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The Socialist Party in Indiana Since 1896

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THE Socialist Party in Indiana is not something different and apart from the general Socialist movement; on the other hand it is affiliated with and subordinated to the Socialist Party in America. It also cleaves closely to the principles of International Socialism as outlined by the national platforms and decisions of International Congresses. This State has been one of the most regular in its adherence to the national organization. The Unity Convention permitted the various States and Territories much latitude in organizing to suit the needs of the various sections, but there is at present a tendency to bring all the State organizations under the more direct control of the national offices. Indiana will have nothing to undo, as it started right.

Indiana may justly claim some prestige in the Socialist Party. New Harmony, Indiana, was the scene of the most important of the Owenite movements. While this experiment did not have any direct connection with the present political party, it served to show social unrest and sowed some seeds, the fruit of which was harvested by reformers in favor of the emancipation of labor.¹ Robert Owen was called "Our Dear Social Father" and it is said by Owen's associates that Owen claimed to have used the word "Socialism" at least ten years before it was adopted by any other writer. If he did not actually use the word it came into use as a substitute for Owenite.²

¹ *Socialism*, by John Spargo (1906), 11.

² *International Socialist Review*, Vol. VI, No. 1. July (1905).

The Socialist contribution to the picture gallery of party emblems in its present form is the work of James Oneal, of Terre Haute. The design represents two clasped hands around the globe. Encircling the picture is the famous motto of Karl Marx, "Workers of the World Unite" and the words, "Socialist Party." This badge is used by the national organization and by nearly all of the States.

The Socialist paper, *The Appeal to Reason*, was started in Greensburg, Indiana, under the name of *The Coming Nation*.³ The place was selected because the editor desired his paper to circulate from the center of population. It was in this paper that Eugene Debs first advocated "the establishment by ballot of a commonwealth based upon co-operation."

Mr. Debs, the party's candidate for president in four campaigns, was born in Terre Haute and still lives in his native city. His brother Theodore was the first national secretary of the Social Democratic party.

The Unity Convention which launched the present Socialist party was held in Indianapolis and John W. Kelly, of Marion, has the honor of being the first chairman of the first convention of the Socialist Party in America.⁴

The movement was not entirely new, "The Socialist Labor party" had been organized some twenty-five years before;⁵ and had been the main representative of the Socialist movement during this period though related societies of an educational character were to be found here and there. Its highly centralized form of organization and adherence to a dogmatic censorship over the utterances of its members bred dissention in the early nineties. In 1896 the Socialist Labor Party organized the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance as an antagonist of the trade union movement. This was an outcome of fruitless efforts to force the trade unions to accept Socialist principles. These two organizations never proved a success and the dissatisfaction it caused in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party resulted in a split in the party in July, 1899. The larger part of the membership withdrew and organized with headquarters in New York City. There were two Socialist Labor Parties with headquarters in the same city.

On January 1, 1897, Mr. Eugene Debs issued a circular to the members of American Railway Union entitled "Present Conditions

³ *The Coming Nation*. Nov. 23, 1895.

⁴ *Proceedings of the Unity Convention*.

⁵ Hunter, *Socialists at Work*, 358.

and Future Duties" and at the same date issued a card to the Associated Press announcing his conversion to socialism, saying, "I am for Socialism because I am for humanity."⁶ It was hoped that this stand taken by their leader would bring the American Railway Union into the folds of Socialism and it did so, practically.

The Social Democracy of America was organized in Chicago June 18, 1897. This party was the result of a union between members of the American Railway Union numbering about 150,000, the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth, and the independent organizations of Socialists, most of whom had left the Socialist Labor Party. The national executive board was composed of old American Railway Union officers, "The five Woodstock prisoners."⁷ The organization was somewhat crude and indefinite in its declarations of principles and in its working methods. It provided for a colonization department with the view of capturing some western State and organizing a model Socialist commonwealth as an example for the other States. Mr. Debs and others made tours of the East and South in interest of the new party. The elections of 1898 show gains of this faction over the Socialist Labor Party, electing two aldermen in Sheboygan, Wisconsin. "In Richmond, Indiana, their candidate for Mayor received 89 votes."⁸

The first national convention of the Social Democracy met in Chicago June 7, 1898. Eugene V. Debs presided. There were present 170 delegates representing 94 branches. The issue of political action versus colonization immediately developed. A split followed. The political actionists were in the minority. The advocates of colonization established two small colonies in Washington State. They maintained a precarious existence for a few months when Social Democracy disappeared. The thirty-seven political action delegates bolted the convention, reconvened at Hull House and organized a political party, taking the name Social Democratic Party of America, with headquarters in Chicago with Theodore Debs, of Terre Haute, as national secretary and treasurer.⁹ On March 6, 1900, this new organization met in National Convention at Indianapolis with 67 delegates representing 2,136 votes.¹⁰ Each was a

⁶ S. M. Reynolds, *Debs; His Life, Writings and Speeches*, 20.

⁷ *Social Democracy*, edited by Frederick Heath (1900), 58.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁹ *History of Socialism in U. S.*, Morris Hillquit, 333.

¹⁰ The delegates from Indiana were the following: John Ozanic and Hugh Miller, Indianapolis; Matthew Hollenbarger, Evansville; William Blanks, Kokomo; John W. Kelly, Marion; Eugene Debs, Theodore Debs, James Oneal,

delegate at large and had as many votes in the convention as he had signatures of members attached to his credentials. The responsibility of all actions was placed upon the membership.

The convention nominated Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, for president and Job Harriman, of California, vice-president. The latter was the presidential candidate of the rebellious faction of the Socialist Labor Party and had been nominated a few months before at Rochester, New York. A committee on unity representing the Rochester convention appeared at the Indianapolis convention of the Social Democratic Party and after an earnest presentation of the need of unity a committee was elected to confer with a like committee from New York.

The recommendations of the joint conference of three were submitted to both organizations for a general vote of their members. They were rejected by a vote of 1,336 to 720, but this did not prevent both factions from supporting the same presidential ticket. The Socialist Labor Party, in anticipation of unity, adopted the same name as the Chicago organization and so there were two Social Democratic parties. However, the result of the presidential campaign brought a better understanding between members of both organizations, so that a union convention met in Indianapolis, June 29, 1901, and this date marks the beginning of the real Socialist party.

Besides economic conditions there were other reasons why this was an opportune time for the birth of a new party.¹¹ The Populist Party was in the West, the Greenback in the Middle West and Northwest, and Union Labor in the East. These organizations were casting a quarter of a million votes without electing any of their candidates. The Populist Party in its convention in Omaha in 1892 tried to catch the votes of the labor unions by its plank which said: "Wealth belongs to him who creates it and every dollar taken from industry without its equivalent is robbery. The interests of rural and civic laborers are the same; their enemies are identical."¹² The Populists fused with the Democrats in 1896. Debs supported Bryan in this campaign, but there were many who would not affiliate with the old line parties and there was a counter agitation probably due to the direct and indirect teaching of Karl Marx.¹³ The union

Judson Oneal, Herman Stuempfle, Clarence Kingery, John Kingery and Ed H. Evinger, Terre Haute.

¹¹ *Why I Am a Socialist*, Chas. E. Russel, 144.

¹² *History of Socialism in U. S.*, Morris Hillquit, 319.

¹³ *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, by Karl Marx, 4.

resulted in the election of a few officers and it was thought that if all factions would unite upon a program success would eventually crown their efforts.

With this end in view the convention which met in the old Masonic Temple on West Washington street, in Indianapolis, was the largest and most enthusiastic one that had ever met for a similar purpose. There were 124 delegates and each delegate had from one to four hundred names on his credentials.

"Among the delegates there, were men who had been active in all phases of the socialist movement, and alongside of them men of prominence who had recently come into the ranks. The composition of the convention also served to demonstrate how much the character of the socialist movement had changed during the last few years. No more than twenty per cent. were foreign born."¹⁴ About 10,000 members drawn from all factions were represented by these delegates, but out of it came a strong organization which has steadily increased.

The new party assumed the name, Socialist Party,¹⁵ except in States where a different name had or may become a legal requirement.¹⁶ The Socialist Labor Party did not fuse with the new one but still exists as a small remnant of the once vigorous organization by that name, but its growth and influence does not keep pace with the Socialist.¹⁷

¹⁴ *A History of Socialism in the United States*. Morris Hillquit, 338-9.

¹⁵ *Proceedings of the Unity Convention*, 577.

¹⁶ *Report of the Socialist Party of the United States of America to the International Socialist and Trades Union Congress*, Amsterdam, 1904.

¹⁷ The delegates to the unity convention from Indiana were as follows: M. Greuling, John M. Ray, William Hamilton and Charles Cotton, Indianapolis; William Blenks, Kokomo; John Adams, Brazil; Martin Wefel, Ft. Wayne; John W. Kelly, Marion; James Oneal and Ed H. Evinger, Terre Haute. By the constitution of the Unity Convention "The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and executive committee, the party conventions, and the general vote of the party." The officers, committeemen and delegates to conventions are all to be elected by referendum vote. "All party nominees whether municipal state or national shall file with their respective nominating bodies a resignation covering both their nomination and election which shall be operative whenever their nominating bodies declare that said nominees have proven themselves untrue to their trust." To become a member of the party it is necessary to be a resident of United States, eighteen years of age and to sever connection with all other political parties and to pay dues to the State committee who shall pay each month a sum equal to five cents to the National Committee for every member in good standing in their respective territories. "Each state or territory may organize in such way or manner and under such rules and regulations as it may determine, but not in conflict with the power of this Constitution. A State or territory shall be deemed organized and shall have a right to affiliate upon the organization of not less than four branches, each branch to consist of not less than five members. Each State

The Unity Convention, in adopting a national constitution, made the unit of organization the State; hence, locals must affiliate with the State. Dues stamps can be had only from the State office. The general principle is State autonomy with its locals working in harmony with the National organization.

Indiana had been organized under the Social Democratic party which had recognized local branches in cities and towns as units. Dues were paid directly to the National office and if the members paid any dues to the State organization it was purely an individual matter.¹⁸ The State had fared well in this voluntary payment for Hugo Miller, State Treasurer, was able to report to the Indianapolis convention, June 24, 1901, a surplus of \$23.85 after paying all expenses that had accrued since the organization of the State executive board on July 20, 1900.

The committee on State organization for Indiana, which had been selected by the delegates to the unity convention, went to work to reconstruct the Socialist branches, locals and independent organizations. Bulletins were sent out requesting special meetings to pass upon the plans at once and report to the secretary of the committee their vote upon the following: "Seat of Headquarters—Terre Haute and Indianapolis, nominated. Shall State officers be elected by referendum vote to serve until first convention?"¹⁹

The efforts of the committee met with such good success that ere the appointed time Indiana received her charter.²⁰

The National Organization affiliates with the State through the National Committee.²¹ In the beginning the States and Territories

and territory organized shall receive a charter. The States are to elect National Committeemen by September 1, 1901."—*Proceedings of the Unity Convention*, 641-642.

¹⁸ *Report of State Treasurer to the Delegates of the Indiana State Convention; The Toiler, Terre Haute*, Sept. 20, 1901.

¹⁹ *The Toiler: Terre Haute*, Sept. 20, 1901.

²⁰ This charter reads as follows: "To the Comrades of the Socialist Party in the State of Indiana, Greeting: Your application for affiliation with the Socialist Party has been granted and your organization has been entered on the roll as the State organization of Indiana. Provided, that your organization shall issue no platforms or utterances in conflict with the National Platform and will not institute any rules or regulations in conflict with the provisions of the National Constitutions. The National Committee reserves the right to suspend or revoke this charter on account of violation of the above provisions.

"Dated at St. Louis, Mo., this 16th day of October, 1901.

(Signed) National Committee,
"E. Val. Putnam, Chairman,
"Leon Greenbaum, Secretary."

This charter is framed and hangs in the office at State Headquarters.

²¹ "The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by the National Committee, its sub-committees and officials, the National Convention and the

when organized were allowed one member but as the party increases in size additional members on basis of party strength are permitted.²² In 1904 an additional member for every thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. In 1908 this was increased to two thousand and in 1912 to three thousand :

For the purpose of determining the representation to which each State or Territory may be entitled, the executive secretary shall compute at the beginning of each calendar year the average dues-paying membership of such State or Territory for the preceding year. Three years' consecutive membership in the party shall be necessary to qualify for membership in the National Committee.²²

By a recent ruling of the party the State secretaries of all organized States and Territories may act as National Committeemen or such other persons as the members of the party in the State shall elect by referendum vote. The committeemen may also be subject to recall by referendum. The National Committee meets once a year but it may hold special sessions by a vote of two-thirds of its members. "The members attending the meetings shall be paid from the national treasury their railroad fares and \$2.50 per day to cover expenses."

The duties of the National Committee are carried on largely by correspondence. They have charge of the following:—calling conventions, making reports, strengthening the organization by propaganda, managing a lecture bureau, routing lectures in districts that are weak, formulating rules and order of business of national convention, receiving reports from State organizations, conducting national referendums, recommending amendments to the National Constitution, appropriating the funds, and electing some national officers.

The national committee keeps in close touch with the work of the State through the State party offices. The constitution for the Socialist party in Indiana provides that :

The management of the Socialist party of Indiana shall be administered by its officers, an executive committee, a State committee, locals and branches, party conventions, and general vote of the membership. The officers and committees of this organization shall consist of a Chairman, State Secretary-Treasurer, Woman Correspondent, Executive Committee of five members, and a proper quota of National Committeemen.²³

general vote of the party." Act III, Sec. 1, *Constitution of the Socialist Party*. 1914.

²² *Constitution of the Socialist Party*, 1904. Art. IV, Sec. 1, and later amendments.

²³ *National Constitution of Socialist Party* 1912, Art. V, Sec. 1-12.

The party officers and committees up to the adoption of the new constitution April 10, 1914, had been named by the party in State convention and then submitted to the locals for a referendum vote. It was necessary to name at least two persons for each office so there might be a choice, but by the present system the State secretary-treasurer sends out a call on the first Monday in October to the locals for nominations giving a limited time for nominations and acceptances:

Then within ten days ballots shall be prepared and sent out for the referendum; thirty days to be allowed for the vote; should there be no majority vote for any candidate on the first ballot, then within ten days all names but the two highest shall be dropped; when more than two candidates remain and only one to be elected, and all but three dropped when two are to be elected, and so on allowing of one candidate in excess of the actual number to be elected before a second and final ballot is to be taken. Thirty days shall be allowed for the second ballot.

The duties of the State party officers are definitely outlined:

The Chairman shall attend to all political transactions involving the signing of documents, as may be prescribed by State law. He shall attend to the political affairs of the party and supply such information regarding the election laws as may be required by virtue of his office. He shall be a member of the Executive Committee, and he shall have been a member of the party for two consecutive preceding elections.²⁴

The real business of the party is transacted by the secretary-treasurer. In the beginning of the party the duties of this hyphenated officer were performed by two different members, each serving as a labor of love, but the work was too much for a man to do and carry on his own business. In 1904:

It was decided that the duties of secretary shall be performed by a regularly employed and paid official who shall devote his entire time to the work and shall receive as compensation a minimum salary of fifty dollars a month or a maximum of eighty at the discretion of the state executive board.²⁵

The salary question was later placed in the hands of the State Convention. It has been gradually increased from fifty dollars to sixty in 1911, sixty-five in 1912 and seventy-five since 1912. The office rent and supplies are paid for by the party and the fixtures are owned by the party.

The State Secretary-Treasurer shall have charge of all affairs of the

²⁴ *Constitution of the Socialist Party of Indiana.* Art. IV, Sec. 1.

²⁵ *Constitution of the Socialist Party of Indiana.* 1904. Art. IV, Sec. 3.

state office subject to the direction of the Executive Committee, conduct the correspondence of the state office, sign and issue charters, sell and distribute Socialist literature, report to the National Secretary as provided in the National Constitution, report monthly to the locals an itemized account of the receipts and expenditures and general work of the previous month; annually render to the State Convention a full account financially and otherwise of the year; keep a system of names of all the active Socialists of Indiana; attend to the touring of all organizers (state and national) working in the state, and do such other work as may be imposed by the Executive Committee, said amount to be not less than \$500.²⁶

The office of the secretary-treasurer is the headquarters for the State. It is open the year round and is a regular beehive of activity. A fairly good-sized book store must be conducted besides taking care of the party records. The room is the editorial one for publishing the *Indiana Socialist Party Bulletin*, copies of which are sent to the locals for distribution among the members so that each one may keep in touch with every move that is made and know how the money is used, for the members "pay the fiddler and call the tunes."

Closely connected with the work of the secretary-treasurer is that of the executive committee, composed of the chairman and four other members:

The state organization shall pay all necessary expenses of members of the Executive Committee and allow them two dollars per day during time of actual service. They shall meet every four months or oftener if necessary between meetings, the business of the party to be carried on by correspondence.²⁷

This committee has concurrent powers in connection with the secretary-treasurer in transacting all business that is not expressly delegated to the State secretary-treasurer or the vote of the party. It has original jurisdiction in the care of all legal possessions of the party in Indiana, also in the hearing and revoking of any charter of any subdivision which is accused of violating party principles.

Another very important party officer in the State organization is the Woman's State Correspondent or secretary. The constitution of the party places this office co-ordinate with State secretary but does not define the duties, while the constitutions of 1912 and 1913 define the duties but do not classify the position. Her duties are to keep in touch with women correspondents elected by the locals and with the State secretary-treasurer, who is to co-operate with her to bring

²⁶ *Constitution of Socialist Party of Indiana. 1904. Art. IV, Sec. 2.*

²⁷ *Constitution of Socialist Party of Indiana. 1914. Art. IV, Sec. 4 and Sec. 5.*

women into the Socialist party and make them intelligent suffragist Socialists.

The first woman correspondent, Rosa Lehnert, of Indianapolis in her report to the State convention in 1912 made some unexpected recommendations for the men to follow, one of which was :

That the male membership of the State take particular note of the rapid growth of sentiment toward granting women the rights of franchise—that when the time does arrive that they may be counted on our side and not allow them to be used as a boomerang to defeat us after our years of agitation in their behalf.²⁸

In another paragraph she speaks of the need of Socialism's being carried "to every woman wage slave, or slave of a slave in our State. This can best be accomplished by the husband and father, who are already Socialists staying at home with the children and in other ways make it possible for the wife and mother to attend their meetings."

Working with the woman's correspondent there are at present three hundred dues-paying members standing on the same footing as the men with a voice and vote in the party management. They distribute each week thousands of leaflets on Socialism and Woman's Suffrage, or any literature especially for women, whether they be wage workers or wives of wage earners.

Aside from party work they never let an opportunity go by to assist in any suffrage demonstration. Before the meeting of the General Assembly in 1913 the State correspondent, Lilith Martin, of Anderson, sent suffrage petitions to all locals in the State for their signatures and for those of their friends. She secured three or four thousand signatures for equal suffrage and gathered the women party leaders together in Indianapolis prepared to assist the other organizations of the State that were for equal suffrage. The Equal Franchise bill did not pass the committee but the Socialist women proved their willingness to help the women of the State even if they did have different political views. This co-operation has resulted in placing the Socialist women in a better standing with the other suffragists of the State. Miss Florence Wattles, a prominent Socialist organizer, is a favorite speaker for them. The special work for the women has not been as successful as it was claimed it would be. The women generally prefer to do their work in the locals co-ordinate with the men.

²⁸ *Report of Women's State Correspondent to State Convention of the Socialist Party of Indiana, Indianapolis, Jan. 27, 28, 1912.*

The activities of the party are kept alive in season and out of season by the lowest unit of organization, the local or branch. This is in reality a political club. "By subscribing to the constitution and the platform of the Socialist party five or more persons may organize a local, subject to the approval of the executive committee." This number has not been changed since the beginning of the party organization.

It was the intention of the party at first to make the county local the unit. In the constitution of 1902, little is said about organization except "Each county organization shall determine its own initiation fees and dues, provided that it shall include ten cents per month for each member to be paid to the State treasurer." In 1904 we again have the county emphasized:

This organization shall be divided into county organizations to be known as Locals which may in turn be subdivided into subordinate bodies known as branches, but all business with State offices shall be transacted through county organizations. The first organization formed in any county shall be granted jurisdiction in such county, but upon organization of all other branches a county organization must be formed and each additional branch must be given proportional representation in the management of county affairs.²⁹

By the present method of organization the local quite as often centers in a town as the county, provided—

Only one Local may be organized in each town or city; but in townships where no town or city is located each township may contain one Local. A branch shall be a division of a Local and shall constitute a component part thereof and may only be organized and granted a charter by the Local Central Committee.

The local receives its charter from the State signed by the State chairman and State secretary; the branch from the county or oldest local in the county and it is signed by the county chairman and the county secretary. The conditions are the same as those required for a State charter except they go somewhat further. The local adds State to its national obligations; and the branch, county, to State and national. The committee granting the charter reserves the right to revoke it for violation of its obligations.

"The following officers, at least, shall be elected by each local: organizer, secretary, financial secretary, literature agent, a chairman and a woman correspondent." The secretary shall report to the

²⁹ *Constitution of Socialist Party in Indiana*. 1904. Art. III, Sec. 1.

state secretary-treasurer the facts of the organization. He in turn will be provided with blanks upon which monthly reports must be made and if the local fails to make a "report for three months shall not be considered in good standing and shall not be entitled to participate in any referendum or general business of the State organization. Locals or members thereof shall not co-operate with or fuse in any manner with any other political party."

The right of membership is inherent in the local. The applicant must present the proper credentials and, if there is any objection to his becoming a member, two-thirds majority is required for admission. The local may expel:

Any person proved guilty of violating the laws and principles of the organization must be suspended or expelled. Accused shall have written charges preferred against them, signed by the accuser, and furnished a written copy of the same thirty days before trial and allowed a fair and impartial trial. Members must belong to a Local at least three months before casting a vote to expell or retain a member.

The right of any Local or branch to carry on its work of agitation, education and propaganda in such manner and with such literature or speakers as may be deemed best by a majority of its members shall not be questioned; but no local or branch shall employ speakers to advocate or distribute literature advocating any connection with any capitalist or reform party or with any religious or industrial organization.

The slogan of the local is "Keep Busy." Some locals have in addition to their regular monthly business meeting sessions of study and of pleasure. These meetings are usually held on Sunday as that is the only time the working man cares to attend. The notices of meetings appear in the party papers but seldom in a local one.³⁰ It is the intention to make the coming together a means of holding Socialists together and keep up their enthusiasm and to attract outsiders so as to make converts of them.

Methods of propaganda are discussed and campaigns are mapped out and followed up between meetings by circulating *The Appeal* and as they say, "If that does not bring a man in, then try *The Rip Saw* and it will fetch him." Some get lists of subscribers to their party papers and follow up those routes by a canvass to sell literature. Books are borrowed from public libraries and loaned to persons whose taste prefers a bound book to a pamphlet.

Some locals have regularly planned courses of study in Socialist

³⁰ Socialist Party Meeting. Regular meeting of the 14th Ward, west, every Sunday morning at 9:30, at the corner of Harvard St. and Blair Ave., in I. O. O. F. Building. Charles Becker, Sec.

literature. Debating is a favorite intellectual exercise. They will challenge any one to meet them. One of their favorite subjects for discussion is immediate action versus political, if they can receive answers to their challenge from advocates of immediate action. The locals are allowed much latitude and frequently become clan-nish. Madison county local keeps things moving. They have a business meeting on Sunday afternoon at which each branch makes a report and after this they sing. On Wednesday night they study law. On Thursday night they have a euchre club.

Vigo County Local has a band called the Unity Vigo County Socialist Band. This band is composed of Socialists and plays only for Socialist and labor meetings, parades, etc.

Another feature of the local meetings is the appointment of committees to investigate the conditions of the poor in their vicinity. They go from house to house and see if there are any cases of real need. They are especially active in a strike because this is an oppor-tune time to befriend people who may eventually be won to party membership.

Members distribute literature in envelopes designed for the pur-pose. Printed on the back are these words :

Please read the enclosed. You will find it both interesting and in-structive. If after reading, you wish to retain, the price is five cents; otherwise please return. The party leaving this will call again in a few days.

A study of Socialist methods of membership will show some-thing distinctly original in American politics.

It is not necessary to be a voter in order to join the Socialist party. At first any one sixteen years old, later changed to eighteen years, without question as to color, sex, creed, or previous condition of political servitude unless this party service was not under civil service is eligible.

In order to become a member of the party an applicant must subscribe to the following :

I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class consti-tuting itself into a political party distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the capitalist class, hereby declare that I have severed my rela-tions with all other parties, and I endorse the platform and constitution of the Socialist Party including the principle of political action, and hereby apply for admission to said party.

The original application is kept with the recording secretary of the local or branch with which the application is made and a duplicate is sent to the State committee unless the county has a central committee, in which case it goes through their hands to the State committee.

A careful watch is kept lest some one is brought into the fold who is not orthodox. It is not numbers of members but quality that is demanded. The following item shows what is liable to happen whenever there are any irregularities:

Member Expelled! Local Ft. Wayne requests that announcement be made that Sam. L. Randolph of Central Branch has been expelled by the party. The expelled member was active in support of Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party.³¹

Another original feature in political organization is the dues-paying system. Its financial support as well as its political depends upon the working people and those in sympathy with them. They have a voice and a vote in all the party affairs from the selection of the officers of the local to national committeemen from their State. Through the referendum they have a voice in national affairs of the party.

When a member is admitted to the party membership he receives a red card which is now used as a cover for the State constitution of the party. Up to 1913 the folder was separate but it was thought better to make the change, "The purpose being that each applicant becoming a member of the Socialist party will be sure of having a State constitution to familiarize himself with the working order of the Socialist party."³²

The face of the folding card has blanks to fill in name, address, date of admission, State and local. The back of it has blanks to fill for transfer record. Inside there is placed a scheme for receipts for dues.

There are spaces printed for three years of dues stamps and the other fourth of the space is left for "Special Stamps which may be issued to members who have paid dues for three months and who are out of work temporarily under any condition which is not within their control."³³

³¹ *Indiana Socialist Bulletin*, November, 1912.

³² *Minutes of the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Indiana*, Marion, Feb. 8-9, 1913.

³³ *National Constitution of Socialists*. 1912. Art. X, Sec. 7.

The due stamps are small adhesive ones not quite so large as a postage stamp. The sale of these is the only sure support of the party. The national office prints them and sends them to the State secretary so that the office receives five cents for each member, excluding those whose affiliation is kept up by exemption stamps. The member so elected is called a "red card" Socialist to distinguish him from other factions. The secretary-treasurer sells these stamps to the Locals or Branches for a "sum equal to fifteen cents for each due stamp. Ten per cent of the dues received by the State office each month shall be set aside as mileage fund for delegates to the State Convention" and the balance, after the national office receives its pay, goes to support the State offices.

The monthly dues are payable on the first day of each month. Any member in arrears for three months will not be deemed in good standing, and shall not be entitled to vote on referendum or in convention, provided that this shall not apply to regular members who are unable to pay.

The local or branch sells the due stamps for twenty-five cents and ten cents of this sum maintains the Local organization. Any one living in a locality where there is no Local may apply to the secretary-treasurer for admission to membership and enclose one month's dues. The dues of members-at-large are twenty-five cents per month. The secretary-treasurer keeps a careful record of all receipts and expenditures of dues and makes an annual report to the Locals of the State and the delegates to the State convention and each month in the *Socialist Party Indiana Bulletin* sends to the locals reports of the receipts of the previous month and the same month a year before so that each one may know if the funds are increasing.

The following figures show the dues paid in Indiana for the past eleven years: 1903, \$419.06 (8 months); 1904, \$732.35; 1905, \$717.25; 1906, \$1,135.85; 1907, \$851.13; 1908, \$1,886.22; 1909, \$1,660.39; 1910, \$2,262.00; 1911, \$3,742.51; 1912, \$4,769.15; 1913, \$3,414.80.

It will be observed by the above table that campaign years produce better results than off years, yet the figures show a healthful growth; and that while some members take a Rip Van Winkle sleep they can be revived and depended upon. The cause suffers for a short time and then recovers.

There are other causes than lack of interest that may cause a retrenching in funds.

In the latter three months of the year of 1913 there has been quite a number of exempt stamps called for, probably more of these stamps were used in the last three or four months in Indiana than all times since the exemption stamps have been in use in the Party.³⁴

There is another purpose besides financing the party that the dues system serves. It keeps the party organization in touch with its constituents and forbids some new advocate from stepping into places of trust and taking the reins out of the hands of the "war horses."

No member shall be nominated for civil office on the Socialist ticket, nor for office in the party organization unless he has been a member of the party for two years preceding the nomination; provided, that this shall not prevent nominations in political subdivisions where there has been no organization for so long a period.

The revenue of this organization shall be derived from the sale of dues, stamps, party supplies, literature and from pledges and contributions from individuals and Locals.

The publicity of campaign funds was fundamental with the Socialists and was done before there was a law requiring it.

The platform speaker of the Socialist party is not only a speaker to rally the party and get new converts to it, but he is an organizer. If five members may be found where there is no organization or if by reason of indifference the Local has lapsed when it once had existed, it is the duty to form a local.

The organizers receive a salary varying from two dollars to five per day and expenses. In the beginning of the party propoganda the organizer spoke on the street because few halls would be open on account of prejudice or lack of pay. Now if they speak on the street corner it is from choice. The speakers take up collections and sell literature. The literature is sold to the State office from the national at wholesale price. The organizers sell at retail price and the difference between these two prices goes to the State organization.

In 1912 there were thirteen speakers in the field with a total of 856 days out.³⁵ The amount of literature sales was \$864.00 While the speakers receive a regular salary and expenses, the amount they turn over to the State frequently balances their expenses. Locals sometimes secure speakers independently of the State committee

³⁴ Annual Report of the State Secretary-Treasurer of Socialist Party in Indiana, 1913.

³⁵ State Secretary-Treasurer's Report for 1912.

and pay a much larger sum for their services than those receive who are routed by the State.

There is an enormous amount of pamphlets given away, 21,700 free ones being sent to some weak Locals in one month. Tons of free literature have been sent out from the State headquarters.

The lyceum department of the national office sends speakers out at their own expense. They usually spend ten or twelve days in a State and speak each day. Mr. W. A. Jacobs, of Wisconsin, spoke on "Political Power" in Indiana last campaign.

The function and name organizer dates back to the Social Democratic party. Messrs. Evinger, Thorndyke, Oneal, Greuling and Thornton were in the field for the Social Democratic Party. Messrs. J. W. Kelly and A. S. Edwards made tours of the state in October following the unity convention.

The party is by no means nailed down on the question of organizers. Each convention sees some change made. They have had county organizers, district and State, elected by Locals, in the case of the county and district and State by the convention, but in reality any sanctioned speaker is an organizer.

The main speakers and organizers in Indiana at present are: Terre Haute, Eugene Debs, S. M. Reynolds, J. H. Hollingsworth, William Houston, James Oneal, Judson Oneal, W. W. Risher; Indianapolis, William Henry, Edward Henry, J. Zimmermann; Anderson, W. W. Farmer, Janet Fenimore Korngold, Frederick Strickland; Marion, John W. Kelley, William McKown, S. S. Condo, O. B. Hall; Valparaiso, W. E. Graham, Ira Tilton; Evansville, Edward Miller; Kokomo, Florence Wattles; Garrett, L. M. Nesmith; Muncie, Ross Brown; Montpelier, S. C. Garrison; Peru, Robert Duderstade.

One of the most interesting ways that the party manifests itself is through its State convention. Up to 1914 the party held a convention each year, usually in February, for the purpose of naming candidates for party officers who serve one year and civil offices on election years but by a recent decision, "A State Convention shall be held bi-annually in the month of May during the years when civil officers are to be elected. Special conventions may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of party membership."

The exact time and the place of the convention is decided by the State committee. Indianapolis and Terre Haute have been favorite

convention cities yet it may go to any town. One was held in Kokomo and one in Marion.

The announcement for the call for the convention is sent by the State chairman to each Local about sixty days before the time of meeting. The call for February 14, 1914, read as follows:

COMRADES, GREETING:

The time is near when the comrades of Indiana must elect and send delegates to a State convention to start in the campaign of 1914. Capitalism is still here and there is nothing left for the Socialist party but continue its work till this capitalist system of government has been supplanted with an Industrial Democracy by the working class. *Therefore*, I, as State chairman of the Socialist party of Indiana, on this twenty-sixth day of December, 1913, send this call, that the party meet in convention in Indianapolis, February 14 and 15, 1914, beginning at 10 a. m. on the 14th to nominate for the various offices to be voted for at the November election 1914, and such other business as may properly come before the convention.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

MARION WILEY,
State Chairman.³⁶

The convention meets in some obscure place where a hall may be had for a small sum. The newspapers give little or no publicity to the meeting. The city where it meets does not take on convention aspect, and decorate with flags, bunting and pictures of favorite sons. There are no crowded hotels with their all-night before caucuses and bosses dropping in now and then just for friendship sake.

The convention hall and the delegates present just as much contrast as may be seen in the convention city. The hall is not decorated; its doors are wide open to the public. The delegates are not politicians with special interests who come to represent a constituency that have not awakened to the fact that there is to be a convention until it is all over and all settled. Our forefathers were not more serious in their conventions.

The Locals are thoroughly alive from the time of the call for the convention; in fact their interest is aroused three months before the meeting, for at this time they are called upon to nominate a committee of five on the State constitution which must be elected in the manner provided for taking referendum. Each Local is allowed to send one delegate and one additional one for each twenty-five members. The members-at-large are represented in the same

³⁶ *Proceedings of the Indiana State Convention of Socialist Party.*

proportion. The delegates receive mileage and the committee on constitution receive in addition car fare and two dollars per day. Their time begins the day before the convention and ends as soon as the constitution is adopted by the convention.

The convention is called to order by the State chairman. The delegates name by ballot the temporary chairman so that it is not safe for any man to come to the convention with a ready prepared speech in his pocket, for no one can foresee who will receive the honor. His presence is not heralded by the usual scream and shout. He does not rattle the dry bones of party leaders for several reasons. His party is new and it is a party that exists upon principles and not upon leaders.

Even the credentials committee is elected so that there is no possible chance for wire pulling. The only permanent offices that hold through the convention, and these are not necessarily so, are the secretary, two tellers, and a sergeant-at-arms, but even these must be named and elected at each session by the delegates. The committees are elected in the same way as the officers. The most important committees are as follows: credentials, rules and order, platform and resolutions, grievances, auditing. The constitution committee is one of the important ones but it is now chosen by referendum.

A new chairman is elected for each session and no man need flatter himself that he is in such demand that he may be chairman for more than one session. It is a matter of education for chairman and delegate. They have made the rules so they ought to know them and if they should forget they have copies of the State constitution in their hands. Time is of no consequence, to be right is everything. The stake for which they play is not to be measured in dollars and cents in the way of patronagé, but it must stand the scrutiny of the party members for all time to come.

Each delegate who wants the floor rises and shouts, "Comrade Chairman!" until some one is recognized by the chair then the one recognized must preface his remarks by announcing his name and the name of his Local. He is allowed but five minutes in which to speak and no delegate is permitted to speak twice upon the same subject until all have spoken unless the convention grants him this privilege. Frequently there are a dozen on the floor shouting for a hearing and will not be pacified until the chairman assures them that he will hear each one of them if they stay there until midnight.

The State committee has a voice but no vote in the convention. The constitution committee have a voice when the constitution is discussed but they have no vote unless they are delegates.

Instead of visits from detached missionaries who go around to tighten the wires there are calls from the members of the various committees who are obliged to sit in another room but who pull themselves away long enough to look in and see what is going on.

There is little emotionalism, almost no cheering, but a grim, deep-set determination pervading the atmosphere. When the time comes for nominating party and civil officers there is no lack of names presented. Each delegate is bent on having some one from his Local named. As many as six persons were named for some of the offices in 1914. The delegates to the State convention occupied seats in front. Vigo, Marion and Madison Locals outnumbered the rest. The rank and file sat back of the delegates. When a vote was taken *viva voce* there was much consternation lest the persons without authority to do so were voting. They were so democratic that they allowed themselves to be voted out of the right to smoke in the convention hall. They are ever mindful of their mission in behalf of their comrades.

The Locals have a right to send recommendations that they want to have considered in the convention. These are referred to the proper committees and are reported when the regular report is made. In subject-matter the convention resembles the New England town meeting. Every variety of subject is discussed from capital punishment down to private matters such as an attack on the character of some member. There is now and then a fling at the capitalist class and the capitalist laws but there lies under all a desire to better present conditions and make their work constructive rather than destructive. Collections are taken for the families of any organization known to be in want either from strikes or lack of work.⁸⁷ All sorts of petitions are sent to the Federal and State authorities. Their manner of work is no less interesting than delegates.

The personnel of the convention is not as might be expected, a gathering of working people. In the convention of 1914 there might be seen the lawyer, the student, the society lady, the working man and woman. The race variations were equally noticeable, white,

⁸⁷ The Collection Committee for Michigan miners reported \$22.75; *State Convention Proceedings*, Feb. 14, 15, 1914.

black, and what is most unusual in convention, a Navaho Indian with long hair and wearing a gorgeous red tie sat with the comrades from Valparaiso. All seemed to discuss questions of State with equal ease and interest. There were a few women delegates and while the party is fundamentally pledged to equal rights their years of heredity in which men have dominated in political matters manifested itself quite frequently and the women seemingly were forgotten.

The convention sessions are long, with intermissions at lunch time when people go to some nearby lunch room and hasten back. No one thinks of leaving the room but for a short time even when the sessions run through the night. At least two full days are given to a convention, closing on Sunday.

The final close of the convention is one rousing union of voices in singing the Marseillaise by substituting "Ye Sons of Toil" for "Ye Sons of France."

The State convention is followed up by the referendums on the civil and party officers and on the constitution. The referendum for selecting nominees for State and party offices is arranged like the Massachusetts ballot, all nominees are given in parallel columns with a square at the left side of the name in which to check the preferred name.

The referendum on the constitution gives the proposed constitution in full and leaves a space on each side of each section. The space on the left hand side is for yes and the right for no.

Enough referendums are sent to each local so that a copy may be in the hands of each member. The local tabulates the votes and sends the report to the State headquarters. It sometimes happens that there is no choice so another referendum is sent out. A limited time, usually about thirty days, is set to close all referendums.

The campaign methods are much the same as those used by any other political party. More organizers are sent into the field than at other times. A preference is shown to districts that have nominated full tickets. The national office sends out speakers to the places where they are most needed. Rallies are held. The largest ones have been in Indianapolis, Evansville, Terre Haute, Anderson, Elwood, Ft. Wayne and Richmond. Eugene Debs draws enormous crowds wherever he speaks. He challenged Mr. W. H. Taft to debate with him in Philadelphia last campaign but the president declined, owing to the fact that he was taking no speaking part in

the campaign.³⁸ Mr. Debs' work is over the United States so that it is not many of the Indiana towns that have a chance to hear him. Collections for the party are taken at their rallies instead of the usual method, barbecue and burgoo feasts.

They follow the regular campaign style of putting in the windows the pictures of favorite candidates. Pictures are worn on neckties, flaunted from pennants or they may be used on buttons. Party emblems are used on buttons and pennants, also tie clips, and cuff buttons. The red flag badge may be the favorite of some of the adherents. Probably no larger percentage of Socialists take part in these demonstrations than in the old line parties.

The real work of the party goes on all the time and few votes are gained by the red fire method. It requires the educational one to win converts. When a Socialist is once enrolled he is not liable to compromise his vote. The results of the elections show the abiding character of the voters:

TABLE OF SOCIALIST VOTES, 1896-1912.

(The vote in 1900 includes that of the Socialist Labor and the Social Democratic tickets. The vote is for the head of the ticket.)

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912
Adams		1		1	9	5	13	24	30
Allen	20	99	170	954	470	396	494	694	1,512
Bartholomew	2	1	16	142	98	84	59	130	196
Benton	1	3	7	4	1	3	15	22	30
Blackford		92	6	23	37	34	42	125	256
Boone	1	3	10	4	19	14	11	29	90
Brown			1		7	5	5	9	12
Carroll	1			6	14	34	68	58	83
Cass	1	29	24	45	52	22	38	91	187
Clark	6	11	20	42	133	46	68	113	137
Clay	8	69	182	308	432	172	499	463	697
Clinton		6	1	30	56	47	78	102	219
Crawford					6	16	82	80	128
Daviess		34	17	95	148	99	204	193	327
Dearborn	1	6	41	126	62	20	41	62	146
Decatur	4	4	12	16	41	33	39	40	88
DeKalb		4	6	96	154	69	63	87	457
Delaware	17	163	149	58	362	107	316	824	1,199
Dubois		4	1	4	5	4	58	83	106
Elkhart	14	31	89	216	472	315	400	471	856
Fayette		2	2	65	107	90	81	101	231
Floyd	7	16	12	66	235	158	226	241	341
Fountain		15	6	15	14	35	45	72	140
Franklin	2	5	2	2	3	11	7	2	30
Fulton		1		9	17	22	13	44	70
Gibson	1	5	5	33	91	46	86	125	295

³⁸ *Appeal to Reason*, Oct. 5, 1912.

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912
Grant	9	145	337	158	281	167	339	638	1,323
Greene		7	86	180	377	377	930	812	1,203
Hamilton	1	4	10	10	16	27	24	27	90
Hancock		9	3	1	7	13	22	93	133
Harrison		3	4	27	44	31	67	77	118
Hendricks		1	1	1	5	6		17	48
Henry	2	5	9	12	17	31	61	156	437
Howard		33	51	77	211	211	255	397	1,107
Huntington	2		50	105	207	198	241	221	252
Jackson		12	2	9	15	12	30	117	175
Jasper	2	3	3	4	4	4	7	9	14
Jay		8	4	11	9	16	53	97	218
Jefferson		15	26	24	50	44	97	89	137
Jennings		2	1		5	8	21	34	81
Johnson	1	2	7	11	10	8	9	28	49
Knox	2	5	4	37	200	120	375	470	892
Kosciusko			7	2	15	13	54	94	210
La Grange		1		5	13	13	10	11	22
Lake	4	32	25	109	386	156	303	576	1,132
Laporte	4	10	42	57	89	87	103	170	397
Lawrence		1	6	5	58	74	119	366	398
Madison	3	102	185	328	882	692	894	1,789	1,947
Marion	103	265	281	871	1,067	751	1,075	2,330	5,268
Marshall	2	3	2	14	32	30	55	51	164
Martin	1	2			9	2	11	7	22
Miami	1	8	22	52	157	112	187	261	422
Monroe			3	1	6	12	14	24	84
Montgomery	2	2		4	19	31	44	110	173
Morgan		4	2		37	28	44	78	185
Newton	1	2			8	6	8	10	26
Noble				23	15	18	29	47	106
Ohio		1			6	6	3	3	9
Orange		2		2	19	18	44	55	53
Owen			7	21	35	33	51	45	161
Parke	3	16	82	64	115	68	204	167	346
Perry	1		2	9	23	22	37	27	34
Pike		1	3	25	51	36	131	138	298
Porter		5	4	11	70	45	59	114	120
Posey	2	5	9	36	57	42	69	63	132
Pulaski	2	5	1	6	10	12	14	43	135
Putnam	1	2	12	23	27	28	36	50	91
Randolph	1	5	2	21	34	62	87	126	272
Ripley		14	19	49	52	44	76	68	163
Rush		3		13	90	18	13	12	77
Scott		1	1	2	3		3	20	18
Shelby		5	5	7	22	27	95	194	319
Spencer	1	1	5	10	26	14	18	18	151
Starke	1	1	3	56	87	30	39	31	54
Steuben	1	6	3	8	318	17	13	24	41
St. Joseph	2	36	45	107	12	236	705	958	1,285
Sullivan		8	21	51	200	99	398	419	1,045
Switzerland			2	3	11	12	14	16	75
Tippecanoe	2		3	22	86	68	65	99	191
Tipton	9	6	3	7	13	11	13	39	113
Union		4	73		3	14	18	18	38
Vanderburg	36	179	330	1,280	1,780	633	1,034	709	2,572
Vermillion			40	68	141	225	407	302	550
Vigo	8	93	353	335	814	284	690	1,017	1,862

	1896	1898	1900	1902	1904	1906	1908	1910	1912
Wabash -----	1	11	8	35	207	97	87	178	308
Warren -----					2	1	3	19	46
Warrick -----	1	3	10	79	130	81	101	68	310
Washington -----		4	2	6	7	5	12	21	61
Wayne -----	3	72	45	145	280	281	308	468	1,032
Wells -----	2	3	3	67	74	48	65	72	132
White -----		7	8	30	31	13	19	18	41
Whitley -----		3	1	22	15	9	13	19	70
Totals -----	302	1,795	21,374	7,111	12,013	7,824	13,476	19,632	36,931

The party vote is quite regular.³⁹ This is as the party wants it to be. The strength of the party is put on its principles and they do not approve of one man trying to have himself elected on account of his personal strength. The party vote is widely scattered throughout the State. The year 1912 showed the greatest gains. All counties except Montgomery, Orange and Perry gained. More Socialist votes were cast in eleven cities in 1902 than were cast in the entire State in 1900.⁴⁰ In 1900 and 1902 no votes were cast for either the Social Democratic or Socialist Parties in the following counties: Warren, Union, Jennings, Crawford, Martin, Newton and Ohio.

A comparison of election returns shows that the party must be gaining by drawing from other political parties. More votes were cast for Mr. Bryan in 1908 than were cast for Mr. Wilson and more votes were cast for Mr. Taft than were cast in 1912 for Messrs. Taft and Roosevelt together.⁴¹

In comparison with other States Indiana stood in the Socialist Party eighth in 1912, ninth in 1910, thirteenth in 1896. The Socialist party in Indiana is not only gaining in votes but it is making itself felt as a municipal force. In 1911:

For the first time in the history of the Socialist Party of Indiana the general town elections found a number of towns swept into the Socialist column in the November election. These are as follows: Staunton, electing entire ticket including Clerk, Marshal and two Trustees; Shirley, electing entire ticket including Clerk, Treasurer, Marshal and Trustee; Millersburg, entire ticket, including Clerk, Marshal, Treasurer and Trustee; Shelburn

³⁹ VOTE IN 1912—

S. M. Reynolds for governor-----	35,464
S. S. Condo, lieut.-governor-----	35,796
Reece Townsend, secretary of state -----	35,816
W. W. Farmer, treasurer-----	35,876
Ross D. Brown, presidential elector-----	36,931

⁴⁰ *The Toiler*, Terre Haute, July 11, 1902.

⁴¹ *World's Almanac* election returns, 1909-1914.—1912, Mr. Wilson, 281,890; 1908, Mr. Bryan, 333,262; 1912, Mr. Roosevelt, 162,007; Mr. Taft 151,267; 1908, Mr. Taft, 348,903.

electing Treasurer and two Trustees; Farmersburg, Marshal; Spencer, Marshall; Normal City, Trustee; Diamond, Trustee.⁴²

The next year the party made further gains. At Marion the comrades elected three councilmen and at Elwood one. Bicknell elected every candidate but one. Fairview elected its complete ticket, and the Socialist administration held over at Staunton as there was no opposition to it. The Indianapolis *News* said the Socialists won and the Democrats and Progressives lost.

At the present time Fairview and Staunton are the only towns in the State which have all their officials of the Socialist party. Marion has added another councilman. The party officials have given the most of their time and energy to the questions of education, safety, and health. The last election brought gratifying results, as it is thought that those who support the party are really in line with Socialist principles. The party *Bulletin* sent out each month from the headquarters bears the message "No Compromise, No Political Trading!" The statement issued by Mr. Debs entitled "Danger Ahead" represents the views of the party in the State.⁴³ The party must win on its principles.

The victories in the State are accompanied by its responsibilities.

These victories indicate that the Socialists of Indiana are now approaching a period of responsibility, a period when we will find ourselves carried into public office by a revolutionary working class. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that our electoral campaigns shall be waged on the clearest presentation of the issue between the working class and its exploiters, and that extra precaution should be taken in nominating our candidates.⁴⁴

The party is gaining ground in converting the union men to party principles. Forty per cent. of the union men of the State have endorsed the Socialist principles, according to the report of the State secretary, William Henry.

Now and then the party tries some Socialistic experiment with fairly good results. Wabash has a coal yard owned and managed by Socialists. It has proved a success for buyers and consumers from the first.

One of the party achievements that does not show on the surface is that of providing literature and reading rooms where laboring

⁴² *Annual Report of State Sec.-Treas. of Socialist Party of Indiana*, Jan. 1, 1911, to Dec. 31, 1911.

⁴³ Walling, *Socialism As It Is*, p. 176.

⁴⁴ *Annual Rep. of Sec.-Treas. of Soc. Party of Ind.*, 1911.

men may get together to read or to talk over their problems of special interest. They are not so liable to come under the control of the political boss and adopt plans which will bring him gain today, tomorrow or next day, but they are content to sit down and discuss economic questions from an ethical standpoint.

While it is too much to claim that the party prevents crime in its present state, the criminal class do not care for the party. Mr. R. T. Ely says of the criminal, "He adheres to a party which is able to help him at once. He desires what is called in American politics a pull."⁴⁵ The chaplain of Indiana State Prison said, "In all my personal contact with individual prisoners for eight years I do not think I have found ten who belonged to the Socialist party."⁴⁶

Ministers throughout the State in general, while not coming out and out for Socialism, recognize the class struggle. College professors treat the subject seriously.

Socialists are well united and grounded on the fundamental principles but they find enough difference in methods of work to form controversies that appear to be a serious menace to the ultimate aim of the party. Foremost in the conflict may be found The Industrial Workers of the World, who were organized in 1905 with a constitution and a division into units called locals but they differ from the Socialists in the collective ownership, management and distribution of the means of life, but they do not believe in political action but direct. By direct action they do not mean violence but they will achieve their purpose by simply refusing to deliver coal, bread, clothing, etc.

They have a library in Indianapolis, of one thousand volumes on Socialist literature. Their cards announce: Visit the Free Socialist Library and Reading Room, 31 Mansur Building, Alabama and Washington streets. Many of the I. W. W's belong to the regular Socialist party. In 1908 there were sufficient numbers of them in the State convention to dominate it. No platform was made, the faction in control claimed that all the platform that was needed could be put upon a button in these words: "We want the earth now." The regular campaign speakers used the old platform as a basis for their remarks and ignored the "direct actionists" and gradually the party came into its own in the next convention and

⁴⁵ Richard T. Ely, *Socialism and Social Reform*, pp. 41-2.

⁴⁶ Letter from L. L. Kiplinger, July 20, 1914.

the Industrial Workers of the World have little influence in the movement.

A controversy which seems likely to divide the party has arisen in Anderson. One faction known as the Critchley-McDonald-Hunter, organized as Socialists, renounced the dues-paying system of the party as a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act, held a convention for the nomination of municipal offices to which all persons in sympathy with reform in Anderson were invited to take part, claiming that the "dues-paying" party is in the minority and does not represent the Socialist vote. They nominated Mr. Critchley for Mayor. He had never belonged to the Red-card Socialist party. This faction captured the *Anderson Critic*, a supposed Socialist paper.⁴⁷ They had the support of some of the ministers. They also succeeded in securing the recognition of the election commissioners of the city so that the local had to go on the ballot in the city election under another party name and party emblem.⁴⁸ The local protested for the rights and secured an attorney to represent them in the court but they were not sustained. The national office sent Mr. Carl D. Thompson to the scene of conflict, October 13, 1913. He spent nearly a week in hearing the testimony on both sides and after going over the evidence submitted vindicated the local. The State convention sustained the local and refused to seat any delegate from the faction.

The Grievance Committee reported at the State convention February 14, 15, 1914, that Ira Tilton of Valparaiso Local was guilty of charges of slander and anarchy against a member of the party. The convention sustained the committee after hearing the evidence on both sides and recommended that Valparaiso Local expel said member. The local refused to do this and he has since been nominated for Congress from his district. The State organization can not expel an individual but it can expel a local or a district, so the district is now under the ban.

Mr. Debs thinks that these differences of opinion are disciplinary and tests of mettle and will eventually result in good for the strength of the party.

When Indiana came into the Union it was preeminently an agricultural State. When its present constitution was adopted in 1851 sixty-four per cent. of the people were engaged in farming

⁴⁷ *Indiana Socialist Bulletin*, December 1912.

⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Secretary-Treasurer*, 1913.

but with the opening of the coal fields and the discovery of gas and oil, conditions have changed rapidly.

The coal fields are centers for workingmen grouped either in the county seats or in villages made up of miners. The Socialist party finds this region its most fertile soil. The miners are almost all foreigners, among which Germans and Jews predominate.

Of the cities employing the greatest number of wage earners Indianapolis made the greatest gain for 1904 to 1909, increasing 21.3%. The other cities in rank are South Bend, Ft. Wayne, Evansville and Terre Haute. These manufacturing cities are centers for Socialist organizations.

Socialism does not appeal to the prosperous farmer living in river bottoms or near the great manufacturing centers where he finds a ready market but in the southern part of the State where the soil is naturally not very fertile and conditions in general not favorable there is much discontent with existing affairs and this finds a chance for expression in the Socialist party. Propaganda first and organization afterward has always been the plan of the Socialists.

Before the battles of freedom there have always appeared the writers, the orators, the artists, and the singers. Rousseau defying "Logic of Liberty," Tom Paine, calling for freedom from the king; and Patrick Henry, as large as his times, fearlessly announcing new doctrines to take the place of decadent ideals; Lincoln and others pleading for the chattel slave, and in our time, multiplying voices crying aloud for complete freedom from wage slavery, subtlest and meanest of all forms of human slavery.

Chief among the editors stands Julius A. Wayland, born in Versailles, Indiana, in 1854. His father died when he was three months old. He was intimately acquainted with poverty but he gradually rose from "devil" to editor, removed to Pueblo, Colorado, where he prospered and through investments in real estate he found himself a rich man.

The tide turned in 1890, as he says:

I accidentally fell into a conversation about some strike on a railroad with Mr. Bradfield, an English shoemaker, who had a little shop on Union Avenue, and he gave me a pamphlet to read on the subject of the economic or Socialist view point. To be brief, he landed me good and hard. I saw a new light and found what I never before knew existed. I went into the financial study so thoroughly that the result was, I closed up my real

estate business and devoted my whole energies to the work of trying to get my neighbors to see truths as I had learned them.⁴⁹

This conviction led him to return to newspaper business and he removed to his native State and selected Greensburg, Indiana, for his enterprise because of its being near the center of population in the United States. He had plenty of money to run a paper for several years even if the subscribers were not forthcoming. His paper called the *Coming Nation* was the first propaganda Socialist paper to be published wholly in the interests of the party. The subscription list ran up to 65,000, but the unexpected happened. His paper circulated chiefly in California and among the Populists of the West and his being near the center of population was of no avail. The proceeds of the paper were to be used for founding a colony, which purpose was carried out in Ruskin, Tenn., but unsuccessfully, so he removed to Girard and started the *Appeal to Reason*, which he successfully edited until his death, November 10, 1912. After nearly two years it seems that the vow that was made by the acting editor—namely: “*The Appeal* will continue its work until the dreams of our departed comrade have been realized”—may come true, for it is still the widest circulated of any Socialist paper.⁵⁰ Mr. Wayland said, “Our lives are but atoms—remember millions are to follow us. What we now enjoy others gave their lives for. They did not shirk because they did not realize results.”⁵¹

The newspaper as a means of State-party influence has not met with much success. Efforts were made when the party was organized to publish a State paper but did not receive sufficient approval to warrant its publication.⁵² Some fear that if there is a recognized official organ that there would be danger of capitalist control. *The Toiler*, published in Terre Haute by the Social Democratic party, came out for Socialism after the Unity Convention and published the party news until about 1905, when *The Socialist* published in Evansville became the semi-official organ. An attempt to make *The Register* published in Indianapolis the party paper resulted in the paper's being endorsed for news.⁵³ Papers are published throughout the State with no thought of making them permanent but of strengthening the party by spreading the party

⁴⁹ *Leaves of Life*, J. A. Wayland, 24.

⁵⁰ *The Appeal to Reason*, November 12, 1912.

⁵¹ *Leaves of Life*, J. A. Wayland, 67.

⁵² *The Toiler*, Terre Haute, 1901, Sept. 20.

⁵³ *Convention Report of 1905*, Exhibit III.

principles and making new members. Mr. Debs and Mr. Reynolds as well as other writers in the party are willing contributors of these papers.

The *Social Advance*, published in Terre Haute by an editorial committee composed of James Oneal, M. F. Hatfield, A. G. Slemmons, James Heenen and S. M. Reynolds, appeared on February 11, 1911, and lasted until May 3, 1912. The ownership and control was vested in Local Vigo County. It distributed 15,000 copies in Terre Haute and West Terre Haute. It came to its end through lack of funds.

A new enterprise in the newspaper business started in the summer of 1910. A Socialist toured western Ohio and eastern Indiana in the interest of the Finley Publishing Company of Finley, O. The Socialists in that city had purchased a complete printing outfit and were endeavoring to establish a chain of Socialist newspapers in the above mentioned district. Each Socialist Local was solicited to take twenty shares at \$10 per share. This entitled them to a paper. The whole chain of papers was printed alike, leaving from two to four columns for Local's news, which was to be filled in by the organization supporting it. The papers were to be locally named. Many Locals took stock in the concern which seemed in a fair way to solve the problem when the flood washed away the printing establishment in Finley.

Marion has been the most active town in the State in late years in trying to run a paper. It was in the Finley affair and called the local paper *Freedom's Banner*, but the proposition was soon abandoned. Their next attempt was *The Marion Socialist*, which was printed occasionally when the Socialists felt that they had something to say of more than ordinary importance. The Socialists pledged to distribute 5,000 copies and on the strength of this pledge sufficient money was received from advertisements to pay the printer. About eight copies of the paper were published.

The *Economic Intelligencer* sprang up as a result of the tremendous vote cast by the party in 1912 in Grant county. After the election a temporary organization was formed looking towards the establishment of a company for the publishing of a Socialist and Trade Union paper in Marion. The company was incorporated under the laws of the State with an authorized capital stock of \$10,000. The paper lasted from May 8, 1913, to December of the same year, when it went into the hands of a receiver. All the

affairs were adjusted satisfactorily by April of 1914 and the company again came into the control of the paper. The management was changed when the receiver was released and a new management was appointed and is now publishing the same paper under a new name, the *Labor Sentinel*, with Wilbur Sheron as editor and publisher.

The history of the Socialist papers in Marion is typical of what is going on in all the largest towns in the State. Anderson has had at three different times small papers in the field, but hardly dignified enough to be called newspapers. One of these papers was called *The Issue* and its circulation was about four thousand per week, by free distribution. It was used in campaigns, mostly, but was kept going through the winter of 1910-11. "The devotion of our members who voluntarily tramped through the snows of an unusually severe winter to deliver the paper from house to house was merely another instance of the indomitable spirit which has kept the working class press alive in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles."

There is a plan to revive *The Issue* and make it a permanent paper. They have a society called "The Workers' Publishing Society," which is engaged at present in collecting the necessary funds to enable them to purchase the equipment. The paper will be owned by the society, and the work of editing, printing, etc., will be performed entirely by volunteer labor at first. They hope to have the paper ready for propaganda in the fall elections.

Indianapolis has published the *Indiana Socialist* and the *Indianapolis Register*. The last named paper started in May, 1907, and ran four years. It was published from the headquarters of Marion county Local by J. Frank Essex, managing editor. South Bend Socialists published for a short time the *Free Press*. The *Social Educator*, printed by Ira C. Tilton at his home in Valparaiso since October, 1911, is a monthly paper, the object of which is to emphasize equally industrial and economic organization and political action."⁵⁴ This paper is privately owned,

The *Social Kingdom*, published at South Bend in the interests of Christian Socialism in the Episcopalian Church, is not strictly Socialist but with Socialistic tendencies.

The *American Socialist*, published under the control of the National Office, hopes to solve the newspaper problem for the State

⁵⁴ *The Social Educator*, February, 1914.

by allowing the party a limited space in the paper for State news upon condition that a certain number of subscribers may be secured in the State.

The newspaper work of the party is a reminder of that of the Abolitionists in methods and crudeness of machinery. An editor and one helper running a hand printing press often constitute the office force. The papers are distributed by members of the party after their day's work is done, often tramping through snow to perform this labor of love but thoroughly intelligent on the subjects of the struggles of the working class and not loath to stop and discuss them when an interested listener is found.

It is estimated that sixty per cent. of the converts to Socialism have been won by the printed word. The National Office maintains a literature department and publishes books that will have a propaganda influence rather than commercial. The copyright is held by the party. It does not follow that all books must be published by this office, for an author is at liberty to have his work done in any manner that he chooses.

Indiana has an unusually large number of writers on Socialism that deserve special mention. Robert Wiles Hunter, born in Terre Haute in 1874, has international reputation for work in Social problems in Chicago, London and New York. Some of his best books on Socialism are as follows: *Violence and the Labor Movement*, *Poverty*, *The Crisis*, and *Socialists at Work*. The last named book is recommended "For those who want an accurate and fairly complete knowledge of the subject suitable for the ordinary man. It is the best single book on the practical side of Socialism, setting forth actual achievements and construction work of the party in all countries of the world."⁵⁵ *The Crisis* is a compilation of editorials written for the *Chicago Daily Socialist* on the subject of strikes. Mr. Hunter is the author of a booklet entitled *Should Socialism Be Crushed?* This is written especially for the wage worker.

William James Ghent was born in Frankfort. His main scene of activity has been New York City, where he was one of the founders of the Social Reform School and for a time president of the Rand School of Social Science. His best known books are *Our Benevolent Feudalism*, *Socialism and Success*, and *Mass and Class*. The last is considered "one of the best books on the

⁵⁵ *What to Read on Socialism*, 7.

class struggle and is recommended to those who want a complete course in the subject of Socialism."

William English Walling, a nephew of the late W. H. English, graduated from the University of Chicago in 1897 and after doing graduate work in economics and sociology established himself in the University settlement work in New York City. He writes for several popular magazines. His fame as a Socialist writer is based upon these books: *Russia's Message*, *The Larger Aspects of Socialism*, and *Socialism As It Is*.

George Davis Herron was born in Montezuma, Indiana, beginning life as a Congregationalist minister, but was soon deposed because he was not considered orthodox. He has been a voluminous writer, putting out a book every year or two. Among his best known ones are: *Why I Am a Socialist*, *From Revolution to Revolution*, and *War and Peace Under Socialism*. He is well known for his articles on Socialism, published in the *Metropolitan* a few years ago. He is now living in Florence, Italy, and is engaged in writing articles for European magazines.

The late Wallace D. Wattles of Kokomo was the author of many books principally New Thought subject. He is the author of one piece of work which is Socialistic, *The Military Ideal*. This was written in his usual straight-out-of-the-heart style, published in the Chicago *Daily Socialist*, and except in the minds of Socialists, was almost forgotten until the war agitation began along the Mexican border. An anti-war leaflet was circulated containing *The Military Ideal* but credited to Jack London.

James Oneal, born and reared in Terre Haute, was one of the charter members of the party and the first State secretary. Mr. Oneal was for two years in New York working upon a weekly paper, but the greater part of his activity has been in his native State. He is the author of *The Workers in American History*, *Militant Socialism*, and *A History of All Political Parties and Their Relation to the Working Class*.

Living near Griffith, Indiana, is Mr. Bruce Calvert, a fairly obscure man in his own State, but he was discovered by the board of education in New York City last year and secured to lecture in the public schools. While Mr. Calvert is not a Socialist writer he is a member of the party and his *Rational Education*, and *Open Road* are full of Socialist theory—e. g.: "He who works only because compelled to do so for his food and shelter and he who

takes no part in the world's work because he is physically beyond the necessity for it are alike miserable unfortunates." ⁵⁶

Robert Alexander Wason, living in Delphi, Indiana, is a Socialist and author of several novels and plays. His most characteristically Socialist writing is *Wolf—A Fable with a Purpose*, illustrated by G. Weiser, a house-painter of Delphi. Mr. Wason claims the illustrations are better than in any other of his books. In *The Steering Wheel*, published by Bobbs-Merrill, there is some humor based on genuine Socialism but the author had to resort to farce in an attempt to make it clear to non-Socialistic readers.

Stephen Marion Reynolds of Terre Haute was a member of the Social Democratic party and its State treasurer when the Socialist party was organized. He is at present the party's candidate for United States senator. In 1912 he was the candidate for governor. "Where the fight is thickest there you will find Steve, with his genial smile and rare good humor." ⁵⁷ His claims to be listed with the Indiana authors rests upon his book, *Eugene V. Debs, His Life, Writings and Speeches*.

Foremost among the writers and speakers is Eugene V. Debs, born in Terre Haute, November 5, 1855. James Whitcomb Riley said, "God was feeling mighty good when he created 'Gene Debs and he didn't have anything else to do all day." Mr. Debs was a member of a large family. He quit school and went to work at the age of fifteen and became a locomotive engineer. He says of this period, "I mastered the curriculum and graduated with the degree D. D., not as the lexicons interpret the letters, Doctor of Divinity, but the better signification, Do and Dare." ⁵⁸ It was in the capacity of a railroader that Mr. Debs became interested in the problem of the working people. "Separate him from the revolutionary working class movement and you lose Eugene V. Debs. He is bone of its bone, flesh of its flesh. His very life, his hopes and aims, are interwoven into the very mesh of the labor movement." ⁵⁹ He joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and became the secretary and treasurer. He organized the American Railway Union in 1894. This was the first organization which took in all laborers. He arbitrated the Great Northern strike and received this commendation from President Hill, "You have fought a good fight and I

⁵⁶ *The Open Road*, 23.

⁵⁷ *Appeal to Reason*, Nov. 12, 1912.

⁵⁸ *Eugene V. Debs, His Letters, Writings and Speeches*.

⁵⁹ Pamphlet by Charles H. Kerr.

respect you."⁶⁰ He was not so fortunate in helping to conduct the strike for the Pullman employees and their sympathizers. President Cleveland intervened and with the Federal troops and courts put an end to the strike. Mr. Debs and his associates were put in Woodstock Jail for six months for contempt of court. Mr. Debs while in Woodstock read books on Socialism with the result that he came to the conclusion that political action was the best solution of the labor problem. His imprisonment added fuel to the flame of dissatisfaction among the working classes. He has a large personal following at home and over the entire United States. He is the only man of any party to be nominated for President four times in succession. His home is located on North Eighth street in Terre Haute. The house is a comfortable two-story frame one. Those who think that a leader of the laboring people should not live in surroundings better than their own should be reminded that Mr. Debs owns but one piece of property and that this is but a pittance in comparison with what he has given away, and that he resigned from a position that was paying him four thousand a year and that he has paid the last bit of a debt of forty thousand dollars deficit left when the A. R. U. disbanded. The debt was simply a moral obligation. He has written scores of pamphlets, some have been extended to book size. Some of his best known works are: *The American Movement*, *Liberty*, *Industrial Unionism*, *Unionism and Socialism*, *Danger Ahead*, *Revolutionary Unionism*, *The Growth of Socialism*, *The Socialist Party and the Working Class*, and *Prison Labor*.

Every one in Terre Haute from the street waif to the college president knows Mr. Debs and loves to talk to him and about him. There are few who cannot relate some kindness received at his hand. Mr. Riley expresses the esteem in which he is held in his poem "Terre Haute":

And there's Gene Debs—a man 'et stands
And jest holds out his two hands;
As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here and the Judgment Seat.

He was given an ovation when he returned from his campaign in November of 1912. The Terre Haute *Tribune* said the following:

It is entirely apropos that a congratulatory word be expressed to E. V. Debs. Here in Terre Haute we admire the man. The outside world is

⁶⁰ *Pierson's Magazine*, August 12, 1912. "The Socialist Candidates."

impressed with the tremendous following which has gathered about him in the cause he represents. The demonstration here Monday night, when men, women and children marched in procession to the number of thousands and then constituted a tremendous political meeting, told in a measure the esteem of the people whose political belief he represents. May Mr. Debs long survive to direct his flock.