
Report of the National Executive Committee to the 10th National Convention of the SLP:

Delivered June 2-3, 1900, by National Secretary Henry Kuhn.

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Introductory.

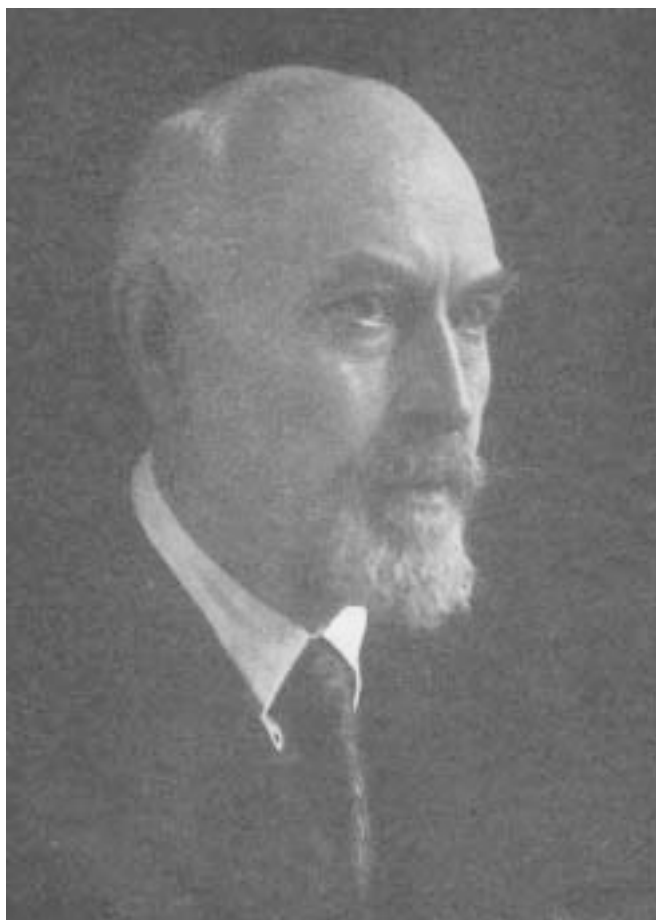
Never before has a National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party met under circumstances so auspicious as those that attend this national gathering of the Party's representatives. Of the three National Conventions that have taken place within the last eight years, each marks a distinct epoch in the Party's development.

The one of 1893 truly reflected its then composition. With a membership chiefly centered in a few large cities, and principally composed of men of foreign birth and habits of thought, who, in trying to shape its course

were naturally swayed by the traditions of the movements they had been engaged in on the other side of the Atlantic, the work was uphill and progress slow. The Party had just come fresh from an internal struggle, which, by retrospection and in the light of subsequent events, appears like a little family affair, both in its scope and in regard to the questions involved. Political action was but sporadic. It was a time when we had just gotten out of the habit of deciding each year whether to go into the election or not. Men of English speech were as scarce in the Party as hen's teeth; and of the few there were, many were not much good, if this paradox be permitted.

The '93 convention marked the close of that epoch, for during the next three years, up to the convention of 1896, there was considerable of a transformation. The Party waxed stronger, the work of agitation was more intense, and organization went on at a more lively gait, as has been amply set forth in the report rendered to the convention. Action at the polls became a matter of course, whenever there was enough organization to conduct a campaign. The composition of the organization changed; sections were formed of English-speaking workingmen; and when, in 1896, the convention met in New York City, that gathering of delegates marked and reflected a state of affairs utterly different from that of 1893. Such was the change in the makeup of the Party's membership that it had become possible to proclaim and to sustain the aggressive policy inaugurated by the '96 convention, which policy found its most marked expression in the endorsement of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, an endorsement equivalent to a declaration of war to the knife to the labor fakir, this product peculiar to American political conditions, where the capitalist class — dependent upon the votes of the workers for its political supremacy, wherewith to buttress its economic citadel — is compelled to watch every movement of the working class and to try and control them all through its agents, the labor fakirs.

It stands to reason that such a complete breaking away from the traditions of the past was necessarily attended with



considerable friction, the more so when in the practical application of that aggressive policy, the militants stacked up against the material interests that clustered around the fakir-led pure and simple trade unions. Such was the power brought to bear by the logic of the situation, and the position taken was to such an extent in accord with a correct interpretation of the theory of the class struggle as applied by the light of American conditions, that what opposition there could be found among the delegates to the convention was completely overwhelmed, for when after an exhaustive debate, lasting several days, the vote was taken on the resolution embodying the new policy, 71 out of 78 delegates voted aye, only 6 votes being cast against, while one abstained from voting. The six, it may be said *en passant*, were equally divided between two categories of members that played their little role later on, there being just three pure and simplers and three members of the small middle class, not one of whom is in the Party today. But from that time on and as soon as these hostile elements got home, back under the sway of middle class and pure and simple interests, they at once began to “bore from within,” and set themselves the task of rendering nugatory and, if possible, overthrow the action of the convention which was, moreover, overwhelmingly sustained by the general vote of the Party. Overt and covert resistance, mostly the latter, was offered to retard, obstruct, and prevent the practical application of the Party policy, until finally, after a chain of remarkable events which we shall, in brief outline, sketch in this report, a carefully laid, but clumsily executed conspiracy culminated in the midnight attempt of July 10, 1899, to seize the Socialist Labor Party, its archives, and its press and force it back into its old, wisely abandoned rut — Kangarooism, the latest and withal the most grotesque freak-phenomenon of the freakish side of American politics, had been born.

It may be put down as an axiom that the history of the Party during the past four years, the period covered by this report, is in the main the history of the contests, both local and national, that revolved around the Party policy as laid down by the '96 convention and faithfully carried out, as far as lay in their power, by the successive National Executive Committees and by the Party organs. It was but natural that these should be most bitterly assailed and denounced; and the “abusive language” heaped upon both by freak and fakir in and outside the Party, was a sure indication that we were moving along correct lines, the correct lines laid down by the convention of '96.

Successive Housecleanings.

The first nest of treason that had to be dealt with

and torn up by the roots was a sort of legacy left over from the '96 convention. That convention had to deal with a St. Louis publication, *Labor*, a vicious sheet, an aspirant for the position of national official organ, which aspirations were rudely squelched by the '96 convention. Around this sheet had gathered a few men who were in the SLP for the sake of the injury they could do it, and who, with the aid of this publication, had succeeded in thoroughly poisoning the St. Louis Section. But the logic of their very position sooner or later drives such men into an attitude that enables the Party to take hold of and expel them. In January, 1897, the St. Louis Section readmitted to membership a man named Priesterbach who in 1896 had left the Party of “work” for Bryan and for silver, possibly also for some greenbacks. Objection was raised by the loyal members and the vote stood 28 to 24, a majority of only four in favor of admittance, much less than the two-third majority demanded by the constitution when objections are raised. The section, for all that, insisted that Priesterbach was regularly admitted and refused to abide by the constitution. Upon receipt of a petition signed by a number of loyal members, the NEC suspended and reorganized that section. The men who had thus continually opposed and finally openly defied the SLP, naturally and speedily gravitated towards the Debs Democracy. Fortunately, they are there yet.

The Jewish Press Conflict.

This difficulty also existed in embryo at the time of the last convention. A set of international rolling stones, naturally of anarchistic proclivities, to whom the Party was but an object to practice their diverse notions on, had for some time kept up a constant turmoil. A board of arbitration, the members of which were selected by the contending factions themselves, had been appointed by the NEC to settle the dispute, which consisted of nothing but a contest for control. Both sides solemnly promised to abide by the decision, which promise was promptly broken by the side against which the decision went. The '96 convention sought to keep this trouble out of the party organization by severing all connection with the Jewish press, but subsequent experience showed that this theory did not work at all. The opposition at once organized so-called “Press Clubs,” which organizations speedily developed into caucuses to control and determine beforehand every action of the SLP Assembly District organizations in the Jewish quarter. Naturally, these men finally drifted into an attitude of open rebellion against the Party, and the trouble reached an acute stage after a general vote, called for by the NEC, had again placed the press under Party control. The difficulty was soon past mending and it was then ended with a firm

hand. Section New York proceeded to suspend ad to at once reorganize the Fourth, Eighth, and Twelfth Assembly Districts, keeping a strict watch on those who were admitted and carefully sifting the material. The disturbing element, suddenly finding itself on the outside, also naturally gravitated toward the Debs Democracy and the Debs Democracy still has them, much to our relief. Along with them went their followers in several other places, Boston for instance, where our organization has also been kept in a state of constant disturbance, but, of course, on a smaller scale.

The Kangaroo Exodus

It has been pointed out before that the history of the Party during the last four years is the history of the struggle for and against the Party's trade union policy. Nowhere was this clearer or the struggle waged more bitterly than in the city of New York. To describe the contest waged in New York is to describe it in its national significance, because all the elements that went to make up the national Kangaroo fraternity were present here: the pure and simpler, the small trader, the shyster lawyer, other professional men, the *Volkszeitung*, gradually developing into the pseudo-Socialist paper that it has become, together with its hangers-on, its "journalists;" the freak, the fakir, the all-around degenerate, and last, though by no means least, the "alte deutsche Genosse" (old German comrade) who "was a Socialist for the last fifty or more years" and had been made to believe by "his paper," the *Volkszeitung*, that the SLP was his property, so to speak, which had been converted, by maladministration, into an anti-German concern, which the "alte Genosse" was to rescue, cleanse, and repair. Most of these folks were Socialists by force of habit and tradition rather than from a live understanding of the conditions prevailing in this country. They had, most of them, come here at a ripe age with set ideas; had lived in German "colonies;" worked in industries largely controlled by Germans; scarcely ever rubbed elbows with the native element of the working class, whose habits of thought and general makeup were as foreign to them as the language and the institutions of the country of their adoption. Cut off from the movement abroad, they had not even been able to keep abreast of that, and they never were able to understand ours. Through the vicious influence of pseudo-Socialist papers like the *Volkszeitung*, there had been drilled into them a sort of German Socialist-Jingoism, which term we are forced to use for want of a better. Many of them would condescendingly admit that a non-German, more particularly an English-speaking person, might by dint of strenuous effort learn to understand a good deal about Socialism; but, become a full-fledged Socialist — never! That high state of development

they complacently thought that Providence had reserved for them, and for them only.

And let no one believe that this picture is overdrawn. It has been taken from life. A correct understanding of this peculiar feature is indispensable to correctly size up much of what there is of and in Kangarooism. Insofar as these men were workingmen, they were, for the most, trade unionists. At one time, when they formed their trade organizations during the latter part of the seventies and during the early eighties, they formed them separate and distinct from the American pure and simple article, called them "progressive unions," and, in some cases, took up the fight against the pure and simple corruptionists.

They were ill equipped for such a fight. In the course of time, when immigration dwindled away and cut off the only influx of new blood they could hope for, these organizations, largely composed of men well advanced toward middle age, began to at first stagnate, and then degenerate. Their vigor and virility ebbing away, they ceased to be fighting organizations, began to develop mutual benefit features, and, one by one, they gradually dropped into and were swallowed up by the pure and simple national organizations of the AF of L type.

It was this element solely that for many years controlled the Party and vicinity, until gradually a new element had grown up around it, young, vigorous, militant, very largely the result of the work *The People* had been doing for years. When the new had ripened sufficiently, it began to reach for the reins so long held by incapable hands, and then the fun began.

Such was the situation shortly after the '96 convention, when the work of undermining the Party's policy was begun. Under on pretext or another the opposition forced questions connected with this policy to a general vote of the section's membership. They were beaten each time by considerable majorities, and the militants held the fort, but the opposition succeeded in one thing that they were probably looking for, namely, to keep the organization constantly agitated and thus keep that policy in an unfixed, unsettled state, hanging fire as it were, retarding and often preventing its practical application. They had probably hoped also to obtain another result; to wear out, exhaust, and finally disgust the loyal majority, but the bulk of these understood too well the vital importance of the question involved and, instead of letting up, became more determined than ever.

During all this time the *Volkszeitung*, not daring as yet to show its hand and come out for an open conflict, filled the mission of an underground center for disloyalty, publishing pro-Alliance articles without making a wry face when they were written by loyal comrades and, on the whole, keeping on the shady side of the question. But the

paper was soon to come to a place where the roads forked, and where it became imperative to choose one or the other. The Alliance forged ahead, the strike at Seidenberg's cigar factory came along where the Alliance men went out with the rest only to be basely betrayed and swindled out of their jobs by the strike committee of the International Cigarmaker's Union when a back-door "settlement" was made with the firm. This act of treachery was mercilessly exposed in *The People*, causing a flurry of excitement among the cigarmaker labor fakirs. To explain away and to gloss over the ugly features of the affair, they made violent efforts to gain access to the columns of *The People*; and, to improve their chances, they shoved to the front and used as a catspaw one of their local unions (No. 90), which had the reputation of being a "Socialist" union — in the Kangaroo sense of the term, of course, which means that the SLP campaign fund gets a donation shortly before election, which donation is supposed to give the "Socialist" union carte blanche to stand by and work with the labor fakirs the rest of the year.

Straws That Show Whence the Wind Blew.

The chances of Cigarmakers' Union No. 90 to get into the columns of *The People* via the NEC were, perhaps, thought all the better because one Henry Stahl, the Secretary of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, who was a cigarmaker but held on to his union card for the sake of the sick and death benefit, was a member of the NEC. Accordingly, they used to turn up in committee at various times, three, four, or five abreast, asking publication for a number of vapid statements gotten up in rather curious language. So long as these statements were offered in an alleged refutation of what *The People* had said upon the "Seidenberg Spectre," they were refused publication for the reason that they never attempted to refute, but indulged in all sorts of vague, puerile talk, carefully evading the point at issue, namely, that the International Union had scabbed against the Alliance. Stahl, of course, true to the Kangaroo principle that his union comes first and his Party second, did what he could to help them along, but failed. He afterwards wrote a letter to his union, full of half-truths, concealing the other half, adding a few falsehoods, and then drawing conclusions. This letter was, as goes without saying, written for publication, and was promptly published shortly before the election of 1898, and circulated to injure the Party's vote in the Sixteenth Assembly District. The matter was promptly taken up by the NEC, a resolution of censure was introduced, on which action was deferred until after election. After that, Section, Pittsburgh, PA, having secured the support of a number of other sections, sub-

mitted for a general vote the proposition to remove Stahl from the NEC as unworthy. This motion no doubt would have been carried, but Stahl kangarooed after July 10, 1899, and thus thought to escape ignominious removal for breach of trust.

In the meantime, the Board of directors of the *Volkszeitung*, or, to be more exact, of the "Socialistic Cooperative Publishing Association," which publishes the *Volkszeitung*, and acted also for the party as publishers of *The People* and *Vorwaerts*, had begun to show its hand. The first attempt consisted in a demand for joint jurisdiction upon communications from trade unions rejected by the editor of *The People*. This was refused on the ground that the NEC had no power to delegate its control over the contents of the Party organs by sharing it with someone else, least of all with a body representing an organization composed in part of non-Party members.

By this time the year 1898 was drawing to a close and matters had come to a pass which made it clear to all who cared to see, that the break was not far off; that the crisis would soon be reached, and the old and the new would part company. Thus far, the enemy had always hypocritically professed not to be opposed to the Alliance policy as such — Oh, no! — only to its application, to certain acts, sayings, thoughts, maybe, in connection with that subject, which, according to them, "were not at all in keeping with the intentions of the '96 convention."

The *Volkszeitung* Shows Its Hand.

The *Volkszeitung*, too, had not dared thus far to come out openly. It had hedged, discriminated against the straightforward party standpoint wherever and whenever it could do so without running any risks, but finally, somewhat unconsciously, it crossed the danger line. In the absence of the editor, one of his underlings, a non-Party member named Grunzig, ran up against the buzzsaw, much in the style of a boy who monkeys with a gun not knowing that it is loaded. This was in December '98. An editorial article appeared in the *Volkszeitung* wherein the Party policy as such was attacked, and a policy of "boring from within" the old trade union was recommended. From what we knew then and could learn subsequently, there was perhaps not much premeditation behind the outbreak. The writer, utterly ignorant of the practical work of the movement, and therefore impervious to the extreme tension that filled the atmosphere, seems to have simply succumbed to the general feeling of hostility against the Party with which nearly the whole staff of the *Volkszeitung* was thoroughly saturated. Two days later the attack was renewed. All further restraint was then set aside. The People opened up on the treacher-

ous sheet and the battle was on.

The Publishing Association Development.

At first the matter came up in the Board of Directors of the Publishing Association. There, the Party had a clear majority, for even some of the later Kangaroos, members of that body, were then quite indignant at the break made. They fell by the wayside later on when logical conclusions had to be drawn from given premises — something a sentimentalist, or a man with other than proletarian interests who has strayed into the Socialist movement, can scarcely ever do successfully.

At any rate, the editor of the *Volkszeitung* was censured by the Board for having violated the very constitution of the Association, which distinctly provides for the support of the “principles and tactics” of the SLP, and the censure was ordered published in the *Volkszeitung*. The editor practically admitted that, had he been at his post, the break would not have occurred, but for all that he opposed the censure, fully upheld his assistant who had written the article in question, and utterly refused to publish the censure, threatening to resign rather than submit, all of which indicated that he fully sympathized with the attack on the Party’s policy, and imagined the conspiracy had sufficiently ripened to uphold him and derail the Party. Some of the embryo Kangs in the Board then got weak in the knees and ultimately flopped over to the other side when the contest was carried into the Publishing Association.

There a battle royal, a running fight took place that extended over a period of several months. We were never under any illusions as to the outcome, for we fully understood the ruffian character of the Association’s makeup. In some respects that Association had, in the course of time, become a sort of ash-barrel of the movement, harboring the expellees of the Party. Under its rules, one had to be a member of the SLP to be admitted, but there was not way of getting rid of him if afterwards he dropped the Party or the Party dropped him. In the main it was a motley crew; small traders and manufacturers with fully developed bourgeois instincts; professionals more or less filled with middle class notions as to how the Socialist movement should be conducted; pure and simplers with a Socialist varnish; incipient labor fakirs in various stages of incubation; anarchists and other freaks, some of them real curiosities; men who had been “Socialists” for the last one hundred years or thereabouts, and had grown tired; *Volkszeitung’s* “journalists,” a separate and distinct type; all these, with a liberal sprinkling of just plain, ordinary fools and some old women in trousers. Ordinarily, the bulk of them never went near a meeting, but aroused by the howl raised all around, they

did come to get a whack at the SLP, about which few of them knew much, but which all of them hated most cordially, to the everlasting credit of the SLP, be it said. In point of members, had they all come, they would have outnumbered us three to one, and enough did come to make the division of the house about two to one. It was a memorable fight, with lines sharply drawn and issues clearly defined. It was the Party with its fresh, pulsating life, with its future before it, pitted against moss-grown, incrustated reaction with its future behind it. Finally, the vote was taken and resulted, as was to be expected, in a repudiation of the Board’s censure. That was the beginning of the end. The forces on either side began to align themselves for the desperate struggle that was to come and was inevitable. We had come to the parting of the roads.

At that meeting the loyal members of the Board of Directors resigned, the vacancies thus created were filled, and the Association had at last a head truly representative of its body.

The Final Conflict Draws Near.

The membership of the Party was promptly informed of the state of affairs through *The People* in an article headed “Sign-Posts.” The *Volkszeitung* had all along been in this position: as a publication in a foreign language it had to reckon with a constantly narrowing field. Whenever one of its readers took his last ride, in a hearse, to be cremated or interred, it meant an irreparable loss to its circulation. There was no way of making it up. The very children of the “Genossen,” growing up in an English-speaking country, had a commendable habit of drifting away from the paper. Between them and their parents there was often no point of contact; they viewed life from an entirely different angle of vision and had, as a rule, little sympathy with what they were apt to consider the “peculiar views” of the old folks, the more so since these views were often presented with an air of prejudice against everything American. It was a standing complaint among those particular old German comrades that their children would have none of Socialism — small wonder. The *Volkszeitung* itself, when writing about America and American conditions, always did so in a strain as though the writer sat in some German village and discussed owlshly upon the interior of Africa, or some other outlandish territory.

Thus the paper had to lean for its support upon two factors that were bound, in the course of time, to become antagonistic. One, the degenerated, crusty trade union we have before described, coupled with a host of all sorts of purely social organizations, sick societies, etc., all of them animated by the same spirit; the other, the Party which was

becoming ever more and more an American Party, and which felt at home and acted accordingly. The paper needed both. It could not afford to lose one or the other; and being confronted with the predicament of seeing the SLP turn against it, it had to, if need be, set up a fake SLP in imitation of the real article and then trust to luck. Driven by this necessity, violent efforts were made to get space in *The People* in some way to meet the incontrovertible array of facts in the "Sign-Posts" article, and thus weaken, if possible, the damaging effect of the exposure. The new Board appeared in a body before the NEC, demanding space for their side. They were told to put in writing what they had to say, and the NEC would then consider the matter. A statement was presented at a special meeting held Sunday, April 16, 1899. It was a lengthy document, full of twisted facts, perversions of the truth, bald assumptions without the shadow of a foundation. To publish it without comment would have been tantamount to self-stultification; to publish it with comments would have necessitated an answer twice its own length to meet all its reckless statements. Stahl moved to publish and Matchett seconded the motion. The latter did so, according to his own statement, to bring the motion before the house. An exhaustive debate followed, lasting for hours, during which point after point of the Association's defence was taken up and torn to pieces, with documentary proof. When finally the vote was taken, on the motion of Stahl, he alone voted in favor, while Brown, Sanial, Murphy, Keep, Kinneally, and Matchett went on record against.

In order to still better acquaint the membership of the Party with the critical state of affairs and prepare them for any emergency which might now happen at any time, it was then and there decided to issue a "Statement on the Situation in New York," and Sanial, Keep, and Matchett were elected a subcommittee to make a draft. This committee made a unanimous report on April 23; the report was adopted with the votes of all against the vote of Stahl, and ordered published in the May Day issue of *The People*, together with an "Appendix" setting forth how the *Volkszeitung*, for years past, had in an underhanded way, worked against the Party.

The Inception of the Plot.

So as to properly connect a number of other events somewhat on other lines, yet closely connected with what has been said thus far, we shall have to go back a few months to the beginning of the year when nominations were made for National Secretary and for members of the National Executive Committee. On former occasions the opposition had made some perfunctory effort to elect its representa-

tives on the NEC, but the lines not having as yet been drawn sharply enough, these efforts were not pushed. In the beginning of 1899, however, the situation had sufficiently developed. Lines had been drawn; the opposition had a set of leaders, such as they were; they knew this was the last chance, but one, to capture the NEC before the next National Convention would meet and squelch them, and they set out to make the effort of their lives. The result was another defeat, their slate was smashed, and only one of their candidates, Stahl, succeeded in just slipping in with the smallest vote of any (329 votes), as against 683, the highest, cast for Comrade Sanial. But a better test for the relative strength of the opposing forces was perhaps the vote for National Secretary, for which Henry Kuhn polled 578 votes, while his opponent, the Kangaroo candidate, F.E. Kirchner, received 234 votes.

We shall leave undecided whether the opposition were childish enough to imagine that the capture of the NEC meant the capture of the Party, or whether they were already wicked enough to perceive that their chances of throwing the Party into confusion by a *coup d'etat*, such as they tried later on July 10, would be materially improved if they had possession of the NEC and of the office of the National Secretary. At any rate, some of their more incautious followers, in sure expectation of victory, were at that time heard to declare that the election of "their" NEC would settle the Party's Alliance policy. It is a curious fact, worthy of note in connection herewith, that this local minority, which had set itself the task of nullifying or overthrowing the Party policy established in National Convention, and by general vote, never tired of denouncing the men who, in obedience to the Party's will, endeavored to carry out its mandates. For doing the very thing they had been elected for, they were treated to a great deal of what a regulation Kangaroo would call Billingsgate. "Tsar," "Pope," "Boss," "Tyrant," "Rule or Ruin Men," etc., *ad libitum* and *ad infinitum*, were among the cleanest of the appellations bestowed upon the NEC, the editors of the Party organs, in fact upon all who stood by the Party.

The Taxation Controversy.

The *Volkszeitung*, partly for the purpose of raising dust and diverting attention from the real issue, and partly also for the purpose of weakening the influence of the Party organs by demonstrating that they were "unsound on economics," now went off on another tack. It started a controversy on the subject of taxation, contending in substance and in true middle class style, that the working class in its capacity as a consumer of merchandise pays out of its wages a large portion of the taxes, so large a portion, indeed, as to

be weighted down by its burden; and that, therefore, the question of taxation was a question of vital importance to the working class. The Democratic Party, when prating about how the man with the dinner pail is robbed by taxation, never said more than that, but the Democratic Party never forged its figures with such shamelessness and utter abandon as did the *Volkszeitung* in trying to buttress its contention. Having in this wise manufactured its own premises, it boldly drew conclusions therefrom, and produced figures showing that the burden of taxation resting upon the working class amounts to \$20 each for every man, woman, and child, so that a workingman with a wife and three children would, on an average, have to pay \$100, nearly one-third of his average income, for taxes only — all in direct opposition to the Party's official declarations on this subject, and in opposition to recent articles in *The People*, written to refute the false Democratic taxation howls. The *Volkszeitung's* proposition was preposterous, and the paper, consciously or unconsciously, selected the right man to defend it — a man named Feigenbaum, a semi-lunatic, a freak with more kinks in his head than the average well-balanced man could ever begin to think of, and more mental dishonesty in his makeup than could be traced with a thousand X-rays. This man Feigenbaum, who, during this taxation debate was very aptly and fitly likened by a New York comrade to a monkey in convulsions, was given unlimited space by the *Volkszeitung* to take up the cudgels for and defend the indefensible. He promptly went off on a spree, a veritable debauch, in quotation marks, misquoting and half-quoting, whenever he did quote, and for all we know he may be quoting yet. May the fates have mercy on us, and save us from another such infliction, and may those who come after us never have their patience "taxed" with a like experience.

The Plot Thickens.

We must now return to the time the "Statement on the Situation in New York" was issued in the May Day *People*. The *Volkszeitung* corporation was growing desperate. Threats were made that they would present their side despite the decision of the NEC; that the Party organs were theirs, and that they would use them as they saw fit, etc. Suddenly there appeared what was called the Monthly English Edition of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and which afterwards was called "The Taxpayer," for short. It was gotten up in pigeon English, contained the Statement of the Board of Directors, all the contortions and quotations of Mr. Feigenbaum, and sundry other things scarcely worth mention. As a contribution to literature, along the lines of involuntary humor, it was an unparalleled success, and was

accordingly hugely enjoyed all over the country. Nothing would have been done in the matter by the NEC had it not been for the fact that the mailing list of *The People*, the result of the unceasing labor of the Party the country over, had been used to send out this abortion. Complaints began to pour in from the country, accompanied with wrappers showing the date of subscription to *The People*, in which the corporation's sheet had arrived. Notice had to be taken, and a letter was addressed to the corporation's Board of Directors, demanding an explanation. Right upon the heels of this, and before an answer could have been received, the corporation went one step further. With the English sheet they had at least chosen a different title, and had in no way made it appear that it was a part of *The People*. But they now issued a so-called supplement to the *Vorwaerts*, the Party's German organ, without the knowledge of the editor, and made it appear as an integral part of the German Party organ. Needless to say that this "supplement" contained the same Democratic refuse matter as the English sheet did, including Mr. Feigenbaum's quotations.

This flagrant breach of faith and of the contract made between the Party and the Publishing Association, was the last straw that broke the camel's back; and when the Board of the corporation, in answer to the letter of inquiry sent to them, admitted, in an insolent communication, that they had authorized and ordered the use of *The People's* mailing list and the insertion of the "supplement" to the *Vorwaerts*, declaring that they would do so again as often as occasion required, the National Executive Committee decided to submit the issue to the Party membership. The question: "Shall the Party sever all connections between it and the Socialistic Cooperative Publishing Association; continue, through its National Executive Committee, the publication of its organs, *The People* and *Vorwaerts*, and demand from the said Association the unconditional surrender of all property belonging to said organs, including their respective mailing lists and the amount of subscriptions paid in advance?" was ordered to be submitted to a general vote on May 31, and the vote was made returnable on August 1.

The *Volkszeitung* was now in the position of a rat at bay, having been driven from pillar to post. Section New York, through its General Committee, had passed a vote of condemnation against the paper for having falsified the reports of the committee; and Section New York was getting ready, not only to repudiate the sheet as its official organ, but to also look into the conduct of such of its members as belonged to the Publishing Association and had there betrayed the Party's interests. The situation was getting to be a rather critical one.

A slight diversion now becomes necessary again to connect some links in this historical chain of events. At the

meeting of the NEC held on June 6, Charles H. Matchett, the quondam candidate for President, resigned as a member of the Committee on the ground that he was to leave the city. A call for nominations was issued, and the two opposing forces began to prepare for the tug-of-war. The fight had grown hot, and both sides realized that this was no time to indulge in complimentary votes. Accordingly, when the nominations made were about to be presented for a vote, two candidates, representing the two sides, were there to be voted for: Peter Fiebiger for the Party; Morris Hillquit against it.

A few words of explanation of this man Hillquit will serve a general purpose. He turned up in the movement during the eighties, was then a very young man, displayed some activity in the Jewish Party and trade union movement, and his name at that time was Moses Hilkwitz. Later on he became a lawyer and went through the customary course of graduation pursued by people of his sort, who grew out of the Jewish trade union moment; that is to say, he made out worthless contracts for the Jewish unions in the settlement of their numberless strikes against the sweatshop contractor bosses. The *modus operandi* in the contract business is that such a contract is made between the union and the contractor, the latter paying the fee to the lawyer, ranging from one dollar to three, and the lawyer to divide the swag with the union, or, perchance, only with the union leaders.

It is said to have been a lucrative business, because there were many strikes, and there were more contractors. When the then Mr. Hilkwitz had got sufficiently ahead in the world by such means, he vanished, and neither the East Side nor the Socialist Labor Party saw or heard of him for many a day. But he came back in time, metamorphosed into Morris Hillquit, Esq., attorney at law, with an office on Broadway.

No sooner had the now Mr. Hillquit come back into the Party, when he at once developed into the recognized leader, the spokesman, the paladin of the opposition. At the General Committee, in the Publishing Association, and wherever else he had a chance, he shied a lance for the cause of "freedom and against bossism." There wasn't any love lost between the stalwarts and Mr. Hillquit, and while they did not know him as well then as they learned to know him since, they sized him up correctly on the whole and handled him accordingly.

When this Mr. Hillquit became a candidate for NEC, it began to be rumored around on the East Side that in 1894, while a member of the Party, he had voted for Goff, a capitalist candidate for judge. Finally a comrade (J. Wilenkin), came to the National Secretary with the statement that Hillquit had in his presence, on the night of the

election of 1894, admitted that he had that day cast his vote for Goff, giving for a reason that "Goff was a good man and that his election would benefit the workingman." He (Wilenkin) had said nothing and had not preferred charges because Hillquit was not at all active in the Party, and he had no desire to stir up trouble; but Hillquit having again become active, this time within the Party against the Party, he thought it his duty to report the matter, the more so since Hillquit had the hardihood to reach out for the National Executive Committee. Wilenkin was told to put what he had to say in writing and send it to the NEC. He did so, and the Committee instructed the National Secretary to address a communication to Hillquit, asking him what he had to say to the charge. The answer was, of course, a blank denial of the charge. So much for Mr. Hillquit for the present.

The Crisis at Hand.

The vote on the question of severing all connections with the *Volkszeitung* now began to pour in from all over the country. The returns were made known as fast as they came in, and it became evident that the proposition would be adopted with an overwhelming majority. And now began some tall wirepulling in all directions, principally between New York, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. Cleveland had the National Board of Appeals, a body that thought, and in point of fact was, susceptible to *Volkszeitung* influences, and Alexander Jonas, a member of the *Volkszeitung's* staff, was dispatched thither on a secret mission to get things in shape. That this Board of Appeals was anything but a Socialist body, and that the selection of Cleveland as the seat of this institution had proved a grievous mistake, was well known to the Party management. Max Hayes, its former Secretary, had resigned his position because he had been offered the position of editor of the *Social Democrat*, the official organ of the Social Democracy, otherwise known as the Debs Colonization Party. He was on the point of going to Chicago to take charge of the paper, "to work for the SLP," of course, when it was made clear to him that there was not much stability in either the Colonization Party or its organ, and that he had better cling closely to the much safer job on the *Cleveland Citizen*, in other words, that the bird in hand was worth two in the bush. He reconsidered.

The caliber of the section, as then composed, may be judged by the fact that not only was he permitted to remain a member, but he continued to be a "leader." Hayes' successor was Robert Bandlow, and he succeeded him well. The decisions rendered by that Board had become more and more curious. With a dishonesty that is characteristic of such folk, they all seemed to have a point in them di-

rected in some way against the NEC, the Party organs or its editors, or against the Party policy, notwithstanding none of them was on trial or had an opportunity to defend himself. The Board was watched closely from this end of the line with both distrust and disgust. Yet it never entered our minds that these gentlemen would have the impudence to usurp powers not at all belonging to them, and that ultimately they would try to set themselves above the NEC, and even presume to legislate it out of existence.

The first attempt in this direction was made when H. Stahl appealed to them to prevent the NEC from submitting the question of his removal from the NEC as moved by Section Pittsburgh, to a general vote. The Board actually had the presumption to take up this case, and demanded that the NEC state its side. This the NEC did by a public statement, the essence of which was that "the Board had no right to entertain an appeal from a call for general vote or to ask the NEC for any of its reasons for submitting such a call, as no committee of the Party can be permitted to stand between the Party and its National Executive Committee."

The Board tried in other ways to aid in the conspiracy against the Party, one of its decisions having for its purpose to prevent Section New York from ridding itself of a singing society as a branch of the section, although the rights of the individual members were not at all affected because they continued to hold membership in their respective Assembly Districts.

It was now near July 1, and new delegates to the General Committee [of Section New York] were being elected by the subdivisions of the section. The opposition was working with might and main to secure as many of these as possible; secret caucuses were held and their adherents drilled to go to the meeting and vote solidly. The men they united on were chosen with an eye to their physical qualifications; in short, they got ready for battle. The vote on severing connection with the *Volkszeitung* came in thick and fast and nearly solid in favor of the proposition submitted. Repudiation by the National Party Organization stared them in the face; the vote closing on August 1 gave them but one short month more. Evidently, this was the time for heroic measures, for action along to-do-or-to-die lines. On July 8 the new delegates were to be seated. On that day there appeared in the *Volkszeitung* a call to the delegates elected on that side to be on hand early, and to make sure to be in the hall at 8 pm. They were on hand, to be sure; and as transpired subsequently, were prepared in diverse other ways. The plan was to capture the General Committee, elect all the officers of the section, and then turn their kind attention to the NEC, to the editors of the Party organs, and to the State Committee. It was a very nice plan with many pleasant features, but as has been said

of the best laid plans of mice and men, it did not work exactly as it had been planned. They probably forgot to consider what the other side might do.

That other side during all this time had not been half as active. They felt somewhat secure in being the unquestionable majority in any event, and many of the secret and desperate moves of the opposition were not known then. The subsequent explanation of the Kangaroos, when forced to state in their papers why they claimed to be the majority, was that they expected the NEC would suddenly suspend and reorganize Section New York, and thus force them out of the Party. But this explanation is all moonshine and they know it. Fact is, that there was a safe majority of the section's membership on the right side of the question, as every general vote had proven, and temporary success that the opposition might have secured through secret organization in caucus would only tend to arouse the loyal majority for its overthrow. The Kangaroos knew this and, knowing it, they fully understood that the only thing left for them was a *coup d'etat*. Majorities are not in the habit of organizing *coups*; they don't have to.

When the meeting of the General Committee on July 8 was called to order and proceeded to elect a chairman, delegates Kuhn (nominated by the Party supporters), and Bock (nominated by the reactionists), were set up. The vote was taken by a show of hands. Kuhn being voted on first, only such as were already delegates voted; but when the vote on Bock was called for, all the Kangaroo delegates in the hall voted whether they were seated or not. The Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, Comrade Hugo Vogt, having in hand the credentials, not yet passed upon, of a number of men whom he saw participate in the vote, rose to object. Then the storm broke loose. All the Kangaroos were on their feet, a howling mass, trying to drown the objector's voice, but he persisted. The organizer, unable to restore order by the sound of the gavel, appointed several deputy sergeants-at-arms, and one of these comrades, Arthur Keep, approached Mr. Hillquit, the leader of the chorus, with the intention of making him take his seat. Instantly a dozen or so fell upon him, and in less time than it takes to tell it, a most sanguinary hand-to-hand conflict was on, during which Messrs. Hillquit and Feigenbaum took to their heels. The hall suddenly filled with non-delegate Kangaroos who had evidently been kept in readiness; clubs had been stored up in a corner, but it was all of no use. The loyal delegates, though greatly outnumbered, fought the disturbers to a standstill, and the plan to capture the meeting by any and all means fell through. The meeting broke up. Then came the

Midnight Raid of July 10.

On Sunday, July 9, the Kangaroos conferred; on Monday morning, July 10, there appeared in the *Volkszeitung* a front page call for a "special meeting of the General Committee," to be held in a hall on the Bowery, signed by a number of Kangaroo delegates. Needless to say that this call was wholly unauthorized, neither the organizer of the section nor the City Executive Committee having signed it or having been at all informed about it. A one day's notice in a German publication was, moreover, entirely lost upon the English-speaking delegates, very few of whom knew anything at all about the alleged General Committee meeting. That meeting was attended by some 47 men, several of whom were not even delegates, nor yet members of Section New York. This mob arrogated to itself powers which the real General Committee of 115 delegates never had. It proceeded to "depose" the NEC, the National Secretary, the editors, the State Committee, the City Executive Committee, the organizer; in short, everything in sight. Never was a farce more complete.

It may be here inserted that, when it became evident that the Party would vote to sever connections with the Publishing Association, the Publishing Association had met and voted, in order to meet and if possible weaken the inevitable repudiation, to itself rescind the contracts between it and the Party relative to the publication of Party organs. It had left all details to its Board of Directors, and that body thereupon informed the NEC that July 15 had been set by them as the date when the contracts were to terminate, just two weeks prior to the close of the general vote. Committees of the two bodies met to arrange the details, and at the first conference held, the committee of the NEC took the stand that the contract made between the Party and the Publishing Association relative to the publication of *The People* had been adopted by a general vote of the Party, and that, therefore, the NEC did not feel it had power to legally rescind and terminate said contract before it had ascertained the opinion of its constituents. A general vote was now on and would close on August 1. That the Publishing Association, with its membership located in New York and vicinity, could easily assemble and ascertain how its members stood, but it was taking an unfair advantage of the Party to expect of it so speedy a decision with its membership distributed all over the country. In this view the committee of the Board seemingly acquiesced and withdrew. Presently, however, a communication was received to the effect that the Board had declined to extend the time and that the contracts must terminate on July 15. A meeting of the two committees was set for the night of July 10, the very night that the bogus General Committee met on

the Bowery. The committee of the NEC was on hand; that of the Board was not. They were busy at the Bowery meeting seeking how to destroy that hated SLP and escape the Party's repudiation.

In the meantime, and as soon as the call for the snap meeting on the Bowery had appeared in the *Volkszeitung*, active preparations were made by the Party officers to meet whatever deviltry the other side might be up to. We knew we were located in the enemy's house, and those who had gone through the trouble of 1889, having to deal now with practically the same element, knew also what the followers of the *Volkszeitung* were capable of. A hurry call was sent out, and about 25 comrades assembled in obedience to the call, ready to defend the Party's property, come what may. Insofar as it could be done, the men were well picked. All valuable papers and documents that money would not replace were taken out of the building before nightfall and what was left, had it fallen into the hands of the Kangaroos, could have been replaced. Scouts were sent to the Bowery meeting, the neighborhood was picketed, and all was ready for a warm reception should that become necessary. The reports brought from the Bowery meeting at intervals showed the progressive stages of the deposing farce. Thus, being fully informed, we waited.

We waited until somewhat before midnight, when the advance guard of the Kangaroos arrived at 184 William Street. More came later. Mr. Slobodin, a "lawyer" of the East Side, who had just been elected National Secretary of the Kangaroos, was sent upstairs to parley. He was met by the pickets at the head of the stairs and told that he could not come in. He then wanted to deliver a letter to "Comrade Kuhn," and was informed that nothing would be taken from him. He retired. They cast up the situation and, not knowing how many were there to oppose them, wisely concluded to send for reinforcements. Accordingly, a call was sent to the Labor Lyceum, and the German Bricklayers' Union, a body of pure and simplers if ever there was one, run by William Klein, a Tammany jobholder, came down in a body under the leadership of Philip Bauer, also a non-Party member, together with a swarm of Kangaroos, anxious to lend a helping hand. They were armed in the *Volkszeitung* office, on the ground floor, with sundry weapons: mallets, clubs, iron implements, and what not. A portion of them was detached to the composing room of the *Volkszeitung*, on the top floor, above the Party's premises, to make the position on the staircase untenable, as it could be rushed from above and below. All was ready, and then came

The Charge of the Kangaroos.

It is not necessary to dwell here upon the incidents

of the bloody fight that followed. Our men had manned the door and held it against the several rushes of the invaders, who numbered about 70, but who could not, any more than we could, deploy their forces. After a quarter of an hour or so (we did not time the battle by the watch), the uproar having stirred up the whole neighborhood, the police came and the fight ended. We held the fort, removed next day all the belongings of the Party to quarters already hired at 61 Beekman Street, but in defiance of the *Volkszeitung* crowd, held the last meeting of the NEC, on the night of July 11, right on the field of battle.

The Labor Lyceum, on Fourth Street, which, by reason of its very character had always been a nest of Kangarooism, was taken possession of by the Kangs. For the sake of principle, a perfunctory attempt was made to regain possession, but, when it was found that this could only be done by court procedure, the matter was dropped. The institution had for years been an elephant on our hands, had constantly run astern; our membership, as now composed, was not such as would support a place of that sort, and there was a heavy mortgage on it. Hence no further efforts in that direction were made. The Kangaroos were welcome to it. What now follows is rather recent history, but a report like this will be referred to in later years, and should, therefore, be brought up to date.

The Kangaroos had now burned the bridges behind them, and had come out in open rebellion against the Party. They could now be dealt with without further compunction, as it were. At the meeting of July 11, the NEC decided to call upon Section New York to at once suspend all branches that had participated in the conspiracy to take possession of Party offices by force. The membership was now thoroughly aroused, and on July 15 a special meeting of the General Committee, duly called, was held to take action on the recent occurrences. It was a memorable meeting, full of fire and enthusiasm, and its action was decisive and incisive. The axe was ruthlessly applied and all rotten branches were lopped off. That meeting also decided upon a monster demonstration at Cooper Union on the following July 24, to set matters clear and to meet the lying reports of the capitalist press, which press, with correct instinct, had at once taken the side of the Kangs, and had divided the contending forces into "good" Socialists and "bad" Socialists — the "good" being the Kangaroos, of course.

That Cooper Union demonstration *was* a demonstration. It gave proof that the Party in New York was sound to the core, and able to meet and vanquish its foes. So marked was the success of this meeting that the Kangaroos felt impelled to produce a sickly imitation of it.

The enemy was now wearing an SLP garb, the lion's

skin, so to speak, and they were trying to act like the SLP as well as they knew how, but like the donkey in the fable, the long ears of the donkey stuck out all over, and the bray of the ass no one could mistake for the roar of the lion. But there were weak spots in a number of places in the country, spots honeycombed with pure and simpledom, with middle class interests — with treason. With these the *Volkszeitung* was, and had been for some time, in touch, and made all arrangements to have them fall in line when the signal was given. It was a trying time and a trying situation, and it required men, judicious and firm, to deal with it. Injudiciousness would have been harmful, and would have created more confusion — weakness would have been fatal. For nearly a week the *Volkszeitung* had the advantage, because it had the start. It had robbed the Party of its German organ, the *Vorwaerts*. *The People* we saved, and managed to get out in time, but the *Volkszeitung* made lying representations to the Post Office authorities and our paper was refused admittance to the mails as second class matter. This delayed us for several days, and a hastily drawn circular had to be issued to the sections, informing them, in brief, of what had happened. We then secured passage through the mails, but had to deposit one cent per copy security should the second class permit not be granted, and such deposits had to be made for several issues. The deposits have since been returned. In this way the *Volkszeitung's* deposition yarn reached the Party first, and it no doubt created consternation in many places, but for all that the Party stood as firm as a rock, fully able to deal with what treasonable elements had wormed themselves into its ranks. The work of agitation conducted since the '96 convention and the work of *The People* had not been in vain.

Despite all these difficulties, or rather because of them, *The People* forged ahead. We say because of them, for the reason that never before had there been such intense activity almost everywhere. The membership had been rudely shaken out of whatever rut they might have moved in; they were fully aroused; were up on deck and were working like Trojans. Many short time subscriptions were raised, and the circulation rose week after week until between 17,000 and 18,000 copies were printed. When things calmed down a little, and when the short time subscriptions had expired, there was naturally some falling off, the circulation coming down to its normal level, between 13,000 and 14,000; the bulk of the subscribers gained before July 10 were saved and many new ones received.

The Kangaroos, after July 10, sprung their various mines. Those in the various states we shall take up later, under the head of "Party Organization," but one of them might as well be treated right here. It is the "Board of Appeals Mine." How that body was composed, who were its

leading spirits, and what was the spirit by which it was animated, and in which it did its work,, has already been indicated, but now came its chance to crown its infamous career by a fitting climax. The Kangaroo Committee appealed to the Board for recognition; moved by this appeal from a side that was blood of its blood and flesh of its flesh, the Board promptly recognized it. Much has since been said about so changing the constitution in regard to the functions of the Board as to make the repetition of such an act impossible, but let it also be said that, whatever changes may be deemed desirable, the constitution was not at fault, for there was no warrant in it for such assumption of power on the part of the Board. It was simply a piece of sheer brazen impudence, nothing more and nothing less, and in view of the fact that that Board was part and parcel of the *Volkszeitung's* conspiracy, this piece of impudent effrontery would have been committed no matter what the constitution might or might not contain. One of the members of that Board, Mr. Karl Ibsen, has since been rewarded by the *Volkszeitung*; he has become a member of its staff, a position after which he had hankered for a long time, and for which he is eminently fitted.

The sections of Cleveland, much under the sway of that element, were "boarded" by these pirates; and, for the time being, Party interests had to walk the plank. An attempt was also made to capture the Ohio State Committee, also located in Cleveland, but there the conspirators met their doom. The State Committee refused on the ground that it was the representative of all the sections in the state, not of Cleveland alone, and that it would refer the question of who was to be recognized to a general vote. Under ordinary conditions this step would have been a mistake, because there ought not to have been any question as to who was to be recognized, the only question before the Party being how to smash the conspiracy that sought to destroy it, but it must be borne in mind that the Ohio State Committee found itself in a very difficult position. The very section that had elected it had been swung against it. At a snap meeting, it is true, but nevertheless it had been swung that way. Well, that vote was taken in Ohio, and it settled the Kangaroos. The very city of Cleveland cast a small majority against them and then there was a clean separation in that town. The chaff was winnowed from the wheat, and ever since there has been a section in Cleveland that is worth having.

Every effort was now made by the conspirators to break up the Party. Their emissaries were sent hither and thither. Barnes in Pennsylvania, Silverman in New York, Bandlow in Ohio, did their best to create confusion and swing the sections over into the Kangaroo camp. Later, Mr. Thomas J. Morgan, attorney, was secured for a trip, and

brought on from Chicago, but somehow or other the cause did not seem to thrive and the gentlemen who thus went about on their unsavory mission had anything but a dull time of it as they ran up against the SLP buzzsaw here, there, and everywhere. Lesser lights were also used. To meet this pernicious agitation, we sent Comrade Keep to Pennsylvania, chiefly to look after Philadelphia, and withdrew Comrade Keinard from New England, which was able to take care of itself, and sent him to Ohio. The New York State Committee sent out Comrade Katz. The Kangaroos also greatly aided us by arranging a good long tour through the New England states with Mr. Feigenbaum as the speaker. We could not have accomplished with two of our best men what Feigenbaum did all alone and single-handed, namely, to demonstrate what sort of material New York Kangarooism was made up of, and to warn everybody not to take any stock in a party the management of which was so imbecile as to send out such a specimen at such a time. Whomsoever he would attract was a blessing to be rid of. Mr. Feigenbaum, by the way, did not return very much in the style of a conquering hero, but was said to have looked rather crestfallen, which, with a man of his adamant self-assurance, means a good deal, and, if our memory serves us right, his tour was somewhat shortened. In justice to Mr. Feigenbaum it must, however, be added that the looks of Messrs. Morgan, Barnes, and Sieverman and of their "agitation tours," did not differ materially from Mr. Feigenbaum's. Everywhere the Party membership was solid.

As has been stated before, the pretenders tried hard to imitate the SLP as best they could, but they failed in several important details. The Alliance policy they naturally repudiated, locally, without the formality of a general vote, and they explained this by saying that it had been "foisted" upon the Party at the '96 convention, and that the membership did not want it, which was true, since by this time they spoke of, and applied this to "their" membership, whatever it was. In keeping with this, they also failed to call for nominations for delegates to the National Convention of the ST&LA, although the Party constitution, to which they pretended to cling with frantic devotion, distinctly orders the NEC to do this. The *Volkszeitung* Association had voted to rescind the contracts in regard to the publication of the Party organs, but never a word was said about that. But the *Volkszeitung's* party failed in another important matter to live up to its pretensions, in that it utterly disregarded the general vote, ordering the severance of connections with the same *Volkszeitung*. So it will be seen that it was pretty difficult for them, in more ways than one, to play the role of the SLP, and play it successfully.

The Emblem Contest.

The time of the election was now drawing near, and with it came the last chance of the Kangaroos to possess themselves of the Party. If they could not get its membership, they could, perhaps, get its name and its place on the official ballot and its emblem. They got neither. When the time for filling nominations came, they filed in Albany with the Secretary of State two nominations for upstate Supreme Court Districts and, later on, they filed in the City of New York, with the Board of Commissioners, a set of nominations to be voted on in Greater New York, in both places under the name of the Socialist Labor Party. The contest was on. The New York State Committee of the Party at once secured the services of an able lawyer, Mr. Benjamin Patterson, who had, by the way, been engaged before this in other litigations into which the *Volkszeitung* drew the Party. The contest was marked by a succession of defeats for the Kangaroos. They failed before the Secretary of State; they failed before the Police Commissioners; they failed before the Supreme Court and when, after the election, they carried an appeal to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court, they failed there also. The powers that be, whatever their love and approval for conspiracies that aim to break up the SLP, evidently could not afford to lend a helping hand to the *Volkszeitung*, despite its Tammany Hall proclivities. The Kangaroo mode of procedure had been too irregular, too Kangarooish, and to decide in their favor would establish precedents that might, at any future time, be used with deadly effect by revolting factions within the old parties. It simply could not be done.

“Socialists Don’t Vote.”

Then came the campaign of 1899, which set the Kangaroo conspiracy in its proper light as an attempt to smash the SLP by breaking down its voting strength. By means of circulars, handbills, leaflets, meetings, etc., the workingmen were exhorted not to vote the SLP ticket, not this year at least, but next, when, so it was said, the Kangaroos were to be in the field again. Particularly in the 16th Assembly District, where the SLP candidate, Comrade DeLeon, was thought to have a chance of election over the candidate of Tammany Hall, Mr. Samuel Prince, did they concentrate their efforts. Aside from the anti-voting literature distributed elsewhere, they had, in addition, a special card, which read as follows:

Don’t Vote for Frauds!

The Socialist Labor Party has no ticket in the field this year. Candidates under the hammer emblem are not Socialists. That emblem was stolen from the regular Party.

Don’t vote for DeLeon. He is an enemy of labor, a wrecker of labor organizations, an adventurer, who has done more mischief in workers’ ranks than any other fiend (*sic.*) of organized labor.

His Record.

1884, a paid spellbinder for the Democratic Party.
1886, a Single Taxer.
1888, a Nationalist.
1889, a Socialist. (?)
1899, a nominee through the favor of a Tammany Police Board aided by Republicans.

What Next?

A foreigner himself, he hates and denounces every foreign-born citizen.

No Socialist, no honest workingman, can vote for this man.

Remember, the Socialist Labor Party has no ticket in the field this year.

Sixteenth Assembly District, SLP

On the very eve of the election they trundled a wagon around the district, plastered with anti-voting signs and mottos, all directed against the candidate of the SLP. Tammany Hall never had such active allies as it found in this campaign. The bogus publication which the *Volkszeitung* issues in imitation of the Party’s organ, *The People*, appeared a week before the election in two editions, one for the city, with an anti-voting pronunciamento, the other for circulation in the country with the pronunciamento left out. The *Volkszeitung* also did what it could to help the scheme along, with editorial articles, garbled news, communications, and the like.

And the result? When the votes were counted it was found that in two boroughs out of five, Richmond and Brooklyn, we had gained; in two others, Manhattan and Bronx, we had lost a little; in the fifth, Queens, the paradise of the workingmen who work in the city and live in the country in order to own a small house and pay taxes, we had lost most, relatively, but all in all the vote was not 1,000 less, and that in an election which evoked no general interest. We had gained considerably in some English-speaking districts and lost in some German districts, but that did not go far enough to explain the insignificant result of the Kangaroo agitation. It became clear to us then that the bulk of the *Volkszeitung’s* following, the membership of the sick societies, singing societies, trade unions, cremation societies, etc., etc., had never voted the ticket, albeit they constantly posed as Socialists, and eagerly repeated the Kangaroo declaration that the SLP must be “reformed.” Not all of them went fishing on election day; the conclusion is inevitable that these simply voted the old party tickets, once a year.

In those days the *Volkszeitung* was very funny reading. It had to explain to its gasping dupes the howness of the why, and locate, somehow, the voting strength of the Kangaroos, a task as impossible as the finding of a square circle. The contortions and convolutions the sheet went thorough were a sight to behold, and during one of them it delivered itself of something like the following: The chances for a large growth of the SLP vote had been excellent, many English-speaking workingmen had been attracted to it and, had it not been for the mismanagement of the Party and its destructive tactics, which caused the *Volkszeitung* to break away, the vote would have risen to at least 25,000, instead of the measly 14,000 and some odd. The difference between what we thus would have got but didn't get, and what we had, represented the strength of the *Volkszeitung*. This was a very pretty example in arithmetic, and it put one in mind of the Hon. F.G.R.X.Y.W.Z. Gordon, formerly of New Hampshire, who used to do his figuring along similar lines; but it did not help the *Volkszeitung* and its party one little bit. Taking their figures and their arguments for granted, we could not help but conclude that a political party that could stand the loss of 10,000 of its voters and make up that loss in a few months, was a rather healthy institution and that its tactics could not be as wrongful and destructive as the *Volkszeitung* had all along tried to make them appear.

Kangaroos Looking for Shelter.

The conspirators had now played their last card, and the game was up. The pretense that they were the SLP could no longer be maintained, as it simply rendered them more ridiculous than they naturally were. "Boring from within," so warmly recommended by the *Volkszeitung*, had its drawbacks, and wasn't anywhere near what it was cracked up to be. The Kangs had bored from within, and, for their pains, they now found themselves very much without, not only without a party, but also without a name, save the one the SLP had given them, and that they never properly appreciated. Unable to stand on their own two feet and form a party of their own, their leaders, Mr. Hillquit & Company, cast about seeking whom they could take in.

The Debs Democracy and the Kangaroos.

A few lines are necessary to first sketch this Debs Democracy which, like the Kangs themselves, had arisen above the political horizon since our last convention. Mr. Eugene V. Debs, the recognized founder and leader of this party, is the man who was at the head of the American Railway Union, which went under in the disastrous strike

in Chicago in 1894. This strike had frightened the capitalist class considerably, and Mr. Debs and his union ran up against the political end of capitalism in the form of federal bayonets and court injunctions. He was later put in jail for contempt of court. While in jail he is said to have studied Socialism, but his conversion must not have been quite complete, for in 1896 we found him stumping for William J. Bryan and free silver. After 1896 he made up his mind that he had a mission to perform, and that mission was to lead the American people, by a short cut, into the haven of Socialism. To carry out this mission, a convention was called in Chicago in 1897, the American Railway Union, which did no longer exist, was formally dissolved, and, with the aid of a motley crew of reformers and freaks, the so-called Social Democracy was organized. It was a curious concern. The solution of the social problem was to be brought about by colonizing, first one state way out West, and it was confidently expected that, after a shining example had been set by this one, the others would gladly fall in line. The economic laws of the capitalist system, which were apt to somewhat militate against that plan, did not bother the Social Democrats at all because they knew nothing about them. A fund was raised to buy the land for the colony, and when the next convention of the new party took place in 1898, again in Chicago, some \$4,000 had been collected and — expended in salaries for the Board of Directors of the colony that was to be. At this rate the price of real estate in the far West was not apt to be much influenced by the prospect of this colony; that much was plain to even the Social Democrats. But, since the formation of the new party, a number of expellees and deserters from the SLP had found lodgement in it, and these knew just enough to realize that they must get rid of the colonization absurdity if their party was ever to be made a rival of the SLP. Accordingly there was in that convention a division between colonization and political action men. The latter were beaten; they bolted and formed a new party, the Social Democratic Party. Nobody heard of the Social Democracy since, but the Social Democratic Party lived.

It was upon this innocent infant party that Mr. Morris Hillquit cast his eagle eye and forthwith there began a campaign for "Social Unity." The Kangaroos called a convention on January 31, 1900, in the city of Rochester, designated said convention as their "10th," nominated a Presidential ticket, Harriman and Hayes, and proceeded to make overtures to the Debsites by adopting unity resolutions and the like. The National Committee of the Debsites, even at that time, seem to have been a little dubious about the desirability of the newly-won friends. While they were not averse to adding to their numbers, they were not quite certain, in case they "united" with the Kangaroos as a body

and as a party, who was going to do the adding; as likely as not it might prove an addition of the Debsites to the Kangaroos. At any rate, they sent to the Kangaroo convention at Rochester a message of congratulation, the quintessence of which could be summed up in one word: SURRENDER.

At this the convention grew very wroth; there was talk about the necessity of freeing the SDP of its dictators and bosses, but in view of the fact, obvious to even a Kangaroo, that one must first be "within" before he can bring to "bore" from there, caution prevailed, and a fire and brimstone answer, about to be adopted, was toned down so as not to give offense so soon. It was time enough to "reform" the SDP once they were in it. A "Committee on Unity" was elected, Hillquit among them, which committee was to go to the Debs Convention at Indianapolis and there work that convention for the election of a like committee, both to arrange the details of the proposed fusion.

The Debs Convention met on March 6; the Kangaroos were there, and everything went as per program. Debs was nominated for President; Harriman, who had first place on the Kangaroo ticket, was given second place; and Hayes was simply dropped. A "Unity" Committee was elected, and all seemed perfectly happy until this joint committee, called the "Committee on Uniting" by the Kangaroos, met some time later in New York to work out a fusion plan. Then, as a matter of course, trouble started. It was smoothed over, and the Unity Committee succeeded in agreeing upon a plan that was to be submitted to a vote of the membership of both organizations, the vote of both to be lumped and then counted for and against. The committee dropped the Debs platform adopted at Indianapolis and substituted the one the Kangaroos had adopted at their "10th National Convention" at Rochester. The seat of the "United Party's" National Committee was put in Springfield, Massachusetts, and two names were to be voted upon, namely, "United Socialist Party" and "Social Democratic Party." Then there was more trouble, which, at this writing, has not been smoothed over and doesn't look as though it would. The Debsite National Committee at Chicago issued a warning proclamation to its membership, saying in substance, that the Kangaroos were trying to play a game of bunco on the unsuspecting Debsites; that Hillquit and Harriman had, at Indianapolis, made solemn pledges to stand up for the retention of the name SDP, and had broken these pledges. Sundry other charges, all probably true, were made, a reiteration of which is superfluous. The real reason for all this was that since the Kangs had secured practical control of the "Unity Committee," which was to receive the returns and count the vote, the Debsites, having more confidence in the adeptness of the Kangaroos to juggle the figures than

in their honesty to count them, had perceived that they were about to be swallowed up, and they advised their membership to vote against the whole plan. This pronouncement acted like a bombshell. At first the Kangaroos began to boil over; they talked about "DeLeonism" having developed in the Debsite National Committee; that it was the sacred duty of all Socialists to unite "over the heads of self-seeking bosses," if need be, and there were even some hints to the effect that the God-ordained purifiers of American Socialist politics, the liberty-loving Kangaroos, having deposed one set of "bossy national officers," would do so again. But the cooler heads realized that this sort of language was premature and, to head off the disuniting effects of the Debsites' warning, the word was passed along the line: Vote for the name SDP; drop the name USP. The Kangaroos, whatever there is of them, fearing that the fish, about to be landed, was going to slip off the hook, took the cue readily enough, and voted accordingly.

To offset this move, Mr. Eugene V. Debs, who, for some reason, had not signed the original warning, now came out with a letter wherein he explained that he saw, in his mind's eye, the blanched faces of the working class yearning for unity between the Kangaroos and the Debsites; that he was for unity, but unity, to be at all worth having, must be of the right kind, and that the kind proposed by the "Committee on Unity" was not the real genuine article. He was against, and would have none of it. This was the unkindest cut of all, coming as it did from Mr. Debs, whom the Kangs had already begun to laud to the skies as the chosen apostle of American Socialism, the "American Lassalle," under whose leadership they were to poll several millions of votes, more or less, next November. And since then a majority of the SDP have voted against "union."

The leaders of the Kangaroos were now in a quandary and, at this writing, they are not out of it, either. Mr. Hillquit, this latter day Moses, cannot possibly lead the Kangaroos around the desert of political nondescriptiveness as many years as the original Moses is said to have led the children of Israel. Only to see the promised land, yet not be permitted to enter it, has a disheartening effect. Time is pressing, the presidential campaign is drawing near, and Bryan, the great magnet for freakish political atoms, is looming up on the horizon. The Kangaroos needed badly a hole to crawl into, but whenever they got ready to crawl, the hole was pulled shut from within, and boring from without seems to have turned out as barren as did boring from within.

How they will unravel the knot they have tied themselves into, how they will rearrange their tickets, and which of the two will get the several millions of votes next November, we know not, but it does look, from present indi-

cations, as though there was going to be a smash-up on the Debs end. In several localities the two seem to have made up their minds to “unite” in two parties. The very latest development of this political puzzle is that the Kangaroos have coolly declared that, a majority of their members having voted for the name SDP, that it is now the name of “their” party. The Debsites are saying unkind things of them, the quintessence of which may be summed up in two words: “Stop, thief.”

Thus started, proceeded, and ended the Kangaroo episode in the Socialist Labor Party, an episode full of wholesome lessons to the membership of the SLP, and, incidentally, to the Kangaroos as well. To such of the former as were inclined to be easygoing and lenient in tolerating, within the Party organization, elements utterly at variance with the Party’s fundamental principle, and therefore at war against the Party itself, it taught that to permit this means that we will, sooner or later, be made to pay the penalty for such folly; that the Party organization, which has in its keeping the cause of the Social Revolution and which is obliged to form its lines under the fire of the enemy, the capitalist class, must be kept free, absolutely, from all such who, either by reason of design or ignorance, stab us in the back while we are facing the foe in battle. To the Kangaroos, if they are at all capable of learning, the episode should teach that it is folly to try and capture a political movement by capturing a few committees, no matter how important these may seem; that the management of a political movement must always truly reflect the rank and file of that movement or else it cannot stand; that, therefore, it is not only useless to call the management bosses, tsars, popes, tyrants, and the like, and the rank and file oppressed and misguided angels, but it is unwise as well, because in doing so you offer an insult to the rank and file by degrading them to the level of puppets who will jump as the string is pulled. Lastly, that the “intolerance” displayed by a political movement that knows what it is about, is like the intolerance contained in the dictum that two and two make four and cannot, by any manner of means, be made five.

The Socialist Labor Party emerged from this struggle unscathed and stronger than ever. Not one point of importance had been gained by the Kangaroos; defeated again and again, they had to vacate one position after another and, like the lion that has just shaken a pack of hounds off his flanks, the Party stands there in the bright light of the sun, unhampered, self-reliant, truly united, and ready for the fray. It is the same party it was before, and yet not the same. It has cast off some dross and is the cleaner and purer for it; it has passed through a trying experience and is the firmer and wiser for it. All hail to the Socialist Labor Party as it holds on high, untrammelled and unblemished, the

standard of the Social Revolution.

PARTY ORGANIZATION.

This chapter had best be taken up by states, and show successively where and how the late “unpleasantness” has affected the organization. The Kangaroos, in order to bolster up their side, and being experts in unscrupulous and stupid lying, have been hard at work to create confusion, by means of forged general votes, wild-eyed statements that they controlled whole states — as, for instance, Massachusetts — so that, perhaps, there are in our own ranks some who are not quite clear as to which is which. A truthful account will be borne out by future history; and a truthful account we shall give.

Alabama.

The organization in this state has virtually gone to sleep. The South, even with regard to such states as have some industrial development, does not as yet offer conditions favorable to the maintenance of SLP organizations. At the time of July 10 there were three working sections in the state — in Birmingham, Blockton, and Belle Ellen. The former, which had the seat of the State Committee, was sound, and in the hands of staunch men; the two latter were composed of miners. Blockton, with a German membership, had an English-speaking organizer, while Belle Ellen, with an English-speaking membership, had a German organizer, who, at one time, had been a member at Blockton. When the trouble came, neither section seemed to know where it was at. They decided to mount the fence, and, for all we know, they may be riding it yet, if they still exist. Birmingham seems to have gone to sleep, but there are a few good men in the state who will take hold again when conditions are more favorable.

Alabama will be all right in time. Kangarooism has no foothold.

Arizona.

This territory has at present one section, located at Phoenix. Shortly before the trouble in New York, there had been trouble in Phoenix. A few *Appeal to Reason* men had tried to take possession of the section, and proceeded to expel the loyal comrades. The NEC interfered, recognized the organization of the men who had formed that section, and that ended it. This matter had just been settled when Kangarooism broke loose, and the men who had been force

out then set up the semblance of an organization, and gave Mr. Slobodin & Company an opportunity to count one more section for themselves; but it did not last long.

Another section was at one time formed at Mesa, but it soon disbanded.

Arkansas.

A section was formed recently at Prairie Creek, growing out of the miners' strike in that region, but the very comrade who worked hard to organize it had to admit that the advice of the NEC to wait and better prepare the material before organizing was good advice. The men, drawn together by the impulse of the moment in an organization the aims of which they did not fully understand, soon left him isolated, and the section may be considered dead.

California.

This state has had a Party history distinctly its own, and its Party movement cannot be compared, on parallel lines, with that of other states. It is the home of Mr. Job Harriman, the first man on the Kangaroo Presidential ticket, and second man on that of the Debsites, and he is, so to speak, the link that connects the "united." This Mr. Harriman, a lawyer by the way, had been the State Organizer for quite some time, had toured the state in a van, and had "organized" sections. Curious reports used to reach the NEC as to how he organized. He made speeches preceding the organization in which he never mentioned the Socialist Labor Party. In this way he did "organize" a good many places in that middle class state, all of them one-horse towns, but most of his sections had a way of never being heard from after they had been chartered and supplies sent. The section list of that State, whenever it was sent to the State Committee for revision during Mr. Harriman's activity, came back with about as many sections taken off as had been put on, and many others were marked "Not heard from." Some were heard from, however, in that a demand was made upon the NEC to exert itself to bring about "a union of all Socialist forces." In many other ways the peculiar character of these sections cropped out. Only the other day it was reported to use that the organizer of the Kangaroo section at Watsonville had asked one of our men whether he belonged to the Slobodin or the *Volkszeitung* faction. All in all, Mr. Harriman was out for building up a cheap reputation as an organizer, to be used as a stepping stone to a broader field. He wanted to develop into a national organizer. His methods created resentment among straight-out Party men, and reports began to reach us which corroborated our impression of the character of his work. But the

matter was not ripe for direct interference and we waited and watched him. With the unerring instinct of men of his stamp, he must have perceived that the NEC was not an admirer of his work, and that the chances for getting into the "broader field" were slim. That perception left him no interest in the SLP. Hence, when the Kangaroo conspiracy reached its climax, it did not take him very long, making due allowance for the distance and for the fact that he was not, we think, in the original conspiracy, to make up his mind where he belonged.

There was considerable wobbling all over the state at that time; very few sections stood absolutely firm, and the then state organ, *The Class Struggle*, was sitting on the fence, bewailing the situation, lamenting over the disharmony and maintaining, on the whole, the extremely suspicious attitude of trying to be fair to both sides. The San Francisco *Tageblatt*, the prototype of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* on the Pacific coast, had, shortly before it could know about the *Volkszeitung coup d'etat*, renounced the SLP and gone into the Debs camp. But there was no immediate flopping over to the Kangaroos on the part of those at variance with the Party. This hesitancy was due in part to the distance, and in part to the fact that no one seemed to care to take the lead. But Harriman then hastened to San Francisco and supplied that want. Fortunately, for more reasons than one, Comrade Hickey, who had been sent on a long tour by the NEC across the continent, arrived in California a short time after the outbreak in New York, and landed in San Francisco in time to take a hand in the proceedings. By this time, the Cleveland Board of Appeals had come out and had been dealt with. A short time before this the San Francisco section had made a demand for a general vote to call a special National Convention to "heal the breach," to which convention the Kangaroos were supposed to be invited. The NEC, seeing through the scheme, had submitted the vote, declining to make use of its prerogative to reject and demand an endorsement by five percent of the sections; but it took a firm stand against the proposition, which was afterwards overwhelmingly defeated.

Section Oakland was the first to jump out. This section, according to the report of Comrade Hickey, contained the worst congregation of freaks he had met on his whole tour, and this report was fully corroborated by the action of the section. First they sent a resolution condemning everything — *The People*, the NEC, etc. — and favoring the Kongs. Then they took it all back; and subsequently, when the Board of Appeals had kangarooed, they again went the other way. We paid no attention to their gyrations, having more important work to look after.

It was near September '99 and things began to shape themselves in San Francisco. Harriman was there, as has

been said, and he had worked out a string of reasons, all numbered, and one sillier than the other, attempting to show why the Party was wrong and why the Board was right. Comrade Hickey met him in debate and smashed his reasons. To go into all details would lead us too far. Suffice it to say that Harriman succeeded in getting a majority of the City Central Committee to recognize the Kangaroo Committee. What now followed deviated somewhat from the course things used to take elsewhere under similar circumstances. The offices in the section were in the hands of men who did not propose to be pulled out of the SLP by Mr. Harriman, to be landed in the mire of a middle-class "Socialist" movement. These got the loyal membership together and they took the stand that inasmuch as the bylaws of Section San Francisco provided that the section was to form "an inseparable part of the Socialist Labor Party," the action of the City Central Committee was clearly illegal, and, therefore, null and void; that any member or members who voted to recognize the Kangaroos, who clearly were not the Socialist Labor Party, had voted themselves out of the Party; that no reorganization was necessary, and that the section would go right on retaining all property in the hands of its duly elected officers. This solution, being as good as any that had come to our notice, and better than many, suited us well enough, and the NEC let it go at that.

The section in California next in size was Los Angeles. Before the clash its membership was about evenly divided between out-and-out proletarians and such as must be ranked with the middle class. The latter were chiefly organized in two wards of the city. The delegates of these two wards to the City Central Committee showed strong leanings toward the Kangaroo side of the fight, and had, in fact, pushed resolutions through their organizations, which were, by the way, chiefly composed of women with churchly inclinations and a marked tendency for goody-goodness, favoring recognition of the Kangs. Comrade Hickey arrived about that time, Los Angeles being the first place he struck in the state. He went to work and succeeded in having the resolutions withdrawn. This, of course, was of little value, save for the moral effect at that stage of the fight, for the proletarian side of the house had about made up its mind that it must rid itself of an element purely sentimental, knowing nothing about the Party, its mission, and its work, and caring less; an element that could be swung for the Party and against it, just as the last impression made upon it happened to have been. But they did not know exactly how to go about it, when Mr. Harriman, whom the Kangaroo State Committee at San Francisco had sent on a tour through the state to patch up its fences, came along to help them out. He came to break up the section, and was promptly squelched. He then took the ladies and some rev-

erends out, and with them formed a Kangaroo section, thus solving the problem. According to reports, it was a clean separation — the workingmen on the one side, the doctors, lawyers, reverends, and ladies on the other. After this the section did splendid work. It ran up a large circulation for *The People* and really formed the backbone of our organization in the state. The smaller sections, such as San Jose, Stockton, Riverside, San Pedro, and others stood firm. They rid themselves of what few treacherous elements they had, and remained intact. What the Kangaroos have outside of 'Frisco and Los Angeles we confess not to know; they style of Harriman's organizing was too much for us to keep track of, and we suspect that Mr. Harriman knows as little as do we.

Party affairs in San Francisco have been anything but pleasant since then, and they have finally led to the suspension and reorganization of the section, because its attitude was such as to cripple the work of the Party, not only in 'Frisco itself, but elsewhere in the state as well. After the division had taken place, Comrade E.T. Kingsley had been induced to come from San Jose to 'Frisco, because it was felt that a man of recognized ability should take up the fight against the Kangaroos, who were numerically stronger than our section. Kingsley came, certain arrangements were made — not by the section itself, but by a number of members — to subscribe to a fund to be applied to sustain Kingsley and enable him to devote his whole time to the work of building up the organization. But soon all sorts of complaints came in. One set against Kingsley, to the effect that he did not want to do any work; that he was overbearing, wanted to order everybody about, and that they could not get along with him at all. The other set of complaints, also coming from members of the section, sounded different, and were directed against a number of other members, and these set forth that Kingsley, a man of energy and ability, had first tried to get the section down to correct methods of conducting its work, which work had all along been done in haphazard fashion, and had resulted in producing a chaotic state of affairs. That in doing so, he had run up against the pet notions of the very men who had called him, and these men, well-meaning enough, but for the most part very old men, incapable and unwilling to adapt themselves to the conditions confronting the section, had blocked every move he proposed, and had, finally, made it impossible for him to accomplish anything. The outcome of it was that Kingsley went back to San Jose.

After this, Section San Jose sent to the State Committee a proposition calling for a general vote of the sections in the state to remove the seat of said committee from San Francisco to Los Angeles. The State Committee, at a regular meeting, four members being present, received the

proposition and sent it to the sections for a vote. One of the four, Comrade Carpenter, objected, but was outvoted. The section then called a meeting and ordered the State Committee to rescind the action, an absurd proceeding, because a State Committee, representing all the sections in the state, cannot be ordered about by any one of them. The principal objection urged by the section was that the proposition of San Jose had not been seconded by other sections; that there were no state regulations on this subject, and, in the absence of such, the provisions of the National Constitution would have to be applied. Meantime the vote had been taken and Los Angeles had been chosen by the votes of Los Angeles and San Jose, other sections not voting. It was reported that San Francisco and Stockton had refused to vote, claiming the call was illegal.

San Francisco now turned to the NEC for an opinion. The NEC went into the matter and decided as follows:

1. That the State Committee, while it had the right to demand from San Jose that the section secure a seconder, had also the right to send out the call without such seconder in the absence of any specific rules in the state constitution upon that subject. That, moreover, the State Committee had the right to submit to its constituents, of its own initiative, any question it could not or cared not to decide itself.

2. That if a quorum be present at a regular meeting of the State Committee, the committee can transact business and that, according to parliamentary law, absentees are counted with the majority.

The implication was that the three absentees, had they been present, would have voted not to submit and these, together with Carpenter, would have made a majority of one against sending out the proposition. This point was not clearly made, but it was implied. From other sources it was reported that one of the three absentees would have voted in favor of submitting. Whichever way this might be cuts no figure anyway, because the business of the Party cannot be transacted by those who absent themselves, nor can it await the pleasure of those who stay away.

It is also clear that if a State Committee has reason to believe that the interests of the Party demand a removal of the committee, it has the right to say so and to ask the membership to decide the question, and a section that refuses to take a vote simply throws away its chance to influence such a vote in the direction it desires the vote to go.

After this the course of the section became such as to bear out the charges made against it as to the utter lack of all sense of order.

In the State Committee the question of complying with the general vote came up. Four were against and three

for abiding by the result. The section then preferred charges against two, and suspended them, one for having moved to comply, the other, the secretary, for having sent the stamps, books, and other property of the state organization to the State Committee at Los Angeles, which had in the meantime been elected. Incidentally, Section San Francisco at the same time expelled E.T. Kingsley, who is a member of Section Santa Clara County, and coolly reported this alleged expulsion to the NEC. No notice was taken of the report, because it was evident that the section was trifling with the constitution, knowing full well that under it sections have jurisdiction over their own members, and that the expulsion of a member of one section by another section is simply an absurdity. Section Los Angeles, when San Francisco refused to comply with the general vote, appealed to the Board of Appeals at Providence, and that body had since rendered a decision, taking substantially the same ground the NEC had taken. The decision was written out quite in full, and published in *The People* of May 20, 1900.

It must be added that the former treasurer of the San Francisco State Committee (Carpenter) had refused to give up the funds in his possession. The State Committee had sent Comrade Holmes to San Francisco with orders to straighten the section, if possible; but he reported that he found it impossible to do anything with it. The men were obstinate and worked themselves into a wrongful position and would not recede.

The section had at first backed up Carpenter in his refusal to withhold the funds of the state organization from the State Committee, but later, fearing the consequences of the stand taken, the City Central Committee had voted to order him to pay over the money. Carpenter refused even then, on the ground that he would not give up before the Board of Appeals had decided upon the Los Angeles appeal. The motion to suspend him from the City Central Committee was voted down.

Another violation of the constitution of the section became guilty of when it refused to at all entertain and refer to the Grievance Committee, without debate, as demanded by the constitution, a charge against one of its members, who was said to have made an attack, at a public meeting, and from the Party's platform, upon the ST&LA and the Party's policy in connection therewith.

For all these reasons, and on the general grounds that the section, as at present conducted, stood in the way of Party progress in San Francisco, endangered the Party's interests in view of the approaching campaign, and left a large and fertile field practically unworked, the State Committee demanded that the section be suspended and the committee authorized to reorganize. In this view the NEC con-

curred and the section was suspended on May 7. The work of reorganization has been completed, according to last reports.

As to the Kangaroos, it may be said that they simply claim the whole state as their own. There was reason to fear, had the State Committee remained in San Francisco, that this claim would have been helped along by our own men, who, in the face of a situation more serious than in any other state, seemed to be entirely absorbed with their own petty quarrels.

With the State Committee in the hands of a vigorous, loyal section, things have changed for the better. It was this feature of the situation that had much to do with shaping the course of the NEC in regard to Section San Francisco. As near as can be ascertained at this time, California has eight working sections.

Colorado.

There is not even a trace of Kangarooism in this state, nor has there ever been. The organization in the state is in reliable and capable hands and the sections, of which there are at present nine, are all sound on the Party position. With regard to Kangarooism, Colorado offers nothing of especial interest; nothing happened and the state in that respect is as uninteresting as an unbroken line.

Connecticut.

Here the situation looked decidedly warm for a time, and this due to the fact that the State Committee did, in a way, fall into the hands of the Kangaroos. That committee was located in New Haven and elected, of course, by that section; that section in turn was, in its majority, made up of old German Socialists, many of them cigarmakers of the Union No. 90 type, with the unavoidable attachment of singing society, sick society, and cremation society, and all that that implies.

The State Committee was in the hands of loyal comrades and had taken a decided stand against the Publishing Association and its *Volkszeitung*. This stirred up the fossils in that section, who, when all was quiet, never bothered about Party work, but who now came, each with blood in his eye and a knife up his sleeve. The State Committee had endorsed the attitude of the Party in its controversy with the *Volkszeitung* on the taxation question and a section meeting was then called to overthrow the action of the State Committee. That meeting did take a stand against the Party standpoint and repudiated the State Committee. Shortly thereafter the State Convention was held at Bridgeport, at which convention the controversy naturally came up and

was dealt with, the convention overwhelmingly sustaining the State Committee. But while the convention took a very correct stand in this respect, it made a serious mistake when it left the seat of the committee in New Haven, exposed to the machinations of the Kangaroos. This became obvious when the new committee was elected after the convention, the loyal members of the former committee being voted down and a hostile set of men being chosen. This was the state of affairs when the news of the *Volkszeitung* coup reached New Haven. The old State Committee had not yet turned the Party property over to the new, and when the news came from New York, the old wisely decided not to let the new have a thing that they could prevent them from getting. That the situation perfectly justified this course was soon shown, when both section and State Committee lined up with the spurious committee the Kangs had set up. The NEC then took a hand, suspended New Haven, recognized the old State Committee as holding over, instructed it to reorganize the section, and ordered that steps be taken to insure the election of a new committee. Section Bridgeport was afterwards chosen as the seat of the State Committee by the sections of the state. IN New Haven it was a clean separation of the membership on the lines of old and new. The old, the German branch, went into the Kangaroos; the new, the American branch, stood by the Party. Elsewhere in the state, Kangarooism did not thrive at all, although there were other sections in the state largely, and some entirely, composed of German members. These would have none of the *Volkszeitung* and are, in fact, more bitterly opposed to the Kangs than even the English-speaking members; and they have ample reason, for they know them more intimately and have had a better chance to follow the crooked course of the *Volkszeitung*, which, more particularly since it started its anti-voting campaign, and down to its contradictory contortions on the Debserie question, has been truly nauseating.

An attempt was made in Milford to capture the section, and failed. There was some cleaning out in a few other towns, but most sections in the state the Kangaroos could not even think of touching, as Mr. Feigenbaum had ample chance to find out when he toured the state and gathered experience. In South Norwalk the German comrades played a rather cruel trick on Mr. Feigenbaum. They knew of him, by reputation, as the "hired logomachist" of the *Volkszeitung* and, when he turned up to convert them to the unholy cause of Kangarooism, they made up their minds to "tax" his powers of endurance along that line. They gravely informed him that, while they could not call a public meeting, as he desired, they would call a meeting of the section and give him a chance to state his case. Then they kept him talking until after midnight, and remained unimpres-

sionable. When Feigenbaum began to show signs of exhaustion and wanted to give up in despair, they asked him questions and kept him at it a few hours more; in fact, they had settled back in their chairs, determined to keep him talking 'til 6 o'clock in the morning, if it could be done; but it could not be done. Mr. Feigenbaum collapsed before the hour arrived and shook the dust of South Norwalk from his feet, a sadder, though not wiser man.

There are at present 16 sections in Connecticut in good working order and the state is perfectly safe. The Kangaroos threaten to make an attempt to put a ticket in the field in conjunction with the Debsites, but that will in no wise affect the Party's voting strength.

Delaware.

Delaware had one German section at Wilmington and it kangarooed. Whether it still exists, we know not. It used to come and go sporadically and, consequently, none of the invigorating influences of an SLP campaign, has remained small. By its own request it was attached to the Maryland state organization, to be enabled to take part in the work to some extent at least. There is absolutely no Kangarooism there.

Georgia.

Georgia has one section, at Augusta, recently formed. Atlanta used to have a section, but it has gone to sleep. Next to Alabama, Georgia is a state that will offer a good field for the work of the Party in time to come, but that time is not yet. Industrial development is making rapid strides and a proletarian population is being gradually massed.

Illinois.

Illinois has 14 sections. Kangarooism, outside of Chicago, never had any foothold. Right at the outset a section of German miners at Springfield sided with the *Volkszeitung* and the organizer, when sending letters of indignation, used to particularly spread himself upon the subject of taxation. His line of reasoning was the usual one: "The worker produces all wealth; taxes must be paid out of the wealth produced by the worker, hence the worker pays the taxes." That section disappeared from view and has not been heard of since. After that, another little section of ten, at Pekin, began to wobble and was finally suspended. Its organizer, an irate German tailor, sent a letter demanding that no copies of *The People* be sent to the town of Pekin. He could not be accommodated, as there were a number of

other subscribers. That section, if it ever had any real life, disappeared from view. There was, perhaps, a little uneasiness here and there, but no further disturbance.

The real trouble was in Chicago. There was really no organic connection, at first, between the Chicago nest of traitors and those of the other Kangaroo towns further east. The Chicagoans had no use for the *Volkszeitung* and never dreamt of joining this party until, forced by the logic of events, they had to. They had a local paper of their own; they had an editor and, to crown their misfortune, they had several more would-be editors. A local paper is usually started by a section when it has in its midst a man, or men, pregnant with a mission, hankering for notoriety, and in need of a job. Unable to exist in their local field, these sheets are local in name only and soon become competitors with the official Party organ in precisely the same field, going over the same ground, feeding on pastures the Party organ opened, and in which the Party organization had made the first clearings. No sooner are they started than they write to the NEC for section addresses to send sample copies and in other ways act as though a gross injustice was done them because the whole Party does not give them support; they are competitors and they feel like competitors. And no sooner is there any trouble than they turn and seek to stab the Party in the back, in strict obedience to their antagonistic interests. Instead of supporting one paper, and supporting it well, the Party is made to carry along one or more in addition; as many, in fact, as certain sections choose to foist upon it. Instead of making the existence of one paper secure, and then in an intelligent, well-matured fashion approach the question of starting another, as necessity or opportunity may suggest, we try to sustain a number and make a botch of it. Can there be greater waste of effort? Instead of setting up our papers under conditions that will make each of them a pillar of the movement, subject to the discipline of the Party, in perfect harmony with it and with its aims and its policy, we have allowed them to be placed upon our shoulders under conditions that have made many a center of disloyalty from the very start, and gradually drove others into the same attitude. Can there be greater folly?

We, as a Party, have had our experience with *Labor*, *The Class Struggle*, *The Workers' Call*, *The Tocsin*, *The Proletarian*, with Danish, Polish, and Hungarian papers, to say nothing of the *Volkszeitung* and all that hangs thereby, and we ought to have had enough of it.

But return to Chicago. It had its *Workers' Call* and it had A.M. Simons, editor, a semi-parson; incidentally, it had also B. Berlyn, snapshot editor, a beneficiary of the Cigarmakers' Union, a man with as much of an opinion of his own importance as Mr. Simons had himself about him-

self. In a vague sort of way they dreamt a dream of glory and greatness. *The Workers' Call* to be the national official organ; Chicago to be the seat of the NEC; and when the *coup d'etat* came in New York, they rose equal to the occasion. There was nothing small about them. In point of bland impudence and unmitigated gall, they stood head and shoulders above the Cleveland Board of Appeals. What they did amounted to nothing less than that their City Committee set itself up as the NEC of the Party — a sort of voluntary rescue committee. It declared that Section New York was in a state of anarchy and that the National Executive Committee had collapsed, called upon the sections to stop paying dues, and issued a sort of call for a general vote to withhold recognition, said vote made returnable to Chicago. It is not known how many returns they received; but judging from letters received at this end of the line, they must have got some, and those red-hot and peppery. This piece of stupid insolence was too much for even some semi-Kangaroos. The NEC took its time about them, ascertained first the state of affairs in the city, waited until the nucleus for a reorganization had been gathered, and then suspended the section. According to reports received at that time, the suspension staggered the traitors; they must have thought that they appeared to everybody as big as they saw themselves, and the idea of the NEC daring to suspend them had apparently never entered their minds. For a time they held aloof from the Kangaroos, big with schemes of starting a fourth party, with Chicago as the center, and yet leaning upon the Kangs. The latter finally made it clear to them that this sort of thing would not do; that it was a question of coming down and paying dues, or getting out. They came down. The influence of *The Workers' Call* had built up a clique clustering around it which completely controlled the section and, when the suspension came, our people had to start small, with about a dozen men. They have since grown upward; the other side, with its *Workers' Call*, is growing downward. Very soon that sheet will be out of the way and things will then resume their natural course.

Chicago had also a Danish paper (*Arbejderen*), which had been recognized as a Party organ. This sheet tried hard to be for and against the Party at the same time and to retain the support of both the SLP and the Kangs. The men who conducted it were all members of the Kangaroo section, but they were willing, after some prevarication, to recognize the authority and submit to the supervision of our State Committee. This was a little too much of a proposition and, after they had shown their hand sufficiently, the paper was officially repudiated. A few weeks ago it curled up and died, transferring its subscription list to a Danish capitalist paper. The class-conscious Danish socialists made short work of it when the position of the paper had be-

come clear enough to act.

Indiana.

Indiana has 9 sections, 4 of which — Logansport, Wabash, Elwood, and Marion — have been recently organized by Comrade Henry J. Poelling of St. Louis, who is still in the state at this writing and will, no doubt, add a few more sections. There are a number of towns in which sections existed at one time or another and most of these can be reorganized and held in line with some effort. The State Committee and the sections remained firm and unshaken during the attempt on the Party's life. There was not, and there is not now, any Kangarooism in the state that we know of.

Iowa.

Iowa, an agricultural state, had always a small organization, and it is small today. There are three sections at present, in Clinton and Davenport, in fairly good shape. Kangarooism there is none, at least, not organized.

Kansas.

The organization in this state, a product of premature growth, has entirely disappeared. It rested upon the shoulders of a few men, and when these few ceased to be active or left the state, there had not been enough class-consciousness developed among the membership to continue the work. There has been no Kangarooism, strictly speaking, but the trouble in New York, coupled with the machinations of some individuals, hastened the disintegration. The state may pull itself together again during the campaign, for there are some good men left in a number of places, and *The People* is doing its missionary work all along.

Kentucky.

This state has 5 sections — at Louisville, Paducah, Newport, Covington, and Fulton. It is in good hands, and there is not a trace of Kangarooism.

Maine.

Maine has one section at Hallowell. It is composed of Italian workingmen, and it is straight.

Maryland.

The history of the Party in this state has been full of

interest, enough of it to keep the membership on alert. The state has 34 sections and is, therefore, as well, if not better, organized than any other state in the union, because the organization is well distributed over the state. For a good space of the time covered by this report the State Committee was located in Worcester, having been removed from Boston to Holyoke, and from there to Worcester. While the committee was still at Holyoke, the defection of Section Haverhill occurred, and with it, as its cause, the defection of Mr. James F. Carey. Carey, from the very time of his settling upon Haverhill, seems to have had plans of his own, and these were not in line with the SLP. Reports used to reach the NEC that Section Haverhill, under the sway of Mr. Carey, was conducted in a peculiar way. Outside speakers of the Party were kept away under one pretext or another; the Party press and Party literature were kept out, and a Carey kingdom was built up. For what purpose transpired later on, after Mr. Carey had been elected a member of the City Council of Haverhill. He had all along been secretly working against the Party, and as early as January '98, Comrade Carless, then on a tour in the New England states, had sent on from Hartford, Conn., some letters written by Carey full of denunciation of the Party and its work.

On February 23, 1898, the NEC had before it a letter from Section Haverhill announcing their withdrawal from the Party. Carey, when nominated for the office he had been elected to, had signed the customary blank resignation, and that matter was at once taken up. The National Secretary addressed to him a registered letter, calling upon him to resign, but Carey knew what that letter contained, and returned it unopened. The State Committee was then called upon to write to the authorities of the city of Haverhill informing them that Mr. Carey, having betrayed the Party, could no longer be considered a representative of the SLP. Attention was called to the fact that he had signed a resignation, to take effect whenever he went back on the Party. Carey did not, of course, resign his office, taking the stand, first, that he was not elected by the few Party members; and second, that, when he had to explain, he had given the blank resignation to the section, not to the Party, and was responsible to the section only. The section having gone with him, he was perfectly justified in hanging on to his job. For a short time the section remained "independent," and then drifted into the Debs Democracy. Later Mr. Carey voted in the City Council for a \$15,000 armory appropriation, thus throwing a flood of light upon his conduct. Very curious were the explanations given by the gentleman for this act of betraying the interests of the working class. Not only did he set up the plea that, had he voted against, he would have been liable to punishment under the law; but he also maintained that

since the armory was in an unsanitary condition, it was but right towards the citizen soldiers who had to use it to vote money to have it put in good shape. The Carey "movement" has since developed more and more. It has produced Socialist (?) mayors and assemblymen, all of whom talk and act just like Democratic officeholders. They have been elected and feel that they must represent faithfully the interests of ALL classes in the community, and grant franchises, etc. We know what this means.

Meanwhile the State Committee has been transferred to Worcester. It was a very unsatisfactory body — unmethodical, incapable, and with some of its members decidedly out of gear with the Party. The organization held its own and advanced despite this committee.

When the *Volkszeitung* made its coup, the committee was evenly divided — three stood by the Party and three against, while the seventh man rode the fence. But the Party in Massachusetts had polled three percent of the total vote, had become an official Party, and had come under the operation of the Caucus Act. That meant that the committee, whose term expired with the close of the year, could not be removed, nor could the committee itself change its officers, unless they voluntarily resigned. And the officers, the Secretary and the Treasurer, happened to be among the three who stood by the Party. The Secretary, L.D. Usher, fell by the wayside later on, but he stood straight then. The section had never been much good, a flabby organization, saturated with a spirit not to be found in the average SLP organization. But when the trouble came, the section began to act in a queer way. It forbade the sale of *The People* and suspended one of its members for having violated the injunction. At the same time the reports came from Section Lawrence showing that the German branch of that section wanted to swing the section into the Kangaroo camp. Prompt action was taken. Comrade Curran of Providence was sent to Worcester with power to investigate and, if necessary, suspend and reorganize the section, and from there proceed to Lawrence. He went, found in Worcester a numerous element in the section at work against the Party, and proceeded in accordance with his instructions. Unable to go to Lawrence himself for lack of time, he turned that work over to Comrade Malloney, and Lawrence was reorganized. The weak spots in the state then showed up in rapid succession and were dealt with as they came along. Chelsea, Malden, Springfield were suspended and reorganized. Taunton ditto; but there an English section had just been formed and stood ready to take the place of the German section when that had to be suspended. In Lowell the German branch was gently, but firmly, shoved out by the English branch, when the former got ready to join the Kangaroo procession. In Holyoke and New Bedford the Ger-

man branches declared themselves “independent.” The former sent word that they would stand aside until the National Convention of the Party had taken place. It is our opinion that a body of men which deserts the Party while engaged in a battle for its life, even if they do not join the enemy, is not very desirable material for the fighting SLP, and they should not be readmitted. Adams, Clinton, and Westfield were also suspended, but these have not been reorganized. The two former were German sections exclusively, while the third was a small English section entirely under the sway of a Kangaroo paper, *The Proletarian*, and its editor, Mr. Clarence E. Spellman. The almost unanimity with which the lawyers in the Party have risen all over the country in the defense of the right of “free criticism” and have lined up on the Kangaroo side has been truly astounding, and can only be explained by the fact that they are thoroughly class-conscious — as lawyers. From the Pacific to the Atlantic, from Harriman, King, and Edlin in California; Thomas J. Morgan, Sissman, and some others in Chicago; Spellman in Massachusetts; down to Hillquit, Boudianoff, and Slobodinoffsky in our own New York, they have stood up and fearlessly faced the “tyranny” of the SLP, and we have reason to be devoutly thankful for this consummation.

Fitchburg, which was suspended much later, has been reorganized.

The term of the Worcester State Committee had nearly expired when a State Convention was held at Worcester. The delegates to this convention had to be elected under the State Caucus Act already referred to, not by the sections of the Party, but by the voters of the SLP in the various districts at caucuses called and held according to the law. That system enabled some Kangaroos to be delegates, and there was considerable talk of how they would capture and walk off with the convention.

To help our comrades in frustrating any attempts at foul play, Comrade DeLeon was sent to the convention and the Kangaroos, who evidently did want to make an effort to fish in troubled waters, had secured Mr. Hillquit. Not so very long before this Mr. Hillquit, in imitation of an illustrious example, had in the “Bogus” *People* published a farewell address to Comrade DeLeon, saying, in substance, that henceforth he would give him up for good and would have no more to do with him. The address appeared after Mr. Hillquit had been expelled from the SLP, and contributed much mirthfulness to the lives of the comrades engaged in the fight. At Worcester, however, he reconsidered and wanted to debate with Comrade DeLeon, but the latter considered Mr. Hillquit “not debatable.”

After some wrangling, Mr. Hillquit was permitted to address the convention and give his cause away, and he

was then unceremoniously ruled off the floor.

The stalwarts had the majority, although Boston, through the negligence, or worse, of the State Committee, had not been able to caucus and was not represented. The majority dealt with the Kangaroos in very non-compunctious fashion and did not give them space enough to breathe.

At that convention, Mrs. Martha Moore Avery of Boston, who had secured credentials from Chelsea, began to play a very ambiguous role. She and her following had nearly played out in Boston, for reasons too long to explain here, and she was anxious to prepare another berth for herself. Up to this time she had been very profuse in her denunciation of the dastardly act of the *Volkszeitung*, but now she began to veer about and drift towards her present position, which found its crowning expression in a statement by her, published in the “Bogus,” thanking the *Volkszeitung* Publishing Association for “having manfully resisted her clamor in the past.”

What this change of front implied developed when a new State Committee had to be elected.

The State Committee had been called to meet in Boston, and when the members, elected at the Senate District Conventions, arrived at the hall they found a policeman inside in charge of the Secretary, L.D. Usher. The members were asked to pass their credentials through what one of them called “a hole in the door,” and back of that hole was Mrs. Avery and David Goldstein passing upon the credentials. Some flatly refused to give up their credentials in this fashion; others did pass them in; some of these were admitted and some were not. Those who did get in found that the trio managing this latest conspiracy against the Party, had secured the services of several spurious delegates who held fraudulent credentials, with never a caucus or convention to back them. Objection was raised and overruled; our men withdrew, and with legally elected members organized the State Committee. It was then that the Kangaroo papers explained to their readers how the state of Massachusetts had come out for the *Volkszeitung* and its party, and how the “DeLeonites” had been vanquished. It is necessary to add that inasmuch as the whole procedure was in plain violation of the election law of the state, the conspirators, if they ever try to follow up the scheme then hatched and executed, stand a fair chance of landing in jail. It is to be hoped that our comrades in Massachusetts will be watchful and unyielding when that time comes.

The trio adopted resolutions, signed by David Goldstein, Secretary, to the effect that they recognized the Kangaroo Committee at New York. Section Boston promptly expelled them.

Since the Party work outside of purely election work could not be conducted by the State Committee under the

law, a separate committee, called the "General Committee of the Sections of the SLP of Massachusetts," was chosen and is attending to the work of agitation, collecting dues, etc.

Massachusetts is in good shape, its vote growing, and, with efficient management, the state will give a good account of itself next November.

Michigan.

Michigan has now only 2 sections, Detroit and Holland, the third one, Saginaw, having kangarooed, and has not been reorganized. The struggle centered in Detroit, where the conflict between the old and the new had been on for some time before the break came. The old German element practically went out in a body, and the new has now full control of what is a good live section, fully in line with the Party's position. Section Holland is small.

Minnesota.

Minnesota has 3 sections, Duluth, St. Paul, and Minneapolis. The two former never wavered for a second, but there was trouble at the later. Minneapolis and St. Paul jointly elected the State Committee. The Minneapolis contingent of Kangaroos tried hard to push the section into an attitude hostile to the State Committee, which was loyal, and to the Party at large. There had also been a local paper, *The Tocsin*, fairly well conducted while it was in the field, but which had, before it died, developed some of the features common to local papers of the sort described before. It also wanted to "reform" the Party by decentralizing it. The men who had run that paper were in a frame of mind to make them susceptible to the allurements of the Kangaroos; the inevitable lawyer was also in the game. Up to the time of the outbreak in New York they had not given any sign of hostility and, shortly before it, *The People* contained a resolution of the State Committee against the machinations of the Publishing Association, which resolution was signed by the then Secretary, A.H. Lee, the very same A.H. Lee who is now editor of the "Bogus," denouncing what he once approved and approving what he then denounced.

Then there began inside of Section Minneapolis a series of occurrences that put us in the mind of a game of seesaw. At one meeting the Kangaroo minority would appear, fully organized, with a well-arranged program, resolutions in their inside pockets and, owing to the absence of a number of loyal members, would "capture" the section. The Kangaroo papers would then go into ecstasies of joy and announce, with the beating of tom-toms and the blare of trumpets, that Section Minneapolis had endorsed "Slob,"

the man who "acted" National Secretary. This would arouse the loyal majority, and they turned up at the next meeting, two weeks after, ready to wipe the floor with the endorsers. A contrary set of resolutions then arrived at headquarters. The Kangs would again "capture" and endorse, and again they would be thrown down. When this had happened several times, the majority had enough of the sport and fired the Kangaroos, including Mr. Lee, who had in the meantime taken his job on the "Bogus."

When the first "capture" took place, the NEC strongly advised the section to at once clean its house and make a good job of it; but all sorts of considerations stood in the way and the ludicrous situation was allowed to continue for some time.

Missouri.

Missouri has 2 sections, St. Louis and Kansas City. There were others, but they disappeared long ago. A small section of German miners at Bevier kangarooed. St. Louis had no Kangaroo trouble of any sort, but Kansas City had. That section had a curious conglomeration for a membership, the craziest of whom was sent to the Kangaroo Convention at Rochester. There were some know-it-alls, who, when the break came in New York, sent several yards of questions to headquarters, expecting that an essay be written for their special benefit, instruction, and entertainment. The National Secretary, having at that time more important things to look after than the entertainment of freaks, was instructed to handle them with scant courtesy. The framer of the string of questions, finding himself rebuffed, began to declaim loudly against the unconstitutional course of the NEC in suspending sections that had endorsed the Kangaroos. He was told to look up the proceedings of the '96 convention and he would find that the NEC of that time had the same "unconstitutional" habit and had suspended Cleveland, the very section that had been suspended again, and about which he — the Kansas Citian — was all upset. It is strange that this very man, only six months or so before, when Comrade Hickey was about to reach Kansas City, had asked the NEC to suspend and reorganize his own section in case Comrade Hickey should be unable to straighten out its freakish membership. Consistency was not his strong point. All along they hung on; they did not want to go to the Kangs, though they had been given quite plainly to understand that they were not considered much good to the SLP. Finally, they wanted to reorganize as Section Jackson County, and made application to that effect, stating that, albeit two of their members had voted to reorganize as Kangaroos, they were loyal, and even the two would abide by the majority. The application was, under

the rules, referred to the State Committee for approval, and they were informed that the two must get out before charter would be granted. That ended it, and Mr. Slobodin got them. The sample sent to Rochester is said to have made even the Kangs tired, though they are naturally used to freaks.

Kansas City has since been reorganized and is in good hands.

Nebraska.

Nebraska has 3 sections, Omaha, South Omaha, and Lincoln, all of them small. No Kangaroos in the state that we know of.

New Hampshire.

New Hampshire kangarooed completely. It has 3 sections — Dover and Portsmouth, both very small, and Manchester, with a larger membership, chiefly Germans. Manchester was the home of Mr. F.G.R. Gordon, who betrayed the Party while in its service as an organizer, working for the SDP while he took the money of the SLP, and who was later on tangled up in an ugly affair, involving the collection of money from politicians under the promise of support at the polls. A full expose of the deal was published in *The People* on May 21, 1899, under the title "Different Tactics." True to the saying that politics make strange bed-fellows, the man who worked up that case, H.H. Acton, kangarooed and is now trying to "unite" with the Debsite, Gordon. There were a few loyal members left in Manchester, members of the English branch, but they lacked the energy necessary to overcome the difficulty and maintain an organization.

New Jersey.

In this state, particularly the portion most strongly organized, the influence of the *Volkszeitung* came into play. The state had, and has now, 7 sections, organized by counties and subdivided into branches. They are: Hudson County, Essex County, Union County, Passaic County, Camden County, Sussex County, and Middlesex County. The three latter were not, and are not now, subdivided into branches, because the membership is too small for that. There was trouble in nearly all of them. Passaic and Essex got over it in short order by forcing the Kangaroo branches out. Hudson had to deal with a Kangaroo majority, but, with good strategy and energetic action, held its own and took possession of the section, crowding the Kangs out, who haven't gotten over their astonishment to this day.

Union and Camden had to be suspended and reorganized, while there was no trouble in Middlesex and Sussex. The contests for the name of the Party in the various counties resulted in our favor and the SLP name went on the ballot undefiled. The sections in the state are in good shape on the whole.

New York.

Insofar as the fight centered around the National Executive Committee in the city of New York, it has already been treated. There remains the balance of the state to be reported. We have dealt with Queens County and Richmond as portions of Greater New York and we simply want to say that in Queens the largest section, Long Island City, kangarooed, as did also the smaller ones, located at Corona, Glendale, Evergreen, and Wyckoff Heights, small country villages with a population of small middle-class men and house-owning workingmen. The membership in these was exclusively German, and all of them *Volkszeitung* followers. In college Point and Woodhaven the Kangaroo members were forced out. In Richmond County there was a clean rupture between the English branch at Northfield and the German branch at Stapleton; the former stood solid, the latter went over to the *Volkszeitung*. Going up state, we first strike Westchester County, and of the ten sections, two collapsed and went over to the enemy. They were located at Porchester and New Rochelle, and were both small and unimportant. Further up the state there was nothing in the Kangaroo line except a few sporadic specimens in Albany, Troy, and Schenectady; but Johnstown, in Fulton County, was affected and had to be reorganized. Oneida had a small section of cigarmakers and they flopped over. Syracuse had a German branch and it had to be forced out after some vain attempts on its part to capture the section. Then came Rochester, where Mr. Frank Sieverman held forth. This was Sieverman's chance. He was not in love with the Party and had less use for the Alliance, which he had fought at the '96 Convention, and which had ever since been a standing reproach to his work in the pure and simple trade unions, particularly in his own organization, Tobin's Boot and Shoe Workers' Union. Accordingly, he, with the aid of his pals, swung the section over into the Kangaroo camp, not so much because he liked the Kangs and the *Volkszeitung*, but because he hated and feared the Party. But there were enough staunch men to at once reorganize the section. A number of comrades who had no use for Sieverman jumped into the breach and took up the fight for the Party. It took some time before the section was ripe for suspension and reorganization, and a ticket had been nominated by the Sieverman following. Another ticket was set up by our people later

on. Then came the contest before the County Clerk as to who was entitled to place on the ballot under the SLP name and emblem. The decision of the County Clerk, which was on appeal sustained by the court, hinged on this point: Inasmuch as Section Rochester had not been suspended at the time it made the nominations, these nominations were regular SLP nominations and were entitled to a place in the SLP column. This was a virtual recognition of the Party and a throw-down for the Kangaroos, in keeping with decisions of the Secretary of State and the Supreme Court in New York City, but it nevertheless put the Kangaroo ticket on the ballot to be voted for at that election, and that only, and it kept our own people off. Had we not been engaged in so many difficulties, we would have contested that decision in the higher courts; but, since it cleared the path for this year and since nothing more could be done before election anyhow, the matter had to be let go.

In Buffalo there was no Kangarooism worth mention and the section there could easily deal with some refractory individuals.

New York has now 31 sections, of which a few, about 5, are rather small and weak, but the rest are in good condition.

Ohio.

Ohio has 16 sections. Comparatively speaking, it has been well plowed, yet has not been as responsive as might be wished. Almost every speaker of note in the Party who has ever been sent out on tours has toured Ohio, an efficient State Committee has had charge, but the Party vote in the state has remained below reasonable expectations, despite the high industrial development obtaining. There is plenty of unrest, as is shown by such occurrences as the vote for "Toledo Jones" last election, but not much of it has come our way. It will, some day not far off. The coal region has been strenuously worked so far as means permitted, but it has been impossible to maintain much of an organization among the miners, much for the same reasons as have been set forth in previous reports.

Kangarooism there is none that we know of, outside of the city of Cleveland, and it is declining there. There was a little uneasiness in some places, notably at Canton, but it was gotten over. Cincinnati can be reported nearly in the same way it was reported four years ago; that is, as having just emerged from a series of internal troubles. Last year the section was in the same predicament. Rival saloon interests seemed to rend it to pieces and the NEC finally suspended the section. Comrade John R. Root of Pittsburgh, Pa., was sent there to reorganize. This was shortly before the *Volkszeitung's* coup, and the element that had been

pushed out joined the Kangs.

At Cleveland the trouble started with the pure and simple element that Hayes and Bandlow had brought into the section. In so far as it affected the status of the NEC, it has been treated in that part of this report. All that now remains to be said is to describe the manner in which these gentlemen went about it.

A member of the Board of Appeals, K. Ibsen, already mentioned, had written a letter to Comrade Vogt, then editor of the *Vorwaerts*, giving some very interesting details of the workings of the Board, which explained a great deal as to how some of the decisions of that body had been arrived at, and stating that "if the present course (of the Party) be continued, results would not be good, because Hayes, Bandlow, Cowen, *et al.*, were fast friends of Debs and for them the step over to that side would not be so hard as for 'us' Germans." Subsequent events have shown that the "us" German of Mr. Ibsen's stamp did not find that setup so very hard; at least they did not show it, but stepped over with much agility and more persistency, even after they had been plainly told that "that side" did not want them at all.

The publication of this letter, the decided stand the NEC took against the arrogant assumptions of the Board, had spurred this element to action and when the signal came from New York, the Cleveland Kangs were ready. The first step was to have the Board endorse the New York Slob Committee. Then a joint section meeting was held on July 27 to hear the report of a committee appointed to investigate the Board of Appeals and the Ibsen letter, which had been referred to the section by the NEC, together with a demand to look into the work of the Board. The conspirators packed this meeting, refused to hear the report of the aforesaid committee, and used the occasion to endorse the endorsers; all this at a meeting called for a specific purpose. They had things well prepared. Franz Seubert, a Brooklyn cigarmaker, a member of the *Volkszeitung* Publishing Association and of its Board of Directors, and J. Mahlon Barnes, a Philadelphia cigarmaker, were present to help the good work along. According to reports received from Cleveland at that time, the Hayes and Bandlow combination had worked for some time to fill up the section with their adherents and these, to swell the membership more rapidly, fell back upon their relations. Thus the uncles, aunts, cousins of various degrees, brothers, sisters, and what not of the conspirators became members of Section Cleveland. They were all at that joint meeting and had it pretty much their own way. The Board was endorsed; the kangaroos were recognized, and the State Committee was ordered to get the sections of the state into line. What the State Committee did do and how the Cleveland Kangaroos were floored, not only in the state, but in the very city of Cleveland,

when a general vote was taken, has already been explained.

The NEC took prompt action. Section Cleveland was suspended; Providence appointed temporary seat of the Board of Appeals; a call for a general vote was issued to the Party, submitting the question: "Shall the action of the NEC be approved or disapproved?" and nominations for a permanent seat of the Board of Appeals were called for.

The conspirators little knew how they were playing into our hands. We had for some time felt that the best way to clear the atmosphere would be to give the Party a chance to stand up and count itself in a general vote. The vote on severing connections with the *Volkszeitung* Publishing Association had just been concluded and had resulted overwhelmingly in favor of severance, but that question had been submitted at the end of May and many sections, if not most, had voted before July 10. What was needed was a general vote directly on the issue before the Party, the conspiracy that sought to destroy it and the way the NEC had dealt with that conspiracy. A good reason for calling for such a vote we could not shake out of our sleeves; it had to grow out of the situation. The Kangaroos were kind enough and, from the viewpoint of their interests, stupid enough to shape the situation so as to give the Party the chance.

That vote settled the case and all was plain sailing after it had been taken and counted. Two questions were submitted. The first, asking approval for the action of the NEC in suspending Cleveland, appointing Providence, as aforesaid, and calling for nominations for a permanent seat of the Board of Appeals. The second, calling for endorsement of the general course of the NEC since it had taken hold of the Party management and its particular course against the *Volkszeitung's* conspiracy. Question No. 1 carried with 2,742 votes against 119, and Question No. 2 with 2,750 votes against 94. The final result of the battle had never been in doubt, but this vote gave additional strength to the NEC. Its rear was secure and it could keep up a withering fire on the enemy in front, who were now on the run. The call for the general vote had also put the Party on the alert as to the treachery that was brewing in Chicago and thus rendered harmless whatever moves the freaks in that city might thereafter make.

Pennsylvania.

This state has 49 sections, the largest number of any, but many of these are located in small mining towns and have a small membership. It can be said that ever since the State Committee was taken from Philadelphia and placed in charge of Pittsburgh, the organization improved several hundred percent. Pennsylvania, with its enormous indus-

trial development, is the state where the SLP is bound to make rapid strides in the near future. The State Committee is efficient and is doing all that can reasonably be expected. It proved loyal to the core when the Kangaroos, under the leadership of Mr. Barnes, tried to seize the Party and it met their every move, including the attempt to set up a fraudulent state ticket, practically confining Kangarooism to the city of Philadelphia. Mr. Barnes met with poor success in his own state. He managed to rope in for a short time a small section located at Bethlehem, but soon lost his hold when loyal comrades from Allentown got after him and straightened that section. He also managed to add to what confusion already existed in a small section at Reading, where a few Sunday School and *Appeal to Reason* men held sway; but the NEC took a hand, suspended and reorganized that section, and "all was quiet on the Potomac."

Philadelphia, to which Mr. Barnes is now confined, had a party movement that could be likened to what existed in New York during the middle of the '80s, minus the life New York had, after all. Philadelphia was dull and dead. It had quite a membership, mostly German; it had a *Volkszeitung* in its *Tageblatt*, and it had the usual Kangaroo appendage of singing, benefit, and cremation societies.

It was world unto itself — staid, sedate, moss-grown, "philosophical," and, on election day, it polled about two votes for every one of its members.

It also had J. Mahlon Barnes, Secretary of an International Cigarmakers' local union, a cold-blooded, crafty villain, a man without scruples of any sort, and with all the attributes that will some day, if he does not meet with some misfortune on the way, land him in the front ranks of the labor crooks in this country. What James F. Carey is to Haverhill, J. Mahlon Barnes is to Philadelphia. With the mask of impartiality on his face and with treason in his heart, he came to New York, accompanied by two of his pals and by Sam Clarke, who was sadly out of place, ostensibly to "investigate," in point of fact to perfect his plot with the Kangaroos. Barnes was a professed new trade unionist in one corner of his mouth and a pure and simpler in the other; an aspirant for a well-paid job in the International Union, which he knew the pure and simplers would not give him and which he hoped to get through the "progressive element." During the Seidenberg controversy he wrote letters to this office, ridiculing the absurd stand taken by Union No. 90, and later on he declaimed loud and long why the "progressives" in New York cigarmakers' unions did not come together and control all the label jobs that were to be had.

Barnes went back to Philadelphia after his "investigating" visit to New York and then sprung his mine. We

have before this pointed out how the Kangaroo plot was elaborately schemed, but clumsily executed, and we shall now point out what we mean when we say so.

Barnes got Philadelphia to take this stand: Neither the Kangaroos nor the real NEC to be recognized; the management of the Party's national affairs to be placed in charge of the Cleveland Board of Appeals. This was not a bad move for the Kangaroos and had they all been made to move along that line, they surely would have created more confusion than they did. Already the Board was, in a way, discredited, but it stood not before the Party in the bad light the *Volkszeitung* did with its committee. To the superficial, the Board was "impartial," an outside factor not implicated in the midnight attempt against the Party. The Board had not yet come out into the open as it stupidly did on July 28, two days after the Philadelphia meeting. Thus far it was a crafty move, calculated to take in the unwary, for the Board was "safe" for the plotters. But then Mr. Barnes made a mistake that led to his undoing. To his large and comprehensive scheme he tacked a peanut measure and got the section to gulp that down, too; namely, to demand from the Pennsylvania State Committee that it get no more dues stamps from the NEC, but issue stamps of its own to collect dues. This demand for so flagrant a violation of the constitution put the conspirators where we wanted them and furnished sufficient grounds for the NEC to take Mr. Barnes and his section and land them on the outside. The section was promptly suspended and reorganized. The new section is getting along well enough and has grown right along.

When elections drew near, Mr. Barnes, who had himself elected Secretary of what he was pleased to call the Pennsylvania State Committee of the SLP, filed a nominating petition with a spurious state ticket at Harrisburg. It was contested. Proof was furnished that he collected signatures in a fraudulent manner, on blanks not giving any candidates, and that he placed on the petition the names of men who never signed. His ticket was thrown out.

This shows the extent of Kangarooism in the state of Pennsylvania.

Rhode Island.

Kangarooism and Rhode Island are terms that exclude one another. The 6 sections in this little state, backed by a good solid Alliance movement as a reserve, were never affected with this disease. Whatever individual crookedness cropped up could be and was easily dealt with. There is not much to report about Rhode Island except that it was tested by the Slatersville strike and stood the test well, furnishing an opportunity for a splendid demonstration of

class-conscious solidarity all over the country.

Texas.

Texas has 3 sections and seems to have lost somewhat in point of organization since Comrade Keinard went through the state, but what there is of it is sound and firm. The work in the state is in the hands of capable, levelheaded men, who will do all the situation permits. No Kangaroo disturbed matters in Texas.

Utah.

Utah has 1 section at Salt Lake City, which was formed by Comrade Hickey shortly after the coup of July 10. The section was thereafter besieged by the Kangs and did not seem to know where it was at for a while, but Comrade Hickey passed there again on his way back and put things in shape.

The section recently went into the Congressional election to fill the vacancy caused by the unseating of Roberts and polled the considerable vote of 627 for its candidate.

Vermont.

Vermont has 4 sections. There is not much to be said about the state, for our sections are, as yet, in no position to cut much of a figure and they are not very active, either. The impression at this office is that more could be accomplished if the membership would display a little more energy and push the agitation. Kangarooism there is none that we are aware of.

Washington.

Washington has 6 sections and for the size of its organization is as clear, as active, as much in the thick of the fight as any state in the Union. From the very outset the state has been in proper hands and there was not even standing room given to either muddle-head or traitor. The State Committee at Seattle is well managed and has conducted the affairs of the Party with clearness, firmness, and tact. Thus, whatever we do have in Washington is worth having and keeping. No Kangs.

Wisconsin.

Wisconsin has 5 sections. Milwaukee is the largest and leading one. We have no Kangarooism in the section worth mention and this was due to the fact that some years ago there had been a division in the section, which took

out of it the very element that would have surely lined up against the Party. As it happened, Mr. E.V. Debs got them long ago, via Mr. V. Berger.

Puerto Rico.

Before we conclude this chapter of the report, a few words may be said about Puerto Rico. In August 1899, *The People* received from San Juan, through a man named Santiago Iglesias, with whom we had been in communication before, the news that upon receipt of literature and organizing material sent by the National Secretary, Socialist Labor organizations at San Juan had decided to attach themselves to the SLP of the United States. Three sections had been formed and application for admission was made. The application was granted and the sections were admitted. That ended it, for never a report could be gotten from any one of them, though report blanks and letters were sent. We had about made up our mind to let them slide, assuming that either the sections had ceased to exist or had a constitutional aversion against paying dues, when it was announced that Iglesias and another man from Puerto Rico had arrived in New York for the purpose of attending the Kangaroo Convention at Rochester; that both had been delayed and arrived after adjournment, etc. If Iglesias was in New York, he never went near the office of the NEC, SLP, nor the office of *The People*, the official organ of that same SLP. This much we desire to say on this matter for future reference.

THE PARTY PRESS.

There are at present five papers that can be classed as organs of the Party, two of them under direct control of the National Executive Committee — *The People* and the *Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung* — the latter the German organ; the other three also under control of the NEC, but the property vested in a publishing association. These latter are: the daily Jewish *Abendblatt*, and the weeklies *Arbetaren* (Swedish) and *Il Proletario* (Italian). A Bohemian paper existed until recently — *Pravda* — but it temporarily suspended a short time ago. Besides these, there appears in Cleveland a German weekly, the Cleveland *Volksfreund*, which, though not a declared Party organ, is in the hands of our people and is an SLP paper. In addition to these, the Missouri State Committee issues a small publication in leaflet size under the title of the *Arm and Hammer*, chiefly to circulate select articles from *The People*.

Other periodical publications issued directly by the NEC are the *Labor Library* and the *People Library*, both

monthlies.

The Weekly People.

The People, always the center of the storm, has, during these last eighteen months or so, had a much more exhilarating time of it. It is a very good Socialist paper, yet some professed Socialists profess not to like it. The Kangaroos, however, liked it so well that they tried to get it, and when they could not, rather than do without, they got up an imitation, which does not compare well with the original, but has to do.

We have already pointed out how the circulation stands and what sort of work the paper has done for the Party and we shall now give an account of its trials.

The Volkszeitung Publishing Association, when its attempt to bag the SLP and destroy its English organ had failed, started an action against the members of the NEC and against the National Secretary “for a permanent injunction to restrain them from editing, publishing, and circulating the newspaper called *The People*.” This action was brought against them not as officers of the SLP, so that the Party be enjoined through its officers, but as individuals who “did not represent the Party, though they claimed to do so.” The *Volkszeitung* contended that *it* was the SLP and could not, on that theory, ask for an injunction against itself. Pending the trial of the motion for a permanent injunction, they asked for a temporary injunction and, although an unusual proceeding in a case of this sort, it was granted them by Judge Fitzgerald of the Supreme Court. Some of the circumstances under which it was granted have been set forth in *The People* and it is not within the scope of this report to enter upon that phase of the case. The original action for a permanent injunction has never been tried and all that has happened since has flown from that temporary injunction. The *Volkszeitung*, of course, was not anxious to try the case after it had the temporary injunction and considered it a club and a means to bleed the SLP. When the temporary injunction had been obtained, the members of the NEC who, as individuals, certainly had no power to stop the publication of *The People* and who would have been severely dealt with by the Party membership in New York had they attempted anything of the kind, concluded that the theory of an injunction was that one is to abstain from doing certain things which the court decrees he shall not do and did abstain as a body to take any action bearing upon or having to do with the publication of *The People*. There was no sense in putting themselves in a position where they would be culpable and, since the Socialist Labor Party had not been enjoined, other members of the Party, who were not a party to the action, stepped in and

did the work, and *The People* continued to appear.

The *Volkszeitung's* corporation then brought an action, asking the court to punish the members of the NEC for alleged contempt of court. The hearing on this motion was had before Judge Truax, who reserved his decision for about four months and then decided in favor of the motion, fining each one of the defendants \$250, or imprisonment until the fine was paid. The fine was an indemnity and would go to the *Volkszeitung*. Four of the defendants in the original case were affected by this decision, namely: Sanial, Murphy, Kinneally, and Kuhn. Brown and Keep had not been served with the papers in the case. The case was brought up again for a rehearing before Judge Bischoff and was again decided against us. This time the court seemed to hold that not only were the men enjoined from doing certain things, but the injunction order also implied that they must do certain other things. It was held that they had not exercised their authority, seeing that the constitution of the Party gave them control over the contents of the Party's organs. To abstain from exercising that control and explain this neglect of duty to their constituents was not enough; they must act and try to destroy a property that did not belong to them.

To the lay mind, not versed in the intricacies of the law, it would also seem a trifle inconsistent to base a decision against the defendants upon what the constitution of the Socialist Labor Party imposes as a duty upon its National Executive Committee, when the papers in the original action, upon which the temporary injunction was based, and which is its source, distinctly claimed that the defendants were not the National Executive Committee of the SLP. Nor would the lay mind readily comprehend how, under this construction, the National Secretary of the SLP could be found guilty and thus be held responsible for the action, or rather the non-action, of a body in which he has no vote and in which he cannot even make a motion. It would appear to the lay mind that as well might the court order him to make the Board of Aldermen do certain things, or make the court itself do certain things, or, for that matter, make the Emperor of China do certain things, and failing to so impress either the Board of Aldermen, the court, or the Emperor of China as to make them move as directed by the order of the court, to adjudge him guilty of contempt, fine him, and clap him in jail if he has no money. The case was appealed to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court and was there decided against us a few days ago. For reasons too long to explain, a case of this sort cannot be carried to the Court of Appeals and the only thing now left would be a *habeas corpus* proceeding in case of arrest. Thus, as it stands today, we ought to be in jail, theoretically, but are not, in point of fact. It may be the *Volks-*

zeitung thinks it can use this as a club to hold over our heads, which would be silly on its part; and it may be also that, since that prostitute sheet is just now going into hysterics about an injunction against pure and simple cigarmakers, it does not care to enforce, at this juncture, an injunction obtained by it against members of the SLP, fearing that the public feeling might be jarred by what would look a bit incompatible. It may be, also, that they know the injunction is void, having been signed outside of the state, and prefer not to run risks. Be that as it may, and let us turn to what was done when the court arrived at the decisions above referred to — the decision of Judge Bischoff. When this construction was placed upon the temporary injunction order and when proceedings were started against the editor of *The People* and its former manager on the theory that they were the agents of the enjoined principal, the enjoined members of the NEC, not desiring to be used as a means to injure the Party, made up their minds to resign as members of the NEC, and they did so. The National Secretary also offered his resignation, which was not accepted, for the reason that his status is so utterly different from that of the rest as to almost make it desirable to have the *Volkszeitung* move against him. Under the law, the complainant in such a case, who has set all the machinery of the court in motion, is liable for damages if, on appeal, the decision is reversed; and since there are more ways than one to get the case before the Court of Appeals in some shape or form, away from the Tammany atmosphere so favorable to the Kangaroos, the chances of a damage suit are very promising under the very decision rendered.

Thus the case stands, as well as it can be described by the pen of men who are not lawyers and who cannot follow, let alone describe, all the tortuous windings and involved complications of legal procedure.

A new NEC has been elected and it will try to do as well on the firing line as did the fighting NEC of 1899.

The Daily People.

We cannot leave the subject of *The People* without touching upon its offspring, about to be born.

It has often been said since the stirring days that followed July 10 that if the break had not come and the Kangaroos were still with us, we would not have a *Daily People* for years to come; and this is absolutely true. With them, our strength and our energy were absorbed by the constant struggle; without them, the virility of the Party quickly asserted itself, the interminable wrangle about tactics ceased, the Party was a unity, moved as a unit, and, lo and behold, in less than a year's time the Party is ready to launch its first-class battleship, *The Daily People*.

What a *Daily People* can and will do for the movement belongs to the future and is not within the scope of this report, which has to simply record what has become Party history.

The fund for the daily swelled rapidly after the fight was over, the election past, and the Party secure. It is now nearing the \$11,000 mark. Of course, not all of this is at hand for, aside from what has already been spent in setting up the plant for the daily, \$1,100 are tied up in litigation with the *Volkszeitung* and \$1,600 have been spent to make possible the reduction of the subscription price of *The People* to 50 cents per year, as per agreement with the subscribers to the Daily People Major Fund, who had given what they did give conditionally, and a sufficient number of whom had agreed to have their money go for that purpose.

A perfecting press, a stereotyping apparatus, and two Mergenthaler Linotype machines are already on the premises, and matters are rapidly being pushed to get in shape for July 1, when the first issue is to appear.

The Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung.

When the *Volkszeitung's* corporation had robbed the Party of its German organ, the *Vorwaerts*, it was felt that we must have a German paper as a weapon against the traitors. Not to have such a weapon would mean that the greatest portion of the German comrades, who stood by the Party, would be made dependent upon the *Volkszeitung* as their only source of information, and how unclean that source has been and is today no one knows better than the German Socialists who have followed its campaign of lies and slander, its "Socialists Don't Vote" escapade, and its various other evolutions.

Accordingly, when a chance presented itself to use the Buffalo *Arbeiter Zeitung*, which had come under practical control of our section of that city, we availed ourselves of that chance. Time proved, however, that our Buffalo comrades could not hold their own against the trickery of the pure and simple opposition in the association that owned the paper and when at a snap meeting a hostile Board of Directors was chosen and a new editor elected, arrangements were made in time with the association that publishes the Cleveland *Volksfreund* to publish for the Party its German organ. This arrangement implied the starting of a new paper under the aforesaid title, for which the Post Office permit was obtained by the Party itself though its National Secretary; the property in the title and the subscription list was also secured to the Party and copies of the latter must be sent to headquarters at regular intervals. The association simply acts as the printer and business manager and is compensated for its labor and expenditure by the money re-

ceived for subscriptions and advertisements and can use the composition over again for its own paper, the local Cleveland *Volksfreund*.

The Jewish Abendblatt.

This paper, when the 10th of July came along, was under the editorial management and the business management, for that matter, of a set of Kangaroos, the former including the unspeakable Feigenbaum. He and another man, who was also working on the paper, had been at the Bowery meeting on July 10, had helped to "depose," and were promptly bounced next day by the Board of Directors. The editor-in-chief, Mr. Philip Krantz, also a Kangaroo, was discharged afterwards, and the business manager resigned. A makeshift arrangement first entered into proved very unsatisfactory and Comrade Simpson was finally prevailed upon to take charge and under his management the paper, for the first time in its history, has been unequivocally a Socialist Labor Party paper in the true sense of the term. Aply conducted, clear, utterly impervious to the deviating influences that have hitherto been a feature of the publication, a paper that dealt with and made its readers acquainted with conditions prevailing in this country from an SLP point of view.

The Kangaroos tried hard to capture the paper through the Publishing Association, but failed and were put out. They then started a suit which never came off for trial and then started a rival daily paper, fitly called the *Volkszeitung*. After sinking some 5,000 Kangaroo dollars, scraped together in various painful ways, the sheet curled up and died. Galvanized back into seeming life, it made people believe it lived a while longer and then vanished for good. Feigenbaum was its editor.

The *Abendblatt* had lost a little in circulation while the Kangaroo paper existed, but quickly recovered and is now in good condition.

The Arbetaren.

The *Arbetaren*, the Swedish Party organ, is published by an association composed of members of the Scandinavian Section, New York, and has existed for a number of years, getting along fairly well and doing good work. It is now located in the *Daily People* building. The sections of the Party located where there is a Swedish population can do much to extend its usefulness by distributing sample copies, getting subscribers, and sending to the paper selected addresses of Swedes interested in the movement, with whom the paper should be in touch. And what is said here applies as well to the preceding papers and to the follow-

ing, the Italian.

Il Proletario.

This paper was first published in Pittsburgh, Pa., by a number of Italian Socialists organized in propaganda clubs not connected with the Party. It had to be suspended after a short existence, was resurrected in New York, went to Paterson, NJ, and back again to New York, when Dr. Dino Rondani came to America to take charge of the paper. Neither *Il Proletario* nor the *Arbetaren* had any Kangaroo experience worth mention.

In conclusion it may be said that a French paper — *Le Boudon* — was, for a short time, published in Jeannette, Pa., but it could not be maintained and suspended. Its outfit was turned over to *Il Proletario*.

The Socialist Almanac.

Closely connected with the subject of the Party press is another publication which the NEC published in obedience to the orders of the '96 convention — *The Socialist Almanac*. It was prepared by Comrade Lucien Sanial, is an extremely valuable book, a veritable mine of facts and figures, and was printed in an edition of 5,000.

Every effort was made to push out this edition, get back the cash outlay, and be ready to continue the publication as was contemplated by the convention, but it was shown that the movement was not yet strong enough to readily absorb a 5,000 edition of such a book; the expense had been heavy and it was impossible to continue. It may be stated that the *Volkszeitung* had in its possession several hundred copies, sold to the corporation at the time of publication and not paid for. Suit was brought to recover what was due and the *Volkszeitung*, though at first trying to dodge behind the claim that there were two parties claiming to be the SLP and it did not know to which of the two the account was due, found it wise to settle and disgorged what it owed in cash and returned copies.

It may also be stated that we do not think it advisable for a convention to saddle upon the NEC an obligation involving so heavy an expenditure as to cripple its legitimate work, but rather to turn a matter of that sort over to the Labor News Company, not as a peremptory order, but with the understanding that such a publication be taken in hand if, from a business point of view, it is thought possible. The NEC should have its hands free for other work.

The Labor News Company.

This institution of the Party is now located in the

Daily People Building and is in a thriving condition. For a long time it was located on the top floor of 64 East 4th Street and there was not much life in it. Later we struck out and rented a store on East 23rd Street after which there was more growth and still later we secured a more efficient manager in the person of Comrade Julian Pierce. That move to 23rd Street was fortunate in another respect, for had the Labor News Company remained at 64 East 4th Street, the Kangaroos would have taken possession and we would have been compelled to go to court and recover the valuable stock through a costly proceeding and, incidentally, be saddled with the labor Lyceum all over again.

The Kangaroos felt sad about it, too, and Mr. Slob, in his report to the Rochester powwow, made mention of the fact that the Labor News Company had remained in the hands of "the deposed officers;" that after various convolutions they had started the "Socialist Literature Company" and he called upon the Kangaroos, big and little, to rise and give their undivided support to what he styled the "infant industry" of his party. From this we could infer that the Infant Literature Company is sadly in need of protection.

Since the management of the Labor News Company will render to the convention a separate report, there is no need of going into details.

Another instruction of the '96 convention was to prepare a Municipal Program, in order to give the sections a guide, as it were, in preparing their local platforms. This program was issued in 1897. The application card also ordered by the convention has been issued and seems to have met with approval.

Last year when the Preliminary Conference that was to make arrangements for the Paris International Congress of 1900 met at Brussels, we had an opportunity to be represented at a trifling cost by Comrade Max Forker, who went to Europe at that time. As is customary, the NEC called in due time for nominations for a delegate to represent the Party at the International Congress, and of the two comrades who accepted the nomination, M. Ruther and L. Sanial, the latter has been elected. An assessment of fifteen cents had to be levied to cover the expenses and \$119.30 has thus far been received. The Congress is to take place during the latter half of September and the delegate must start shortly after September 1. The State Committees and sections should therefore push the collection of the assessment and take care to return all unsold assessment stamps so as to make possible the balancing of each account.

The agitation of the Party during these last four years, while the NEC had its hands free, has been pushed with the utmost vigor and it is due to this in no small measure that the Party has braved the storm so well.

We reached as far south as Texas, where Comrade Keinard was sent, as far north as Lake Superior, which region was traversed by Comrade Carless, and as far west as the shores of the Pacific, whence Comrade Hickey carried the Party's work; but the chief attention was, of course, bestowed upon the more industrial states of the East and the Middle West.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NEC.

Having been entrusted with the Party's management and thus placed in a position to gather valuable information as to the structure of our organization, to observe how the wheels work, and to compare one thing with another, we deem it our duty to embody the essence of our experience in a few recommendations to be considered by the convention.

In regard to the constitution of the Party, we hold:

1. That the NEC be forbidden to issue more than one charter for any one city or town.

Reason: The old system of having several sections, all on the same level, in one place is obsolete. Our organization should so develop as to have the sections that grow fast subdivided, the unit of organization to control the entire city or town. Organization along the line of Wards or Assembly Districts then follows as a natural result. There is no need of making the rule retroactive, because what little is left of the old system will disappear in time by itself.

2. That a separate article be inserted in the constitution under the head of "City Central or County Committees," giving an outline of how such committees must be formed and what their functions shall be.

Reason: The Party organization has grown along the line of concentration in all the large cities. The time has passed when the sections in such cities could meet in a general meeting and transact their business. The cities are growing in area and population and the membership scattered over a wide territory cannot be brought together successfully in a general meeting, at least not in ordinary times. This compels subdivision and compels also a delegate body to govern the sections as a whole. A few rules, not too detailed and flexible enough to meet varying local conditions, yet precise enough to serve as a foundation for the construction of local bylaws, are needed.

3. That Section 18 of Article II be so amended as to make it imperative upon any section to at once proceed against any member who as a candidate of the SLP either accepts an endorsement by any other political party or al-

lows an unsolicited endorsement of his candidacy by another political party to stand without protest.

Reason: Self-evident.

4. That Sections 4 and 5 of Article III be stricken out and replaced by a section that will permit each state to organize its State Committee in accordance with the election laws of the state, but compels each state that has a State Committee to adopt a set of bylaws, which bylaws must be approved by the National Executive Committee before they become operative.

Reason: As the Party vote grows, we come, in many states, after having cast a certain percentage of the vote, under the state Primary or Caucus Acts. As soon as we do, we are forced to adapt or form organizations to such laws as these acts contain. The National Party Constitution should not then be an instrument that must, by force of circumstances, be violated. That no state organization will be permitted to adopt rules in violation of the Party's platform goes without saying, but that can be separately covered if desired.

5. The National Executive Committee to be elected by the National Convention from members of the section or sections located at the seat of the NEC for the term intervening between two conventions, the choice of the convention to be approved by general vote of the whole Party. Vacancies to be filled as follows: For every vacancy, the section or sections at the seat of the committee shall nominate two candidates, such nominations then to be submitted to general vote of the whole Party. Every candidate to sign a pledge before his name is submitted that he will stand by the Party and its principles and faithfully carry out its tactics and declared resolutions, such pledge to be filed with the National Secretary. Removal of an incapable or unreliable NEC, or any one member thereof, to be accomplished by general vote on the motion of either a given number of State Committees or a given number of sections, large enough to prevent trifling with so important a matter for the possible gratification of petty spite, yet small enough to make possible action in this direction without too much loss of time. Charges must be presented and may be answered by the NEC or the member so charged. The vote to be returned to, canvassed, and announced by a State Committee not engaged as one of the movers and selected by the section or sections located at the seat of the NEC, from a state other than their own. In case of an emergency, such as the sudden resignation of the whole or of the majority of the committee, the section or sections at the seat of the NEC shall temporarily fill the vacancies through their General Committee and then proceed in regular form to a

general vote.

Reason: In making this proposition we are well aware of the various plans that are floating around, either to distribute the NEC all over the country or to have it composed of the paid agitators of the Party, who are to converge at given intervals at a given place, and there transact the business of the organization. Not a single plan of that sort has come to our notice is worth the paper it is written on for practical purposes, and all of them utterly disregard the financial and other conditions under which the Party is forced to work. No need of meeting here every argument advanced in behalf of these various plans and, suffice to say that, in our opinion, that body would be the NEC de facto which could most readily meet in short intervals without cost to the Party and attend to its business, no matter what that body might be called. All else is moonshine.

6. The National Secretary to be elected by the Convention in the same manner as the NEC; vacancy and removal to be treated by the same method; but his office to be more outspokenly separated from the NEC. It is true he has no vote now and cannot make motions, but he is, somewhat inconsistently, designated as a member.

Reason: The Party is not now out of trouble and is apt to get into trouble again as the political waves of the SLP movement rise higher. The work of the National Secretary is such as to make it the breath in the nostrils of the Party organization in its national scope and it dovetails in many ways with the work in the states and the sections. That arm must be kept free, should the NEC get tangled up in some difficulty or another.

7. That the National Board of Appeals be abolished and the settlement of local petty grievances be entirely taken out of the national Party organization. The State Committee to adjudicate the grievances of individual members on appeal from the decisions of their section and the general vote of the sections in the state to finally dispose of them if appealed to. The NEC to act in the same capacity only in regard to states that have no State Committee, the decision of the NEC to be final in the case of an individual grievance.

Grievances of sections to be adjudicated by their respective State Committees and, on appeal, by the NEC. From the decision of the latter, appeal may be had to the general vote or the National Convention.

Reason: The Kangaroo idea of organization is a system of checks and counter-checks, a hedging in all around so that when the Party gets into troubled waters it is apt to flounder about like a rudderless ship, unless the men at the helm be exceedingly firm. The original idea when that body

was created was to supervise and, if need be, check the NEC, and it was then called the "Board of Supervision." As the Party developed, the NEC became more important and overshadowed the checking body. This found its unconscious expression in the change of name, for after the '93 convention it was called the "Board of Grievances." The '96 convention then adopted the present name. The experience with the Boston body was bad, that with the Cleveland body was worse. It seemed to offer special attractions for secret enemies of the Party to get into it, which was due to the fact that it had only occasional functions, was considered unimportant, and elections to that body were not watched. The '96 convention sat down heavily upon the Boston body; the 1900 convention would have had occasion to handle the Cleveland outfit in the same manner had they not been put out before the convention took place. We favor the abolition of the body as useless in ordinary times and as dangerous in time of trouble. The best check imaginable is a class-conscious membership that will, in the long run, keep in line any committee and any set of officers.

8. That the basis of representation to the National Convention be changed as follows:

a. The state to be the basis of representation. Each state to be entitled to one delegate for every 1,000 SLP votes cast in such state at the state election preceding the National Convention and to one additional delegate for every major fraction thereof. All states that have one or more sections, but poll less than 1,000 SLP votes, or poll not vote at all, shall be entitled to one delegate. A territory to be treated as a state.

Delegates must be members in good standing of a section in the state they represent, and each delegate shall have only one vote.

b. The National Executive Committee shall issue the call for nominations for the place of the convention in the month of January in the convention year and the State Committee, in transmitting such call to the sections, shall call for nominations of delegates to the National Convention, such nominations to be submitted to a general vote of the sections of the state, with instructions as to the number of candidates each member has a right to vote for. In states that have no State Committee, the NEC to take over this function.

c. The expenses of the delegates shall be borne by the states sending them, but the national organization shall, during the four years intervening between conventions, raise a mileage fund by collecting on every dues stamp sold two cents per member and per month. Said fund shall be in charge of the National Executive Committee and shall only

be applied for paying to each state a *pro rata* share of the railroad fare of its delegation.

Reason: The basis of representation by Congressional Districts is not satisfactory. It compels sections to cooperate in jointly electing and jointly bearing expenses for delegates that are not in the habit to work together for such a purpose and, therefore, does not fit in the form of organization. With the State Committee this objection fails. Moreover, while representation is left to sections, we shall have unequal effort and, while some will almost go beyond their strength, others will not move a finger and escape all expenses. But, with representation by states, the burden is equally distributed over the membership of the state and, what is more, the entire membership is represented, whether it happens to be located in a small and financially weak section or in a large and well-to-do one. This system will also give the National Convention the best there is in each state in point of ability and understanding of the movement.

We have at present over 85,000 votes in the United States and this, with major fractions of 1,000 votes here and there, would give us a convention of, say, 90, if all came, which is never likely. But by the time we shall have another convention, our vote will be much higher and representation larger, since each state is likely to send its full quota under this system. To meet this, the two-cent mileage will cover at least a good portion of the railroad fare. The only way in which this mileage tax is collectable is to raise the price of each dues stamp two cents. We warn strongly against any other method, and we know whereof we speak.

9. That Article VII, Section 2, be so changed as to include the two cents for the mileage fund.

Reason: Obvious.

10. That Article VII, Sections 2 and 3, be so amended as to provide for the election and for the removal of the editors of the official Party organs in the same manner as the election and removal of the NEC and National Secretary, retaining the provision that they shall not be members of the NEC.

Section 4 to be retained and the following addition made:

Section 5. The election of editors of other papers recognized as Party organs shall be subject to the approval of the National Executive Committee. If an editor of such Party organ prove incompetent or violate the platform or constitution of the Party, the NEC shall have power to demand from the publishers of such Party organ his immediate removal; failure to comply with such demand to make

it imperative upon the NEC to repudiate the paper.

Section 6. No section of the Party shall be permitted to publish a local paper without the permission of the NEC, and the latter body shall not grant such permission unless satisfied that there is need for such paper and that it will not become a burden upon the Party and endanger the existence of the local movement. The election of the editor and his removal to be governed as provided in Section 5. All property of such paper to be vested in the national Party organization, but the national organization shall be under no obligation to cover possible deficits.

Section 7. Any section publishing a paper in violation of these rules shall be forthwith suspended by the National Executive Committee.

Reasons: Obvious, and set forth in the preceding portions of this report.

11. Strike out Section 3 of "Miscellaneous Regulations," because the matter has been specifically provided of so far as the national organization is concerned, and substitute:

Section 3. All officers or committees of the state and local organizations are subject to removal by their constituents upon charges duly made and tried as provided by the Party constitution.

Section 7. "Miscellaneous Regulations" to be so amended as to compel the sections to file the resignations of candidates with their respective State Committees and have the latter body provide them with blank forms.

Reasons: This section is useless in so far as it will not be a means to oust a traitor from office, but if it is to be retained for the purpose of giving some free advertising to a man who has used the Party as a stepping stone and then gone back on it, we must have his resignation in other hands than his own section. Carey's breach of trust showed this.

12. A section to be inserted in either Article II or Article IV, empowering the NEC and imposing upon it the duty of suspending and reorganizing any State Committee or section for treason or for wilful violation of the constitution.

Reasons: This may seem superfluous, because that right and that duty are both implied and it is a well understood principle of organization that the body which bestows membership by grant of charter has also the power to revoke such charter; it is equally obvious, as a general principle, that the NEC has the duty to stamp out treason. But we cannot be too specific. While at present the Party is a unit and has thoroughly cleansed itself of all indigestible matter, we can not assume that all will be smooth sailing forever after. In the same measure as the Party grows in

strength of organization, in voting strength, and in consequent influence, and in the same measure as advancing capitalist concentration renders the position of the middle class politically hopeless and economically desperate, will that middle class cast covetous eyes upon the Party organization, growing apace with all the snap and vigor of youth, in marked contrast with the puerile efforts of a decaying class. It will try to use that young giant for its own ends, foolishly, for it can't be done except, perhaps, in a small way, locally; but it will try and then there will be trouble. The SLP, forced to form its lines in battle, cannot afford to have its hands tied by what may be styled the "Kangaroo conception of Democracy," which means that you must increase the chances of an enemy to hit you and diminish your own to strike back. The SLP must have all the striking power against treason in its own ranks on its side, not on the side of the traitors.

We must not reason that by closely scrutinizing applicants for membership, we shall escape the danger, for that cannot be controlled, since the power to admit is distributed over hundreds of sections all over the country. The only safety lies, on the one hand, in the sharpest enunciation of our position on the proletarian class struggle, which will repel non-designing elements of the middle class and, on the other hand, in constitutional provisions that will enable us to get rid, in short order, of a designing element that will come in undeterred by any declarations of ours for the purpose of "boring from within."

The Kangaroos have found out what it means to attempt the capture of a Party officered by a set of men, cool, judicious, self-reliant, and determined. Had there been weakness and vacillation at headquarters, the utmost firmness, devotion, and high individual caliber of the rank and file could not have prevented confusion. No wonder the Kangs angrily called the NEC, somewhat inconsistently, the "National Suspension Committee," though they had declared over and over again that the NEC had been "deposed," had utterly vanished, and was underground, dead and buried; that the Party was breathing freely after having been relieved of the nightmare and was rejoicing all over the country because of the advent of the Slob Committee, with many other pretty figures of speech of a like character. But their rage, whenever the "National Suspension Committee" took some decisive action, betrayed them and showed that once more had one of their hopes been dashed to the ground. The Party has had its lesson and it should

profit by it. We recommend the insertion of such a clause for the aforesaid reasons.

CONCLUSION.

We now close a report already too lengthy. We almost feel that we owe an apology for imposing so long a document upon the convention, but the past years have been so eventful that a full presentation of the Party's history for future use and reference is of unquestionable importance. The Party can now close the pages of what has been and turn its face toward what will be. As "narrow" and "bigoted" as ever, we turn to the future and enter upon a broader field of action.

The common foe has grown bolder and is helping to clear the vision of the working class. Capitalist concentration is growing apace; lines of demarcation are being drawn more sharply than ever; capitalist exploitation has expanded and has been carried with rifle and cannon to the West Indies and the Philippines, ready to descend upon and expand some more in hoary old China; Hazleton and the Wardner Bull Pen have outdone the crimes the capitalist class ever perpetrated upon the working class before. All is shaping itself as it must.

The Socialist Labor Party stands ready to play its part in the making of future history, fully conscious of its mission as the sole representative of the revolutionary aspirations of the working class and fully able to cope with its mission — clear, self-reliant, militant — the fighting SLP.

Long live the Socialist Labor Party!

Eber Forbes
Max Forker
Dow Hosman
William H. Wherry
John Keveney
Julian Pierce
Joseph H. Sauter

The National Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party

Henry Kuhn
National Secretary

Edited by Tim Davenport. Spelling and punctuation modernized.

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