Legislative Program

of the

Socialist Party

Record of the Work of the Socialist Representatives in the State Legislatures of the United States, 1899-1913: With account of Efforts of the Party in Direct Legislation

By Ethelwyn Mills

Published by The Socialist Party
National Office — 36 W. Madison Street, Chicago
1914

25 cents
We are not going to attain Socialism at one bound. The transition is going on all the time and the important thing for us, in this explanation, is not to paint a picture of the future—which in any case would be useless labor—but to forecast a practical program for the immediate period, to formulate and justify measures that shall serve as aids to the new socialist birth.

—Wilhelm Liebknecht.
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Legislative Program of the Socialist Party

INTRODUCTORY

There is nothing more vital to the socialist movement than its constructive program. To be able to point out in definite terms and in concrete measures the actual steps by which the goal of socialism may be reached is not only of great interest—it is an absolute necessity.

Wilhelm Liebknecht realized this when he wrote: “The important thing for us is not to paint a picture of the future—which in any case would be useless labor—but to forecast a practical program for the immediate period, to formulate and justify measures that shall serve as aids to the new socialist birth.”

And if that were true in Germany many years ago, it is much more true in the American movement today.

Moreover, as the socialist ideas win acceptance among the people, and the party by its growth and success comes more and more into the control of official positions, this problem increases in importance. The capture of a single city, the election of a few representatives to a state legislature, brings the party face to face with the problem of reducing its theories to a constructive program, its propaganda proposals to the cold letter of the statutes. And thus, whether we will or no, we must grapple with the inevitable problem of how to inaugurate socialism, how to formulate the measures that will bring about the change we seek.

It is evident that this task will not be the work of a few months, or even years; that no single group of socialists will be able to work it out alone. It will require years of thoughtful and careful work, wide research, legal investigations, a study
of comparative legislation, constitutional problems and the varying conditions prevailing in the different states. It is evident that the development of the legislative program of the Socialist party will come about as the result of the co-operative study and experience of the socialists in all the states, concerning the many different problems which the different states present and covering years of thought and activity.

In view of the importance of this work, the Information Department has given this matter especial attention from the first. In order that the results of the work of the socialists in the state legislature of one state may be known and available to those in the legislatures of other states; in order that the party itself may have a knowledge of the problems involved and the actual measures advanced; in order that the socialists of foreign countries may have copies of our measures for purposes of comparison, criticism and suggestion; and finally, that all may know with some degree of accuracy just how extensive the legislative work of the socialists has been, and what degree of success attends the political action of the party as it develops, we have undertaken to compile as complete a record as possible of this work.

The present pamphlet is a sort of report of the work so far. It is a report of "progress." Other reports will follow from time to time, we hope, as the work develops and requires it. We hope that its publication will prove of value to those who sincerely seek to know just how the problems of socialism are being wrought out. We hope, also, that its publication will serve to emphasize in the minds of the members and officials of the Socialist party the importance of this phase of our work, and especially the importance of maintaining a basis of co-operation among the states through the central bureau of information at the national headquarters.
I. EARLY EFFORTS

In 1899, the present Socialist party elected its first representatives to the state legislature in Massachusetts. From that day to this, the party has been fighting a continuous battle for the cause of labor in the various state legislatures, and the story of the enactments won by them has been a steady crescendo.

Gathering strength slowly in every state, the party finally breaks through here and there and elects a representative to the state legislature. Generally it is a single representative at first, or at best, two or three.

In Massachusetts, James F. Carey was elected in 1898, and re-elected each year for a time, serving until 1903; and in the same state F. O. MacCartney was elected in 1899, and served four terms. It is impossible to gather the complete record of their work, but such records as are available show that in 1901 three, out of fifteen or more bills of importance, were passed. One shortened the hours of state and county employees; another took the burden of proof from the employe and shifted it to the railroad company in a suit to recover damages in case of injury or death, and the third amended the law in regard to the price to be paid by cities or towns in the purchase of electric light or gas plants. In 1902 two more bills were passed, one of which had for its object the appointment of a committee to further the adoption by the states of a uniform law making eight hours a legal day's work. Several other bills received a majority of the votes cast, but not the necessary two-thirds required for passage; some others still passed the house, and were rejected by the senate.

The party was then without representatives until 1909, when Charles H. Morrill was elected in Massachusetts. He still holds office. In New York, the first representative, Herbert H. Merrill, was elected in 1911. In Pennsylvania, the socialists won a seat in November, 1910, electing James H. Maurer. One representative had been elected in Florida some years before, and Nels S. Hillman of Minnesota was elected in 1910, and has served his second term. In 1911, Rhode Island sent James P. Reid to the legislature, and he served for a term of one year.
In Wisconsin a group of socialists has been elected to the legislature for five biennial terms. In 1905, W. J. Alldridge, E. J. Berner, Fred Brockhausen and August Streihlow were elected to the house, and Jacob Rummel to the senate, by the socialists. In 1907, the socialist representatives were Alldridge, Berner, Brockhausen, Carl D. Thompson and Frank Weber in the house, and Rummel in the senate. Berner, Brockhausen and Weber went back in 1909, and Winfield R. Gaylord was sent to the senate. In 1911 the number was considerably increased; a round dozen socialists were sent to the assembly, and Gabriel Zophy and Gaylord to the senate; the assemblymen were Berner, Max Binner, Brockhausen, W. J. Gilboy, Jacob Hahn, Arthur Kahn, Michael Katzban, E. H. Kiefer, George Klenzendorff, F. B. Metcalfe, J. H. Vint and Weber. Of these men, Brockhausen was the secretary of the state federation of labor, and Weber was the general organizer of that body.

Finally, in 1913, there were twenty-two socialists elected in nine different state legislatures.

Thus gradually, but surely, the power of the Socialist party is growing, as the number elected to the legislatures increases. But it grows in another respect: the program is being developed and made more comprehensive, while everywhere members of the party are assembling the facts and information that constitute the arguments in favor of their measures.

It has been impossible to gather complete data on the work of the early representatives of the party in the various states, but copies of the bills they introduced and such records as we can discover show that they stood for the usual socialist measures, such as the initiative and referendum, woman suffrage, etc., for improvement of labor conditions, for public ownership of public utilities, and other measures leading toward the socialist goal.

II. SUCCESSFUL MEASURES IN WISCONSIN

The records of the legislative activities of the socialists are more complete and have been more carefully kept in Wisconsin than elsewhere, so we naturally turn to that state first. The socialists have had a group of representatives in the state legislature for nearly ten years. The measures introduced and the work done by these representatives were much the same in
each session. Indeed, as will be seen above, the personnel was much the same.

In 1905, the socialists fought for the passage of a considerable number of bills, at least twenty-four of which were of especial importance, and all of which were defeated. These aimed to better labor conditions as to hours, health, compensation, legal aid, restraining injunctions in time of strike, regulating women's, children's and convict labor; others provided for municipal ownership and municipal initiative and referendum; and still others would have brought about the state ownership of land and natural resources.

In 1907, the socialist measures were typical and serve to illustrate the nature and extent of the work. The socialists introduced 72 different bills during this one session. Fifteen were finally carried. Among the successful measures were the following:

1. A bill which provided for the erection of guards and railings over dangerous machinery in factories.
2. A bill which provided that all metal polishing machines shall be equipped with blowers and sufficient draft to remove the metallic dust.
3. A bill requiring railway companies to equip all trains with sufficient men to handle the work without overburdening the train men, known as the Full Crew Bill.
4. An eight-hour telegraphers' law.
5. A greatly improved child labor law.
6. Certain measures securing a greater degree of justice to labor through court processes.

Thus it will be seen that as early as 1907 the socialists legislators were beginning to force considerable concessions from the legislatures. By the time the 1911 legislature closed its session, the number of successful socialist measures had increased remarkably.

In 1909, the principal socialist bills numbered 42, with 16 resolutions. Two of these bills passed; one provided for a state investigation of the unemployment situation (the measure, however, passed only in an amended form, which did not carry with it an appropriation for this investigation), and the other successful bill provided for the safety of workmen in the construction of buildings. As was often the experience, some others passed the house, but not the senate. The labor measures covered the
matters above mentioned, and others were designed to abolish contract labor, and to enforce weekly payment of wages. The bills dealing with municipal affairs provided for home rule, housing, purchase of land, and the usual municipal ownership and direct legislation program. Other bills aimed to regulate the public utilities, fixing responsibility for railroad accidents, increasing safety on street cars, and making the telegraph companies liable for the non-delivery of telegrams. The resolutions were mostly memorials to the national congress, asking for the establishment of the socialist demands which would come under the scope of the national, rather than the state, government. They covered the parcels post, the postal savings bank, old age pensions, public ownership of the railways, express, telegraph and telephone, international peace, a constitutional convention, the abolition of the senate, woman suffrage, government relief for the unemployed, popular election of federal judges, and the right to work.

In the session of 1911, the 14 Wisconsin representatives introduced in all 260 measures. Of these, 67 were actually enacted into law. There were 199 bills and 61 joint resolutions introduced. Fifty-two bills were passed in the senate and 63 in the assembly. Eighteen joint resolutions were passed in the senate and 15 in the assembly. Of the 199 bills, 92 were finally passed and signed by the governor, while of the 61 joint resolutions introduced, 16 were finally passed, one being later withdrawn. Thus a total of 67 enactments were secured by the socialists in this single session of the state legislature.

But it is not so much by a count of actual measures enacted as by consideration of the nature of these measures that their value may be judged. Speaking of the labor legislation secured in that session, the Milwaukee County Campaign Book (1912) says (page 57):

"The 1911 session of the Wisconsin legislature gave more attention to labor legislation than any of its predecessors.

"The persistent demands of the state federation of labor through many years, and the active campaigns of the Social-Democratic party, together with the fact that the latter had carried the city of Milwaukee in the spring of 1910, compelled both the Republican and Democratic parties to write into their state platforms in 1910 many progressive measures."
"The Republican party even declared for such labor legislation 'as shall place Wisconsin on a level with the most progressive states or nations.'

"The presence of 12 social-democratic assemblymen and 2 state senators from the same party constituted actual voting power enough in the legislature to compel attention to the demands of this working-class group. As a result, there were 22 laws enacted which benefit the working class directly."

But the socialists, while giving special attention to labor measures, do not confine themselves to those alone. Their program covers a wide range of social legislation involving measures for the reconstruction of the social order. Along this line, the Wisconsin socialists have a number of successful measures to their credit.

1. **Municipal Legislation.** Fourteen different bills introduced by the socialists bearing upon this problem were passed during the session of 1911. These provided, among other things, for a greater degree of home rule for the city, secured the right of "excess condemnation," enabled the city to embark in the public ownership of certain public utilities, and gave them the right to secure land and property with which to begin the building of workingmen's homes.

2. **State Ownership.** The same year, the socialists secured the passage of a joint resolution for a constitutional amendment, providing for the ownership by the state of the lands, mineral rights, water powers and other natural resources.

3. **Constitutional Convention.** They also secured the passage of a joint resolution calling for a national constitutional convention.

4. **Political Measures.** Socialists secured the passage of a law providing for a municipal initiative and referendum; another providing for a half holiday on election days; another providing that women may use the voting machines.

5. **Public Utilities.** The socialists secured the passage of a law repealing the "exclusive" clause in the franchise of the Milwaukee Gas Light Company; another legalizing the bonds issued by the city of Milwaukee for an electric lighting plant and declaring invalid certain injunctions brought against the city to restrain it from erecting the plant; another authorizing cities operating heating plants to install and operate pipes and mains in the same way as for water works.
These, of course, are only a small part of the total number of successful bills, but they are the more significant ones and serve sufficiently to illustrate the nature of the work of the party in these earlier years.

It must also be added that these are only the measures won by the socialists in but one state. There has been considerable success in other states along similar lines. The Information Department at the national headquarters of the party has collected and classified a total of 520 bills which have been prepared and introduced in the various state legislatures, up to 1912. The title list of bills found in a subsequent chapter include these, as well as those of 1913.

III. SOCIALISTS IN NINE LEGISLATURES IN 1913

In the fall elections of 1912, the Socialist Party of America reached the highest point of its success in legislative elections so far. As stated above, 22 of its candidates were elected to the state legislatures. One of the socialist senators, Fred W. Stanton, was ousted by the Kansas senate, in spite of the fact that the courts had previously found and declared him duly elected.

Another representative, H. K. Davis, had been elected in Nevada, but almost immediately upon election repudiated the authority of the party, voted against its mandates, and was expelled. H. W. Harris, who had been elected to the assembly in Illinois, lost his seat on a recount, after having served most of the term. Eliminating these three, the party had 19 representatives in 9 different state legislatures. The list is as follows:

SOCIALIST LEGISLATORS, 1913

State Senators:
  Kansas, Fred W. Stanton, 9th district.
  Nevada, M. J. Scanlan, Nye County.
  Wisconsin, Gabriel Zophy, 7th district.

State Assemblymen:
  California, C. W. Kingsley, 65th district.
  Illinois, H. W. Harris, 21st district; C. M. Madsen, 23d district; Joseph Mason, 25th district; Seymour Stedman, 13th district.
  Kansas, Everett Miller, 22d district; Benjamin F. Wilson, 20th district.
  Massachusetts, Charles H. Morrill, district ward 5th.
  Montana, Charles H. Conner, Lincoln County.
Minnesota, Nels S. Hillman, 51st district.
Nevada, I. F. Davis, Nye County.
Wisconsin, Martin Gorecki, 14th district; E. H. Kiefer, 15th
district; Carl Minkley, 4th district; William L. Smith,
12th district; J. H. Vint, 8th district; E. H. Zinn, 7th
district.

One or two characteristic features of the work of these
socialists are new and worthy of note. For example, for the
first time socialists were elected in states where problems of
mining are uppermost; namely, southern Kansas, Nevada and
Illinois. This has resulted in a number of measures being intro-
duced dealing with the problems of labor in the mining sections.

Another special feature is the greater care and compre-
hensiveness with which measures providing for the public owner-
ship and operation of public utilities have been drawn. This is
notably the case in the measure prepared by the legislative
committee of the party in California, and introduced through
their representative, Mr. Kingsley.

IV. THE PRESENT LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF THE
PARTY

The legislative program of the party to date may be gath-
ered from the following list, which gives the subjects and brief
statements of contents of the 1913 bills, the names of the states in
which the measures were introduced, notations as to which bills
were on new subjects, and a statement as to the final disposition
of each one. The classification is arranged alphabetically.

SOCIALIST LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM—1913

1. Agriculture
Loans to farmers from 30 per cent postal savings de-
posits, petition to Congress, Wisconsin, new, passed.
Prevention of pests, Nevada, new, defeated.

2. Co-operative Enterprises
Providing for co-operative enterprises, Kansas, passed
with amendments.
Similar bill in Illinois, defeated.

3. Cost of Living
Investigation, Massachusetts, defeated.
Reduce by eliminating waste in distribution, Washing-
ton, new, defeated.
4. County
Powers of government, Wisconsin (no report).

5. Courts
Advancing cases of personal injury, Illinois, defeated.
Appeal from award of damages for taking private property for public use, Wisconsin, new, passed.
Attorney’s fees in suits for wages, Illinois, defeated.
Civil action without prepayment of fees, Wisconsin, defeated.
Civil proceedings in district courts, Kansas, defeated.
Costs in municipal suits, Wisconsin, passed.
Election of federal judges by people, Wisconsin, defeated.
Imprisonment for contempt, preventing, Illinois, new, defeated.
Increase wage exemptions, Illinois, defeated.
Injunctions against public officers, prohibiting, Wisconsin, defeated.
Injunctions in labor troubles, prohibiting, California, defeated.
Wisconsin, defeated.
Nevada, defeated.
Jury, grand, California, defeated.
Jurors, qualification, California, defeated.
Jurors, selection, Wisconsin, defeated.
Legal aid in criminal cases, Kansas, defeated.
Nevada, defeated.
Legal aid to poor, Nevada, defeated.
Licensing court reporters, Illinois, defeated.
Milwaukee civil court, jurisdiction, Wisconsin, defeated.
Relief to persons erroneously convicted, California, new, defeated, but similar bill passed.
Third degree, abolition, Wisconsin, defeated.
Union funds, preventing courts tying up, Illinois, new, defeated.
Verdict of jury reduced, Wisconsin, defeated.
Suits for wages in county where labor was performed, Washington, defeated.
6. Direct Legislation
Amendment to constitutional amendment granting initiative and referendum, California, defeated.
Initiative and referendum elections by mail, Nevada, defeated.
Initiative and referendum, municipal, Massachusetts, defeated.
Initiative on constitutional amendments, Massachusetts, defeated.
Recall of judges, Wisconsin, defeated.
Recall of members of state commissions and departments, Wisconsin, defeated.
Recall of municipal officers, Wisconsin, passed.
Recall of state and county officers, Massachusetts, defeated.
Referendum, legislature to voluntarily submit questions to voters, Massachusetts, passed.

7. Domestic Relations
Abandonment of wife or child, Wisconsin, defeated.
Common law marriages not to be observed, Kansas, new, defeated.
Distribution of property of parents of illegitimate children, Kansas, new, defeated.
Divorce shall not affect legitimacy of children, Illinois, new, defeated.

8. Education
Bonds for school districts for payment of outstanding warrants, Kansas, defeated.
Compulsory attendance, raising age 14 to 16, Massachusetts, defeated.
Compulsory attendance, courses of study, commercial education in 9th grade, etc., Nevada, passed.
Free meals, Massachusetts, passed.
Free text-books, Wisconsin, defeated.
Illinois, defeated.
Night schools, provision for, Kansas, new, passed.
Minimum wage to teachers, Wisconsin, passed.
Trade schools, Wisconsin, defeated.
Teachers in parochial schools must have teachers' certificates, Wisconsin, passed.
9. Elections

Assembly districts, California, new, defeated.
Congressional districts, California, new, defeated.
Election of U. S. congressmen, California, new, defeated.
Election day half holiday, Wisconsin, defeated.
   Nevada, passed.
Election day legal holiday, Kansas, defeated.
Election boards, California, defeated, but similar bill passed.
Election boards, representation for minority parties, Massachusetts, defeated.
Employed electors to have opportunity to vote, Nevada, passed.
Legislature, election of senators, California, defeated.
Non-partisan elections, forbidding, California defeated.
Non-partisan act, repeal, Wisconsin, defeated.
Non-partisan act, amendment, Wisconsin, defeated.
Primary elections, California, defeated.
Proportional representation, Massachusetts, defeated.
Registration and absent voting, constitutional amendment, California, defeated, but similar bill passed.
   Kansas, defeated, but similar bill passed.
Registration certificates, Washington, defeated.
Redistricting of state and election of legislators, California, defeated.
Senatorial districts, California, defeated.

10. Labor

Advertisements in time of strike to contain notice of strike.
   Wisconsin, passed.
   Minnesota, passed.
   Montana, defeated.
   Illinois, defeated.
Apprentices, amendment to act relative to, Nevada, defeated.
Arbitration, state board witnesses, Massachusetts, defeated.
Blacklisting, preventing, Nevada, passed and vetoed.
   Illinois, defeated.
Boycott, right, Illinois, defeated.
Bureau of labor statistics and factory inspection, California, not taken up.
Child labor, abolishing, regulating, etc., California, not taken up, but similar bill passed.
Massachusetts, defeated.
Convict labor, marking of articles, Wisconsin, defeated.
Convict labor, wages to dependents, Wisconsin, defeated.
Kansas, defeated.
Contract by bonded employe, canceling of, California, defeated.
Direct employment in cities, Wisconsin, defeated.
Disputes, state investigation, Massachusetts, defeated.
Employment agencies, to make charging or receiving a fee a felony, Minnesota, defeated.
Employment agencies, bonding of, Minnesota, defeated.
Employment agencies, right of city to pay its share, Wisconsin, defeated.
Freedom in choice of physicians, Nevada, new, defeated.
Hours, eight-hour bill on public works, Minnesota, defeated.
One day rest in seven, Illinois, defeated.
One day rest in seven, Wisconsin, defeated.
Eight-hour day, universal, California, new, defeated.
Saturday half holiday, Illinois, defeated.
Hours of work on state buildings, Wisconsin, defeated.
Housing, railroads, lumber camps, etc., Washington, defeated.
Wisconsin, defeated.
Influence in discharge of employes, Wisconsin, defeated.
Insurance, employers' liability, California, not taken up, similar bill carried.
Insurance, proof of injury, Nevada, defeated.
Licensing of engineers, Wisconsin, defeated.
Lumber, providing for assessment of logs in districts where cut, Minnesota, new, defeated.
Liens for sub-contractor and laborer, Wisconsin, passed.
Mining, bath-houses for miners, Kansas, new, passed.
Compulsory purchase of supplies from company stores, Kansas, new, defeated.
Health and safety of miners, Kansas, new, passed.
Mine examiners, Illinois, new, passed.
Sale and delivery of black powder, Kansas, new, passed.
Sprinkling devices and drill sprays, with dry ores, Nevada, defeated.
State mine inspection bill, amending, Nevada, new, defeated.
Occupational diseases, forbidding use of white lead, Wisconsin, defeated.
Peaceful picketing in labor troubles, Nevada, defeated. Illinois, defeated.
Pensions for municipal employes injured in course of duty, Massachusetts, defeated.
Private detectives, Nevada, defeated. Illinois, defeated.
Reimburse United Mine Workers for money advanced County Examining Board, Illinois, passed.
Safety on electrical work, California, defeated.
Sale of commodities by employers to employes, Kansas, defeated.
Strikes at Ipswich and Hopedale, investigation, Massachusetts, defeated.
Strikes, appropriation for relief of evicted strikers' families at Ipswich, Massachusetts, defeated.
Strikes, congratulating Belgian workers on success of strike for suffrage, Illinois, passed.
Wisconsin, defeated.
Unemployed, furnish employment in development of natural resources, California, defeated.
Unemployed, appropriation for furnishing employment in summer, Massachusetts, defeated.
Union conditions on public work, Illinois, defeated.
Unions, guaranteeing right to organize, Illinois, defeated.
Union label on state printing, Illinois, defeated but use of label secured by other means.
Union labor organizations not responsible for damages from acts of union men, Massachusetts, defeated.
Union men, right of action and damages, Kansas, new, defeated.
Wages, assignment of salaries to married men, Nevada, defeated.
Illinois, defeated.
Cash payment, California, defeated.
Washington, defeated.
Illinois, defeated.
Compensate miners for time lost when mine is closed in enforcement of state laws, Kansas, new, defeated.
Public utility employes, Wisconsin, new, defeated.
Recover wages due former assembly clerk, Illinois, defeated.
Semi-monthly payment, Nevada, defeated.
Illinois, defeated, but similar bill passed.
State fair ground workers to receive $2.50 a day minimum, Illinois, resolution passed house.
Weekly payment, Wisconsin, new, defeated.
Women's labor, hours, comfort, etc., California, defeated, but similar bill carried.
Nevada, defeated.

11. **Liquor Traffic**
Prohibiting sale of liquor in parochial schools, Wisconsin, new, defeated.
State ownership, Wisconsin, new, defeated.

12. **Militarism**
Abolishing standing army of state, California, new, defeated.
Abolishing entire military code, Washington, new, defeated.

13. **Municipal**
Banks, municipal, Illinois, new, defeated.
Charters, amendment by popular vote, Kansas, defeated.
Charter convention in Chicago, Illinois, defeated.
Coal yards, Kansas, defeated.
Debt limit, California, defeated.
Home rule in regard to municipal ownership, California, defeated.
Illinois, defeated, but similar bill passed.
Ice plants, Kansas, defeated.
Wisconsin, passed.
Libraries in cities of second class, Kansas, passed.
License chauffeurs by municipalities, Wisconsin, passed.
Lighting plants, enabling cities to build, Massachusetts, defeated.
Lighting plants, municipal ownership, Massachusetts, defeated.
Loan department, municipal, Wisconsin, defeated.
Park elections, legalizing, Illinois, defeated.
Park subways, Illinois, defeated, but similar bill passed.
Public buildings to be used for meeting purposes, Kansas, new, defeated.
Public utilities, regulation, Nevada, passed and vetoed.
Public utilities, regulating use of meters, Nevada, defeated.
Sewers, surplus from waterworks to be used in construction of sewers, Wisconsin, passed.
Street railways, franchises and regulation, Wisconsin, defeated.
Municipal ownership, Massachusetts, defeated.
Liability for injuries, Wisconsin, defeated.
Purchase, Illinois, defeated.
Telephones, municipal ownership, Wisconsin, defeated.
Waterways and water power, Illinois, defeated.
Waterworks in cities of second class, Kansas, defeated.

14. National
Government ownership coal mines, Kansas, defeated.
Massachusetts, passed house, defeated in senate.
Wisconsin, defeated.
Government ownership railroads, Kansas, defeated.
Massachusetts, defeated.
Wisconsin, defeated.
Nevada, defeated.
Protection of game, Minnesota, passed.
Wisconsin, passed.

15. Pensions
Mothers' pensions, Kansas, new, defeated.
Massachusetts, amended and passed.
Neglected children, Nevada, new, passed.
Old age pensions, Kansas, memorial to Congress, passed.
Investigation, Wisconsin, passed.

16. Public Health
Defining communicable disease, Montana, new, passed.
Labeling mattresses to show materials contained, Wisconsin, passed.
Polluting water in rivers, Nevada, defeated.

17. Railroads
Commission, repeal, Nevada, defeated.
Cook County, Minn., authorized to build railroad, Minnesota, new, passed.
 Freight rates, investigation, Montana, new, no report.
Investigation of Illinois Central, Illinois, defeated.
Prohibiting passes, Illinois, new, defeated.
Public office, railroads to maintain, Illinois, new, defeated.
Safety by regulating size, etc., of caboose, Kansas, new, defeated.

18. State
Advertising legal rate reduced one-half, Nevada, defeated.
Board of agriculture, appropriation, Wisconsin, no report.
Constitutional convention, Kansas, defeated.
Massachusetts, defeated.
Debt limit, Wisconsin, defeated.
Departments, interpellation of, by committees of state legislature, Wisconsin, defeated.
Governor's veto power abolished, Nevada, new, defeated.
Institutions, supervision of children, Wisconsin, defeated
Institutions, wages for inmates, Wisconsin, defeated, similar bill passed.
Insurance, state life, Illinois, defeated.
Insurance, sickness, etc., Wisconsin, substitute passed.
Natural resources, preservation of timber land, Montana, defeated.
Printing plant, Illinois, defeated.
Storage warehouses, regulating, Montana, defeated.
Senate, abolishing, Nevada, new, defeated.
State ownership, industrial board to investigate cost of electric railway systems, etc., California, new, defeated.
Land by purchase when sold for taxes, Wisconsin, defeated.
Land, tenure, etc., Wisconsin, no record.
Natural resources, international improvement, Kansas, defeated.
Storage houses, Wisconsin, defeated.
Traffic, street and highway crossings, Kansas, passed.

19. Taxation
Assessment, California, defeated.
Exemption, California, defeated.
Exemptions from income tax raised to $2,000, Wisconsin, defeated.
Filing tax returns, compulsory, Massachusetts, defeated.
Payment and receipt of taxes on undivided interests in property entered for taxation, Minnesota, passed.
Poll tax laws, repeal, California, defeated.
Nevada, defeated.
Kansas, defeated.
Sale of land for non-payment of taxes, Wisconsin, defeated.
Uniform rate, Massachusetts, defeated.

20. Woman Suffrage
Constitutional amendment, Massachusetts, defeated.
Condemning authorities in New York for conduct in woman suffrage parade, Illinois, defeated.

21. Miscellaneous
Capital punishment, abolishing, Nevada, new, defeated.
Civil service, Illinois, defeated.
Curtailing powers of Catholic clergy in ownership of church property, Wisconsin, new, defeated.
Fee systems to be eliminated in city and county, Wisconsin, defeated.
Foreclosure of land contracts, Wisconsin, new, withdrawn.
Fraternal beneficiary societies, Illinois, new, defeated.
Holidays, Washington’s and Lincoln’s birthdays, Wisconsin, withdrawn.
Kinnickinnic River straightened for turning basin, Wisconsin, passed.
News, regulating distribution, Illinois, new, passed.
Party name, allowing change from Public Ownership to Socialist, Minnesota, new, passed.
Police powers to smoke inspectors, Wisconsin, defeated.
Public service commission repeal, Nevada, new, defeated.

Gathering together the final results of the work of the Socialists in the nine different states in 1913, we find that the party has to its credit a total of 50 measures finally passed, as shown in the following table:

**SUMMARY OF RESULTS FOR 1913**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>Bills and Resolutions Introduced</th>
<th>Bills Enacted</th>
<th>Resolutions Passed</th>
<th>Similar Bill Passed</th>
<th>Total Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>258</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>50</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Classified as to subjects, the bills may be summarized as follows:

- Agriculture ................................................................... 2
- Cost of Living .......................................................... 2
- Co-operatives ............................................................. 2
- County ........................................................................ 1
- Courts ........................................................................ 26
- Direct Legislation ....................................................... 9
- Domestic Relations ..................................................... 4
- Education ...................................................................... 10
- Elections ...................................................................... 20
- Labor ........................................................................... 80
- Liquor traffic ............................................................. 2

- Militarism ...................................................................... 2
- Municipal ....................................................................... 29
- National ........................................................................ 9
- Pensions ........................................................................ 5
- Public Health .............................................................. 3
- Railroads ........................................................................ 7
- State ............................................................................ 21
- Taxation .......................................................................... 10
- Woman Suffrage ........................................................... 2
- Miscellaneous ............................................................. 12

21
V. THE STORY BY STATES.

In order to give a little clearer insight into the work of the socialist members of the different legislatures, we present in this chapter a narrative account of the work by states. These accounts are largely in the words of the socialists, just as they were reported to us. Not all of the states are covered, for the reason that all could not be persuaded to report, but the following paragraphs will give a short account of the struggles of the labor representatives against the capitalist forces in the legislatures.

Massachusetts. In the Massachusetts legislature, Charles H. Morrill introduced 28 measures, in addition to vigorous work for or against many other bills which were before the house.

Although this year was his fourth annual term, he has not as yet missed a single daily session. He has often led the fight before committees and the house for progressive and labor legislation, in addition to supporting bills for the benefit of his own city. In common with many other socialists, he has found that the drafting clerks failed to grasp the economic viewpoint of the socialists and he has been compelled to draft many bills himself.

The record for 1913 is as follows:

School Lunches. Mr. Morrill secured the passage of a bill, permitting cities and towns to provide meals or lunches for school children, or at a price not exceeding the cost thereof. A plank calling for the adoption of this measure has been in the Massachusetts socialist platform for many years, but the bill has not been put through till now.

Widows’ Pensions. Mr. Morrill’s bill was the first along this line ever introduced in the Massachusetts legislature. Among those who supported the bill were the federation of labor and the mothers’ and parent-teachers’ associations. The bill provided for pensions not only for widows, but also for each dependent or neglected child, if a juvenile, probate or other court found conditions warranted it, and in case the parent was a proper guardian. The bill provided that the money should be paid from the office of the county commissioners. Unfortunately, it was amended to read that the money should be paid, one-third from the office of the state board of charities, and two-thirds from the office of the local overseers of the poor. This
amendment will probably, in some cases, cause the recipients to feel that they are objects of charity, rather than that they are receiving merited aid toward better citizenship. The bill passed, as amended, but, for reasons stated, the passage of the measure is only partially satisfactory to the socialists.

Initiative and Referendum. Another successful measure is a joint resolution, which does not call for the full initiative and referendum, but does call for a constitutional amendment empowering the legislature to voluntarily submit for popular approval any act, resolve, or parts thereof it has approved. This is an advance over present conditions, at least, pending the adoption of the full initiative and referendum. The voters of Massachusetts adopted this amendment themselves at the November, 1913, election.

Government Ownership of Coal Mines. After a long fight in this and the former session of the legislature, the house passed Mr. Morrill's joint resolution calling for the government ownership of coal mines, although a few minutes before they had killed his resolution for placing the railroads of the country under the management of the post office department. This action seemed to be the result of a desire on the part of the representatives to "get in right" with their constituents. The senate later rejected the resolution without the courtesy of a roll call to show who was responsible.

Equal Suffrage. Petitions amending the state constitution, so as to grant woman suffrage, were introduced by the federation of labor, the woman suffragists, Representative Morrill and Representative Wood of the Progressive party. The contest came upon Morrill's petition and he opened the fight. He insisted the matter be no longer considered as the annual joke before the legislature, and for the first time both sides debated it seriously. He struck the keynote of the debate by saying its adoption did not necessarily grant equal suffrage, but would permit the men alone to decide whether women may vote. The committee had disapproved of the measure, but after lengthy discussion, the bill was substituted on roll call, 127 to 70, with 13 pairs—the first time the proposition had ever received a majority of votes. Another roll call later resulted favorably, 144 to 88. Not all of the representatives remained firm, however, as two democrats and two republicans, who had voted to substitute the resolution for the unfavorable report of the committee,
voted against the resolution itself. Two democrats and one republican shifted from no to yes. It is significant that two of the democrats who were finally placed in the opposition column are strong "labor" men. The necessary two-thirds vote, however, was not secured, and the resolution was lost.

Work for the Unemployed. A thorough discussion of this measure has not resulted in its present success, but has probably opened the way for legislative possibilities next year. Industrial panics and hard times generally occur in the summer, when the legislature is not in session, and the governor and council listen to complaints of delegates of the unemployed and tell them how sorry they are that they have no authority to expend money without legislative consent. Each year Mr. Morrill has introduced a bill to permit the governor and council to expend money at such times for additional work upon state highways, at first placing the amount at $100,000, but later raising it to $500,000. In 1910, the committee on labor reported favorably; and the senate secured an opinion that it was unconstitutional, despite the fact that the legislature had appropriated each year a lump sum to be expended during the five succeeding years by the same state highway commission named in Morrill's bill, and the appropriations still continue. In 1911, the committee again reported favorably. The ways and means committee then unanimously reported against it. Morrill led a fight in the house which rejected the committee's report and stood for the bill. At the final reading, however, there was a reversal of the vote and the bill was defeated. In 1912 the labor committee turned down the bill and the house killed it. In 1913 it was killed by kindness. The labor committee favored it, 10 to 1. The city solicitor of Boston appeared and advocated expenditures of three or four millions during hard times. This impressed the committee, which requested the sympathetic clergyman-legislator, C. H. Williams, to draft a new and more sweeping bill. After he expended considerable time and effort, with fair results, the committee proved its insincerity or incompetency by unanimously turning him down, and offended him by destroying his documents. The house killed the bill, 85 to 34. But Morrill will take up the fight again next year.

Miscellaneous Bills. Among the other bills introduced by Morrill, but defeated, the following may be mentioned:
Granting cities the right to establish municipal lighting plants by a majority vote of a city council for one year, instead of a two-thirds vote for two successive years, as at present. The bill also retains the provision for approval by popular vote.

Constitutional amendment to permit uniform rate of taxation upon personal property.

Compulsory filing of tax returns.

Raising the age for compulsory school attendance from 14 to 16 (later amended to 15, but lost).

Constitutional amendment providing for proportional representation in the state legislature.

Providing for representation of minority political parties on all boards of election officers.

Calling for an amendment empowering 25,000 voters to initiate any proposed amendment to the state constitution.

Initiative and referendum for all cities.

Calling for a constitutional convention to revise the state constitution.

Prohibiting employment of minors under 16 years of age in factories, workshops and mercantile establishments.

Pensions for city or town employes injured in performance of a duty.

Giving cities the right to establish public ownership of street railways.

Enabling cities and towns to erect and operate municipal gas and electric plants, instead of being compelled to purchase an existing plant at an exorbitant price.

Requiring investigations of industrial difficulties by the state board of conciliation, upon application of either party, and the rendering of a public decision as to which party is mainly responsible or blameworthy, instead of investigating only at the request of both parties, as at present.

Providing for investigations by the attorney-general of the rise in prices of the necessities of life, providing $5,000 fine and one year's imprisonment for conspiracy or cornering the market to increase the cost of living; but exempting farmers, hand and brain workers seeking to increase the value received for their labor from its provisions.

Providing that "labor organizations and the members of the same shall not be responsible, civilly or criminally for damages arising from any acts of the unions or of any member
thereof, in the course of a strike, boycott or other labor disturbance, provided that such acts do not constitute a breach of the peace."

Providing for recall of any officers, whether elected or appointed, legislative, executive or judicial, whose compensation is paid by, or whose appointment is received from, the state or any county.

Two orders calling for investigations of strikes, one in Hope-dale and the other at Ipswich.

In addition to the above, Mr. Morrill introduced bills in 1911, which he did not repeat in 1913, as follows:

To permit citizens as well as ice companies to cut ice on public ponds, if authorized by local authorities.

Pure shoe and clothing law, requiring marking or tagging of all goods containing shoddy materials.

Constitutional amendment—election of judges by the people.

Eight-hour day for railroad and street railway employes.

One of the bills against which he worked in 1913, but which was finally enacted, was to prohibit the use of a red or a black flag in any parade. This was, of course, aimed at the socialists. The drafting of the bill and the whole course of treatment which it received were entirely absurd and unworthy, and the final vote was taken, through blunder, not on the bill in its last amended and accepted form, but with two changes which had been previously struck out and which changed the import of the bill, and which were both opposed to the customs and desires of the Socialist party. The house refused Morrill's demand for a roll call.

Illinois. The 1913 session of the Illinois legislature opened with four socialists in a total of 153 members in the house of representatives. The situation was very complicated. The house had a membership of 73 democrats, 50 republicans, 25 progressives and 4 socialists. No party had the necessary majority to effect an organization of the house, or even to pass a single bill, and practically all work had to be done through coalitions. The first fight developed over the election of a speaker and upon this proposition the house was deadlocked for three weeks. The socialists nominated Seymour Stedman and voted for him on every roll call to the finish. Their votes could not at any time have broken the deadlock.
The fight for the election of two United States senators was even more prolonged and bitter than the battle for speakership. On this question the socialists made it quite plain that they would under no circumstances cast their votes for anyone but their own candidates—Barney Berlyn and Duncan McDonald. Mr. Stedman, in nominating Barney Berlyn, took occasion to explain the socialist philosophy and position as compared with those of other political parties.

Committee Appointments. Long delays ensued in a struggle over the adoption of house rules, and following this, over the appointment of committees. Some committees were not appointed until the session was almost over. The old party men, republicans and democrats, received each a dozen or more appointments, the progressives and socialists two or three. Citizens of Illinois who gave Joseph M. Mason over 26,000 votes, the largest vote polled by any representative, with one exception, were disfranchised by these committee appointments on the part of the speaker, so far as voice and votes on committees were concerned, as Mason was appointed on only three committees, all of which were merely ornamental and were not supposed to meet or do any real work. H. W. Harris was appointed a member of the important committee on education, but attended only one meeting, as he was shortly afterwards unseated by the house. Stedman was more fortunate, being made chairman of the committee on libraries and a member of committees on the judiciary, judicial department and practice; mines and mining, and public utilities, all of which are influential. Christian M. Madsen was made a member of the committee on labor and industrial affairs, a job for which there is keen competition, as a number of members are anxious to establish a labor record for themselves. Perhaps the class lines are nowhere more clearly shown than in this committee, where capitalist and labor lobbies are lined up against one another, fighting for and against measures in which the workers are directly interested.

Altogether over 900 bills were introduced in the house, and about 700 in the senate. The socialists took an active part in the discussions and voted as a unit on every measure. They often found it comparatively easy to defeat vicious or obnoxious bills, as the members do not care to go on record in favor of measures that are too brazen.
It would be impractical to follow the course and final disposition of all the socialist bills, but the following comments may be of interest:

Mine Workers. The socialists introduced a bill to reimburse the Mine Workers’ Union for money advanced the examining board. The measure passed the house and senate and received the signature of the governor. This is the only bill introduced by the socialists which was actually enacted.

Belgian Strike. A resolution extending the sympathy and best wishes of the house to the Belgian strikers struggling for full manhood suffrage. This resolution was adopted and its contents cabled to Belgium by the national office of the Socialist party. The action of so reactionary a legislature as that of Illinois in passing such a resolution introduced by socialists was regarded as somewhat surprising, to say the least, and was something of a victory. The resolution read as follows:

"Whereas, We believe that all men are created equal, and should have an equal voice in the government of their country; and

"Whereas, The people in Belgium are today engaged in a struggle for full manhood suffrage based upon the principles of equality and the right of self-government; and

"Whereas, We believe that this struggle for the same rights and principles which we in this country have enjoyed for more than a hundred years is founded upon right and justice; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we, the members of the House of Representatives of the 48th General Assembly of the State of Illinois, reaffirm our allegiance to these long established principles of equality and the right of self-government, and extend to the people in Belgium our sympathy for their cause and our best wishes that they may succeed in their effort to gain for themselves these rights and privileges, without which no country may hope to secure for its people the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Semi-Monthly Payment of Wages. Several bills had been introduced on this subject. The one introduced by the socialists was referred to the judiciary committee, where Mr. Madsen appeared and argued for its passage. He showed by statistical reports the amount of money due employees in wages held back by the different corporations in the state under the present
system of monthly payment. Mr. Stedman, as a member of the committee, also took part in the discussion. Representatives of the railroads and others were present and opposed the bill. A similar bill, originally introduced in the senate, was finally enacted. The object of the socialists was accomplished, and this might be considered as at least a partial success of a socialist measure.

Union Label on All State Printing. This bill was reported out with recommendation that it "do pass," was placed upon the house calendar, where it died. But the socialists were able to secure the use of the label in the following manner: When they were furnished with the printed and engraved stationery allotted to the members of the house, they refused to accept it, explaining that they could not send letters to their constituents on paper which did not bear the label, and, for all they knew, might have been printed by non-union men. The stationery was immediately sent back to the print shop, and the label put on every letterhead and envelope. The union label immediately thereafter appeared on all state printing, and on the next batch of stationery the printers' and photo engravers' label graced the letterheads and envelopes of every member of the house. In this manner the socialists won their point indirectly.

One Day Rest in Seven. This bill was reported out of the labor committee with recommendation that it "do pass." On the roll call for passage in the house it received 70 votes for and 4 against. However, under the constitution of the state of Illinois, a majority of 77 votes is necessary to pass a bill, and this bill was allowed to come before the house only after weeks of promise and delay, at an evening session when only 84 members were present. It is significant that this is the only socialist bill of importance that ever came to a roll call vote in the house. The powers that be did not deem it wise to let their names go on record on the socialist bills, adopting the safer course of letting all of them, with the exception of a few harmless measures, die upon the calendar, with no record of names for or against them to enlighten the workers of Illinois as to where their representatives stood on working-class legislation.

To Prevent Imprisonment for Contempt of Court. The bill to prevent imprisonment for contempt of court, without trial by jury, in cases growing out of strikes and labor disputes, was referred to the committee on judicial department and practice,
and reported out with the recommendation that it "do not pass." The socialists then took up the fight on the floor of the house and on a roll call beat the opposition to the bill by a vote of 92 to 25. The bill was placed on the calendar and advanced to third reading, but no opportunity was given to call it up for passage. The fate of this bill is a good illustration of the arbitrary use of the speaker's power.

Giving Cities Power to Construct and Operate Coal Yards, Ice Houses, etc. This measure was reported out favorably by the committee on municipal corporations, placed upon the calendar and advanced to third reading, where it died. A somewhat similar bill, introduced in the senate, giving cities the right to own and operate public utilities for heat, light, power, cold storage, etc., was enacted. Another case of a "similar measure passed."

State Fair Ground Employees' Wages. A resolution that workers on state fair grounds be paid not less than $2.50 a day in wages, passed the house, and although it could not force the fair managers to comply, it was hoped that it would influence them in that direction.

Work on Other Bills. In addition to the work on their own bills, the socialists helped defeat the bill legalizing boxing and horse racing; the bill which would create perhaps six jury boxes and thus give opportunities for tampering with the jury system; and the bill which would have permitted the re-establishment of basement bakeries in Chicago. And they helped to pass the woman suffrage bill, granting a limited franchise to women; the "double platoon" bill, forcing the employment of double shifts of men in certain occupations, and the bill licensing mason contractors.

The Illinois legislature of 1913 waged the customary fight over the initiative and referendum resolution, calling for constitutional amendment. It is noteworthy that this resolution passed the senate, and then was defeated in the house by one vote, the week after the socialist representative, Harris, was unseated.

The subject and disposition of the balance of the Illinois socialist bills can be gathered from the full subject list given on a previous page.

Arbitrary Power of the Speaker. The fate of the majority of the socialist bills is a good illustration of the use of the
arbitrary power of the speaker, and also of the confusion arising from the rules governing the conduct of the legislature. The session of the legislature is practically limited to less than six months, on account of the ruling that if a bill is not passed by June 20 it cannot go into effect till July 1 of the succeeding year. Consequently all measures that are not called up for second and third reading within this prescribed time are defeated by simply dying on the calendar. This makes it possible for the speaker to defeat measures by simply delaying action.

Inevitably, in a situation of this sort, a great mass of bills are not acted upon when the legislature reaches its last week of session. It is practically impossible to get them before the house or senate.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that the bills are not and cannot be called up for second and third reading except when the speaker recognizes some one who calls for the bill. This makes it possible for the speaker to recognize his friends and give them an opportunity to present their bills, and to overlook those who are likely to present bills to which he is unfriendly.

In view of these facts, it has come to be the custom in the legislature for those who are anxious to get their bills before the body to see the speaker beforehand and arrange with him for recognition. He makes a list each day and is supposed to call upon the names in the order in which they have been entered upon the list. It often happens, however, that when a representative sees the speaker, he can manage to get his name only toward the end of the list, and then during the session of that day the end will not be reached, and the representative has failed to be called upon. Or even if he has succeeded in getting his name near the top, the speaker, under pressure, will often enter other names before that of the representative, so that, before adjournment, his name may have been relegated to a place toward the end. In this way, the representative fails entirely to get recognition.

And again, in the evening the speaker may confer with his friends, and the next morning he has a completely new list, on which the name of the representative who had seen him the day before does not appear at all. In this way, the members of the legislature who are trying to advance radical measures may be put off from time to time, until their bills are eliminated entirely.
California. In this state the fight in behalf of the universal eight-hour bill assumed the largest proportions. The bill did not include domestic help or agricultural labor. The Progressive party representatives, who were elected on a platform which included industrial justice in its foremost demands, were in an overwhelming majority. This fact would naturally have been supposed to add all the 71 Progressive party votes to that of the lone socialist on this particular measure; but it did not. A petition to the members of the assembly, signed by the voters of the state, demanding the passage of this bill, bore 70,000 names, was 2,000 feet long, and took one person three days to paste together. Yet in spite of all this, the committee on capital and labor reported unfavorably on the bill, and the assembly voted, 37 to 30, against it. The defeat of this bill in the legislature, however, has not been without its good results. It has stirred the workers to renewed activity in other lines. They have circulated petitions and have already a sufficient number of signatures so that a bill for eight hours for all labor will be submitted directly to the voters of the state at the general election in 1914.

Kansas. Socialist Mine Inspector Deposed. The most serious and significant struggle in the 1913 session of the Kansas legislature came over the matter of the selection of the state mine inspector and of the state labor commissioner. For 14 years the miners of the state of Kansas had enjoyed the privilege, which, so far as we know, miners of no other state have enjoyed, namely, the right of electing their own mine inspectors. Furthermore, the state federation of labor of Kansas had enjoyed the privilege of electing the labor commissioners of the state. Under the operation of these laws, the miners had regularly chosen the mine inspectors, and the elections had been ratified by the governors.

Up to 1911 the miners had selected for mine inspectors either republicans or democrats. These officials, however, were not particularly aggressive in enforcing the mining laws, which, in the state of Kansas, were very well drawn. The mining laws covered 32 pages of the statutes, and rather more than elsewhere protected the lives of the miners and rendered the mines safe and sanitary.

Of late years, however, a change has come over the miners
of Kansas. This change has been brought about by the growing socialist sentiment among them.

In Washington, Crawford County, there are several thousand miners. In 1910, the socialists elected an entire township ticket, including two justices of the peace, two trustees and two constables—the entire political machinery of the township. In January of the following year, 1911, the miners’ unions, acting as a state mining association under the law, elected a socialist state mine inspector, Leon Besson. Naturally, a mine inspector who is elected by the miners themselves, and who is also a socialist, would make the inspections of mines a very effective matter. Besson found that the mine operators were basely violating nearly every law on the statutes. He began to insist on the observance of these laws, and when the operators ignored his notices, he promptly closed down the mines and brought the companies before the justices of the peace, who, as stated above, were socialists. In other words, the capture of these positions by the socialists had brought a very sharp issue between the miners and mine owners, who were violating the mining laws and ignoring the public authorities.

Here was the situation that presented a very vital problem for the state legislature of 1913. One of the first moves in this legislature was an attack upon this situation on the part of the representatives of the mine owners in the legislature. A bill was introduced to change entirely the method of electing the mine inspector and the labor commissioner. The measure provided for the creation of a bureau of labor, taking the power of the election of the mine inspector and the labor commissioner away from the labor unions, and giving this power to the governor for the next ensuing two years, and then causing these officials to be elected by popular vote. The new bill was evidently introduced for the purpose of securing the active assistance and support of the two newly appointed officials, who, it was thought, could try to lead the workers into the democratic camp at the time of the next election. The bill was rushed through the house with all possible speed. Although assigned to the labor committee, it was never presented to them. The deposed labor commissioner was a loyal and competent union man, and the mine inspector, John Gore, was a socialist with a dogged determination to enforce the state laws. The facts concerning these officials were grossly misrepresented, and their
work was bitterly attacked. The speaker of the house made the bill a special order of business, called a speaker pro tem to take the chair, while he himself took the floor and drove the bill through the house under the whip.

Minimum Wage Bill. Another struggle ensued on the matter of the minimum wage bill, and resulted in its defeat. This measure had been a party pledge with democrats and republicans, and their representatives united to defeat it. The anticipated support of the churches, the press and social and charitable institutions was withheld, and in many cases their opposition was substituted. The Young Women’s Christian Association refused to have anything to do with the matter on the ground that it was politics, and that the organization had members from every class, and therefore could not stand by the working girls as against the employers, some of whom might be looked to for contributions. Petitions with false arguments against the bill were circulated among working girls in large establishments and petty stories were told about the women backing the bill. A protest meeting of so-called working girls was called at the Y. W. C. A., with Santa Fe stenographers in charge, along with heads of departments in big stores, themselves employers of cheap girls in their special departments. The meeting, however, failed of its purpose because two girls insisted on speaking for the bill, and the following day a special meeting was called at the labor hall to explain the real nature of the bill and to calm the fears of the girls.

The supporters of the bill finally agreed, as a compromise on terms, but not on principle, to a $6 minimum (the original demand was $9), and a 9-hour day and 54-hour week. This revised bill passed the assembly, 65 to 48, and was referred to the senate committee on labor. It was attacked there by a business representative with false statements concerning the cost of living for a girl, and by the wife of Senator Porter, the old party politician, who was occupying the usurped seat of socialist Senator Stanton. Mrs. Porter argued that the girls who received small wages were those who would not work and were inefficient; that social work had taught her that girls went wrong because they were naturally bad and not because of insufficient wages, and that the true solution of the problem would be to have all women treat their servants with the consideration with which she treated hers, so that the girls would be encouraged to go
into domestic service, instead of submitting to the indignity of becoming men's stenographers.

The bill was dragged from senate to committee, from committee to senate and back again, and finally died an inconspicuous death at the foot of "general orders," without being brought to final vote.

Railway Employes Ignored. In addition to the above stories, Mr. Wilson gives a list of 13 bills which were introduced at the request of the railway men of the state, all of which met with defeat. Among these were bills providing for the payment of wages, protection of lives of the traveling public, safety and health of employees, etc. Over against these, however, there were four excellent railway bills which did pass.

Fully a thousand bills were presented in both houses during the session. About 300 new laws were passed, about 20 of which Mr. Wilson enumerates as being of importance and value to the people's welfare.

The corporations were well represented in the lobby in Topeka, and the lobbyists were wined and dined in an effective fashion. A doctor, lobbying in the interest of tuberculosis work, who had been attending legislative sessions in 15 different states for the last 8 years, stated that he had never seen such a vigorous lobby maintained by the railroads anywhere else. The mine operators were busy in efforts to defeat bills presented in the interest of the miners, and informed the revision committee that the socialist representatives did not represent the wishes of the miners; that union men were not socialists or in sympathy with the proposed legislation of the two socialists.

Monstrosities of Our Legislatures. The Kansas legislature resorts occasionally to what is known as the "bulk roll call." Sometimes as many as 25 bills were being read at the same time by their various authors, in babbling confusion. Then the representatives voted aye or nay, usually aye, as the roll was called. The first time the senate bills were considered in bulk, there were actually 29 presented. The enacting clause was all that was read; then the speaker ordered the clerk to call the roll. When Mr. Wilson's name was called, he said, "I have sometimes taken my medicine with my eyes shut, but I seriously object to shutting my eyes to this full dose of 29 senate bills without the house having even 10 minutes to read them, much less to give them intelligent attention. I therefore vote no on
the whole bag of tricks." Several of the other representatives afterwards remarked that Wilson had expressed their convictions. However, they raised no objections and the farce continued.

**Washington.** In the state of Washington, William H. Kingery introduced six bills, all bearing directly on the demands of the socialist program, and although none of them passed, he was successful in securing the passage of a few measures directly benefiting his own district. He reports as follows:

“When the legislature opened, I took my seat as the first socialist elected to the legislature of Washington. The task before me was a difficult one. I determined early in the session to vote on every measure, and this policy I carried out.

“I was given places on the following committees: Agricultural, tide lands, mileage and contingent expenses, internal improvements and Indian affairs, engrossed bills, federal relations, immigration and dairy and live stock.

“I felt that if I could gain a respectful hearing for the Socialist party in its initial official acts, I would pave the way for constructive legislative work in the future.

Universal Eight-Hour Law. “This I expect will bear fruit in the 1914 election, when I shall try to have the universal eight-hour law that was before the legislature presented to the people for their approval or rejection under the new initiative and referendum law that we passed at the last session of the legislature.

“This bill was introduced by Representative Grass, a stand-pat republican from King County. Mr. Grass had no intention or desire for this bill to become a law. He introduced it purely as a retaliative measure. The state grange had been very active in assisting the federation of labor in the passage of labor legislation, especially in securing the passage of a bill providing for an amendment to the constitution by the initiative of the people. This made some of the standpatters very angry with the grange and they wanted to get something with which to chastise the farmers. They thought that a universal eight-hour day law would make the farmers squeal as quick as anything, so they drew up the bill, and had Representative Grass present it to the legislature. They soon found that the grange was in favor of an eight-hour gate to gate law, so they got busy and had the bill killed in the committee.

“I picked up the cue, went to the printing office, had several thousand blank petitions and a circular letter, setting forth the
facts, printed and circulated throughout the state. They were returned with some 30,000 signatures. I took no action in the matter in the legislature, but have the matter thoroughly in hand, and will, at the proper time (which will be January next), file the proposed eight-hour law with the secretary of state, and, as soon as the attorney-general files the ballot title, which he must do within ten days after it has been filed with the secretary of state, I will begin at once the circulation of the official petitions, which I am assured will receive the requisite official number of signatures, as I am already in possession of the required number on the preliminary petitions that were circulated last winter. All that will be required is to refer them back to the same parties and have them sign the official forms.

"If we get the proper support in the campaign for the passage of this law, we are sure to place the state of Washington on the eight-hour law basis in the election of 1914.

The State as Purchasing Agent. "One of the bills I introduced was house bill 609, entitled 'An Act to Reduce the Cost of Living by Eliminating Waste in Distribution, Extending the Function of the State Board of Control in Connection Therewith and Making an Appropriation Therefor.' This bill provided that the state board of control should become the purchasing agent for all state institutions; this board to buy upon competitive bids; their purchases to include every commodity that is consumed in the average household, including groceries, dry goods, hardware, medicines, hay, grain, machinery, etc.

"While it is true that this bill is a reform measure, with but little economic base, I know of no law that is possible of passing at this time that would be of greater benefit to the working class in the state of Washington, as it would eliminate practically all of the waste charges between the wholesaler (and in many instances, the manufacturer) and the consumer, and would teach the great principles of co-operation and elimination of competition. A careful perusal of the accounts of this board of control shows that they are actually now purchasing these commodities at least 50 per cent cheaper than the private citizen is paying for the same article.

"The bill was received with some degree of enthusiasm. Upon its first reading it was referred to the committee on agriculture, and passed out with recommendation that it 'do pass.' It carried an appropriation and upon second reading was re-
ferred to the committee on appropriations and met its death in that committee.

"In the discussion in the committee room, but one objection was raised to the bill—that it would displace the retail storekeepers. I was asked this question: 'Mr. Kingery, should your bill pass and become a law, would it not put the storekeeper out of business?' I answered it would not, if he could compete with the state. The representative asking the question admitted that the retail storekeeper could not compete and asked again: 'As a matter of fact, would it not put the storekeeper out of business?' I answered that it would, and explained that the retail store was a toll gate between producer and consumer, and if the function which it now performs could be performed by some other agency at a great saving, then it should be eliminated."

Anti-Military Bill. "I sounded the feeling of militarism in an amendment that I offered to a military bill, abolishing the entire military code of the state of Washington, providing for the honorable discharge of all militiamen, and for the disposal of all military property and the turning of the proceeds therefrom into the public school fund. This amendment received about 20 of the 97 votes."

Montana. Charles H. Conner writes us: "My heaviest work was in the exposure of the true meaning of certain bills introduced by other members. I was the only socialist member in the legislature and frequently made motions, but as I could not get a second, I could not get a chance to debate the questions." One socialist bill of importance, however, was enacted. This was a bill for defining communicable diseases so as to include tuberculosis. The object of the bill was to make it possible to get statistics on this disease from the copper mines and smelters, where tuberculosis is really an occupational disease, so that there will be a basis to work from in framing a compensation law for the miners. The state law requires physicians to report all contagious diseases to the state board of health, thereby giving the state figures on tuberculosis.

Mr. Conner writes further concerning the work he tried to do in the legislature: "I worked hard to build up a sentiment in favor of initiating laws by the people, and it is rapidly gaining ground. The Butte, Helena and other locals have sown the
seed in the industrial centers and the farmers here and there through the state have taken up the cause."

**Wisconsin.** In Wisconsin the six socialists in the assembly had the deciding votes on many important measures in the legislature of 1913.

The most significant results of the socialists' work are the state investigations which have been instituted—one of occupational diseases, sickness and invalidity; and the other of old age pensions. Senator Zophy is upon the committee for the investigation of occupational diseases, which was voted $20,000 with which to carry on its work. As the result of the work of both of these committees, there will be recommendations for new legislation at the next session of the legislature. The pension measure advocated by the employers, allowing the corporate interests to establish their own private pension schemes, was defeated, thus wiping out all obstructions to state aid.

**Other States.** The Information Department has been unable to secure narrative accounts of the work of socialists in the legislatures of Nevada and Minnesota. An outline of the bills introduced by the socialist representatives in these states can be gathered by consultation of the list given above, together with some memoranda as to the results of their work.

**VI. TOTAL GAINS TO DATE—141 SUCCESSFUL MEASURES**

Putting together the work of both the earlier and later years, we obtain the following table, giving the main subheads of the socialist bills, the number introduced on each topic and the number which have been passed.

There are included in the column of those "passed" several of the bills of the same import, which were introduced by representatives of other parties, but which the Socialists supported when they found that their own bills could not pass.
SOCIALIST STATE LEGISLATIVE MEASURES, 1907-1913

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>Number Introduced</th>
<th>Number Passed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Co-operation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courts</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct Legislation</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Domestic Relations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elections</td>
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<td>Labor</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liquor Traffic</td>
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<tr>
<td>Militarism</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>National</td>
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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensions</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Health</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Railroads</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>State</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taxation</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>Woman Suffrage</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>895</strong></td>
<td><strong>141</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 35 successful labor bills may be subdivided as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child Labor</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contracts</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Crew</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Injury</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Licenses</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Aid</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liens</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners’ Health and Safety.</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miners—Sale of Powder...</td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupational Diseases</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reimbursements</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>Strike Advertisements</td>
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<td>Strike—Belgium</td>
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<td>Strikes, general</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unions, union label</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Special attention may be called to the fact that, of the municipal measures, three provide directly for municipal ownership, and others grant the privilege of municipal initiative, ref-
erendum and recall; also to the joint resolution passed in Wis-
consin petitioning congress to allow 30 per cent of deposits in
the postal savings banks to be used for loans to farmers.

Thus it will be seen that up to and including the legislative
sessions of 1913 the socialists had introduced 895 different bills,
covering every phase of the program of Socialism. Of these
measures, 141 were successful measures, and have been actually
written into the statutes of the various states.

VII. SOCIALISM BY DIRECT LEGISLATION

Supplementary to the work done by the regularly elected
socialists in the state legislatures, the socialist program has
been and is being pushed aggressively in other lines of legis-
lative action. The latest and most important of these is the
attempt to secure socialistic enactments by direct legislation.
In the states where the principles of the initiative and referendum
have been adopted, the people may initiate any specific measure
on which they can secure sufficient support and then force it
into law at a popular election. In the event of the passage of
such measures, it is anticipated that the courts would not assume
to declare them unconstitutional. If that is true, the people will
in this way circumvent not only the indifference of the legis-
latures, but also the even more serious obstacle of adverse court
decisions, which is encountered on many progressive measures.

1. Amending the Constitution in Missouri. The socialists
in Missouri are at present endeavoring to secure an amendment
to their state constitution, or "bill of rights" in this manner:
They have prepared petition blanks which are being widely cir-
culated through the state for signatures. In connection with
the petition is enclosed a pamphlet describing briefly the purpose
of the bill. The petition reads as follows:

"To the Honorable Cornelius Roach, Secretary of State for the
State of Missouri:

"We, the undersigned citizens and legal voters of the state
of Missouri and of the county of ................... , respectfully
demand that the following proposed amendment to the constitu-
tion shall be submitted to the legal voters of the state of Mis-
souri, for their approval or rejection, at the regular general
election to be held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday
in November, A. D. 1914," etc.