

THE SOCIALIST WORLD

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CONVENTION AGENDA

NATIONAL CONVENTION SOCIALIST PARTY, DETROIT, JUNE 25, 1921

Submitted by the N. E. C. in accordance with Sec. 12 of the National Party Constitution

The inclusion of a motion or resolution on this Agenda does not indicate the approval or support of the committee. The purpose of the committee is to submit such questions as the membership desires to discuss in as clear and concise a form as possible, regardless of the committee's approval or disapproval.

The unfamiliarity of the membership with the Agenda system has resulted in a failure to submit motions on several important matters and the inclusion of some motions which perhaps have no proper place on the Agenda. The inclusion of alternative or competitive motions is not customary but the committee feels justified under the circumstances.

There is a noticeable lack of constructive organization proposals and a superfluity of constitutional amendments of no vital importance. The committee feels, however, that the propositions submitted will offer a basis for a more thorough and intelligent discussion of party problems, than has been customary; that with added experience on the part of our committees and delegates, as well as of the membership, the Agenda will be improved each year; that the adoption of the Agenda system will result in a decided improvement in the tone and character of convention debates and of the motions and resolutions adopted.

Fraternally submitted,
National Executive Committee.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Motion No. 1—That the Socialist Party of the United States renew its application for membership in the Communist International upon the basis of complete acceptance of the twenty-one points of affiliation.

Motion No. 2—That the Socialist Party of the United States renew its application for membership in the Communist International with the re-

servation that we accept no binding formula for the attainment or organization of the Socialist society; and retain complete autonomy in matters of membership, organization, and tactics and in regard to our program and declarations regarding questions which are primarily of domestic concern:

Motion No. 3—That the Socialist Party of the United States affiliate with the International Working Union of Socialist Parties on the basis of the rules and resolutions adopted by the conference at Vienna.

Motion No. 4—The Socialist Party of the United States considers that its paramount duty is to build a powerful, revolutionary, Socialist organization in this country. It is, therefore, resolved to devote all of its energy and resources to this task, believing it to be the most valuable service it can render to the cause of International Socialism. Until this task is accomplished, or until a different decision is reached by a succeeding national convention, it is resolved to remain without international affiliations.

PARTY POLICY AND TACTICS

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

Motion No. 1—The transitional period from Capitalism to Socialism may take a long time and will unavoidably be accompanied by civil strife in one form or another.

At such a time the new order has a right to defend itself and the Socialist-conscious proletarian and his party is then duty-bound to disregard the formal rights of the bourgeoisie as a minority of the people and build the power of the workers as the majority upon such a strong basis and with such guarantees that the revolution could not be endangered from within.

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THE SOCIALIST WORLD

Formerly The Young Socialists' Magazine

VOL. 3. NUMBER 4

APRIL 15, 1921

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Post-Office at Chicago, Illinois, January 26th, 1918, Under the Act of March 3rd, 1879.

Subscription Price: \$1.00 a year. Single Copies 15c

All matter intended for publication must reach this office not later than the 1st of the month preceding date of issue

Published Monthly at 220 South Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

OTTO F. BRANSTETTER Bus. Mgr.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,

Of The Socialist World, published monthly, at Chicago, Illinois, for April, 1921
State of Illinois

County of Cook } ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Otto F. Branstetter who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the "The Socialist World" and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1920, embodied in section 433, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:
Publisher Socialist Party of the United States, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

Editor and Business Manager Otto Branstetter, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

2. That the owners are:
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST PARTY
Wm. M. Brandt, 940 Chouteau Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
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Wm. H. Henry, 709 E. 13th St., Indianapolis, Ind.
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James Oneal, 918 Madison St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
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Otto F. Branstetter, Executive Secretary, 220 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: NONE.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

OTTO F. BRANSTETTER, Editor
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 20th day of April, 1921.

[SEAL]

ANDREW LAFIN,
Notary Public.

(My commission expires Aug. 21, 1921.)

EDITORIAL

IT MUST GO ON.

The Amnesty work must be continued. The Washington lobby* must be maintained. Somebody has to stay right there on the job to educate the congressmen in the matter of political prisoners and to see that the Department of Justice is not allowed to forget that men are languishing in prison for their opinions and that there is a demand for their release.

Winnie E. Branstetter is now in charge of the Washington Headquarters but is to be relieved by a successor on June 1st, it being impossible to maintain more than one worker there on account of the expense.

Comrades and sympathizers interested in this work should not let it die for lack of support. Contributions may be sent either to the National Office or to the Debs-Amnesty Committee, Bellevue Hotel, Washington, D. C.

(Continued from page 1)

This may be called the dictatorship of the proletariat, or it may be known under another name, but it will always mean the same thing, the power of the working class expressed thru workers' council, or such other organizations as grow out of the conditions of the times and which will aim at the final abolition of exploitation and oppression.

The program of the Socialist Party both during the period of the final struggle for power and in the extended period of agitation and education must be clear, outspoken, and must not compromise with the opportunists at the right or the anarchists at the left.

Clearness of purpose and sureness in following the means to the end, courageous adherence to ideals and principles, democratic centralization in its organizations together with responsibility and voluntary discipline should be the methods of agitation, propaganda, and the preparation of the working class for its role of destroyer of capitalism and liberator of humanity.

Motion No. 2—The Socialist Party of the United States advocates the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, the dictatorship must be established to suppress counter-revolutionary movements of the capitalists and to firmly establish the new order.

The working class, having captured the political power, must use that power to entrench themselves as the dominant, ruling CLASS, until such time as the expropriation of capitalist property and the abolition of interest, rent and profit has eliminated economic classes, class interests and class antagonisms.

The working class government must not hesitate to use the most vigorous methods, if necessary, to suppress forcible opposition by the minority and maintain its supremacy.

The workers must not allow ANYTHING to stand in the way of their being the RULING class as long as classes or remnants of classes remain.

The Socialist Party declares its intention to win a majority of the people to an acceptance of our program at least to the extent that they agree to our control and willingly submit to our leadership; that when we have and BECAUSE we have such a majority, we are justified in carrying out our program, by force if necessary, over the protest and against the opposition of the minority. It is for this purpose and under these conditions only that the Socialist Party proposes the Dictatorship.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

Motion No. 1—The Socialist Party regards the general strike as a powerful weapon of the working class—a weapon that may be used with equal effectiveness for political and economic purposes. However, considering that it requires a high degree of organization, discipline and solidarity, it is evident that the advocacy of a general strike in the United States under present conditions is folly. Years of education and organization lie before the American working class before the general strike can pass from theory to reality.

Furthermore, the general strike involves so many people in a given struggle that it is likely to be a failure unless it is a last resort in some grave crisis which has aroused great masses of workers. It is a weapon that cannot be used for minor grievances, nor could it be employed frequently with success. Its justification and its success both require wide organization and an emergency so grave that no other organized effort would meet the emergency. To make a fetish of the general strike as a normal method of obtaining redress of grievances, would be to encourage illusions that only lead to disappointment, failure and general reaction.

Motion No. 2—A political party cannot call a general strike for any purpose. That is the function of the workers organized in the unions. In time of crisis the unions when organized in sufficient strength and imbued with a class-conscious spirit of struggle may be trusted to use this weapon on their own accord. In any such decision the Socialist Party pledges whatever assistance is in its power to give.

POLITICAL STRIKE

A political strike is a strike for the purpose of compelling the enactment or repeal of legislative measures or for the purpose of influencing the policies of the administrative officials.

Such a strike may be called by either the political or economic organizations of the workers. The Socialist Party, however, declares that under existing conditions in the United States, such strikes to be successful, should be called only by the economic organizations and endorsed and supported by the political parties of the workers.

The Socialist Party advocates the Political strike as an effective weapon of the working class in cases where there is sufficient sentiment to insure a general and willing compliance with the strike orders. This requires that the issue be one of grave importance in which the membership of the organizations called out are deeply interested.

Political strikes called for light or trivial reasons, or with too great a frequency, are foredoomed to failure, and will result in discrediting this powerful weapon and in the weakening or possible destruction of the organizations involved.

The Socialist Party therefore warns against the attempted use of the Political Strike as a general or customary weapon and declares that it should be used only on rare occasions and in connection with matters of supreme importance to the workers.

Attitude Towards Labor Organizations

The Socialist Party of the United States realizes that our peculiar economic and political history has been instrumental in moulding the form and substance of the American labor movement. It does not ascribe the responsibility for the shortcoming and failure of our labor movement to its leadership alone, recognizing that this leadership is, on the whole, quite representative of the degree of advancement of the masses of our workers.

The Socialist Party, while not constituting itself a judge over the organized labor movement of this country, nevertheless considers it a supreme

duty to point out persistently the fundamental errors underlying the policies and principles of the organized labor movement; its failure to learn from the burning lessons of the past, and its inability to face concretely and in the true light of historic perspective the economic and political questions of the day.

As part of the militant forces of the working class of this country, we reaffirm that adherence to a policy of political begging, of political trading with the capitalists' parties, on the part of the labor movement, is degrading and detrimental to the interests of the workers. This is specially true in America where the master class has learned so well to utilize and to debase for its own mercenary purposes the extensively developed political machinery of the land. The American labor movement should repudiate this barren policy of begging from the political enemies of labor and adopt instead the policy of independent, militant political activity. The Socialist Party also realizes the necessity and growing importance of industrial organization and combat based upon the evergrowing consciousness of the workers, that they are to become the masters of their destiny in shop, mill, mine and farm.

The labor movement is gaining numerical strength from year to year and is slowly raising the standard of life and working conditions of the toilers. It is facing at present, partly as the reward for its policy of ultra-loyalism and co-operation with plutocracy during the war, a terrific fight for its very existence against the organized forces of capital and enthroned greed. In this nation-wide conflict it should and will receive the hearty aid and co-operation of every Socialist in the land who realizes that whatever its faults, the fighting labor movement contains the only solid promise of the eventual conquest of society by the workers.

The position of the Socialist Party is one of constructive, not destructive, criticism.

Every Socialist within the labor movement must stay at his post as a soldier in the ranks, as a teacher in the classroom. Leadership will not come to those who sulk, become embittered and eventually shirk their work or engage in merely disruptive and destructive criticism, but to those who are well grounded in the principles and policy of the labor movement, who look facts straight in the face and who honestly and devotedly fight the daily battles of the working class.

It is through this policy of loyal, constructive work within the labor unions, that the Socialist Party strives to strengthen those organizations and bring about a better understanding and co-operation between the militant economic and political organizations of the workers.

Relations With Other Political Parties.

Motion No. 1—City, county and state organizations of the Socialist Party may form coalitions or working agreements with other political parties or organizations opposed to the Republican and Democratic Parties and which serve as a medium of protest or reform, when conditions

and circumstances justify such procedure in order to advance the interest of the working class in any particular locality.

Motion No. 2—The Socialist Party reaffirms its policy of "no fusion, no political trading" with other political parties or organizations, whether they are avowedly the defenders of the existing system or masquerade as "Reform," "Liberal," "Labor" or "Communist" parties. The National Executive Committee is instructed to enforce the provisions in the party constitution, prohibiting fusion, compromise or trading with any other political party or organization.

RESOLUTION

Whereas, the Communist International is attempting to disrupt and destroy the Socialist Party of the United States as evidenced by numerous declarations to that effect, and

Whereas, in their reply to the application of our party for affiliation they make the following appeal to their sympathizers among our membership:

WORKERS: Leave the American Socialist Party. It is your enemy and ours. Already in America there is a revolutionary party, the United Communist Party, the American section of the Communist International. These are our true comrades. Thousands of them have suffered for the Revolution. This is the party of the revolutionary working class. **JOIN THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY!**

And Whereas, those of our membership who are honestly in accord with the Communist International and who accept its conditions and dictation will, in response to the above appeal, either withdraw and join the United Communist Party or will remain in our party only for the purpose of creating dissension and attempting to destroy our organization,

And Whereas, it is our duty to protect our party against such treachery on the part of the unprincipled and unscrupulous members serving the interests of either the Communist International or the Department of Justice, and in either case serving the interests of the American capitalists,

Therefore Be It Resolved, that until such time as the Communist International has officially withdrawn the above appeal and others of a similar import, members of the Socialist Party supporting or endorsing the Communist International or advocating affiliation therewith, shall be subject to expulsion by their respective branches. And be it further

Resolved, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to enforce this decision.

2. CO-OPERATIVES

The Socialist Party favors the co-operative movement as a means of defense in the every day struggle of the working class and as a training school to teach methods of administration of industry. While favoring the establishment of co-operative institutions, we urge a serious consideration of the local circumstances in each case to the end that such organizations may be inaugurated only when conditions would reasonably insure their success.

1. IMMEDIATE DEMANDS

The Socialist Party is in favor of immediate demands for the purpose of strengthening the resistance of the working class in its daily struggles, as a means of educating the workers, and finally as indicating the avenue of approach for establishing the new social order. But the party insists that the emphasis be placed on the ultimate aim rather than on the immediate demands.

MILITARY APPROPRIATIONS

Motion—That no elected representative of the Socialist Party shall be permitted to vote for military or naval appropriations.

A RESOLUTION

Whereas, it is generally conceded and understood among members of the Socialist Party that no Socialist should be a member of any such organization as the Chambers of Commerce which in every conflict between capital and labor are always on the side of capital and against the working class, and,

Whereas, however, here and there some members of our party, on account of their supposed private gain, have joined or might join said capitalistic organizations, therefore,

Be it resolved that members of the Chamber of Commerce shall not be allowed to be members of the Socialist Party.

PRINCIPLES AND PLATFORM

Political Action

Motion No. 1—Political action, as understood and advocated by the Socialist Party of the United States, is participation in elections for public office and practical legislative and administrative work in line with the party platform with the object of gaining control of all powers of government in order to abolish the present capitalist system and establish a Socialist society.

Motion No. 2—Political action, as advocated by the Socialist Party of the United States, is any organized, concerted endeavor on the part of the working class to influence the processes of government, particularly the participation in elections for public offices and the utilization of such positions when won for the enlightenment, betterment and emancipation of the workers.

Direct Action

By this term we mean the activity of the unions in struggling on the economic field for better living and working conditions without recourse to the aid of the political State. As such it is distinguished from political action, which is any activity seeking to influence the processes of the State and thru it of industry and social life. While supporting unreservedly the workers every effort to better his lot by recourse to "direct action", we point out that the thing that holds him in wage slavery is a political question, the private ownership of social necessities.

Sabotage

Nothing is gained by public advocacy on a political platform of sabotage or any other form of illegal activity. In the guerilla warfare in which the Labor movement must engage under Capitalism, sabotage is sometimes used effectively, but the closer we come to a Socialist regime, the more

emphatically must we condemn all anti-social expressions of the labor movement.

Mass Action

Motion No. 1—We do not consider that the term "mass action" denotes anything illegal or improper in itself. The capitalist class has fastened such interpretations upon the term so we must be careful in its use. Mass action may be for social progress, or against it. We are concerned with the educations of the masses so that their action may be toward greater freedom and more noble life.

Motion No. 2.—By mass action the Socialist Party includes such activity as national petitions and popular demonstrations in which large masses are engaged for some definite end, such as the release of political prisoners, protest against government usurpation of power, aid for workers on strike, etc.

Where the masses in general, without regard to political or economic affiliations, participate in any such movement, its mass character distinguishes such movement from political action or the strike. No matter whether this action has its origin in a call of the Socialist Party, or is the outgrowth of a strike, or is a spontaneous reaction to intolerable conditions, the association of the masses in such a movement is the essence of mass-action.

On account of the large number of workers involved, it may be accompanied with some violence, although this is not a necessary aspect of such mass movements.

The Soviet System

Motion No. 1—The purpose of our agitation should be to educate the masses so that as soon as conditions and circumstances allow, the non-productive and exploiting elements will be deprived of the right to govern the affairs of the people and the bourgeois parliaments will then be replaced by a system of workers' councils, joined with other councils of anti-capitalist elements in society, and all power will belong to these councils, or soviets.

This will, of course, occur at the time of the overthrow of the capitalist order, which time will denote the beginning of the transitional period from capitalism to Socialism.

Motion No. 2—The Socialist Party is opposed to the establishment of a Soviet form of government in the United States because it is a system of delegated power which deprives the working class of any direct voice in the election of responsible public officials and prevents them from exercising any effective control or influence over the administration in power.

Such a system of delegated power is opposed to the experience, ideals and aspirations of the American workers and will not and should not be acceptable to them.

The Socialist Party proposes a system of government, combining industrial and geographical representation, under which all of the legislative officials and many, if not all, of the higher administrative officials shall be elected directly by the workers.

The Franchise

The Socialist Party is conscious of the limitations placed upon the franchise by the laws of the states and the economic conditions of many workers. It favors the removal of all the onerous residence qualifications that encumber the State statutes and which disfranchise masses of workers. It also favors abolition of all tax qualifications for the suffrage and the enforcement of the amendments of the federal constitution to insure the franchise to the Negro. All rules, regulations, ordinances, statutes or other barriers to complete adult suffrage should be energetically attacked by the Socialist Party and the co-operation of other working class organizations should be enlisted for this purpose.

Immigration

We favor the unrestricted right of the workers of all countries to enter freely the United States except when immigration is artificially stimulated for the purpose of flooding the labor market or of breaking strikes. It is the duty of the economic organizations to organize immigrants without delay in order that they may become an integral part of the organized labor movement of the United States.

PROPAGANDA & ORGANIZATION

Daily Newspapers

Motion—That this convention elect a committee of five members for the purpose of studying the feasibility of establishing a chain of daily Socialist papers and of making a report with recommendations to the next national convention of the Party.

Propaganda Among Women

Resolution — Whereas, a large number of women citizens have been recently enfranchised and

Whereas, the women of the working class are generally less conscious of their political class interests and more backward in making use of the ballot to further such interests than the women of the capitalist classes,

Therefore be it resolved, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to make special efforts to extend the propaganda among women in order that the women of the working class may be educated and organized to use their franchise in support and defense of their class interests.

Organization & Lecture Circuits

Resolved that the National Office be empowered to create Organization and Lecture Districts regardless of State boundaries; that such districts be organized as follows:—

1. Organizers to be sent to organize in contiguous territory lecture circuits of approximately 25 locals each. Such circuits to include some strong locals and the balance to be organized or strengthened by the Organizer.

2. These locals to be signed up and pledged to take one lecture a month from the National Office on such a day and in such rotation as the National may assign so that each lecturer may proceed

from point to point without backtracking and wasting time.

3. Lecturers to be given contracts for long terms; Locals to pay a certain minimum in proportion to their strength and above that a percentage of receipts.

4. The organization of six such circuits would obviate the necessity of the lecturer visiting the same place more than twice a year. The more circuits the more speakers and the greater the variety for each local.

5. Organizers to be kept in District, strengthening weak points in circuits and arranging for new circuits in between using stronger points that could use speakers twice a month as basis and putting other weak points on the second circuit.

Education

Motion:—That the Socialist Party establish systematic instruction of its members by means of leaflets in the principles of Socialism and in the tactics of the Socialist Party; also in the history of the Labor movement and the Theory and Practice of the Labor Movement.

Resolution

Whereas the trend of the labor movement is toward an ever-greater control of industry, the Socialist Party urges Labor Organizations to undertake instruction in the technique of administration of industry, assist in forming classes and procuring teachers wherever possible and instruct its members who are at the same time members of labor organizations to work for the advancement of this education.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Membership Dues

Motion No. 1—Amend Sec. 6 (a), Art. IX, to read: The dues of members of the Socialist Party shall be fifty cents per month which shall be divided as follows: to the National organization 10 cents, to the state organization 15 cents, to the county or city organization 10 cents, to the branch organization 15 cents. In counties or cities where there is no central organization the county dues shall be paid to the state organization.

Motion No. 2—Amend Sec. 6 (a), Art. IX to read: The dues of members of the Socialist party shall be twenty-five cents per month which amount shall be divided as follows: to the national organization 5 cents; to the state organization 5 cents; to the County or City organization 5 cents; to the branch organization 10 cents. In counties and cities where there is no central organization the county dues shall be paid to the state organization.

Motion No. 3—Amend Sec. 6 (a), Art. IX to read: The state organization shall pay to the national office of the Socialist party as monthly dues an amount equal to ten cents for each member in good standing and shall receive dues stamps in return therefor. One half of the sum so paid shall be in payment of the members' subscriptions to the Socialist World.

Motion No. 4—Amend Sec. 6 (a), Art. IX to read: The state organization shall pay to the national office of the Socialist party as monthly

dues an amount equal to fifteen cents for each member in good standing and shall receive dues stamps in return therefor. Of the amount so paid 5 cents per month from each member shall be in payment of the member's subscription to the Socialist World, 4 cents shall be set aside as a sinking fund for the expenses of the National Convention and 6 cents shall be used for the general expenses of the National Office.

(Note—Motions number one and two establish the dues for each of the sub-organizations. Motions number three and four establish only the national dues and leave the sub-organization free to establish such state, county, local and branch dues as they see fit. Motion number four presupposes the abolition of the special Convention Stamp and assessment.)

Motion No. 5—That the dues system be abolished and all sections of the constitution providing for the payment of national, state or local dues be stricken out.

Foreign-Speaking Organizations.

Motion—Strike out Art. XI and substitute the following—

Section 1. Members of the Socialist Party, speaking a language other than English, may be organized into foreign-speaking branches; such branches shall be affiliated with local and state organizations of the Socialist party.

Section 2. Foreign-speaking branches shall purchase dues stamps from the state organization and shall function in the same manner as other locals or branches of the Socialist Party.

Section 3. Foreign-speaking locals and branches may form national propaganda committees to carry on the propaganda in their respective language, as by publishing newspapers, periodicals, leaflets, organizing lectures or speaking tours and to further the agitation and organization among those of their own nationality. The activities of such committees shall be under the supervision of the National Executive Committee and in conformity with the principles, platform and constitution of the Socialist party.

Section 4. The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party shall elect one member of the Federation Committee whose expenses in attending the meetings of the Federation Committee shall be paid from the Federation treasury.

Section 5. The affiliation of language branches with their respective Language Federation is not compulsory but the Federation shall have no power to exclude or deny affiliation to any language branch desiring it, except with the consent of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party.

Section 6. When a language federation has been organized, the branches affiliated therewith shall purchase their dues stamps from their respective State Secretaries at the same price which the English speaking branches pay. The State Secretaries shall remit monthly to the respective local organizations an amount equal to one-half that which is paid by English Branches as local

dues and shall also remit 10c for each stamp sold to such language branches to the Organization and Propaganda Committee of the Federation with an itemized report of the stamps sold to the respective branches.

Section 7. The State Secretaries shall make a monthly report to the National Executive Committee showing the number of stamps sold to the respective language branches and the amount of money remitted to the Federation Committees.

Section 6. The language federations shall have no power to expel or discipline branches affiliated with their federation, nor members of their respective branches. The jurisdiction over the members in the language branches is vested exclusively in the National, State and Local organizations of the Socialist Party.

Section 9. The National Executive Committee may at its discretion furnish office space and facilities at the National headquarters for the secretaries of the Organization and Propaganda Committees of the Language Federations and may also pay them wages the same as regular employees of the National Executive Committee.

Section 10. Existing language federations affiliated with the Socialist Party shall be reorganized under the provisions of this article within sixty days following its adoption.

Occupational Branches

Motion—Amend Art. IX by inserting a new section to read as follows:

The State Organizations shall amend their constitutions so as to permit of the organization of locals or branches whose members shall be drawn exclusively from the same occupational groups. Charters shall be issued to such Locals or branches and they shall be an integral part of the party organization upon the same basis and with the same rights, privileges and duties as the existing locals and branches.

Conventions

Motion—Amend Art. VIII by adding a new section to read as follows:—

At all conventions each delegate shall cast as many votes as the number of members which he represents, based upon the membership of the preceding year.

Motion—Amend Sec. 7 Art. VIII to read as follows:—

The state secretaries of all organized states shall be the first delegate from their respective states; where a state is entitled to more than one delegate, the additional delegates shall be elected by referendum vote.

Motion—Amend Sec. 6, Art VIII, by adding at the end of the second paragraph, after the words "dual membership", the following:—

Exempt convention stamps shall be issued under the same conditions as exempt dues stamps as provided in Sec. 7 (a) of Art. IX of this constitution.

Motion—Amend Art. VIII by striking out all of Sec. 6 and the words "by the sale to the members of a special convention stamp" from Sec. 5

and inserting in lieu thereof the words—"by setting aside four cents out of the amount received for each dues stamp sold by the national office.

Management

Motion No. 1—Amend Section 1 (a) to read as follows:

The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by the National Executive Committee and National officials, by the National Committee, the Committee on Appeals, the National Conventions, and the general vote of the membership. (New wording underlined.)

Motion No. 2—Insert new article to read as follows:

Section 1. The National Committee

The National Committee shall consist of all delegates elected to attend regular Party Conventions (except Presidential Nominating Conventions).

Section 2. Their term of office shall be from the adjournment of the convention to the beginning of the next.

Section 3. Following Presidential Nominating conventions the National Committee shall consist of the number of delegates that would have been chosen to a regular convention, those members of each state's delegation that received the highest referendum vote being chosen for that purpose.

Section 4. Any State organization may at any time recall its members on the National Committee by referendum vote in the State.

Section 5. The committee shall never meet between conventions, but shall transact all business within its hereafter limited jurisdiction by correspondence.

Section 6. Each member shall cast a number of mandates equal to the average membership he represents.

Section 7. The jurisdiction of the National Committee shall be limited to: (a) Questions of Party principle as applied to international organization, conduct of parliamentary representatives in city, state and nation, interpretations of this constitution, alleged violations by party-owned or controlled newspapers, and similar questions of grave import and legislative character.

Section 8. Members of the National Executive Committee and the Executive Secretary where not so elected, shall be ex-officio members of the National Committee with all rights save that of a vote.

Section 9. Procedure shall be by motion of any member, accompanied by favorable comment not to exceed 500 words. This shall be immediately submitted by mail for amendment or further comment. Ten days from the receipt of the motion it shall be submitted with amendments to the committee and ten days shall be allowed for vote.

Section 10. Any executive committee action within the jurisdiction of the National Committee, contrary to a motion of the National Committee, shall be held suspended until the result of the vote. All such actions by the Executive Com-

mittee shall be immediately communicated to each member of the National Committee and shall be suspended for ten days to allow action by that body.

Section 11. No National Committee motion shall be permitted to interfere with the executive functions of the organization. These belong exclusively to the Executive Committee. In case of dispute between Executive and National committee the matter shall be referred to the Committee on appeals, whose decision shall be final. Executive action shall not be held up pending such appeal.

Motion No. 3.—Amend Art. III, Sec. 1 (c) to read as follows:

The election shall be by secret ballot counted on the Hare system of proportional representation, or any other satisfactory system of minority representation whereby a minority of one-seventh of the delegates or more could obtain representation on the committee in proportion to their strength.

Motion No. 4.—Amend Art. III, Sec. 1 (d) to read as follows:

The convention shall further select seven alternate delegates by similar ballot.

Motion No. 5.—Amend Art. III, by striking out Sec. 1 (e).

Motion No. 6.—Amend Art. III, Sec. 2 (b) by

striking out the word "five" in the last line and inserting the word "three".

Motion No. 7.—Amend Art. III, by striking out Sec. 2 (e).

Motion No. 8.—Amend Art. II by striking out Sec. 2 (i).

Motion No. 9.—Amend Art. III by striking out Sec. 2 (j).

Motion No. 10.—Amend Art. IV (Duties of the N. E. C.) by adding a new sub-section—Sec. 1, as follows:

To supervise the activity of elected parliamentary representatives and party owned newspapers, and to report violations of principles to the National Committee with recommendations for action.

Motion No. 11.—Amend Art. VI, Sec. 2 (a) by adding the following:

***and to adjudicate disagreements between the National Executive Committee and the National Committee or its individual members. Membership on the National Committee shall not disqualify anyone from membership on the Committee of Appeals, unless the member in question is directly concerned in the subject matter of the dispute. In such case the highest alternate shall take his place during the settlement of that particular case. Such disagreements may be settled by correspondence.

AMNESTY DAY IN WASHINGTON

April 13th, the second anniversary of the imprisonment of Eugene V. Debs for political offenses, was Amnesty Day in the Nation's capitol. The program, arranged by the National Office of the Socialist Party, was carried through successfully and without disturbance or difficulty of any kind.

Participating with the Socialist Party were representatives of other organizations representing all shades of political and industrial opinion. Democrats, Republicans, Socialists and Farmer-Labor party members were present, A. F. of L. and I. W. W. representatives joined with Conscientious Objectors and World War Veterans in their common demand for the release of political prisoners.

President Harding received a committee at 10:00 A. M., which included Morris Hillquit, of the Socialist Party, Rev. Dr. Norman Thomas of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Jackson Ralston, Attorney for the A. F. of L. and Albert de Silver of the American Civil Liberties Union.

A special delegation of lawyers representing the political amnesty committee were received by Attorney General Daugherty at 11 o'clock. Francis Fisher Kane, former United States District Attorney under Palmer, Swinburne Hale, Otto Christensen, Counsel for the I. W. W., Samuel B. Castleton, Counsel for Eugene V. Debs, Morris Hillquit, and others were delegates.

The delegates formed at Old Masonic Hall at 1:00 P. M. for the march to the capitol and the presentation of the petition to Congress. The

petition contained over 300,000 individual signatures and the endorsement of over 700 organizations with a membership of more than three million.

The petition in one large roll, four feet in diameter, was carried in an automobile at the head of the procession. Two hundred and fifteen delegates were in line representing a membership in their respective organizations of two and one quarter million.

There were no hostile demonstrations. Citizens along the line of march and while the procession was forming expressed sympathetic interest and a number of them who had not previously known of the campaign in progress asked for an opportunity of signing the petition.

Upon arriving at the Capitol, a committee consisting of Algernon Lee, and Bertha H. Maily of the Socialist Party, Mrs. Swinburne Hale of the Farmer-Labor Party, Abraham Baroff, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Ladies Garment Workers and Edward Nockles, Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor was received by Vice President Coolidge and formally presented the petition to Congress.

Another committee consisting of James O Neal, Dr. Madge Patton Stephens and Winnie E. Branstetter of the Socialist Party, Harry Laidler of the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society, Daniel Kiefer of the Philadelphia Political Amnesty Conference, Francis Fisher Kane and Swinburne Hale was received by Congressman Gillett, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

While the committees were interviewing the Vice President and the Speaker of the House, the procession broke up into state delegations and visited their respective senators and congressmen. Their reception, on the whole, was cordial and a large number of members promised support for Senator France's amnesty resolution which is now before Congress.

The day's program was concluded by a mass

meeting at Old Masonic Hall in the evening with Harriot Stanton Blatch presiding. The speakers including Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union, Albert Bernays of the World War Veterans, William E. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists, Helen Todd, John E. Millholland, Swinburne Hale, Charles Ervin of The Call, Otto Branstetter and Irwin St. John Tucker.

PRECEDENTS FOR GENERAL AMNESTY

By Winnie E. Branstetter

If it is precedents they want, we have them, sufficient to put to shame either the Administration or Congress in longer withholding unconditional pardon from the 183 men and women held in our prisons for two and one-half years during which we have been in a state of peace.

Congress not only has the right, but has exercised that right. Following is a record of Amnesty Proclamations, orders and Congressional acts, as they occur in the history of America. These records and dates are taken from the messages of the Presidents and from Congressional and Executive records.

On August seventh, 1794, George Washington, President of the United States, issued an Amnesty Proclamation to those men who had taken part in the so-called "Whiskey Rebellion". This was an insurrection of citizens in Pennsylvania against an increased federal tax. It was a small civil war. Large groups of persons resisted officials with arms. Officials were prevented from the discharge of their duties, were beaten, fired upon and their places of residence set afire. Prisoners were forcibly taken from their custody and released. The officers were driven from the warring community to save their lives. This condition of unrest over what they considered an unjust Federal law, continued intermittently for about six years, Washington granting a second amnesty July 10, 1795. In his Seventh Annual Address to Congress he said:

"For though I shall always think it a sacred duty to exercise with fairness and energy the constitutional powers with which I am vested, yet it appears to me no less consistent with public good than it is with my personal feelings to mingle in the operation of the Government every degree of moderation and tendencies which the National Justice, dignity and safety will permit."

The spirit of revolt in that section was finally completely overcome at which time May 21, 1800, John Adams issued a General Amnesty proclamation.

Amnesty to Deserters from the United States Army.

During Thomas Jefferson's administration there were many cases of military deserters in military and federal prisons. Execution for deserting the army had been changed to the policy of life imprisonment. On October 15, 1807, Thomas Jefferson issued an amnesty to all deserters, providing only that they report to some military

post for service. Similar amnesties were granted by Madison, February 7, 1812, October , 1812 and June 17, 1814, affecting deserters during the war of 1812-14 with Great Britain.

On February 6, 1815, Madison issued an Amnesty Proclamation to the clandestine and lawless traders in the Gulf of Mexico. This large group of men were pirates and criminals, of every nationality. They violated national, international and navigation laws. Their complete pardon was granted upon the presentation of a certificate from the New Orleans post to the effect that they had assisted in the defense of New Orleans.

During General Jackson's administration an Executive order signed by the Attorney General granted full amnesty to all war deserters held in the military prisons, providing only that they should never again be permitted to enter into the service of the United States.

For months preceding the Civil War, the Nation — both North and South — was seething with hatred, political and industrial intrigues and suspicion. Spies and informers were employed by both sides. These agents and spies were everywhere, in public meetings, in political and fraternal gatherings, at banquets, in family circles and even in the House of God. True to their characteristics, they became the tools of unprincipled individuals in the venting of personal hatred, prejudice and political animosity. Many loyal American citizens were illegally arrested, their homes violated and their families intimidated. The habeas corpus was suspended, first by Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, later by President Lincoln in an order issued by the Secretary of State. This order was issued no doubt to facilitate the Government in apprehending persons actually guilty of aiding the insurrectionists, but as in the present era, many neutral persons innocent of any act of treason were caught in the drag net, deported from their native states in which the civil courts were in operation, to military camps. All prisoners were without an impartial hearing, were denied bail and were treated as guilty. On December 3, 1861 Seth Hawley, Metropolitan Police Commissioner of New York, issued an order which was read to political prisoners, as follows:

"I am instructed by the Secretary of State to inform you that the Department of State in the United States will not recognize any one as an attorney for political prisoners and will look with distrust upon all applications for release

through such channels; and that such applications will be regarded as additional reasons for declining to release prisoners, etc."

On February 14, 1862, one month after his appointment, Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, issued an order, which amounted to an Amnesty Order, in part as follows:

"Executive Order in Relation to Political Prisoners, N. 1. The insurrection is believed to have culminated and to be declining. The President, in view of these facts, and anxious to favor the return to the normal course of the Administration, as far as a regard for the public welfare will allow, directs that all political prisoners now held in military custody, be released on their subscribing a parole, engaging them to give no aid or comfort to enemies in hostility to the United States * * *

"To all persons who shall be released and shall keep their parole, the President grants an amnesty for any past offenses of treason, or disloyalty which may have been committed.

"By order of the President,
(Signed) Edwin M. Stanton,
Secretary of War.

To carry out this order a special commission was appointed by Mr. Stanton consisting of Major General John A. Dix and Hon. Edwards Pierrepont of New York.

But it appears that the insurrection had not culminated, the Department of War and the special commission were too busy to dispose of the cases of political and state prisoners with the rapidity which was expected. Influential friends of the Political prisoners were agitating the public mind and Congress through the press and otherwise, with the result that on July 17, 1862, the House passed a bill (House Document No. 362) "Providing for the discharge of state prisoners and others, and to authorize the judges of the United States Court to take bail or recognizances to secure the trial of the same." This bill was referred to the Senate for consideration upon its convening.

Congress passed this bill in the next session.

On the 22nd of November, 1862, the war department issued a second order for the release of state and political prisoners. It was so worded as to apply only to such persons and was not to include insurrectionists, or actual draft evaders.

Take notice that these two amnesty orders and a Congressional act took place while the country was torn in the throes of civil warfare. Even in this condition of danger from within, Legislative and executive officials, as well as the populace, were on guard against any unwarranted insurpation of power or injustice to citizens.

On December 8, 1863, President Lincoln declared amnesty to participants in the civil war. This proclamation contained several exceptions, which however, were aimed at the State officials and army officials who were the moving spirit of the seceding states. A similar Amnesty Proclamation was issued by Lincoln, March 26, 1864. It was in the nature of a specific statement in the exceptions embodied in the Proclamation of December 8th.

As conditions adjusted themselves to reconstruction, President Johnson issued two limited Amnesty Proclamations, May 29, 1865, and September 7, 1867. The Civil War was declared at a close, a state of peace existing, by a Congressional act April 2, 1866.

Six Amnesty orders had been made during the process of the Civil War and before peace was declared.

President Johnson Urges Amnesty on Great Britain.

President Johnson, in his second Annual Address, July 3, 1866, said:

"On July 6th, in violation of our neutrality laws, a military expedition and enterprise against British North American Colonies was projected and attempted to be carried on within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States * * * * The expedition failed, some of our citizens were captured and brought to trial, judgment and sentence having been pronounced against some * * * * Fully believing in the maxim of government that severity of civil punishment for misguided persons who have engaged in revolutionary attempts which have disastrously failed, is unwise, such representations have been made to the British Government in behalf of the convicted persons, as being sustained by an enlightened and humane judgment, will, it is hoped, induce in their cases an exercise of clemency and judicious amnesty to all who were engaged in the movement. * * * * discontinuance of the prosecutions which were instituted in the courts of the United States has been directed."

Johnson in Defiance of Congress Declares Amnesty.

The very unsavory controversy between Congress and President Johnson caused a degree of villification and unfairness on both sides, which frequently obliterated the issues themselves in attempts to embarrass each other. This was the case in the Congressional act of 1867, when Congress repealed the amnesty act of 1863. Sufficient precedent had been established to warrant Johnson in gradually eliminating through amnesty declarations such disabilities and limitations as had existed in previous proclamations, made while we were in a state of war. This he did on July 4 and December 25, 1868, choosing these two national days of rejoicing as a fitting time for complete forgiveness and the obliteration of past offenses. He was severely censured for this in a Senate resolution in January 1869 and his authority demanded. His reply in part is as follows:

"By virtue of the power and authority in me vested by the Constitution, and in the name of the sovereign people of the United States, * * * * unconditionally and without reservation, to all and every person who, directly or indirectly, participated in the late insurrection or rebellion, a full pardon and amnesty for the offense of treason against the United States, etc., etc., and as will be seen by refer-

(Continued on Page 16)

Financial Report Amnesty Campaign

AMNESTY CAMPAIGN REPORT

March 1 to May 15, 1921

SUMMARY

Expenditures	.....\$8,358.64
Receipts	..... 6,678.80
Deficit	.....\$1,679.84

EXPENSES

PRINTING

95,000 petitions	...\$433.50
24,000 contribution list	.....111.00
25,000 resolutions	.. 80.00
12,500 advertising posters	..... 68.75
10,000 circulars	.... 32.50
55,000 leaflets, "Unlock That Cell"	... 146.00
121,550 leaflets, sent free for distribution	..... 258.74
Receipt books in triplicate for organizers	..... 86.50

\$1,216.99

Telegrams	..... 33.48
Postage	..... 610.57
Express	..... 160.34
Headquarters expense (Chicago), wages, misc.	..... 515.76
Harriot Stanton Blatch—headquarters expense, Washington	..... 948.73
Bellevue Hotel, headquarters rent, Washington	..... 275.00
Old Masonic Hall, rent	..... 75.00
Otto Branstetter, expenses to Atlanta, Boston, New York, Washington, misc. demonstration expenses.	..... 505.70
Mrs. Paul Hanna, Misc.	..... 15.00
Refund S. P. of Massachusetts	..... 25.00

ORGANIZERS' WAGES AND EXPENSES

Arthur Dalton	.....\$ 41.60
Irvin St. J. Tucker	..... 95.00
Winnie E. Branstetter	..... 296.90
Wm. M. Fiegenbaum	..... 180.29
Ida Crouch Hazlett	..... 338.65
Mary McVicker	..... 615.62
Wm. H. Henry	..... 420.17
Mary Winsor	..... 61.14
Esther Friedman	..... 637.01
Madge Patton Stevens	..... 104.49
Chas. Sehl, Philadelphia	..... 172.12
Adolph Germer, New York	..... 100.00
A. Tuvim	..... 225.04
Anna Weschler	..... 40.00
Birch Wilson	..... 10.00
Dan A. White	..... 624.04
Henry Jaeger	..... 15.00

3,977.07

\$8,358.64

RECEIPTS

Walter Braunstein, New York City, N. Y.	.....\$10.00
Italian Branch Socialist Party, North Bergen, N. J.	..... 10.00
James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.	..... 1.00

13th Ward Br. Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill.	..... 10.00	Capitol City Lodge No. 911, I. A. of Machinists' Helpers, St. Paul, Minn.	..... 3.00
Central Br. Local Boston, Masa.	..... 5.00	Coatmakers Union, Local 36, A. C. W. of A., Baltimore, Md.	..... 25.00
Local Union No. 21, United Mine Workers of America, Princeton, Ind.	..... 25.00	Workmen's Circle, Branch No. 2, Bronx, N. Y. C.	..... 5.00
Local Union 2382, Jackson Hill No. 4, Shelburn, Ind.	..... 25.00	Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit, Branch No. 10, Corona, N. Y.	..... 6.00
Finnish Branch, Wilmington, Del.	..... 5.00	Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit, Br. 279, Brooklyn, N. Y.	..... 5.00
United Mine Workers of America, Local 3689, Linton, Ind.	..... 4.00	Collections Finnish Workmen's Society, Fitchburg, Mass.	..... 13.70
Collections at State Convention, Oklahoma City, Okla.	..... 17.76	Workmen's Circle Br. 116, New Rochelle, N. Y.	..... 3.00
Local Cheyene, Wyo. Socialist Party	..... 5.00	Workmen's Circle Br. 8, New York City, N. Y.	..... 1.00
Local, Gas City, Ind., Socialist Party	..... 6.00	D. J. Haley, Chicago, Ill.	..... 50
Wisconsin Br. American Freedom League, Milwaukee, Wis.	..... 50.00	Local Elwood, Ind., Socialist Party	..... 10.00
Central Branch, Local Lehigh, Allentown, Pa.	..... 20.00	Local Arden, Del., Socialist Party	..... 2.00
Milwaukee Socialist Branch, No. Milwaukee, Wis.	..... 5.00	I. R. Bond, Roosevelt, Okla., Subscription list	..... 4.00
7th Wd. Br. Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill.	..... 11.00	Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Br. 65, Cleveland, O.	..... 10.00
Progressive Lodge No. 440, Rockford, Ill.	..... 5.00	Workmen's Circle Pr. 205, New York City, N. Y.	..... 2.00
English Br. Socialist Party, Grand Rapids, Mich.	..... 5.00	L. & N. Lodge No. 1174, I. A. of M., Louisville, Ky.	..... 2.00
Local 105, A. C. W. of A., St. Louis, Mo.	..... 5.00	F. H. Spence, Henderson, Ky.	..... 7.00
Local Hartford, Conn. Collections	..... 20.00	Local 69, Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, Niagara Falls, N. Y.	..... 5.00
Local Hartford, Conn.	..... 25.00	Rose Dudenhofer, Hot Springs, Ark.	..... .25
8th A. D. Socialist Party, New York, N. Y.	..... 23.50	Branch 408 Workmen's Circle, Arverne, L. I., N. Y.	..... 5.00
1st & 2nd A. D. Socialist Party, New York City, N. Y.	..... 7.50	Lodge No. 1082, I. A. of M. Gallup, N. Mex.	..... 5.00
6th A. D. Socialist Party, New York City, N. Y.	..... 25.00	Br. 117 Workmen's Circle, Schenectady, N. Y.	..... 5.00
John G. Willert, Cleveland, Ohio, Collections	..... 3.00	The New Republic, New York City, N. Y., Subscription List	..... 9.00
Local 78, I. B. of Blacksmiths and Helpers, So. Tacoma, Wash.	..... 5.00	John Specht, Harmarville, Pa., Subscription List	..... 18.00
Local Roseville, Soc. Party Calif.	..... 12.00	Subscription List, Bristow, Oklahoma	..... 5.00
T. C. Haller, Kirksville, Mo.	..... 1.00	Homer P. Wright, Ft. Bayard, N. Mex.	..... 1.00
Local Montgomery Co., Hartford, Pa.	..... 5.00	Finnish Local, Ludlow, Vt.	..... 23.15
Local S4, Bakery and Conf. Workers, I. W. W., Newark, N. J.	..... 10.00	Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit, Br. 265, St. Louis, Mo.	..... 5.00
Workingmen's Circle, Br. 113, Wilkes Barre, Pa., Collections	..... 4.75	Cigar Makers' Union No. 32, Louisville, Ky.	..... 5.00
Blacksmiths' Local No. 73, Minneapolis, Minn.	..... 2.00	Local 1261, Newark, N. J.	..... 5.00
Chris Behrens, Durango, Colo.	..... 2.00	T. M. Dunlap, Coweta, Okla., Subscription List	..... 3.25
J. B. Trumbo, Clinton, Ind.	..... 5.00	Workmen's Circle Br. 263, Portland, Ore.	..... 2.00
Bertha H. Mailly, New York City, N. Y.	..... 2.00	Collections Workmen's Circle Br. 288, New York City, N. Y.	..... 10.00
Local Oklahoma City, Okla.	..... 15.00	American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Wrkrs, Br. No. 2, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	..... 16.25
Br. No. 310 Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit, Baltimore, Md.	..... 5.00	Annie Iverson, Madison, S. Dak.	..... 2.00
Br. 287 Workmen's Circle, Oakland, Calif.	..... 5.00		
M. S. Graul, Chicago, Ill.	..... 2.00		
Louis Peyric, French Branch, Cecil, Pa.	..... 6.60		

Wm. Boardman, Griffith, Colo. Lodge No. 389, U. B. M. W. & R. S. L., Tacoma, Wash.	10.00	G. W. Upham, Richmond, Va.	1.00	Finnish Socialist Society, Newport, N. H., Subscription List	7.25
W. H. McFall, Local Joplin, Mo., Subscription List	9.75	R. T. Bagwell, Blair, Okla.	1.00	Cigarmakers' Local Union No. 114, Jacksonville, Ill.	2.00
Gershung's Ass'n. Br. 240, Workmen's Circle, Phila. Pa.	3.00	Local Princeton, Ind., Socialist Party	32.05	Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 32, Buffalo, N. Y.	2.00
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Branch 245, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00	Geo. Loeding, Chicago, Ill., Subscription List	2.75	Frank Omerso, Local No. 217, Socialist Party, Madrid, Ia. Subscription List	17.60
A. M. Buckwalter, Lancaster, Pa. Subscription List	24.00	John Schneider, Manitowoc, Wis., subscription list	8.50	Plumbers' Union, Ruhl, Idaho, Twin Falls, Ida.	3.00
F. J. Flint, Elkins, W. Va.	5.00	J. H. Waggoner, Eldorado, Kans.	5.00	Workmen's Sick & Death Fund, Br. 109, Claridge, Pa.	17.05
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen & Engineers No. 456, Great Falls, Mont., Esther Friedman Meeting	25.00	Jennie Loughan, Ft. Wayne, Ind., Collections	6.50	Local Union 65, Coopers, San Francisco, Calif.	19.00
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit No. 121, Norwood, Mass.	2.00	Frank Nagode, N. Chicago, Ill. Subscription List	6.75	A. C. Tantz, Billings, Okla.	5.00
H. F. Lanahan, North Little Rock, Ark.	1.00	J. A. Holtzer, Kalamazoo, Mich.	1.00	Wm. Ruesche, St. Louis, Mo., Subscription List	3.50
J. R. Ashley, Okmulgee, Okla. Subscription List	9.00	Painters' L. U. 1023, Helena, Mont.	5.00	F. B. Pettit, Logansport, Ind.	2.00
Frank Hiersich, Virden, Ill., Subscription List	16.00	Workmen's Circle, Br. 120, Richmond, Va.	5.00	Local Elmira, N. Y. Socialist Party, Subscription List	7.50
Machinists Local Union No. 1015, Dallas, Tex.	10.00	Y.P.S.L., Schenectady, N.Y.	5.00	Arthur Ackland, Manhattan, Kans. . . . .	.50
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit, Br. 303, Sharon, Pa.	5.00	Local Union No. 906, U.M.W. of A., Clinton, Ind.	88.50	Cigarmakers' Prog. Int. Union No. 149, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00
Cigar Makers' Union No. 144, New York City, N. Y.	1.00	Ignaz Zlemberger, Glencoe, Ohio, Subscription List	9.00	Joseph Goldsmith, Middle Village, N. Y., Subscription List	4.25
Lilith Martin, Collections, Los Angeles, Calif.	24.54	Local Union No. 2396, U.M. of A., Fayette City, Pa.	5.00	Progressive Club, Br. 9, Workmen's Circle, Baltimore, Md.	10.00
8th Wd. Br. Socialist Party, Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00	Herman C. Keller, Greenfield, Mass., Subscription List	5.25	Jugoslav Br. 211, Aliquippa, Pa.	7.25
Cigar Makers' Union, L. W. No. 44, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00	Workmen's Circle 52, Bronx, N. Y. C.	3.00	A. Carlson, Story, Wyo., Subscription List	9.25
U. B. of Carpenters & Joiners, L. W. No. 1732, Irvington, N. J.	5.00	Workmen's Circle 434, New Haven, Conn.	3.00	Milwaukee Joint Board A.C.W. of A., Milwaukee, Wis.	10.00
Ciprian Nizvaansky, Benton, Ill., Subscription List	12.25	Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, L. U. 132 Coppermiths, Portland, Ore.	5.00	Local Union 320, I. U. of U. B. F. C. & S. D. W., Portland, Ore.	19.00
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 333, Du-Quoin, Ill.	8.00	Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund Br. 71, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00	Workmen's Circle, Br. 512, Los Angeles, Calif.	3.00
A. Bennie, MD., Almena, Kans.	10.00	Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 253, McKeesport, Pa.	5.00	Br. 51, Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Ft. Wayne, Ind.	5.00
N. P. Hansen, Nesquartz, (Tacoma) Wash. Subscription List	5.00	W. A. Every, Oswego, Kans.	1.00	G. H. Cuplin, Ojai, Calif.	2.00
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 25, N.Y.C.	2.00	Workmen's Circle Br. 341, Denbury, Conn.	1.00	Ralph M. Johnson, Hitchcock, Okla., Subscription list	7.00
J. C. Matranga, Sacramento, Calif. . . . .	.50	Workmen's Circle Br. 279, Port Chester, N. Y.	11.25	Florence L. Johnson, Oakland, Calif., Subscription List	8.00
John Leverish, Moore, Okla. . . . .	.50	Workmen's Circle Br. 496, Kansas City, Mo.	1.00	Armas Koski, E. Port Chester, N. Y., Subscription List	7.60
J. H. Smith, Moore, Okla.	5.00	Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 254, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.00	Nathan E. Aronson, Salem, Mass., Subscription List	4.00
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 17 Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	W. D. Altman, Butler, Pa.	2.00	J. M. French, Orleans, Calif.	1.00
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 32, St. Louis, Mo.	5.00	John Kossa, Charleroi, Pa.	5.00	J. A. Guthrie, Orleans, Calif.	1.00
Nick Bauer, St. Louis, Mo., Subscription List	1.00	S. S. Osasto, Englewood, N. J.	5.00	Br. 80, Workmen's Circle, Brooklyn, N. Y.	5.10
Carl Wendling, Carlinville, Ill. Subscription List	3.50	Wm. H. Moss, Arlington, N.J.	2.00	I. B. of Electrical Workers, Local Union 125, Portland, Ore.	10.00
Amalgamated Clothing Wrks. No. 86, Pittsburgh, Pa.	20.00	Sidney A. Branwell, N. Arlington, N. J.	1.00	Henry Taislo, Clinton, Mass., Subscription List	5.40
Wm. Hess, Perry, Okla. Subscription List	3.50	Yellowstone County Trade & Labor Assembly, Billings, Mont.	5.00	David Farfel, Chicago, Ill., Subscription List	8.00
Racine Typographical Union No. 324, Racine, Wis.	10.00	A. R. Moebius, Maramce, Okla.	5.00	Collections Local Lawrence, Subscription List, Methuen, Mass.	5.50
Joe Dock, Coalton, Okla., Subscription List	9.50	Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 210 Allentown, Pa.	5.00	J. . . Krueger, Dalton, Wis., Subscription List	7.25
W. T. Montfort, Wynona, Okla. Subscription List	2.00	Workmen's Circle, Br. 53, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00	Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund, Br. 293 Brooklyn, N. Y.	2.00
Workmen's Sick & Death Benefit Fund Br. 173, West Chester, New York, City.	5.00	J. A. Albright, Greensburg, Pa., Subscription List	13.75	H. A. Wiechers, Columbus, Ohio, Subscription List	4.50
Victor Nelson, San Bernardino, Calif.	1.00	Anton Sommers Br. 236, New Milford, N. J.	9.75	(A friend) Chicago, Ill.	1.05
		Selim Ruohomaa, Chester, Vt., Subscription List	6.40	Michael Jansuck, Kokomo, Ind.	5.00
		Machinists Helpers, Lodge No. 937, Hoxie, Ark.	5.00	Lodge No. 310, Maintenance of Way, Seattle, Wash.	10.00
		Edw. Mlekush, Staunton, Ill., Subscription List	8.90	P. R. Brinkman, Cedar City, Utah, Subscription List	11.00
		J. H. Rempel, Sterling City, Calif.	2.00		
		Mrs. Rose Young, Chicago, Ill.	1.00		

Local Union 3021, U. M. of A., Henryetta, Okla.	6.30	A. J. A. Wagner, Local Wash- ington County, Hagerstown, Md.	2.00	Mrs. Jack James, Oklahoma City, Okla.	1.00
G. J. Pine, Morsden, Okla., Subscription List	4.00	John Dietlmeier, Irvington, N.J. Subscription List	5.00	Rose Dudenhofer, Hot Springs, Ark.30
Local Fort Dodge, Iowa, Sub- scription List	20.50	John Durisek, Okarche, Okla. Subscription List	5.50	A. C. Meyer, Gloversville, N.Y.	2.00
J. R. Smith, Mystic, Iowa, Sub- scription List	22.75	H. R. Walder, Henryetta, Okla. Subscription List	3.00	Toivo Wilen, Finnish Branch, Orange, N. J.	5.00
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G. E. Bernhart, York, Pa., Local York	6.00	I. A. of M., No. 55, Columbus, Ohio	5.00	Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, 534, Burlington, Iowa	5.00
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J. B. McDonough, Richmond, Va.	13.00				
J. Wulf, Local Manchester, N. H.	5.00				
Brotherhood of Railway Car- men of America, No. 504, Kansas City, Mo.	5.00				

\$2,911.24

Collections by Wm. A. Toole.	
A. Levene, Baltimore, Md.	10.00
Am. F. G. W. U. of A. No. 90, Baltimore, Md.	7.02
Central Branch, Socialist Party, Baltimore, Md.	3.05
Independent Butchers' Union, Baltimore, Md.	5.00
Pattern Makers' Union, Balti- more, Md.	4.70
L. B. Toole, Street Meeting, Baltimore, Md.	10.10
L. B. Toole, Street Meeting, Baltimore, Md.	11.44
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Chas. T. Saunders, Baltimore, Md.	5.00
Italian Local A. C. W., Balti- more, Md.	100.00
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M. Urner, Baltimore, Md.	3.65
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Local Columbus, Socialist Party, Ohio	6.00
Journeymen Tailors, Columbus, Ohio	5.55
Painters & Decorators, Colum- bus, Ohio	6.60
C. Auckerman, Pres. Moulders' Union, Columbus, Ohio.	2.00
Carpenters' Local 200, Ohio.	9.00
	\$39.15

Collections by Winnie E. Branstetter.	
Plumbers' Union, Racine, Wis.	5.00
Individual collections, Racine, Wis.	5.00
Local 91, Carpenters' Union, Racine, Wis.	5.00
Trades & Labor Council, Racine, Wis.	10.00
Frank Fredericks, Racine, Wis.	1.00
Auto Workers, Racine, Wis.	5.00
Brotherhood of Railway Car- men, Local No. 137, Des Moines	5.50
Building Labors, Des Moines, Ia.	25.00
Local No. 21, Plasterers, Des Moines, Iowa	15.00
Local No. 55, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Des Moines, Iowa.	2.95
Local 715, Millmen Union, Des Moines, Iowa	6.13
Mr. Bilz, Des Moines, Iowa.	2.50
Collection, Dubuque, Iowa.	15.90
Local Dubuque, Socialist Party, Dubuque, Iowa	10.00
Collection, Pottstown, Pa.	8.65
	\$122.63

Collections by Irwin St. John Tucker.	
Local Pittsburgh Socialist Party	\$25.00
Local Lancaster Socialist Party	15.00
	\$40.00

Collections by Dan A. White.	
International Brewery Workers of America, Muncie.	\$ 5.00
Collection at meeting, Muncie, Ind.	1.30
Collection at Pattern Makers'	

Union, Muncie, Ind.	1.35
Moulders' Union, Muncie, Ind.	5.00
Pattern Makers' Union, Muncie, Ind.	1.40
Collection at Socialist Party Meeting, Muncie, Ind.	2.00
Collections at Meeting, Fort Wayne, Ind.	15.05
Friendship Lodge No. 70, Machi- nists' Union, Fort Wayne.	5.50
Railway Carmen No. 768, Fort Wayne, Ind.	11.65
Painters' Union No. 469, Fort Wayne, Ind.	7.14
Anderson Local, Socialist Party, Anderson, Ind.	15.65
Fort Wayne Fed. of Labor, Fort Wayne, Ind.	6.00
Kokomo Trades Council, Koko- mo, Ind.	7.70
Socialist Party Meeting, Elk- hart, Ind.	4.50
Brotherhood of Railway Car- men of America, Lodge 994, Elkhart, Ind.	5.00
Boiler Makers' Union, Lodge No. 192, Elkhart, Ind.	5.00
Carpenters' Local No. 25, To- ledo, Ohio	4.50
Machinists' R. R. Lodge No. 1210, Toledo, Ohio.	5.00
Iron Workers' Union No. 55, Toledo, Ohio	3.57
Bus Owners' Association, To- ledo, Ohio	5.00
Russian Trade Relations, To- ledo, Ohio ....	.75
Clock Makers' Union, Toledo, Ohio	7.00
Bookbinders' Union No. 76, To- ledo, Ohio	1.65
Toledo Local Socialist Party.	6.65
Pattern Makers' Association, Toledo, Ohio	3.50
Journeymen Tailors' Union, on strike, Cleveland, Ohio.	9.10
Iron Moulders' Union, Local 430, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
Cleveland Federation of Labor, Cleveland, Ohio	25.00
Carpenters' Union No. 182, Cleveland, Ohio	20.00
Jewish Branch Socialist Party, Cleveland, Ohio	26.15
Jewish Branch No. 1, Socialist Party, Cleveland, Ohio.	7.00
Iron Moulders' Union 218, Clevel- and, Ohio	10.00
Local Erie Socialist Party, Erie, Pa.	19.63
Carpenters' Union 105, Clevel- and, Ohio	35.30
Iron Moulders' Union No. 27, Cleveland, Ohio	5.00
Journeymen Steamfitters, Clevel- and, Ohio	10.00
Railway Carmen No. 1192, Cleveland, Ohio	5.40
S. Yellen, Cleveland, Ohio.	4.00
D. Gold, Cleveland, Ohio (collec- tion)	6.75
Amnesty Conference, Cleveland, Ohio	75.00
	\$400.19

Collections by Wm. H. Henry.	
Local Baltimore, Md.	\$ 5.00
Local Birch County, Reading, Pa.	36.88
Finnish Branch, Philadelphia, Pa.	7.55
Finnish Branch, Gardner, Mass.	25.00
H. W. Shay, Indianapolis, Ind.	1.00
J. F. Turpin, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.01
Moulders' Union No. 56, Indi- anapolis, Ind.	5.00

Boiler Makers' Union No. 10, Indianapolis, Ind.	3.20
Reno King, Union City, Ind.	13.00
Local Anderson, Socialist Party	3.00
Central Branch Socialist Party, Indianapolis, Ind.	7.00
John Trucky, Vincennes, Ind.	12.40
T. W. Whitten, Princeton, Ind.	2.55
E. H. Meyer, Evansville, Ind.	25.00
Local Union No. 1065, Miners, Evansville, Ind.	10.00
J. W. Block, Evansville, Ind. ....	.37
W. J. Nops, Evansville, Ind.	1.00
J. A. Meyer, Evansville, Ind. ....	.50
Theo. Kassel, Evansville, Ind.	3.00
Local No. 90, Carpenters' Union, Evansville, Ind.	21.76
Local 156, Painters' Union, Evansville, Ind.	14.55
F. Grote, Evansville, Ind.	3.00
M. Hollenberger, Evansville, Ind.	2.00
Comrade Puncheon, Evansville, Ind.	1.00
Local 464, Paper Hangers' Union, Evansville, Ind.	10.00
Local 21, Miners' Union, Prince- ton, Ind.	9.24
Otto Aldendorff, Indianapolis, Ind.	3.00
Frank McCulby, Indianapolis, Ind. ....	.50
J. F. Turpin, Indianapolis, Ind.	4.00
Local 17, Moulders' Union, In- dianapolis, Ind.	3.00
Workmen's Circle, Indianapolis, Ind.	5.00
I. F. Brown, Indianapolis, Ind.	2.00
Wm. H. Henry.	16.76
	\$259.27

Collections by Mary Winsor.	
Burnside & Sterling Local 1384, Shamokin, Pa.	\$10.00
Local Union No. 160, United Mine Workers of America, Shamokin, Pa.	10.00
Arthur S. Samuels, Bronx, N. Y.	5.00
Barbers' Union No. 627, Scrant- on, Pa.	2.50
T. F. Hart, Scranton, Pa.	1.00
H. Penhale, Scranton, Pa.	1.00
M. E. Kan, Scranton, Pa.	1.00
John J. Johnson, Dalton, Pa.	1.00
Collection of Central Labor Union, Scranton, Pa.	13.03
Collection of Central Labor Union, Wilkesbarre, Pa.	8.34
Division No. 168 of the Car- men's Union, Scranton, Pa.	8.10
International Ass'n of Machi- nists, Lodge 380, Scranton, Pa.	10.00
Federal Labor Union No. 14914, Wilkesbarre, Pa.	12.81
Workmen's Progressive Educa- tional Local, Scranton, Pa.	12.50
Amalgamated Clothing Workers No. 137, Scranton, Pa.	10.00
Workman's Circle Branch 112, Scranton, Pa.	12.00
Brotherhood of Railway Car- men of America, Lodge No. 714, Scranton, Pa.	25.00
	.25
	\$145.03

Collections by Ida Crouch-Hazlett.	
Hebrew Cultural Society, Bridgeport, Conn.	\$ 4.20
Corset Cutters' Union, Bridge- port, Conn.	5.00

Building Trades Council, Bridgeport, Conn.	10.00
Machinists' Union, Bridgeport, Conn.	2.25
Local 1013, Carpenters' Hall, Bridgeport, Conn.	3.00
Bakers' Union, Local 38, Bridgeport, Conn.	10.00
Amnesty Meeting, Trades Council Hall, New Haven, Conn.	11.60
New Haven Forum, New Haven, Conn.	9.60
Jewish Carpenters' Union, New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Ladies' Progressive Society New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Plumbers' and Steam Fitters' Union, New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Carpenters' Union, New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Brewery Workers, New Haven, Conn.	10.00
Painters' Union, New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Electrical Workers, New Haven, Conn.	1.00
Iron Moulders, New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Workmen's Circle 589, New Haven, Conn.	3.00
Workmen's Circle 232, New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Outside Electrical Workers, New Haven, Conn.	3.00
American Br. Socialist Party, New Haven, Conn.	5.00
Amnesty Meeting, Machinists' Hall, Hartford, Conn.	15.50
Workmen's Circle 67, Hartford, Conn.	10.00
Workmen's Circle 343, Hartford, Conn.	5.00
Jewish National Workmen, Hartford, Conn.	5.00
Workmen's Circle 15, Hartford, Conn.	11.00
Members of Carpenters' Union 43, Hartford, Conn.	9.68
Tailors' Union, Hartford, Conn. Co-operative Society, Hartford, Conn.	2.78
International Association of Machinists, No. 354, Hartford, Conn.	9.30
Iron Moulders, Hartford, Conn.	5.00
Bakers' Union (German Br.), Hartford, Conn.	7.75
Free Expression Club, Hartford, Conn.	10.00
Workmen's Circle No. 154, Hartford, Conn.	5.30
Jewish Bakers' Union, Bridgeport, Conn.	6.15
Painters' Union, Bridgeport, Conn.	5.00
Amalgamated Metal Workers, Lodge 56, Bridgeport, Conn.	10.00
Finnish Socialist Branch, Bridgeport, Conn.	1.00
Electrical Workers, Bridgeport, Conn.	2.37
Iron Moulders' Union, Bridgeport, Conn.	5.00
Metal Trades Council, Bridgeport, Conn.	1.70
Steam Operator Engineers, Bridgeport, Conn.	3.00
Brewery Workers, Bridgeport, Conn.	2.00
Philosophical Society, Bridgeport, Conn.	5.00
Corset Workers, Bridgeport, Conn.	6.50
Collections, Trenton, N. J.	3.00
	<u>\$280.48</u>

Collections by Mary McVicker.

Local Terre Haute.....	\$ 8.50
Local Terre Haute.....	2.43
John Chuab, Terre Haute.....	5.00
Ed Lynch, Terre Haute.....	1.00
S. Firemen, Terre Haute.....	10.00
Brotherhood Railway Firemen, Vigo Branch Socialist Party, Terre Haute.....	8.50
Collections, Spiritual Church, Terre Haute.....	22.00
Local 85, Brewery and Soft Drink Workers, Terre Haute.....	4.00
Local 23, United Mine Workers, Terre Haute.....	23.61
Local 355, Miners' Union, Terre Haute.....	15.50
Local 25, Miners' Union, West Terre Haute.....	15.00
Local 292, International Association of Machinists, Terre Haute.....	5.00
Local 953, Terre Haute.....	50.00
Local 133, Carpenters, Terre Haute.....	6.15
Johnston Lodge 868, Terre Haute.....	2.50
Local 2152, Miners' Union, Terre Haute.....	20.00
Local 4064, Miners' Union, Black Hawk.....	25.00
Local 3097, Miners' Union, Terre Haute.....	15.00
Terre Haute Br. Socialist Party Local Jasonville, Socialist Party.....	3.00
Jasonville Branch, Socialist Party.....	18.25
Vicksburg Branch, Socialist Party.....	6.30
Collections, Meeting, Lyons, Ind.	14.00
Branch 33, Glass Bottle Blowers, Terre Haute.....	15.60
Branch 884, American Miners, Bicknell.....	6.47
Collections, Bicknell Street Meeting, Bicknell.....	80.00
Collections, Mass Meeting, Linton, Ind.	25.35
Miners' Local 906, Terre Haute.....	25.15
Local 3572, Miners' Union, Terre Haute.....	4.45
Local 2240, Miners' Union, Terre Haute.....	70.00
Local 134, Miners' Union, Clinton.....	98.00
International Association of Machinists, Terre Haute.....	75.00
Local 1646, Miners' Union, Clinton.....	2.21
Local 1539, Miners' Union, Universal.....	50.00
Collections, Mass Meeting, Brazil.....	50.00
Collections, Mass Meeting, Cloverdale.....	7.00
Local Union 142, Pittsburgh, Pa.	5.70
Painters' District Council, Pittsburgh, Pa.	25.00
Painters' District Council, Pittsburgh, Pa.	17.10
Miners' mass meeting, California, Pa.	49.47
Turtle Creek Branch, Pennsylvania Socialist Party.....	10.00
Local Pitcairn, Pennsylvania Socialist Party.....	10.00
Local Union 2428, Lucerne-mines, Pa.	25.00
Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, New Castle, Ind.	7.00
Craft Union, Mass Meeting, New Caste, Pa.	7.13

Local 2104, Bridgeville, Pa.	20.00
Collections, Harrisburg, Pa.	11.29
Collections, York, Pa.	17.72
	<u>\$1,007.43</u>

Collections by Esther Friedman.

Local Omaha, Neb.	\$21.00
International Union, Steam Engineers' Local 38, Omaha, Neb.	5.00
Local Lincoln, Neb.	9.51
Hod Carriers, Building & Common Laborers' Union No. 98, Billings, Mont.	25.00
Members of Cooks' & Waiters' Union, No. 861, Billings, Mont.	20.63
Trades & Labor Assembly, Billings, Mont.	6.67
Creamery Workers & D. P., Sacramento, Calif.	5.00
T. F. Nolan, Butte, Mont.	5.00
Rev. I. G. Emerick, Billings, Mont. ....	.25
Cullinery & Beverage Dispensers, Billings, Mont.	10.00
Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council, Butte, Mont.	10.00
Local Livingston, Mont.	23.85
Butte Engineers' Union, Butte, Mont.	17.67
Unemployed Meeting, Butte, Mont.	5.60
Butte Teamsters' Union, Local No. 2, Butte, Mont.	10.00
Burton K. Wheeler, Butte, Mont.	10.00
Blacksmiths & Helpers, Local No. 456, Butte, Mont.	5.53
Blacksmiths & Helpers, Local 456, Butte, Mont.	5.00
Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, No. 65, Butte, Mont.	25.00
Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, No. 65, Butte, Mont.	11.87
L. W. Duggan, Butte, Mont.	5.00
James E. Murry, Butte, Mont.	5.00
Albert Keene, Butte, Mont.	5.00
Members of Mill & Smelter Union No. 16, Great Falls, Mont.	3.23
Mill & Smelters' Union No. 16, Great Falls, Mont.	35.00
International Association of Machinists, Great Falls, Mont.	5.00
Local Great Falls, Mont.	12.59
Brotherhood of Carmen of B. of L. F. & E., Lodge 456, Great Falls, Mont.	5.25
L. S. of B. of L. F. & E., Great Falls, Mont.	4.90
Electrical I. B. E. W., Great Falls, Mont.	10.00
Members of Electricians' Local 122, Great Falls, Mont.	5.30
S. M. Russell, Helena, Mont.	5.00
John Oberly, Missoula, Mont.	3.50
Local Missoula, Missoula, Mont.	17.40
I. B. E. W. No. 408, Missoula, Mont.	20.00
Members of the I. B. E. W. 408, Missoula, Mont.	8.00
Helena Trades & Labor Assembly, Helena, Mont.	22.50
Members of L. S. of B. L. F., Missoula, Mont.	3.50
L. S. of B. of L. F. & E., Missoula, Mont.	5.00
Local Pocatello, Idaho.....	18.47
Local Ogden, Ogden, Utah.....	23.16
Local Salt Lake City, Utah.....	21.19
B. of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America, Salt Lake City, Utah.....	10.00

