

Report of National Secretary to National Congress, May 15, 1910

COMRADE DELEGATES AND COMRADES OF AMERICA:

This Congress, I believe, will mark an epoch in the history of Socialism in America. It affords the first opportunity to party representatives to apply themselves to those most important questions of organization, agitation and propaganda unhampered by the usual campaign work.

Moreover, in this departure we are following the example set by the comrades in older and more experienced movements.

It is a truism that the stranger and those without the gates are mistrusted. On the other hand, personal contact removes misunderstandings, promotes harmony and dissolves imaginary differences.

To this purpose it is especially advantageous that representatives of a movement covering such an extended territory as America should frequently foregather.

But provision must be made so that the resultant expense will not fall as a super-burden upon the membership, or, worse still, result in absorbing the national organization funds to the extent of interfering with the regular and necessary agitation.

It so happens that this Congress timely precedes the meeting of the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress, to be held at Copenhagen, beginning August 28th of the current year, and that, therefore, many of the documents or subjects here submitted or discussed will come fresh to the attention of the Socialists of the world via advance submissions by the International Socialist Bureau and the report of the International Congress.

The Bureau in preparation for the Congress makes the specific request for reports from affiliated parties for the period beginning with 1907, and that the documents be printed of uniform size, and that one thousand be supplied in each language, English, German and French. It also requests that one identical order in presentation of subjects treated should be followed. The arrangements of this report is made accordingly.

The National Executive Committee, in order to make it suitable for a report of the American party to the International Congress, adopted the following motions:

"That the National Secretary be instructed to prepare a report and submit it to this committee."

"That the National Secretary's report be submitted in compliance with the requirements of the Socialist Bureau."

ORGANIC LAW AND REFERENDUMS.

Since the last convention, by which the constitution was reconstructed, it has been changed by national party referendums as follows:

January 31, 1909.—The provision for the election of the National Executive Committee and a National Secretary by the National Committee was substituted by a provision for the election of these officers by national party referendum, employing the preferential system and arranging the candidates in alphabetical groups, according to their own choice.

By the same referendum the provision for mileage assessments for conventions and congresses was stricken out and a provision to set aside ten per cent of the national dues monthly for this purpose was substituted.

The same referendum abolished the time limit (90 days) for the required number of seconds to initiate a national party referendum. The vote on the several propositions ranged: Highest affirmative, 10,158; lowest affirmative, 6,730; highest negative, 5,725; lowest negative, 1,813.

November 10, 1909.—To strike out the alphabetical group provision on the ballot for national officers and providing for elections in odd numbered years; requiring nominations by five locals to qualify candidates, and introducing a system for

the rotation of the position of the candidates, each to occupy in turn the favored position on an equal number of ballots. First proposition: Affirmative, 3,920; negative, 1,688. Second proposition: Affirmative, 3,167; negative, 2,415.

February 9, 1910.—Eliminating from the laws relating to the election of national officers the preferential system of voting and the rotating of position of candidates upon the ballot. First proposition: Affirmative, 6,014; negative, 2,865. Second proposition: Affirmative, 5,183; negative, 3,352.

REFERENDUM PROPOSITIONS DEFEATED.

April 24, 1909.—Providing that the National Executive Committee shall be permanently employed in the National Headquarters and constitute the office force, and to increase the membership dues to twenty cents a month, the amount to be equally divided between the state and national organizations. By a vote ranging: Highest affirmative, 4,052; lowest affirmative, 2,439; highest negative, 8,493; lowest negative, 6,483.

February 10, 1910.—Providing a substitute of an entire new constitution, containing the following provisions: Fixing the salary of the National Secretary at \$75 a month; locating the National Headquarters in the residence of the Secretary; eliminating the National Executive Committee and National Committee; the election of a campaign committee of five to serve during the presidential campaigns; the nomination of political candidates by referendum; each organized state to contribute \$5 per month for the support of the national organization, etc. Affirmative, 2,334; negative, 9,318.

April 6, 1910.—To strike out the provision for National Party Congresses. Affirmative, 3,740; negative, 5,020.

In the July (1909) session the National Executive Committee adopted the following motion:

"That we recommend to the National Committee that the compensation of national organizers be fixed at \$4 a day and expenses."

This action arose from the recognition of the fact that the unions pay their organizers a higher rate than does the Socialist Party, which rate is usually determined by or relating to their prevailing wage scale. And, further, as stated by the committee: "Feeling the force of the widespread criticism that our national organizers have not successfully reached the organized workers of the country, the National Executive Committee undertook to send special organizers into the trade unions. This work, so far as tried, has proven to be more productive of good results than any other form of propaganda.

"For this work we have found it necessary to secure the services of the most capable and energetic comrades actively engaged in trade union work. But, in order to obtain the services of such comrades, we find it absolutely necessary to pay wages equal, or nearly equal, to the recognized trade union rate of wages. Further—quite apart from the fact that such men cannot be otherwise enlisted in the work—we believe that the Socialist Party should, as a matter of principle, scorn to pay low wages to its servants."

The above motion was passed upon by the National Committee and adopted August 30, 1909, by the following vote: Affirmative, 32; negative, 19; not voting, 8.

February 9, 1910.—The following National Party Referendum was adopted: "Instructing the National Committee to restore the old rate of \$3 a day and expenses to national organizers and speakers. Affirmative, 5,740; negative, 3,071.

On September 7, 1909, the National Party Platform was amended in the following manner:

By striking out the words "and all land" from No. 2 of the General Demands.

By inserting the following paragraph in the Principles, immediately following the words "and have fitted them for collective use and operation": "There can be no absolute private title to land. All private titles, whether called fee simple or otherwise, are and must be subordinate to the public title. The Socialist Party strives to prevent land from being used for the purpose of exploitation and speculation. It demands the collective possession, control or management of land to what-

ever extent may be necessary to attain that end. It is not opposed to the occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation." First proposition: Affirmative, 5,382; negative, 3,117. Second proposition: Affirmative 5,926; negative, 2,565.

In the matter of referendums and to prevent contradictory ones following close upon each other, and for the purpose of eliminating those of minor import, and confining general action to such questions as changes of law or policy or administrative control, the time limit should again be introduced, within which reasonable period the sufficient number of endorsements must be forthcoming.

PARTY MANAGEMENT.

The supreme power of the party is vested in the membership referendum, followed in authority by party conventions or congresses, and the National Executive Committee for matters of immediate administration or of an executive character, their acts being subject to review by the National Committee, the latter having, as between the two, the superior power in initiating new work or defining new policies.

The National Committee, composed of one representative from each organized state and an additional one for every two thousand members or major fraction thereof, is empowered to meet whenever it shall deem it necessary to do so. However, there has been no meeting of this committee since the one held in St. Louis in January, 1903, and all its business in the interim has been transacted by correspondence.

Thirty-seven motions arose and were submitted during the year 1907; forty-one motions during the year 1908; ten motions during the year 1909, and three motions thus far in 1910.

Most of these motions were upon administrative matters or related to timely party action on current public questions. Besides, this body has elected various committees and sub-committees and an additional international secretary in the person of Comrade Victor L. Berger.

In like manner the National Executive Committee is authorized to meet whenever it shall deem it necessary to do so, and since the last convention (May, 1908) eleven sessions, each occupying two or more days, have been held, as follows:

DURING 1908: May 18th—When proper arrangements were made for carrying forward the decisions of the convention and the required referendums relating to the same; a permanent woman's organizer was appointed; the long standing Nebraska controversy was settled, and account was taken of the National Office finances and prospects for the ensuing campaign.

June 11—Speakers for the campaign were selected; a tentative route was made up for the presidential candidates; literature and advertising matter was decided upon for the campaign, including a farmers' leaflet; the Minnesota comrades were advised to pay the filing fee under protest and attack the primary law in the courts after the election; it was also decided to give some special attention to those congressional districts that seemed most promising of success; Comrade Joseph Medill Patterson was delegated to prepare a campaign book.

July 10th—Provisions were made for the publication of several leaflets and pamphlets; the Proceedings of the Convention were ordered published and Comrade Work was appointed to edit the same. The question of employing a Socialist Special campaign train was thoroughly discussed and endorsed, and a special appeal was authorized for financing the campaign train.

August 15th—The subject of the special train was the main topic of discussion and the National Secretary was instructed to complete the arrangements and sign a contract with Mr. Yerex for the tour as planned up to September 25th—from Chicago to the Pacific Coast and return.

December 18th—Committees were appointed to make reports at the next meeting on the subjects of Organization, Study Courses in Socialism, Meetings, Literature, Press, Trade Union Movement, Propaganda Among Farmers and Campaign Methods; the National Committee was requested to elect an additional international secretary; regulations for foreign speaking organizations were considered; notice

was taken of the assault made editorially by the American Federationist regarding the finances of the Socialist campaign; a bond for the National Secretary in the sum of ten thousand dollars was provided for; Comrade Clyde J. Wright was assigned as temporary State Secretary to the state of Nebraska under direction of the National Office; provisions were made for the issuance of a booklet on naturalization laws; appointed the last Sunday in February as a special day for propaganda in behalf of women, and recommended that the like subject be made a feature at the May Day celebrations.

DURING 1909—January 22d—Reports received from the committees on the special subjects assigned at the December session; a booklet was issued covering these subjects, entitled "Organization and Agitation—Ways and Means"; arrangements were made for the publication of Weekly Lessons and the Rand School was commissioned to prepare the same. Twenty-six Weekly Lessons have since been published in thirty-three party papers, beginning November 6, 1909, and ending April 30, 1910. The aggregate circulation of these papers closely approximate 500,000 copies.

April 9th—A Washington News Service was established for the period during the session of Congress, with Comrade Fred H. Merrick in charge; plans were made for more effective Socialist propaganda among the organized workers.

July 23d—Arranged for the publication of a booklet on Socialism and Trade Unionism; reporters were appointed and subjects assigned for discussion at the Party Congress; Representations to the International Socialist Bureau were made, accompanied with a claim for an additional secretary, and Comrade Berger was authorized to attend the session of the Bureau, November 6-8, at Brussels, Belgium.

December 11th—Principally occupied by the consideration of special propaganda for organized workers; provided for a call for nominations for delegates to the International Congress; the last Sunday in February was again set aside for special propaganda among women.

DURING 1910: April 9th—Decided to use fewer national organizers and give particular attention to a campaign of literature; sufficient interest being manifested in the Weekly Lessons on Socialism it was decided to publish the same in booklet form. The National Secretary was authorized to issue leaflets on all important events in the labor movement or in public life; the bond for the National Secretary was reduced to five thousand dollars. Further arrangements were made for the Congress.

Aside from the actions taken at the meetings, the members of the National Executive Committee are in almost constant correspondence and considering motions submitted by correspondence.

Special appeals or notices in the Bulletin or Party Press have frequently been authorized in behalf of various papers published in the foreign languages, likewise in support of other worthy purposes.

Cash appropriations or per diem allowances to organizers were from time to time granted to assist the weaker states; to meet special conditions in a given locality, or to aid struggling foreign speaking organizations, as follows:

New Hampshire, \$125; Slovenians, \$60; Florida, \$60; Wisconsin, \$84; Bohemians, \$98.18; Vermont, \$30; Kentucky, \$60; Alabama, \$100; Croatsians, \$120; Lettish, 41.61; Spanish, \$90; Louisiana, \$60; Omaha, Neb., \$50; Polish, \$200; Pennsylvania, \$60; Oklahoma, \$180; West Virginia, \$60; Neues Leben (German paper), \$300. A special daily edition of the New York Call authorized during the Philadelphia general strike at an expense of \$250; for the defense of Comrade Freeman Knowles, \$200, and for the defense of the New Castle (Pa.) Free Press, \$25.

PARTY ORGANIZATION.

Within the scope of this document I have to report that in thirty-nine states or territories organizations existed in the sense of maintaining state organizations on January 1, 1907, with about 1,900 affiliated locals. The party membership numbered 26,784. At the present time there are forty-two organized states with more than 3,200 affiliated locals and branches; this leaves the following states unorganized: Delaware, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, and prospects are bright for bringing several of these into the organized column in the near future. In the interim locals or members at large have been attached to the

National organization in Hawaii, Alaska, South America, Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico, South Sea Islands, the Panama Canal zone and the Philippines. The dues paid during the past four months represent a membership of 53,375.

FINANCES.

RECEIPTS.

(From 1907 to April 30, 1910, inclusive.)

	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	Total.
Amount Forward					\$ 117.58
Dues	\$ 17,763.45	\$ 25,534.01	\$ 25,154.31	\$ 10,645.01	79,096.78
Supplies	1,131.64	2,528.13	1,145.07	265.86	5,070.70
Literature	1,414.06	5,980.58	1,714.36	1,350.23	10,459.23
Buttons	560.42	1,079.59	706.21	305.64	2,651.86
W. F. Miners' Def. Fund	10,810.48	1,003.88			11,814.36
Nat. Campaign Fun....	113.52	4,043.74	215.39	36.25	4,408.90
Russian S. D. L. P. Fund	644.33				644.33
One Day Wage Fund...	45.65				45.65
Nat. Org. Fund.....	1,218.86				1,218.86
Sub. D. Soc. & N. Y. Call	233.50	90.50	115.25	12.75	452.00
Red Special Fund.....		41,213.80			41,213.80
Refund and R. R. Fare on Red Special.....		649.36			649.36
Delegate mileage		610.65			610.65
Red Special loans.....		3,100.00			3,100.00
Mileage assessment		8,929.41		72.50	9,001.91
Political Fefugee Fund..			354.51	2.00	356.51
Italy Earthquake Fund..			74.20		74.20
Minnesota Primary Law			162.28	2.00	164.28
Swedish Strikers' Fund..			6,318.91	302.43	6,621.34
Spanish Prisoners' Fund			305.35	11.20	316.55
Milwaukee Cam. Fund..				576.88	576.88
Miscellaneous	162.91	174.48	47.30	.63	385.32
Total	\$ 34,098.82	\$ 94,938.13	\$ 36,313.14	\$ 13,583.38	\$179,051.05

EXPENSES.

(From 1907 to April 30, 1910, inclusive.)

	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	Total.
Exchange	\$ 33.79	\$ 94.84	\$ 48.15	\$ 22.36	\$ 199.14
General expenses	77.72	314.60	196.43	70.57	659.32
Express and freight.....	229.71	1,733.29	539.53	447.46	2,949.99
Postage	1,439.51	3,535.53	2,290.78	924.04	8,189.86
Telegrams and phone....	117.68	579.44	228.96	149.33	1,075.41
Office rent	1,150.00	1,200.00	1,200.00	400.00	3,950.00
Literature	828.56	2,764.78	1,092.93	383.94	5,070.21
Printing Bulletin.....	1,263.50	1,959.40	1,442.40	437.73	5,103.03
Printing and supplies....	2,983.87	9,389.63	2,154.14	1,019.43	15,547.07
Lighting	115.32	96.41			211.73
Office equipment	76.70	1,186.84	28.90	17.52	1,309.96
N. E. C. meetings.....	630.95	881.50	1,040.10	364.00	1,916.55
Wages	5,568.27	10,071.95	6,324.00	2,248.50	24,212.72
Speakers	5,073.94	10,308.95	7,069.33	2,711.52	25,163.74
W. F. Miners' Def.....	10,810.48	1,003.88			11,814.36
Russian S. D. L. P.....	644.33				644.33
Stationery, etc.	278.11	674.08	418.54	203.35	1,574.08
Party buttons	705.82	1,393.40	960.05	142.44	3,201.71
Chicago Daily Soc.....	700.00	203.02			903.02
Plate matter, etc.....		429.55			429.55
Red Special		34,188.75			34,188.75
New York Call.....		500.00	500.00		1,000.00

Delegate mileage	7,910.73	.....	.....	7,910.73
Reporting Con. Proc'dgs	924.75	.....	.....	924.75
Peypament Red Sp. loans	3,100.00	.....	.....	3,100.00
Italy Earthquake Fund and Spanish prisoners .....	.....	379.55	11.20	390.75
Political Refugee Fund.. .....	.....	354.51	2.00	356.51
Minnesota Primary Law .....	.....	150.00	50.00	200.00
Washington News Service .....	.....	480.00	.....	480.00
Neues Leben .....	.....	300.00	.....	300.00
Swedish Strikers' Fund.. .....	.....	6,318.91	302.43	6,621.34
Milwaukee Cam. Fund.. .....	.....	.....	576.88	576.88
Reserve Mileage Fund.. .....	.....	2,110.30	1,064.45	3,174.75
Miscellaneous	922.67	649.45	756.95	3,350.11

Total	\$ 33,650.93	\$ 95,094.77	\$ 36,648.55	\$ 12,306.10	\$177,700.35
Balance .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,350.70

May 1, 1910.....	\$179,051.05
Reserve Mileage Fund.....	\$ 3,174.75
Advance paid to delegates.....	605.50

Balance, Reserve Mileage Fund.....	\$ 2,569.25
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ASSETS.

On hand, May 10th.....	\$ 3,252.96
Accounts outstanding, locals, states, etc.....	386.50
Literature in stock.....	3,290.62
Party buttons	470.61
Supplies, stationery, account books, etc.....	540.94
Office furniture and fixtures.....	1,497.60
Sub. cards, Daily Socialist.....	167.25
Sub. cards, New York Call.....	991.00

Total assets	\$10,597.48
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LIABILITIES.

Owe Organizers—

John M. Collins	\$ 68.35
Lena Morrow Lewis	260.19
Anna A. Maley	345.86
John M. Work	406.22
C. J. Wright	4.00

\$ 1,084.62

H. G. Adair	12.00
H. G. Adair Printing Company.....	130.00
Bowman Automatic Addressing Company.....	15.52
Brotherhood Publishing Company	2.40
Central Printing and Engraving Company.....	150.00
Consolidated Press Clipping Company.....	10.02
A. B. Dick Company	10.50
M. Fry & Co.	41.55
Fox Typewriter Company .....	.80
Frederick Gummi	7.50
John F. Jordan	10.00
Levytype Company	7.50
James H. O'Neil	60.00
P. F. Pettibone & Co.	39.40
Progressive Woman	3.00
Radnicka Straza	18.00
Saul Brothers	21.50
L. C. Smith Typewriter Company	8.90

Underwood Typewriter Company	37.75
Wilshire Book Company	100.37
Total liabilities	\$ 1,771.33
Balance net resources.....	8,826.15
	\$10,597.48

RECEIPTS FOR DUES FOR FOUR MONTHS—JANUARY, FEBRUARY,
MARCH AND APRIL; YEARS, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910.

States—	1907	1908	1909	1910
Alabama	\$ 20.00	\$ 41.50	\$ 48.50	\$ 22.00
Arizona	60.00	48.00	65.00	50.20
Arkansas	75.00	160.00	95.00	78.00
Alaska .....	.....	13.40	1.50	13.20
California	344.87	480.00	525.00	295.00
Colorado	99.00	196.00	181.75	112.80
Connecticut	100.00	86.50	130.00	96.50
Delaware .....	.....	10.00	.....	10.00
Florida .....	.....	29.00	38.00	37.50
Georgia	13.30	8.00	18.40	10.60
Hawaii .....	.....	4.00	4.00	8.00
Idaho	55.65	129.25	111.10	81.65
Illinois	532.75	536.00	725.00	750.00
Indiana	122.25	161.10	199.65	199.50
Iowa	128.70	195.00	150.00	150.00
Kansas	140.00	295.00	228.00	260.00
Kentucky	32.00	35.00	55.00	34.00
Louisiana	22.50	60.00	45.00	55.00
Maine	52.00	58.35	59.00	73.00
Maryland	35.10	45.00	65.00	92.50
Massachusetts	340.35	378.50	518.20	575.70
Michigan	186.95	204.20	280.60	255.40
Minnesota	251.40	327.80	366.80	513.85
Mississippi	12.30	4.20	15.70	8.70
Missouri	200.00	326.00	257.80	300.00
Montana	97.95	165.05	93.85	114.90
Nebraska	30.40	83.50	88.70	60.00
Nevada	48.00	51.10	45.00	54.00
New Hampshire	26.10	41.90	51.50	76.50
New Jersey	250.00	200.00	250.00	400.00
New Mexico	26.70	41.25	40.00	26.00
New York	560.00	650.00	800.00	850.00
North Carolina	17.30	35.80	11.30	6.20
North Dakota .....	.....	37.75	41.90	62.00
Ohio	316.55	362.50	518.85	523.00
Oklahoma	310.00	556.20	285.00	2,000.00
Oregon	159.00	216.50	200.70	165.15
Pennsylvania	553.12	440.40	648.35	750.20
Rhode Island	33.00	28.00	45.00	45.50
South Carolina .....	.....	.....	6.70	16.00
South Dakota	46.10	77.75	62.50	34.95
Tennessee	25.00	22.00	40.00	20.00
Texas	102.35	309.30	293.30	359.90
Utah	10.00	72.00	73.10	48.20
Vermont	12.00	7.00	9.95	11.95
Virginia	9.00	13.80	25.20	20.40
Washington	201.10	318.70	144.50	234.00
West Virginia	27.50	35.50	35.00	40.00
Wisconsin	396.40	391.55	409.05	481.10

Wyoming	33.60	130.70	108.31	138.01
Panama	4.50	.....	.....	.....
Porto Rico .....	.....	.....	.....	1.10
Members at large	6.10	27.20	25.40	22.85
Washington, D. C.	19.00	.....	.....	.....
Total	<u>\$6,144.89</u>	<u>\$8,147.25</u>	<u>\$8,536.51</u>	<u>\$10,645.01</u>

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

In the intervening general election it may be said with deliberation that no previous equal number of years were freighted with a like amount of agitation as that which was compressed within a few months during the presidential campaign. Scarcely a citizen of the nation this day can plead ignorance of the fact that there was a working class political platform and a fitting candidate in the race for the White House in the year 1908.

The files of the public press of the time will show scarcely an exception as to notices of these facts, while column upon column were devoted by many publications of wide circulation, not to mention numerous articles relating to incidents of the campaign which appeared in the magazines and more pretentious periodicals.

The campaign resulted in more than agitation as defined by the commonplace of "attracting attention"—it also produced votes, though this fact may not appear at first glance upon the figures of the returns. It must be remembered that the alleged radical democratic candidate was making his last stand and rallied to his support those entertaining a last hope under capitalism.

Besides, the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, at this time first entered a national campaign as a partisan, having endorsed the Democratic ticket, and the president of the organization was engaged in an active campaign in support of that party.

The elements and issues in the last and the preceding campaigns can hardly be compared; scarcely a single condition is found common to both. The conservative Democratic candidate, the boom times (prosperity?), the wide-spread strikes and the industrial unrest of the former, as against Bryan; the acute period of the panic, the general conditions of unemployment; the vast number of workers lacking residents' qualifications; the threat of the master—job-owning—class—all these in the latter campaign tended to reduce the Socialist vote and make conservatism for the time being the normal trend.

Lacking proof we need not assert, but there is every reason to suspect that a very much larger Socialist vote was cast than that which was counted. However, on this point we have no cause to complain. The mere thought carries with it the proper lesson of organization. We must not only be valiant in declarations in opposition to capitalism, but must show that resolution, vigor and earnestness of purpose of degree necessary to make each single vote that is cast an additional vote in the count.

For the purpose of permanent record a comparative table of the Socialist votes is here presented:

SOCIALIST PARTY VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES 1900-1908.

	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908
Alabama	928	2,312	1,853	389	1,399
Arkansas	27	.....	1,816	2,164	5,842
California	7,572	9,592	29,533	17,515	28,659
Colorado	684	7,177	4,304	16,938	7,974
Connecticut	1,029	2,804	4,543	3,005	5,113
Delaware	57	.....	146	149	240
Florida	603	.....	2,337	2,530	3,747
Georgia .....	.....	.....	197	98	584
Idaho .....	.....	1,567	4,954	5,011	6,400
Illinois	9,687	20,167	69,225	42,005	34,711
Indiana	2,374	7,111	12,013	7,824	13,476

Iowa	2,742	6,360	14,847	8,901	8,287
Kansas	1,605	4,078	15,494	8,796	12,420
Kentucky	770	1,683	3,602	1,819	4,185
Louisiana	.....	.....	995	603	2,538
Maine	878	1,973	2,106	1,553	1,758
Maryland	908	499	2,247	3,106	2,323
Massachusetts	9,716	33,629	13,604	20,699	10,781
Michigan	2,826	4,271	8,941	5,994	11,586
Minnesota	3,065	5,143	11,692	14,445	14,527
Mississippi	.....	.....	393	173	978
Missouri	6,128	5,335	13,009	11,528	15,431
Montana	708	3,131	5,676	4,638	5,855
Nebraska	823	3,157	7,412	3,763	3,524
Nevada	.....	.....	925	1,251	2,103
New Hampshire	790	1,057	1,090	1,011	1,299
New Jersey	4,609	4,541	9,587	7,766	10,249
New York	12,869	23,400	36,883	25,948	38,451
North Carolina	.....	.....	124	.....	345
North Dakota	518	1,245	2,017	1,689	2,421
Ohio	4,847	14,270	36,260	18,432	33,795
Oklahoma	815	1,963	4,443	4,040	21,779
Oregon	1,495	3,771	7,651	17,033	7,339
Pennsylvania	4,831	21,910	21,863	18,736	33,913
Rhode Island	.....	.....	956	416	1,365
South Carolina	.....	.....	22	32	100
South Dakota	169	2,738	3,138	2,542	2,846
Tennessee	410	.....	1,354	1,637	1,870
Texas	1,846	3,615	2,791	3,065	7,870
Utah	717	3,069	5,767	3,010	4,895
Vermont	371	.....	844	512	547
Virginia	145	155	218	.....	255
Washington	2,006	4,739	10,023	8,717	14,177
West Virginia	268	.....	1,572	2,611	3,679
Wisconsin	7,095	15,970	28,220	24,916	28,164
Wyoming	.....	552	1,077	1,827	1,715
Territories—					
Arizona	.....	510	1,304	1,995	1,912
New Mexico	.....	.....	162	211	1,056
Totals	96,931	223,494	409,230	331,043	424,483

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

As previously stated, publications which support the party are entitled to the highest praise for assistance rendered. Almost without exception they have given liberal space to official communications and earnestly co-operated in the work of organization.

In the last year the government officials seemed disposed to harrass the Socialist and liberal press by imposing impossible postal regulations upon financially weak publications. It would seem that the current protest has turned aside their resolutions. A portentous incident in this connection was the arrest of Comrade Fred D. Warren, editor of the Appeal, upon a federal warrant for having circulated an offer of a reward for the apprehension of ex-Governor Taylor of Kentucky, who at that time was a fugitive from justice under the charge of murder. Comrade Warren was convicted and a fine of \$1,500.00 and a sentence of six months in jail was imposed—this, in spite of the fact that the postmaster at Girard, Kansas, testified that he had passed with approval upon the document in question before it was mailed.

The act for which Comrade Warren was indicted was a coup, a counter-stroke to join the issues squarely and try out the possibilities of alleged even-handed justice in the defense of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners, who had been kidnapped in Colorado and transported to Idaho.

In the interim between the lodgment of the charge against and the trial of Comrade Warren, a pardon was granted to ex-Governor Taylor and he appeared as the principal witness for the federal authorities.

It should be known that the records of the trial at Fort Scott would prove that Governor Taylor was never indicted, no charge was ever lodged against him, and consequently that he was never a fugitive from justice, although the whole world knows that the records are a lie.

Within the past few days Comrade Warren has appeared before the Court in St. Paul for a re-hearing, where he personally put up to the Court the question whether the kidnaping of a workingman is legal and the suggestion to kidnap a capitalist politician a crime. Information as to the outcome of the re-hearing is not at hand at this writing.

Relating further to the press, one of the dangers to the movement is the disposition of comrades, all unprepared, to launch a local publication, which in the very nature of things is frequently foredoomed to an early or certain demise.

The value of the two English daily papers to the American workingmen can surely not be over-estimated. The Chicago Daily Socialist, now less than four years old, and the New York Call, which has not yet rounded out its second year of existence, have nipped in the bud many a brutal scheme aimed at the working class. The flashlight of publicity and exposure have proven a very effective protection.

The value of the daily papers in the foreign language needs to be noted, also one distinctive feature about them, that is, while it is always necessary for a movement to precede the establishment of an English paper, a few foreign comrades, almost invariably with little or no organization behind them, started these papers and the papers have made and are making the respective movements.

SOCIALIST PAPERS ON THE EXCHANGE LIST OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE.

DAILY—(ENGLISH).

Per Year.

"Chicago Daily Socialist".....	180 Washington St., Chicago, Ill...	\$3.00
"New York Call".....	409 Pearl St., New York City.....	3.00
"The Daily Register".....	Lead, S. D.	3.00

WEEKLY—(ENGLISH).

"Cotton's Weekly"	Cowansville, Quebec, Canada.....	.50
"The Lantern"	50 Van Buren St., Deadwood, S. D.	1.50
"The World"	523 17th St., Oakland, Cal.	1.00
"Common Sense"	649 E. Main St., Los Angeles, Cal..	.50
"Christian Socialist"	5623 Drexel Av., Chicago, Ill.....	.50
"Appeal to Reason"	Girard, Kan. ....	.50
"The Oklahoma Socialist"	Duncan, Okla.	1.00
"Farmers' Journal"	Abilene, Texas .....	.25
"St. Louis Labor"	212 S. 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.....	1.00
"Montana News"	Helena, Mont. ....	.50
"The Laborer"	401 Main St., Dallas, Tex.	1.00
"Toilers' Defense"	Cole Dale, Pa.	1.00
"Social Democratic Herald".....	344 6th St., Milwaukee, Wis. ....	.50
"The Western Clarion".....	Vancouver, British Columbia, Can..	1.00
"The Miners' Magazine".....	605 Railroad Bldg., Denver, Colo..	1.00
"The Cleveland Citizen"	310 Champlain Av., N. W., Cleve-	
	land, O. ....	.50
"The Pioneer"	Oklahoma City, Okla. ....	.50
"The Industrial Democrat".....	Oklahoma City, Okla. ....	.50
"The Prolocutor"	Garden City, Kan.	1.00
"The Findlay Call"	Findlay, Ohio .....	.50
"Welch's Weekly"	Wichita, Kan. ....	.50
"Wilshire's Magazine"	200 William St., New York City...	.25
"International Socialist Review".....	118 E. Kinzie St., Chicago, Ill.	1.00

"The Comrade"	446 E. 7th St., Erie, Pa. ....	.50
"The Harp"	436 East 155th St., New York.....	.50
"Progressive Journal of Education".....	45 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill. ....	.50
"The Progressive Woman"	Girard, Kan. ....	.50
"The New Era"	184 S. High St., Columbus, O. ....	.25
"The Enterpriser"	Lincoln, Neb. ....	.15
"The Evolutionist"	180 Washington St., Chicago, Ill....	.75
"The Little Socialist"	15 Spruce St., New York City.....	.50
"The Free Press" (Bi-weekly).....	P. O. Drawer 622, New Castle, Pa. ....	.50
"The World's Referee"	713 1st St., Seattle, Wash. ....	.50

DAILY—(FOREIGN).

(Bohemian)—"Spravedlnost"	679 Loomis St., Chicago, Ill.	\$4.00
(Bohemian)—"Americke Delincke Listy".....	4032 Broadway, Cleveland, O.	1.00
(German)—"Volks Zeitung"	15 Spruce St., New York City.....	6.00
(German)—"Tageblatt"	613 Callowhill St., Philadelphia, Pa.	3.00
(Jewish)—"Forward"	175 East Broadway, New York City	3.50
(Polish)—"Dziennik Ludowy"	959 Milwaukee Av., Chicago, Ill....	3.00

WEEKLY.

(German)—"Neues Leben"	180 Washington St., Chicago, Ill....	\$1.50
(German)—"Arbeiter Zeitung"	212 S. Fourth St., St. Louis, Mo. ...	2.00
(German)—"Vorwaerts"	15 Spruce St., New York City.....	1.00
(German)—"Die Wahrheit"	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.	1.50
(Polish)—"Robotnick"	416 6th St., New York City.....	3.00
(Slovak)—"Rovnost Ludu"	679 Loomis St., Chicago, Ill.	1.25
(Slavonic)—"Proletaree"	2146 Blue Island Av., Chicago, Ill. ...	1.50
(Danish)—"Revyen"	2639 West North Av., Chicago, Ill. ...	1.00
(Italian)—"La Parola die Socialista".....	874 Blue Island Av., Chicago, Ill. ...	1.00
(Jewish)—"Labor World".....	739 W. 12th St., Chicago, Ill.	1.00
(Finnish)—"Raivaaja"	392 Main St., Fitchburg, Mass.	2.50
(Finnish)—"Toveri"	Tenth and Duane St., Astoria, Ore. ...	2.00
(Finnish)—"Tyomies Pub. Co."	Hancock, Mich.	2.75
(French)—"L'Union des Travailleurs".....	Charleroi, Pa.	1.50
(Hungarian)—"Elore"	1528 Second Av., New York City... ..	1.00
(Lettish)—"Strahdneeks"	28 Broadway, South Boston, Mass. ...	3.00
(Lettish)—"Kova"	418 S. 2d St., Philadelphia, Pa.	2.00
(Norwegian)—"Gaa Paa"	415 Cedar Av., Minneapolis, Minn. ...	.50
(Croatian)—"Radnicka Straza"	1800 S. Center Av., Chicago, Ill.	1.00
(Jewish)—"Diezakunft" (The Future).....	141 Division St., New York City... ..	1.00
(Russian)—"The Russian-American Worker" (Monthly)	208 McWhorter St., Newark, N. J. ...	1.00
(Swedish)—"Svenska Socialisten" (Semi- Monthly)	330 7th St., Rockford, Ill. ....	.50

Considerable might be said about the Rand School, located in New York, the Inter-collegiate Society, the Socialist Sunday Schools, the Finnish Socialist College at Smithville, Minn., and other lines of educational endeavor; but these subjects have either been extensively noted in the Official Monthly Bulletin, or will be brought to your attention in other documents presented during the course of the Congress.

INTERNATIONAL ACTION.

The relations between our party and the International Socialist Bureau and all its affiliated branches have been most pleasant, fraternal and cordial. All our publications of every kind and nature are regularly forwarded to the Bureau. Obedient to its initiative necessary information has been transmitted to every country as required, and such financial aid as was possible was extended upon call.

The international spirit of the Socialist Party of America and its recognition of class solidarity can probably best be shown by the following table of figures:

	1907.	
Russian S. D. L. P. and Bloody Sunday Fund (at close)....	\$ 3,312.01	
	1908.	
W. F. of M. Defense Fund (at close).....	\$15,956.15	
	1909.	
Political Refugee Defense Fund.....	\$ 354.51	
Italy Earthquake Fund.....	74.20	
Swedish Strikers' Fund.....	6,318.91	
Spanish Prisoners' Fund.....	305.35	
Total	\$ 7,052.97	

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

AGENDA AND ASSIGNMENTS:

1. Relations between co-operative organizations and the political parties. Should co-operative societies remain neutral, independent from the political organizations, attached to these by a personal bond, or should they be affiliated to the parties?

2. The question of unemployment. Upon this subject Comrade Hunter will make report.

3. Arbitration and disarmament. Affiliated parties should state what they have accomplished and what their hopes are in the matter of bringing this matter to the favorable attention of the working class.

4. International results of labor legislation. Upon this subject Comrade Berger will report.

5. Organization of an international manifestation against capital punishment.

6. Line to take up to insure speedy execution of resolutions passed at the International Congress. What procedure would you recommend in case of war threatening?

7. Organization of international solidarity. What is the best mode of collecting help in the case of serious struggle between capital and labor? How supply information to labor newspapers and prevent the press from injuring the movement by biased information?

Comrade Hillquit will report on the progress of the Socialist and Labor movements of America.

At the present time a membership referendum is in progress for the election of eight delegates to the Congress. Some provision should be made to cover their expenses, which will probably approximate the sum of \$2,500.00.

TRADE UNIONS.

As to the policy of the party toward trades unions or labor organizations little need be said except that its declarations in the last convention, and the later statements of the National Executive Committee are in entire accord with the resolution of the Stuttgart International Congress. That no enemy of our movement, using the texts thereof, can by any subterfuge set us in opposition to the organized labor movement, or discount our position before the whole working class. Unfortunately some of our members fly in the face of every Party declaration, the essentials of which are stated in the Stuttgart resolution, as follows:

"The unions and the party have equally an important part to perform in the struggle for proletariat emancipation. Each of the two organizations has its distinct domain, defined by its nature and within whose borders it should enjoy independent control of its line of action."

Again, there is a strong tendency on the part of some to show disappointment and resort to severe criticism because the organized labor forces have not, or do not, come *en masse* under the political standard of the working class. Account must be taken of the history and tendency of organized labor, its experience and accomplishments, and here as elsewhere, material interests are found to play their part.

In 1896, or fourteen years ago, organized labor in the United States numbered in its membership about 600,000 workers. These were mainly composed of shop men—inside workers, such as printers, tailors, shoemakers, cigarmakers, horse shoers, bakers, molders, garment workers, etc. Most of these had fought their signal battle with the employers while competition was a factor in the industry during the previous decade. Relatively speaking, they have since stood still in membership and their later accomplishments in trade conditions are not to be compared with those secured in the earlier period.

Today, as against 1896, about 1,800,000 additional workers are enrolled in the various labor organizations. This addition is made up of builders and transportation workers—outside men, such as carmen, carpenters, masons, electricians, teamsters, miners, railroad employees, structural iron workers, etc. Many of the trades in this class had no organization whatsoever at the period first stated. About 70 per cent of the present labor movement is made up of these new men and new organizations. Their principal contents have been fought in these later years. Frequently an organization increased its membership enormously year after year and also reduced hours and increased its members' wages with almost equal regularity, amounting in wages in some cases to more than a hundred per cent within the period.

The former division—the older organizations—are susceptible to Socialist thought and the trend among them is more and more towards the recognition of class lines. There is a reason.

The latter division, comprising the newer organized workers, all unmindful of the rising prices of living, or any other consideration, are all attention and fully engaged in the near everyday fight, resulting to date in their material advancement under the present regime.

Our duty to all is plain, that is, to point out the insecurity and hideousness of capitalism; the injustice and iniquity of profit taking or any other form of robbery which takes from the toiling producer his just and full reward and provides the idler with the luxuries and the habiliments of power, unearned and undeserved.

FRANCHISE LIMITATIONS.

Two years ago the National Executive Committee promised aid to the Minnesota State Committee for making a legal contest upon the existing primary law and advised them to pay the fees demanded only under protest. In the month of April, 1909, the National Committee took similar action and guaranteed one-third of the total expense; providing further that the states should proportionately share the amount and reimburse the National Office, but only about half of the states responded.

Comrade Nash, State Secretary of Minnesota, under date of April 22, 1910, writes as follows:

"At the last meeting of the Executive Board I was instructed to ask you to make another call for assistance in taking the Filing Fee Case to the United States Supreme Court. The case has been decided against us in the State Supreme Court, but that is about what I expected. It may be foolish to spend any more money on the case, but I believe we had better put the thing through now, as it will either result in giving us the case or else fix things where other states will know better than to waste any more money in fighting the Class Courts."

Although there are about a dozen states somewhat similarly affected, the party as a whole is committed to financing and fighting this specific and flagrant case of class legislation. This case was selected as the best among many to be carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the benefit of a successful issue will be advantageous to each and every organization. Some further financial provision should be made to relieve this state of its disproportionate share of the burden. As arrangements now stand it is committed to meet two-thirds of the total expense.

IN MEMORIAM

Since our last meeting two valiant workers have ceased from their labors and gone to rest. Both had been long in the service of the Party and exerted the most capable efforts of their lives in its behalf. It is with profound regret that I must needs make record here of the death of Comrade M. W. Wilkins, on January 18, 1910.

He was a delegate to the 1904 convention and one of the oldest in point of service and one of the best known national organizers. And also the death of Comrade Ben Hanford on January 24, 1910. He was a delegate to the 1904 and 1908 conventions and at each was chosen as the candidate of the party for Vice-President. His later years' struggles with illness, while giving the full measure of his waning energies in service to his class, was martyrdom almost unequalled and will remain as an example and an inspiration to thousands of comrades in the years to come.

FOREIGN SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS.

I sincerely hope that the long deferred action will be taken or rather that a proper solution of the question concerning foreign speaking organizations, will be found and applied. It is necessary that each be placed upon an equitable basis and have their proper relations to the national organization clearly defined. However, this question will arise in your midst as a result of a conference of the delegates of the foreign speaking organizations held in this city May 13th and 14th. I bespeak for their proposal a careful and serious consideration to the end that unity and harmony may be promoted throughout the entire movement.

Considering the many trying situations lately confronting all branches of the party in the matter of electing delegates, caused by the recent National Party Referendum upon the question of holding this Congress, and upon which the vote closed April 6th, I would suggest the adoption of a constitutional provision preventing the possible recurrence of such a situation. A certain month, long enough in advance, might be designated in which to elect all delegates, or a constitutional prohibition be imposed against the introducing of a referendum effecting the time of the Congress or Convention after a certain date.

This document might be indefinitely increased in length by the consideration of such other topics as organization, propaganda, organization among women, etc., but reporters will open these subjects before you and the various standing committees are due to maintain the policy of the "open door" for suggestions from any source.

And in the course of events in the American Socialist movement a National Party Congress has been evolved.

Comrade delegates, as the chosen representatives of the working class political movement of America, a great honor, responsibility and opportunity rests with you.

The present year ends the first decade of the Twentieth Century. This century and its possible accomplishments, through generations, has been the ideal of the savant, the theme of the poet and the hope of the sons of toil.

Our purpose and program is clear; to reserve to labor the value it creates. There is no deep and hidden philosophy in the just demand; no reward without labor, no labor without full reward. Better still, our class has the power, the strength of numbers to impose these conditions on the very day it elects so to do.

It is for you representatives, here and now, to make our organization so compact, so disciplined, so responsive, that when the order is to move the foot fall of the nearest and farthest removed comrade will sound in unison.

The number of enrolled party members, the active sympathizers and voters of the Socialist ticket is a host to reckon with. The more intelligent and malignant opponents understand this quite well, and by subtle and subterranean means are trying to halt our progress and divide and dismember our present forces.

They have an impossible task before them. Day by day in the marts of trade, in the halls of legislation, in the whole varied field of industry they prove anew their dishonesty and incompetency and goad the workers to think, and press them ever nearer the point of revolt.

The Socialist movement of the world has raised the standard—for working class rule—and supplemented economic class action with political action.

The vulnerable spot in the armor of capitalism has been disclosed. The capitalists make and interpret the laws for themselves. The American division

of the international movement—its conscious working class—has brighter prospects and more assurance of success than ever. It turns its face towards Washington to punish its enemies and to reward itself, with laws made for labor by labor.

Fraternally submitted,

J. MAHLON BARNES,
National Secretary.