

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

MONTHLY BULLETIN

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, 205 WEST WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO

Volume VIII

DECEMBER, 1911

Number 3

December 1, 1911.

To the Locals and Branches of the Socialist Party:

Dear Comrades: In compliance with the direction of the National Executive Committee, I am sending you blank forms of a petition in support of the Old Age Pension bill introduced by Comrade Berger.

I urge that you secure the greatest number of signatures possible to this petition. The following suggestions will aid you in its circulation and disposal:

1. Write the name of your State at the top of your petition.
2. Every signer should give his or her occupation and address.
3. Canvass factories, workshops and schools at the noon hour.
4. Canvass all gatherings, such as labor union meetings, teachers' institutes, women's clubs, churches, lectures and fairs.
5. Make a systematic canvass of the business section.
6. Make a house to house canvass to secure the signatures of women. Go in the morning when they are at home. Or, on Sunday, for both men and women.
7. When one petition is filled, paste on another without cutting off the head.
8. After getting every possible signature, send the petition to the Congressman from your district, addressing him at the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
9. Write to Victor L. Berger, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., and tell him that you have sent the petition to your Congressman. Also tell him how many signatures it contained.
10. Write to the two United States Senators from your State, tell them that you have sent the petition to the Congressman, and tell them how many signatures it contained.

This writing to Berger and the Senators is extremely important; do not neglect it.

If you can use more petition blanks, send for them to the address below.

In further compliance with the direction of the National Executive Committee, I also urge you to make a special campaign for old age pensions, by holding meetings, circulating literature, and passing resolutions in support of the bill—such resolutions to be sent to the press, to your congressman, to your senators, and to Berger. You should send in an order for enough copies of W. J. Ghent's leaflet on Old Age Pensions to put one in each house in your community. Price, \$1.50 per thousand; or \$1.00 per thousand in lots of ten thousand or over. Also send us an order for Berger's Old Age Pension speech; 25 cents per hundred.

Yours Fraternally,

JOHN M. WORK, Acting National Secretary.

Do you realize that the lyceum subscription lecture plan is the biggest thing the Socialist party has yet undertaken?

It is putting thousands upon thousands of new subscriptions on the mailing lists of the Socialist papers.

It is putting thousands upon thousands of Socialist books and pamphlets into circulation where they will do the most good.

It is attracting thousands upon thousands of new hearers to listen to an explanation of what Socialism is, what it has done, and what it proposes to do.

It is making Socialists and drawing them into the locals.

This plan is just the thing your local needs in order to increase its numbers and its efficiency and put it in fighting trim for the presidential campaign.

It is not yet too late to get in on it.

Send to the National Office today for a blank contract.

National Secretary's Financial Report for Month of November, 1911

National Headquarters, Socialist Party, Chicago, Ill., Dec. 1, 1911.	
Balance on hand Nov. 1.....	\$ 513.71
National Dues from State Committees—	
Alabama	15.00
Arizona	33.30
Arkansas	40.00
California	305.00
Colorado	60.00
Connecticut	100.00
Florida	25.00
Idaho	54.00
Illinois	343.00
Indiana	164.00
Iowa	75.00
Kansas	100.00
Kentucky	25.00
Louisiana	10.00
Maine	10.00
Maryland	20.00
Massachusetts	150.60
Michigan	116.50
Minnesota	225.65
Missouri	100.00
Montana	74.90
Nebraska	30.00
Nevada	47.00
New Hampshire	27.80
New Jersey	157.00
New Mexico	15.00
New York	400.00
North Dakota	57.00
Ohio	407.40
Oklahoma	270.00
Oregon	65.00
Pennsylvania	518.40
Rhode Island	10.00
South Dakota	10.00
Tennessee	10.00
Texas	320.00
Utah	42.00
Vermont	13.50
Virginia	10.00
Washington	219.00
West Virginia	40.40
Wisconsin	161.35
Wyoming	22.50
Mississippi	10.00
Unorganized States—	
North Carolina	7.30
South Carolina	2.00
Delaware	18.00
Members-at-large	6.80
Polish Alliance Section	80.00
South Slavic Section	60.00
Total dues	\$5,084.40
Supplies	242.74
Literature	695.55
Buttons	257.03
Los Angeles Campaign Fund	1,579.03
Miscellaneous	49.24
Lyceum receipts	7,474.35
	\$15,896.05
EXPENDITURES.	
General expense	\$ 25.01
Express and freight	611.69
Postage	648.62
Telegrams and telephone	39.13
Printing and literature	3,311.93
Stationery and supplies	141.56
Buttons	333.90
Office fixtures	188.95
Underwood Typewriter Co.	114.75
Royal Typewriter Co.	117.00
L. M. Fisher (typewriter)	50.00
Rent	100.00
Frank E. Wolfe (Press bureau) ..	40.00
A. H. Floaten (Appropriation) ..	36.00
International dues	253.43
Los Angeles Campaign Fund	1,579.03
Los Angeles Appropriation	1,000.00
Miscellaneous expenses	16.65
Lyceum freight	169.23
Lyceum subs	2,198.22
Lyceum miscellaneous	38.57
Wages—	
John M. Work	\$125.00
L. E. Katterfeld	84.00
O. F. Branstetter	84.00
Caroline A. Lowe	84.00
J. W. Sarlund	84.00
Arthur B. Baker	73.00
R. G. Karsner	72.00
J. L. Fitts	72.00
Mabel H. Hudson	72.00
L. Harvey	64.00
Maude J. Ball	61.00
Grace Stickney	60.00
Virginia Purcell	59.50
Nelle W. Doran	58.50
Edna M. Koop	54.00
G. Ludwick	52.00
H. Gluski	49.00
F. Petrich	49.00
Anna B. Campbell	48.50
Elizabeth D. Parsons	48.00
Mary Schupp	48.00
Jennie S. Kewitz	48.00
Alice I. Newsham	41.00
Terence Vincent	40.00
Jos. Corti	40.00
Harry B. Fish	46.00
Joseph Weber	28.00
Olive Baker	20.00
Viola Richardson	18.00
M. Levinger	6.00
Extra help	12.25
	1,710.75
National Lecturers and Organizers—	
Anna A. Maley	\$ 75.00
Tom J. Lewis	80.57
Thomas L. Buie	17.85
E. Sibiakoffsky	40.00
John M. Collins	127.55
George H. Goebel	33.40
Lena Morrow Lewis	41.83
E. J. Squier	171.83
John P. Burke	111.82
Dan A. White	56.53
J. L. Fitts	268.96
	1,025.34
Lyceum Advance Organizers—	
E. F. Cassidy	75.00
M. J. Hynes	100.00
H. C. Mestemaker	100.00
Ernest Moore	75.00
J. E. Snyder	75.00
Prudence S. Brown	100.00
Leon Durocher	190.49
Clyde J. Wright	100.00
Edward J. McGurty	50.00
L. E. Katterfeld	45.90
	911.39
Lyceum Lecturers—	
Eugene Wood	\$ 125.00
Arthur Brooks Baker	100.00
W. F. Ries	100.00
	325.00
Mileage reserve fund	508.44
Total expenditures	\$15,494.59
Bank balance Dec. 1, 1911	373.89
Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1911	27.57
	\$15,896.05
ASSETS.	
Bank balance Dec. 1, 1911	\$ 373.89
Cash on hand Dec. 1, 1911	27.57
Mileage reserve	6,789.85
Outstanding accounts, locals, states, etc.	1,446.70
Literature in stock (approximate) ..	4,000.00
Party buttons (approximate)	600.00
Supplies, stationery, local account books, etc. (approximate) ..	3,000.00
Office furniture and fixtures (approximate) ..	2,000.00
Sub. cards, New York Call	246.00
Sub. cards due from New York Call	668.00
	\$19,152.01
LIABILITIES.	
Printing	\$3,437.24
Literature	77.09
Engraving	119.51
Supplies	43.73
Electrotyping	56.33
Express	273.14
Advertising	6.13
Mimeograph paper	54.55
Buttons and pins	298.20
Boxes	105.25
Rubber stamps	6.35
Wrapping paper	10.25
Paper	1,660.93
Stationery	71.53
Fixtures	61.25
Geo. H. Newsholme (appropriation) ..	177.00
Jewish Agitation Bureau (appropriation) ..	270.00
J. J. Jacobsen (appropriation)	50.00
Frank E. Wolfe (appropriation)	40.00
	6,818.48
Lyceum Advance Organizers—	
E. F. Cassidy	\$ 46.79
Ernest Moore	98.51
W. B. Killingbeck	25.83
	171.13
Printing ordered and unfinished (estimated)	500.00
Due to field workers whose monthly reports have not been received (estimated) ..	1,000.00
	\$8,489.61
Fraternally submitted, JOHN M. WORK, Acting National Secretary.	

PLATFORMS

Party Platform, in English, per 1,000, postpaid . . . \$1.00

Platforms in foreign languages: Bohemian, Croatian, Finnish, French, German, Italian, Jewish, Lettish, Norwegian, Polish, Russian, Spanish and Swedish, per 1,000, postpaid . . . \$2.00

National Executive Committee

National Headquarters,
Socialist Party,
Chicago, Ill., Nov. 4, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I submit the following motion by Comrade Goebel, who asks that you vote immediately by wire:

MOTION.

"That the National Secretary be instructed, in compliance with the National Constitution, to place on the ballot for National Secretary and members of the National Executive Committee the names of all comrades who shall have been nominated by at least five locals, who shall have been party members at least three years, and who shall have signified their acceptance of such nomination.

COMMENT.

"This motion should not be necessary, and would not be were it not for what seems to me an extraordinary action of the National Secretary in putting to a vote of the National Committee the question as to whether the names of comrades who happen to be advertised as Lyceum Lecture Bureau lecturers for 1912 shall be placed on the ballots for National Executive Committee.

"No matter what the motive or excuse, this seems a gross and high-handed violation of the National Constitution and right of comrades to accept nomination for office at hands of the party membership. The National Constitution distinctly specifies the qualifications for nomination and election to such offices. Neither the National Secretary nor any committee have the power to add to or subtract from these requirements. The National Committee or National Executive Committee may say who shall be National Lecturers or Organizers, but not who shall be elected to office.

"I say nothing of the question of courtesy and law raised by the National Secretary in submitting such matters first to the National Committee, over the heads of the National Executive Committee, the committee elected by the membership at large to act in matters requiring quick action.

"The question raised is simply one of carrying out the party law."

Comment by Acting National Secretary John M. Work.

"My so-called extraordinary action was forced upon me by Comrade Goebel himself. As you know, the National Committee passed a motion that the National Executive Committee and the National Committee should not hire any of their own number. Comrade Goebel was assigned for the Lyceum. He allowed me to understand that he would not accept the nomination for National Executive Committee. I therefore continued the arrangements for him to be on the Lyceum. At Bridgeport I gathered the idea that he was likely to accept the nomination for National Executive Committee. Later I wired him to let me know if he expected to stay on the Lyceum. He replied that he did, but he did not signify any intention of declining the nomination. I saw that this was likely to place me in the embarrassing position of either isolating a motion passed by the National Committee, or taking Comrade Goebel, and perhaps others, off the Lyceum after arrangements had been made and large expense incurred. I did not propose to allow myself to be placed in that position. I therefore put the question up to the National Committee, in an impersonal manner, so that no personal animosities could enter into the result. I am now very glad I did so, and am prepared to abide by the consequences.

"The National Committee was the proper body for me to put the question to, because it was the body that passed the motion prohibiting the hiring of any of their own number by the committees.

"Of course, whatever rule is applied to nominees for National Executive Committee, I shall also apply to nominees for National Secretary. Comrade Goebel's reflection upon my motives to the contrary notwithstanding.

"You will note that if you vote on this motion there is a possibility that you may instruct me to do one thing and the National Committee instruct me to do the opposite. In case you do not desire such a confliction, I suggest that you refrain from voting on this motion, and let the National Committee settle the matter."

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 4, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee and the National Committee:

Dear Comrades—I herewith submit a letter by George H. Goebel, member of the National Executive Committee. My comment on Comrade Goebel's National Executive Committee motion of this date is sufficient reply, except to say that it would be a strange thing if the National Secretary did not have the right to ask instructions from the National Committee. My communication of October 30 to the National Committee was a question, not a motion. Comrade Goebel's letter follows:

"I desire a copy of this letter at once sent to the members of the National Executive Committee and the National Committee as a matter of right and fair play.

"I am today in receipt of a copy of your circular letter dated October 30, in which you ask the National Committee to vote by letter or telegraph (vote to close November 10) upon the question as to whether the

names of those comrades who happen to be on the Lyceum Lecture Bureau list for 1912 shall be allowed to go on the ballot for National Executive Committee.

"I enter protest against the submission of this motion by you, or favorable action by the National or any other committee, as a gross violation of the National Constitution, and an attempt to deprive comrades of their right to accept nomination at the hands of the party membership.

"The National Constitution specifies what shall be the requisites for going on the ballot, namely, three years' membership in the party, and nominations from at least five locals. Neither you nor any committee have the right to set aside this clause or add to the qualifications. The National Committee may say who shall go out as Organizers and Lecturers, but not as to who shall go on the ballot when the constitutional requirements have been met.

"I further raise the point that your action is a violation of Section 5, Article IV, of the National Constitution, wherein the matter of motions going to the National Committee for action is covered, and wherein it is stated: 'No motion shall be submitted to a referendum of the National Committee by correspondence unless supported within thirty days by not less than five members from three different states.'

"I further raise the point that both as a matter of courtesy and law, questions of this kind should first go to the National Executive Committee. The National Constitution specifies the duties of both committees, and under what circumstances the National Committee may interpose.

"But I repeat and emphasize that you, nor any committee have the right to decide as to who shall have their names on the ballot for National Executive Committee or National Secretary. Nor do I believe the membership at large who have made the nominations will stand for such action, no matter what the excuse given.

"Nor is any suspension or violation of the law necessary to solve what you state to be your trouble. Had you chosen to suggest to the National Committee that they suspend that portion of their recent action concerning organizers or lecturers being on the National Committee or National Executive Committee, I am sure the National Committee would have so voted, particularly as there is a grave question as to whether service under the Lecture Bureau comes in the same category as organizers.

"I call the attention of the Committee to the further fact that you only raise this question as to National Executive Committee, although the same question concerns nomination for National Secretary."

Nov. 6, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I herewith submit motion and comment by Comrade Goebel as follows:

"I move that the resolution below with accompanying comment be at once sent by the National Secretary to each member of the National Committee, with a period fixed for voting thereon by wire or letter, the last date of which shall be not more than twelve days from date of submission.

"I believe my resolution and comment explains itself, and will show a quick way out of the tangle into which the National office seems to find itself.

"Because of the circumstance I ask members of the National Executive Committee to vote on my motion by wire in order that the resolution may go immediately to the National Committee. I refuse to believe that the National Committee intended by its action to put the party in position of either having severe loss by lecturers withdrawing, or on the other hand, of depriving comrades of their constitutional right to stand for any office the necessary number of locals ask so to do. Comrade Work has put such comrades in the position of doing a dishonorable thing if they withdraw rather than surrender their rights as party members. I deny the suggestion. Arrangements had been largely made for the lectures before adoption of the rule by the committee.

"To the National Committee: The National Executive Committee submits to you for approval or disapproval the following: 'Resolved, That the National Executive Committee interprets the recent action of the National Committee concerning the employment of either body as not intended to apply to lecturers now on the Lyceum Lecture Bureau, or who may be so employed between now and July 1, 1912; further

'Resolved, That we ask the National Committee to approve this interpretation as the quickest and most effective means of saving the party from loss and confusion, while at the same time guaranteeing to all comrades their constitutional right of standing for party office when the necessary number of locals have so requested.

"Many comrades have been nominated for National Executive Committee and National Secretary who are on the Lyceum Lecture Bureau for 1912. In view of the fact that the arrangements for the present Lyceum Lecture course were largely

COMMENT.

made before the adoption of any rule by the National Committee, and the lecturers in accepting service on the Lyceum Bureau were unaware of the possibility of such a rule being adopted, it is not fair either to them or the party to ask them to withdraw either from the Lecture Bureau or to surrender their constitutional right to accept nomination tendered them by the necessary locals.

"Again, the Lyceum plan is a new one and an experiment. We believe the National Committee will join with this committee in giving the Lyceum work the greatest amount of freedom consistent with party interests, in order that the possibilities of the Lyceum plan may be fully and fairly tested."

Nov. 7, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I herewith submit motion and comment by Comrade Goebel as follows:

"I move that in the event of a vacancy occurring in the list of Lyceum lecturers assigned to actual service or already advertised, that the National Secretary shall at once advise the National Executive Committee of such vacancies, and that no person shall be named for such vacancy or actual service under the Bureau (in the field) without action on each case by the National Executive Committee.

COMMENT.

"It is needless to say I have no disposition to hamper the work of the Lyceum Bureau, or to criticize the National office. But, as members of the National Executive Committee, we are held responsible by the party membership for those sent out to represent the National organization.

"The recent action of the National office in filling with a male comrade the vacancy caused by the withdrawal of Rose Pastor Stokes compels me to above motion. The prominence of the woman's movement of late would seem to indicate the including in each circuit of at least one woman speaker through motives of common sense, saying nothing of our loudly heralded belief in the equality of the sexes. If we could find no woman comrades for speaker it would be different, but I know that had I, as one member of the committee, been consulted, I could have suggested available women speakers for the vacancy.

"And again, if we are to be held responsible, we should have the decision."

Comment by Acting National Secretary John M. Work:

An effort was made by Comrade Katterfeld at the Milwaukee National Executive Committee meeting to get the committee to decide that there must be at least one woman on each course, but the committee decided that this was a mere matter of administrative detail. It is our desire to have at least one woman on each course. When the Stokes vacancy occurred, none of the women who had been approved were available to fill the vacancy. Since the Executive Committee had declined to make a rule that there should be a woman on each circuit, the other lecturers who had been approved would have had a legitimate objection if we had gone over their heads and asked you to approve someone else for the place. You would also have censured me if I had done so.

I would prefer that the National Executive Committee fill the vacancies when there is time to do so. But when a vacancy occurs, it so happens that the National office alone knows what arrangements the supposedly available lecturers have made. If there were plenty of time, this information could be transferred to you. But, suppose a lecturer gets sick in the field. Must we disappoint various towns until you can act? Or, suppose printed matter must be got out at once. The motion should be defeated and some less drastic motion adopted. If you will pass a motion requiring at least one woman to be placed on each circuit it will suit us exactly, for, then, if no woman who had been approved were available, we would be at liberty to go over the heads of the approved men, and consult you on the subject. In general, the efficiency of the Lyceum requires that you approve an ample number of lecturers, and then let us do the selecting and arranging. You cannot by any possibility know the multitude of conditions and preferences that have to be considered in assigning lecturers.

Newark, N. J., Nov. 7, 1911,

John M. Work,

National Secretary,

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrade—I desire a copy of this letter transmitted to members of the National Executive Committee and National Committee as reply to comment of the National Secretary on my protest. This is probably the last word from me on the subject, as I grow daily more averse to personal controversy. And I prefer to believe that Comrade Work, like myself, is doing the best he knows how under confusing circumstances.

But we can be honest and be wrong. And Comrade Work gave me reason for thinking him unfair, when, in his comment, he admits his action was due to my stating I expected to fill my Lyceum dates, while not at the same time telling him what I intended to do in the matter of accepting the many nominations for National Executive Committee tendered me. There were about thirteen others nominated for National Executive Committee and National Secretary for whom advertising as Lyceum lecturers had already been prepared.

Comrade Work states I gave him the impression I would decline the nomination for National Executive Committee. I have no doubt he thinks that, but nothing in my letter files or memory makes me believe I intended to give him such an impression. I did telegraph him I would not expect to be routed as organizer in balance of this year after October 1 when I learned of the new rule.

But 1911 and 1912 are two different years. And Comrade Work, nor anyone can tell who may be elected to office for 1912. Nor does Comrade Work or any committee have the power to penalize any comrade in advance for the possibility of being elected to office for 1912.

Nor did Comrade Work have justification for suggesting that those Lyceum lecturers who might withdraw in order to accept nomination for National Executive Committee would be acting dishonorably. Comrade Work and the comrades may have overlooked the fact that lecturers were requested as far back as last July to serve on the Lyceum Bureau. No suggestion was made at that time that the penalty would be to sacrifice their rights as party members to accept a call to other service from the membership. The National Committee (outside of Mr. Noble, the mover of the motion), in my opinion, did not understand the facts, or they would have either voted differently, or to not have the rule go into effect until existing contracts were completed.

It will doubtless surprise Comrade Work to find I have no personal motive for my protest against his action, as I have no intention of accepting the nomination for National Executive Committee. Under force of pressure from many quarters, I will admit I did hesitate, as to my decision in the matter, and frankly say I believe, with my wide, intimate knowledge of the country, of the comrades and local conditions, together with my experience in many lines, and as a member for the past two years of the National Executive Committee, that I could have been of much value on the committee for the coming year. But my inclination is to go back to the ranks, and with the large list of sane, experienced comrades nominated for the committee there is no reason why I should not. So I am not a candidate.

But candidate or not a candidate, I must protest against the elimination from the ballot of any comrade with requisite nominations who desires to stand. And I hope Comrade Work, of his own accord, will withdraw his request or motion.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) GEO. H. GOEBEL.

Nov. 13, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I informally transmit to you the following letter, which speaks for itself. I shall not make it a formal submission unless some action is taken in the matter.

Fraternally yours,

JOHN M. WORK,

Acting National Secretary.

Lewiston, Ida., Nov. 9, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, care John M. Work, Acting National Secretary, Chicago, Ill.:

Comrades—During the Haywood-Moyer-Pettibone trial I reported to our National Executive Committee of that period that George H. Shoaf, the correspondent of the "Appeal to Reason," through his actions as well as through his correspondence was disgracing the Socialist party, a member of which he was supposed to be, but was not.

I reported that Shoaf was sending out lying reports, undermining the Socialist party by treacherous activity and by his immoral conduct.

At the time of making this report, I sent a similar report to the office of the "Appeal to Reason," in care of Eugene V. Debs.

The National Executive Committee took no action on my report, and Comrade Debs not only declined to believe that my report was true, but lectured me severely for sending a report to the National Executive Committee on the ground that I was inspired merely by personal motives and had no business to molest the party with private quarrels.

But I knew at that time that if Shoaf was not a Pinkerton, he certainly acted like one, and that the people in charge of the "Appeal," knowing that he was not a party member, endangered the best interests of our party by entrusting a lecherous free-lance like Shoaf with such important missions.

My worst fears have now been realized. And they have not only been realized but have through their realization placed the "Appeal" people in a position where they are compelled to sacrifice both individuals and the Socialist party in order to protect themselves and their paper.

Here are the facts: Wherever Shoaf went he acted in a triple role. 1. Appeal correspondent and private agent of Fred Warren. 2. Agent provocateur. 3. Seducer of girls under age.

One of his latest victims is my daughter Elsa, whom he induced, at the age of 17, to leave her mother's care and travel all over this country with him.

This is no longer any secret to most prominent Socialists in this country. I was almost the last one to hear about it and get at the facts. For this reason I mention it here.

He sent Elsa away from Los Angeles, having grown tired of her and having found out by accident that the Burns people were aware of his criminal relation to my daughter and intended to use it against the defense

in the McNamara trial, or against the Socialist party, whenever opportunity should offer.

I had warned my daughter several times against Shoaf when she asked me by letter what I thought of him. But with the estimate of Debs, Warren and Wavland concerning Shoaf's purity of character and trustworthiness to influence her, she, too, considered me biased against Shoaf for personal reasons. No doubt she expected that he would be loyal to her and stay with her for life. In this she was mistaken.

When Shoaf sent her away, she went to Chicago. Here she fell in with Piet Vlag, the editor of "The Masses," New York. I had suspected what was going on for some time, although Elsa strenuously denies any such thing, when I inquired and asked her several times to come home and stay with me. Vlag wormed himself into the girl's confidence. Immediately after Elsa had been sent away Shoaf disappeared, not because he had been slugged or kidnaped, but because he saw that he was discovered and that the penitentiary was reaching out for him.

Vlag noticed that Elsa was very much troubled over Shoaf's disappearance. She believed that he had been murdered. Vlag soon wormed her secret out of her, under the guise of paternal solicitude for her welfare.

No sooner had he found out that Elsa had been intimate with Shoaf than he decided to get her out of the way and secure evidence of Shoaf's being alive, in order to secure the reward offered by the Appeal to Reason.

In order to get Elsa out of the way and clear the field for his own private operations, Vlag had to succeed in doing two things: 1. Secure letters of Shoaf to Elsa; to this end he must have her in his office for a while and then induce her to leave, so that he could intercept letters sent in care of his office to Elsa. 2. Prevent Elsa from confiding in me and coming home to stay with me; to this end he must get her out of the country.

He worked upon Elsa until she believed that it was to the best interests of Shoaf, of the Appeal to Reason and of the Socialist party that she should go to Europe. He advanced to her the passage money, hoping to reimburse himself by claiming the reward as soon as he should get evidence of Shoaf's well-being through the mail, which he confidently expected.

This was about the middle of September. At this time at least three people knew of Shoaf's criminal relation to Elsa (not counting Elsa), but not one of them notified me and asked me to protect her. These people were: 1. Helen Untermann, my former wife, from whom I separated four years ago and secured a legal divorce this spring. 2. Piet Vlag. 3. Fred D. Warren. There were others, of course, but against these three the proofs are incontestable. They are guilty of conspiring to keep me in ignorance of my daughter's fate, and Vlag is guilty of constructive kidnaping, a penitentiary offense. He is also guilty of opening letters not addressed to him, another criminal offense.

After Vlag had gotten Elsa out of the way he wrote a letter to Fred Warren to the effect that he could tell him something definite about Shoaf's disappearance. Vlag had intercepted a letter written by Shoaf on September 23, and addressed to Elsa in care of "The Masses." This proved that Shoaf was alive one month after he was supposed to have been slugged.

Vlag was too slick to ask directly for the reward offered by the "Appeal." He gave himself an air of acting "in the interest of the Appeal and of the Socialist movement" by preventing Elsa from communicating with me and spiriting her out of my reach. Fred Warren sent his brother Ben to New York to look into the evidence secured by Vlag. Vlag showed Ben Warren Shoaf's letter to Elsa, also a letter by another lady comrade to Elsa. Shoaf's letter proved Shoaf's existence after the date of his disappearance, the lady comrade's letter to Elsa proved the relation of Shoaf to Elsa, which Shoaf's own letter admitted.

Ben Warren insisted on taking Shoaf's letter with him and copying an extract from the lady comrade's letter. Vlag protested, because he wanted the money before he was willing to give up his evidence, but Ben Warren induced him to give in and promised that Vlag should be reimbursed.

On September 30, not having heard from the Warrens, Vlag wrote a letter to Fred Warren, demanding an explanation and insisting on being reimbursed for his outlay of railroad and steamboat fare in the "interest of the Appeal." He also intimated that he didn't care to receive the reward in cash, but would prefer to take it out through a business arrangement between the "Masses" and the "Appeal." In the same letter he admitted having betrayed Elsa's confidence, in order to protect Warren (the Appeal) and the Socialist party.

This lie did not go with Warren. Neither will it go with anybody else. Neither the interest of the "Appeal" nor the interest of the Socialist party demanded that Vlag should get Elsa out of my reach. The only interest that can be invoked to justify such a course is the interest of Piet Vlag.

Fred Warren received another letter, more pressing than the first, on October 14. He replied at last on October 17 and declined to be blackmailed by Vlag. This schemer replied to Warren on the 19th of October, still disavowing any intention to get the reward, asking again for

reimbursement of his outlay "in the interest of the Appeal and the Socialist movement," and asserting that he had acted for the best interests of all concerned, even of Elsa.

In the meantime, feeling that Warren's refusal to comply with any blackmailing schemes and the loss of the "evidence" placed him in a bad position, Vlag had organized a "committee" with the intention of giving himself the air of one having nothing so much at heart as the interest of the Socialist party. Nevertheless, his blackmailing attempt failed completely.

Furious over the failure of his well laid scheme, Vlag now remembered that Elsa had a father. He had received a letter from Elsa, dated October 5, written in Holland. He made an expurgated copy of this letter and sent it to me on October 20, asking me to wire immediately to a friend in Germany, telegraph money to Elsa, and take steps to protect her, because she was in great trouble and it was a matter of life and death, "or even worse."

It did not become so, however, until after he had placed my daughter beyond my reach and after he had failed to secure his blackmail from Warren.

I immediately asked for further information and demanded all the letters in his possession which he had stolen from their rightful owner. In reply I received various short letters from him, undated and unsigned, to the effect that he had told me all he knew and had no further correspondence to give up. But he had informed Elsa that he had intercepted her letters "in her interest and for the protection of all concerned." Elsa, generously wishing to protect her seducer, Shoaf, regretted for his sake that her letters had been opened. In order to safeguard himself still further and give himself as innocent an appearance as possible, Vlag, instead of telling me all the facts, asked me for an article for the "Masses." Had I fallen into this trap and complied with his request, he would have been able to use me against myself and prove that I had trusted in him, just as my misguided daughter had, to her own undoing.

I immediately wrote Vlag that I now saw through him and would call him to account. In my first letter to him, not having all the facts in my possession, I had actually thanked him for informing me, thinking that he had informed me as soon as he had the facts himself. But a little reflection and further correspondence quickly convinced me that Vlag had tried to deceive me and work me, just as he had deceived and worked my daughter and had tried to work and deceive the Warrens.

As soon as Vlag's first letter reached me, I immediately wrote to Fred Warren and asked him what he knew about the matter. He ignored my letter completely. I followed my first letter up by a registered letter on October 26. On November 6 I finally received a letter from A. W. Ricker, dated October 31 and inspired by Fred Warren. The letter unctuously preached forbearance to me, told me in so many words that I was to blame for Elsa's trouble, and asked me to leave Shoaf and the "Appeal" alone.

But it admitted at the same time that Shoaf's rottenness had been no secret to the "Appeal" people, and asked me to be silent, in the interest of the "Appeal," the paper being in a very bad mess.

Other letters have passed between Vlag and the "Appeal" office, but they add nothing new to the fundamental facts.

It is evident from the above: 1. That Vlag has betrayed the confidence of my girl, kept me in ignorance of the facts until he thought he could use me to get his revenge on the "Appeal" people, and lied to me to the last, withholding from me documents which would have enabled me to bring my daughter home and put Shoaf behind the bars.

2. That Ben Warren and Fred Warren betrayed me in the interest of their own persons and of the "Appeal" and condoned Vlag's actions without paying him the price of his treachery.

3. That the Warrens are now protecting themselves, the "Appeal" and Shoaf, regardless of my daughter's fate, of my reputation and of the interests of the Socialist party.

In my opinion, the McNamara defense could only have gained immensely by immediately exposing Shoaf and proving his treason to the girl he claimed to love, to his employers and to the Socialist movement. I claim that an immediate exposure of this entire rottenness is not only advisable, but my duty to the Socialist party and to the McNamara defense.

I claim that the Warrens are shielding Shoaf, not because the interests of the McNamara defense and of the Socialist party demand it, but because they have been engaged in shady operations with Shoaf and dare not welcome an investigation which would expose them personally and ruin the "Appeal."

I claim that such an investigation is the only thing that can be of any use to the McNamara defense and to the Socialist party.

The Burns people know about Shoaf's transactions. They will use them against our party and against the McNamara defense. We can prove that Shoaf acted like a Pinkerton and a degenerate scoundrel, that the Warrens sacrificed the interests of our party to their own private glory and financial advancement, and that no one can gain by a suppression of these facts but Burns and Otis, with their capitalist backing.

There is no time to lose. It is not late to act. I have immediately

given the facts to the press. Hillquit can get a copy of my article from Joshua Wanhope, so can Hunter and Spargo. Berger can secure a copy of the same article from Heath. The other members of the National Executive Committee can be reached through their colleagues better than I can reach them from here.

I hope you will act immediately, comrades, and let me know by return mail what steps you intend to take. I will not give up any of the letters in my possession, but am ready to be present at any meeting that you may call, or to send you copies of the letters in my possession. But in the meantime, I don't want to lose any more time copying sixteen long letters, especially when you can get the originals from Vlag and Warren.

Hoping to hear from you, I remain
Yours fraternally,
(Signed) ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Nov. 16, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I herewith submit report of action taken by your committee upon several motions:

Under date of November 2 the following motion was submitted by Comrades Hillquit and Goebel:

"That a call be issued in the name of the National Executive Committee and the National Secretary, addressed to the locals of the party for immediate and liberal financial support to the Los Angeles comrades in their pending campaign; also that two speakers, at least one of them a woman, be sent to Los Angeles forthwith at the expense of the party."

All members of the committee voted in the affirmative.

Under date of November 2 a motion was also submitted by Comrade Spargo, that the speech by Charles Russell to Catholics on Socialism be issued in leaflet form.

Comrades Goebel, Hunter and Spargo voted in the affirmative; other members of the committee not heard from. No action has therefore been taken.

Under date of November 3 the following motion was submitted by Comrade Berger:

"That a request be made to the American Federation of Labor convention, through President Gompers and Secretary Morrison, that the Federation assist financially in the Los Angeles campaign, and thus prove the solidarity of labor."

Comrades Berger, Goebel, Hillquit, Lewis and Spargo voted in the affirmative; Comrade Hunter in the negative; Comrade Carey not heard from. Affirmative action has therefore been taken.

Comment by Comrade Hunter:

"I have telegraphed my vote, which is No, on Berger's motion to request the A. F. of L. to assist financially the Los Angeles campaign. I believe the situation in Los Angeles is most exceptional and that the A. F. of L. should assist liberally in that campaign, but I believe that the request should come, if at all, from the unions of Los Angeles. I do not believe that our party should ever ask the unions for endorsement or for funds. I have always opposed that. The union movement should be non-partisan. I think our Comrade McLevy of Bridgeport, candidate for Mayor of that city and at the same time the President of the Central Labor Union of the city, pursued the correct tactics, when he refused to allow the various unions as well as the central body to indorse his candidacy. Every union in town would gladly have indorsed him and they are all working for him, but no union as a union is pledged to him. His action has taken the ground from under the fakirs forever, and answered finally Gompers' libel that we are in the unions for only what we can get out of them."

Comment by Comrade Spargo:

"I vote in the affirmative with some hesitation. Under ordinary circumstances, I should vote against making any appeal to the A. F. of L. for finances, because that would, to my mind, be equivalent to asking for an indorsement of our party and our candidates, which I consider to be contrary to the spirit of our declared policy. In the present instance, however, events force us to be practically allies of the A. F. of L. No man doubts that the election of Harriman would be a great gain for the McNamaras and the cause of the labor unions. The circumstances are wholly exceptional."

Under date of November 4 the following motion was submitted by Comrade Goebel:

"That the National Secretary be instructed, in compliance with the National Constitution, to place on the ballot for National Secretary and members of the National Executive Committee the names of all comrades who shall have been nominated by at least five locals, who shall have been party members at least three years, and who shall have signified their acceptance of such nomination."

Comrades Goebel, Hillquit, Hunter, Lewis and Spargo voted in the affirmative. Other members of the committee not heard from. Affirmative action has therefore been taken.

Comment by Comrade Hillquit:

"Please record me as voting in favor of the Goebel motion submitted by you under date of November 4."

"While I fully recognize the right of the National Committee and of the National Executive Committee to choose or not to choose any party member as organizer or lecturer, and to impose such conditions upon the choice of members as they may deem proper, it seems to me certain beyond dispute that neither of the two bodies can override or amend the national constitution by adding qualifications for members of the National Execu-

tive Committee which are not contained in the constitution itself.

"I believe, furthermore, that Comrade Work has made a mistake in calling for instructions on that point from the National Committee on his own responsibility. The National Secretary under Section 2, Article VI, of our constitution, is subjected to the exclusive supervision and directions of the National Executive Committee. The powers of the National Committee are limited to a review of the actions of the Executive Committee, after such actions have been taken. If the National Secretary should ask for instructions from the National Committee or the National Executive Committee as he may choose, conflicting decisions may result, greatly to the detriment of the efficiency of his work. The present difficulty in which Comrade Work may find himself in the event the decisions of the two national bodies should conflict, illustrates the point."

Comment by Comrade Spargo:

"You will kindly record me as voting in favor of the motion by Comrade Goebel, a copy of which he has submitted to the members of the National Executive Committee."

"It seems very clear to me that the reference of the question which you have referred to the National Committee should, in accordance with Section 2, Article VI, of the National Constitution, have been to the National Executive Committee. This is especially the case since you cannot possibly know the result of the National Committee's action (so far as I can see) within a time which would give the comrades affected by it a chance to consider whether or not they decide to accept nomination and resign from the Bureau staff, in case the National Committee gives a negative answer to your question. That they have such a right, both in morals and party law, seems to me indisputable."

"It is also very clear to me that the party constitution does not give any committee or official the power to omit from the ballot the names of any party members in good standing who receive the requisite number of nominations. Such a power would be most dangerous. It is just because the precedent your action would establish is so dangerous that I feel I must protest strongly against it."

"I have always been opposed to members of the National Executive Committee serving as regular employees of the party under control of that very committee, whether as organizers or office employees. That question is not now before us. Wisely or otherwise, it has been settled for the time being by the instruction of the National Committee to the National Executive Committee by its recent vote."

"As I understand it, the situation is this: If any person who is in the employ of the party accepts nomination for the National Executive Committee—or for National Secretary—he or she does so fully understanding that, in the event of election, such employment must immediately cease. On the other hand, comrades when voting will be expected to bear in mind that the election of such comrades to the National Executive Committee, or to the National Secretaryship, will necessitate their removal from other positions of employment which they may hold."

"Beyond this, no power in the party, except the membership itself, has any right to go. It is preposterous that any committee should be presumed to have the power to order that the names of perfectly eligible comrades who have been regularly nominated, and who have accepted nomination, shall not be placed upon the ballot."

Later comment by Comrade Spargo:

"Kindly add to my comment on Comrade Goebel's first motion, ordering the names of all properly nominated and qualified comrades to be placed on the ballot this note:

"My comment was written before I received your own explanatory statement, dated November 4, 1911. I do not change my vote, and still think it would be a preposterous thing for the National Committee, or any other committee, to order otherwise."

"Nevertheless, your statement makes it perfectly clear that you were seeking to avoid a grave difficulty by getting the advice of the National Committee. I would simply then, to that extent, modify my criticism of your action."

"Under the circumstances, I do not see that we can do other than leave the matter to the sense of honor of the comrades affected."

Comment by Acting National Secretary John M. Work:

"I am at a loss to understand the Executive Committee's action. Under the circumstances, I could not have done otherwise than consult the National Committee, since it was the one which had passed the rule that I wanted to have interpreted. It gave me the interpretation. I believe everyone will now concede that I took the right course."

Nov. 17, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I submit the following correspondence:

(Night Lettergram.)

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 16, 1911.

"Job Harriman,
"921 Higgins Building,
"Los Angeles, Cal.

"Dear Comrade—It is reported that you have invited Brand Whitlock to stump for you. I desire to send a de-

nial of this report to the party press. Please wire me at my expense.

"Fraternally yours,
"JOHN M. WORK,
"Acting National Secretary."

(Telegram.)

"Los Angeles, Cal., Nov. 17, 1911.

"John M. Work,
"205 W. Washington St., Chicago.
"No official action taken in regard to Brand Whitlock. He was invited here by personal invitation of Dar-

"JOB HARRIMAN."

Nov. 18, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I now formally submit my communication of November 13. I also submit the following motions by Comrade Hillquit:

"(1) That the next meeting of the National Executive Committee be held at Washington, D. C., on Saturday, December 16, at 10 a. m.

"(2) That Comrades Ernest Untermann, Fred Warren and P. Vlag be invited to attend the meeting, or to send such statements and evidence in connection with the Shoaf matter as will enable the committee to investigate Comrade Untermann's charges and to publish its findings for the information of the party membership."

Nov. 21, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I herewith report action taken by your committee upon two motions by Comrade Goebel:

One submitted under date of November 6, providing that a resolution be submitted to the National Committee asking for interpretation of the recent action of the National Committee concerning the employment of either body as not intended to apply to lecturers now on the Lyceum, or who may be so employed between now and July 1, 1912.

Comrades Goebel and Lewis voted in the affirmative; Comrades Hillquit and Spargo voted in the negative; Comrades Berger, Carey and Hunter not heard from. No action has therefore been taken.

Comment by Comrade Hillquit:

"Please record me as voting in the negative upon the motion of Comrade Goebel submitted under the date of November 6, 1911. I do not believe that the recent resolution of the National Committee with reference to the employment by the National office of members of the National Executive Committee and the National Committee can be fairly and reasonably construed as suggested by Comrade Goebel, and I do not believe that it is within the province of the National Executive Committee to construe resolutions of the National Committee. It may be that Comrade Goebel's suggestion that lecturers now on the Lyceum Lecture Bureau and those who may be employed on the Bureau until July 1, 1912, should be exempt from the provisions of the resolution, is a wise one; but in that case a motion to that effect should be made to the National Committee, and the latter should pass upon it."

Comment by Comrade Spargo:

"Upon the motion asking the National Committee to interpret its recent action concerning the employment of members of the National Committee or the National Executive Committee by either body in such a manner as to exempt the Lyceum lecturers from the rule, I must vote in the negative."

"In the first place, as I read the rule adopted it does clearly apply to the Lyceum lecturers. I assume that the members of the National Committee knew what they were voting for and meant what the motion said. I would not insult them by asking them to rule that they meant something very different. Further, in view of the fact that the Lyceum lectures are, in actual practice, destined to supplant the ordinary work of the traveling "organizers," and are very little more than that work in a more systematic and organized form, I am of the opinion that the rule ought to apply to the Lyceum lecturers. When we remember that some of the speakers are to get from fifty to seventy dollars per week for several months in the year, I think we can see that it is highly improper to have members of the National Executive Committee virtually employing themselves. Moreover, the fact that not all speakers are paid the same amount—the payments varying from thirty to seventy dollars per week, if I remember aright—it is evident that no member of the National Executive Committee ought at any time to be in a position where he or she would have to vote upon the rate of remuneration and the routes he or she should have as a Lyceum lecturer."

The other motion was submitted under date of November 7, as follows:

"That in the event of a vacancy occurring in the list of Lyceum lecturers assigned to actual service, or already advertised, that the National Secretary shall at once advise the National Executive Committee of such vacancies, and that no person shall be named for such vacancy or actual service under the Bureau (in the field) without action on each case by the National Executive Committee."

Comrades Goebel, Lewis and Spargo voted in the affirmative; Comrade Hillquit in the negative; Comrades Berger, Carey and Hunter not heard from. The motion has therefore been adopted.

Comment by Comrade Hillquit:

"Please record me as voting against the motion of Comrade Goebel sub-

mitted by you under date of November 7.

"Of course, I believe that the National Executive Committee should pass upon the eligibility of speakers on the Lyceum Bureau, but I do not think it would be a wise policy to tie the hands of the National office in cases of emergency, such as sudden vacancies, etc."

"I did not understand it to be the settled policy of the National Executive Committee to appoint at least one woman speaker for each circuit, nor would I stand for such policy. If we have actually emancipated ourselves from the habit of regarding the woman as an inferior being, the only way to demonstrate that is by ceasing to consider her within the party as a representative of a sex. To my mind a discrimination in favor of women as women is just as unwarranted and offensive as a discrimination against her. Let us fill all positions in the party by members best fitted for such positions, whether they happen to be men or women."

Comment by Comrade Spargo:

"Upon the motion providing that no person be assigned to actual work as a Lyceum lecturer without specific consent by the National Executive Committee, I vote yes."

"I urge here as I urged at the Milwaukee and Bridgeport meetings that the National Executive Committee must take firmer hold of the lyceum and leave less of the important matters to be settled by the Bureau staff in the office. Some of the groupings of speakers seem to me very unfortunate."

Nov. 23, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee:

Dear Comrades—I herewith submit a motion by Comrade Hillquit, as follows:

"I move that Comrade Louis Kopelin be reappointed National Correspondent for the Socialist press in Washington for the coming session of Congress."

COMMENT.

"I do not believe that the above motion stands in need of elaborate comment. Comrade Kopelin's work during the extra session of Congress has been eminently successful, and his reports have been a feature not only of the Socialist press, but of a large portion of the labor press in the country. The expense attached to the work has been quite insignificant in comparison with its tremendous propaganda value."

I also submit a motion by Comrade Hunter, as follows:

"I move that we request the National Committee to elect a committee of three to investigate and report the facts upon the following subjects:

- "(1) Is the Chas. H. Kerr Co. a co-operative enterprise?
- "(2) To what extent are the shares of that company owned by party members and party locals?
- "(3) To what extent has that company a monopoly of the literature of Socialism?
- "(4) If the company is a co-operative, in what manner if any can the stockholders control and manage their property democratically?"

COMMENT.

"Socialist literature is the very heart's blood of our movement. Socialist papers are not only the most important property 'we own,' but also our sole means of information and of propaganda. Most of our Socialist papers have been established by immense self-sacrifice and vast unpaid labor. The money has been raised by the party, the subscriptions obtained by the party and whenever things have been mismanaged the debts have been paid by the party. Yet in the case of THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW the editor is the supreme power. He does not have to submit to any election, the party cannot recall him, or in any manner whatever hold him to account. He alone controls the editorial policy of the paper. He alone manages the finances of the paper and at the present moment he is using the paper to exploit policies condemned by the Socialist party."

"Indeed, ever since Simons was forced out of the Chas. H. Kerr Co., this publishing house has declared war on almost every settled policy of the International Movement. It has sneered at Political Action, advocated rival unionism, and vacillated between Anarchism and Proudhonism. The constant emphasis THE REVIEW lays on Direct Action and its apparent faith that a revolution can be evoked by will or by force is in direct opposition to our whole philosophy. Indeed THE REVIEW today stands against Marxism, against the policy of the International Movement and against the policy of our American Movement, since it freed itself from De Leonism on one side and Johann Most on the other."

"I could, of course, have no possible objection if the Chas. H. Kerr Co. were a purely private enterprise, but it claims to be a co-operative and we know that every dollar of its capital has been given by the party. I understand that to get one lecture from Comrade William D. Haywood the locals must hand over to THE REVIEW \$250 and that Haywood is paid \$50 a night. I do not know what Bohn receives nor what the locals are charged for his services, but it does seem to me that these are high fees for preaching an ultra-proletarian philosophy and that a Socialist party might learn at less expense how useless its services must ever be in the emancipation of the working class."

"So far as I can learn the Chas. H. Kerr Co. has today a practical monopoly of the publication of Socialist literature. It has also a machine for

steering the party that has not its equal in any other country. Its stock is largely owned by party members and locals, yet the company is absolutely controlled by one man and there seems to be no way for the stockholders to exercise any power. It seems to me, therefore, that the party should have the exact facts and then it can see that this most important enterprise of the party shall be not only collectively supported, but also democratically managed.

The following letter is sent at the request of P. Vlag.

November 24th.

The Socialist Press.

Dear Comrade:

In a communication to the National Executive Committee Ernest Untermann charges me with constructive kidnapping of his daughter, Elsie. He charges I knew of relations existing between his daughter and Shoaf, and that for that purpose I went to Chicago, induced his daughter to accept a position in my office, and then proceeded to worm her secret out of her. All this for the purpose of earning the reward of \$500 which was offered by the Appeal to Reason for information showing that Shoaf was alive. He furthermore charges that after I had obtained his daughter's confidence I induced her to leave the country so that I would be in position to intercept letters written to her by Shoaf. Both Untermann and the National Office sent this communication to the Socialist Press. If Ernest Untermann had killed his daughter he would not have committed as great a crime as by thus publishing her alleged dishonor.

Fred Warren, Untermann and myself have been invited to appear before the N. E. C. on December 16. I declare this an imposition on the party, as the matter could have been settled by a written statement from each of the parties involved. I protested against conditions which enable individual comrades to absorb the party's cash and energy in publicly settling their family troubles.

As to the facts regarding Untermann's accusation.

On August 5 I arrived in Chicago. I was looking for a stenographer, as my stenographer had notified me that she intended to leave. On August 9, Mrs. Kaneko, Editor of the Progressive Woman, had heard about the position I had open and wanted to be introduced for the purpose of discussing same. On August 10 I engaged Elsie. She was to start while I finished my tour through Michigan for the National Office. On August 15, while I was out on the road, news of Shoaf's disappearance reached the National Office. Ergo Untermann's charge of engaging Elsie with the prospect of collecting the reward falls flat.

On September 16 Elsie told me she was leaving at once. When pressed for an explanation she told me she had been working with Shoaf on the McNamara case, that he was alive and that the Burns people would put Shoaf and the Socialist Party in a bad light if they could find her. She flatly refused to make a definite statement as to the character of Shoaf's operations. Still I understood from her remarks that there was more behind it than she cared to tell me. I thought a good plan for her to go to Europe as her mother was also going. So she wrote to her relatives and left. I advanced her passage money and references to my relatives with whom she could stay until her mother arrived.

And now the N. E. C. is called upon to decide as to whether my judgment was right in encouraging the girl to join her mother, with whom she had been living most of the time since her father and mother separated, instead of notifying the father. Really, comrades, it is a farce and this and all other investigations of a similar private character ought to be stopped.

The following letter induced me to write to her father after she arrived in Europe. "On second thought it would be better if you wrote to papa. Tell him what you think best. You need not fear of getting yourself in trouble by helping me. If things come to a crisis there are plenty of canals in Rotterdam."

I wrote to Untermann: "Elsie is in great trouble. I strongly urge you to cable Dietzgen (a friend of his). She should make a clean breast of it and let Dietzgen advise her."

Upon request from Untermann for information I sent him a copy of the letter she sent me. When he asked for more information I sent him copies of the entire correspondence I had conducted on the matter with the Appeal. How he arrived at the conclusions which he drew from the correspondence is more than anyone acquainted with the facts can understand.

Until this very day the girl has not received any assistance from her relatives. I have spent more than a hundred dollars in cash assisting her and the only recompense I have thus far received is the bitter accusation of her father.

As to Shoaf there is as yet no evidence that he was a traitor or a Pinkerton as Untermann suggested in one of his letters. It were these unsupported and unproven charges which lost Untermann the confidence of his daughter. There is evidence of certain practices by Shoaf which in my opinion make him dangerous and in fact impossible as a party member, but this does not prove his insincerity or duplicity.

As to the Appeal, I never claimed their reward and defy anyone to prove different. Upon suggestion of the Appeal I assented to be reimbursed for the money I advanced to the girl. But they never came across the bridge. As

they were given to understand that I was going to use their money to further aid the girl.

They wrote in part, "She did what she did with her eyes open and she knew Shoaf and his family. She is unfortunate but we can't help her without becoming party to the whole dirty business."

Sympathy and notoriety, that's what she got and plenty of it. I protest against the maltreatment of this girl. It is outrageous to speak of a sixteen year old girl (She was sixteen when Shoaf met her), as doing such a thing with her eyes open.

Dec. 1, 1911.

To the National Executive Committee.
Dear Comrades: The result of the vote on the Hillquit motion, submitted November 18, that the next meeting of the National Executive Committee be held at Washington, D. C., on Saturday, December 16th, at 10 a. m., is as follows:

Voting Yes: Carey, Goebel, Hillquit, Lewis and Spargo. Voting No: Berger and Hunter.

The motion is therefore carried.

The result of the vote on the Hillquit motion, submitted November 18, that Ernest Untermann, Fred Warren and P. Vlag be invited to attend the meeting, or to send such statements and evidence in connection with the Shoaf matter as will enable the Committee to investigate Comrade Untermann's charges and to publish its findings for the information of the party membership, is as follows:

Voting Yes: Hillquit and Spargo. Voting No: Berger and Carey. Not voting: Hunter and Lewis. In doubt: Goebel.

No action has therefore been taken.

COMMENT.

Berger: I vote No on the motions of Comrade Hillquit to have the next meeting of the N. E. C. at Washington and to invite Untermann, Warren and Vlag to appear. Reason, because I do not want dirty linen washed at the first meeting of the N. E. C. ever held at the capital of the nation.

Carey: If any of the persons named are party members and have violated the party laws, or have acted in a manner that brings discredit to the Socialist Party, the locals to which they belong should take action. To use the national machinery for the investigation of a matter that is within the province of the local authority is not only wrong, but it would lead to an endless demand for "Inquiries" through the National Party.

Goebel: I vote Yes on the first part providing for a meeting December 16, because I believe there should be a meeting about that time, regardless of any investigations.

As to the second portion of Comrade Hillquit's motion, it depends on what it means. If Comrade Hillquit means that at this meeting we shall give a hearing to comrades who have asked it in re the Shoaf incident, and then perhaps issue a statement, I will vote Yes. But if the motion means an investigation in the full sense of that word, I will vote No. The N. E. C. has no power to investigate such matters unless they involve one of their own members, or the office of the National Secretary, which they do not. Even though we had the power, I doubt the wisdom of it.

This present N. E. C. had hopes and plans for improved methods of organization, and more and wider lines of propaganda and organization, that, to a great extent, has been prevented or retarded by the fact that certain individuals during almost our entire term, under the pretense of the party welfare, have sought to turn the Committee into a high court of inquiry as to how many drinks make a man drunk, and similarly important questions. When we did what seemed our duty, then the cry was that we sought to whitewash someone. When we did investigate more fully, then the cry was that we had suppressed the facts, and other falsehoods. This should teach us a lesson. The N. E. C. is not a bureau for collecting debts, nor determining morals for the membership, or acting as umpire in the differences and grievances of individuals or corporations. I am willing to listen to any statements Comrade Untermann or Vlag or others may make, but I will not be willing to pass as judge of the facts, unless it be shown clearly by the statements that the integrity of the party, or its officials, as such, is involved.

Fraternally submitted,

JOHN M. WORK,
Acting National Secretary.

By a recent referendum in Alabama C. G. Hutchisson, Oakdale, Mobile, was elected a member of the National Committee.

National Committeeman J. W. Bassett of Louisiana supports the motion of National Committeeman W. S. Noble of Texas, relative to calling off National Referendum "D," first published in the Weekly Bulletin of November 4.

The Executive Committee of the International Socialist Bureau has issued a manifesto protesting against the Italian-Turkish war, and calling upon the workingmen of all countries to unite in protesting against war, and in demonstrating for peace, for disarmament and for the solidarity of the peoples.

A new edition of the National Constitution of the Socialist Party, containing the latest amendments, has been published. Price, one-half cent per copy in any quantity. Order from the National Headquarters, 205 West Washington street, Chicago.

National Committee

National Headquarters,
Socialist Party,
Chicago, Ill., Nov. 6, 1911.

To the National Committee:
Dear Comrades—As you are aware, the National Constitution requires the election of delegates to the National convention to take place not later than sixty days preceding the convention. The State Secretaries are also required to furnish the National Secretary with a list of the accredited delegates of their respective states not later than thirty days preceding the convention. It follows that the time and place of the National convention ought to be selected as soon as possible, in order that the states may have sufficient time to conduct the election of delegates.

Therefore, I hereby call for nominations for time and place of the National convention of 1912. Nominations will close November 27. Each member of the committee is entitled to nominate one time and one place. In accordance with the rules of the committee, the election will be conducted by the preferential plan and will therefore require only one ballot. The nomination blank attached hereto should be returned to the National office on or before November 27, 1911.

Nov. 13, 1911.

To the National Committee:
Dear Comrades—Herewith is submitted report on National Committee Referendum No. 7, Motion No. 7, Question by Acting National Secretary John M. Work:

"Shall the names of such comrades (comrades assigned as Lyceum lecturers) be placed on the ballot if they accept the nomination?"

VOTING YES—Alabama, Hutchisson; Colorado, Troxel; Florida, Allen; Indiana, Kelley; Kansas, Blase; Massachusetts, Fenner; Michigan, McMaster, Aaltonen; Mississippi, Lipscomb; Nebraska, Oyer; Nevada, Burton; New York, Lee, Wright; North Dakota, LeSueur; Ohio, Clifford, Cook; Oklahoma, Wills, Ameringer; Pennsylvania, Cohen; Tennessee, Terlisner; Virginia, Rader; West Virginia, Cullum. Total, 22.

VOTING NO—Arizona, Morrison; Idaho, Rigg; Kansas, Berry; Kentucky, Streine; Louisiana, Bassett; Maine, Guptill; Massachusetts, Putney; Minnesota, Keyes; Missouri, McAllister; Montana, Kruse; New York, Paulitsch; Oregon, Lewis; Pennsylvania, Maurer, Kennedy; Rhode Island, Grimshaw; South Dakota, Ballinger; Texas, Noble; Washington, Price; Wisconsin, Berger. Total, 19.

NOT VOTING—Arkansas, Hogan; California, Wilson, Harriman; Connecticut, Inderelst; Georgia, Mulcay; Illinois, Germar; Indiana, Reynolds; Iowa, McCrillis; Maryland, Rosett; Minnesota, Morgan; Missouri, Berry; New Hampshire, Bean; New Jersey, Kraft, Reilly; New Mexico, Cameron; New York, Strebel; Oklahoma, Block, Owen; Oregon, Richards; Texas, Zimmerman; Utah, Mallet; Vermont, Ordway; Washington, Barth; Wisconsin, Thompson; Wyoming, Powell. Total, 25.

Affirmative action has therefore been taken.

COMMENT.

Hutchisson, Alabama: "The responsibility of confusion rests on them and they should be remembered in the election."

Morrison, Arizona: "On Motion No. 7 I feel that in order to be consistent I must vote no. It might be that a comrade could accept the position as lecturer on the Lyceum Course and at the same time be a member of the National Executive Committee, to which office he was elected after being engaged as such lecturer, and still be within the letter of our law, but he would most assuredly be violating the spirit and intent, and I believe that if the rule on that subject that we have established should seem unjust or unreasonable to any of the members of the committee, the proper method would be to in a regular manner repeal the objectionable clause. For myself, while I have the utmost confidence in the honesty and loyalty of my comrades, I believe that there are so many in the movement that are capable of filling either of these positions that it is not necessary to have anyone permanently employed by a committee of which he is himself a member."

Inderelst, Connecticut: "Please change my vote on motion or question how you put it, as not voting. I voted no, so I don't want to vote not at all on 'Shall the names of such comrades be placed on the ballot if they accept the nomination.' I must say we can't keep the names off the ballot, otherwise when they elected as National Executive members they have to resign as Lyceum organizers. That is my opinion."

Bassett, Louisiana: "I vote 'No' on your Motion No. 7. I believe that we have a great many men and women with splendid capacity for doing our work who lack nothing but a little stimulation and development. The comrades who will lecture on the Lyceum Course will have plenty to keep them busy and develop them still further. We should endeavor to get the able men everywhere in the game, and not center all active responsibility upon a handful of persons. Let the responsibility of management be diffused to include as large a circle as possible. This may seem cumbersome, and done at the expense of efficiency, but that, you know, has always been the stock argument against democracy. The end is what I keep constantly in view, and if we are to

have a movement gone to seed where only a few have power and authority I will not like it."

Putney, Massachusetts: "I vote No on No. 7 as it seems that to do otherwise would violate a rule made by the party. However unwise the party may have been in making the rule, it should be heeded."

Aaltonen, Michigan: "Please record me as voting Yes in the question submitted by Acting National Secretary, and while doing so I cannot restrain myself of saying, that in my opinion the adoption of the Motion No. 4—1911—was a mistake, and I feel that it ought to be repealed. But as there may be comrades who probably want more of this kind of 'experience' before they realize it, the affirmative answer to this question may be all at this time."

Keyes, Minnesota: "I do not think the lecturers on the National Bureau should be on the Executive Committee. One job at a time is sufficient and it should be necessary for them to devote all their time to preparing and delivering these lectures, and they should not accept positions on the National Executive Committee that conflict with such work."

McAllister, Missouri: "In my opinion, for any comrade to accept the nomination for National Executive Committeeman and also act on Lyceum as a speaker would be in violation of a referendum voted on a short time ago by the National Committee. If it meant anything at all it would surely apply to this question. Either ignore it or enforce it to the letter is my judgment. Never stretch, twist, dodge or deviate one hair. Just let the comrades fill one place or the other, and not both until voted down. This we Socialists should never ignore, let the majority rule."

Lee, New York: "To your question submitted under date of October 30 I unhesitatingly reply in the affirmative. If locals nominate a certain comrade as a candidate for member of the National Executive Committee, and that comrade accepts the nomination, I cannot see how you have any option in the matter. You are required to put his name on the ballot, no matter what may be your opinion as to the consequences of his election. Only the National Executive Committee itself in the first instance, and after it the National Committee, the National convention and the party by general vote, can review an election to the National Executive Committee with reference to the qualifications of a candidate; and any such question can be taken up, it seems to me, only when an election has taken place and protest is made against the seating of some person declared elected. Personally, I am in doubt whether the National Committee had any constitutional right to bar members of the National Executive Committee and the National Committee from acting as lecturers for the Lyceum Bureau. But even if that be not in doubt, your only course will be to refrain from assigning as lecturers any comrades who have actually been elected to one of these committees, certainly not to bar from the ballot comrades regularly nominated who you think may later be in request as lecturers. To do that would be to commit a grave infringement on such comrades' rights as party members and on the rights of all who may wish to vote for them, and would also set a most dangerous precedent."

Wills, Oklahoma: "I vote Yes on this question because I am still of the same opinion as when I voted No on the original proposition that has us in this kind of a fix."

Lewis, Oregon: "To my mind you are in duty bound to observe the will of the membership that has already determined such by referendum. Therefore I shall vote No, as it is but proper they should decline or resign. In so doing they will avoid technicality and possible confusion later."

Maurer, Pennsylvania: "I vote No on Motion No. 7 because the motion passed sometime ago is plain on this point. It's true they were hired for the Lyceum by the old Executive Committee; but it is also true that should any of them be elected to the Executive Committee they would then as lecturers on the Lyceum Course be working under their own jurisdiction. And this is, as I understand it, contrary to the motion passed sometime ago."

Noble, Texas: "First, I vote No because to vote Yes means to kill the spirit of the referendum thus brought into question. Second, the Lyceum speakers can thus accept the nomination and resign if elected. Third, I think the affairs of the National Socialist party would be best administered by those having no economic interest in acting in any manner except for the party's good."

Cullum, West Virginia: "I vote Yes on Motion No. 7. I don't think an injustice should be done any comrade. After the Lyceum Course closes those comrades having been elected shall abide by the decision of Motion No. 4."

Nov. 15, 1911.

To the National Committee:
Dear Comrades—Herewith is submitted report on National Committee Referendum No. 6, Motion No. 6, action by the National Executive Committee referred to the National Committee for approval or disapproval:
"That the National Executive Committee make special efforts for propaganda in Alaska along the lines of the recommendations of Comrade Goebel."

VOTING YES—Arizona, Morrison; Colorado, Troxel; Florida, Allen; Georgia, Mulcay; Idaho, Rigg; Kansas, Blase; Louisiana, Bassett; Massachusetts, Fenner; Michigan, McMaster, Aaltonen; Minnesota, Keyes; Missouri, McAllister; Montana, Kruse; Nebraska, Oyer; Nevada, Burton; New York, Strebel, Lee, Wright; Oklahoma, Ameringer, Wills; Oregon, Richards, Lewis; Pennsylvania, Cohen; Rhode Island, Grimshaw; Texas, Zimmerman; Utah, Mallet; Virginia, Rader; Washington, Price; Wisconsin, Berger, Thompson; Wyoming, Powell. Total 32.

VOTING NO—Arkansas, Hogan; Connecticut, Inderelst; Illinois, Germar; Kentucky, Streine; Maine, Guptill; North Dakota, LeSueur; Ohio, Cook, Clifford; Pennsylvania, Kennedy; South Dakota, Ballinger; Texas, Noble; West Virginia, Cullum. Total, 12.

NOT VOTING—Alabama, Hutchisson; California, Harriman, Wilson; Indiana, Reynolds, Kelley; Iowa, McCrillis; Kansas, Berry; Maryland, Rosett; Minnesota, Morgan; Mississippi, Lipscomb; Missouri, Berry; New Hampshire, Bean; New Jersey, Kraft, Reilly; New Mexico, Cameron; New York, Paulitsch; Oklahoma, Block, Owen; Pennsylvania, Maurer; Tennessee, Terlisner; Vermont, Ordway; Washington, Barth. Total, 22.

The motion is therefore adopted.

COMMENT.

Inderelst, Connecticut: "I must say I vote No on Motions 6 and 7. I see no reason that I change my mind."

Bassett, Louisiana: "I'm glad this motion has been made. I regret my vote on the previous 'Alaska' motion when I learned the facts."

Guptill, Maine: "If the National Executive Committee is so straightforward in funds that it is unable to contribute to the work in states already organized I cannot support the gamble in Alaska."

Kruse, Montana: "I vote 'Yes' on Referendum No. 6 because: First, this is in line with the last vote I cast on the matter of organization in Alaska. Second, all eyes are directed toward the territory, on account of the agitation over the disposal of its resources, and to carry it for Socialism would mean a great deal for the cause. Third, reports seem to indicate that the boys up there are 'just dying to get a shot' at capitalism and if this is the case 'them's the fellows that need the guns.'"

Burton, Nevada: "I am voting 'Yes' on National Committee motion No. 6 with the understanding that such work will not seriously interfere with the work so badly needed in various parts of the states. Before reading Comrade Goebel's report of his work in Alaska I was inclined to doubt the wisdom of sending an organizer to that territory at this time, believing that better results might be had, with equal expenditure, here in the states, and that our funds should be applied where most good may be accomplished."

LeSueur, North Dakota: "No special effort should be made for Alaska, every possible assistance should be given, but we have territory close in that needs special effort much more than Alaska. It is not simply a matter of getting the votes and electing Congressmen. The voter has got to be educated to stand while the things that need doing are being done, and the Alaska comrades will be there long in advance of many eastern and southern voters."

Wills, Oklahoma: "I vote Yes on Motion No. 6 for the same reason that I voted against National Committee motion to recall Comrade Goebel, believing that the expense incurred in sending him there was money well spent. It was incomprehensible to me how such a motion should pass, in view of the fact that practically all of the expense of the trip had at that time been incurred and he was, considering the country, delivering the goods at such an unprecedented rapid rate. Truly we are queer mortals sometimes."

Cohen, Pennsylvania: "The report and financial statement concerning Comrade Goebel's trip to Alaska show that the money was well spent and there are good reasons for supposing that the work in that territory can be continued with profit to the party. The Socialist party is making progress as never before, and it devolves upon us to push the work in all new territory and establish the movement everywhere."

Kennedy, Pennsylvania: "No on Motion 6, because, in spite of Comrade Goebel's extremely favorable report, I regard it as folly to expend time, energy or organizing talent in the barren waste of Alaska while Delaware and the two Carolinas with a combined population of four million remain unorganized. Alaska has a population of 64,000 scattered over an area of thousands of square miles. The single city of Wilmington, Delaware, has a population of 87,411, and yet last June the whole state of Delaware (population 202,300) bought just 95 cents worth of stamps from the National office. Last month, September, 1911, North Carolina (population 2,206,287) bought no stamps, while South Carolina (population 1,515,900) bought just \$3.70 worth."

Zimmerman, Texas: "I vote Yes on Referendum No. 6, first, because I am personally acquainted with Comrade Goebel and have faith in his honesty in representing the truth of the situation, and second, because it seems the reasonable and logical thing to do."

Mallet, Utah:
The action of the National Committee

with a little attention paid to Alaska we can get good results."

Cullum, West Virginia: "It seems Comrade Goebel is very much angered over the action of the National Committee in recalling him from Alaska. His lecture to the National Committee, and comparison to capitalist politicians, are very much out of place. The National Committee is no figurehead, and is responsible to the party only for its actions. The fact that there was a strong tendency on the part of certain officials of the Socialist party to engage themselves only as organizers and lecturers is what influenced the National Committee to vote affirmatively on Motion No. 4. I think there are districts in the states where greater results would ensue from the same amount expended in an Alaskan tour. Let us use our money and energy here at the very heart of capitalism."

Nov. 25, 1911.

To the National Committee:

Dear Comrades—I have the following communication, which is marked "For Publication," and I therefore transmit it to you:

"Mr. John M. Work, National Secretary, Socialist party: "Rule 2 provides that comments of National Committeemen upon motions shall be published if they do not exceed 100 words; otherwise, they shall be filed for reference. I have always tried to keep my comments within the limit assigned; if I exceeded it, I recognized the duty of the National Secretary not to burden the Bulletin with my lucubrations. In the Weekly Bulletin dated November 18 I find a motion by Comrade Berry accompanied by a comment of 420 words and another by Comrade Noble of over 800 words. Perhaps it is sufficient to call attention to the rule."

(Signed) "ALGERNON LEE, National Committeeman for New York."

"November 21, 1911."

Hitherto the rule has been interpreted so as to allow the mover's comment, of any length, to be published in the Weekly Bulletin when the motion was made. I believe, however, that Comrade Lee is correct. Therefore, unless the rule should be amended by your committee, hereafter I shall publish in the Weekly Bulletin the motions only. And if comments not exceeding 100 words each are filed, by the mover or otherwise, I shall send them to you along with the ballots.

While on this subject, allow me to say that in my judgment you ought to annul the rule which requires the publication in the Monthly Bulletin of the comments sent in by committeemen at the time when they vote. A comment made while the vote is being taken cannot affect the result. It is a waste of money to publish such comments. Whenever the Monthly Bulletin has to be eight pages, instead of four, it costs about one hundred and fifty dollars extra for printing and about seventy-five dollars extra for postage.

Nov. 28, 1911.

To the National Committee:

Dear Comrades—I herewith submit report of nominations for time and place of holding the national convention of 1912:

Chicago, Ill.—By Oyler of Nebraska, May 30; Cohen of Pennsylvania, May 8; Mallett of Utah, May 1; Zimmerman of Texas, August 12; Germer of Illinois, May 12; McMaster of Michigan, May 6.

Cincinnati, Ohio.—By Streine of Kentucky, June 1.

Cleveland, Ohio.—By Harriman of California, no date.

Denver, Colo.—By Ballinger of South Dakota, June 6.

Des Moines, Iowa.—By Price of Washington, May 21.

Duluth, Minn.—By Keyes of Minnesota, May 15.

Indianapolis, Ind.—By Kelley of Indiana, July 4; Reynolds of Indiana, April 28; Reilly of New Jersey, May 12; Lewis of Oregon, May 12.

Milwaukee, Wis.—By Powell of Wyoming, May 1; Kruse of Montana, May 1.

Minneapolis, Minn.—By Le Sueur of North Dakota, no date.

Pittsburg, Pa.—By Kennedy of Pennsylvania, no date.

New York, N. Y.—By Leo of New York, May 11; Paulitsch of New York, May 1.

Oklahoma City, Okla.—By Morrison of Arizona, June 1; Hogan of Arkansas, May 30; Allen of Florida, May 15; Aaltonen of Michigan, March 15; McAllister of Missouri, July 4; Clifford of Ohio, June 1; Owen of Oklahoma, May 17; Wills of Oklahoma, no date; Ameringer of Oklahoma, May 10; Maurer of Pennsylvania, May 12; Noble of Texas, May 1; Bassett of Louisiana, May 5; Rader of Virginia, June 24; Cullum of West Virginia, May 1; Berger of Wisconsin, May 12; Guphill of Maine, May 7; Lipscomb of Mississippi, no date; Block of Oklahoma, May 20.

San Francisco, Cal.—By Rosett of Maryland, July 1.

St. Louis, Mo.—By Hutchison of Alabama, May 12.

St. Paul, Minn.—By Morgan of Minnesota, May 15.

Wichita, Kan.—By Berry of Kansas, June 1; Blase of Kansas, May 6.

In accordance with the rules of the National Committee, the voting on time and place will be by the preferential system. Kindly use the voting blank herewith enclosed. Vote will close December 19.

Fraternally submitted, JOHN M. WORK, Acting National Secretary.

Woman's Nat'l Committee

Nov. 14, 1911.

To the Woman's National Committee:

Dear Comrades—There has been but one motion submitted since my last report. Motion by Comrade Branstetter: "I move that the July number cover page of the Progressive Woman, also Walter Crane's 'Race of the Nations' be published as post cards."

Comrade Branstetter very kindly relieved me of the preparation of the November number of the programs, while I was in Louisville. She found pleasure and profit in the necessary preparation and the unusually good program is the result of the new life and interest that she brought into the preparation. Would it not be well to divide next year's programs among the members of the committee, each one being held responsible for one program? Theresa Malkiel and other devoted women comrades will gladly take charge of the remaining five. Far better programs will be the result. If you favor the idea, a motion to that effect is in order.

The petitions are coming in fairly well. Two or three press articles are sent out each week urging that they be pushed to the utmost. Comrade Minnie Martindale of Wichita, Kansas, who took Comrade Zeh's place in Colorado, was obliged to return to Kansas after one month's work. Comrade Floater recommends Comrade Mary L. Geffs for this work. After she has shown what she can do, if satisfactory, she might be elected as a district organizer.

Comrade Wattles has completed a successful tour of Indiana. She cost the National office nothing, made all expenses and turned ten dollars over to the state. She sent in many names of women who are members or are interested, though but few committees were organized as she was in a district where the general movement was weak, and locals had to be re-organized. Later on she hopes to be sent over the same territory, when she is confident she will be far more successful in organizing the women. I sent an advance letter to the locals urging them to get the women out to hear her. Then I sent a letter and leaflet and copies of the Progressive Woman to the most active women on the lists of names she sent in, and encouraged them to continue the work she had started. Only one answer has been received from these, though more may have written the state correspondent, Rosa Lehnert.

I have failed thus far to place her in any other state, although Comrade Bentall stated that he would put her to work in Illinois within two weeks. He has been very ill, and nothing more has been heard from him, though I have tried several times to get word from him. The Lyceum Course is thinking of employing her after March 1.

Comrade Nellie Zeh has decided to give her time to her household duties for the present. We haven't a single woman's name on the available list for the Lyceum Course. Will you send in the names of any woman you know can make good? The Lyceum Department will eagerly avail themselves of them. I am enclosing report of the Suffrage Convention. Press of other duties has made this impossible before. Fraternally,

CAROLINE A. LOWE, General Correspondent, Woman's National Committee.

Proposed National Party Referendums

"Shelbyville, Ind., Nov. 1, 1911.

"Local Shelbyville, Ind., in regular session November 1, 1911, with fourteen members in good standing, moves that we issue a call for a national referendum as follows:

"First. Resolved, That the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of America be instructed to prepare a petition requesting the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America to enact a law securing to the workers of the United States of America, its territories and possessions, a universal eight hour work day and a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week, regardless of sex or age.

"However, should the National Executive Committee determine that this measure does not come within the jurisdiction of Congress, they are hereby instructed to prepare a petition requesting the Senate and House of Representatives to submit to the legislatures of the several states for ratification an amendment to the national constitution which shall enable the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America to pass said law.

"Said petition to be presented to Congress through the Hon. Comrade Victor L. Berger, M. C., Washington, D. C.

"Second. Resolved, That the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party be instructed to prepare a leaflet, for general distribution previous to the circulation of said petition, setting forth the Socialist view of a shorter work day, and the benefits to be derived by the workers, both organized and unorganized; also stating the number of workers now enjoying the short work day in the United States, how obtained, by strike or otherwise; and calling upon all labor organizations, regardless of craft, creed or color, to assist us in circulating said petitions.

"Third. Resolved, That said leaflet point out that only through and by

the constant agitation and organization of the Socialist Party are we workers today able to present anything like a united demand to Congress for any relief from the oppression of the ruling class; and the larger the Socialist vote, the more emphatic will we be able to demand our rights. This leaflet shall also inform the reader that if he wishes to assist in securing the eight-hour day that it is his right and duty to do so, and that he will find a petition to Congress at all local Socialist headquarters.

"COMMENT: This motion, in the opinion of its authors, is of vital importance to the entire working class, organized as well as unorganized.

"It is a move upon which the entire working class can unite and make common cause and learn to work together. As a rule, we Socialists have small faith in most palliative measures, because too often they are enacted for the sole benefit of the ruling class.

"The eight-hour movement is different, and is one that will be hard for the capitalist class to either ignore or to turn to their own interest. And by constantly urging the workers to keep their attention upon the disposition Congress makes of this measure we can keep the working class as a whole interested in the Socialist Party and press, which, we think, is the most desired feature. So, comrades, let us concentrate our efforts upon this one vital measure to us all and force the issue. The time is ripe. Why wait longer?"

(Signed) CHAS. W. GREEN, Chairman Session. ROBT. MCGRAH, Secretary Session. J. E. CHENOWETH, Local Secretary.

Girard, Kansas, November 12, 1911.

To amend Article 11.

Strike out Section 3, and insert: On the first day of January and July, respectively, of each year, all referendums requested in accordance with Section 2, during the preceding six months, shall be submitted to a vote of the membership. No referendums shall be submitted at any other time.

When the required number of seconds, as provided in Section 2, are received for any referendum, same shall be published and be subject to amendment.

All amendments receiving the same number of seconds as the original motion shall be submitted. Vote on all referendums shall close sixty days from date of submission to the membership. Nothing in this section shall prohibit the submission to a referendum of any matter by a national convention.

(Signed) D. C. FLINT, Sec'y.

Tulare, Cal.

Amendment to the Constitution of the National Socialist Party of the United States of America, proposed by Local Tulare, State of California:

That neither the National Socialist Party, or any state organization thereof, shall require the subscription to any newspaper or periodical, or the purchase of stock in a paper, as a condition of being in good standing in the party.

"This amendment shall take effect as soon as approved by referendum vote.

COMMENTS: 1. We have a state paper in California, and it works this way: In order to be in good standing in California a member must subscribe to the paper, and each local must buy stock in same. The paper is organized under the laws of the State of California, which makes all of the property of all the members of the party liable for the debts of the paper, thus placing the Socialist Party of California under the control of capitalist courts, whenever the paper incurs an indebtedness it cannot meet.

2. This state paper is under the absolute control of the State Secretary and the State Executive Committee, who use it to boost their scheme of fusion with labor unionism, and who absolutely deny members of locals who oppose their views any space in the paper. Any matter which does not meet their views is simply ignored.

As it is now proposed that a national paper be started along these lines, we earnestly call your attention to the action of the National Executive Committee on the matter of the party-owned paper of the California Socialist Party.

Local Tulare, believing that this requirement to purchase stock and subscribe to a paper to be unconstitutional, some time ago passed a resolution requesting a ruling of the National Executive Committee on the matter. A copy of the resolution was sent to the National Executive Committee, but our request was absolutely ignored. No mention of it appeared in any report of their meetings, although we know for a fact that they received the resolutions.

"Now, comrades, we ask that you second this referendum, and when it is put to a vote, carry it, and thereby take the power of boss rule away from a few men in the Socialist Party.

(Signed) GEO. H. CASTLE, Chairman of Meeting. WM. CARPENTER, Secretary of Local.

Coffeyville, Kansas, November 19, 1911.

Motion made and carried that Coffeyville local initiate a referendum, as follows: That all Socialists of the United States, with the unemployed, call a general inside strike for January 2, 1912. Each worker now employed go to the shop, factory, mine or railroad where he or she is em-

ployed, and those unemployed go to where last employed on January 2, 1912, and tell the present management that from now on the workers will run the tools of production and distribution for themselves, and if they wish to work with them and share the labor as well as profit with the workers, all right, otherwise get out, because we can run it without them.

(Signed) A. E. BIRDSELL, Secretary.

Seconds of Referendums

Since last reported the proposed National Party Referendums have been seconded by locals as follows:

That proposed by Local Norwich, Conn., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of August 26, relating to repetition of referendums and repeal of amendments, has been seconded by Local Aberdeen No. 2, Wash.

That proposed by Local Rockdale, Tex., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of September 2, relating to nomination of candidates for president and vice-president by referendum vote, has been seconded by Locals Lafayette, La.; Longmont, Colo.; Cuates, N. M.; Bristol, Conn.; Debs, Minn.; Spruce Pine, Ala.; Kelso, Wash.; Maquoketa, Ia.; Lowell, Mass.

That proposed by Local Everett, Wash., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of September 9, relating to apportionment of delegates to national conventions and congresses, has been seconded by Locals Longmont, Colo.; Two Inlets, Minn.; Red Lodge No. 2, Mont.; Aberdeen No. 2, Wash.; Pearson, Wash.; Spokane No. 2, Wash.; Trinidad, Colo.; Maquoketa, Ia.; Kelso, Wash.; Lowell, Mass.; Newport, Ky.

That proposed by Local Toledo, Ohio, first published in the Weekly Bulletin of September 9, relating to interference in the affairs of unions, has been seconded by Locals Teller County, Colo.; Spokane No. 2, Wash.

That proposed by Local Columbus, Ohio, first published in the Weekly Bulletin of September 9, relating to party newspaper and magazine subscription lecture tours, has been seconded by Locals Derwent, Ohio; Canton, Ohio; Bristol, Conn.; Glendive, Mont.; Aberdeen No. 2, Wash.; Hamilton County, Ohio; Spokane No. 2, Wash.; Columbia Falls, Mont.; Marietta, Ohio; Lowell, Mass.

That proposed by Local Kalamazoo, Mich., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of September 16, relating to filling vacancies by the next highest, proposed as an amendment to the amendment initiated by Local Rockdale, Texas, regarding the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president by referendum vote, has been seconded by Locals Debs, Minn.; Lowell, Mass.

That proposed by Local Kalamazoo, Mich., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of September 16, relating to the work of national organizers, has been seconded by Locals Spokane No. 2, Wash.; Lowell, Mass.

That proposed by Local Pineland, Fla., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of September 23, relating to the professing or practicing of free love, has been seconded by Local Spruce Pine, Ala.

That proposed by Local Columbia Falls, Mont., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of October 21, relating to the reinstatement of Rev. Edward Ellis Carr, has been seconded by Locals Warren, Me.; Moundsville, W. Va.; Mishawaka, Ind.; Debs, Minn.

That proposed by Local Sedalia, Mo., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of October 21, relating to the reinstatement of Rev. E. E. Carr, has been seconded by Locals Warren, Me.; Asheville, N. C.; McKean County, Pa.

That proposed by Local Okemah, Okla., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of October 21, relating to the eligibility of office holders to membership in the party, has been seconded by Locals Asheville, N. C.; Moundsville, W. Va.

That proposed by Local Girard, Kansas, first published in the Weekly Bulletin of November 18, relating to the submission of referendums in January and July only, has been seconded by Local Albuquerque, N. M.

That proposed by Local Tulare, Cal., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of November 18, relating to the subscriptions or purchase of stock as a condition of good standing in the party, has been seconded by Local Albuquerque, N. M.

That proposed by Local Allegheny County, Pa., first published in the Weekly Bulletin of October 28, relating to a reduction of the national dues, has been seconded by Local Westmoreland County, Pa.

Internat'l Communication

New York City, November 16, 1911.

Dear Comrade Work—At the request of the International Socialist Bureau, I herewith transmit to you for publication in the next Bulletin a copy of a letter addressed by Ahmed Riza, the president of the Turkish Chamber of Deputies, to Emil Vandervelde, chairman of the International Socialist Bureau. This is the first official communication coming from a European government to the representatives of the organized Socialist movement of the world, and is a most eloquent tribute to the power which our movement wields in preventing and abating wars between nations. The letter was written immediately upon the outbreak of the Italian-Turkish war, and the Ottoman government finding itself wretchedly and brutally assaulted by the government of Italy and betrayed by other European powers in league with Italy, turned for relief to the only force in modern society which honestly stands for universal peace—the International Socialist movement. The letter, which should be given the widest publicity in the Socialist press, is as follows:

"Chamber of Deputies, Presidential Cabinet.

"Constantinople,

"October 16, 1911.

"My Dear Mr. Vandervelde—In the recent events Italy is not the sole culprit. The other powers are her accomplices, as the blow that was struck had been prepared by them. Their representatives take us by the throat and say to us:

"First accept the occupation as an accomplished fact, then we will help you to arrange the matter."

"This inconceivable attitude on the part of Europe affects us just as much as the loss of Tripoli, if we should lose it, for it will engender mistrust, despair and disgust in the East. It will not add to faith in civilization, in promises, in treaties signed by Europe. This contradiction between word and deed constitutes a breach of morals.

"The Young Turk party, which has been so loyally engaged in making the people love Europe, adopt its ways of progress and in endeavoring to bridge the West and the Islam world, will fail in its duty through Europe's own fault. At the present moment, after the brutal raid of Italy with the knowledge of the powers, our internal adversaries complain that we have flattered European civilization and that we have boasted of the benefits that were to accrue to us from it. They even go so far as to declare that the real progress lies in the increase of bayonets and cruisers and that real patriotism consists in sacrificing everything to the budget of war.

"This is what Europe, and particularly France and England, have brought us to, thanks to their secret treaty with Italy.

"What think you of the treaties of Paris and of Berlin, which formally guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman empire?

"And the people's rights—justice, humanity, moral principles—what signification do you attach to them henceforth?

"And see in what manner Turkey responds to the unworthy spoliation of Italy? With a moré sense which will hardly be understood in Europe, it does not banish from its territories, as it has every right to do, the 40,000 Italian laborers who, dying of hunger at home, have come to us for hospitality and are finding means of existence with us. What would become of them, their wives and their children if we retaliated on them?

"This fact, among many others, deserves thought on the part of Europeans, and especially of Socialists.

"It is with a very heavy heart that I remain, sir,

"Yours,

"AHMED RIZA, President of the Chamber of Deputies."

Fraternally submitted, MORRIS HILLQUIT, International Secretary.

National Committeemen William Inderelst of Connecticut and E. L. Berry of Kansas support the motion of National Committeeman W. S. Noble of Texas, first published in the Weekly Bulletin of November 18, relating to comments by the National Secretary on National Committee motions.

National Committeeman William Inderelst of Connecticut supports the motion of National Committeeman W. S. Noble of Texas, first published in the Weekly Bulletin of November 18, relating to appeal to the National Committee in case a motion is ruled out of order.

THE PARTY BUTTON



CELLULOID BUTTONS, SINGLE BUTTON, 5c; in lots of 10, 1c EACH; 1,000 FOR \$7.00

GOLD PLATE ENAMELED BUTTONS, OR PINS FOR WOMEN, 25c EACH; \$2.00 A DOZEN

Contributions to Los Angeles Campaign Fund During November

Table listing contributions to the Los Angeles Campaign Fund during November, including names, addresses, and amounts.

Table listing various branches and their locations, such as Finnish Branch, Kenosha, Wis., and others, with associated amounts.

State Secretary U. Solomon of New York reports as follows: "Anthony Signor, formerly a member of Local Green Island, New York, was expelled from the party on account of participating in the primaries of the Democratic party."

To the Local Secretary: Did your State Secretary receive a report card from you last month?

Names and Addresses of State Secretaries

Table listing names and addresses of state secretaries for various states, including Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, etc.

Names and Addresses of National Committeemen

Table listing names and addresses of national committeemen for various states, including Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, etc.

The price of the Berger tariff speech is now 35 cents per hundred. It has hitherto been sold at a loss. Address all orders to the National Secretary, 205 West Washington street, Chicago. They will be sent to you in bulk and you can write the addresses on the envelopes and mail them out without postage. The National Office cannot undertake to address them to individuals. The price of the old age pension speech remains at 25 cents per hundred, as heretofore.