

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

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MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SOCIALIST PARTY

Sessions Held February 4 and February 6, 1911

Saturday, February 4th.

The meeting of the National Executive Committee was called to order at 11 a. m. by National Secretary J. Mahlon Barnes. Comrades Carey, Goebel, Hillquit, Lewis and Spargo present. Comrade Hillquit was elected chairman, Comrade Hudson elected secretary.

A letter was read from Comrade Robert Hunter explaining that illness was the cause of his absence from the meeting and enclosing a communication for the investigation committee.

Comrade Carl Stover, of Chicago, was granted the floor upon the question of assistance in furtherance of contest in his legislative district.

Motion made and carried to lay the matter over until new business was taken up.

Matters concerning the work of the investigation committee, charges, etc., were then considered.

The following resolution was adopted regarding the death of Comrade Robert Bandlow:

"The National Executive Committee, on behalf of the membership of the Socialist Party, places upon record its profound sense of the loss sustained by the American Socialist movement through the death of our veteran and beloved comrade, Robert Bandlow, of Cleveland, Ohio.

"During more than thirty-five years Comrade Bandlow devoted himself with rare courage, wisdom and enthusiasm to the task of promoting the interests of the organized labor movement. As an organizer and spokesman for his class, always in the forefront of the struggle, he won the confidence and respect of his fellows.

"For fifteen years Comrade Bandlow was a member of the Socialist Party. He brought to the service of the movement all the splendid gifts which had made his work in the trades unions so remarkably effective. As a writer, lecturer and organizer he proved himself to be a brilliant and competent advocate of our principles. As a counselor, teacher and guide his influence for good upon hundreds of young comrades was immeasurable, and of incalculable service to the movement.

"While we extend our sincere sympathy, and that of all our comrades, to his bereaved wife and family, we cannot, even in the hour of our grief, refrain from exultation on account of his noble and fruitful life. A single-minded son of the working class, Robert Bandlow was a fine example of the high idealism, enlightenment and dignity developed by the Socialist movement. In his person he represented those qualities upon which we confidently rely for the ultimate emancipation of our class."

The following cablegram was sent to the secretary of the Socialist Party in Germany:

"The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America learns with keen regret of the death of Comrade Paul Singer. We sympathize with you in the great loss which the German movement has thus sustained, and on behalf of the entire American movement, express to you our fellowship in your sorrow."

The committee adjourned at 12:30 to meet at 2 p. m. in session with the investigation committee.

Monday, February 6th.

Meeting called to order by National Secretary Barnes at 12:45, immediately following the adjournment of the investigation committee. Comrades Carey, Berger, Goebel, Hillquit, Lewis and Spargo present. Comrade Hillquit elected chairman.

At about the time the National Executive Committee and the sub-committee of the National Committee assembled on Saturday afternoon, word was received of the death of Comrade Fred W. Long of Philadelphia. Comrade Maurer, chairman of the sub-committee, read the announcement with all members standing, and gave a brief review of the life of Comrade Long. Both committees immediately sent telegrams of regret and condolence to the family.

MOTION BY NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

"That the National Secretary be instructed to telegraph Comrade Harry Parker, of Philadelphia, asking him to attend the funeral of Comrade Fred Long as the representative of the National Executive Committee, and on its behalf and at its expense to lay an appropriate wreath upon the grave."

RESOLUTION BY NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

"We, the members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, have just heard with keen sorrow the sad tidings of the death of our valiant Comrade, Fred Long. Accept, please, this expression of our sincere sympathy in this hour of your bereavement and grief. We trust that you will find some solace and consolation in the memory of the noble service he rendered during many years of the great cause. His life constitutes a brilliant chapter in the history of the American Socialist Movement and will be, for the generations to come, the source of vital inspiration to those who engage in the fight for the freedom of the working class, of which Fred Long was a brilliant and fearless champion."

It was decided to take up only the most pressing matters, owing to the fact that several of the members were compelled to leave during the afternoon.

Motion.—That a written synopsis of the St. Louis and Missouri situation as presented by the representative of the state committee be made a part of the minutes. Adopted.

Comrade G. W. Boswell, who presented credentials from the state committee of Missouri, authorizing him to act as their spokesman in the St. Louis' controversy, also from Local St. Louis, authorizing him to represent the local, was granted the floor and spoke at some length and filed the following:

"Upon the demand of 580 signatures of supposed members of the Socialist Party of Missouri, signed on blanks which were headed as follows:

"To the National Executive Committee, Socialist Party.

"Comrades:—
"We, the undersigned members of the Socialist Party of Missouri, hereby ask you to immediately investigate the charges made against Local St. Louis and the recent revocation of the charter of that local. We believe that the best interests and the welfare of the Party in this state demand that you make a prompt investigation of this controversy.

"To be signed by one-third of the membership of the state."

Your committee has felt called upon to set forth in the Socialist Party Bulletin, issue December, 1910, a certain resolution.

Your committee has done this without knowing at all whether these signatures are those of members of the Socialist Party of Missouri or anywhere else. State Secretary Ristine has on file at his office the names and addresses of all members of the Missouri party for several years back and states that he has never been called upon to verify these names as members of the party and doesn't believe that they should have been accepted at their face value without some proof having first been adduced as to the membership. This action of your committee is a grievous injustice against the present state organization of the Missouri party.

Your sub-committee resolution states that 'the undisputed facts' in the case appear to be as follows:

"The state membership has four times overwhelmingly disputed the 'seeming facts' set forth herein, but your committee has evidently not taken this into consideration. Why not? The entire organization wants to know, why not. The petition merely asks for an investigation and yet you refer us to Art. XII, Sec. 9, which is as follows, and imply that this would empower you to disorganize the state movement of Missouri, if we did not see fit to allow you to interfere in the Missouri movement on the claim of 580 unproved names of supposed party members.

"The state officials of the Missouri party as well as the 430 members of the new local St. Louis surely ought to command some consideration at your hands from the mere fact that they are party members in good standing and undisputed members at that.

"We, almost the entire state membership, wish to declare that you have no right to take the action you did and published in the Bulletin as 'seeming facts' without at all consulting the present organization of Missouri.

"The Missouri membership by referendum vote (Referendum "A") except St. Louis, the charged parties and those charging, saw fit to order its State Quorum to select a committee to investigate certain charges against the then local at St. Louis and also to exclude the vote of the

accused and accusers. By what right does your committee set forth that we cannot do this?

"The committee of five was duly selected and ordered sent to St. Louis. The State Committee of Missouri after this elected a committee of three to go to St. Louis to investigate the movement there. This action of the State Committee was promptly revoked by the membership of the state, as per Referendum "D" by vote of 465 to 83. Question 2, Referendum "D," was as follows: "That Local St. Louis shall have no vote on this or any other referendum of the membership of the state in regard to party affairs at St. Louis." This motion carried by a vote of 457 for to 385 against and included the vote of the accused local but not the accusers. This vote on Question 2 was taken merely to demonstrate the will of the entire membership and not because of any rights of the accused to this consideration, for the membership of the state of Missouri hold that an accused local has no right to vote upon any matters pertaining to their trial. This the state membership has declared in the vote of three specific referendums, "A," "D" and "E," by the following votes: 298 to 19; 457 to 385; and 408 to 86.

"We specifically deny that there are any committees with conflicting claims in the state party of Missouri. We emphatically assert that the membership of Missouri have every right to say who should be investigated within that state, how they should be investigated and what disposition should be made of the results of that investigation. We assert our autonomy in matters of discipline in our state movement and deny the right of your committee to interfere in such matters.

"The collective membership of Missouri has the sole jurisdiction over the conflicting claims of committees elected to serve them (if any such committees ever existed or shall exist) and wish to warn the N. E. C. of the danger of their position when they seek to utilize Art. XII, Sec. 9, for the purpose of interfering in such matters.

"We do not deny the right of the N. E. C., or any other servant body of our Party to offer their good offices to aid in any case of dispute, large or small, but we reserve the right to use our own judgment as to the necessity for their offices.

"The Missouri membership in Referendum "F" by vote of 595 to 194 decided that the occasion had not arisen whereby the services of the N. E. C. would be required in the state of Missouri, but chiefly, in my opinion, because of the obnoxious wording of the referendum set forth. This referendum says, "It is hereby decided that all motions, actions and referendums in connection with the charges made against Local St. Louis shall be and are declared null and void." This part of the referendum the membership, no doubt, considered an insult to their intelligence after they had spent much money and time considering said motions, action and referendums and having decided upon them unanimously. The Missouri membership have no desire whatever to deny the widest latitude possible to the accused and convicted parties and will never deny their appeal to any superior body in the party, provided, it is an appeal only, but they refuse to make a mockery of the various deliberations of their party servants and of their own deliberate actions as well.

"We wish to call the attention of the N. E. C. to the petitions which contain the names of the supposed 580 members of the Missouri party and note that those who signed it were merely requested to ask the N. E. C. to investigate the charges against former Local St. Louis and not to disorganize the state party in Missouri.

"Your committee states that former Local St. Louis asks you to declare the state of Missouri unorganized and 'the request is supported by 580 signatures.' These signatures do not at all support former Local St. Louis in this contention, inasmuch as it only asks you to investigate the charges against them. This statement made by you calls for rectification as well as the statement that 'the undisputed facts in the case appear to be as follows:

"We respectfully ask your committee to advise all of these signers to the petitions above mentioned, except the eleven who were duly suspended for one year from membership in the party, and those already in the party to join the Socialist Party of Missouri or its several recognized

branches wherever they may be, and we also ask that your committee state its good intentions to aid in the building up of the Missouri party to the end that harmony may prevail and our movement rendered that amount of justice that is due it from the national party."

The chair ruled that in the matter of the statement that the petition was for a referendum the objection was well taken and that the committee in issuing its previous statement had misunderstood the purpose of the call. The members of the National Executive Committee acquiesced in the ruling.

Comrade Boswell stated that the State Committee of Missouri is about to take a vote of the party members upon a motion to invoke the good offices of the National Executive Committee in adjusting the difficulty in the state of Missouri.

MOTION.—That no action be taken by this committee in the Missouri controversy until such time as such motion pending before the members in the state of Missouri has been disposed of. Adopted.

MOTION.—That in the event that the referendum now pending before the members of the party in Missouri should not be acted upon affirmatively, one representative of each side to the controversy be requested to be at the next meeting of the National Executive Committee at the expense of the party. Adopted.

MOTION.—In the event that the motion now pending before the members of the state of Missouri is adopted, this committee exercise its good offices in the following manner: That each side to the controversy be requested to designate a party member outside of the state of Missouri to represent it on a board of arbitration and adjustment; that the two comrades so selected shall jointly choose three additional members of such board, none of whom shall be a member of the state of Missouri. Should the two representatives of the sides to the controversy fail to agree upon the three additional members, the National Executive Committee shall appoint such additional members to complete the number of five. Adopted.

Comrade Boswell requested that the expenses of the five members so selected and of getting all records for the investigation be paid by the National Office.

MOTION.—That the cost be divided in three equal parts, one-third to be paid by one side to the controversy, one-third to be paid by the other side to the controversy, and one-third to be paid by the National Office. Adopted.

On the question of literature Comrade Spargo reported for the Editing Committee that nine manuscripts for leaflets had been received and edited and that the following were found acceptable:

"The Labor Movement Here and Abroad," by Morris Hillquit.

"The Rising Tide of Socialism," by Carl D. Thompson.

"Socialism and Private Property," by John M. Work.

"Old Age Pensions," by W. J. Ghent.

"A Legislative Program," by Winfield R. Gaylord.

"The Children of the Poor," by E. V. Debs.

MOTION.—That the report of the editing committee on leaflets be adopted and those leaflets reported favorably on be printed. Adopted.

Suggestion from Comrade Hunter for two new leaflets.

MOTION.—That for the present we do not publish additional leaflets. Adopted.

Letter from Comrades Wentworth and Goebel stating that they could not accept the assignment to write leaflets upon the respective subjects of "Socialism and the Individual," and "Socialism and Religion."

Comrade Goebel suggested that Comrade Strobell be substituted to supply the latter.

MOTION.—That the editing committee be authorized to ask Comrade Strobell to submit manuscript on that subject. Adopted.

Comrade Millard called the attention of the committee to the need of literature for young people.

MOTION.—That Comrade Millard be requested to prepare a leaflet addressed to young people. Adopted.

The request of Comrade Stover for assistance was taken up for consideration.

MOTION.—That \$50.00 be appropriated. Adopted.

Communication from Comrade Am-eringer upon conditions in Oklahoma was read.

MOTION.—That we grant the state organization of Oklahoma a special organizer for three months for the purposes stated, after the termination of the present assignment of organizers. Adopted.

Request from State Secretary Sanford of Vermont for assistance in the matter of maintaining an organizer. Comrade Spargo reported as to the needs.

MOTION.—That \$50 be granted to the state organization of Vermont. Adopted.

From State Secretary Opsahl of South Dakota with statement as to conditions in that state and requesting financial assistance in the matter of maintaining local state organizers. Also, from Wayne Pratt, of Lead, national organizer, upon the same subject.

MOTION.—That \$50 be paid to Wayne Pratt for organizing work in South Dakota. Adopted.

From State Secretary Jacobsen of Iowa, stating that an election was to be held in the 9th Iowa Congressional district to fill a vacancy, and requesting on behalf of the state committee a donation to assist them in carrying on agitation and organizing work in that district.

MOTION.—That we will stand the wages and hotel expenses at the usual rate of an organizer for twenty days. Adopted.

From Jos. D. Cannon of Bisbee, Arizona, and others, asking an official declaration as to the meaning and intent of the action of the committee in December session for the reason that State Secretary Martin had informed him that by the action of the National Executive Committee Local Bisbee and several others were expelled from the party.

MOTION.—That the National Executive Committee sustains the interpretation of the State Secretary and State Committee of Arizona as being correct. Adopted.

Communications from State Secretary Duncan of Montana in reference to the legality of the membership card held by Comrade Ida Crouch-Hazlett, and recognition of same by other state organizations.

MOTION.—That the Secretary be instructed to inform Comrade Duncan that the proper course was to take up the case with the states in question. Adopted.

From Comrade G. N. Cohen of Philadelphia with suggestions in reference to pamphlets to be issued by the National Office.

Applications from several comrades to be listed as national organizers.

MOTION.—That at present we add no more names to the list of National Organizers. Adopted.

Comrade Dan Hogan of Huntington, Arkansas, was granted the floor and reported as to conditions in that state, particularly as to the good field for propaganda work in Hot Springs, and requesting financial assistance to further such work.

MOTION.—That \$50 be contributed to the State Committee of Arkansas for special organizing work in Hot Springs. Adopted.

From State Secretary Lermoud of Maine in reference to Comrade John W. Brown.

MOTION.—That the request of the State Secretary of Maine for the publication of a statement regarding Comrade Brown be denied upon the ground that the National Executive Committee declines to use the official Bulletin of the Party for publishing charges against a comrade in his own state before such charges have been tried in the presence of the comrade under charges. Adopted.

The above action was based upon the protest of Comrade Carey, who stated that Comrade Brown was not given a copy of the charges or a hearing, and that the action was taken in the abstract.

MOTION.—That we announce as a settled policy that no charges of misconduct against any party member, other than charges made to his committee against any of its members or officials under its control, will be published in either the weekly or monthly Bulletin, until such charges have been tried. Adopted.

Communication from Jose Soto Garcia of San Juan, Porto Rico, with remittance for dues and request for charter. Comrade Barnes reported that a protest to the granting of such charter had been received from Severo Cirino Osorio, secretary of the local at San Juan which was granted a charter in April of last year, but which had failed to maintain itself in good standing and except for the is-

sue, now raised should in the regular course have had its charter cancelled; that representations made by Garcia are to the effect that the old local followed the political policy of the American Federation of Labor of rewarding friends and punishing enemies as defined by Santiago Iglesias. The new local makes the issue that the Socialists should constitute a distinct political party.

MOTION.—That Comrade Garcia as secretary of Local San Juan be granted a charter. Adopted.

The entire subject of foreign speaking organizations was laid over until a future meeting.

The pamphlet by Comrade John Collins, of which copies were submitted to the committee at last meeting, was discussed.

MOTION.—That Comrade Collins' book be listed with the literature of the National Office. Adopted.

Leaflet submitted by R. L. Green, South Bend, Ind., entitled "The Cause of High Living"; also "Why Monopoly is Superseding Competition."

Communication from Comrade Tuck, editor of the World, Oakland, Cal., submitting draft of appeal for funds by direction of the City Central Committee with request that the same be published.

MOTION.—That the subject be published in the party Bulletin as a news item and that contributions should be sent as directed to William Serb, 328 12th St., Oakland, California. Adopted.

Communication from Harry L.

Laidler, organizer of the Inter-collegiate Society offering the services of the New York chapter of that society to the National Executive Committee in the preparation of any pamphlets requiring investigation work.

MOTION.—That the offer be accepted with thanks and that whenever opportunity affords the same shall be gladly made use of. Adopted.

Several communications and telegrams received protesting against the action of Taft in sending troops to the border of Mexico.

Invitations were received from Locals South Bend, Ind., Indianapolis, Ind., and Boston, Mass., to hold the next meeting of the committee in their respective towns.

MOTION.—That the invitation of

the Boston Comrades be accepted for the next meeting of the committee, such meeting to be held April 29th. Adopted.

The sub-committee appointed at the last session to report upon definite means for promoting and strengthening young people's organizations reported that they were not prepared to hand in a report at this time.

Communication from R. A. Henning of Brainerd, Minn., requesting the services of a good speaker for several days just preceding their coming election.

MOTION.—That the request be complied with if possible. Adopted.

Comrades J. C. Kennedy and B. Berlyn were granted the floor and

made report as to the conditions of the Daily Socialist, asking for an appropriation of \$2,000.

After general discussion the following action was taken:

MOTION.—That the National Executive Committee subscribe \$500 to the fund of the Daily Socialist as soon as \$15,000 has been paid in on the \$25,000 fund.

Amendment to read \$1,000 instead of \$500.

Amendment was lost. Original motion adopted by a vote of three to one.

At 4:15 the meeting adjourned.

(Attest) MABEL H. HUDSON, Secretary.

Report of the Investigating Committee—Sub-Committee of the National Committee

National Headquarters Socialist Party,
Chicago, Ill., Feb. 28, 1911.

To the National Committee of the Socialist Party.

DEAR COMRADES:

The Investigating Committee chosen by the National Committee of the Socialist Party, composed of Oscar Ameringer of Oklahoma, Walter J. Millard of Ohio, Dan Hogan of Arkansas, James H. Maurer of Pennsylvania and Adolph Germer of Illinois, which was elected by a vote of the National Committee, the vote closing on January 23, 1911, submits the following report:

The committee was elected for the following purposes:

"To investigate—

"1. The charges preferred by Comrades Morgan and Brower against the National Secretary.

"2. The conduct of the National Executive Committee in connection with the said charges.

"3. The conduct of Comrades Morgan, Brower and E. E. Carr, editor of the 'Christian Socialist,' in connection with the said charges and the truth of the charges in the 'Provoker' against the members of the National Executive Committee and other party officials."

Comrade Morgan held that so far as Charges No. 1 were concerned he had not filed charges personally, but had acted for Comrades Mother Jones and Miss Flaherty.

The charges of Mother Jones dealt with dishonesty, those of Comrades Flaherty and Brower with drunkenness, immorality, inefficiency and incompetency on the part of the National Secretary.

The committee met in Chicago at 2 p. m. February 4, 1911, and elected James H. Maurer chairman and Walter J. Millard secretary. Two sessions were held on February 4, three sessions on February 5 and one on February 6. The committee then took a recess until February 25, when another session was held.

The following is a synopsis of the facts disclosed by the investigation:

J. MAHLON BARNES,

UPON CHARGES PRESENTED BY COMRADES MOTHER JONES,
BROWER AND FLAHERTY THROUGH THOMAS J. MORGAN.

DISHONESTY.

The committee found that some time in 1905 Mother Jones loaned National Secretary Barnes \$250. Barnes claimed that the loan was repaid during that and the following year. This was denied by Mother Jones, and in 1909 she placed the claim in the hands of Thomas J. Morgan for collection, who threatened to bring suit against Barnes to enforce payment. Barnes claimed that at the time suit was threatened he was unable to discover among his papers any evidence of his payment to Mother Jones, and not wishing to figure in a lawsuit, agreed to pay the debt again, which he did, paying fifty dollars at a time until the whole sum was paid. Testifying before this committee, Mother Jones disclaimed any knowledge of the claim made by Barnes that he had previously paid the loan, and denied that she had ever received any money from Barnes other than \$50 paid her through Miss Flaherty and \$200 through Thomas J. Morgan.

During the investigation, however, Barnes testified that he had paid Mother Jones \$500 for the \$250 loaned; that besides the \$50 paid Miss Flaherty and \$200 paid Morgan he had previously paid her \$100 in cash in the National Office in the presence of Comrade Charles Drees; that he sent her \$50 by registered letter while she was in New York, and that at other times he paid her sums amounting to \$100. Of the payment of the last mentioned sums amounting to \$100, Comrade Barnes was unable to offer any proof beyond his own statement, but in support of his claim of having paid Mother Jones \$100 in the National Office, he introduced Comrade Charles Drees, who testified that he saw the money, ten ten-dollar bills, paid to Mother Jones by Comrade Barnes. In support of his statement that he had sent Mother Jones \$50 while she was in New York, he introduced a registry receipt signed by U. Solomon, State Secretary of New York, for Mother Jones. The letter, as he alleges, was mailed in care of Comrade Solomon.

An affidavit of Comrade Solomon does not contradict Barnes for the reason that Barnes did not allege that the money was sent to Solomon for Mother Jones, but to Mother Jones in care of Solomon. The latter simply signed the receipt for the registered letter "Mother Jones, U. Solomon." Comrade Solomon's signature to the affidavit and accompanying letter is identical with that appearing on the registry receipt.

Mother Jones denied that she ever received the letter containing the money or any other registered letter through Solomon, and further denied that she had ever had any other financial transactions with Barnes, or that she had ever had any letters from him relating to the loan prior to the time she placed the claim in the hands of Morgan. Upon cross-examination she admitted, however, receiving a letter from Barnes, while she was in Arkansas in 1906, asking her if she needed the fifty dollars received through Miss Flaherty, and inquiring of her where he should send the money.

Solomon further stated in his affidavit that he had received many registered letters from Barnes, but to his best

knowledge and recollection none containing money to be paid Mother Jones—an allegation not made by Barnes at any time.

The committee is therefore of the opinion that the charge of dishonesty against Comrade J. Mahlon Barnes is wholly without foundation in fact, and that at no time was there ever any justification for the lodgment of charges against him as a result of this transaction.

Accepting as true the whole of the allegations of his accusers, they admit the full payment of the loan, and allege that he was dishonest only in that he did not repay it as early as Mother Jones thought it should be paid. And this in the face of the fact that it was admitted that when the loan was made there was no agreement or stipulation as to when it should be paid, and no memorandum of the existence of the debt beyond a postscript in a letter held by Mother Jones. From all these circumstances the committee is of the opinion that when the alleged claim was placed in the hands of Thomas J. Morgan there was, in fact, nothing due Mother Jones; that the debt had been paid in full, and that the subsequent payment of \$200 to Morgan was made under duress.

DRUNKENNESS.

We find that, while Comrade Barnes is not a total abstainer, he is but a moderate drinker. No testimony was produced showing that he ever was intoxicated to an extent preventing him from discharging his official duties as National Secretary. It was further found that the accuser, Comrade Brower, was in company with Comrade Barnes on occasions when the latter was charged with having been intoxicated. Brower also acknowledged his participation in the alleged drinking bouts and never protested against Barnes' conduct until his connection with the National Office was severed.

The charge of gambling in saloons we find consisted in the fact that Barnes, Brower, Chase and other comrades had shaken dice for the drinks, cigars or lunch checks during lunch and after office hours in a nearby saloon. Brower, according to his testimony, took part in the alleged gambling and consumed his share of the winnings. Other than the testimony of Comrade Brower, no evidence was produced by the accuser (Comrade Brower) that Comrade Barnes had used vile and profane language on such occasions, or had ever used improper language in the National Office. On the contrary, the committee finds that the conduct of Comrade Barnes toward the employees of the National Office was always gentlemanly and dignified.

On the charge of drinking in the office we find that Comrade Flaherty removed twelve empty bottles from a shelf in the National Office. These bottles were the only ones seen in five years. No testimony was produced showing that the bottles, if containing whiskey, were emptied by Comrade Barnes.

IMMORALITY.

Concerning the charge of immoral conduct between Comrade Barnes and two lady employees, we find that not the slightest evidence was produced proving improper relationship between the accused parties.

Miss Flaherty testified that during the months of December, 1906, and January, 1907, Comrade Barnes had left the National Office in broad daylight in company with Mrs. Lena Morrow Lewis, a national organizer of the party. On such occasions they left the office together and returned together. No evidence whatever was offered by the accusers, showing that the two comrades had visited improper places or had been found in incriminating attitudes. Neither was their conduct towards each other, according to the evidence produced, of a character otherwise than that which should exist between comrades. The evidence shows that Miss Flaherty did not criticize the conduct of the comrades accused until nearly five years afterwards and not until she was discharged from the National Office.

On the charge that Mrs. Mable Hudson, stenographer at the National Office, had worked overtime at night and had received extra pay for work of which no evidence could be found the next day, the evidence shows that Mrs. Hudson did work overtime, not for National Secretary Barnes, but for the National Executive Committee, and she was paid for this overtime rendered to the National Executive Committee in session, and not for work done for Secretary Barnes.

It was further charged that on at least two of these occasions she did not return home, but remained at a downtown hotel for the rest of the night.

The evidence produced shows that this was true, but Mrs. Hudson was not taken to the hotel by Comrade Barnes, but by several members of the National Executive Committee, from whom she had taken dictations until long after midnight. Mrs. Hudson occupied a room of her own and paid the bill herself on one occasion, while on the other it was paid by Comrade Berger.

The Committee finds, according to the evidence given, the conduct of the comrades was perfectly proper and in no way violating either custom or conventionality, and in no way was Comrade Barnes connected with these stays at hotels.

INCOMPETENCY AND INEFFICIENCY.

Concerning the charge of Incompetency and Inefficiency on the part of Barnes, the committee thought that

in addition to the testimony of witnesses it would be a good thing to conduct an investigation on its own account. Comrades Millard and Ameringer were elected as a sub-committee and conducted such an investigation from February 22 to February 24th, inclusive.

So far as the testimony is concerned, that of all employees now in the office and previously employed, with the exception of Comrades Flaherty and Brower, that Barnes is exceptionally efficient both in his attention to the details of routine work and also in the handling of big problems of administration like National campaigns and conventions.

A mass of documents, some of which concerned State fights, others relating to National Organizers, were asked for by Comrades Morgan and Brower and were gone over by the sub-committee of this committee and the contents revealed not only great efficiency, but also great tact on the part of the National Secretary in keeping out of the maelstrom of state fights that have arisen from time to time.

We were greatly impressed by the fact that much of the inefficiency of the office is alleged to have been in existence during Brower's employment in the National office, but he did not protest or make any suggestions for remedying them until some time after his severance from the office.

The examination by the sub-committee was conducted by following definite transactions, and every detail of the bookkeeping, literature, routing, filing and stenographic departments were examined, the methods investigated and found very satisfactory.

The employees were interviewed, their qualifications considered and found competent and efficient.

The investigation of the bookkeeping department corroborated the report of the expert accountant published in the December, 1910, Bulletin that it is "neat, simple and comprehensive."

The other departments showed that the volume of detail which comes in from a thousand sources is handled at a very small cost, and in such a way that complaints are a rarity.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

UPON CHARGES OF MISCONDUCT IN DISMISSING CHARGES FILED
BY THOMAS J. MORGAN FOR MARY (MOTHER) JONES.

This relates to the charge of dishonesty against National Secretary Barnes filed by Thomas J. Morgan, at the instance, as he says, and as the "errand boy" of Mother Jones.

When this charge was filed with the National Executive Committee, the Committee dismissed it as "frivolous," and it is for this action on the part of the National Executive Committee that charges are here preferred and the National Executive Committee placed upon trial. The question being: Did the National Executive Committee violate the Constitution and laws of the party in dismissing as "frivolous" the charge of dishonesty which had been filed against Comrade Barnes?

The Committee trusts that this charge of dishonesty, which was dismissed as "frivolous" by the National Executive Committee will not be confused with other charges filed at the same meeting of the National Executive Committee by James Brower and Miss Flaherty. The latter were not dismissed at that time, but it is the first charge—the charge of dishonesty—with which the Committee is now dealing.

In this matter there is no conflict of evidence. The fact of the making of a loan of \$250 was laid before the National Executive Committee, with the further fact that the loan had been paid. No element of dishonesty could have been inferred unless in the absence of a stipulated time for payment it could be construed as a dishonest act to fail to pay on demand.

It was claimed that Barnes should pay interest amounting to something more than \$40, but Morgan admitted that there was no contract that interest should be paid, and that in the absence of a contract to that effect none could be collected. Moreover, Mother Jones disclaimed personal interest in the collection of interest, saying that she would not touch it, but wanted Barnes to pay it, so she could give it to some local organization of the party.

The National Executive Committee held that even if the original debt had not been paid that the Committee could not have entertained a charge of dishonesty against a comrade simply because he had not paid a debt; that the National Executive Committee could not constitute itself a debt collecting agency, or by its action set a precedent which would enable private creditors of private debtors to use the party machinery, and threats of party discipline and party publicity of such private affairs to enforce private demands of this character. The National Executive Committee in effect held that if the transaction in any way involved or affected the funds of the party, or was an official obligation, some cognizance should have been taken of the matter, but since it was a private and personal transaction between Comrades Barnes and Mother Jones, and it appearing further that in truth there was no debt, and no valid claim or legal obligation existing, they dismissed the charge of dishonesty as "frivolous."

It was upon this point that the Committee took a recess from February 6 until February 25, in order to secure the testimony of Mother Jones, and after carefully considering all the evidence relating thereto is of the unanimous opinion

ion that the action of the National Executive Committee in this regard should be fully approved. The charge was indeed a most frivolous one, and we are of the opinion that it was instigated maliciously by Thomas J. Morgan, whose action could have had no other motive except a desire to embarrass, harass and annoy the National Secretary, and an attempt to not only discredit him, but to disrupt the party by destroying the confidence of the membership in a National official.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE UPON THE CHARGE OF MISCONDUCT IN DISPOSITION OF CHARGES OF DRUNKENNESS, IMMORALITY AND INCOMPETENCY, FILED BY JAMES H. BROWER AND M. FLAHERTY AGAINST J. MAHLON BARNES.

On May 14, 1910, James H. Brower, a former employe of the National Office, filed with the National Executive Committee, allegations against National Secretary Barnes, which in substance charged:

DRUNKENNESS AND GAMBLING, IMMORALITY AND INEFFICIENCY.

The charges were couched in the most general terms. In other words, they were not specific, and so wanting in particulars as that it would be practically impossible to answer them except by a general denial, which would be as unsatisfactory as were the general charges.

The National Executive Committee considered the charges of a grave nature. They involved the honor and integrity of the National Secretary and other comrades associated with him in the work of the National Office, and it believed that the charges ought to receive its most careful and painstaking attention, and in order that the Committee might proceed intelligently, that it might have concrete statements rather than abstract declarations, and in order that the accused and those involved with him should in fairness be apprised of the exact nature of the charges which had been lodged, the National Executive Committee then in session passed the following resolution:

"That we request Comrade Brower to submit to the National Executive Committee within thirty days definite and specific charges of the facts concerning misconduct of the National Secretary, or of the National Office, and that such charges be considered at the next session of the National Executive Committee."

Prior to the presentation of the charges by Comrade Brower it had been agreed that the next meeting of the National Executive Committee should be held in the city of New York. But after the charges were presented and Comrade Brower had been notified to file his bill of particulars within thirty days, the National Secretary called the attention of the Committee to the fact that it might not be convenient to those preferring the charges to attend the session of the National Executive Committee in New York, and accordingly the meeting place of the Committee was changed to Chicago and the date fixed at June 25, 1910, at which time the Committee was to take up and dispose of the charges.

On June 15 Comrade Brower addressed a lengthy communication to the National Committee, in which he attempted to withdraw the charges from the National Executive Committee, and lay them before the National Committee, whereupon National Committeeman Hogan, of Arkansas, filed a motion to the effect that he should prosecute his charges before the National Executive Committee; that the National Committee would only take cognizance of the charges on an appeal or in a review of the findings of the National Executive Committee. This motion was carried by a vote of 38 to 6, 14 not voting. Upon a notification of this action of the National Committee, Brower declined to present his charges. A meeting of the National Executive Committee was held in Chicago on June 25 and 26; as scheduled, and both Comrades Brower and Flaherty were notified by letter and telegrams or in person to be present and present charges, but they declined to appear and stated that under no circumstances would they appear before that body, notwithstanding the willingness and readiness of the National Executive Committee to proceed with the hearing at the time previously fixed.

It is charged by the complainants that the National Executive Committee ran away and held its meeting in New York, but the evidence shows that previous to the meeting of the National Executive Committee in New York repeated opportunities had been afforded complainants to present charges, and that the session in New York was held there because a large majority of the members were in that city and vicinity at the time named for the meeting, and that a session there could be held with several hundred dollars less expense to the Party than elsewhere.

The New York meeting was held August 6, 7 and 8, at which time the charges were formally dismissed for want of prosecution, or proof to support them.

This Committee is of the opinion that in all and singular the conduct of the National Executive Committee in its treatment of the alleged charges was right and proper. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive how, in the pursuit of truth and justice it could have acted otherwise. It is amply shown—in fact, there is no evidence to the contrary—that it did everything in its power to bring to light all the facts in the controversy. At no time was there ever an attempt made to delay an investigation or prevent a full hearing, but from the moment the charges were filed until for want of evidence to support them they were dismissed, the Committee insisted upon a full, free and complete adjudication of the whole matter. On the contrary, from the incep-

tion of the case until its end Morgan and Brower appear to have pursued every dilatory practice known to the pettifogger to prevent the bringing of the whole unfortunate circumstance to an issue where it could be determined.

CARR AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

The investigation of Comrade Carr was with reference to a series of editorials in the Christian Socialist, all of which were reprinted in an issue of January 26th, and also with reference to an article on David Goldstein, of the same date.

Comrade Carr in opening his case protested against the jurisdiction of the Committee, and also against interference with the right of criticism by party members. However, the reading of the editorials and previous investigation of the acts of the National Executive Committee revealed the fact that while the editorials in the "Christian Socialist" were partly in the nature of criticisms, yet they rested on false statements of fact, and distorted facts. The real facts concerning the action of the National Executive Committee were most of them in cold type in the National Bulletin, and the evidence showed that no investigation was made by Carr to test their falsehood or veracity, yet such statements as this appear in the editorials:

1. "If the charges are 'frivolous,' why so carefully hide them?"

Our investigation disclosed no attempt to hide them by the National Executive Committee.

2. "We protest against the 'investigation' where the accusing witnesses are excluded."

The facts showed that no investigation of any witnesses were made, but that the National Executive Committee considered only the relevancy and competency of the charges, holding them to be frivolous.

3. "If the future conduct of the Barnes case is one-sided and unfair—if free lovers are to receive official protection, no power on earth can prevent our protest reaching from sea to sea."

This quotation is only intelligible upon the assumption that up to that time the Barnes case had been conducted in a one-sided and unfair manner, an assertion not supported by the evidence; and further that Comrade Carr had absolute personal proof of free love and immorality on the part of Barnes and others.

The investigation disclosed that not even a suggestive act has been committed or word uttered by either Barnes, Mrs. Hudson or Mrs. Lewis, let alone actual immorality. Other instances of a similar character were disclosed, all showing a combination of willful lying and deliberate distortion of facts in Carr's editorials.

The article in the Christian Socialist of January 26th, concerning David Goldstein, after quoting a dispatch in the Daily Socialist of January 20th, contains the following statement:

"David made a big mistake. He should have stayed in and exposed the free love advocates. The rank and file of the Party will repudiate such speakers very quickly when they once learn who they are."

The direct inference of this passage is that both Goldstein and Carr know of speakers in the party who advocate free love.

It was impossible to call David Goldstein as a witness, for the fact was brought out that he is at present delivering anti-Socialist lectures under the auspices of Catholic Societies in which he quotes the Carr editorial with effect.

The examination of Carr showed that he had no personal knowledge of speakers in the party who advocate and practice free love, and that he on his own admission did not make any investigation of Goldstein before making the above statement in the Christian Socialist, which was shown to be a great source of comfort to our enemies.

THE PROVOKER.

We find that the Provoker is a publication largely for the dissemination of malice, slander, falsification and misinformation. It appears from the documentary evidence placed before your committee that the editor, Thomas J. Morgan, is engaged, either in a willful distortion of facts, or is temperamentally unable to appreciate them.

As it is beyond the scope of your Committee to pass on the sanity of the party involved, we take the liberty to present herewith a number of facts showing the absolute lack of accuracy of his publication.

The report of Comrade Hillquit on "The Propaganda of Socialism," made to the Party Congress of 1910, contained the following statement as printed in the official document:

"Above all, we must discard show and demonstrations for system and thoroughness and the revolutionary phrase for revolutionary action."

This statement is garbled in the Provoker, and made to read in quotation marks:

"Above all, we must discard revolutionary phrases and revolutionary action."

It must be remembered that this is not a quotation from a verbal statement, but from a printed document, and therefore it cannot be regarded as a misunderstanding, but as the deliberate falsification of an official document for the purpose of placing its author in the light of a bourgeois reformer, thereby undermining his standing as a Socialist.

In the Provoker, Serial 2, page 10, we find among a collection of misquotations the following:

"In the struggle of labor we should take part not to explain the cause of the class struggle and thereby make converts to the Socialist philosophy, but to help them in the routine work incident to the strike, lockout or in their fight for some legislative labor measure. The success of this kind of party propaganda has been demonstrated by the New York Socialists."

Again this appears in quotation marks as being the exact language of the Hillquit report.

Your committee has read and reread the Hillquit report and failed to find a passage even distantly related to the one quoted by Thomas J. Morgan. We are, therefore, dealing here not with a misquotation or a distorted statement, but with a bare-faced fabrication.

Your committee found so many misstatements, prevarications, unfounded allegations and malicious accusations in the columns of the Provoker as to make their publication in this report almost an impossibility.

We therefore content ourselves by bringing only a few more samples before you.

"Last summer the National Executive Committee held a political conference in Chicago with Brisbane, Hearst's chief editor. No official record of that important meeting had been made."

Your Committee finds that no such a political conference ever took place. Mr. Brisbane, a personal friend of Comrades Berger and Hunter, had invited some of the members of the National Executive Committee and other party members to a dinner, and some of the members, but not all of them, attended. There was nothing to show that this was a political conference. Thomas J. Morgan was not present at the affair and consequently had no knowledge to justify the statement made in the Provoker.

Relating to certain utterances said to have been made by the late Comrade Slick, formerly connected with the National office, the Provoker says:

"He knows Barnes, and was silent until Barnes, the married man, Slick's boss, Barnes, the National Secretary of the Socialist Party, reduced Slick's sweetheart (who was also indebted to Barnes for a job in the National Office) to the position of an affinity."

Your Committee finds that no shred of evidence was produced warranting such a serious reflection on the character of the comrade hinted at.

No evidence was produced justifying the insinuation that the comrade was an affinity of Comrade Barnes.

We have taken especial pains to sift this matter thoroughly, on account of the seriousness of the charge, and find that there is absolutely no basis for such a dastardly attack on the good names and characters of the comrades mentioned.

In Volume 2, No. 36, the Provoker says:

"Hunter declared for Lee's proposition of absolute exclusion."

In the proceedings of the Congress, page 117, first column, Hunter says:

"I believe that the only thing we can do to get out of our trouble now, as the matter has been introduced, is to adopt Comrade Hillquit's substitute."

This again is a misstatement of a plain printed fact.

The attacks in the Provoker against members of the National Executive Committee and other prominent Socialists, alleging their connection with the Wilshire gold mining schemes, we find is not warranted by the facts presented to the Committee. We find that the National Executive Committee was in no way implicated in stock jobbing schemes or of giving aid or comfort to such ventures. On the contrary, the Committee has done all in its power to warn the membership of the danger involved in such enterprises. Especially is this true of Comrade Berger, who for many years has attacked the Wilshire gold mining venture, in the columns of the Social Democratic Herald.

In conclusion, your Committee wishes to state that it has no jurisdiction over Comrades Morgan, Brower, Flaherty and Carr, as far as their membership in the Party is concerned, and we therefore recommend that the proceedings of the trial shall be submitted to their respective branches or locals.

In further consideration of the fact that the charges against National Secretary Barnes and other employes of the Party have received the widest publicity through the columns of the Christian Socialist and the Provoker, we desire that the findings of your committee and the stenographic report of the trial be as extensively circulated as possible. But we are unwilling to assume the responsibility for the expenditure of Party funds for this purpose. The printing of the full proceedings will cost, according to the lowest bid received, \$625 for 1,500 copies.

We therefore request the solicitation of advance orders in the National Bulletin for copies of the proceedings at the price of 50 cents apiece. In the event that the orders are sufficient to cover the cost of publication, the printing of the same shall be ordered.

Fraternally submitted,

JAMES H. MAURER, Chairman.
OSCAR AMERINGER,
DAN HOGAN,
ADOLPH GERMER,
WALTER J. MILLARD, Secretary.

Comrade Branstetter, State Secretary of Oklahoma, submits the following:

"Extract from minutes of the State Executive Committee: Gilmore matter taken up. Communications and minutes of the state convention and previous State Executive Committee meeting read. Gilmore not present. Clark appears and makes statement. Branstetter substantiates statement of Clark so far as conversations with self are concerned. William Prahl makes statement." (The communications, minutes and statements published in full in this week's "Issue.")

"FINNICA. From the above evidence

and the failure of Gilmore to appear after due notice, the State Executive Committee finds J. N. Gilmore guilty of accepting money from the republican congressional candidate or committee in the fourth district during the last campaign. In view of the fact that the membership of Gilmore and also of Local Antlers has lapsed on account of non-payment of dues for the current quarter, there is no local of which he is now a member and to whom the evidence and findings may be referred according to instructions of the state convention. The state secretary is there-

fore, instructed not to grant a charter to a new local, or to accept the application of an old one for reinstatement, if the name of J. N. Gilmore appears as one of the members seeking reinstatement or admission. And the secretary is instructed to notify all locals in the state of these findings and to notify them that Gilmore is not eligible to membership and should not be admitted to the party until such time as he appears before the State Executive Committee and proves his innocence of the above charges."

Republican Aid. Book, of Milwaukee.

has published a statement trying to discredit the Socialist administration upon the ground of increased cost in salaries paid to city employes. Comrade C. P. Dietz, city comptroller, shows that the city was greatly benefited by this fact; that during these months the city was doing thousands of dollars worth of public work on its own account, and states:

"If the work had been let to private contractors there would have been no charge on the city's books for labor under those contracts, but the entire amounts, including material and the contractor's profit, would be charged under one contract item. Where, however, the city does the work, the entire amount is divided on the books, as so

much for labor, so much for material, and the profit is eliminated to the advantage of the city. Necessarily, therefore, when the city did its own work during these months the item of wages on the city's books was increased accordingly. The only question involved on this point is, 'What benefits accrued to the city?' The answer is, 'The contractor's profits.'"

Advance orders are solicited for printed copies of the stenographic report of the Investigating Committee. Price, 50 cents. Money should accompany order.

Address the National Office, 180 Wash- ington street, Chicago, Ill.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OFFICIAL BULLETIN

CANDIDATES FOR WOMAN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Seven to be voted for.
Allen, Carrie W., New York City.
Bloor, Ella Reeve, Waterbury, Conn.
Branstetter, Winnie E., Oklahoma City.
Downing, Agnes, Los Angeles, Cal.
Floaten, Octavia, Denver, Colo.
Fraser, Bertha M., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Garbutt, Mary E., Los Angeles, Cal.
Hazlett, Ida Crouch, Chicago, Ill.
Jokela, Selma, Smithville, Minn.
Konikow, Antoinette, Malden, Mass.
Laucki, Esther, Smithville, Minn.
Lewis, Lena Morrow, San Francisco, Cal.
Lowe, Caroline A., Chicago, Ill.
Malkiel, Theresa, Yonkers, N. Y.
O'Hare, Kate Richards, Kansas City, Kans.
O'Reilly, Mary, Chicago, Ill.
Simons, May Wood, Girard, Kans.
Steinfest, Minnie C., Sayre, Pa.
Strickland, May M., Anderson, Ind.

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Feb. 15, 1911.

To the National Committee:

I herewith report the nominations received at the National Office for members of the Woman's National Committee. The nominations closed this date. The names of the nominees are arranged alphabetically, and the locals nominating each are indicated. To be placed on the ballot, candidates are required to have five or more nominations. All qualified nominees have been notified. Such nominees are indicated by a star placed in front of their names.

WOMAN'S NATIONAL COMMITTEE

*ALLEN, CARRIE W., New York, N. Y.; Muscatine, Iowa; Scranton, Pa.; Newark, Essex Co., and Dover, N. J.; New York, Glens Falls, Lockport, Mt. Vernon, Gloversville, Jamestown, Cattaraugus, Albany, Schenectady, Geneva, Ticonderoga and Penn Yan, N. Y.
*BLOOR, ELLA REEVE, Waterbury, Conn.; Bridgeport, New London, Putnam and Willimantic, Conn.; Newark, Essex Co., N. J.; Mystic, Conn.; Passaic County, N. J.; East Hartford and Ansonia, Conn.; Watervliet, N. Y.; Sparks, Nev.; Wheatland, Mo.
*BRANSTETTER, WINNIE E., Oklahoma City, Okla.; Bradley, Okla.; Danville and Canton, Ill.; Olustee, Okla.; Humboldt, Kan.; New Albany, Pa.; Local Maple Township, Calumet, and Henrietta, Okla.; 35th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Huntington, Ark.; 15th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Elmhurst, Cal.; Rankin, Okla.; Sayre and Lebanon, Pa.; Sparks, Nev.; 7th Ward, Chicago, Ill.
*DOWNING, AGNES, Los Angeles, Cal.; Girard, Bronson, Kan.; Columbia Heights, Minn.; Alameda, Seal Garden, Los Angeles, Cal.; Huntington, Ark.; Sacramento, Santa Maria, Cal.; Robbinsdale, Minn.; Montrose, Colo.; 20th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Wheatland, Mo.
*FLOATEN, OCTAVIA, Denver, Colo.; Broomfield, Edgewater, Windsor, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Sedro-Woolley, Wash.
*FRASER, BERTHA M., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Passaic County, N. J.; Tarrytown, Glens Falls, Watertown, Lockport, Mt. Vernon, Gloversville, Yonkers, Cattaraugus, Albany, Brooklyn (Kings Co.), Ithaca, Troy, Schenectady, Ticonderoga, Salamanca, Spring Valley, Penn Yan, Watervliet, N. Y.; E. Liverpool, O.
*GARBUTT, MRS. M. E., Los Angeles, Cal.; Modesto, Seal Garden, Sacramento, Santa Maria, Ceres, Cal.
*HAZLETT, IDA CROUCH, Glendive, Mont.; Canton, Ill.; Muscatine, Iowa; Aurora, Ill.; Everett, Wash.; Rock Island, Ill.; Ottawa, Kan.; Sioux City, Iowa; Dover, N. J.; Buffalo, New York, N. Y.
*JOKELA, SELMA, Smithville, Minn.; Finn, DeKalb, Ill.; Finn, Red Lodge, Mont.; Finn, W. Berkeley, Cal.; Finn, Aberdeen, Wash.; Finn, Wilkeson, Wash.; Finn No. 1, Chicago, Ill.
*KONIKOW, ANTOINETTE F., Malden, Mass.; Chelsea, Lynn, Mass.; St. Louis, Mo.; Newport News, Va.; Brockton, Mass.; Rankin, Okla.
*LAUKKI, ESTHER, Smithville, Minn.; Palatka, Fla.; Humboldt, Kan.; Columbia Heights, Minn.; Jackson, Tenn.; Elmhurst, Cal.; Finn, DeKalb, Ill.; Finn, Red Lodge, Mont.; Robbinsdale, Minn.; Finn, W. Berkeley, Cal.; Kewanee, Ill.; Finn, Aberdeen, Wash.; Finn, Wilkeson, Wash.; 7th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Finn No. 1, Chicago, Ill.
*LEWIS, LENA MORROW, San Francisco, Cal.; South Omaha, Neb.; Putnam, Conn.; Humboldt, Girard, Kan.; North Platte, Neb.; Muscatine, Iowa; Newark, Essex Co., N. J.; Jewish, Milwaukee, Wis.; Elkhart, Ind.; 35th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Blue Lake, Cal.; Edgewater, Colo.; Columbia Heights, Minn.; Alameda, Cal.; Fort Collins, Colo.; Memphis, Tenn.; Mystic, Conn.; Johnstown, N. Y.; Mattie, Tex.; Ottawa, Kan.; Sioux City, Iowa; Bellevue, Ky.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Mobile, Ala.; Passaic County, N. J.; Boston, Mass.; Escondido, Elmhurst, Cal.; Hutchinson, Kan.; Glens Falls, Watertown, Gloversville, Jamestown, Ithaca, Troy, Geneva, Ticonderoga, Salamanca, Spring Valley, Penn Yan, N. Y.; Lexington, Mo.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Birmingham, Ala.; Kewanee, Ill.; Fallon, Nev.; 20th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Elyria, O.; Wheatland, Mo.
*LOWE, CAROLINE A., Chicago, Ill.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Canton, Ill.; Olustee, Okla.; Humboldt, Girard, Kan.; Mishawaka, Ind.; Rose Hill, Kan.; Aurora, Ill.; Maple Township, Calumet, Okla.; Coffeyville, Kan.; Joliet, Ill.; 35th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Broomfield, Fort Collins, Colo.; Johns-

town, N. Y.; Mattie, Tex.; 4th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; St. Louis, Mo.; Sioux City, Iowa; Huntington, Ark.; Mobile, Ala.; Boston, Mass.; Elmhurst, Cal.; Jeffersonville, Ind.; Joplin, Mo.; Hutchinson, Kan.; 21st Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Robbinsdale, Minn.; Detroit, Mich.; Ruskin, Fla.; Glens Falls, Rochester, N. Y.; Rankin, Okla.; Montrose, Colo.; Sparks, Nev.; 20th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Wheatland, Mo.; Baldwin, Kan.; 7th Ward, 19th Ward, 28th Ward, Chicago, Ill.
*MALKIEL, THERESA, Yonkers, N. Y.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Danville, Ill.; S. Omaha, Neb.; Humboldt, Kan.; N. Platte, Neb.; New Albany, Pa.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Coffeyville, Kan.; Rock Island, Ill.; Lynn, Mass.; Jackson, Tenn.; Mystic, Conn.; Los Angeles, Cal.; Mobile, Ala.; Boston, Mass.; 15th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Elmhurst, Cal.; New York, N. Y.; Detroit, Mich.; Ruskin, Fla.; Akron, O.; Tarrytown, Glens Falls, Mt. Vernon, Yonkers, Cattaraugus, Rochester, Salamanca, Spring Valley, N. Y.; Rankin, Okla.; Penn Yan, N. Y.; Mt. Vernon, Wash.; Montrose, Colo.; 7th Ward, Chicago, Ill.
*O'HARE, KATE RICHARDS, Kansas City, Kan.; S. Omaha, Neb.; Canton, Ill.; Rose Hill, Kan.; Calumet, Henrietta, Okla.; Columbia Heights, Minn.; Jackson, Memphis, Tenn.; Benton Harbor, Mich.; Mattie, Tex.; Ottawa, Kan.; Sioux City, Iowa; Mobile, Ala.; Hutchinson, Kan.; 21st Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Akron, O.; Rankin, Okla.; Mt. Vernon, Wash.; Lexington, Mo.; Montrose, Colo.; Webb City, Mo.; Baldwin, Kan.
*O'REILLY, MARY, Chicago, Ill.; Mattie, Tex.; 15th Ward, 21st Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Brooklyn, Kings Co., N. Y.; 13th Ward, 7th Ward, 19th Ward, 28th Ward, Chicago, Ill.
*WOOD-SIMONS, MAY, Girard, Kan.; Bridgeport, Conn.; Danville, Ill.; Mansfield, O.; S. Omaha, Neb.; Palatka, Fla.; Canton, Ill.; Putnam, Conn.; Humboldt, Girard, Kan.; N. Platte, Neb.; Mishawaka, Ind.; Rose Hill, Kan.; New Albany, Pa.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Muscatine, Iowa; Scranton, Pa.; Coffeyville, Kan.; Jewish, Milwaukee, Wis.; Joliet, Ill.; 35th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Bohemian, 34th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Bronson, Kan.; River Park, Ind.; Broomfield, Colo.; Lynn, Mass.; Columbia Heights, Minn.; Memphis, Tenn.; Los Angeles, Cal.; 4th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; St. Louis, Mo.; Bellevue, Ky.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Rock Island, Ill.; Mobile, Ala.; Passaic County, N. J.; Boston, Mass.; Sacramento, Cal.; 15th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Elmhurst, Cal.; Sedro-Woolley, Wash.; Hutchinson, Kan.; New York, N. Y.; 21st Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Robbinsdale, Minn.; Detroit, Mich.; Ruskin, Fla.; Akron, O.; Ansonia, Conn.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Glens Falls, Watertown, Lockport, Jamestown, Cattaraugus, Albany, Ithaca, Corning, Troy, N. Y.; Rankin, Okla.; Mt. Vernon, Wash.; Geneva, Spring Valley, N. Y.; Lebanon, DuBois, Grove City, Pa.; 13th Ward, Chicago, Ill.; Milwaukee Br., Wis.; Birmingham, Ala.; Kewanee, Ill.; Milwaukee Br., Wis.; Sparks, Nev.; Webb City, Mo.; Quincy, Ill.; Elyria, O.; Wheatland, Mo.; 19th Ward, 28th Ward, Chicago, Ill.
*STEINFEST, MINNIE C., Sayre, Pa.; Stoneboro, New Albany, Scranton, Jersey Shore, Charleoi, Meadville, Reading, Pottsville, Sayre, Hazleton, Allentown, Titusville, Rochester, York, Pa.
*STRICKLAND, MAY, Anderson, Ind.; Danville, Ill.; Mansfield, O.; S. Omaha, Neb.; Canton, Ill.; Mishawaka, South Bend, River Park, Ind.; Benton Harbor, Mich.; Mt. Vernon, O.; Hutchinson, Kan.; Jeffersonville, Ind.; Finn, DeKalb, Ill.; Lexington, Mo.; Birmingham, Ala.; Bradford, O.

The above list contains only the names of those who accepted the nomination. All others will appear in the next Bulletin.

J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

CALL FOR NATIONAL REFERENDUM "A," 1911.

The following proposed amendment to the National Constitution was first published in the Weekly Bulletin of December 3, 1910:

SUBMITTED BY LOCAL HALLETTVILLE, TEXAS.

ARTICLE III.
"Section 3 (New Section): All national party officers shall be elected annually and shall not hold the same office longer than two terms."

Notices of the endorsement of the amendment have been received from locals New Britain (Polish Br. No. 46), Conn., Dec. 17; Fort Worth, Tex., Dec. 21; Temple School House, Tex., Dec. 23; Portland (Br. No. 1), Ore., Dec. 26; Tivoli, Tex., Dec. 27; Cook County, Ill., Dec. 28; Coffeyville, Kans., Jan. 19; Newport News, Va., Jan. 26; Tyler, Tex., Jan. 28; Blue Lake, Cal., Jan. 30; Meridian, Wash., Feb. 6; Casco (Breedsville), Mich., Feb. 10; Shreveport, La., Feb. 11; Neosho, Mo., Feb. 15.

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution relating to referendums, namely, that the same shall be submitted to the membership upon the request of locals representing five per cent of the entire membership, located in five different states, membership ballots for vote on the above proposal will go forward to all divisions of the party about Feb. 28.

FRED LONG RESOLUTION.

Adopted by Local Philadelphia, Socialist Party, February 5, 1911.

"Whereas, Death has taken from among us what was mortal of our veteran comrade, Fred W. Long; and
"Whereas, Fred W. Long was one of

the pioneers of the labor and Socialist movements in America, having for more than a quarter of a century given his magnificent mind, inspired pen and eloquent tongue to our cause with unflinching zeal and loyalty, for which he has undergone long years of physical suffering and mental anguish; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the Socialist Party of Philadelphia, express the deep sense of loss we feel in the departure of our dear comrade, and the equally deep sense of appreciation for the exceptional service he rendered at the forefront of the struggle at a time when such ability and devotion as his counted for more than words can tell. It is with bowed heads and overflowing hearts that we offer our tribute to his memory."

"(Signed) J. T. CONNOR, Sec'y."

REMEMBRANCE.

The death of Robert Bandlow, of Cleveland, Ohio, on Sunday, January 29, removes from the ranks of American Socialists a unique and inspiring character. Comrade Bandlow was born in Germany in 1852. When he was two years of age his parents settled in Cleveland, and in that city his entire life was spent. A printer by trade, Bandlow was active in the labor movement for more than thirty-five years. As a member of the central labor body of Cleveland, he was during many years a prominent and progressive worker in the interests of organized labor, and not a few of the unions of that place owe their existence to his efforts.

Comrade Bandlow joined the Socialist movement in 1896, and during the fifteen years which elapsed between that time and his death he served the movement with wisdom, zeal and courage. He was a member of the National Executive Committee in 1905, and of the National Executive Committee in 1905 and 1906, and delegate to the National Conventions of 1904 and 1908. At the National Convention of 1908 he was, it will be remembered, one of the chairmen, a position for which his splendid grasp of parliamentary law and usages eminently fitted him.

An eloquent and forceful speaker, and a writer of no mean ability, Comrade Bandlow was perhaps at his best as a teacher and inspirer of younger men. Many of our best workers today were trained and inspired by him.

Bandlow is dead, yet Bandlow lives. He is immortal! His stiffened fingers dropped the torch he bore so bravely, but other hands inspired by him will bear it onward, and thus his spirit will live forever.

Comrade Wallace D. Wattles died on February 7 at Ruskin, Tenn., and was buried at his home, Elwood, Ind., on February 10. The Socialist local was in charge of the funeral services. Universal respect was shown, even the business houses closing two hours in the afternoon. Comrade Fred G. Strickland delivered the funeral address.

Wallace D. Wattles was well known as a lecturer in the Socialist party in the middle states. He served Indiana actively for one year as organizer. He was a recognized author and short story writer. He was associated with the original group-called Social Crusaders.

PROPOSED NATIONAL PARTY REFERENDUM.

Local Colbert, Bradley, Okla., Feb. 23, 1911.

"National Headquarters, Socialist Party. "Inasmuch as the Federal Judiciary is exercising authority above and superior to that of any other branch of the government and in effect thereby making each and all other branches of the government dependent upon and subject to its judgment and will, not only in the interpretation of the constitutionality of law and in judgment of cases arising under the law, but also in creating and executing law in its own name and power—such as injunctions, etc.

"Inasmuch as the Federal Judiciary has always and is continuing to exercise said authority at the behest of and in the interests of the dominant capitalist class, as against the interests of and despite the protests of the laboring class.

"Inasmuch as the Federal Judiciary is not responsible nor subject to the franchise of the people, and there is no appeal from its judgments and commands, it possesses and continues to increasingly exercise an irresponsible and unrestricted tyrannical power which is deadly to the happiness, welfare and liberty of the people. Such irresponsible and unrestricted power is opposed to the principle of government of, by and for the people and has proved fatal to the welfare and liberty of the laboring class. The remedy lies in making the Federal Judiciary subject to the people instead of the people being subject to the Federal Judiciary.

"To accomplish this, the first necessity is a Constitutional Amendment which will limit the term of office of all members of the Federal Judiciary and cause all such officers to be elected by a direct vote of the people.

"We, the Socialists of Local Colbert of Bradley, Okla., do present this motion:

"That the Socialist Party membership of the United States shall circulate for signatures and, through the National office, present to the Congress of the United States, through Comrade Victor L. Berger, a demand for a submission of the desired constitutional amendment herein called for.

"Signed, J. F. FAULK, Chairman.
"W. A. WALLACE, Sec'y."

National Executive Committee Correspondence During the Month of February

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 18, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee. Dear Comrades:

You will remember that in the recent session of your committee, owing to press of other matters and limited time, it was impossible to take up and discuss according to their merits the various questions relating to the foreign speaking organizations.

The South Slavic Socialist Federation with the new year accepted the conditions of your decisions as adopted in the December session, as follows:

"That all applicants be informed that only such foreign-speaking organizations are entitled to the appointment of a translator that, as national organizations, pay dues direct to the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party."

This organization, now nationally affiliated, makes claim under the Constitution and the above decision for a translator and the circumstances are such as to make the settlement of this question urgent.

Comrade Frank Petrich, address 1830 South Center avenue, Chicago, has been unanimously elected translator-secretary. The South Slavic Socialist Federation embraces Slavonians, Croatians, Serbians and Bulgarians.

I never looked into their accounts and find that they have a membership of about eight hundred, which represents a payment of forty dollars a month to the National office. I quote the following from a recent communication from the Federation:

"The Executive Committee of the South Slavic Socialist Federation has every reason to believe that the party membership will increase considerably under the present provision of the Constitution of the Socialist Party."

The Constitution provides that your committee shall fix the exact wages for such translators as are employed. Having in mind the sentiments previously expressed by your committee upon this subject, I suggest that \$50.00 a month be allowed the translator of the South Slavic Socialist Federation until the next meeting of the committee.

Chicago, Ill., Feb. 24, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee. Dear Comrades:

The Polish Section of the Socialist Party makes application for payment of its translator and submits the following facts: They have eighty-two branches in thirteen states, with a total membership of at least one thousand. They have entered into an arrangement with nine of these states, which will permit them to conduct their business, especially in the matter of handling dues stamps by exactly the same methods as employed by the Finnish translator's office.

I have gone over their correspondence and find the following state organizations are parties to the agreement: Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Wyoming. The proposition contemplates purchase of dues stamps by the Polish translator from the National office and the sale of the same to the respective Polish locals and branches in the several states, the translator submitting a monthly report to the State offices and remitting at the same time the amount due to the state organizations. By this arrangement the Polish Section also secures a rebate from most of the states.

The present membership of the Polish organization will represent a payment of \$50.00 a month to the National office. I, therefore, suggest that that amount per month be allowed the translator until the next meeting of the National Executive Committee, or until further action is taken upon the subject.

Fraternally submitted,
J. MAHLON BARNES, National Secretary.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE MOTION TO BE SUBMITTED WHEN SUPPORTED BY THE REQUISITE NUMBER OF MEMBERS.

Coffeyville, Kans., Feb. 13, 1911.

"J. Mahlon Barnes, Chicago, Ill.
"Dear Comrade:

"I object to the National Executive Committee action in donating the Chicago Daily Socialist \$500.00 towards making it an eight-page paper, and I move a vote of the National Committee on the same.

"COMMENT. I would like to see the Daily an eight-page paper, but that is my personal business. We do not pay dues to help any private enterprise. We pay dues to organize, and there are parts of the country that need organizing a great deal more than we need an eight-page paper. It will not look well for the National Executive Committee to give, or promise to give, any sum of money to a paper when there are charges and counter charges being preferred and tried. It may look to the rank and file as a bribe.

"Yours truly,
"(Signed) E. L. BERRY,
"National Committeeman of Kansas."

The above refers to action taken by the National Executive Committee in the February session, as follows:

"MOTION. That the National Executive Committee subscribe \$500 to the fund of the Daily Socialist as soon as \$15,000 has been paid in on the \$25,000 fund."

National Notes

State Secretary Sanford of Vermont reports the election of Comrade C. E. Ordway, Proctorsville, as member of the National Committee.

By a recent referendum in Oklahoma the following were elected members of the National Committee: Oscar Ameringer, Indiana building, Oklahoma City; Carrie C. Block, Lookaba; George E. Owen, Oklahoma City, and John G. Wills, Granite.

By a recent referendum in Texas, Comrade E. R. Meitzen, of Hallettsville, was re-elected State Secretary, and Comrades P. G. Zimmerman, of Hamlin, and W. S. Noble, of Ranger, were elected members of the National Committee.

On January 5 the municipal election in Star City, W. Va., resulted in electing Comrade William Shay as mayor, and Comrades Beznor, Kennedy, McShaffer and Stansbury to the city council.

In the Mexican border states where the citizens are best acquainted with the facts of the conflict between troops of the Mexican government and the revolutionists monster meetings are being held by Socialists, trade unionists and citizens of all classes, expressing sympathy for the Mexican revolutionists and protesting against United States troops being sent to the border, also demanding belligerency rights for the Mexican revolutionists.

By a recent referendum in Tennessee, Comrade Jos. E. Voss, 778 Eastern avenue, Jackson, was re-elected State Secretary, and Comrade H. G. Terlisner, 1085 Indiana street, Memphis, was elected a member of the National Committee.

By a recent referendum in New Jersey, Comrade W. B. Killingbeck, 62 William street, Orange, was re-elected State Secretary; Comrade James M. Reilly, 77 Nelson avenue, Jersey City, was elected a member of the National Committee, and Comrade Frederick Krafft, Ridgefield, was re-elected to the same position.

Comrade John Spargo is making a round of the eastern colleges and universities, lecturing under their auspices before the entire student bodies. Very successful meetings were held at Clark University, Cornell University, Rochester University, Yale University, Mt. Holyoke College, Trinity College, Elmira College, Springfield Training School, and a number of others.

Between the dates of February 28 and March 28 Comrade Spargo will make a lecture tour under the direction of the National office, going as far west as Denver. Locals desiring dates must apply at once.

Comrade Lanfersiek, State Secretary of Kentucky, reports fine progress in his state. The dues for January of this year more than doubled those of the same month last year. Three new locals were chartered during January. He also reports that Locals Louisville and Covington have been growing so rapidly that they have been compelled to seek larger quarters.

The Bohemian comrades of New York are publishing a weekly Socialist paper, entitled "Obrana" (Defense) at 500 East Seventy-fourth street, New York City. It is reported that this paper is doing a fine agitation work among the Bohemians. Subscriptions should be addressed to the publication office. The price is \$2.00 per year.

State Secretary Mary R. Sanford of Vermont reports a twenty per cent increase in membership in that state since December 1.

On March 1, Comrade Otto Kannegieser, 746 Chapel street, New Haven, Conn., will assume the office of State Secretary, vice Comrade Edward Perkins Clarke, resigned.

A report is at hand that Comrade E. Aknoui, well known member of the Armenian Socialist Organization of Europe, is making a tour of agitation and organization among his countrymen in America. All applications for assignments should be addressed to Comrade Hampartoumian, Secretary of the Revolutionary Federation of Armenians, 9 Knapp street, Boston, Mass.

At the same address a weekly paper is published in the Armenian language, the title of which is "Hayrenik" ("Fatherland").

A sub-committee of the State Committee of Maryland, appointed to canvass the vote of a recent referendum, reports the election of A. B. Claxton, Hyattsville, as State Secretary, and Oswald Weber, Cumberland, as member of the National Committee.

Advices from Mexican refugees in this country are to the effect that the success of the Mexican Liberal party is assured even at the cost of armed rebellion; that the government of Mexico is losing ground and the revolutionists gaining. The one fear that the revolutionists entertain is that the American government will take sides with the Mexican government by an armed force upon the border detrimental to the insurgents. Juan Sanchez-Azcona, Mexican refugee, jailed in Washington, D. C. for some time at the instance of Diaz, has been liberated by the federal district court. Chief Justice Cleveland's decision practically accused the Mexican government of false pretenses.