianapolis News*, (Indianapolis, Indiana), June 21, 1983, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> "Jaycees Score Again", *Terre Haute Star* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Jan 24, 1973, p. 4. ; "Edward Whalen Rites Tomorrow". ; Ancestry.com on-line database, 1947 Terre Haute City Directory, R.L. Polk, St Louis, MO, (accessed May 18, 2018),

[https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2469&h=610457285&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&\\_phsrc=BRP7006&\\_phstart=successSource](https://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=2469&h=610457285&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=BRP7006&_phstart=successSource)

<sup>5</sup> Constantine, J. Robert. *Letters of Eugene V. Debs*, Urbana, Illinois, University of Illinois Press, 1990, Vol. I, p. 139n; "Company Overview of Moore Langen Printing Company, Inc., Bloomberg Website (accessed Aug 22, 2018), <https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/snapshot.asp?privcapId=4662109>

American Red Cross. Whalen also served as president of the Terre Haute Chamber of Commerce.<sup>6</sup>

He was a member of a small group of Terre Haute businessmen who stepped forward in support of the preservation of the Debs Home, by becoming a charter member of the Eugene V. Debs Foundation in 1962.<sup>7</sup>

Edward J. Whalen died on June 20, 1983, at Terre Haute, Indiana.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "Community Chest Officers Elected", *Terre Haute Star*(Terre Haute, Indiana), Mar 1, 1951, p. 1; "Three Businessmen Given Citations by Red Cross", *Terre Haute Tribune*(Terre Haute, Indiana) Dec 3, 1960, p. 12; "Four Directors of Historical Society Named", *Terre Haute Tribune*(Terre Haute, Indiana), Jan 17, 1969, p. 8; "L.F. Kieler Honored by Goodwill", *Terre Haute Star*(Terre Haute, Indiana, Sep 16, 1972, p.2.

<sup>7</sup>Constantine, J. Robert. "The 1962-1987 Period", *Debs Newsletter* (Terre Haute, Indiana), Eugene V. Debs Foundation, spring 2012, p.7.

<sup>8</sup> "Edward Whalen Rites Tomorrow".

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