
Secretary's Full Report: Doings of the National Organization Since Unity Convention Set Forth: Numerous Issues Have Been Raised.

by Leon Greenbaum

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St. Louis, January 24, 1902.

National Committee, Socialist Party.

Comrades:—

I take pleasure in presenting herewith my report as National Secretary from August 1, 1901, to January 1, 1902.

The report is in five sections under the following headings respectively: The Trade Union Movement, Agitation, Financial, Organized States, Unorganized States.

Yours fraternally,

Leon Greenbaum,
National Secretary.

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Location and Equipment of National Office.

Upon adjournment of the Unity Convention coincident with our assumption of duty [Aug. 1, 1901], we were informed by Comrade George D. Herron that he would donate \$200 to the party, with the express condition that same would be used exclusively for the equipment of national headquarters. We have expended of this amount up to January 1 [1902], for furniture and other necessary utilities, \$153.57; leav-

ing a balance for future needs of \$46.43.

In December [1901], Comrade A. Blaettler, of St. Louis, donated \$20 to the party for office equipment, which has been used to purchase a mimeograph. Among the effects which were sent to us by ex-National Secretary Comrade Theodore Debs, was a Smith Premier typewriter, which we had renovated at an expense of \$10.70.

We have quite a large supply of printed matter of various kinds on hand, stationery, books, and miscellaneous articles, all of which together with the equipment before mentioned has been insured for \$200 in



the Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company of Philadelphia.

Temporary National Headquarters were located for the first week in August at my residence, 4014-A Evans Avenue. Permanent quarters were located on August 8 [1901] in room 427, Emile Building [St. Louis], at a rental of \$16 per month. On August 10 we sent out a circular to all state and local organizations, announcing the opening of headquarters.

The building in which we are located is the most central in the city, and especially desirable for our purpose, being opposite the post office and but one block from the public library.

[I.] The Trade Union Movement.

At the very outset of our task, imbued with the militant spirit of the convention, we sought practical measures for the purpose of demonstrating the identity of class interest between the trade union and socialist movements. Having received an official request for assistance from the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin workers, we issued "A Letter of Appeal and Advice" to our party members on August 15 [1901], requesting their moral, political, and practical aid in behalf of the steel strikers and their families.

We caused said appeal to be published in the socialist and labor papers and had 2,000 copies printed for general distribution. In additions to this, we had 1,000 typewritten letters referring to our activity in the strike printed, addressed, and mailed together with copies of the "Appeal" to the Secretaries of all the unions of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers in the states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, Alabama, West Virginia, Maryland, Michigan, Wisconsin, Delaware, and New York; to the unions of the International Tin Plate Workers in various states; to 800 unions of the United Mine Workers in various states; <illeg.> Workers of America, in the state of Pennsylvania; and to 200 unions in the city of St. Louis, affiliated with the respective national and international organizations comprised in the American Federation of Labor.

Upon the suggestions of New York comrades we endeavored to send representatives into the strike field, and with this end in view communicated with Comrades Eugene V. Debs, Max Hayes, and J. Mahlon Barnes. Our efforts in this direction were without result as the comrades mentioned were not immediately or otherwise available. We were thenceforth dependent (for direct connection with the battlefield) upon Comrade William Mailly, representing the *Volkszeitung* and *Worker* of New York, comrade J.W. Slayton and W.J. White of New Castle, Pa., and the officers and members of the Amalgamated unions, who wrote in answer to our circular communications, and in whose respective localities our party has since obtained an organized foothold.

Responses to our appeal began to reach national headquarters on August 27 [1901] and continued until

September 25, before which date the strike had been declared "off." The monies collected by us were forwarded to the national officers of the Amalgamated Association but the greater part of those contributions raised by party organizations, or through efforts of individual comrades, was sent direct to the national office of the Amalgamated. As an illustration, the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis, moved by the activity of our comrades, contributed \$50, which was, however, forwarded direct to the Amalgamated Association.

We have reason to believe that the moral and political effect of our participation in this strike was more pronounced than that caused by any militant action ever taken by those socialist parties which preceded the present organization. In saying this we mean no disparagement to the old organizations (in which we were enrolled as members). We adduce the before mentioned facts as proofs of the wisdom of that policy of our party expressed in the trade union resolutions, which (according to our interpretation) has in view the alignment of our party with the trade unions on the practical grounds of the class struggle. Our efforts in behalf of the steel strikers were immediately acknowledged (in a letter dated August 19 [1901]), by John Williams, Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., and it may not be amiss to say here that the *Amalgamated Journal*, the official organ of this association (both during and since the strike), gave liberal amounts of space in its columns to socialist letters written by members of our party, to quotations from the Socialist Party press, and recently voiced an editorial warning its members against bourgeois public ownership. While we do not point to these circumstances as the all important desideratum, we consider them worthy of note, as signs of promise in a great labor organization that was until recently regarded as hopelessly capitalistic in tendency.

American Flint Glass Workers' Union.

On August 14 [1901], we received a letter from Comrade Eugene V. Debs, transmitting to us a set of resolutions endorsing the Socialist Party, adopted by the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, in national convention at Atlantic City in July [1901], and which had been sent to Comrade Debs by John L. Dobbins,

National Secretary of the Flint Glass Workers' Union. The action of the Flint Glass Workers was suitably acknowledged by us in a letter dated August 22 to Comrade Dobbins.

International Typographical Union.

On August 17 [1901], we sent a telegram to the national convention of the International Typographical Union at Birmingham, Ala, tendering them our moral, political, and practical cooperation. We were subsequently informed by one of our comrades who was a delegate to the convention that both socialism and single tax were "laid upon the table."

United Brewery Workers.

On September 11 [1901], we sent a telegram to the national convention of the United Brewery Workers at Philadelphia, saluting them as comrades "who have no use for compromise or retreat in the socialist or trade union movement" and extending them "our fraternal greetings and well wishes." We were subsequently informed that our communication was received with market evidences of gratification, which was naturally to be expected of a labor organization which has for years been committed to the socialist program.

It may not be out of place at this point to call attention to the steady and unflinching support of the Socialist Party by the Brauer Zeitung, official organ of the United Brewery Workers, whose expressions in behalf of our party have been especially pronounced since the Unity Convention [July 29-Aug. 1, 1901].

Order of Railway Clerks of America & International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

National conventions of the Order of Railway Clerks of America and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers were held in the city of St. Louis on October 21 and October 22 [1901]. We sent appropriate communications to each of them, including an invitation to visit our national headquarters during their stay in this city.

During the month of October [1901] we sent

organizing materials to the officers of the Western Federation of Miners in Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, South Dakota, Washington, Wyoming, and Utah.

During the month of November [1901] we sent similar materials to secretaries of local unions of national and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in all of the states which had no state organizations affected at the time mentioned. We have reason to believe that rapid growth of our party in the mining states of the West, and at several points in the South, is particularly due to these efforts.

Our labor among the miners of the West has been rendered easier by the attitude of the Western Federation of Miners and its official organ, *The Miners' Magazine*, which is committed to the support of the Socialist Party.

Labor Day.

The observance of Labor Day 1901 was marked by the unprecedented extent to which socialist speakers were in demand by the trade unions, in contradistinction to the capitalist lawyers, preachers, and politicians who have heretofore sullied the spirit of the occasion by their "sophistries in trade" about the mutual interests of capital and labor. During the 4 weeks preceding Labor Day, requests were received by us for many speakers, and although we made special efforts, we were unable to meet the demand.

The situation disclosed a familiar weakness in our party, consisting in the fact that some of our comrades who could make a fairly able socialist speech were unfamiliar with the practical questions confronting the trade unions, and the labor movement in general.

International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers.

In the latter part of September [1901], your National Secretary received an invitation to address the annual convention of the International Brotherhood of Oil and Gas Well Workers, to be held on October 9 at North Baltimore, Ohio. Although the Local Quorum gave me the liberty of using my discretion, certain matters pertaining to the party organiza-

tion were in such a critical stage at the time that I was (much to my own regret) obliged to decline the invitation.

However, in view of the fact that this organization succeeded in inducing Mother Jones to address them in my stead, I feel that my absence on the occasion was a fortunate circumstance for them, while the interests of our party could not have been better served.

United Mine Workers, Illinois.

During the month of December [1901], we sent organizing materials together with a personal letter to the secretaries of 300 unions of the United Mine Workers in the state of Illinois, including acquaintances made during my lecture tours in that state. This work was undertaken with the approbation of the Illinois State Committee, who anticipated results of considerable importance.

Scranton Convention, AFL.

Having in mind the numerical growth of the trade union movement during the past year and the influence and activity of the socialists in the trade unions, greatly increasing the influence and power of the latter in combatting the capitalist class, resulting in a closer alignment of the socialist and trade union movements among the rank and file, as evidenced by the presence of so many trade unionists at the Unity Convention, and which evolution has been accentuated by the act of the Unity Convention and our policy in the steel strike, it became manifest to us that the Scranton Convention would be signalized by a large increase in the number of socialist delegates. We anticipated that those comrades would endeavor to secure a more favorable expression on the socialist movement than that vouchsafed heretofore.

While we understood that arguments previously used against a declaration for militant socialism (and which may have held good at one time) had, by the consistent attitude of our party for the past 3 years become too stale and flat for future use, we realized that our comrades at the convention had a task before them that was insurmountable at this time.

Nevertheless, being desirous of encouraging them by every means in our power, and if possible

stimulating the era of mutual understanding and help that is slowly but surely possessing the trade union and socialist movements, we issued an "Address to the Delegates to the 21st Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor," a typewritten copy of which, properly signed and sealed, was sent to Frank Morrison, Secretary.

We had 1,000 copies of this address printed on handsome cover paper, the major part of which were sent for distribution to Comrades Mailly, Brandt, Hayes, Geiger, and Slayton, together with quantity of the national constitution, platform, trade union and negro resolutions, and 300 copies of *Labor Politics and Socialist Politics* [by Algernon Lee]. Copies of the address were sent to the socialist and labor press and the secretaries of the state organizations.

On December 7 [1901], we sent a telegram to Frank Morrison, Secretary, expressing the spirit of our party, which was read to the convention and entered in the minutes. The resolutions on socialism adopted by the convention differ but little either in the phraseology or spirit with previous expressions. They may possibly reflect a growing consciousness of the class struggle, not unmixed with official uneasiness and trepidation over the possible consequences.

The fact that there was an unusually large and able representation of socialist delegates and that discussion on socialism was postponed until the "11th hour" was, to say the least, a singular coincidence. The impression created on our comrades was that the predominating element was afraid to meet the issue. If this is so (and the circumstances seem to warrant it), the confessed weakness of our opponents implies simultaneously the admission of our increased strength, namely, the presence of an INCREASED NUMBER OF SOCIALIST DELEGATES and it is a practical discovery which should possess the highest significance to our comrades.

Ben Tillet.

Through the good offices of our comrades at this convention we were enabled to enlist the services of Comrade Ben Tillet of England, fraternal delegate, for a lecture tour under the combined auspices of the Socialist Party and the trade union movement. The time for making arrangements was very limited but

we have been instrumental thus far in making engagements for him at Springfield, Ohio; Saginaw, Mich.; Erie, Pa.; Rochester, NY; Terre Haute, Ind.; Milwaukee; Chicago; and St. Louis. Comrade Tillett also spoke under joint auspices of the Socialist Party and the trade union movement at Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Cleveland, New Castle, and doubtless other points of which we have not as yet been informed.

We received request for two dates from the Winnipeg Labour Party of Winnipeg, Manitoba, which we have referred to Comrade Tillett.

Conclusion.

The period covered by this report and the financial means at our command were both limited, but nevertheless, we believe that steady progress has been made by us in the trade union movement, while proofs are not wanting that our labors in the trade unions have greatly strengthened them while [resulting] in a gratifying increase in the local organizations of our party.

In order to continue the progress already made in the trade unions, it becomes incumbent on our comrades everywhere to take an active part in the labor organizations. In the labor movement is strongly embedded the root of our power and nourishment. It devolves upon us to imbue the wage-working class with the revolutionary spirit of socialism; inspire them with the consciousness of their human rights and duties; reveal to them the knowledge of their tremendous power; and instruct them how to handle and direct this power for the benefit and emancipation of their own class. A socialist movement that did not include the general labor movement as an integral part would be as hollow internally as an empty shell, and as weak in vitality as an egg devoid of procreative properties. On the other hand, the general trade and labor movement is equally dependent on the socialist forces, and that they are beginning to realize this is demonstrated by their active participation in our political organization.

[II.] Agitation.

We have from the very beginning been alive to the importance of effective national agitation and have

endeavored to further same so far as it laid in our power. By the act of the Unity Convention we assumed the contract of the Springfield faction [of the SDP] with National Organizer Charles H. Vail for the year. In the month of August [1901], Comrade Vail being in St. Louis, held conference with us, at which he requested us to inform him not later than October whether it was our desire to continue the existing arrangement after January 1, 1902.

He made this request as a matter of justice to himself in order to give him sufficient time to make other arrangements in the event of the termination of our contract.

The Local Quorum hesitated to assume the responsibility for either the continuation or termination of the contract. We had no means of ascertaining the wishes of the party in this matter. After due consideration, the Quorum voted on Friday, October 11 [1901], to extend the contract with Comrade Vail for 3 months, namely January, February, and March, 1902, but to refer the extension of the contract beyond April 1 to the entire National Committee when they meet in this city in January. In order to enable the committee to come to a satisfactory conclusion, I append herewith the report of National Organizer Charles H. Vail for the year 1901.

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Report of Charles H. Vail, 1901.

Number of public lectures: 241.

Average attendance: 214, attendance ranging from 25 to 2,000, the bad weather now and then bringing down the average.

Received from locals: \$1,497.36.

Railroad expenses: \$468.91 (this does not include expenses of Mrs. Vail, who usually accompanied me on the tours).

Received from National Secretary Butscher: On salary, \$60; on railroad expenses, \$148.60.

Received from National Secretary Greenbaum: On salary, \$252.85.

Itemized statement of above has been furnished that National Secretary from month to month.

States visited: 24, including New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Washington, Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado, Michigan.

Amount collected from locals was 3/4 of salary, leaving balance to be paid by National Committee of



only \$42 per month. Space will not permit statement of work done aside from public lectures, in talks to locals, members, etc., etc. Nearly all places I was

sent were organized and the result of meetings was shown by the public interest aroused and the applications for membership to locals. The press have been generous in the amount of space given to reports of meetings and hundreds of columns of socialist doctrine has thus been given circulation.

During the whole year I missed but one appointment and this was due to change of date of which I had no knowledge. New locals were organized in nearly every place visited where no organization existed. The meetings with but few exceptions were held in halls and in quite a number of places an admission of 10 cents was charged. This method proved satisfactory, enabling the local to meet the entire expense of the meeting and often netting a nice little sum in addition. I do not deem it necessary to give special reports of meetings, inasmuch as our papers have given accounts of the same from time to time.

Respectfully submitted,

Charles H. Vail.

**Statement of Account, 1901.
Submitted by Charles H. Vail.**

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Amount Salary	\$2,000.00
Total Received	1,810.21
Balance Due	\$ 189.79

Amount of Railroad Expenses

* * *

Amount of Expenses	\$ 468.91
Total Received	148.60
Balance Due	\$ 320.31

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Apart from the constant agitation maintained by Comrade Vail, all other forms of agitation that we have attempted have of necessity been of the most spasmodic and irregular character. In August [1901] comrade Walter Thomas Mills came especially to St. Louis and in behalf of himself and Comrade J.A. Wayland, tendered us the services at any time of any or all of the scholars attending the Girard School of Social Economy, but owing to the enervated condition of the entire movement at that time and the disconnected methods of agitation that have been in vogue since the various state organizations have been formed, we have never been able to avail ourselves of the generous proposition of these comrades. During August and September Comrade H. Gaylord Wilshire made a 3 weeks' lecture tour under our auspices in the states of Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts. The assassination of the President and the inflamed condition of the public mind gave a severe check to any further agitation in the month of September, but apart from the temporary influence of this event we are obliged to say that during the months of October, November, and December there has been practically no agitation conducted under the direct auspices of the national organization; while we received official reports from a number of State Secretaries that the condition of the organization in their respective

states was deplorable, owing to the lack of public speakers.

We have been utterly unable to secure prompt, efficient cooperation (with few exceptions) between



the respective states or between them and the national organization in the matter of agitation. As an illustration, on November 29 [1901], I wrote to the State Secretaries of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kentucky, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Kansas, offer-

ing them the services of Comrade John C. Chase for a lecture tour.

Leaving aside the question of Comrade Chase's merits as a lecturer, about which there may be a difference of opinion, I would call your attention to the fact that after waiting 3 weeks for a reply I was obliged on December 19 to telegraph the State Secretaries of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois for their decision in the matter.

As a matter of justice to Comrade Vail, I feel obliged to say that his lecture tour in Massachusetts in November [1901] was partially rendered ineffective owing to original delay in ascertaining the wishes of the State Committee, and the further fact that after finally placing the tour under our auspices the State Committee at the "11th hour" took the matter under their own jurisdiction, and I was afterwards informed that the sub-committee placed in charge of Comrade Vail's tour neglected its duties until it became too late to recover the valuable time lost. I will not tire the committee by the recital of the many instances of inefficient cooperation that have hindered our efforts in the work of agitation, but will summarize our difficulties as follows:

Financial.

The State Committee fearing to engage the proposed speaker, owing to doubt about the ability of the

locals to stand the expense.

Objections.

Objections to the speaker proposed. A speaker who may be acceptable to the majority of State Committees may have to abandon his proposed tour owing to the objections of a minority of State Committees. It is doubtful if we have a public speaker in the movement who would be acceptable to all of the State Committees at once as a lecturer, while on the other hand it does not necessarily follow that the adverse decision of the State Committee on a certain speaker represents the unanimous voice of the locals in any particular instance.

Correspondence.

It should be born in mind that it is no easy task for agitators and public speakers to correspond with 21 State Committees with the likelihood that they may have to start a tour in Pennsylvania in December, jump to Massachusetts in January, and Ohio in February, with the possibility that California would be able to use them in March. The present methods compel each man who takes the field as a lecturer or agitator to arrange his own terms and tour with the respective State Committees. The number of agitators is not many at the present time, but will gradually increase. The number of State Organizations are 21 at present, but it is almost certain than within 12 months we will have 45 states and territories organized. What will the condition of affairs be when all the agitators in the country arrange their own lecture tours with 45 State Committees, or direct with the locals?

Independent Speakers.

In connection with the above, we would inform you that the Ohio State Committee has sent us a protest against the manner by which the engagement of independent speakers with locals is disarranging the plans of that State Committee. They say that they wish to give the speakers traveling under the auspices of the National Committee the preference every time, and that they believe the national constitution covers the point in question. We mention this especially for the

reason that however much we may desire to help the Ohio state organization, we have so far failed in our efforts, owing to one or more of the reasons herein mentioned.

Conflicting Plans.

Conflict in plans of the respective State Committees and competition between them for speakers and agitators. Thus, while one State Committee may have agitation plans made for months ahead, other State Committees may have plans for 2 weeks ahead or not at all.

Traveling Card.

In connection with the subject of agitation, we would mention to the committee that cases have been brought to our attention of parties who have sought and in some instances succeeded in imposing on our comrades *<words missing>*. One of those instances occurred at Wilmington, Del., and another at New Orleans, La. We recommend to the consideration of the committee an Agitators Traveling Card or an Organizer's Commission (similar to that used by the AFL), either of which should bear the signature of the National Secretary and the seal of the national organization.

Conclusion.

Your National Secretary has been embarrassed by the implied responsibility for maintaining agitation on a national scale without the necessary financial means and proper coordination to meet those supposed obligations. The National Committee should either relieve the National Secretary of responsibility of assisting in national agitation or means should be provided and thorough regulations introduced to enable him to discharge his duties, which should be defined in the promises.

[III.] Financial.

According to the report of the Credentials Committee at the Unity Convention, the delegates in that

body held credentials for almost 7,000 members. I have been able to apportion these credentials among the various states to the extent of accounting for 6,657 members in August.

During August [1901] we received dues for only 821 members, or about 8 percent of our total membership, based upon a very low estimate. The State Committees of California, Connecticut, Kentucky, and Washington paid dues in August for 750 members; the unorganized states paying dues for 71 members. During this month our funds became so exhausted, owing to extraordinary expenses incident to the opening of headquarters that on August 23rd we were obliged to issue an appeal for donations to all the state and local organizations. Had it not been for a timely donation of \$100 by George D. Herron, we would have found ourselves seriously embarrassed for the means of continuing our work.

During September [1901], the membership increased to 6,867. We received dues for 2,984 members, or about 43 percent. The State Committees of California, Kentucky, New York, and Washington paid dues in September for 2,304 members, the unorganized states paying dues for 680 members. During September the business of the office increased so much that I was obliged to engage two stenographers, and the expenditures for postage, printed matter, stationery, and the general conduct of business increased proportionately.

In October [1901], the membership increased to 7,309. We received dues for 3,781 members, or about 52 percent. The State Committees of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Washington, Indiana, and Kentucky paid dues in October for 2,694 members. The unorganized states paid dues for 1,087 members. During the month the volume of business became so great and the accompanying expenses so heavy proportionately that we became seriously embarrassed for funds, and we were obliged on October 23rd to write all of the State Committees for immediate remittances. Our financial difficulties at this time were partially relieved by the payment of convention pledges and a donation of \$100 made by Comrade J.A. Wayland of Girard, Kan.

During November [1901] the membership increased to 7,774. We received dues for 7,032 members, or about 90 percent. The State Committees of

California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Texas, and Washington paid dues in November for 5,968 members, the unorganized states paying dues for 1,064 members. During November the volume of business increased so much that I was obliged to engage an additional office clerk, making 3 thus employed, while all of the incidental expenses of conducting business increased proportionately. In addition to this we had to meet heavy printing bills contracted in October, and altogether the financial drain was so heavy that on November 21st we again faced a money stringency that obliged us to write some of the State Committees for relief.

In December [1901] the membership increased to 8,567. We received dues for 5,239 members, or about 61 percent, which was almost 33 percent less than we received in November. The State Committees of Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, and Pennsylvania paid dues in December for 4,262 members, the balance of the party paying dues for 977 members. Notwithstanding that national dues [receipts] decreased about 33 percent in December, late reports which I have received from some of the State Secretaries indicate that our party on Jan. 1, 1902, had 9,104 members, an increase of 537 members in said month.

Delinquent Revenues.

It will be apparent to your committee that there has been a serious delinquency, from the very first, in what may be properly regarded as the legitimate sources of our income. From the date of the Unity Convention [Aug. 1, 1901] up to Oct. 1, we received no national dues whatever from Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The amount which we should have received in national dues from the above 4 states in August and September, based upon their representation at the convention, was \$227.60.

The State Committees of Iowa, New Jersey, Texas, and Missouri began paying dues in November [1901], although we had previously received \$2.40 direct from locals in Texas and \$6.35 direct from locals in Missouri. The amount of dues which we should have received from the 4 states mentioned during August, September, and October, based on their repre-

sentation at Indianapolis, was \$107.70.

Massachusetts did not begin paying us dues until December [1901]. According to its representation at Indianapolis, we should have received from this state during August, September, October, and November, the sum of \$79.20.

Wisconsin has not paid us dues since the Unity Convention and, according to her representation, should have paid during the 5 months preceding Jan. 1 [1902] the sum of \$133.25.

The total amount of dues which we should have received from Aug. 1 [1901] to Jan. 1 [1902], based on the Indianapolis representation (and not including the increase of 50 percent in membership since then), was \$1,664.25. Deducting the total amount actually paid, \$992.85, leaves a deficiency of \$671.40. If we include the increase in membership, we should have received in the 5 months \$1,858.70. Deducting \$992.85, actual receipts from this amount, leaves a deficiency of \$865.85 in the 5 months — sufficient to have paid one-half of the party indebtedness.

While the convention at Indianapolis practically settled the question of national unity, the comrades in many states have been obliged during the past 5 months to occupy themselves in the work of reorganization in their respective states, in order to complete the work of unity so well begun by the convention. Realizing the task in which they were engaged, and that most of them would be required to make personal sacrifices in order to achieve the great end in view, and furthermore, being undesirous of manifesting any undue pressure of an official nature, we resolved, temporarily at least, to overlook shortcomings in dues, believing that after the period of reorganization was past, the party would attain a political equipoise that would enable your committee to enforce the plain requirements of the constitution.

Dues Stamps.

The following State Committees use the dues stamps furnished by the national organization: Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The following State Committees do not use the dues stamps furnished by the national organization: Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Oregon, Texas, Washington, and Wiscon-

sin. All of these State Committees are now paying national dues monthly, excepting Wisconsin. If the State Committees of California, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Wisconsin use dues stamps at all, it must be from a supply which they have printed on their own account, as we have never been requested to furnish dues stamps to said State Committees.

Receipts and Expenditures.

Our total receipts from Aug. 1 [1901] to Jan. 1, 1902, were \$2,083.59. Of this amount \$291.12 was received for purposes which do not represent any revenue to the national organization; namely, donations to strike fund, dues forwarded to State Committees, and payment for printed supplies which we sell at cost.

The balance of the total receipts, accounting to \$1,792.47, was received on account of the following: national dues, \$992.85; donations, \$522.60; convention pledges, \$180.00; accounts due Springfield NEC, \$65.40; miscellaneous receipts, \$31.62.

A condensed statement of our expenditures is as follows: equipment headquarters, \$153.57; maintenance of headquarters, \$63.77; operation (general expenses of), \$84.62; rent, \$80.00; strike fund, \$69.54; State Committees, \$65.42; Indianapolis Convention, \$25.00; organizational account, \$34.95; accounts Springfield NEC, \$139.70; postage, \$136.17; printing, \$370.46; National Secretary, \$416.65; stenographers and clerks, \$234.21; Charles H. Vail, \$148.65; leaving us with a balance on hand Jan. 1 [1902] of \$60.88.

Assets and Liabilities.

Upon conclusion of the Unity Convention we assumed the liabilities of the Springfield faction, amounting to \$598.27. Of this amount, we have paid \$139.70, leaving a balance of indebtedness amounting to \$458.57. On Oct. 25 [1901] we assumed the liabilities of the Chicago faction, amounting to \$982.45. Since Aug. 1, we have incurred obligations in addition to the before mentioned amounting to \$730.41. Of this sum, \$130 is due Mrs. M.B. East of Indianapolis for her report of the convention. Owing to the inaccuracy and incompleteness of her report, we were obliged to have an additional report made by

Comrade W.E. McDermott of Chicago, who took the convention proceedings in shorthand. Comrade McDermott's bill amounted to \$462.15, but he donated one-half of his bill to the party, leaving us in his debt to the amount of \$231.07.

The balance of indebtedness incurred by us since Aug. 1 [1901], amounting to \$369.33, is due Charles H. Vail, part of which is for salary and the rest for moneys advanced by him to pay railroad fares.

The gross amount of our indebtedness on Jan. 1, 1902, was \$2,171.43. The total amount of our assets was \$836.04, of which over \$500 is for debts due by various State Committees to the Springfield faction, and the balance of account of money due the present national organization for dues stamps. Deducting our assets from the gross liabilities leaves us with a net total indebtedness of \$1,335.39.

Our Creditors.

It has been our intention to set aside a certain proportion of our receipts each month for the payment of old debts and we have partially succeeded in this plan. Our efforts in the direction have been weakened by the delinquency in national dues. At the present moment our funds are at a very low ebb; the expenses of this meeting will be deducted from national dues by the respective State Committees and unless some extraordinary steps are taken, we have the prospect of a severe money stringency. In this event we shall naturally be obliged to economize by reducing our already inadequate labor force, and the affairs of the party will not be attended to with the mechanical promptness and efficiency that we have maintained up to this time.

In the meantime, some of our heaviest creditors have repeatedly importuned us to pay part or all of their bills, and one or two in their impatience have heaped censure upon the helpless person of your National Secretary, holding him personally accountable for the shortcomings of the national organization. There is a perceptible tendency upon the part of our comrades to shift the load of financial obligation upon the national organization, which would be an altogether unobjectionable operation if the national dues were unloaded at our door with the same celerity and dispatch as the national debts.

The amount of our indebtedness is comparatively small, and if the respective state organizations will faithfully meet their monthly obligations, we could probably liquidate the entire indebtedness in from 18 to 24 months. In the meantime, however, it is not at all improbable that we shall have to incur new obligations.

The report of the Unity Convention, when published, will either necessitate an immediate outlay or the assumption of a debt. The probable enlargement of the activity of your committee to include arrangements for interstate agitation will necessitate increased expenditures that will not be immediately attended with a proportionate increase in receipts. It occurs to me that in order to meet the financial emergency caused by this national meeting, your committee would do well to issue an appeal for donations to the state and local organizations. But while this would probably afford us some temporary relief, it must be admitted that the larger problem still remains — the problem of debts and running expenses and the difficulty of enforcing the faithful and regular payment of national dues.

It must be borne in mind that while an organization like the American Federation of Labor has a penalty clause by which it can enforce the payment of a per capita tax, the constitution of the Socialist Party does not explicitly embody such a regulation and we are therefore largely dependent upon the moral sentiment of our state organizations for the payment of national dues.

Monthly Statements.

One of the difficulties attending the collection of national dues is that while the National Constitution requires the National Secretary to make a monthly statement of the financial business of the organization, there is no provision requiring the State Secretaries to make a monthly statement of the financial business of the state organization to the National Secretary. It is impossible for the latter to make a correct statement of national finances that is not based on the financial circumstances of the respective states.

While the constitution requires the respective State Committees to have semi-annual reports to the National Committee, a request for said reports made

by us in December had up to Jan. 18 been complied with by only 6 states, consisting of Iowa, Indiana, Maine, New York, Ohio, and Washington. Unless Article 6, Section 5 of the National Constitution is amended so as to require the State Committees to make a monthly statement to the National Committee, the monthly statement issued by the National Secretary will be utterly unreliable and altogether misleading as to the financial condition and business affairs of the party.

Official Directory.

One of the advantages of monthly statements by State Secretaries would be that it would enable the National Secretary to embody in his monthly statement to the Socialist press a list of the places in the United States at which new locals had been formed, and the increase in membership of the party from month to month. In addition to this, the National Committee could issue an official directory of all of the state and local organizations of the party, their officers, and addresses. Such a directory could either be issued in printed form for general distribution, like the Official Directory of the American Federation of Labor, or if publicity is objectionable, the directory could be made up on a mimeograph and issued at regular intervals in confidence to the respective state organizations. Until some such system is adopted it will be impossible to state with any degree of certainty (more than once in every 6 months) how many local organizations we have, where they are located, how many members we have in good standing, or the names and addresses of the officers of the locals.

[IV.] *The Organized States.*

Upon assuming our duties, we naturally directed ourselves to the task of effecting affiliation between the organized states and the national organization; also, the organization of the unorganized states and territories. We were obliged to govern ourselves in whatever methods we adopted by the national constitution.

Article 6, Section 2 of the constitution reads as follows: "A state or territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organiza-

tion of not less than 4 branches, each branch to consist of not less than 5 members. Each state or territory so organized shall receive a charter.”

Interpretation.

In our attempt to interpret this clause, we were at first undecided whether it was intended to apply only to unorganized states and territories and which were not represented at the Unity Convention, or whether it was intended to apply to all of the states, including those represented at Indianapolis. We knew that such states as New York, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin had the constitutional number of locals for a state charter, but we were not so certain of other states represented in the Indianapolis convention, for instance Maine, Kansas, and Tennessee. In the Unity Convention, G.C. Clemens, the sold representative from Kansas, came as a delegate of Branch 1, and had credentials for only 6 votes. John M. Ray, of Nashville, Tenn., the only delegate from that state, had credentials for 10 votes. There was not then and there is not today 4 locals in Tennessee. Comrade Fred E. Irish, of Portland, Maine, who represented that state in the Unity Convention, had 68 credentials, and although there was a State Committee, we found from ex-National Secretary Butscher's official records that there were only 2 locals in Maine.

It was apparent to us that if we were to relieve the most influential socialist states represented in the convention of any guarantee of the constitutional requirement of 4 locals, that it would involve an exercise of extraordinary diplomacy to prevent our course from appearing like discrimination against the less influential states likewise represented at the convention. It did not appear possible to us that any of the veteran socialist states would object to giving us such a guarantee, but on the contrary, would be the first to approve of any methods consistently applied that were unavoidable to safeguard the integrity of the party.

We therefore came to the conclusion that in order for us to properly issue a state charter, it would be necessary to require an assurance from each state organization that it represented not less than 4 organized branches.

Applications for State Charters.

One of the matters that embarrassed us in issuing state charters was whether we should require a formal application from those states represented in the Unity Convention and merely require it from the states not then represented. If we waived a formal application, the question arose to what constitutional authority in each state should the state charter be issued. In this matter the only regulation we had for our guidance was Article 6, Section 4, of the constitution, as follows:

In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliating with the party and representing at least 10 local organizations in different parts of such state or territory respectively, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the whole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda organization and financial affairs within such state or territory and the national committee, and sub-committee or officers thereof, shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Having in mind that in some of the states there existed at least 2 central organizations, representing the Chicago and Springfield factions [of the SDP] respectively, we realized that we could not issue a state charter to one of these central organizations to the exclusion of the other.

The effect of the difficulties between the Chicago and Springfield factions had been most pronounced and had cause the most serious breach among the rank and file in certain states represented at Indianapolis, which had been among the most active and influential states in the socialist movement. The prevailing distrust of national executives at the time of the convention was such that had we issued a state charter to the Springfield faction in a state where the Chicago faction had a State Committee, the whole work of the Unity Convention would have been for naught and the spark of factionalism would have ignited a whole national movement. The conclusions was forced upon us by the very logic of circumstances that we would have to require assurances of unity from the respective state organizations to whom we issued state charters. While in this instance the assurance appeared to be principally necessary from several of the oldest and most influential state organizations rep-

resented at Indianapolis, we deemed it necessary as a matter of consistency and impartiality to require the same assurances from all of the State Committees. In addition to this we were not certain but that in one or more states in which there was but one central organization (or State Committee) representing 1 to 10 or more branches, without a State Committee and opposed to affiliation with the existing State Committee, on terms which the latter would be in a position to dictate by the possession of a state charter.

We interpreted the letter of the constitution and the spirit of the Unity Resolution adopted by the convention as placing upon us the responsibility of only granting a state charter to a state organization which was united and harmonious. In order to insure this we required guarantees from the respective State Committees, as follows:

(1.) That there were not less than 4 branches of the party in different localities in the state represented in their state organization.

(2.) That every independent political socialist organization in existence in said state, prior to July 29, 1901; or affiliated prior to the same date with one of the parties represented in the Indianapolis convention held on that day; or affiliated by direct certificate from the National Committee of the Socialist Party since August 1, 1901, so desiring participated in the preliminary proceedings, by which it was decided to ask for state charter.

State Charters.

Having decided that these guarantees were absolutely essential to the proper issue of state charters, the question naturally arose as to what power the National Committee had to enforce these conditions of affiliation; prevent the use of a charter issued upon misrepresentations; or to prevent the misuse of a state charter by any organization which might institute rules and regulations in conflict with the national constitution, or which might give expression to practical measures that were in conflict with the national platform or resolutions adopted in national convention.

In considering this phase of the matter of affiliation between the respective states and the national organization, we found the following provisions in the constitution, applying to the points in question:

Article 6, Section 1. — Each state or territory may organize in such way or manner and under such rules and regulations as it may determine, but not in conflict with the provisions of this constitution.

Article 6, Section 3. — The platform of the Socialist Party adopted in convention or by referendum vote, shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal organizations shall, in the adoption of their platforms, conform thereto.

While these sections of the constitution made it mandatory upon the respective state organizations to conform in letter and practice with the platform and constitution, there was no explicit declaration in the latter stating the manner and circumstances under which the agency through whom a state charter should be revoked on account of fusion with one of the old parties or any other violation of the constitution. In the absence of any clause by which the charter could be enforced, the national constitution having provided that the National Committee should issued charters to the states, that the National Committee shall represent the party in all national affairs, and the common inference that the Executive Committee which issues a charter is the natural instrument through whom such charter would be revoked by the national organization, we were forced to the conclusion that the National Committee had no right to issue a charter without conditions; and furthermore under the clause in the constitution which states that the platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and commanding all state and municipal organizations to conform thereto, the National Committee had no right to issue a state charter (which is an agreement between the state and national organizations) without reserving to the latter the power to enforce the constitution under the terms of which said charter was issued.

For the National Committee to issue a state charter to the respective state organizations without conditions (leaving each state to make its own construction of the latitude of such a charter) would have resulted in the possible implication that all of the state organizations were independent of the other. It becomes proper in this connection to quote the following resolution adopted by the Unity Convention:

Resolved, That the Social Democratic Party with headquarters at Springfield, Mass.; the Social Democratic Party with headquarters at Chicago, Ill.; the Socialist Party

of the state of Texas; the Social Democratic Party of the states of Kentucky, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, hereby surrender their separate and independent existence and merge and amalgamate into organization.

We found in the form of charter issued by the Social Democratic Party with headquarters at Chicago (to its locals), a penalty clause providing for the revocation of charter for violation of the principles of the party, which we embodied in a modified form in the charters which we issued to the respective state organizations, and also in the charters which we issued to the locals in the unorganized states.

Protests Against State Charter.

Having informed your committee of the motives and reasons by which we were impelled to require formal application for state charter, containing assurances of unity, and fulfillments of constitutional requirements; and having also given our main reasons for including a revocation clause in the state charters, in order to safeguard the integrity of the national organization, it now becomes our duty to inform you that while the assurances required in our formal application for state charter was practically complied with by 21 state organizations out of 23 thus far chartered, the state organizations of Wisconsin and Illinois have raised objections which they regard as quite serious to the form of state charter which we have issued. The Illinois State Committee, while signing a formal application containing a provision for the revocation of state charter in case of violation of the principles of the party, protested against the revocation clause being embodied in the state charter and notified us that they accepted said state charter under protest.

The Wisconsin State Committee refused to sign a formal application for state charter, or give us any of the assurances therein required, upon the ground that we must issue them a state charter without any formal or other application. The Local Quorum, in the interest of unity of the socialist forces, waived a formal application and having voted to issue state charter, the latter was duly sent to the Wisconsin State Committee.

The Wisconsin Charter.

The state charter was so objectionable to the Wisconsin State Committee that they notified us on October 4 [1901] that they refused to accept it. The dissatisfaction of the Illinois State Committee with the form of state charter by us is based upon the ground that "the power to revoke a state charter for any cause should be reserved not to any committee, but to a referendum of the entire Socialist Party of the United States." The objections of the Wisconsin State Committee against the formal application for charter have been represented to us as follows:

1. According to the Unity Convention and the constitution adopted at Indianapolis, they do not have to make any special plea nor make any extra promises not contained in the constitution for the purpose of getting a charter.

2. The constitution provides that the National Committee must give them a charter.

3. The National Committee has no right to ask any state to sign an application blank providing that the National Secretary or the Local Quorum or any committee has the right to suspend a state.

The objections of the Wisconsin State Committee to the revocation clause in the state charter have been represented by them as follows:

1. It was especially stated on the floor of the convention by all sides that the new National Committee should have an administrative function only and no power whatsoever to suspend anybody.

2. If any state should violate any provisions of the constitution it was expressly understood on the floor of the convention that the next succeeding national convention would not admit the delegates of that state or would admit only the delegates of those branches that remained loyal.

3. The National Committee has no right to issue charters containing a provision that the committee reserves the right to revoke the charter under certain conditions. The National Committee has no right to revoke the charter of a state or territory under any conditions.

4. If a state organization should fuse with one of the old parties in any state or territory, then the next national convention will simply refuse to seat the delegates of such state or territory, or will seat only del-

legates of such locals as remained loyal to the constitution.

5. The form of charter issued by the National Committee is a direct infringement of the principle of state autonomy and the constitution as adopted at the Unity Convention in Indianapolis.

6. Suspension of state charter would be a case of clear usurpation on the part of the National Committee which (at that time) was the St. Louis Quorum only.

With regard to the form of state charter issued by us, and the objections thereto, we can at this time best state our position by repeating the explanation which we made to the Wisconsin and Illinois comrades at the outset of this difficulty, namely: "that in the beginning of our consideration of this question it did not occur to us, and even at the present time we cannot reasonably conceive, how any comrade need fear that the National Committee could possibly take an improper use of the power reserved in the charter, in view of the fact that the constitution expressly provides that "all acts of the National Committee shall be subject to referendum vote within 30 days after being requested to do so by 5 locals in 3 different states." What is true that the National Committee at the time was the St. Louis Quorum only, our course in reserving the power to revoke charter in the National Committee (as the representative of the national organization) was forced upon us by the very inadequacy of any explicit clause in the constitution covering the point involved. Our purpose was utterly divested of any ulterior motive by the very fact that the form of charter which we issued gave the respective states complete control over the St. Louis Quorum through the National Committeemen whom they were to elect, and (in the interval of said election) through the referendum which the states holding said charters could institute, as provided for in the constitution."

Having given this committee the theoretical side of this difficulty, it may be well to place before you, for your guidance, certain experiences which we have undergone in the practical relationship between the national and state organizations. We have embodied these practical experiences under the heading of Unorganized States.

[V.] Unorganized States.

The Kansas Affair.

During the third week of August [1901], we received letters from comrades at several points in Kansas warning us against granting a state charter to a faction of Socialists in Kansas headed by Comrade G.C. Clemens of Topeka. The comrades in writing to us stated that there were about 20 branches in Kansas, all of which would probably want to take part in the initiative, and that it was rumored that 4 branches in the state would attempt to get a state charter without consulting the others. Upon consulting the report of the Credentials [Committee of the Unity Convention], we learned that Comrade G.C. Clemens only represented 1 branch in Kansas in said convention and that he had credentials for only 6 members.

The comrades who wrote to me from Kansas stated that none of the branches had been able to get any information as to the manner of forming a new state organization, although most of them were ready to go into the work; and they intimated that Comrade G.C. Clemens did not show any disposition to impart the information desired. At the time we receive those letters we did not know of the existence or whereabouts of a State Committee, nor even of a single branch, and we had no means of ascertaining same from Comrade Theodore Debs for the following reasons:

1. The Unity Referendum of the Chicago faction had not yet been submitted or carried.

2. The Unity Convention, by resolution, expressly absolved the Chicago faction from rendering a list of their membership in the organized states. If Kansas was an organized state we had no right to ask Comrade Theodore Debs for a list of officers and members.

The Unity Referendum not having been carried, much less submitted, we feared that a request for information such as desired from the Chicago faction would appear somewhat premature and officious. Furthermore, regardless of any of the above considerations, we believed it was our right and duty to give one or more comrades in any state information about the usual methods of organizing, while at the same time countenancing due respect for any duly constituted State Committee that might exist in any state.

Upon this view of the case, we on August 24th issued a circular letter of instructions on organization to the various Socialist organizations in Kansas concerned in the Unity Convention, and sent extra copies to our informants requesting them to remail them to the local branches in Kansas. Our instructions on organization were as follows:

1. That the National Committee in granting state charter would require that every Socialist political organization in Kansas so desiring had a voice in the state organization.

2. That local branches desiring a voice in the state organization should be required to give proof of their integrity in the form of charter or otherwise.

3. That the method of effecting unity between the Socialist elements should be in accordance with the wishes of comrades throughout the entire state.

4. That the regular State Committee or the combined State Committees (if more than one faction was thus represented) should act conjointly. If no other regular State Committee existed, a provisional State Committee could be formed.

5. Instructions for authorizing the regular State Committee or (if none) the provisional committee, to manage all arrangements for obtaining state charter.

Two days after issuing this communication, we received a letter from Comrade G.C. Clemens warning us against comrades in Kansas, whom he charged with being Prohibitionists and with having designs to capture the state organization. In this letter Comrade Clemens claimed that a State Committee existed, of which he was a member, and he gave the names of the officers. He also gave the names of 18 towns at which branches existed but did not give the names of the officers of said branches. He also requested information as to what their state organization must do to effect affiliation with the national organization.

Upon receipt of this letter, I immediately sent Comrade Clemens a copy of the circular letter of instructions on organization to which I receive an immediate reply from him, claiming that our letter of instructions to the Kansas branches was irregular because it ignored the existing Kansas state organization; that no other State Committee than that of which he was a member had ever been organized, and that the state organization of which he was a member would continue as the Socialist Party of Kansas, regardless of

the national organization. About that time that this controversy arose, applicants for local charters began to be received from us by a number of towns in Kansas, including branches of the Chicago NEB [National Executive Board], who had previously protested to us against issuing a state charter to the Clemens faction. Your Local Quorum was placed in a very embarrassing situation by this factional fight. The question before us whether we were obliged to issue a state charter to the Clemens State Committee, which was represented at Indianapolis by 6 votes from 1 branch, and in addition, whether we should issue this state charter in face of the protest from some of the very branches which Comrade Clemens wrote us were represented in his state organization. In addition to this we had no assurances that in event the Unity Referendum of the Chicago NEB failed to carry, that the other branches (which Comrade Clemens claimed) would remain affiliated with the Clemens State Committee (if chartered by us).

The situation was so replete with uncertainty and demoralization, and the evidence of factionalism so conclusive, that the Local Quorum decided not to issue a state charter to the Clemens State Committee, but to issue local charters without prejudice to the locals of both factions and to cooperate with all the comrades in the state in organizing new locals, who would have no concern with old factional differences, and who would constitute a new element that would exercise a healthy balance of power besides rendering it easier to effect a safe, united, and harmonious state organization.

An additional reason which influenced the Local Quorum in coming to the decision not to issue a state charter to the Clemens State Committee was that upon our writing to T.R. Hawks of Topeka, Kansas, State Secretary of the Clemens factions, for a list of all the Socialist branches represented in their state organization, the names and addresses of Secretaries, and names and addresses of State Committeemen, comrade Hawks replied saying that since being elected State Secretary he had had no records or information except of a casual nature turned over to him by the former State Secretary, Comrade Clemens; that he saw Comrade Clemens every few days and frequently asked him for the books and papers of his office, but without avail. He complained that he had been utterly ignored

in his official capacity as State Secretary.

It becomes proper for us in this place to say that while we were struggling with this problem, and endeavoring to straighten out the factional tangle by recognizing the power in the membership (through the issue of local charters), Comrade Clemens, in September [1901], attempted to issue a call for a state convention, on 2 weeks' notice, but the attempt had to be abandoned owing to the fact that it was impossible to ascertain who constituted the members of the State Committee, and thus the final proof was given of the complete demoralization of the Social Democratic Party of Kansas.

During the entire period of this trouble, the National Committee refrained from active intervention by the sending of a personal representative in the state, having faith in the ultimate good sense of the rank and file. We adopted a passible attitude toward the combatants, but we assured both factions that while we did not desire to become entangled in their state differences, that we stood ready to cooperate with each and every comrade in the state to bring about unity of the Socialist forces in Kansas. We gave our approbation to efforts made by Comrade Walter Thomas Mills, C.R. Mitchell, W.E. Bush, and others to conciliate Comrade Clemens, and although we had 10 locals chartered at the time (including 6 which had been affiliated by the Chicago NEB), these comrades made a proposal to Comrade Clemens to recognize his State Committee provided the latter would agree to call a state convention. This proposition, I was informed, was accepted by Comrade Clemens, but for some reason, he failed to call the convention, as agreed.

After waiting for some weeks and endeavoring in vain to induce Comrade Clemens to issue a call for a state convention *<line missing>* November 4th, issued a proposition for a state convention to all the Socialist political organizations in the state, regardless of factional differences, and pursuant to this proposition (which was accepted by the locals), a call was issued by Local Girard, Kansas, for state convention at Parsons, Kansas, on November 26th.

Upon suggestion of the Kansas comrades, the National Committee agreed to stand a portion of the expense of sending a state organizer to organize new locals and revive those locals of the Chicago NEB which had become inactive. Comrade e. Backus, one

of the students at Mills' School of Social Economy, and a delegate to the Indianapolis Convention, was selected for this mission by the Kansas comrades, and the work of organization which he accomplished in the 2 weeks prior to the convention was not alone highly creditable to him, but also a testimony to the enthusiasm of Socialists at unorganized points.

The convention at Parsons adopted a state constitution and state platform and elected state officers and National Committeeman, whose election has since been ratified by referendum. The convention was attended by 57 delegates representing 13 locals. At the time this convention was held there were 31 locals in the state chartered by us, including 8 which had been affiliated with the Chicago NEB. Since the ratification of the Unity [agreement] by the Chicago faction, Comrade Theodore Debs has sent me a list of their branches in Kansas, amounting to 15 in all. Of this number, we have been informed that 4 were inactive before the outbreak of the factional fight and have not yet been revived. There are 3 of these places at which we have not positively learned whether locals exist. The balance, consisting of 8, are, as before said, included in the state organization recognized by this committee.

A state charter was issued by us to the Socialist Party of Kansas on December 27, 1901.

The New Hampshire Case.

On September 11 [1901], Local Dover, New Hampshire, applied to us for a charter of affiliation, their application showing New Hampshire had a State Committee, *<line missing>* showing a charter membership of 20. While yet, according to ex-National Secretary Butscher's records, there were only 3 locals in the state and all of these, as well as the State Committee, were neutral organizations.

According to the report of the Credentials Committee, New Hampshire, so far as we could learn, was unrepresented either by delegate or proxy at the Unity Convention. We issued a local charter to Dover on September 20. Exeter, NH, which for 2 years had been unaffiliated with any state or national organization, applied for charter on September 28. German Branch 21, Manchester, of the SDP (Independent) of New Hampshire, issued on October 4.

On October 1 [1901], Comrade Benjamin T.

Whitehouse wrote us a letter stating that a factional fight had broken out in the state, part of the comrades wanting national affiliation, while others desired a state organization independent of national connection.

We issued local charters to Portsmouth, NH, on October 11; to Rochester, NH, October 25; and to Nashua, NH, on November 15.

In the letter which Comrade Whitehouse wrote to me he said he thought a state organization in sympathy with national unity would possibly be effected prior to October 21 [1901]. He wrote us another letter on November 7, stating that as we led a list of the locals chartered by us and of those locals whose charters were pending action by the Local Quorum, that it might be well for us to issue a call for a state convention.

Having in mind that one of the main objections of the faction in New Hampshire opposed to national affiliation was on the ground of past differences *<illeg.>* National Committees, and furthermore the constitutional provision that each state or territory autonomously set its methods of organizing, we took the position that we could not issue a call for a state convention in New Hampshire unless requested to do so by the locals chartered by us in the *<illeg.>*, and that even then such a course might strengthen the hands of the faction opposed to national affiliation.

On November 13th, Comrade Whitehouse wrote me that Local Dover would issue a call for a convention. The same having been duly issued, the state convention was held at Exeter on Thanksgiving day, November 28th, at which 6 locals were represented by delegates, complete state organization effected, state officers elected, as well as a National Committeeman, whose selection has since been confirmed by referendum.

Pending the result of this referendum, we received a communication dated December 17th from [Comrade] Howie, State Secretary of the Social Democratic Party (Independent) of New Hampshire, protesting against Sumner F. Claflin, who had been elected National Committeeman by the Unity faction. Comrade Howie in his letter denied that Claflin had either been elected or nominated, that [it was] then he had separated himself [from] the state committee that held the [stamp?] money of the Socialist Party of New Hampshire. Comrade Howie signed this communi-

cation as State Secretary of the New Hampshire Socialist Party.

It seems that he claimed this office by virtue of a referendum on state independence held in October [1901], the result of which had, however, been protested and repudiated by some of their own branches on the grounds of a fraudulent count. In Comrade Howie's letter he furthermore said that it would be well if the National Committee would call in all the New Hampshire charters and instruct the same to get back into line.

Prior to this correspondence we had only received one communication from Comrade Howie, which was dated September *<illeg.>*, 1901, related to Comrade Wilshire's lecture tour and was signed by Howie as State Secretary, Social Democratic Party. We called Comrade Howie's attention to this, also to the fact that the New Hampshire organization prior to the Unity Convention was neutral; that it was not represented at the Unity Convention; that the Unity Resolution adopted at Indianapolis did not specifically include New Hampshire; that we had not until recently received any intimation that their *<illeg.>* organization had any cognizance of the Unity Convention or a national organization; while on the other hand, reliable information had reached us that their state organization not alone continued to maintain its neutral attitude, but had become positively hostile toward national affiliation.

And for confirmation of the latter statement we called Comrade Howie's attention to that clause in his letter wherein he advised the National Committee to recall all the New Hampshire charters and instructed the state "to get back into line." During the factional fight in New Hampshire, the National Committee, conscious of the old prejudice against interference by national executives, scrupulously refrained from any official interference, being governed by the constitutional provisions relating to state organizations. We had no right, nor had we any reason (in view of the neutral, not to mention hostile, attitude of the SDP, Independent of New Hampshire) to refuse local charters to the local organizations in the state which applied for same.

On January 5th [1902], the State Committee of the Social Democratic Party (Independent) of New Hampshire met in Manchester, in pursuance of a for-

mal call for said meeting issued by Comrade Howie, claiming to be State Secretary of the Socialist Party (Independent) for the purpose, it seems, of canvassing a vote which had been taken by the said Socialist Party (Independent) for state officers. The full details of this meeting have never been sent to me, but from the particulars that I have received it seems that the members of this State Committee, Socialist Party (Independent) had either experienced a radical change in individual sentiment or received some positive instructions from their constituencies, for instead of canvassing the vote for state officers of the Socialist Party (Independent), they declared the act of State Secretary Howie in submitting said vote illegal, and thereupon seated the state officers elected by the Thanksgiving convention of the Unity faction. Comrade Howie wrote me a letter, dated January 7, practically verifying the above account and not in any manner questioning its regularity or legality.

On January 9 [1902], we received application for state charter from New Hampshire, which was signed by State Secretary Louis Arnstein, elected by the Unity faction, and 5 members of the State Committee, including Comrade Howie, who had been elected State Committeeman at the same meeting in which his office expired as State Secretary.

The application for state charter being signed by representatives of both factions, the Local Quorum considered the New Hampshire factional controversy ended, and the incident was closed by the issuance of state charter to the Socialist Party of New Hampshire on January 10, 1902.

Edited by Tim Davenport.

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