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NATIONAL CONVENTION

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 1 TO 6, 1904

Stenographic Report by
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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Edited by
WILLIAM MAILLY
National Secretary

ISSUED BY THE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

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EUGENE V. DEBS

Nominated by the Socialist Party for President
of the United States, at Chicago, Ill.,
May 5th, 1904.



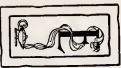
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Eugene V. Debs



EUGENE V. DEBS, Socialist Party candidate for President, was born in Terre Haute, Ind., in 1855, and at the age of 15 years began work as a railway employe in the Vandilla freight car shops. Afterwards he worked as fireman on a freight engine for several years and became a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. He was made editor of the Brotherhood magazine in 1877 and three years afterward he was chosen general secretary and treasurer, a position which he occupied for thirteen years, resigning in 1893 to organize the American Railway Union, which was intended to unite the railway workers of America in one great organization.

Within a year the Great Northern Railway strike was fought and won. Through this contest the wages of thousands of workers from St. Paul to the Pacific coast were saved from reduction and the railway managers awoke to the fact that they had a new power with which to strangle.

In May, 1894, the famous Pullman strike occurred. Unable to affect a settlement by arbitration, the A. R. U. took up the matter in the national convention in session at Chicago in June. As a result a boycott was declared against the Pullman cars, to take effect June 26. Within a few days the entire railroad system of the country extending from Chicago West and South to the Gulf and Pacific coast was tied up and the greatest labor war in the country's history was on.

On July 2, 1894, Judges Woods and Crosscup, at Chicago, issued a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. Mr. Debs and associates were arrested for contempt of court, on alleged violation of the injunction. They were tried in September, but Judge Woods did not render a verdict until December, when he condemned Mr. Debs to six months' imprisonment, and his associates to three. The case was carried to the Supreme Court, which sustained the lower court, and in May, 1895, the imprisonment in Woodstock jail began. The term expired on

November 22, 1895, and on the evening of that day the prisoner was honored a reception in Chicago, the like of which that city had never seen.

Debs and associates were also indicted and placed on trial for conspiracy, and the trial continued until the evidence of the prosecution had all been heard, but suddenly, when the defence began to testify, a juror was taken ill during a temporary adjournment and the trial abruptly terminated in spite of all efforts of the defendants to have it continued. They were anxious to bring the General Managers' Association into court and show who were the real law breakers and de-stroymers of property. An acquittal by a jury upon substantially the same charge as that upon which they were imprisoned for contempt would have been fatal to Judge Woods.

On January 1, 1897, Debs issued a circular to the members of the A. R. U., entitled "Present Conditions and Future Duties," in which he reviewed the political, industrial and economic conditions, and came out boldly for Socialism. Among other things he said: "The issue is Socialism vs. Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity. The time has come to regenerate society—we are on the eve of a universal change."

When the A. R. U. met in national convention in Chicago, in June, 1897, that body was merged into the Social Democracy of America, with Debs as chairman of the National Executive Board. The following year (1898) the Social Democratic Party was started as the result of a split in the Social Democracy. In 1900 Debs was nominated for president as candidate of the Social Democratic Party, which was afterward merged into what is now the Socialist Party.

During the past seven years Debs has devoted all his time to lecturing and writing for Socialism, and has also taken part in some notable strikes in the industrial and mining centers of the East and West. He has visited every state during his travels and carried the Socialist message into more places than probably any other man in America.



BEN HANFORD

Nominated by the Socialist Party for Vice-President
of the United States, at Chicago, Ill.,
May 5th, 1904

Ben Hanford



BEN HANFORD, of New York, candidate for Vice-President on the Socialist Party ticket, has long been known as one of the hardest workers in the Socialist movement.

He combines to an exceptional degree the qualities of agitator, speaker and writer, and he is therefore a worthy companion to the presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs.

Hanford has been a Socialist over ten years and a trades unionist for twice that period. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, 46 years ago, but began life as a wage worker in a country printing office in Iowa. He shortly afterward went to Chicago, where he joined the International Typographical Union, of which he has been a member ever since. He has worked in printing offices in every city east of the Missouri river.

Hanford became a Socialist in Philadelphia and upon removing to New York in 1892 not only continued his activity as a trades unionist, but threw himself into the Socialist movement with all the intensity and earnestness which has always characterized him.

Although he has never held an office in his union, and has never been a candidate for one, he has answered to the call of duty for the political working class movement several times. In 1898 he was the candidate of the Socialist Labor Party for governor of New York, but leaving that party the following year because of disagreement with its policy, he joined the Social Democratic Party (which is the official name of the Socialist Party in New York state) and in 1900 and 1902 was its candidate for governor. In the latter year the Socialists vote increased from 12,069 to 23,400, giving the party third place on the ballot in that state.

Hanford's writings have become deservedly popular, his "Ranking in the United States" winning distinction for its merit and originality. His "Jimmy Higgins" has appealed to all Socialists as a description of a type peculiar to the Socialist movement everywhere.

As a speaker it has been said of him, "Two qualities go to make Hanford a convincing and an inspiring speaker—a burning earnestness, as evident in his daily private life as in his appearance on the platform, and an ability to clothe his thoughts and feelings in the simplest and most direct language, so that no hearer can fail to understand.

"More than this, he is a workman, a class conscious workman, in every fiber of his being—living the life of the working class, thinking its thoughts and instinct with its feelings, full of its growing hope and self-reliance, hating class rule with all his soul and despising the sham and meanness and cruelty which are necessary to what is conventionally called 'success.' Thus he speaks for the working class when he speaks from his own experience, and he speaks in the sincere and unmistakable language of his class."

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

National Convention Socialist Party of America

Held in Chicago, Ill., May 1st to 6th, 1904

FIRST DAY'S SESSION

Acknowledgment

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Acknowledgment is herewith made of services rendered by Comrades Charles Dobbs, Secretary of the Convention, and Charles R. Martin, Assistant in the National Office, in editing and otherwise preparing this report.

WILLIAM MALLY,
National Secretary.

The National Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States was called to order by National Secretary William Mally at Brand's Hall, Chicago, Ill., Sunday morning, May 1, 1904, at 10 o'clock. After preliminary announcements regarding railroad fares, hotel accommodations, etc., Secretary Mally announced that the Committee on Credentials, when selected, would meet for the present in the lodge room on the second floor of the Revere House. The Secretary then read the official call for the convention, and before calling for the election of temporary officers, presented the following resolutions for a ballot ballot, saying: "Before calling for the election of temporary officers for the convention, which I believe will be the next thing in order, I am glad to be able to announce to the convention that the comrades of Wisconsin have presented to the Socialist Party a candidate for the chair during this convention and succeeding conventions, this year, in the name of the Socialist Party of Wisconsin."

The announcement was greeted with applause.
Nominations for temporary chairman were then called for, and James F. Ca-

rey, of Massachusetts, and N. A. Richardson, of California, were placed in nomination. Carey was elected on a rising vote, and on motion of Richardson of California, the election was made unanimous.

Secretary Charles Dobbs of New York presided without objection.

The Socialist Singing Society of Chicago then entertained the convention with the "Marsellistae" and other songs and the convention passed to the selection of a Committee on Credentials.

Committee on Credentials

THE CHAIRMAN: The next business in order is the election of a Credentials Committee.
DENIEL STANTON (Ohio): I rise to ask this convention a question. Is it in the sense of the delegates that a person who sends a congratulatory telegram to a candidate of a party in opposition to the Socialist Party should be recognized as a class-consensus representative of the party?

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire to state to the delegate that that matter can properly be brought before the Credentials Committee. If any delegate has any objections to any person who may

be applying for admission here, such matters must be brought before the Credentials Committee, and upon report by that committee, settled in this convention. We cannot anticipate who may deposit credentials.

DEL. SANDLOW (Ohio): I understood that the question in regard to the order of the agenda was to be settled in this convention, but it is a question whether or not in this convention any person who sends congratulatory letters to political candidates in opposition to the Socialist Party shall be recognized as a class-conscious representative.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair desires to state that we are not yet the regularly organized convention of the Socialist Party. We are in preparation of organization. If the persons present desire to make an expression on that point, upon motion, the convention will be adjourned with such a motion. But we are not at yet the convention of the Socialist Party because the delegates' credentials have not been received and have not been acted upon. We are yet, so far as being a convention is concerned, nothing more than an assembly of persons who have not yet been accepted delegates. However, the Chair avails any action of the convention.

Upon motion of Delegate Work, of Iowa, the convention proceeded to elect

a credentials committee of five members. The motion to make the committee consist of five members was reconsidered after eight delegates had been nominated, and when one of the nominees withdrew it was moved that the committee consist of four members.

The nomination of the Sanseunghad with its following. The motion prevailed as the Committee on Credentials: Garver (Mo.), Hayes (Ohio), Kromberg (N. J.), Thus (Wash.), Floater (Colo.), Historin (Wis.), Lee (New York).

By a large majority the delegates passed a temporary organization, and the convention proceeded to the election of a Committee on Rules to consist of seven members.

The following delegates accepted nominations for membership of the committee: (Kear) Stedman (Ill.) Bickert (Ohio) (Kapord) Wis., Tark (Ill.), Stedman (N. Y.), McFarlan (Mich.), Deutzman (Cal.), Robbins (Cal.).

The ballot was canvassed by four tellers and two judges appointed by the Chair, as follows: Herbert Stedman (N. Y.), Richardson (Cal.), Floater (Colo.), and Rose (Miss.). Tellers Pending the announcement of the result of ballot, recess was taken until two o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The convention was called to order at two o'clock by the Temporary Chairman Carey, but owing to the small number in attendance the recess was extended subject to the call of the Chair. At 2:45 and the Chair called the convention to order, and the results of the ballot on the Committee on Rules was, as follows:

Willis B. Stedman, 84; Bickert, 74; Gary, 107; Tark, 87; Stedman, 109; McFarlan, 43; Deutzman, 43; Robbins, 83. The seven delegates receiving the highest vote, 74, 74, 112, 110, 110, 110, 110 (N. Y.), Stedman (Ill.), Gary (N. Y.), Tark (Ill.), Robbins (Cal.), and McFarlan (Mich.) were elected.

The secretary read the following communications:

Cleveland, O. May 1, 1904.
Socialist Convention, Grand's Hall.
Heretofore wishes. My celebration.
Bohemian Socialists of Cleveland.

Comrades of the Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States:

The Socialist Sangreghad and the Lederalist, Fretford of Chicago kindly invite you to attend a social arranged for the benefit of the degenerated comrades from the different states at 55 North Clark street, in Trades Union Hall, Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock.

We shall be happy to meet the representatives of the working class at our headquarters at the stated time,

had hope to entertain them in a true fraternal way.

With best wishes, fraternally yours,
Socialist Sangreghad,
Lederalist Fretford.

Per O. Grishbe, Secretary.

The invitation of the Sangreghad with accepted upon motion.

Upon motion it was decided to confer upon Comrade Jas. S. Smith, Chicago, full power to select a Secretary at Arms.

Report on Credentials

The Committee on Credentials being read with the following report: (Aloromo) Lee was recognized, Committee on Rules, and the following report:

"Your Committee on Credentials has passed upon all of the regular and un-regular credentials presented to it, and will report thereon in a separate motion. It has decided that those credentials which are not in accordance with the constitution of the party should be entitled to representation which were in arrears beyond a certain time in payment of dues, and the Credentials Committee voted not to consider this matter, but to refer it back to the convention without recommendation."

"The committee heard certain protests. There was a protest brought against the seating of J. Shift Wilson as a delegate from California upon a charge preferred by Delegate Stanton, of Ohio, in writing, that Comrade Wilson had won a congratulatory telegram to Mayor McFarlan, of Chicago, in violation of the ethics of the election, and that this was such a violation of Socialist ethics that it should debar him from taking part in the deliberations of this convention. Comrade Wilson appeared before the Committee and made the statement that he had not received that telegram; that he did not understand that it had been sent him, and that he did not have anything to do with it or know anything about its having been sent until a considerable time afterwards, but that it was sent by Mr. Nelson, of N. Louis, with whom he had been in conversation before that time in regard to the election of delegates to the convention. That Mr. Nelson acted in full faith in sending it, and using his (Wilson's) name along with his own. But that as a matter of fact he did not authorize it, did not know of it, and had the known of Mr. Nelson's intention to

sign his name to such a telegram would not have allowed it. Upon this statement of Comrade Wilson, there being no further evidence or statements of fact upon the one side or upon the other, the committee unanimously voted to seat Comrade Wilson as a delegate from California. (Applause.)

There was a further question raised in regard to the seating of Comrade W. W. Wilkins as delegates from California. The State Secretary in his report to the National Convention had included J. Shift Wilson in the list of delegates and had included W. W. Wilkins in the list of alternates. In regard to Comrade Wilkins, the list of delegates as delegates, with the word delegate understood, in writing to Comrade Wilkins. It was explained that this arose out of a certain irregularity in the districting of the state, the delegates there being elected by districts from California who are not present, and at least one of whom, Comrade Helfenstein, we are sure will not be present, the committee recommended that both Comrade Wilson and Comrade Wilkins be seated as delegates and ordered that the names of delegates be issued to them. (Applause.)

"In two or three cases the delegates were unable to present their credentials through some irregularity of the mails, though some irregularity of the mails, their credentials not having reached them in time. In these cases, the committee having sufficient evidence, as they deemed, of the fact that they were regular delegates, the committee recommended that the list of the delegates and alternates who were recommended to be seated, and if it read the list.

"In regard to South Dakota, the committee decided that, though the state was not represented, the membership of two delegates, yet it had so increased its membership that it was well entitled to three, and the committee desired that Comrade Lovett of South Dakota shall be admitted as the third delegate, yet it understood it had no authority to do so, and that the number to which that state was entitled under the exact terms of the call.

"The committee finds it necessary to hold a further session to consider con-

that there be no smoking during the convention.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I regret a motion of that character coming from a man as being out of place. From a place. But it is born of sentimentality, and it is inconsistent with the comradeship that should exist, and the comradeship that exists in Europe, between men and women under relations of a high order. A woman exercises all the rights of man. There are no reasons to her. We as Socialists have no right to demand from members here any action to suit our peculiar ideas as men or individuals. She has a right to exercise the privilege that all men exercise.

I have a comrade here who has a right to demand that the lady delegates who are here feeling that they have all the rights that a man enjoys and they are equal to the man and can protect themselves, and it is altogether sentimentality that supposed protection of women. She has a right to demand that she be treated as a man to speak for her.

DEL. UNTERMANN (Ill.): I take issue with Comrade Kerrigan of Texas. This is not a question of sentiment; it is a question of common decency. (Applause.) There are men and women in this hall, and it is a violation of common decency to insist that women should be compelled to submit to it.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Orp.): As the comrade has intimated that we speak for ourselves, I will speak for myself. I am not representing the other ladies present. I have not objected to smoking personally, for the reason that I do not smoke personally, and it cracks. But speaking for myself, I make known to the comrades that I do protest against smoking second-hand smoke. (Applause.)

DEL. KERRIGAN: Mr. Chairman, manhood as one of the lady delegates has spoken, there is nothing for the convention to do but pass upon the objection. There are many men here who would carry their views out into life; if they do not smoke personally at home they do not smoke in public places. But it is a Socialist principle that we do not recognize any sex, and that is the reason—

DEL. BARRETT (Ind.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan has the floor until this point of order. **DEL. BARRETT:** He has already spoken once upon that proposition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The statement made by the delegate from Indiana is correct, but there is no rule, and Delegate Kerrigan had risen and was the only delegate that had been recognized, **DEL. KERRIGAN:** In the absence of a rule—

THE CHAIRMAN: In the absence of a rule Delegate Kerrigan can talk as often as he can get the floor and as long as he wishes.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): I have as much regard for the rights of others, I expect, as any delegate on the floor, but I do object to the introduction of sentimentality to prevent the women from coming into our movement. I know that women do not object to anything in the world, and I think it is a disgrace to exclude the masses of common decency.

DEL. PARRS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order. Our Chairman has time and time again ruled that he was going to rule this convention according to parliamentary provisions.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Kansas will make his appeal to the Chairman who will decide.

DEL. PARRS: We are under parliamentary law until we adopt some other rule, and we have a committee drafting a set of rules that will become a supplement and take the place of parliamentary procedure as soon as they report, and until then we are under the present procedure and it has been ruled time and again in this convention that we are to proceed according to parliamentary rules. The point of order is this: that no man shall talk twice upon one subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is raised that under parliamentary law no man shall talk twice upon one subject. The body will have upon one subject. The body will understand that, not only have we not accepted any rules, but we have not even become a parliamentary body as yet, and under the same parliamentary law that the gentleman is equanimity will make a point of order, it is held that in all parliamentary bodies of

this kind a man can talk as often as he can get the floor. The point of order is not well taken. Delegate Kerrigan has the floor.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): May I ask a question?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not without the consent of the speaker.

DEL. MORGAN: My point of order is this: that when we made our Chairman we became a parliamentary body, and you are ruled by parliamentary usage.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. MORGAN: I desire to appeal from the decision of the chair.

The Secretary took the chair.

DEL. MORGAN: Mr. Chairman and delegates, our Chairman has ruled that the delegate from Texas has the right to speak as long as he will and keep us here as long as he likes. I appeal from the decision of the chair.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Mr. Secretary, I do not care as to the position. Now I do not care as to the position. Let us not confuse our personal views with the question. What is the question? Is it whether we like what Delegate Kerrigan says or what he does not say, talk as long as he wishes, twice or three times, until he is tired, or whether it is whether, in the absence of rules limiting the number of times a person may talk or the length of time that he may talk, if a person is recognized by the chair, in the absence of such rules I can talk as long as he wishes, and if I can talk as long as he wishes, it is as soon as possible to get at the adoption of rules. I have attempted to advise this convention, but this convention has not been of any assistance to me in the matter. (Laughter.)

The decision of the chair was sustained.

DEL. CAREY resumed the chair.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): A point of order. I raise the point of order that Delegate Kerrigan of Texas has been discussing the philosophy or abstract theories of the Socialist movement, and I have not confined himself to the smoke

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. (Laughter.) The delegate from Texas, who has got me into a lot of trouble already, will please confine himself to the subject.

Del. Pichin (Ill.) asked for recognition.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention will be in order until I sit down under the rule the delegate from Texas has the floor, but that unfortunately we have no rules that may prevent a person from taking advantage of it. It is according to my mind, I must simply act in accordance with the general practice. Several delegates volunteered to get the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Texas has the floor. Are there any parliamentary objections?

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): A point of order. The Committee on Rules is ready to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the convention would permit Delegate Kerrigan to say what he wishes we would have been through long before.

DEL. TAPP (Ill.): Which is the more important, for us to adopt rules or for the Chairman to do so?

DEL. STEDMAN: A point of order. At the session this morning there were two committees elected, a Committee on Credentials and a Committee on Rules. The Committee on Credentials reported the Committee on Rules before this body except to receive the report of the Committee on Rules. That committee is now ready to report, and there is nothing that prevents their right to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair declines to report. The question of the convention is not the committee that convention two or three; that we are the regularized body of the Socialist Party regularly seated, and the meeting before was simply a mass of persons who claimed to be delegates. Delegate Kerrigan has the floor as long as you hold it provided the motion is on the floor. If you do not care to say that Comrade Kerrigan would favor that through long ago if you would only let him say what he wanted to say.

DEL. KERRIGAN: It placed me in an unfair attitude. It was unfair to say that I was discussing a subject that was not in line with the motion. I was talking in line with the motion. It is foolish notions that have placed the Socialist party in a wrong attitude. I say that the lady delegates who are here are able to take care of themselves,

and I am sure they do not want to place themselves in the attitude of being party men. They do not want to be in the class of comrades who are devoted to the welfare of the Socialist party. I have no desire to take up your time or harass the convention, as comrades seem to think, but I will insist on being heard when I am in the right, and that is all I have to say on this point.

The motion that smoking be prohibited was finally put and carried.

The Chairman stated that the time for vacating the building (3:45) had already passed, and that if the rules were taken up they would convention was that of its own acts.

Delegate Hillquist (N. Y.) moved that the convention do not adjourn until the committees are elected, and that it then adjourn.

It was moved to adjourn until eight o'clock Monday morning, as amended.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I am in favor of Hillquist of New York. I do not think that this convention ought to consider of paramount importance the arrangements for a banquet.

DEL. HEYDRICK (Pa.): I rise to a point of order. A motion to adjourn has been made and seconded, and that is the only business before the convention. DEL. HERRMANN: A motion to adjourn to a stated time is subject to discussion. A plain motion is not. This is a motion to adjourn to a certain time.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): A point of order. We are at present under the question of the Committee on Rules, and no other subject can be introduced until the Convention has had motion to adjourn a body without time or with time is always in order, and Delegate Spargo has the floor.

DEL. TAYLOR (Ill.): A point of order. A motion made while another matter is before the house is not debatable. It is only privileged.

THE CHAIRMAN: The house is now in order. DEL. TAYLOR: A plain motion to adjourn is not debatable, but a motion to adjourn to a specified time is always debatable. DEL. TAYLOR: But it is not privileged when there is another matter before the house. DEL. SPARGO: I think it is important that this convention get down to

its serious work. I am not in favor of considering as a matter of primary importance to incite with the convention the arrangements that have been made for a banquet by the members of the Reception Committee. I think it was an act of ill judgment, to say the least, that in this hall which would nevertheless the adjournment of this convention at an early hour, at such an important time, before the serious work of the convention had begun.

Now, comrades, we have not come from New York, Seattle or Philadelphia for a banquet (Applause). We have no objection to a banquet; we have no objection to smoking; we have no objection whatever to any pleasures of comradeship that can be introduced on an occasion of this character. I have not merely the business of the Socialist party, and that must come first of all, and for my part, if the banquet has to be abandoned, if we have to go without it, we will go without it rather than impair the efficiency of the convention. I understand that the delegates present will not vote either for adjournment now until to-morrow morning or for any adjournment of things which ought to be done at the beginning of its sessions and before the motion to adjourn was put and carried.

Comrade Gaylord, secretary of the committee, made the following

Report of Committee on Rules

The Committee on Rules met at the Revere House and Comrade John Work of Iowa was elected Chairman, Comrade W. R. Gaylord was elected Secretary. The Committee begs to report as follows:

1. A delegate shall be elected at the command of each day's session.
2. A secretary and two assistants shall be elected for the entire convention.
3. A reading clerk and one assistant shall be elected for the convention.
4. A sergeant-at-arms for the entire convention.
5. Five (5) pages and five (5) messengers shall be appointed from visiting members by the sergeant-at-arms.

6. Four (4) bellmen and two (2) janitors to count all ballots shall be appointed for the entire convention.
7. A Committee on Platform shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
8. A Committee on Constitution shall be elected, to consist of one member from each of our states and territories, each organized state and territory respectively.

9. A Committee on Resolutions shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
10. A Committee on Ministerial Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
11. The standing Committee on Ministerial Program appointed by the International Convention shall report to the Committee on Ministerial Program.
12. A Committee on Finance shall be appointed, to consist of five (5) members.
13. An Auditing Committee of five (5) members shall be appointed by the chair.

14. A Committee on Ways and Means shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
15. A Committee on Credentials shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.
16. The sessions of the convention shall begin at 7:30 a. m. and continue to 10:00 a. m. and nights from 7:30 p. m. and eight o'clock.
17. Reports of committees are ready or have been called for. The night session shall extend from 7:30 to 9:30 p. m.
18. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the persons question has been called for the question shall be allowed three minutes for closing the debate before the question is put.
19. During the sessions of the convention no smoking shall be allowed on the floor of the convention.
20. Following shall be the order of business:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of the National Secretary.
3. Report of the Committee on Platform.
4. Report of the Committee on Ministerial Program.
5. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
6. Nominations of candidate for President.
7. Nominations of candidate for Vice-President.
8. Election of Delegates to the International Socialist Congress.
9. Report of the Committee on Ways and Means.
10. Report of Auditing Committee.
11. Election of the National Campaign Committee.
12. W. R. Gaylord, Secretary.

DEL. GAYLORD: I beg to report the following minority report signed by Seymour Steiman and W. R. Gaylord:

Minority Reports

A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected, to consist of nine members. A Committee on Farmers' Program shall be elected, to consist of nine members.

A Committee on Race Problems, to consider the Negro and Chinese questions, shall be elected, and shall consist of nine members. SEYMOUR STEIMAN, W. R. GAYLORD.

The Committee on Constitution shall consist of nine (9) members, to be elected by the convention. HENRY SLOAN, DEL. TAYLOR (Ill.): I have another minority report:

The undersigned members of the Committee on Rules concur with the majority report of the Committee, excepting that a portion of the report relating to the program of the International Program. We recommend the adoption of the report with this provision stricken out.

M. H. TAYLOR, SAM ROXBORNS.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee and of the minority. The chair suggests that you proceed to take the matter up seriatim, in the following order: First, the members to which there is no objection; then, the objections are made and consider them later. Is there any objection to that procedure? If not, the Secretary will read the first paragraph. Thereupon the Secretary of the com-

mittee re-read the report section by section, and sections 2, 3, 4, 6 and 12 were read without objection, contained in the report of the Committee on Rules was upon motion limited to three minutes.

Section 1 was amended to provide for the election of a chairman and vice-chairman of the committee of each of Sections 5 and 7 were adopted.

The minority report providing for the election of a Committee on Constitution to consist of nine members was adopted.

Section 9 of the report was adopted.

Committee on Municipal Program

Section 10 of the report was then read as follows:

"A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members."

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move that the speaker be given twenty seconds to speak for the committee. There was a committee appointed by the Indianapolis Convention on Municipal Program, which was ordered to report to this convention. The Committee on Rules report this in, if for no other reason, simply to explain the situation. I think it must be revised and something done with it, and if for no other reason, it is necessary for that purpose.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I am in favor of the report. I do not believe it is right for any delegate to this convention to ask that we rescind that we refuse to listen to the report of so important a committee of the Socialist party in this convention in this year of 1904. I shall vote for the adoption of the report of the committee.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I understand who are trying to go ahead on the wrong track. They want to fight by knocking out this committee, and I want to warn those delegates that the question itself is a case of whether—

DEL. BRACKETT (Ohio): I raise the point of order that the committee is not in the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken, for the reason that it is impossible to hold a man absolutely to the question. I can only rely upon each delegate's judgment to

try and talk on the subject. For what purpose does the delegate rise at this time?

DEL. BRACKETT: I thought you would recognize a point of order when a comrade in making his speech referred to something not before the house. He is certainly not talking to the question that is before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate departs from the subject he is on of order, but he should attempt to keep as close as possible to the subject. Delegate Berger has two minutes and twenty seconds.

DEL. BERGER: I thank you for the twenty seconds. Comrade Brackett of the committee, that we appoint a committee of nine to report on State and Municipal Program. We have a program—

A point of order was raised that the speaker was not discussing the question, but discussing an amendment that he desired to offer.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair has a recollection of hearing the delegate say that he would like even to enlarge the powers of the committee. That is what I heard him say when he rose and I therefore declare the point of order sustained.

The delegate insisted on his point of order on the ground that Del. Berger first offered an amendment and then proceeded to make a speech upon the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. Delegate Berger has a minute and four seconds.

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman, again I will make another attempt. Now, Mr. Chairman, we want to understand that we are in a different state of brotherhood than we were four years ago. The situation on a question of life and death for the party, and I rise to amend the report of the committee by making it a committee of nine for the purpose of reporting on state and municipal program.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original motion is that a Committee on Municipal Program of nine members be selected. A motion was made to strike out the entire paragraph. A motion was then made to amend the original report by inserting the word "State." It will read "State and Municipal Pro-

gram." The question will come first on the motion to strike out, since it will be the original motion.

DEL. STEEDMAN (Ill.): Mr. Chairman and Delegates: One reason the Indianapolis Committee was not under the rule required to report to this convention was because if we had a different committee created by this convention it would be the same subject-matter. It would take into consideration the questions that might be made during the night and any suggestions that the delegates might make to the committee created by this body; and that committee, relying upon the information that they receive from the standing committee, would be in a position to report to the convention the results of resolutions and the report of the old committee and advising it and then receiving the report of a new committee and adopting that. That was the purpose of the convention—the majority of the committee—I mean the majority of the committee desired to have the committee created by the reason is very apparent. We are in this situation; either we must arrange our campaigns in cities like Chicago upon the declaration that we believe in a co-operative commonwealth, or we must be placed in a position to have a scientific argument that is raised in the city. (Applause.) Don't I want to call your attention to one situation in the City of Chicago. The problem came up as to whether—

A delegate here raised a point of order that this motion is not in order, and was on the adoption of rules, and not a question of political program.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question as to the advisability of the selection of the committee necessarily involves the subjects for which they are to be appointed. The chair therefore declares a point of order, and the speaker of order is directed to maintain the point of order, and the question being put to the house by the secretary, the decision of the chair was sustained.

DEL. STEEDMAN: We had two propositions—one was the question of the election of a Board of Education. There were some in our party who

agreed with those who thought that the members of the Board of Education should be elected by a popular vote.

They were opposed to it because it was opposed to it because it was a question of municipal transportation, and there were members of this party in this city who took the position that they would vote in favor of granting franchise to the entire country. Now, we should at least have a position upon which we can agree. For my part, I should be opposed to granting franchises to corporations. (Applause.) For my part, I believe and more acutely than I do, that we should create a definite ideal. We disagree on that. Some members are in favor of nothing, until we have recognized Socialism which would come in by a grand campaign. Others believe in taking advantage of every means that transfers property from the hands of the capitalists to these industries. This motion to strike out is made to confine us in this city to the program that existed years ago—

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman has expired.

A delegate from Pennsylvania moved the previous question.

DEL. WILLIAMS (Kan.): Comrades, I desire to state that I believe in any discussion on the question or not, any question of the municipal program and of the state program will be discussed in this convention on his merits. This report of the committee is simply a recommendation that the question of a re-election of the committee be sent in to the membership thoughtful present. That is all I have to say.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I move you that we do now adjourn.

THE motion was adopted by a vote of 64 to 62 and the convention adjourned with next morning.

SECOND DAY'S SESSION

Chairman Carey called the convention to order at 10 o'clock. Del. Hillquit (N. Y.) was unanimously elected chairman for the day and Del. Woodruff (Cal.) was made vice-chairman. DEL. GARYLORD: "I desire to say that our Comrade Katsuyama of Japan is here in the hall, and I move that he be given a seat on the platform. Seconded and carried."

Comrade Katsuyama was received with the enthusiasm as he took his seat on the platform.

A Committee on State and Municipal Program:

THE CHAIRMAN: We will next proceed with the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program. The DEL. GARYLORD, of the Committee on Rules: "I believe we had read the tenth item, "A Committee on Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to this proposition?

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): As a member of the Committee on Rules who signed the minority report recommending the striking out of the appointment of this committee, I ask your indulgence in three minutes. My report does not inquire on this question as to whether we go before the people simply on a revolutionary platform. I am aware of the fact that the delegates are largely in favor of the appointment of a committee which shall report a program. I would like to know if there is the hope of a discussion whether there is not to be a program of the Committee on Platform and of the Committee on Resolutions will probably be somewhat different. If they are to be brought up together, I would like to have them brought up together. Comrade Steadman and some others are

in the habit of referring to this Chicago as impossible to handle. I think I am perhaps being exaggerated by saying one of that sort of a declaration being an imposition in any sense of the word. I stand for the Socialists doing something. I maintain that if we get into legislative bodies we should go to work and take an active part in these bodies, the manner in that it is not descriptive and lay out, something on any rate, what shall be done in such a body. Now, I ask, what is the real intention? Is it the bona fide, is it the real intention that our representatives in these bodies will do? If that is true, I cannot now be able to answer the purpose for four years to come. Things are coming up continually which require action at once, and I will refer just now to our own case in the city of Chicago. It is a fact general of our party that we are not doing for the Socialist party our member whom we elected as alderman in the city committee a year ago. That expulsion was almost unanimous vote of the County Central Committee. Now, as to the grounds upon which that action was taken, without there was not a single ground that was brought up which could have been thought of a year before, or even six months before. To mention just one, the immediate cause was the failure of our member to take action as directed in regard to the proposed law for the disbarment of judges. It is likely to have been a great calamity like that, or what should be done in that case. We directed what should be done, and the alderman failed to do it. The other defects, if I took them up in detail, would require too much time, but they were of the same kind.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): It seems to me the issue is whether the Socialist party is able to say something definite on the questions that confront the peo-

ple at this time. Undoubtedly the questions of program, of the farmer, of the negro, etc., are going to come before this convention. It is time that the best intelligence in the Socialist party should express itself along these lines, and that the party should be able to set with the most wisdom. We cannot ignore these questions, and the proper thing to do is to go ahead and use our time in the selection of a committee that shall bring the best thought they are capable of bringing to bear on that question, submitting the results of their deliberations, which, accept, amend or reject as in the opinion of the convention the best interests of the Socialist party of the world would be advanced. We may just as well meet the issues as they come. If we are not ready to say something clear and definite, do not realize the situation. I say "I do not know" is not the final answer to the questions that confront the people of this country. The only way we can win we shall say, "I do know," and when the intelligence of the Socialist party shall point the way out of the dilemma of the profession conflict on every part of the field and point out the interests of the worker at all times. I hope that that day has arrived. I hope that we may take the leadership of the world, because we are the only party in the world that are ready to take the leadership by pointing to something definite, something that they can take hold of right now, something that shall indicate the course that we shall take in the years that are yet to come. When that hour arrives many of the difficulties and objections—stock objections—that every socialist agitator is met with, will be met.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I rise to a point of order. The speakers are not speaking to the question before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house is that a committee be appointed to investigate the program of the Municipal Program shall be appointed to consist of nine members on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine. Delegates will please confine themselves to the motion.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am astonished at the drift that the argument has

taken. I made a motion to strike out this committee entirely. My motive is this: I want the comrades to understand that I am in favor of the program. We are here in national convention and we are going to make a platform and we are going to make a program. We are going to make a platform and we are going to make a program and for our president, if we should elect him. But here is a question of municipal affairs, in a party that is organized on the basis of State autonomy. Where does that come in? Comrade Berger, in yesterday's session, pointed with pride that does not have more pride in it than the delegates in the Municipal City Council. I take as much pleasure in that as he does.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I rise to a point of order. The delegate is not speaking to the question, which is the question of a program.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is that the delegate is not speaking to the question of the broad subject, the necessity of the appointment of a committee of this kind, and it brings up the entire subject for discussion. We have limited our speakers to three minutes, and I suggest that we do not interrupt the three-minute speakers.

DEL. KERRIGAN: I accept the ruling. But I think it is a waste of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have made any ruling.

DEL. BERLYN: I ask your attention in particular how to the charge which was made that we were going to have a meeting in the hall. We do not think so. Our comrades in Milwaukee are teaching them a lesson by giving them results. We will accept what was learned in Milwaukee in the campaign, and we would accept a program twice as long as the one in Milwaukee.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am right at this time. I believe we are dealing with national affairs, and the question whether we want a municipal program for Chicago or Shenoyan or any other national convention. We have got plenty of questions that the convention can deal with. We are going to make a platform to its own work and leave this question of municipal program to the municipalities, and with the example that we are going to get from Milwaukee, we will get an education and the "impossibilities," as they are called, will, too. If the re-

with do not warrant it the impossibilities very probably will be victorious, that is all. In the State convention of Illinois we adopted a State program, and we are going to bring it in Chicago. I stood for the program there, but I do not believe it is within the province of the national convention that may come up in a national campaign. It is there the phenomena is met, and there we will be able to meet it. And it was for the purpose of saving time and getting at rules which would keep local questions away from national questions, so that we would not get tied out and do away with that committee.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I am not rising to debate whether we ought to have a program or ought not to have a program. We ought to refer this thing to a committee and let that committee thresh out this subject of program and then bring it up in this convention, but it seems as though it is ruled here that it is in order to discuss the merits of a program. Am I correct, Mr. Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, only inasmuch as the merits are necessary involved in the matter of appointing a committee at this time. We are not to lay out the work of the committee but to speak to the necessity of the appointment of the committee.

DEL. PARKS: Then the way out of it is to let the committee report yes or no, and we will have a minority report and a majority report upon it. In either order and decide at that time whether we are going to have a program or not. Now, I am not fully decided upon a program. I believe that rather than saying what we will do when we get elected to the office, we ought to act before the people and give them a chance to be heard. Gentlemen, we cannot cross the river before we come to it. We do not know what we will think to-day or next week. We can only decide when next week comes. There has never been a revolution in the history of the world until after the revolution was in full operation. After the revolution was worked out, before the revolution took place. Of course, we are trying to for-

mulate some kind of program, and I hope we will refer this matter to a committee to decide and discuss the questions and bring a report in so that we can debate the thing properly at the proper time. I hold that this is not the proper time for the merits of a program.

Del. Spargo moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will first vote as a substitute, on the motion of Delegate DeJury to strike out the recommendation of the committee. The first question is, if the roll is checked down, to make a State and Municipal Program. And if that is not carried we will then vote on the original motion to appoint a Committee on Municipal Program only. The vote is on the substitute to strike out the recommendation of the Committee on Rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed to vote on the Committee of Delegate Berger, that a Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected to consist of nine members.

The amendment was then put and adopted.

DEL. GAVYLORD (Wis.): Is that the amendment?
THE CHAIRMAN: That is the amendment, and it disposes of the original motion. We may just as well put before you now the original motion as amended, which now reads as follows: A Committee be elected to consist of nine members. That is the original motion, as amended.

The original motion as amended was then adopted.

Section 11 of the Committee's report was then adopted.
At this point, Chairman appointed Carl H. Miller of Chicago Secretary-at-Arms, and Comrade Spears as assistant. Section 12 was adopted.
Section 13, providing for the appointment by the Chairman of an Auditing Committee of five was amended to provide that the Chair's appointees shall, in addition, be elected by the membership. The section was adopted as amended.

Speakers Time Limited

DEL. GAVYLORD: "Section 15. Discussions shall be limited to ten minutes for each speaker. No speaker shall speak a second time until all desiring

to use their time shall have had an opportunity to speak."
DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I wish to submit a motion to report that ten minutes, "and insert "five minutes," be amended.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I would be in favor of the report of the committee to give ten minutes time, except on discussion on the program, whatever that may be.
DEL. GAVYLORD: You will find out, Del. Meyer. But every speaker that desires to speak on a very important subject by all means should have all the time necessary in order to state his views on the subject of the program. I do not desire to speak on the program as much time as he desires.

Question called for.
THE CHAIRMAN: There is an amendment to the amendment to the effect that ten minutes be the limit of time in the discussion of all topics before the membership, except on the program in which discussion the time shall be unlimited.

The amendment to the amendment was seconded.
DEL. WILL (Kan.): I wish to offer an amendment to the amendment, namely, that the discussions on program shall be unlimited, while other discussions shall be limited to five minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will take this as a substitute for the whole; that is the only way we can take it. The substitute motion is that all discussions be limited to the amount of five minutes. I believe that this is the best thing to do in ten minutes. Is there a second? Substitute seconded.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I favor the original motion. I believe there are some important questions to come before this convention at least equally as important as the program, and I want all of those questions discussed properly. I do not believe that we should have a rule and as anxious to get home as the rest, but at the same time we are in national convention assembled, and while we have all the time and have had all this time to make speeches here at this convention, I hope we will not limit the time to five minutes on important matters that may come up. I favor the ten minutes' rule.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I do not see the necessity for the amendment to the amendment. If it is the sense of the convention the delegates can have more time to discuss the program. I believe, therefore, I and I do not see why this question should especially have more time than other questions.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I think it is more important to talk upon questions of platform and program than on something else. I am not prepared to say, one, it is no more important than the platform ought to be fully discussed. We ought to have at least ten minutes. I suggest that we leave that question open until the time for debating program and platform comes, and that we fix the time for that time. I do not believe we talkers to at that time. That will be decided.

DEL. CARB (Ill.): It does seem to me that the questions that are coming before this national convention are so fundamentally important to require at least ten minutes if a man is going to speak upon them at all. I would not object if the speaker should speak for fifteen minutes were allowed for discussion on program. I believe ten minutes is sufficient for ordinary discussions, but I do not believe five minutes is sufficient, and I hope that the convention will vote down all three amendments and adopt the rule proposed by the committee.

This convention will be historic. We can afford to stay here another day or two and thresh these important questions out, rather than stifle discussion and make decisions prematurely for lack of discussion, and leave unnecessary feelings in the minds of delegates, no matter what the result of the vote may be. I am very much opposed to limiting the discussion to less than ten minutes. I feel that the matter is more important than that some of the comrades seem to recognize, and I hope that these amendments will be voted down by the recommendation of the committee carried.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): There are some of us who believe that questions will come before this organization that are as important as the question of program, and whatever limit may be set that a speaker may occupy. I believe it would be wise to state that with the consent of the convention further

time could be extended. Some of these questions can be discussed in five minutes and some may require ten minutes, and I do not believe the limit should be so cast iron in its nature as to shut off discussion of very important questions that will take some time. The delegates that I wish to see here, I think, should have the right to say that they would like to be set by this convention may be met with the understanding that with the consent of the convention further time may be allowed in the discussion of matters of very great importance.

DEL. GAYLORD: It seems to me these matters are matter-of-course questions. If you do not do them with it. When you come to program, platform, extending or anything else, and want to extend the time for discussion by a speaker, do it at that time. Have a uniform rule do it the way through and modify it to meet the situation.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): My object in making this amendment was, first, in order to give all the delegates here an opportunity to be heard on all questions. At previous conventions the time limit, I believe, was ten minutes. The result has been that during the first four or five days questions of delegates come up and they are not heard. They are not heard in minutes or more, and then at the end of the convention or on the last day of the convention very important matters have been rushed through without opportunity for consideration because the delegates have been away from home for four to eight hours. Now, if we have a ten-minute limit, in order to limit the debate by the five-minute rule, and there are any important questions, we can extend the time under the rule so as to give an opportunity for all delegates to be heard. All those who wish to speak on the question, I think, should be given an opportunity to do so for the purpose of this amendment, but not for the purpose of getting through with our business as soon as possible and giving every question coming before this convention due and proper consideration as its merits deserve. Therefore, I submit my amendment. (Y) moved to vote. Said del. did not carry.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original recommendation of the committee is that the time for all discussion be limited to ten minutes. The amendment is that

the time be limited to five minutes. The amendment to the amendment is that the time for the discussions be limited to five minutes except on questions of program, on which it shall be unlimited; and the substitute for the whole is that the time for the discussions on all discussions except on discussions on program, in which case it shall be limited to ten.

DEL. WILLI: With the consent of my second I desire to withdraw the substitute, and I desire to concur in the recommendation.

THE CHAIRMAN: The mover of the substitute desires to be heard on the substitute. The question is on the substitute. If there is any objection we will proceed.

Objection heard.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute comes first.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I object to the amendment. The object of the amendment to an amendment is not in order, and, therefore, being out of order is not before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. A substitute for the whole, an amendment to an amendment, is in order. Let us come to a vote.

DEL. HANFORD: You have not ruled on the point I make. The point was that you have the original proposition the report of the committee; that you then have an amendment; you then have an amendment to the amendment; and then you have this committee's substitute after that.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. HANFORD: Now, Robert's rules of order recognize nothing except the original motion, the amendment and the amendment to the amendment and the only way the amendment or substitute is in order is if the amendment or substitute is after one or more of those amendments have been disposed of.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to rule the point of order not well taken. We are not guided by Robert's rules of order, or we have not adopted Robert's rules of order. We are using a supplementary message to act on the substitute.

DEL. KERIGAN: Hear! the report of the committee adopted Robert's rules of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: We have not

adopted them yet. The substitute for the whole is now in order. It is to be taken up. The discussions be limited to five minutes; they shall be limited to ten. The question on the substitute was not and declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment to the amendment is in order. In order to the effect that all discussion be limited to ten minutes, except on the question of program, in which case discussion should be unlimited in time. The amendment to the amendment was not.

THE CHAIRMAN: We come now to the amendment, that discussion on any subject be limited to five minutes. A division being called for upon the vote, the amendment was declared lost by a vote of 59 for to 71 against.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now come to the original recommendation, that all discussions be limited to five minutes. This motion was adopted as recommended by the committee. Section 26 was amended to provide for the convention to meet at 9 a. m., and was then adopted as amended. Sections 17 and 18 were adopted.

The Order of Business

Section 19 of the committee's report, having the order of business, was then taken up.

Del. Robinson (Ky.): moved to adopt this section. Seconded.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I move to amend that in the order of business be provided that the election of delegates for President and Vice-President be inserted.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): I move that the first order of business be the report of the National Secretary. Is that the order of business for every day?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it is the order of business covering the entire convention.

DEL. GERBER: The report of the Committee on Credentials is a standing order, and as it is a standing order we should have that standing order before the convention—because we have got the

Committee on Credentials—is the report of the National Secretary.

DEL. GAYLORD: Now what your amendment is to do is to insert Del. Gerber's motion into the Committee on Credentials, whenever it has anything to report, to make the report every morning?

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): In the committee this matter was discussed and it was held there that immediately on the report of the National Secretary, and with the very next order of business would be to carry out the recommendation, without knowing whether that would be the election of committees, or whatever should be necessary to carry out these recommendations.

DEL. SILVERMAN (N. Y.): I propose that there be inserted here is a provision for the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress. It appears to me, in order that we might fully appreciate and understand the character of the work that lays before the congress, that we ought to have the report of the Committee on Credentials before we have it before us at a time when we want to elect the delegates who are familiar with the nature of this work. I, therefore, move an amendment to the rules, that we insert, immediately preceding the election of delegates, that the report of the Committee on Credentials be heard—that that made the order of business immediately preceding the election of delegates to the Socialist Congress. I move that as an amendment to the report of the Committee on Rules.

DEL. TURNER (Mo.): I want to offer another amendment, that the election of delegates to the International Congress be referred to the referendum vote of the entire membership of the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we consider that, my attention is called to the fact that we have two amendments already on our feet. I will, therefore, take a vote on the two amendments before the house, and we may then continue. The first amendment offered was that the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President be inserted as the first order of business. I will, therefore, take the report of the Committee on Platform.

DEL. GAYLORD: May I speak for the committee on that point? The committee, in discussing this matter, thought it was better to have all the ideas that are to be presented in the campaign before we will in hand before we came to the question of candidates, in nomination of the candidates. It seemed best to lay out the ground first and then choose the candidates. The matter of resolutions and other matters connected with these programs might possibly affect some of these questions and be settled in the nomination of candidates. It seemed better to lay out the entire ground first.

DEL. WALDORST (Ab.): Comrade Chairman, I think before the nominations of President and Vice-President take place that the convention should have settled on every question coming before it and know exactly where we stand before we get any Socialist party endorsement. I think the Socialist party would be better to ask any man to be a candidate before he knows what the party will require of him. If we leave it to the last every one of them will stay here, because they think just as I do, that this is the first real convention. I would be an imbecile to ask any man and they will take great pride in participating in the nomination of our candidates for President and Vice-President.

DEL. MENTION (Mich.): I am in favor of the recommendation of the committee. I do not see why we should have a caucus. I think the motion recommended by the committee. What has been said that we don't know what sort of a platform or what principles we are going to stand upon, but this is a Socialist convention and we are confined to Socialist principles. We cannot change our minds. There is no question as to whether it makes whether we make out nominations first or last.

The amendment providing that the nominations of candidates for President and Vice-President immediately follow the report of the Committee on Platform was adopted. To the effect that the report of the International Secretary be made an order of business immediately preceding the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress was adopted.

Delegate Ornel (Ind.) moved as an amendment that immediately following

the report of the National Secretary the report of the National Quorum be heard, which motion was duly seconded.

Delegate Work (Iz.) moved as a first thing arrangement to strike from the report of the Quorum the report of the National Campaign Committee, which motion was duly seconded.

DEL. WORK (Iz.): In the hurry of finishing up the work of the Committee on Rules I did not notice the significance of the provision for a National Campaign Committee. The committee is in a simple temporary committee, but it is not a permanent committee. It is not until after the November election. Now we have a National Committee to attend to that work. Of course, we cannot tell what the Committee on Constitution is going to do, and neither can we tell what we will do with their report. I am in a peculiar what the members who on the referendum will be the whipper we do with that report, we can at least assume that there will be either a Quorum or an Executive Committee or a National Committee of some sort left from the wreck, and it will be on the duties of that quorum or Executive Committee to perform the very duties which it was intended that this National Campaign Committee should perform. Consequently, such a committee is superfluous, and I therefore move to strike out the provision.

DEL. BARNES (Penn.): I rise in favor of the amendment. I think we should thereby a dual committee to perform the same labor, as Comrade Work has described. It was the understanding that the National Committee, or a sub-committee thereof, should conduct the campaign for the delegates on the referendum. The committee on Rules might provide for a National Campaign Committee, which would be practically two committees for the same purpose. For that reason I believe in the striking out of that paragraph, as provided in the amendment of Comrade Work.

In regard to the other amendment embodied in the report of the Secretary by the Secretary himself, to not see the need of calling for the report of the Local Quorum following the report of the National Secretary for the reason that the Secretary's report

is complete and includes all the work of the National Committee at least. Now, that simply be a waste of time. I will call a special time for the report of the Local Quorum, especially?

DEL. STEVY MADLEY (Neb.): Mr. Chairman, the report that I have drawn up is not a report of the National Campaign Committee, but a report of the National Campaign Committee, which motion was duly seconded.

DEL. BROWER: A point of information. Has the National Quorum attended the Secretary's report?

DEL. SECY MAILLY: I would state that the Quorum took no formal action on the report. They simply heard it and expressed an opinion. I would say one thing, and that is, I do not agree with any of it, but the other members agree with it, and they could not take action upon it. The report embodies my own ideas entirely.

DEL. TURNER: I wish to renew my motion to strike out from the other business the election of delegates to the referendum. The motion was duly seconded.

DEL. STEVERMAN (N. Y.): I am opposed to that amendment for this reason. I believe there is such a thing as carrying the proposition of a referendum to an assembly, and I think this is one of the things that we ought to do. It is logical conclusion then we ought to submit before naming candidates for President and Vice-President. Our ob-

ject in meeting in conventions of this kind is to select representatives of the interests that we think require immediate attention. Delegates are selected who are familiar with principles and acquainted with the men, and nobody is better qualified to judge of the merits or demerits of the candidates for Vice-President and President than the National Secretary and Delegates to this International Congress and Delegates to this

national Congress are the ones that we ought to do that here. (Applause.) I believe that we ought to vote this amendment down. The great trouble is that in our convention we have a tendency to do something or to extend the vote of the whole course ridiculous and impetuous. How can the various members of our party, scattered all through the country, sit in intelligent judgment upon the merits and demerits of candidates whom they may never meet and whom they may never see?

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I think I would suggest that we should elect a committee to select representatives to this convention, and we, and we alone, are best qualified to say who shall be selected representatives to the International Socialist Congress.

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The amendment to refer the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress was defeated.

DEL. GOZVIOU (Penn.): I move to amend by adding to section 8, "Election of delegates to the International Congress of Socialists," to the approval of the membership at large.

DEL. KLEIN (Alinn.): Comrade **CHIEF**, election is subject to approval of the party, and that is a matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no further discussion upon this amendment! **DEL. SEVERAN (N. Y.)**: I want to remind the delegates here that there is nothing practical to be obtained by this motion. The next meeting of the Congress is on the next August, and it does not seem to me that we can get this referendum in action to accomplish any practical results before that time.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): It appears to me that the middle of August is far enough away to get a referendum vote. If we nominate a candidate for President here, and only nominate one candidate, it is pretty well understood that we are nominating a man that the party were nominating for the position of International Delegate, certainly the rank and file ought to have a chance to vote on them. The 14th of August is not so close at hand, but that we can get a vote on it. **DEL. NAGEL (Ky.)** moved that adjournment be taken until 1:30.

Upon the motion being put, a division was called for and pending the taking of the vote and the announcement of the result, the motion for adjournment of the session was read by the Secretary:

"Comrades: Local, Hudson Committee, N. J., sends greetings and wishes you success. **FRANKLIN DUNN**, Organizer."

BUTVAD, N. Y., May 1st 1904.

Comrades: National Convention, Chicago, coming. Greeting from May day demonstrators of New York, N. Y., and comrades of Local Buffalo. **S. D. P.**

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 1st 1904.
Local Washington Socialist Party sends congratulations. Three cheers for the International Socialist Party!
Local Washington Socialists Party

New York, May 1, 1904.
Socialist Party in Convention Asssembled, Chicago.
The New York Socialist Literary Society sends greetings.
W. K. KALININSKY.

Stamington, Conn., May 1, 1904.
Comrades from Stamington, Connecticut, greeting from the Socialist Party of Stamford, Conn. Cheers for straight Socialist work. Hurrah for Socialist Party of America!
W. L. INDEREST.

BROOKVIEW JUNCTION, N. Y., May 2, 1904.
Comrades Local Queens, N. Y., New York, assembled, send their greetings to the International Socialist Party. We will help the cause.
HARRY ORGIZATER, and GOMELZ, Secretary.

MORRIS, Pa., May 2, 1904.
Greetings from Belle Vernon Local, wishing success.
BELLE VERNON SOCIALIST PARTY.

CINCINNATI, O., May 2, 1904.
The International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America send greeting and best wishes to the Congress of the Socialist Party now in convention assembled. May the workers of the world be victorious in their fight to the overthrow of capitalism for the credit of the Socialist Party of America!
JOSIEF POKORSKY,
International Secretary.

The messages, especially the last one were received with great enthusiasm. After several minutes' comments, the Chairman moved the adjournment, which was carried by a vote of 67 to 52 until 1:30 p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman Hillquit called the convention to order shortly before a o'clock and immediately recognized **DEL. WHITE (Maine)**, who stated that the Sergeant-Arms and his assistant, in the fiscal interpretation of their duty, had not held scored themselves with their husbands on the floor of the convention, to move without the circle, and Delegate **White** accordingly moved that for the guidance of the Sergeant-Arms during the future sessions of the convention it be the sense of the convention that the husbands of the delegates to the convention be permitted, if they so desire, to sit within the convention circle.

The motion was seconded and hearty applause. **THE CHAIRMAN**: I do not want to suppose that motion for reasons well known to the friends of the Chair. (**Laughter.**)

DEL. CARRIE L. JOHNSON (Iowa): Mr. Chairman, I move you that the motion be amended to include the husbands and sweethearts. (**Laughter.**)
The question was put and the motion carried by a vote of 67 to 52, and adjournment proceeded with the regular order of business.

The Roll Call

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the discussion of the rules. **DEL. SEVERAN (N. Y.)** moves that amendment that neither **(N. Y.)** should follow the amendment. **All** voices to be taken of yeas and nays and when division is asked for, by a rising vote. Roll call to be had only when asked for by delegates from three different states."

The motion was seconded. **DEL. SEVERAN (N. Y.)**: I desire to point out that **DEL. SEVERAN** so asks to make it read that instead of roll call being permissible on the call of delegates from at least three states, that the roll call may be demanded only by a majority of the votes of the convention.

The amendment was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is to strike out the words, "by delegates from three different states," and insert instead thereof, "by the majority of the votes of the convention."
DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): I accept that as an amendment to my motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have the consent of the secretary of the original motion to accept. Are you ready for the question?
DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Mr. Chairman, it is as easy as possible for the delegates to go on record. I believe that if there demand a roll call, then I believe a roll call ought to be granted. There are a good many of us who desire to vote, and we desire to show how we voted when we get back home, and I believe that all right and I believe that we ought to accept that report.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not the report of the committee we are discussing now, Comrade Berger; it is the resolution or motion made by Comrade **GERBER (Wis.)**: Well, any how, it is a good motion. (**Laughter and applause.**)

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I would ask for an interpretation of the original motion. Does it mean that the call must be by the unanimous call of all the delegates or by three different states?

THE CHAIRMAN: As the Chair reads the motion it signifies any three delegates from any three different states.
DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I just want to call Comrade Gerber's attention as well as that of the other delegates to one point, and that is that if a rule is adopted, it is not a rule until it is adopted. Gerber should pass allowing three delegates from three different states to call the roll—to demand a roll call instead of having it by a majority, having a rule requiring that a majority of the convention only could insist on a roll

call, you were men in this position; that any three men from three different states wish to make the entire convention spend its entire day in calling the roll, those three men would have the power to do it. Now, as a matter of fact, you are in this position: In order to call the roll, you would have to call alone without any reasonable time, you simply must have some proposition to present any individual, or small number of individuals, from consuming the entire time of this convention in roll call. As far as I am personally concerned, I do not wish to see any old kind of a vote but I insist that we ought to have the proposition so that two or three individuals could not up the entire convention.

DEL. BERENGER (Wis.): I want to make an amendment to the original motion, that roll call shall be had only when requested of twenty delegates at any time.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Upon the motion, so far as I am personally concerned, I have no objection at all, and Delegate Berger, or any other delegate, need not waste time in speaking of the fact that we may have to go upon record when the necessity arises for that, but comrades, it is not right or proper that it shall be within the power of any two or three men to place the convention in the position that it will have to fritter away its time. That is why I objected to the motion in its original form. Now, Comrade Spargo, I am personally opposed to the motion in any way, or twenty delegates may so demand. I am equally opposed to that, because New York State has twenty delegates present, and the New York State delegation, if it so decided, could compel this convention to have a roll call, even if every other state was opposed to this. Now, the Wisconsin delegation and some other of the smaller delegations to do the same thing. I am perfectly willing that we be governed by the decision of the majority of the delegates present in this convention, but I am not willing. Comrade Chairman, I am not of the minority. **DEL. STROBEL (N. J.):** Comrade Chairman, it seems to me that one roll call is the weapon of the minority to

get fair treatment. Now how is the minority ever to get a majority for a roll call? Why is it perfectly proper, in order to afford the minority a fair vote you have got to get some members of the majority opposed to that, that at all. You have got to have some kind of a majority call for that roll call. You can't have a majority. (Applause.)

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): It seems to me that the call for roll call is not a weapon of defense on the part of the minority, but it is a weapon of offense on the part of the majority, whenever by being denied a roll call. If there is any individual, he whom they want to put on record, is then ask for him and call him before the convention. If they actually feel they want to pillory some person, they can do so. I am sure there will be no objection to their making an affidavit as to the manner in which they vote and report to their constituents. When a question is to be decided, one way or the other, that question must be decided by a joint vote, and it can be decided by a roll call. The roll call in the hands of the minority could be nothing but an obstruction. If you want to vote for an obstruction, vote for the minority to have the roll call. We saw how worked at the Indianapolis convention we saw things fall back there through a roll call. There was some justice in the proposition at that convention, however, because there it was a question of combining the writing partners and every side had its own rights. This convention is gathered to do business, not simply to get men together in some sort of a party.

I hope that we will perfect an organization that will enable us to do business (loud applause).

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: Now it seems to me that allowing the minority the privilege of putting the convention on record on any important question is not a fair thing. I am not of the minority, where we allow a minority to initiate anything that the state or nation may have to submit to. Now our local here may initiate the measure in local Chicago and they may ask for the endorse-

ment of five other locals, and they bring in the minority, compel the nation even to take a roll call, and it seems to me there is nothing to object to here. If there is any important question on record, there is no objection to the majority having their right to be some means of making them go on record, and it seems to me that this motion is perfectly in harmony with what we have been doing. We allow the minority to initiate resolutions, the Socialist party, and the minority in this convention ought to do nothing in the future, upon the question of referendum.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): It seems to me we are frightened over something that need not frighten us at all. Why not allow them three or twenty delegates, or any number they choose? If they are going to make a motion on a question, let me see the majority roll call rule on a roll call just as well as any other way.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Ia.): Comrade Chairman, I move you that we now proceed to take a vote upon the previous question. Jacobson's motion was seconded and both lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The entire motion as amended will now be read by the secretary.

The secretary then read the following:

All votes to be taken by yeas and nays, and when division is asked for by a rising vote. Roll call to be had only when requested of twenty delegates voting.

The motion as amended was adopted.

A Committee on Trades Unions

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any further amendments to the rules proposed by your committee? I move you that the committee be discharged.

A committee of seven be elected from the Trades Union membership on the hour of the convention to consider the relation of the Socialist party to the Trades Unions, and that they report back to the convention with a resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion has been made and seconded that a committee of seven be elected from such of the delegates as are members of trades unions, to prepare a resolution on the relationship of the Socialist Party to the

trades unions, and the committee to report back to the convention.

DEL. WALDHORST (Aia.): I tie to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. WALDHORST (Aia.): My point of order is that we are considering rules for the convention and not committees.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. We have already in the rules decided upon various **DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.):** Comrade Chairman, I move you to table the motion.

The question was put and the vote voice vote leaving the chairman in doubt, a division was called for.

A rising vote being taken, the Secretary announced the division in favor, 65 opposed, and the Chairman declared the motion to table carried.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, I call up the minority report of yesterday, signed by two members of the committee, Seymour Stekman and W. R. Gaylord, viz.: "A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected to consider time members, and I move its adoption."

THE CHAIRMAN: Motion is made to adopt the recommendation of the minority to elect a committee of nine on trades unions. Is the motion seconded? Several delegates seconded Comrade Gaylord's motion.

DEL. STEEDMAN (Ill.): The proposition for the election of a table shows a division. I move you to table the Socialist Party motion, and the argument is frequent by made here that we should not have a committee on trades unions. Now the Socialist Party, in my judgment, should have a committee upon the trades unions and the committee on trades unions should have members from the American Labor Union and the American Federation of Labor. The Socialist Party should make no distinction as between these two organizations, but as I say should have members from both on that committee, and that committee should be composed of nine members. It should not take the position of trying to capture the trades unions; it should not take the position of trying to bring them into the movement as trades un-

ions, but it should bring in a resolution that will state clearly the position of the Socialist Party upon this question, and thus prevent the confusion and conflicts which have had in Local St. Louis in its convention here should state its position and so prevent any confusion.

DEL SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order.

DEL SLOBODIN: My point of the formation, possibly, is that I want to know whether the question before the convention is not whether we should have a trades union resolution, or what action we should take upon a trades-

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you make it as a point of order?

DEL SLOBODIN: A point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, the motion committee of nine on trades unions.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): Comrade Chairman, I am a trades unionist, and I want to say that I am a Socialist first and a trades unionist second. I have come to this convention to represent my constituents as a Socialist and not as a trades unionist. (Applauds.) I want to hear you, Comrade Chairman, and comrades up to consider whether that trades union convention and the motion committee should adopt Socialist principles. I would be in favor of voting for it, but here in this convention I am strictly opposed to it. I say we are here and in this convention we should be in the Socialist principles and those alone. In my opinion and in the opinion of the local to which I belong, the Socialist movement should stand for the workers, and should stand above all other unions, coms, whether they be trades unions, farmers or anything else.

THE CHAIRMAN: Before we proceed further, I desire to say that during the discussion I do not wish to interrupt the speakers, but they must confine themselves to the subject under discussion. The subject before us is

not the attitude of the party to the trades union movement, but the question before us is whether we should appoint a committee to prepare a resolution on the trades unions and report back to this convention. Therefore, delegates will be required to confer with the speaker.

DEL. DILLON (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I am of the opinion that we do not need any separate committee to believe the committee on resolutions attend to this question. (Applauds.) There is a committee on resolutions and there is a committee ought to attend this matter.

The question was here called for the CHAIRMAN: Comrade Severnman will now have the floor.

DEL. SEVERNMAN: I want to upon this subject that I trust we should here as Socialists. That I trust that has not been every question that has been raised here, but a free and full discussion of it here, trust also that we will not try to away with that phase of the labor question which deals with the trades union movement, which embraces itself in the term, which I am sure will be doing it. (Applauds.) I think will have sufficient courage to face the question in a manly manner, and I think that the trades union movement has sunk to such insignificance as to warrant our consideration, or any of our delegates, or any of our delegates (Applauds) whatsoever. Let us say

A delegate then rose to a point of order, stating that the speakers should confine themselves to the subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point order is not well taken at present. I have requested the delegates to confer with them on the question, and will do so.

DEL. SEVERNMAN (N. Y.): In this committee, I trust that I find something to say on the merits of the question, just now we have nothing say or to discuss, but some basis be arrived at if we will appoint a committee on this special day if this can report to the delegates of this convention to the delegates of this convention, in their collective wisdom. It is all that is involved in this proposition, nothing more and nothing less.

When we adopt this motion we do not intend to refer to the trades union movement. We should have a resolution on the resolutions of the trades unions, simply say we are going to finally pass it, and I want to know why we hesitate to take that course? Is it in your fear a full and free discussion, or is it in your fear of the proposition on this question from every phase, I do want this committee prepared. I do care who they favor or what they favor, but I want it discussed here, and read the first preliminary steps taken to do that intelligently and thoroughly and hence I want that committee to be formed.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: As a member of a trades union, a man who has been with a class-conscious fearlessness in that organization of labor and in the trades union has asked that this committee on this floor a member of a trades union call. I want to have a roll call here in order that the matter be brought intelligently before this convention. (Applauds.)

DEL. MITLER (Cal.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: Representing the trades unions that is interested in this constitution that is interested in the trades unions, I am sure that I am equally represent them on this floor about calling for an authoritative expression from the Socialist party in connection assembled, upon the question of trades union movement. It is big right to demand your attention. We are going to demand your attention.

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(Applauds.) And I want to tell you that they have graded some of the streets in the city out of the relief of abatement into the concrete, where men recognize the truth of their contentions, gratified them from the hall pens and jails of this country. (Applauds.) They are entitled to be heard, and their direct positive contribution to the world is that they have put the matter over to themselves. (Applauds.) The previous question was called for, that a committee of nine be appointed as a committee on trades unions, and the question being put the motion was carried. HANFORD (N. Y.): I now move you, Comrade Chairman, the previous question on the adoption of the rules as a whole.

The question being put on the motion it was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only thing before the convention now is a motion to amend the constitution of the committee as amended as a whole.

The motion was put and carried unanimously and the report, as amended, declared adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to elect a Committee on Platform.

COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM.

The following nominations were made for the Committee on Platform: Heron (N. Y.), by Hanford (N. Y.), Berger (Wis.), by Spence (Wis.), Richardson (Cal.), by Menon (Cal.), Sherman (Ill.), by Lamb (Mich.), Leonard (Ill.), by Auld (Del.), Debs (Ind.), by Heron (N. Y.), Titus (Wash.), by Ornel (Ind.), Will (Kan.), by Cogswell (Kan.), Malloy (Neb.), by White (Mass.), Lee (N. Y.), by Berger (Wis.), Mc W. Williams (Cal.), by Robbins (Cal.), Hanford (N. Y.), by Gerber (N. Y.), Behrens (Mo.), by Brandt (Mo.), Gibbs (Mass.), by Spargo (N. Y.), Phelan (Ill.), by Telt (Ill.), Strodel (N. Y.), by Will (Kan.), Jones (N. Y.), by Mc W. Williams (Cal.), by Hanford (N. Y.), Hillgate (N. Y.), by Sherman (Ill.), Del. Turner, of Missouri, moved to proceed to an election. Seconded.

Motion lost, and nominations proceed as follows:

Bandlow (Ohio), by Zorn (Ohio).
 Childs (Kan.), by Seidman (Colo.).
 Bliss (Ind.), by Meyer (Ind.).
 Bend (Ill.), by Meyer (Colo.).
 Pitts (Cal.), by Cohn (Cal.).
 Burnett (N. J.), by Ostrum (Mass.).

Barnes (Pa.), by Gaylord (Wis.).
 Webster (Ohio), by Klein (Minn.).
 Meyer (Ill.), by Phelan (Ill.).
 Seeger (Ark.), by Rose (Mass.).

Clark (Ohio), by Solomon (N. Y.).
 Hay (Ohio), by Waldston (Ark.).
 Clark (Neb.), by Waldston (Ark.).
 Snyder (Okla.), by Hayes (Okla.).
 Graybill (Kan.), by Penrose (Ark.).
 Delegate McKee, of California, moved to proceed to an election. Seconded and carried.

The list of names was read by the Secretary, and the following delegates declined: Steadman, Barnes, James, Bandlow, Mills, Clark, Burrows, Seidman, The Chairman, Hayes, Kayphol, Gether (N. Y.) and Will (Kan.).

Judges; and Hayward (Mass.), Ufert (N. J.), McKee (Cal.), and Turner (Mo.), tellers, to serve throughout the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to the election of a Committee on Constitution.

COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION.

The following nominations were made: Holman (Minn.), by Klein (Minn.); Seidman (Ill.), by Barnes (Mass.); Hillquist (N. Y.), by Herron (N. Y.); Jackson (Iowa), by Clark (Iowa); Gether (Neb.), by M. W. Williams (Cal.).

McCall (Minn.), by Merion (Mich.).
 Oswald (N. J.), by Kronenberg (N. J.).

DEP. BARNES (Pa.): I have a suggestion that we call the states alphabetically and go through them, and thus avoid confusion.

Seconded and carried.
 The following of the States was called and the following names read:

Alabama—Bandlow (N. Y.), Richardson and Patch (Cal.).
 Arkansas—Lamb (Mich.).
 Connecticut—Parson (Conn.).
 Delaware—Bryson (Ill.).
 Florida—Lucas (Minn.).
 Georgia—Solomon (N. Y.).

Indiana—Kerrigan (Tex.).
 Kansas—Kerrigan (Tex.).
 Kentucky—Dobbs (N. Y.).
 Massachusetts—Keown and Little (Mass.).

Maryland—Turner (Md.).
 Michigan—Keown (Ky.).
 Minnesota—O'Malley (Mont.).
 Nebraska—Barries (Pa.).
 New Hampshire—Lee (N. Y.).
 New York—Bishop (N. Y.).
 Ohio—Bandlow and Steveman (N. Y.).

OKlahoma—Smith (Ore.).
 Oklahoma—Spargo (N. Y.).
 Wisconsin—Young (Wis.).
 Wisconsin—Young (Wis.).
 Wisconsin—Young (Wis.).
 Wisconsin—Young (Wis.).
 Wisconsin—Young (Wis.).

Mississippi—McGrady (Ky.).
 Louisiana—Robbins, Dobbs, Keown, Littlefield, Lee, Steveman, and Spargo.
 Delegates: Simons, Patton, Steadman, Leach, Lee, Steveman, and Spargo.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to vote by ballot as on the proposed motion.

DEP. BUTSCHER (N. Y.): I move we take another vote. I want to know if I do not see how we can proceed to elect a second committee until we have the report on the first, for the reason that part of the delegates are nominated and voted upon on the first ballot, and we are liable to do the same thing on the second ballot. I will have to vote with the rest of the delegates unless you take another vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: It will take hour if you wait. In the meanwhile I can elect this Committee and if any delegate appears to have been elected the other committee, we can take another vote on the order of votes, or order of names as the convention may prefer. We are on the first ballot as on the first proposed motion.

The chair called for nominations. Committee on Resolutions, to consist of nine members—nominations to be made by States as before.

DEP. MAGEE (Ky.): I move your committee be divided into two committees, one to deal with the next highest number of votes on that committee, and the other to deal with the next highest number of votes on that committee. The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion was seconded.

If it appears that any one delegate has been elected upon more than one committee he shall resign from such other committees and serve only upon the one he may select; and that the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes be re-elected; elected to the vacancy thus created.

The motion was then put and carried. **THE CHAIRMAN:** We will now proceed to nominations for members of the Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.
 The following nominations were made by the Committee on Resolutions:

California—Patton (Cal.).
 Colorado—Kerrigan (Kan.).
 Connecticut—Ufert (N. J.).
 Illinois—Simons, Steadman, Patton and Jas. Smith (Ill.).
 Indiana—Hyland (Neb.).
 Iowa—Keown (Ind.).
 Kentucky—Reynolds (Ind.) and Work (Ky.).
 Kansas—Frazier (Colo.) and Wilson (Cal.).
 Kentucky—Robinson (Ky.) and Woodsey (Cal.).
 Massachusetts—Kelly and Keown (Mass.).
 Michigan—Dirro (Mo.).
 Minnesota—Brierley (Mo.).
 Missouri—Kerham (Mo.).
 Montana—Ray (Mont.).
 New Jersey—Ridley (Ark.).
 New York—Hochim (Mo.).
 (Wis.).
 Oklahoma—Farrall (Ind. Ter.).
 Oklahoma—Whitcomb (Ind. Ter.).
 Oregon—Wash (Mont.).
 Pennsylvania—Umfert (Ill.) and Farnsby (Pa.).
 Texas—Hochim (Tex.).
 Wisconsin—Dunnas (Wis.) and Bandlow (O).

Delegates Ufert, Simons, Patton, Highland, Woodsey, Brierley, Hochim, Farrall, Thomas and Bandlow declined the nomination.

The vote for Committee on Platform was then announced as follows:

Herron, 127; Debs, 141; Watkins, 70; Maffly, 75; Harford, 105; Hays, 112; Benton, 75; Kestell, 75; Berger, 92; Simon, 21; Keown, 145; Cook, 14; Frazier, 85; Snyder, 54; Webster, 24; Wilson, 20; Richardson, 65; Patterson, 14; Meyer, 18; Robinson, 21; Brewster, 3; Mills, 31; Steadman, 31; Lee, 3; Simons, 3; Klein, 1; Hayes, 1; Clark, 1.

The following delegates were declared elected to the *Committee on Platform*: Herron, New York; Benton, George D. Herron, New York; Ben, Washington; New York; William Malley, Nebraska; Harold F. Sherrill, New Jersey; Thomas E. Will, Kansas; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; M. W. Williams, California.

DELEGATE STEADMAN (Ill.) moved that the convention remain in session until the next morning, as he had been elected. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion was put the vote

for the Committee on Constitution was announced as follows:

Ault, 30; Clark, 89; Bandlow, 114; Hightup, 131; Beryin, 91; Homan, 92; Baresen, 101; Jacobson, 45; Kerrigan, 102; Johnson, 62; Johnson, 85; Johnson, 95; Johnson, 96; Richardson, 83; Slobodan, 98; Smith, 28; Turner, 64; Young, 113; Barres, 132; Malley, 25.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Constitution*: Morris Hightup, New York; J. Malbon Barnes, Pennsylvania; Robert Baresen, Pennsylvania; J. H. Stoddell, New York; Henry L. Slobodan, New York; B. Beryin, Illinois; W. E. Clark, Nebraska; Walter Thomas Mills, Kansas; N. A. Richardson, California.

Delegate Steadman's motion that the convention remain in session until the committees had all been elected was then put to a vote. The motion was carried. THE CHAIRMAN: There are two more committees to be appointed according to rules. One is the Committee on Press, and the other is the Auditing Committee, consisting of five members each. The chair will announce the following appointments:

Committee on Press—A. M. Simpson, Illinois; J. H. Stoddell, Pennsylvania; J. H. Walsh, Montana; G. H. Strobel, New Jersey; E. L. Robinson, Kentucky.

THE CHAIRMAN: That gives Delegate Strobel the choice of one or the other of two committees. *Auditing Committee*—Gustav Dressler, New York; Miss Carrie L. Johnson, Iowa; T. E. Palmer, Missouri; A. B. O'Brien, Michigan; H. M. Mickes, California. THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations are next in order for the Committees on Ways and Means, nine members to be elected.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS.

The secretary then called the roll of names, and the following were nominated:

Florida—Cobb (Cal.). Illinois—Horton (N. Y.). Indiana—Slobodan (N. Y.). Iowa—Jacobson (Ia.) and Leonard (Iowa). Kentucky—Malley (Neb.) and Stock-kell (Tenn.). Michigan—Lamb (Mich.). Minnesota—John D. Rockefeller (Langflier).

Misouri—Miller (Cal.) and Goulet (Pa.).

Montana—Hirt (Mont.) New Jersey—Gurner M. Smith (Ill.) New Jersey—John M. Smith (N. Y.) and New York—Morgan (Ill.) and Hooker (Mo.).

Ohio—Lund (Wash.). Oregon—Lund (Wash.). Texas—Kerrigan (Tex.). Wisconsin—Ammann (Wis.).

Delegates Herron, Slobodan, Jacobson, Leonard, Malley, Geozon, Smith and Morgan declined the nomination. This leaving but nine delegates, motion was made that the rules be suspended and that these nine delegates declared elected as the Committee on Ways and Means.

They were as follows:

Del. elected and accepted. Delegates declined the *Committee on Ways and Means*: J. L. Cobb, California; C. H. Stoddell, Tennessee; J. Lamb, Michigan; Guy Miller, Colorado; David Rutanow, New Jersey; O. Lund, Washington; John Kerrigan, Texas; M. Ammann, Wisconsin; J. H. Stoddell, Pennsylvania.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last committee to be elected is the Committee on Trades Unions, to consist of nine members. DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: If I understand the motion right, I propose that the nomination for this Committee, that committee is to consist of trades unionists Is that part of the motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, that was not part of the motion; any nine delegates. The secretary will please call the roll of states on the Trades Union Committee.

TRADES UNION COMMITTEE.

The secretary then called the roll of states and the following nominations were made:

Alabama—Robinson (Ky.). Arkansas—Parrell (O.). California—Dobbs (N. Y.). Colorado—Hayes (O.). Connecticut—White (Mass.). Illinois—Hoyter (Ill.). Indiana—Hollnbecker (Ind.).

Iowa—Jacobson (Ia.) and Breckon (Ill.).

Kansas—Palmer (Mo.). Kentucky—Steverson (N. Y.) and Hightup (O.). Maryland—Boole (Md.). Massachusetts—Cary (Mass.) and Gibbs (Mass.).

Michigan—Menton (Mich.) and Handford (N. Y.). Minnesota—Bickett (O.).

Missouri—Barnes (Pa.), Steadman (Ill.), Webster (O.), Langworthy (Mo.), McNight (Mo.). Nebraska—Negel (Ky.). New Jersey—Glanz (N. J.). New York—Hunger (Wis.), Bandlow (Ill.) and Moore (Pa.).

North Dakota—Hoehn (Mo.) and Zorn (Neb.). Wisconsin—Turner (Mo.) and Colburn (Ill.).

Delegates Dobbs, Meyer, Breckon, Palmer, Barnes, Bandlow, Moore, Langworthy, Steadman and Turner declined the nomination. The delegate here suggested that the motion be amended so that the positions in regard to the trades union question.

THE CHAIRMAN: It was not the sense of the motion or adopted as part of it that trade unionists only be elected as representatives in the committee. We are to have nine delegates, and we may know about the matter. It may be of some aid to you, comrades, if you will hear the results of the election of the Committee on Resolutions, which the secretary will now read.

DEL. STROBEL (N. J.): The vote on this committee is as follows: Chesapeake, 16; Hayes, 15; Lee, 120; Oneal, 92; Harrows, 84; Hazlett, 28; Sparks, 23; Klein, 69; Heydtick, 65; Duetman, 23; Knowles, 19; Langworthy, 14; Littlefield, 20; Londricken, 15; Moore, 55; Wahl, 36; Stannan, 42; Reynolds, 61; White, 25; Wilcox, 50; Spruce, 24; Wicks, 25; Williams, 11; Malley, 1; Handford, 6; Slobodan, 3; Floaten, 2.

The following delegates were declared elected the *Committee on Resolutions*: James F. Carey, Massachusetts; Max Rathoun, Ohio; Algernon Lee, New York; James Oneal, Indiana; Peter E. Barrows, New Jersey; Ed Cronch Harlet, Colorado; John Sparks, New York; Nicholas Klein, Minnesota; Charles Heydtick, Pennsylvania.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): While the ballot is being collected for the election, I suggest, in order to get down to business, that the one receiving the highest number of votes on these various committees elected call the committees together this evening. I have had a little experience in some of these conventions, and it is generally the case that the delegates do not get down to business as slow in consideration of the propositions brought before them. A great deal of time could be saved if the committees could get together at once.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will announce that the National Secretary has made arrangements for the committees to meet at the Statler Hotel, New York, on Monday, for the reason that there are not sufficient accommodations at the Riverside House. The members of the Committee on Platform will ask for the room of Geo. D. Herron; those serving on the Committee on Constitution will ask for the room of J. H. Stoddell; and those who will ask for the room, who will reserve a number of rooms in his name for the use of the Committees. All committees will meet there at 8:30.

DEL. MALLEY: I would suggest that those who have matters to be connected with the convention should do so before the delegates would do so.

THE CHAIRMAN: Of course, any one desiring to submit matters to the committees can either go and appear personally before the committee or can hand them to members of the committee.

DEL. STROBEL (N. J.): I would like to resign from the Press Committee, so you can put another man in my place. THE CHAIRMAN: I will appoint Delegate S. M. Reynolds, of Indiana, to take the vacancy on the Press Committee. As the vote on the Committee on State and Municipal Program was announced as follows:

Arkerson, 54; Dixon, 43; Barres, 41; Berger, 89; Hahn, 36; Patten, 117; Reynolds, 114; Kelly, 54; Hahn, 13; Keryhill, 61; Latham, 24; Patton, 37; Rathoun, 24; Kelly, 36; Reynolds, 34;

Robinson, 45; Steedman, 114; Underman, 127; Walsh, 19; Whiteclark, 14; Work, 125.

The following delegates were declared ineligible on the grounds of non-residence: John M. Work, Iowa; A. H. Flosten, Colorado; W. R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; S. M. Reynolds, Indiana; Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin; Seymour Steedman, Illinois; L. R. Kraybill, Kansas; H. C. Clark, New York.

The Credentials Committee reported on the Press Committee? A DELEGATE: (N. Y.): There seems to be a misunderstanding as to the position of those delegates who have been elected on more than one committee. Selected on more than one committee does not mean that one committee has expressed themselves as being uncertain as to say the least, as to whether they cannot serve upon both. I recollect very clearly that we have passed a motion that that is not the case, and that the delegates have to choose which of the two committees they desire to serve on so that the next man upon the committee from which they withdraw may be assigned to the committee. Now, the time has come when it is quite important that before we adjourn tonight the list of committees should be read, and the delegates should be notified upon more than one committee as to the ruling of the convention, as I believe it is, must choose which committee they will serve upon, and this convention must know that the position has been filled.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Spargo, you are to be elected to the convention, will be to allow each delegate to hand his resignation to the chairman of that committee from which he desires to resign, and the chairman will then select the delegate having the next highest number of votes on the list of eligibles.

DEH. SPARGO: The point is this: If he is only at the meeting, he cannot resign with, and delegate he chooses to serve with, and resignation from the other and his resignation is accepted, what knowledge have we that the other delegate entitled to serve on that committee will be reached by the chairman of that committee? He has a right to be

present during the entire session of the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a motion before the house.

DEH. SPARGO: A point of order. I wish to know the chairman whether such a ruling has been made in the past.

THE CHAIRMAN: Such a ruling has been passed, to the best of the knowledge, belief and information of the Chair.

DEH. SPARGO: I move you that before we adjourn we have the result of the election of delegates read and elected to two or more committees should be called upon to state upon which committee he will serve. I want to emphasize the importance of that motion as from another point of view correct, as it is as follows: That if any governor should be elected to serve upon the committee he will resign upon it if he knows what delegate will be called upon to fill the vacancy. That makes all the difference in the world. It is an important point that we ought not to be in this rash of matter.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Supplementary Report of Credentials Committee

Chairman Lee of the Committee of Credentials made the following supplementary report:

DEH. LEE: The Credentials Committee recommends that the following delegates be received: Delegates J. C. Walsh and N. G. O'Malley; from New York, A. A. Maspell; from Oklahoma there appeared an alternate and a delegate, with one seat to fill, and it is suggested that the Territorial Secretary be instructed the alternate to appear here and the delegate to appear there. The delegate was not given, perhaps, that he was by the consent of both of those the alternate and the delegate, it was recommended that Delegates Smith and Hallaw be both seated, with each a full vote.

In regard to delegations in which some states attend, we present the following report:

The following protest was received against the seating of Comrade Grady of Indiana:

To the Committee on Credentials: Comrades: I desire to enter a protest against seating Comrade A. T.

(Wholly of Aurora Ind., in this Convention, for the following reasons:

1. The Socialist party is opposed to imperialism, fashion or political trading of any form, and the acceptance of appointment or election from any party organization controlled by the party of capitalism, is a violation of this principle.

2. It has recently met here, as you know that Comrade A. T. Grady holds the position of city engineer in the city of Aurora, Ind., to which he was elected by a city composed of Democrats, Republicans and Socialists.

3. The position was accepted and it is stated that this position was retained membership in Local Aurora of the Socialist party.

4. If the foregoing statement is true, as I believe it is, A. T. Grady is ineligible for a seat in this convention.

WILL BASKERY,
Delegated from Indiana.

Comrade Grady made the following reply:

"May 1, 1904.
To the Credentials Committee of the Socialist Party in National Convention Assembled:

"Gentlemen: I have a copy of the pamphlet filed by Comrade Barrett, of Indianapolis, Indiana. It states that this is an original status a truth, but it does not contain the name of the delegate, that position, which is not a published one, and I hold it as a known Socialist, and I am now a candidate for the mayoralty of the City of Aurora, nominated by the Socialist party of Aurora, unanimously.

"I am an ex-soldier in the war of 1861-1865, and I am unable to make a living at any other business than that of civil engineering, owing to disabilities incurred in the service.

"Further, I was elected to the office of city civil engineer of the City of Aurora, Indiana, sixteen years before there was a Socialist party in this State, and I have performed those duties for that city continuously since.

"Further, if I had but been elected yesterday, I fail to observe any objection to taking capitalist money (as he earned) and spending it for his benefit.

"Further, if it is a Socialist sin to

take pay from capitalists for service rendered, then Comrade Barrett, that he is not competent to sit on the Credentials Committee, for he works for a capitalist of the Republican persuasion, and is likewise guilty with myself in taking capitalist money and using it to promote Socialism.

"Further, if your committee decide to address me, I will appeal from that decision to the Convention as a whole, where I will make a more extended reply.

Yours truly,
"Abner T. Geary."

"Delegated from Indiana."

In view of the fact that no sufficiently definite party law has existed, we recommend that Comrade Grady be elected, also urge that the Convention adopt a new rule to cover cases of this sort.

Comrade Tins dissents from the recommendations in this case and will present a minority report.

Credentials were received from H. J. Averbach, A. Deibel, S. Odalski and J. Averbach, who with Polish Socialist Alliance, with Polish Socialist Party, with the Socialist Party. We recommend that a special committee of five be elected to meet this delegation and report to the Convention.

Comrade Tins of the Arkansas delegates in respect of the Arkansas delegates to meet at the Convention of a delegate not present in regard to the Convention without recommendation, as no credentials were presented for your committee to act on.

(Signed)
Alexson Lee, Chairman,
Credentials Committee.

CHAIRMAN LEE of the Credentials Committee, continued: There is one case to be taken up—that of the delegate from Utah. The Committee spent considerable time in hearing from Comrade Randall, who came and asked for credentials. After hearing the National Executive's statement in the matter and hearing's statement in the matter on one side and the other, the Committee finds the case an exceedingly complicated one—a case that went back two years ago, but upon all of the evidence presented before the Committee, the Committee comes to this recommendation: That you whom probably all are familiar with, that the state

charter of the State of Utah was revoked by the National Committee some months ago, because the State of Utah had not yet, for a period of about a year had any delegates, and had failed to carry out certain arrangements alleged to have been made with the National Committee in regard to the payment of certain dues. Its charter was revoked, but now it appears this organization—which is not at present affiliated with the National Committee, sends its delegate here, and makes an offer to pay that back account, dating back a year or two ago, and to pay the dues for the time when the account was incurred—offering to pay that account if this Delegate would be seated in this Convention. After hearing and considering the matter, this Committee recommends that Comrade Richards be not recognized as a delegate, but that he be recognized as a seat, without voice or vote, be extended to him.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the supplementary report of the Committee on Credentials. What is your pleasure?

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I move that the report of the Committee on Credentials be adopted in the order of business for tomorrow morning.

THE CHAIRMAN: What will you do with those upon whom the Committee has reported favorably?

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I move to amend that motion, that the matter pertaining to the contest be submitted to the Constitutional Committee of this Convention.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move that Comrade Hagerly be seated as a delegate.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): The report of the Committee is before us and it covers many different points. Wouldn't it be well to take up the different cases one at a time, so as to prevent confusion? I am sure that the delegates ask as a delegate, that we proceed to take up the report of the Committee on Credentials separately, so that each case may be acted upon by itself, and that

we may not make indiscriminate jobs at it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first motion should have included a motion to act upon it separately.

DEL. BARNES (Penn.): The report of the Committee on Credentials is before us. If we defeat any of them are intricate. If we defeat any action upon Comrade Hagerly, covered now by the motion—

A delegate here asked the point of order that Comrade Barnes was not speaking to the motion before the House.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is now before the House for consideration. Let us take up the consideration of the report separately.

A DELEGATE: Do I not understand that a motion has been made to seat Comrade Hagerly? That is a question of order and procedure, and we cannot take up the motion until the report until this motion is disposed of. Let us take up this motion to proceed with the report separately.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first motion presented by the Committee is a favorable report on a number of delegates.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I move that all those delegates favorably reported on be seated.

A DELEGATE: Does that include Comrade Gardner, of Illinois?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

THE DELEGATE: If that is the case, I move that the motion be amended so that all those delegates who have been favorably reported upon, on whom there is no contest or discussion, be seated. Will you extend Comrade Mills' motion was then adopted.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): A delegate from Arkansas asks that the delegation from Arkansas not bring faith—that State being entitled to three delegates, and only two being here—that the delegates from Arkansas be seated as delegates. But as Comrade Hagerly had not been elected as a delegate, but is now being seated as a delegate, at the present, the Committee did not see that

it had anything to act upon, and therefore the report to the Convention without recommendation.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move my motion to seat Comrade Hagerly as a delegate from Arkansas. The motion was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire some information from the Committee on Credentials, as to who has requested that Comrade Hagerly be seated upon what recommendation is he to be seated.

DEL. LATHAM (Tex.): The State Chairman of Arkansas.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the State Chairman of Arkansas present?

DEL. LIEBEVER (Ark.): Yes, sir. He is here from Arkansas.

THE CHAIRMAN: I ride that the motion be recognized only representatives of those elected one way or the other.

A delegate appealed from the decision of the Chair and Delegate Spargo, of New York, moved that the appeal be referred to the Committee on Credentials.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a point of information. Is this question of appeal from the decision of the Chair decided by the Committee on Credentials?

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): Roberts' motion is to be put then without debate, and this is a subterfuge to lay it on the table. We will have to vote on the appeal and not on the question of whether or not to put it on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: My opinion of it is that when the decision of the Chair is appealed from that a motion may be made to lay that appeal on the table. I have Roberts' Rules before me.

DEL. PARKS: I have Roberts' Rules before me.

DEL. PARKS: I have Roberts' Rules before me.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, what does he say?

DEL. PARKS: It says a motion to lay on the table is not debatable and it cannot be amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded to lay the appeal on the table. All in favor of it will say "aye."

A DELEGATE: I think the vote is (applauded). I don't think the members

know what they are voting about.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you want to take your vote over again?

A DELEGATE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me explain: A decision of the Chair has been made from, and a motion has been made to appeal from the decision of the Chair on the table. Now—

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): I am inclined to think that motion is one of order. I don't think you can lay an appeal on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it can be done very easily. To lay the appeal on the table was carried, and the Chair thereby sustained in this decision that Delegate Richardson's motion to seat Comrade Hagerly was out of order. The Chairman of the day then resumed his position in the Chair.

DEL. (Ill.): A question of procedure. I understand that if we adjourn, now it will save the comrades \$12 for lights. I, therefore, move we adjourn.

Delegate Stedman raised the point of order that the convention, having voted to await the announcement of the results of the election, that the motion to adjourn was not in order unless that action of the convention should be reconsidered.

The Chairman decided the point of order well taken, and upon a delegate stating that a motion to adjourn is always in order, the Chairman stated: "A motion to adjourn is in order when we have adopted a motion to adjourn under certain conditions, and we have to reconsider that before doing something else."

A Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations

DEL. LEE (N. Y.) For the Credentials Committee: H. Antewski, A. Debek, S. Okalaki and J. Lass from the Polish Socialist Alliance, wish to make arrangements it possible for admission with the Standard Bearer Committee. I am inclined to meet these comrades and report to the convention.

A motion was made to concur in the recommendation of the committee. Delegate Gardner moved to amend to the effect that a committee be appointed by the Chair, to investigate and report upon the character of the motion and the motion was adopted as amended.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is so ordered.

and a committee of five will be appointed. The Chair will have to take part in the work of the committee, but I do not think it will be necessary to elect a majority, and I do not think it will be necessary to elect a committee of five. The committee will be composed of one member from each of the five states, and the members will be elected by the party. The committee will be appointed by the party in each of the five states, and the members will be elected by the party. The committee will be appointed by the party in each of the five states, and the members will be elected by the party.

The Gridley Case

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Delegate Berger retired from the Committee on State and Municipal Program, and J. J. Kelly of Massachusetts was substituted.

DELEGATE BERGER retired from the Committee on Resolutions and Edward Moore of Pennsylvania was substituted. Delegate Hayes retired from the Committee on Resolutions and J. M. A. Spence of Wisconsin was substituted.

The Chairman appointed Delegate R. A. Southworth of Colorado as the Press Correspondent, and Delegates Remolds, who preferred to act on the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

The regular order of business was then resumed.

DEL. BRANDT (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: To what do you rise?

DEL. BRANDT: I rise to say just one word before we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh what? I believe the Chair intended that the committee would meet at one o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not said the committee would meet. I said the suggestion was made that we do not hold any convention session to-night, as we are not in shape to do any work, and this convention when it adjourns, adjourns to meet at one thirty to-morrow afternoon.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: Mr. Chairman, I desire to say that you have no authority to make such a statement as you have made here, because we have not. It is not in the rules, and you shall meet and the way we shall adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you through with your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: I am.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule that the point of order is not well taken. DEL. PARKS: I appeal from the decision of the Chair on that point, that he has no authority to make that statement. DEL. STEEDMAN: I move you, Mr. Chairman, that—

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, I have the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Brandt,

you have the floor unless you are willing to waive it temporarily as a favor to Comrade Steedman, to allow him to finish his motion.

DEL. BRANDT: Very well, Comrade Chairman, that I desire to suspend and that when we adjourn we adjourn to meet at one thirty o'clock to-morrow.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, that was just exactly what I wanted to say a few words about.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it didn't take him long to say it. (Laughter.)

DEL. BRANDT: I simply object to adjourning till to-morrow until one thirty for the reason you know. You cannot meet at nine o'clock but what work have they got to do? Nothing. You have got to give them some work. Where are your resolutions coming from? Are you going to meet here, or do you go up and put in your resolutions?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Brandt, we will announce beforehand whether the resolutions are to be presented, and the resolutions or anything else, before the mittens, they have very definite matters to discuss.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey, I rise to a point of order. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey has the floor, Comrade Parks.

DEL. CAREY: In order to have no possible conflict with Roberts—

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Be seated. I haven't recognized you, sir. Comrade Parks will kindly be seated. Delegate Carey of Massachusetts has the floor.

DEL. CAREY: In order to avoid a possible conflict with Roberts (laughter) I desire to suggest that the motion made by Comrade Steedman is to suspend the rules, and his desire is simply to suspend the rules pertaining to the hour we meet.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. CAREY: And that, therefore, it is not necessary to suspend all the rules.

THE CHAIRMAN: That was not the motion.

DEL. CAREY: The motion was that the rules be suspended.

THE CHAIRMAN: The rules concerning the adjourning for to-morrow, that is about all.

DEL. CAREY: Very well, but it has not so far as I desire to avoid a conflict with Roberts. (Laughter and applause.)

The question was here called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: All those in favor of the motion which I have just called for, please rise. We will adjourn now to assemble at one thirty o'clock to-morrow afternoon, and let the committees work in the meanwhile, will please say "Aye."

The motion was carried and the convention adjourned until one thirty p. m., Tuesday, May 3.

THIRD DAY'S SESSION

Secretary Mallby called the convention to 1:30 o'clock.

Delegate Richardson of California was nominated for Chairman of the day by Delegate McKee of California. There being no other nominations, Delegate Richardson was unanimously elected Chairman.

Vice-Chairman, Delegate Snyder of Oklahoma and Delegate Stockell of Tennessee were nominated. Delegate Stockell was elected, and in the absence of the Chairman the Vice-Chairman took the chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Committee on Credentials, through Delegate Lee, presented a report recommending the admission of Frederick W. Ott, as delegate from Wyoming, and Frederick G. Strickland as alternate from Colorado. (On motion) Ott and Strickland were accepted and the delegates seated.

Cablegram

Delegate Jonas (N. Y.) read in German to the committee a cablegram from the German Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Secretary Dobbs read an English translation of the cablegram, as follows:

"National Convention Socialist Party, Chicago, Brand's Hall: Assembled for the tenth anniversary of the founding of the International Socialist Movement.

"The Executive Committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The reading of the cablegram was received with great approval that a return cablegram be sent to the German comrades. Seated and carried.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): I desire to make a motion, pending the report of the Committee on Credentials. Last night there was elected a Polish Socialist delegate to the Polish Socialist Alliance. Now it has come to the

knowledge of the members of this committee that somewhat similar questions will come up in the convention concerning the Italian and other that the fine I would like the committee be extended as far as to include all similar organizations in the United States. Seated.

A DELEGATE: I desire to move an amendment that the functions of the committee elected to confer with Alliance delegates of the First to cover the whole be so large the organization and affiliation of the foreign speaking Socialists in America.

Seated, and motion as amended carried. Delegate Lee from the Committee on Credentials presented the following report: From Delegate F. Broekhausen and Frederick Heath, all of Wisconsin; and Frank Kuntz, alternate from Colorado. The committee recommended the seating of the delegates, and the recommendation was concurred in by the convention. At the next roll call the following were seated: DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I move that we proceed to the regular order.

Motion seconded and carried. THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: At the first order of business I read the report of the National Secretary.

National Secretary Mallby then read his report as follows: In submitting this report as National Secretary of the Socialist Party, I shall confine myself to those questions which I have come

together as essential to the development and progress of the movement. In the settlement of these questions is bound up the future of the movement in whose interests this convention has been assembled.

The industrial and political situation, presenting new phases from which we will continue to demand the participation of all Socialists, and our ability to meet these problems and successfully dispose of them will depend more than all else upon the strength and competence of the organization representing the Socialist movement of this country. It is the duty of every Socialist to be thought capable of administering and directing the affairs of this or any other nation, they must first prove their fitness for the task by displaying the ability to administer and direct the affairs of the political organization of their class, and it is the responsibility of every Socialist to endeavor to do that. I believe their best efforts and most conscientious endeavor should be applied for some time to come. In short, the government of the Socialist party organization must be the means of fitting and enabling for the largest and ablest members for the largest and ablest personal responsibilities that the future will demand of them.

I desire to emphasize, therefore, the first duty of our members springing from the attention to the methods of conducting the party business in their respective local, state and national organizations. They must assume their duties thoroughly with all the vigor and administrative energy and conscientiousness which such a position demands. Keeping accounts, making reports, and other duties involved in the general government of the party. They should post themselves as far as possible upon the details of party activity in every field and representation as their officers and representatives. More especially qualifies them for these positions. More important still, they must continue to develop the spirit of self-confidence, of dependence upon themselves, of faith in their ability through their own foresight and ability to settle a question which they overcome all the difficulties which the

between here and the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Of the writing of books, the making of speeches, and the editing and publishing of papers, there is no end, but there is an appreciable lack of opportunity to the executive and important the party and other educational features of the movement may be, yet these factors will continue to be more or less barren of results so long as the party organization is not properly equipped to take full advantage of them. Hereafter in the early stages of the movement the greatest amount of energy has been expended upon the dissemination of literature and the holding of public meetings, regardless of the methods employed, or of any direct purpose to which to be applied. recurring therefrom instead of other, more and a consequent waste of energy, money and enthusiasm. As one result, there is now in this country a tremendous amount of Socialist sentiment of which we cannot take advantage because our organization is not yet in a position to do so. From this the mechanism of the party to secure the best results with the least expenditure of effort and money, so that the gathering forces of Socialist thought and sentiment can find concrete expression at the point to which a program may properly be applied. Special individual glory or immediate reward that kind of faithful participation in and unremitting devotion to the details of party organization, but this very fact makes it all the more imperative that the task should be undertaken. It is therefore, most important that the party members pay the penalty for their indifference or carelessness by becoming involved in disagreeable situations which create disharmony and discredit, and in the end have been well rewarded and receive the proper always of public reward and attention. For this reason these positions will naturally be the most coveted, and the persons holding them will continue to have a greater personal influence

through their association directly and indirectly with the general membership.

For example, during the past year the number of applications for commissions as national organizers fell to a number within the ability of the national headquarters to employ at a given time. The comrades filing these applications were in many instances new and inexperienced, but filled with a creditable enthusiasm, but of very little knowledge of the party and its methods. From comrades of more experience, but displaying a singular lack of comprehension of the scope and character of the party work. A majority of the applicants desired to be placed at work at once, and some were so insistent that they would brook no delay in their appointment, that many of them, without being so, were not gratified.

It did not seem to occur to these comrades that, however worthy their motives and ambitions might be, it was quite impossible for the national headquarters to utilize all the available material placed at its disposal. Nor did they seem to realize that there were other ways of utilizing their services, and of ways in which their own movement, ways relatively as important as those sought for, although offering fewer inducements to the enthusiast, but requiring qualities of the highest possible value to the cause of Socialism.

The comrade however, who assumes the burden of executive and organizing detail must be prepared to accept responsibilities which are comparatively unknown to the worker in other fields. Such a comrade must be possessed of patience with himself and others, and the most exacting of temperaments. He must be able to understand the nature of the international and national work. He must be prepared to accept the will of those for and with whom he works, even at the temporary sacrifice of his own opinions. And, above all, he must expect to be misunderstood and misrepresented by those to whom his services are rendered.

All of this will be difficult and disagreeable and other lines of work will offer greater attractions, but none will bring the immediate and permanent benefit to the Socialist movement as clear as this one will. This fact in

itself will be the most satisfying and satisfactory reward that can come to any Socialist. If the course indicated has not been followed more generally in the past it is not because the workers do not desire it, but because the importance of this special phase of the party work has not been recognized. It only requires such recognition to call into action the latent executive ability which now lies dormant in the membership everywhere and upon the fortunate success of our movement greatly depends.

This subject has also another phase which should not be overlooked. If the Socialist party differs from other political organizations, it is in this, that the membership and not a few leaders control and direct the movement. The membership must make its own decisions, its chief conclusions its chief strength and must make it uncomparable and triumphant in the future. The organization must be democratic in the true sense of the word or lose its identity as one representing the working class movement and democratize the world. It follows that the organization must be democratic and development of self-government and development of self-government within the organization can be the spirit and practice of democracy be maintained and the movement held to its true course. Embodying as it does the three principles which make for the liberation of mankind from the domination of materialistic desires, the Socialist party must announce, through its own actions, democracy as a fact limited only by those restrictions which capitalist conditions impose upon it.

But we should understand that a democratic organization is not one in which comrades seem to believe. True democracy involves co-operation, and upon our ability to co-operate successfully everything depends. And co-operation in turn involves adaptation to one another, the ability to accept the views of others, and the ability to express, as our individual will, until such times as our individual will can be expressed by the majority. And this again in turn involves faith in the movement as an organizing force, the exercise of charity toward each other and the prevalence of

the spirit of comradeship throughout the movement.

While perhaps, in the capitalist world, it is more difficult to organize a Socialist movement upon purely democratic lines than in this country, where the spirit of individualism has been distorted out of its proportions until the simplest ideas of organization are condemned as impracticable, each comrade should be aware of those have yet to learn that the purest and highest individualism is that which can subserve itself when necessary requires, to the social will and social good. The real bureaucracy in fact is that which would make a few people the unchosen and unchosen rulers of the movement. There need be no fear of any kind of a bureaucracy so long as the party machinery remains in the hands and under the control of an alert and enlightened membership. When these self-evident propositions become more generally recognized and acted upon, the membership will be fewer, localists disband after a short and precarious existence and hopes in membership will become less frequent. It is an encouraging sign that the number of comrades giving their attention to this subject is increasing, and with a slightly expected a stronger and more effective organization which will, to conduct the struggle with the rapidly combining forces of the capitalist enemy.

THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

The present condition of the party organization is generally satisfactory, where the stage of its progress is considered. The form of organization which has been presented as a consequence here, with a revision of the constitution, and the development of the organization, should gradually disappear. The present constitution was a hastily prepared document, and it was natural that it should be altered.

My ideas upon the character that the organization should take have been expressed elsewhere as follows: "The Socialist party must be more than a mere political machine; it must be so managed and controlled that the highest degree of democracy consistent

with efficiency as the directing force of Socialist activity must be attained.

More and more we must provide a concentration of the forces of agitation and education. The national headquarters should be the nerve center of Socialist activity, the clearing house through which the different state organizations can be kept in close touch and sympathy with each other, thus forming a single political unit, in which the organized Socialist forces can converge and act unitarily.

The chief problem before us, then, as an organized body, is how to combine democracy in management, efficiency in action and economy in labor.

The existing political system requires that state autonomy must necessarily continue to be the basis of organization, but its boundaries and limitations must be more definitely prescribed. There has been a tendency toward exclusiveness, to place the interests of a single state organization as the basis of organization, and a tendency as injurious as the other extreme of concentrating authority over the membership in a central committee. One carries state autonomy to the extreme and makes toward anarchy, the other absolutism and makes toward despotism.

Our national organization must be fluid enough to invite or encourage neither one nor the other.

Under the present constitution there is danger from both. The national officials may become aware, through the efforts of the party, of the nature of the political organization are unknown to the membership, either neglecting their duties or perverting their powers, to the injury of the party in that state or the entire country, and yet the national officers are powerless to act. Provision should be made for the national officials to be made for their own protection, and their action should not be arbitrary or authoritarian, but merely along the lines of suggestion, information or investigation, leaving final action to the membership of the state itself."

On the other hand, there is no constitutional preventive against representation by a few individuals, who, by generation interfering with or usurp-

first presented to me, to state that this report was entirely unwarrented, that I was not accused by personal motives of any kind, and that I had no purpose in view but the co-ordination of the party forces in the future. Regardless of results in the future. Regardless of contrary opinions, a system for handling Socialist speakers must be perfected if we are to keep step with the forces which we recognize and propose to be at work in society.

During the infancy of the organized labor movement the speaker was the rule and Socialist speakers were scattered and isolated from each other, the question of control of organized labor, of course, in well-organized sections of the country. But since the party has developed into a national organization the question has become a national one. The speaker is a healthy sign and should be taken as an indication of growth. The question can only be settled in one way, and that way is the one in harmony with the law of organization and co-ordination. Those who assume to speak for the Socialist Party should be prepared to do so in the open field. If the Socialist Party is to be held responsible for them, then they should be held responsible to the party; the local workers to the local organizations, the state workers to the state organizations, and the national workers to the national organization. The question of the speaker is a minor one which will gradually adjust itself.

SUPPLIES.

Changes in the form and quality of organizing and other supplies have been made from time to time and a new form of the book has been put in them with easy reach of all state and local organizations. Various circumstances have prevented us from furnishing locals with sets of books for officials, although the forms for these books have been ready for some time. We have in large quantities on hand the books which we have used for a nominal cost, but so far the state of our finances would not warrant the incurrence of this expense. A set of books for state secretaries has also been devised, and when put into use

will go far toward systematizing the work of these officials.

BULLETINS AND REPORTS.

The issuance of weekly bulletins and reports chronicling party affairs and activity has proven of such value that steps should be taken to extend the program. It is essential that the membership be fully advised of the action of the party officials and party affairs in general. The space in the Socialist press is too limited to publish all of this information, which is of more or less importance to believe a monthly bulletin should be published. A printed form (evolved from editorial matter) should be sent to financial, national, committee, and organizers' reports, and other details of an official character. The bulletins could be printed in quantities sufficient to reach every member. This would not prevent the continued issue of the weekly press of a weekly bulletin reporting current items of immediate importance.

EXPENSES OR DELAYERS TO NATIONAL CONVENTION.

VENTION.

I would also suggest that means be provided for the payment direct through the national organization of the expenses of delegates to the national conventions. A general assessor or collector should be named from each member for this specific work, and levied before the convention would undoubtedly furnish a sufficient amount to cover these expenses, thus ensuring representation from all the states. The basis of representation should be changed, but a more general system of representation should be adopted of this proposal. The assessor should be named in the place all aspirants for election as delegates in the different states upon the same footing and eliminate the tendency to select delegates because of their ability to defray their own expenses to and from the conventions.

THE SOCIALIST PRESS.

The Socialist party press is gaining steadily in popularity and influence, and with a more potent factor in winning some of the desires of the movement. Without doubt the general literacy and the spiritual quality of the press is im-

proving and Socialists are rapidly realizing the urgent necessity for a press that can fittingly represent the party. The practice of publishing the publication of local party reports, the publication of the movement warrants their continuing a tendency to detract from the general effectiveness and stability of papers with established circulations, perhaps making for the dissipation of the limited resources of the comrades. It is worth of better to increase the usefulness of the press by increasing the effort to embark upon underfunded which have little certainty of prolonged existence.

The sentiment for an official organ to be published by the national organization may justify me in stating my opposition to such a proposition. My opposition is not based on the ground that I believe warning against its adoption. I believe also that the existence of an independent press, free of party control, except in localities where published, is one of the strongest arguments toward protecting and promoting the party's integrity that we have today. Such a press would be a sure medium for the expression of individual opinion, thus guaranteeing free speech and criticism and preventing the creation of the censorship which has hindered almost invariably from out of the placing of official organs in this field. At least, a party official to have competition, and the survival of the most fit will depend upon the increased knowledge of Socialism and the intellectual development of the Socialist themselves.

CONCLUSION.

I have not considered it necessary in great what has already been written in my last annual report. A summary of the financial condition of the national office is herewith appended. If the glowing therein made errors unfavorable, the comrades will never in mind that the expense recently incurred in the publication of the bulletin and in the Milwaukee Convention campaign has been especially heavy. Economy will be exercised during the next two months with the expectation that the national campaign will be entered upon free of debt.

I take pleasure in again expressing

my appreciation of the co-operation rendered me in my work as your National Secretary by the assistants in the national office, Comrades W. E. Clark, Chas. R. Martin and James Oreal. They have my interests, and this ability for the party's work, and this ability to the proportion of them, is the least that is due them. I cordially acknowledge also the courtesy rendered toward the national office by the national committee, and quorum, the party press, the national and state secretaries, and the comrades generally. Throughout the convention.

To you, the delegates to the most representative Socialist convention that has ever met on this continent, I convey my congratulations upon the progress manifested by your presence at the convention. The advancement of the Socialist cause, the advancement of the party, the advancement of the conditional upon the character of your deliberations and the actions arising from them. Beginning a new epoch in the movement's history, with the social forces that make for change and progress, we are to inaugurate the Socialist program for the opening of the door to the new era of the Social Revolution presenting themselves on every side, we should give to the task assigned us the best thought and devotion of which we are capable, deeming nothing less than the realization of the cause having for its rallying class of the workers of the world, and the ultimate freedom and happiness of all mankind. Fraternally saluted,
WILLIAM MATTLY,
National Secretary.

Chicago, Ill., May 1st, 1904.

Financial Statement of National

Secretary

From Jan. 1st to April 30, 1904, inclusive:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand	\$ 168.44
Jan. int.	1.8003
January	1,719.76
February	1,455.30
March	1,455.30
April	1,436.22
	\$5,046.24

EXPENDITURES.

January	\$264.45
February	1,089.84
March	1,504.30
April	1,242.85
May 1, 1904, balance on hand	5,261.50
Assets, outstanding accounts	2,105.62
Total balance	\$9,729.96
Liabilities do not include balance due	897.72
The liabilities do not include balance due	897.72
account due organizers on April account	
financial reports having not yet been received.	
The balance of \$1,932.23 which was owing on Feb. 1, 1903, for old accounts assumed at the party, is not included in the report, but is entirely paid off.	
(Signed)	
WILLIAM MAULLY,	
National Secretary.	

At the conclusion of the reading of the National Secretary's report and financial statement, Delegate Richardson assumed the chair, and who proposed that the report of the National Secretary be received and referred to the proper committees.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously and the report and financial statement were referred.

It is the desire to ask whether or not any letters have been received by the National Secretary, the contents of which should be submitted to this convention.

NAT. SECRY. MAULLY: All the correspondence is filed away and ready to be submitted if the convention wishes to have that copy. I will be glad to do so. You may wish to print our letter file up here if you want.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): There are letters, as I understand it, that the National Secretary has received that are of special importance. For instance, letters received from a comrade in Kansas, who has written to me, and I would like to emphasize the fact that there are letters and that they are quite important enough to be submitted to this convention tomorrow.

NAT. SECRY. MAULLY: There are letters from Comrade Ricker and a great many other comrades, and in addition to the letters that I have mentioned, I would like to emphasize the fact that there are letters and that they are quite important enough to be submitted to this convention tomorrow. Haven't I got letters from all sections of the country?

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, I seems to me that this is rather one of our reports. The National Secretary's report on the local quorum, in the past, has been the subject of discussion. Now, the next order of business is the report of the local quorum, but before that report is presented I will request the Secretary to read the cablegram which is to be sent by this convention.

Secretary Dobbs then read the following cablegram which was sent in reply to the message received from Germany: "Executive Committee, Social Democracy of Germany, Berlin: Socialists of the United States of America return fraternal greetings of German comrades wishing them ever greater victories, and the common enemy of the working class."

The reading of the cablegram evoked loud and prolonged applause.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the regular order of business, which is the report of the local quorum. Who is to make this report? The comrade in front of me, Comrade Work.

If the local quorum is not ready to report, we will proceed at once with the other order of business.

DEL. REYNOLDS (Ind.): The local quorum is ready to make its report.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Reynolds, please present the report of the local quorum.

REPORT OF THE LOCAL QUORUM.

Delegate Reynolds read the following report to the National Convention of the Socialist Party:

The local quorum of the National Committee of the Socialist Party of America reports that during the year 1903, the local quorum has been in the front service commanding with joy the people of the Socialist Party in Omaha in July, 1903; November, 1903, and January, 1904; in Chicago in March, 1904, and at National headquarters on April 28, 1904. Each meeting was held publicly, open to Socialist comrades, and the questions submitted to consider were received in the minutes of proceedings kept by the quorum and upon adjournment a full copy of such minutes was transmitted to the National Committee and published in full

the Socialist press of the country, thus giving full publicity to the best interests of the local quorum of the national committee of the Socialist Party.

Respectfully submitted,
S. M. REYNOLDS,
Victor L. Berger,
B. Healy.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move you that the report be accepted and filed.

The report being read and seconded, the motion being put, was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Platform. Is the Platform Committee ready to report?

Delegate M. W. Wilkins stated that the Platform Committee would meet on the evening, and reported progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Platform Committee reports progress. The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Municipal Program. Is that committee ready to report?

DEL. HILGATE: They are in session now.

THE CHAIRMAN: That committee being in session, they are, of course, unable to report at present. The next order of business is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. Is that committee ready to report?

DEL. SLODODIN (N. Y.): We are ready to make a report, Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will hear Comrade Sperry, and please let us have our reports, in fact, the reports of these reports, must be heard.

DEL. CURTIS: I will say that the resolutions that we have adopted in the committee are acceptable and will we hear them read.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is suggested that the resolutions be read and any that may be in conflict or that are liable to be in conflict with other things that we have adopted.

DEL. CURTIS: I think whether they are acceptable or unacceptable, we don't know but what they may be acceptable and still be in conflict with the constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that there is nothing before this convention that is not acceptable to the general sentiment of order unless he wants to make

a motion. At present there is nothing open for discussion.

DEL. SLODODIN (N. Y.): I move you that the Chairman, that we proceed with the reading of our business.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the Committee on Resolutions report such work as they have already done.

DEL. SLODODIN: And that no action be taken on the resolutions until they are printed and referred to the members of this convention.

DEL. SMITH (Ill.): That is a motion that I think should be voted down almost unanimously. I don't know whether the committee has reported or will report all of the resolutions of evening, but I think that we do not want to have such a substance to it, but if it makes such a difference to the members to have printed, and the printing of them would involve a great waste of our time and money, so I think we can safely hear them read first. We have no reason to be afraid of ourselves that we hear them, and I think that motion should be voted down.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I wish to state, Comrade Chairman and Comrades, that we can trust to the common sense of the committee to pass a resolution of that kind, and any resolution you would like to have read, I will be glad to read it. That is what we have in the committee. That is what we have in the committee for, to consider before we do, what is worthy of our consideration, so I am in favor of the motion.

DEL. STEEDMAN (Ill.): I think it is necessary that we should have these resolutions printed. This is too important a matter to consider without knowing what they are, and I am considering, and I think these reports are interesting, and I can see no objection to their being printed.

A delegate from Indiana moved the previous question, which motion was seconded.

DEL. CURTIS: The question was then put, and the motion carried.

DEL. CURTIS: We will now proceed to vote upon the question that these resolutions be read but not acted upon until after they are printed and copies furnished to this body.

DEL. BERGER: That was not the motion.

DEL. CURTIS: That was the motion.

DEL. CURTIS: That was the motion.

DEL. CURTIS: That was the motion.

DEL BERGER: Will Comrade Slo-bodin repeat his motion?

DEL SLOBDIN: The motion is that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be not acted upon until a copy can be furnished to each delegate.

The motion was then put to a vote. DEL (O): Aye.

point of information. I desire to know if this committee has power or has granted the power to quash resolutions that they do not favor, and not to bring them to the surface?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that no such power has been granted to a resolution to quash it, and they undertake to quash it; he can bring that resolution before this body in spite of them. (Applause.) We will now hear from Comrade Starzgo, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Report of Committee on Resolutions

DEL SPARGO (N. Y.): The Committee on Resolutions has prepared only a partial report. We thought it better to present a partial report rather than to present the risk of any considerable delay. This will request permission to present the remainder of its report at a subsequent time.

Now the question which has been raised upon the floor this afternoon came naturally before the committee in itself as to whether the committee should, in its judgment, ought not to be considered by any serious-minded body. Such resolutions there might be, but your committee decided that it would not be to the best interests of the Socialist Party in this convention for any committee whatsoever to take any resolutions, and what any delegates wanted to bring before the convention. (Applause.) So we, therefore, decided that our business as a Committee on Resolutions, consisted primarily in this: We were to consider each resolution upon its merits. If they were not worthy, we were to vote against them, and that in part of the work; if we thought that they did not properly come within the sphere or the jurisdiction of our committee, we would refer them to the committee to which they properly belonged, and that upon all such resolutions as

we decided to consider, we would report to the convention whether or not we, as a committee, favor such resolutions. In some cases we have had resolutions in which the writers have evidently said and done the very things they wanted to say, and by a species of clairvoyance the committee has undertaken to fill the void and to say in the frames of the resolutions what the writers of the resolutions started out to say and what they forgot to say.

Resolutions consisting of "Whereas" and "Therefore be it resolved" without any resolution at the end, and we had to supply, of course, the resolution in the end. (Laughter and applause.)

A number of resolutions have been referred today to the Finance Committee from the state of New Jersey and from the state of Connecticut, providing that the cost of the national convention, so far as delegates' expenses go, should be made a national charge. We have a similar resolution from New Jersey, but itself a duplicate in the constitution, it would be idle for our committee to bother with it, would be idle for us to trouble the convention with the burden of reciting it, and so we politely sent it over to the Committee on Constitution, and told them that we did not want it.

We have two resolutions from the delegation from the State of New Jersey. We thought that we could not present the resolutions as they were presented in this. If the New Jersey delegation has little regard for the committee the committee had some regard for the delegates. I thought of trying to say what the delegates from New Jersey wanted to say, except that we have also suggested a important amendment to their resolution they moved first:

"Whereas, it is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party and with individuals in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensations; and

"Whereas, under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances

other than usefulness in the propagation of clean cut Socialism;

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this organization declares itself opposed to all methods of raising money for the payment of a delegate's prescribed salary or fee."

Your committee reports favorably upon this resolution, and recommends it to the convention.

RESOLUTION No. 2.

"Whereas, Exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to lecturers and organizers for their services;

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class which the party represents;

"We recommend that as far as possible the books of the Socialist party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued."

I ought to say that in presenting the resolution in this form, we do so after having amended the resolution in the following manner: In its original form the abolition of fees in our opinion meant that the wages of our lecturers and other workers should be based upon the average rate of wages of the party membership. Now your committee thought that since we had not an opinion upon this question, we would refer it to Mr. Carroll D. Wright, since, perhaps, he would be the willing yet to express to the world the opinion of the majority of the membership of the Socialist Party. It was better to amend the resolution in that direction. (Laughter and applause.)

We report favorably upon the resolution, and recommend it to the convention. (Applause.)

Following resolution to the committee: (H. L. BARNES (Pa.): Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of information. In this report of the committee? (THE CHAIRMAN: This is the report of the committee so far as they have

completed it. We shall hear the resolutions and not pass them until they have been printed and copies handed to the delegates.

THE SECRETARY: There are not more than six left. (Laughter.)

DEL HANFORD (N. Y.): Comrade Barnes (Laughter) dare to dream, that is all.

DEL HAYES (O.): Comrade Chairman, I do not want to interrupt the proceedings of the convention, but I was not present when the motion was made and the resolutions be read and then upon later. Was that then read and acted upon later. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir, that is the action of the convention.

DEL HAYES: It seems to me, however, that that is a clear vote of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Comrade is DEL HAYES. I would like to see some one make a motion to reconsider and adopt some method to expedite business. If we continue in this manner we will never get through.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is out of order.

DEL CARRETT (O.): I move you, Comrade Chairman, that we consider the previous question, that we consider the motion of order and Comrade Hanford already decided to hear the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to rule the motion out of order and Comrade Starzgo will proceed with the reading of the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL SPARGO: This is the resolution which came to us from the delegation in California, or rather was sent direct to the National Secretary from Leoel San Francisco:

"Resolved by the Socialist Party of America, in convention assembled, that the Socialist Party condemns all pro-segregation organizations, not connected with the Socialist Party, doing Socialist propaganda, and that no member of any organization affiliated with the Socialist Party, if said organization is doing Socialist propaganda; and being a member of any organization as before mentioned is sufficient cause for expulsion from the Socialist Party."

Your committee reports unfavorably. (Loud applause.)

Resolution submitted by Delegate Hechin, of St. Louis, Mo.:

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

"Whereas, the conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to enter into a military alliance, and whereas, the working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare;

"Be it resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America hereby expresses its profound sympathy to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese war as a crime against progress and civilization; and be it further

"Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to discontinue their support of the capitalist movement in its struggle for world peace."

(Loud applause.)

Your committee reports favorably. (Loud applause.)

Here is a resolution adopted by the State Central Committee of the Socialist Party of California. It deals with matters local to San Francisco, and came before us merely as a request that the convention be held in San Francisco. It contained a great deal of information which it is not in the ordinary sense of the word, a resolution presented to the deliberations of this body. It is a statement containing information which they desire read to the convention. In view of the fact that it has been decided to print these resolutions on the path of listening to that statement. (Applause and laughter.) I thank you.

Selecting of Time for Nominations

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move you now, Comrade Chairman, that we proceed with our regular order of business, and that we do so by first reading the resolutions submitted by the committee. The committee are not yet ready to make their reports and I am hurrying on towards the nomination of President and Vice-President. Now the delegates assembled here do not desire to have this important transaction of the convention

come up unexpectedly, while many of the delegates are absent, and, therefore, I move you that on reconvening in the order of business, we reconsider the nominations for candidates for President and Vice-President, and that such nominations for candidates for President and Vice-President be set down for Thursday afternoon, and that the order of business be so reconsidered.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I desire to give notice of a motion to change rule 7 and 8 to read as follows, that we proceed with the nominating of President and Vice-President, and that the motion be at a pass—I desire to make this motion for the same reasons which Comrade Slobodin states.

DEL. SLOBODIN: The motion is to suspend the order of business at this point and take up the nominations at once for President and Vice-President. THE CHAIRMAN: If I may suggest that you put the motion this way, that it be not taken up until the previous orders of business have been entirely disposed of.

DEL. SLOBODIN: It cannot be done, because we will probably have to do it and they will have to consider them and refer those back, and that will be on to the end of the session. In the meantime, we can take up this matter. THE CHAIRMAN: This is out of order. The gentleman has made a motion that the order of business be suspended, and that the nominations be deferred until what time please?

DEL. SLOBODIN: That the order of business in that respect be suspended and the nominations be taken up Thursday at 1:30 p. m. seconded.

DEL. DONNARD (Mich.): The motion calls for an amendment of a rule which has been adopted, and we cannot amend rules unless proper notice has been given. A motion of that kind can be made at a next meeting, and consequently this motion at this time is out of order. DEL. CAREY (Mass.): A Comrade has just reported, and I don't know what action has been taken upon that report. (Goes of "outside.") I have frequently said when I have started reforming the world and speaking on a soap-box, that when Gabriel blows in

somebody will get up and yell "I wonder," the same as those in the back part of the room. Now, I say the matter before the house is the report of the committee on Resolutions, and then let us deal with any changes in the resolutions. (Goes of "outside.") Where is Robert from on this subject?

I ask that that be changed in conformity to law. I was not present, and you have already decided upon the point of order as raised by a comrade from a Western State, but I believe that it is important that we should know that error that we could not recover from here.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move that the rule of Roberts' offering to be suspended on this particular occasion be suspended by this convention.

DEL. CAREY: No, Mr. Chairman, I know the convention will agree with this question of personal privilege. I did not just come in. I was in, but as I am a personal delegate, and I wish to be heard on the subject, I am standing on the hall, but in a place where I could speak without violating the rules. But I thank you.

DEL. WALDHORST (Aa.): I make a motion that the nominations for President be read by the President take place Wednesday afternoon, and Delegate White (Mass.) moved to amend by making it 1:30 p. m. on Thursday and the amendment was duly seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that the Committee on Resolutions, Comrade Carey, has made its report and it has been disposed of. Now the point of order was raised that this motion could not be taken up until the previous orders of business were disposed of, and that this motion must be made at the next session. I rule that point of order well taken.

DEL. WALDHORST: Several delegates were speaking of about this matter yesterday and several of them suggested their intention of leaving for home to-night. Some could not stay any longer, and some of them would go tomorrow and some of them would go Wednesday and tomorrow night, so that if we postpone these nominations until Thursday afternoon, there will be a good many states not represented. What difference will it make whether we make these nominations tomorrow afternoon or Thursday afternoon? I would give to good family more delegates than we have in the personal or business reasons, would be prevented from doing so. There are a good many of us who have simply a few days' time, maybe three or four days, to stay here, and it is necessary that we should have a selection of that time, but we would like to have it.

DEL. OUTRAM (Mass.): No action has been taken on the report of the Committee on Credentials, and I move that the report be accepted as progressive.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Upon the matter of nominating these candidates, I understand the rule is now that we cannot suspend the order of business, or provide a time when we will do it.

DEL. WHITE: I presented notice of a desire to change the rules of order. I had a motion in doing it, and it was in front of precipitate action in this convention. I want to say to all the members here that I am sufficiently trained in Socialist ethics that when this convention decides that its name shall be changed to the Socialist Party, I will be here at that all-important hour, and I offered that change in order that it could not be said when this convention had made nominations that this convention had made nominations which were not a victory to the great majority of the delegates in this convention. Therefore,

DEL. BRYAN (Ill.): I see nothing to be gained by this discussion of rules of order are that immediately after the adoption of the platform we nominate our candidate for President. To the old capitalist parties, that is all-important, but with us it is an entirely secondary matter. I believe we can get through with the discussion on the plat-

form before tomorrow evening, and then it is simply a matter of who our hammer beaters will be to carry that platform before the people. And why postpone it until Thursday? I hope, there will be some motion made in the rules of order on this subject.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I would like to know if the committee has any information as to the number of delegates who are going away tomorrow?

DEL. WALDHORST: I have heard of four from different states, and there will be still more, I suppose.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A question of information. We are not now working under a suspension of the rules?

THE CHAIRMAN: We are discussing now the matter of setting a certain day for a certain kind of business.

DEL. MEYER: I rise to make a motion for the secretary of the International.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is entirely out of order.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Comrade Berlyn asks what is the use of discussing this question, and then proceeds to discuss it. We have a motion for Wednesday at 1:30 and for Thursday at 1:30. I say there is no use of us discussing this question, and I have an amendment to the amendment, and then we can take it up and come to a vote. My amendment will be that the matter be set for a special order at the Wednesday night session.

The motion to amend the amendment was duly seconded.

DEL. BERGER (Ohio) moved that the whole matter be laid on the table. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the whole matter be laid on the table. Those in favor will make it known by saying "Aye." Those contrary, "No." The "noes" seem to have it. The motion lies on the table.

DEL. CAREY: I decline to make this motion. That is from my standpoint, first of all, we recognize as Socialists—

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Point of order. A motion to table is not debatable.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion before the house that is not debatable.

DEL. BERGER: There was a call for division.

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not hear any call for division.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Calo.): It did not come until after the announcement by the chair.

DEL. MEYER: I call the attention of the convention to this fact—

At this point there were a dozen delegates on the floor.

On points of order and points of information, a delegate finally succeeded in gaining the recognition of the Chair, and raised the point of order that Comrade Meyer had no right to speak on this point while the convention was engaged in taking a vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is sustained.

DEL. CAREY: I rise to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: State the question.

DEL. CAREY: My question of personal privilege is this, that any member of this convention who has received and is granted the floor upon a question before this convention, is entitled to express this conventions upon that question.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

DEL. CAREY: I submit as a question of personal privilege that no one has a right to raise a point of order on a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point of order.

DEL. MILLS: My point of order is that it is in the presence of a vote and call for a division, I wanted to by all the people here, and I want that division taken now. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. Those in favor of the motion will stand.

Those opposed to taking the motion will stand.

DEL. CAREY: I rise to a question of personal privilege. Before I discuss any question, I rise to this question of personal privilege—that the chair had decided the vote carried.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH: That is

DEL. CAREY: And I rise to the floor and the chair has decided the question before the house, and then was interrupted by a delegate who rose in the point of order that that question that the chair had decided had not been carried, and the chair declared me out of order, which is absolutely in violation of both their right, Parks? and (applause.)

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to answer the question asked.

THE CHAIRMAN: Hold on, Comrade. The question was not asked—

DEL. PARKS: I understand that "Hold on" is laid on the table. (Laughter.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Comrade Carey and the Convention that I did not mean to wrong anybody, and that the impression that the entire division was called for, but I believe the division was called for, but it was not. However, it is all a matter of personal privilege, we are personally willing to forgive you, and all the best.

DEL. CAREY: But, Mr. Chairman, I want to insist to this convention that I am assuming the platform of this world and the rights of the delegates. (Applause.)

And I have the floor. (Laughter and applause.) I had the floor in accordance with every principle of parliamentary law, not only Roberts' but Cushman's. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We didn't mean to interrupt you.

DEL. CAREY: I know you did not, but I refuse to allow any parliamentary rights to be strangled by some gentleman who may rise to a point of order and be recognized. I refuse it, not for the sake of the house, but for the sake of myself. But for the sake of myself, those who may not have as good a voice as I have got. That is why I defend the rights of the obscure men as I did in the case of Kerrigan. Now, then, Mr. Chairman, there is my position.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, you have the floor.

DEL. CAREY: Very well.

Then I will get it. I submit now, after from parliamentary discussion, that the speaker was again interrupted by one of those and "point of order" etc.

DEL. CAREY: The chair recognized me on the question of personal privilege. I got through with that and I got the floor again on the question before the house.

DEL. TAYLOR (Ill.): The point of order is that he rose to the question of privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: He is speaking now on the question before the house.

DEL. CAREY: Mr. Chairman, I only want to call the attention of the convention—

A DELEGATE: A question of information. Hasn't that whole matter been tabled?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, sir, it has not. The motion was lost, Comrade Carey is in order and he has the floor.

DEL. MILLS: I have a question of personal privilege in connection with the same matter. Will I be heard now?

DEL. STEVERMAN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. My point of order is that Comrade Mills is clear out of the house, and I have a question of personal privilege while another member has the floor.

DEL. MILLS: I desire to raise the question of personal privilege after he has finished.

DEL. CAREY: On the matter before the house, I only desire to say, I entirely agree with the delegate. I think that the important function of this convention is not to determine who shall be candidate for President, Vice-President or any other office. The important function of this convention is to determine its attitude upon questions that we have formed on Will, and to select those who, in our judgment, are best fitted to carry out that program as I have got. That is why I defend, I am for any motion that may be made for the purpose of postponing the nomination of a President and Vice-President until it is postponed, because our officers have been nominated, because our officers want to have done the possibility. If it were possible to admit such a possibility,

ity that there may be nominated upon our ticket a person not in accord with the expression of this convention. (Applause.) Therefore I simply desire that the selection of our standard-bearer be postponed until we know what our standard-bearers stand for.

DEL. MILLS: A question of personal privilege. Now, I want quite definitely the committee on the good behavior of men with good voices. I want simply to make this statement, that when the house was all calling for a division, and when the Chair had decided that the question had been settled before the call for a division was made, the house, non-contentiously attempted to prevent a division by getting the floor and talking about something else.

DEL. SLOBODIN: A point of order, that the gentleman is not speaking to the question of personal privilege.

DEL. MILLS: I am speaking in defense of my action, which was attacked on this floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Mills, I think this is unnecessary and out of order. I think we had better stop now. (Applause.)

DEL. MILLS: We got a division all right. ROSE (Wife): I rise to a question of information. If the Committee on Resolutions has not already reported in full, is it in order to submit something to their pleasure?

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly, if you have any resolutions handed them to the committee at any time.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): In the name of Franagon of Texas, "What are we here for?" I call for the previous question.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before the house is the nomination of President and Vice-President—first to Wednesday afternoon, second to Thursday afternoon, third to Wednesday evening.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): A point of order. The Chairman's statement is hardly correct. The motion is to substitute for the rules providing for the election of our President and Vice-Pres-

dent, to substitute for that another day and another hour.

THE CHAIRMAN: A specified hour.

DEL. MORGAN: Not to postpone, but to substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is in effect to suspend the rules and make the nomination of President and Vice-President a special order of half-first, Wednesday, and insert "Thursday." The first amendment is to strike out "Wednesday" and insert "Thursday." The second amendment is to strike out "Thursday" and insert "Wednesday evening session." Now, that is the way it stands. The previous question has been called and there is nothing else in order.

DEL. CAREY: A question of information. When different times are named is it not parliamentary practice to place it the longest time first?

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, I put them in the order in which they were moved in the order in which they were moved. There were cries of "question, question" from various delegates, and Delegate White of Massachusetts demanded the floor on a question of information.

DEL. WHITE: I want to ask if you are going to vote on now is this question? Shall the previous question be put?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is it or not. In other words, that has already been carried.

DEL. WHITE: What has been carried?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it hasn't.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): Didn't we vote here by a vote of 79 to 56 to let this whole matter on the table? Go to that question over which we had the last division?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, that was voted down. Collins of Illinois requested that the present status of the question be stated by the Secretary.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS: Moved by Slobodin that the regular order of business be suspended and the President and Vice-President be nominated on Thursday afternoon at one p. m. Seconded. Point of order raised by Leonard of Minnesota. Sus-

pected by the Chair. Slobodin moved that Roberts' Rules of Order be suspended on the point of order be suspended by the vote carried. Moved—I don't know by what name. Seconded. Moved by Vice-President on Wednesday afternoon at 1:30 p. m. That was the original motion. Moved to amend to change to Thursday afternoon at 1:30 p. m., which was seconded.

Amended further to nominate candidates on Wednesday evening. Moved to suspend the rules and then there was likewise seconded. Moved to amend to change to Wednesday afternoon to table the motion and then there was a quibble ensued, and the vote was that the entire motion should not be tabled. Consequently we are back to the original motion with its amendment. Moved by Vice-President on Wednesday afternoon, Thursday afternoon or Wednesday evening. (Cries of "Question, Question.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Comraded, the previous question has been called—

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: It is simply this: I understand that this was made one of the regular orders of business—

A DELEGATE: A point of order. This is altogether out of order.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. PARKS: If this house wishes I will state my point of order. This is the point of order that I am making here, that is going on at the present time. (The Chair called on Comrade Slobodin, who made a personal history.) (Laughter). Now, gentlemen, by point of order is that this does not include the fixing of the order of business. It is not part of the manual of Robert's Rules of Order. It was provided for in the original motion.

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minutes on a side. (Cries of "Question, Question.")

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of information: Some of the delegates want to know if we vote down all of these motions before the house if we will not alter all be under the rules of order? Will you suspend the rules before they are suspended?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, sir.

DEL. CARR: Then we do hope that that will be understood. We are suspending everything down the rules of order, and hereafter adopted will prevail. Let us do it.

DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I want to ask the Chair, what is the next order of business on the rules? The next in regular order is the nomination of President of business. Do you don't suspend this order of business, get to put in the afternoon adjournment and not ready to report.

A DELEGATE: No, that is not right.

DEL. CARR: If we are to be under the rules—

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I raise the point of order that when the previous question has been called for absolutely nothing is in order but the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, you don't mean that.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: You are out of order.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: The convention has already decided that. (To Delegation Carr.) On which side is this comrade speaking?

DEL. CARR: He is asking for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: He should speak on one of the two sides.

DEL. CARR: I am still speaking on the question of information, so we may know where we are at. I am of the opinion that if all this is voted down the order of business will be the nomination of National Officers, after the report of the Committee on Resolutions, the Municipal Program, and the report of the Committee on Resolutions have all been in and acted upon. And that will be about Friday or Saturday afternoon.

I am still in favor of voting all these motions down, so we may leave the reports of these committees under the same vote as the report of the National Committee. (Applause) Now, if you will clear us up on this point, then we will vote all these things down and nominate our President and Vice-President after all these committees have made their reports and the reports have been acted upon. (Applause and cries of "Order, Order.")

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, now, just a moment. Let me explain—

A DELEGATE: I ask the floor to speak to this question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will give you the floor in just a moment.

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): My rights as the mover of the motion—

THE CHAIRMAN: Hold on. I want the matter settled first. I want to say in answer to this inquiry that as a matter of fact we take up the first order of business this afternoon, for instance, the report of the National Committee, then the report of the National Orotary; then comes the report on the platform. They were not ready and we had to pass on to the next order of business. The next order of business was the report of another committee, and they were not ready. We have to postpone that report until after of tomorrow. We have disposed of that—the resolutions committee. Now, we will have to go on to the next order of business, and that is the nomination of President and Vice-President. Now, that is in answer to the Comrade's question.

DEL. WHITE: As the mover of the motion—

DEL. PAFFT: A parliamentary question. My question is whether it will be in order to have the motion acted upon beyond the rules and provide for other business.

THE CHAIRMAN: Certainly.

DEL. WHITE: I demand my rights as the mover of the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: My dear sir, you will have your rights in a minute. **DEL. FARRIEL (Ohio):** I am opposed to the motion—

A DELEGATE: A point of order: The proposition is in order, but the vote, and I demand the vote.

DEL. BLOCK (Ill.): I will ask the Committee on Constitution to move.

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't know.

DEL. BLOCK: Why don't you ask the Chairman?

THE CHAIRMAN: (To Delegate Farriel): Go on, you have the floor.

DEL. FARRIEL: As I understand the rules of the house for disposal three delegates are entitled to speak on each side of the question before it is voted on, and I for one, wish to speak on this accordance with the rules we have adopted. As a delegate who wishes to see every delegate in this convention brought to the attention of the motion before the President and Vice-President, you shall bear the banner of the party in the next national campaign. I am in favor of not delaying the nominations, at least, not later than to-morrow night. We cannot fight—

the amendment to the national platform on fact. The question has been raised here whether it is desirable to adopt the platform first. It is my opinion that whoever is chosen by this convention to act as a candidate for President or Vice-President of the Socialist Party of this country should be nominated on the platform that this convention may see fit to adopt. I believe that any man that may be elected in this way will have confidence that this convention will adopt a platform that will be in accordance with the Socialist program and the Socialist Party in general; and that this amendment carried the nominations be delayed not later than to-morrow night's session at the latest.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I rise in information. I started from Minnesota some time ago expecting to attend the Socialist convention. I want information as to whether a Representative from any State is to be invited to this convention. I want to know whether the Socialist conduct on this floor is proper to be more a struggle of the forms than an effort to do business. We came here not for the purpose of nominating a President and Vice-President as the one object of this purpose of this convention. I am in favor of determining what should be the purpose of the Socialist program, and I want

to know it. (Applause) And I want to know if the floor may then drive me away. I have got as much fight as anybody. You can speak me if you want to, but I am going to have my fight as well as the rest.

DEL. WHITE: I want to say, Comrade White, that the inquiry of the Chairman of the Committee on the Platform of the Comrades is a question. The Chair has decided that if the committees are not now ready to report them we must proceed to the nomination of our national standard-bearers. That being the case, the proposition that comes immediately before the convention is that the Comrades here in this hall make a declaration of their opinion that it was the duty of the convention to declare the platform of principles upon which the candidates were to stand, before they should be nominated. And certainly his position is something that amounting to the motion is a proposition to delay. If I can to-day and I believe that we will be satisfied with the progress of this organization if we do this until Thursday afternoon, rather than to attempt to precipitate action in consequence of not having anything else in the matter of the order of business. I trust that the convention will be in a position to report the presidential nomination until Thursday afternoon at 1 o'clock.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I desire to speak against the motion to fix time. I may be under a wrong impression, but it seems to me that under this order of business the delegates are writing successively their reports, and that the order of business is that we are to have a complete understanding of everyone in this convention is that we not only come in the report, but we actually get the report. Now we passed from one of these reports to the other and the general impression of the delegates were not having to come in to make their reports in the report. The contents of this order of business is that we are to have a complete understanding of everyone in this convention, as I understand it here, is

that these reports should actually be made. That would place the nominations after the reports were actually made, and that is the order of business and not received. (Applause)

Here if we wait for these reports to be made we will probably pass over Thursday evening, and perhaps Saturday evening, as far as it is concerned. I don't know how long it will be, and how long contemplating how long it will be for a change at all and that necessity for a change at all and that necessity for a change at all and that the reports ought to all come in and that the most important thing—I don't know whether you consider it the most important or not, but I do. I consider it a very important question as to whom our platform to run as our candidates. I don't know whether this is a matter of more importance. This is a matter of opinion. But I believe if we wait until we get these reports we will have sufficient time without the necessity of setting any particular time. Another point I want to make while I am here is that I believe that the probability is, if we go on as this, the nomination of candidates after that is done we will lose a great many more delegates than we will if we hold the nominations until they are reached in their regular order. (Applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, we had better come to a vote on this. We have a motion before us for a vote. (To Delegate Siskind) On which side do you desire to speak?

Delegate Siskind of New York spoke in favor of setting a special time for the nomination of candidates, to be followed by the consideration of the reports of the committees as they were turned into the convention, stating that he could not see any reasonable ground for opposing such a procedure.

Average delegates, who attempted to secure the adoption of the proposed Delegate Audit of Idaho and Connecticut upon which side he desired to speak.

DEL. AULT: I don't know whether I am opposing anything, but I am against fixing the time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you have the floor. **DEL. AULT:** Comrade Chairman, the idea that I have in mind is to begin with a simple proposition which is in order here and asked him to sit down and pro-

vided no chair for him to sit on? That is just what you are doing here. You propose to nominate a candidate on a platform that does not exist. I believe with Comrade Woodley here, that the proper procedure is to follow our old practice of sending out a card to the heads of business that has not been carried out because our committees have not reported, and you propose to put the cart before the horse when you propose to nominate a candidate before we adopt the platform of the party. While I would be in favor, if it were possible, that comrades who are obliged to leave early may have the opportunity of participating in that action, yet I do not believe it is correct. I do not believe it is legal according to the laws that we have adopted to govern the convention, because by so doing we are changing the reports of the committees.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Colo.): I wish to offer a substitute motion—

THE CHAIRMAN: That is out of order, the previous question having been called for.

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): Please explain the nature of the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, we vote first upon the amendment to the amendment, which is to the effect that no motion coming, the Wednesday session, be given to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

The motion was then put and division being called, the Chair stated that the amendment to the effect of 85 to 80, and thereupon put the vote upon the amendment at 1:30 o'clock. A Division being called, the Chair stated:

"All those in favor of that amendment facing the time at Thursday at 1:30 will please stand. Those opposed to Thursday at 1:30 will please stand about the vote. It is not necessary to count. By 2 to 1, the motion is lost. There were only 64 for it, and there was nearly double against it."

DEL. SPARKS (N. Y.): We demand a recount of both votes on that motion, pro and con.

THE SECRETARY: There were 64

votes for Thursday afternoon, and as in the previous question there were 85 against and 81 for, there could be no doubt that the motion was lost. (Cries of "Oh, no, oh, no," come from them.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, comrades, just be quiet a moment—
DEL. TART (Ill.): A point of order: I have already taken the affirmative vote and it has been counted.

THE CHAIRMAN: It being quiet now, we will take it again. Those in favor of Thursday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock will stand until counted. (90 votes were counted.) Now those opposed will stand. (90 votes were counted.) Now, comrades, the motion is given to go. Now comes the question. Shall the nominations of President and Vice-President be made a special order of business for to-morrow, Wednesday at 1:30 o'clock? Those in favor may stand. Those opposed may stand. The motion is lost.

DEL. SOUTHWORTH (Colo.): Comrades, our party has agreed to have the President and Vice-President shall come after the adoption of the platform. (Applause.) No comrade in this audience is wise enough to designate at this time at what hour that platform will be adopted. It is our business when we come to the special order of business to have a small former judge has been committed with (Applause) and he passes it without date.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you wish that as a motion?

DEL. SOUTHWORTH: I do, (the we pass this rule without date, without fixing the time.

The motion was seconded.
DEL. MAILLY (Neb.): I understand that there are two committees now ready to report, and I would appeal, **DEL. MAILLY:** I mean that the first deal with the report of these committees.

The motion was seconded.
THE CHAIRMAN: I will state the motion is significant. If the committees are ready to report I call for the report of the committee on platform (Applause)

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Comrade Chairman, in behalf of the Committee

on Platform, I have to report that we are ready to report. (Cries of "Oh, no, no, no," come from them.) I will report the report of the Committee on Membership and State Program ready to report.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): No, but the Committee is ready.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman, I want to ask if the Committee on Municipal and State Program is ready to report?

DEL. JONAS: The Press Committee is ready to report. I have called for the Platform Committee and the Municipal and State Program, both of which I was informed were ready. There seems to be no response from them.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman, the Committee on Trades Unions, my report on Trades Unions, Max Hayes, I move you that it report be received.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been approved and seconded that the report of the committee on Trades Unions be received.
DEL. STRODIN (N. Y.): What are Roberts' Rules say about this?

DEL. CHAIRMAN: I am told that Roberts' Rules of Order says that the substance of the report is its reception, the comrade had better read Roberts' Rules of Order. (Laughter.)

The motion is that the report of the committee on Trades Union be now received.

The motion was carried.
THE CHAIRMAN: Is the committee ready to report through Comrade Heays of Ohio?

Heays of Ohio then came to the platform.
THE CHAIRMAN: Before that committee renders its report, I have a message here which I desire to read, as follows:

"President of the National Socialists' Convention, Brandt's Hall: "Geno, Nevada, Socialist Local, sends greetings and favors Dubs for Health."
A. A. Ehrman,
"Secretary."

(loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Hayes will now report for the Committee on Trades Unions.

Report of Committee on Trades Unions

DEL. HAYES: Mr. Chairman and Delegates: Yes, Comrade Chairman, Trades Unions here leave to submit the following report:

The Trade and Labor Union movement is the natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessitates the development of a working class organization. It is the class interest of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of working class takes place when the working class take the means of production and distribution right to the full product of their labor. To fully carry out these measures the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they have political as well as industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The Trades Union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assert and permanently secure by their political power what they have won from their exploiters in the economic struggle.

In accordance with decisions of the Trades Union Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, the convention reaffirms the declarations that the Trade and Labor Unions are a necessary in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all workers to affiliate with all these movements.

Political differences of opinion do not and should not signify any division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles."

DEL. HAYES: I wish to add that the committee has adopted a supplementary report which reads as follows:

Resolved, That we declare our unalterable opposition to the introduction of the various open shop systems in any of the various States, national, state or municipal, and in industrial establishments generally.

Resolved, That this convention warns the organized workers of this country to be on guard against the attacks upon their funds, individual and collective, by striking, boycotting, picketing, etc.

Resolved, That we declare in favor of a general eight-hour law, and point to the attitude of the old parties upon this question, in Congress, in Colorado, and various other States.

Resolved, That all the signs of the class of this country, the capitalist class of the Democratic and Republican parties, are seeking to destroy the labor movement by means of injunction against the movement, and by legislation limiting the rights of organized labor.

Resolved, That this vicious work can only be prevented by a general political action of labor on the lines of the class struggle.

- DAVID HAYES, Chairman
- MAX A. WHITE,
- JOHN L. NAZEL,
- JOHN GILBERT,
- JAMES F. CAY,
- G. A. HOBBS,
- FRANK A. SIBERSMAN,
- GUY E. MILLER,
- Secretary.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I move you that the report of the Trades Union Committee be sent to the printer before it is finally acted upon by this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion. Is there any discussion?

DEL. SPENCE (Wis.): I move that the report proper be so received and printed, and that the supplementary report, which consists of these resolutions, be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is, you refer that as a substitute to the motion of Comrade Jones?

DEL. SPENCE: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does that motion meet with a second?

DEL. WEINSTEIN (Ohio): The original part of the motion is supplementary report to be referred to the Committee on Resolutions, in my opinion, is out of order, as this Committee on Trades Unions was appointed especially for the Trades Union resolutions, and they are the ones to pass upon the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that this motion to refer back the portion of the report has not yet been seconded.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): Comrade Chairman, it seems to me that it might be wise to refer the general program of the Trades Union Committee to the printer before we take action upon it, but in these specific cases, in which the location of our fight is to make a strike, take care of these four specific proposals, and to have them read now, as so save time. There is going to be a great deal of oratory on this question of resolutions while we have nothing else in particular which we have nothing all know the position of the Socialist party upon the open shop as represented by President Roosevelt. You know what stand you ought to take on the open shop proposition and on the injunction proposition, and you are going to have to be able to express our opinion right now. I move that the report proper be referred to the printer as in the case of the previous committee, and that we refer to the committee the four propositions submitted by the committee.

THE motion was seconded.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): I move

Chairman, that we now adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: This last motion is out of order. There is already a motion before the house that must be voted on.

DEL. JONAS: Then I have an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it is not in the shape of an amendment, but offer it as a substitute it would be all right.

DEL. JONAS: I wish to offer it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, but I will not take it out of order when the Chair is in the shape of the present amendment. There is a question upon which we had better introduce resolutions to be referred to the printer and this will not be taken up separately and used and acted upon by this convention.

DEL. SARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a second order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. SARGO: My point of order is that the previous substitute to refer the report to the Committee on Resolutions was not seconded, and second the motion as a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: I certainly regard so second.

DEL. SARGO: Well, a delegate seconded the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not regard the second and I cannot sustain the motion that I wish to refer to the printer.

DEL. DALTON: The motion to refer to the printer.

DEL. DALTON: Yes, I move to lay the motion on the table.

DEL. (N. Y.): It seems to me that the report of the Trades Union Committee should be considered separately. If it is not the purpose of the election of the Trades Union Committee it was that that committee should take cognizance of this particular question of the attitude of this party towards the trades union, the relation of this party towards trades unions, and that is a question by itself, and that is a question, by itself, a question upon which there is a difference of opinion upon this convention, and this convention represents the differences in opinion of the rank and file of the party. That is full question upon which there should be a discussion, and there it should be a question of debating the matter. It is a question of debating the matter that have been committed by the agitators upon the trades unionists and organized working people of this country.

That is a question upon which we had better introduce resolutions to be referred to the printer and separate matter for this reason I should like to say, it was for this reason I should like to say, the motion of Comrade Spence if Del. DeBressi had not seconded it, and I might add that to my knowledge the Committee on Resolutions has already in its hands certain resolutions same matter, these same resolutions, these have certain well worded resolutions, they are published for propaganda purposes, of the outrages in Colorado and of many other outrages that have been committed. Now, it seems to me only later I might add that these committee's report, Resolutions in order that they may be brought together into a single report, and in order that its style may be made as good as possible, to be used as I say, for propaganda purposes. Now, the motion of Comrade Spence, the amendment or substitute as you may call it, of Comrade Spence, was not seconded.

Comrade Spence, was not seconded, I move at this point that the motion of Comrade Spence that this latter portion of the report of the Committee on Trades Unions be referred to the printer on Resolutions. Will it be in order at this time that motion before the house at this time?

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot do that at this point, but you can do an amendment to the motion.

DEL. EBE: Then I offer that as an amendment to the motion.

DEL. CANEY (Mass.): Let me suggest to Comrade Lee that he ask for a

division of the question. This is a com-mittee of which I am a member, and I suggest that he ask for a division of the question. I recognize the wisdom of the suggestion and I ask that the question be divided.

DEL. HULLCOFF (N. Y.): I desire to say that while I have no objection to the division of the question, I certainly do object at this point to referring the first resolution reported to us to the printer. As we stand now, I understand that the printer will undertake business before us. If we send this one to the printer we will probably have nothing else to do for the rest of the day, whereas otherwise we might dispose of this resolution and then probably take up the report of the Committee on Constitution. It is in my mind that it is better to fulfill the desire of the wisdom of having important resolutions printed and giving each number of the convention a copy of them before taking a final vote. Nevertheless I consider it of more importance to utilize every hour we have before us, after dark has passed, and I would therefore oppose the motion to refer the resolution to the printer now, and hope the delegates will vote if down and take up the resolution now.

DEL. ZORN (Ohio): I want to speak in favor of the motion and I hope that the resolution will be referred to the printer. I feel now, however, that for something, I stand for Socialism, and this resolution is an important one and I feel that it should be printed and placed in the hands of each delegate before final action is taken. (Applause.)

DEL. BENESSI (Mich.): I second the motion of Comrade Spence for this reason: As Comrade de la Sierra, I would like to see this resolution printed on Trades Unions world in a report of that kind, and when they did I seconded the motion that it be printed for the purpose that it might go into the hands of the comrades, and that they could read it carefully, and think it all over and then come to their own conclusions. I believe that their views and positions more clearly on the subject than if we wrangled over it here.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I second Comrade Chairman and Delegates: I seconded

the motion of the comrade over the question of Socialism, or rather, first am a Socialist, and second, I am a Socialist. I want to stand in our party as far as it is possible to, without conflicting with Socialist principles, and I would like to have chance to study these resolutions and don't want to vote for them until I understand them, and I believe it is the utmost importance that every one understands those questions before a act upon them.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): Comrade Chairman, I want to say that the proposition to refer this report to the printer in view of the conditions and committee delay that has taken place here for the days, we have no objection to referring this along with the balance of the business, so long as we get home some time between this and Labor Day. (Applause.)

DEL. HOEHN: I do not like to have had action upon this report, to be transacted some business here this afternoon, but apparently the delegates are not here for the purpose of transacting business, but merely for the purpose of raising (Applause.) Raising the question of personal privilege, asking for more information, printing out and coming and trying to vote upon questions we have already been decided, and a lot of other nonsensical things, including smoke nonsense. (Applause.)

DEL. HOEHN: I do not like to have been doing in the last three hours the Presidential election closes in the evening. (Prolonged laughter and applause.)

The previous question was called and the motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute motion is this, If I have not forgotten: That the first part of the report referred to the printer and the second part, made up of those resolutions taken up earlier in the afternoon, be substituted motion. Now all those favor of that motion will please "Aye."

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I want to point the substitute report that the second part being taken up instead of the first. I refer to the Committee on Resolutions.

A DEL. EGATTE: That amendment has already been made.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: Oh, yes, amended to the effect that the second part also referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): Comrade Chairman.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: Now we can attempt to debate at this time.

DEL. HOEHN: I should like to speak on this.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: You are too

late.

DEL. HOEHN: I do not like to do the points of order, but I will have to do so. My point of order is that the previous question had been ordered and a portion of the question worked upon, you recognized a desire to make another amendment.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: No, no, he called my attention to the fact that I was wrong and he was right. I had over-looked the amendment he called my attention to.

DEL. HOEHN: How do we know whether we are right or wrong?

DEL. CHAIRMAN: Well, the gentleman is out of order. We are now in order.

DEL. HOEHN: I rise to a point of order. It would seem to me that it would be better to let the work of this committee be done by the secretary would read the motion.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: That is not a point of order.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): Point of order, Mr. Chairman.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. HOEHN: My point of order is that on a question or vote that I have, as I understand it, the rules say I am obliged to give each side opportunity to debate.

DEL. CHAIRMAN: Now, Comrade Chairman, you were not in this room when the previous question was put, that privilege is not extended and it is too late now.

DEL. HOEHN: I want to ask the Chairman, has anybody exhausted the eighteen minutes that is assigned delegates upon this question after the vote has been ordered upon the question?

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: I asked that question, has anybody exhausted that eighteen minutes?

THE CHAIRMAN: I answered it, I offered that question, and now the three-minute speeches and no one responded and we went ahead, and now we are going ahead. (Applause and cries of "Go on.")

DEL. HOEHN: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: I appeal from the decision of the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The decision of the Chair is appealed from. Comrade Debs will kindly take the chair.

SOME DELEGATES took the chair.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: Gentlemen, the decision of the chair has been appealed from.

DEL. HOEHN: My reasons for appealing from the Chair are briefly these—

DEL. MANICE (Ill.): Point of order. The question is not debatable.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: The gentleman is out of order.

DEL. HOEHN: My reason for appealing from the decision of the Chair is because under our rule there are eighteen minutes assigned to delegates after motion is put to debate the question after motion is put to debate the question ordered upon the question, and I have forgotten that a few moments ago and a delegate reminded me of it. Now I say that nobody up to date has taken advantage of these eighteen minutes allowed under our rules, and until this motion is disposed of it is within the power of the delegates to take advantage of that opportunity, and I say it was clearly intended under the rules to let those interested have their say without dividing them. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state, as I have already stated, that after the motion for the previous question that been called for, I distinctly said, "Is anybody

ready for the three-minute speeches? The time is here," I gave time enough for anybody to take the floor. Nobody did so. I then proceeded to take a vote on the proposition. The vote was 70 in favor and 16 in opposition. The gentleman claimed the floor and I ruled him out of order, and I still rule that he is out of order.

CHAIRMAN DOBBS: Comrades, you have heard the respective statements. Those who are in favor of the proposition are to be ruled out of order by saying Aye. The Ayes have it, and the Chair is sustained. (Loud Applause.) Delegate Richardson here resumed the chair.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): As a member of the committee for me say that the committee on a trade union has reported to the hands of the printer.

The question was called for. **THE CHAIRMAN:** The amendment is to send the last part of the report, the resolutions, to the Committee on Resolutions.

The question was then put and the vote, of course having the Chairman in doubt, a division was called for and a rising vote taken, with the following result: Ayes, 71; Noes, 55; and the amendment was declared carried.

EVENING SESSION

The Chairman called the convention to order at 7 o'clock, but owing to a misunderstanding as to the hour for assembling there were few delegates in the hall when the convention was called to order, and it adjourned at 7 o'clock. The vote was again called to order.

DEL. WEISBER (O.): Since the close of the last meeting, I have estimated that there are probably 300 people here, delegates and people who are watching the convention, who came from outside the city, whose expense cannot be less than a dollar and a half, and less than one dollar and a half cannot be less than two dollars and a half a day, making for each four dollars a day. Multiply that by 300 and you have \$1,200 a day, or \$2 a minute, figuring ten hours a day. Of course to you trade unionists that work

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is amended, now is that the first part of the report be referred to the printer and the second half to the Committee on Resolutions?

The question was then put to a vote and the vote was taken and the motion carried as follows: "These in favor, 75; opposed, 48."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Trades Unions will present its report with the first part of their report, and the Committee on Resolutions with the second part of their report, in accordance with this motion, or the other way? (Loudly.)

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): I move in adjournment until seven thirty o'clock the afternoon until seven thirty o'clock the evening.

The motion was announced. After several meetings with the Chairman as to the motion, the question was then put a Division. The motion was then put a Division and the vote was taken and the motion adjourned to reconvene at seven thirty p. m.

Therefore, it is out of order. We would have the rule before we could pass that motion. The point of order was sustained by the Chair.

(Delegate Robinson (Ky.) moved that the rules be suspended. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the rule permitting three minutes to speak on a side three minutes be suspended. The question has been carried. The question is on the table. Seconded, but lost. (Delegate Stobodan moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.)

The motion to suspend the rule was then put and the Chair declared the rule suspended for 70 for suspension, 26 in opposition, and the rule was declared suspended.

SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I move that in the rule the words "three minutes" be stricken out, and "one on a side" be inserted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Resolutions is ready to report. What is the motion? (Loudly.)

DEL. FARRELL (Ohio): I move that we proceed to the report of the minutes, seconded and carried.

Report of Committee on Constitution.

DEL. HILLQUIST: On behalf of the committee: Your committee is happy to announce that it finished its labors in this session, and it is further happy to announce that its report is ready for your consideration. If you wish to take a vote on this report, we will have no trouble whatever in doing so, but when we adjourn this session, so that when we adjourn this year have disposed of one at least of the president subjects before this convention. I will not make any speech or motion to you the general scheme of the resolution. We will take it up clause by clause, and if required, I will give you the same information as the committee has given you.

The constitution as submitted by the committee was then read.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the committee. What is your pleasure?

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I move you that it be taken up section by section, so that the parts to which there is no objection be taken up and discussed. Seconded.

DEL. STEEDMAN (Ill.): I move as a substitute that the report be printed in the *Appeal*, and that the rule be suspended and the convention adjourn tomorrow at 10 o'clock so that the committee on Resolutions may have their work. (Seconded.) "The committee on Resolving up the committee here to-night and then to-morrow lose three or four hours and have the committees unable to report until the day after. By adjournment now we can have their report to-morrow instead of the day after."

DEL. HILLQUIST: The copy is in the hands of the printer and will be ready to-morrow morning. I desire to state further that I personally hope we will commence to do some other business than adjourning. This is not a platform, nor is it even a resolution. It is not a question of program. If it is, it is not a question of program. It is of several propositions, and the vote is not clear to the delegates it may be repeated over and over until it is clear. "In this way it will be as clear as if it was printed, and we might, to better purpose than adjourning, pass the evening in discussing the proposition."

If it is of several propositions, and the vote is not clear to the delegates it may be repeated over and over until it is clear. "In this way it will be as clear as if it was printed, and we might, to better purpose than adjourning, pass the evening in discussing the proposition."

DEL. GAYLORD (W.Va.): To adjourn at the right time is a really good thing to do and gains time. This constitutional needs to be considered, not section by section, but as a whole, by men who can look at it all together. I would like to consider it that way, and I would like to consider it in this hall and hear it read intelligently in this hall and then have to vote yes or no, because for the next four years we are going to be governed by this constitution or else by taking continual referendums votes.

If we adjourn now it will save another day's expense and half a dozen referendums. We want to give this proper consideration and to save what we are doing. We would do better by doing this thing

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to make a motion—

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion to suspend the rules has been defeated.

DEL. BARNES: I submit that the part of a motion does not destroy part of the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There was no motion for division.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of information. Is there any motion before the house?

THE CHAIRMAN: Nothing now.
DEL. PARKS: I move that we refer action on the constitution until the regular session to-morrow morning.

Seconded. **Phelan (Ill.)** moved the previous question. Seconded.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS

(Wis.): There is a motion before the house on the minutes as follows: Moved that the report of the Committee on Constitution be taken up seriatim and that those sections not objected to be considered as passed. Then it was moved by **Stelman** that the report be referred to the house adjourn to meet at 10 a. m. and that the report of the committee be printed in the *Appeal*. That last motion was ruled out of order. We then voted against suspending the rules, which brings you back to the original motion, which was carried by a majority taken on a division discussed and passed.

DEL. STEDMAN: A point of information. The vote that was taken was on the previous question and not upon the motion and I think the Chair is wrong.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY CROSS: I think that is right.

DEL. HAVES (Ohio): If the question to adjourn is voted down, I am in favor of the adjournment of the printing office so that we can have something here in the morning.

Seconded.
DEL. BARNES: Will the Chair accept an amendment to that time?

DEL. BARNES: I move you therefore, that action on the constitution be deferred until to-morrow morning for the purpose of having the constitution printed.
Seconded.

Motion put and carried, on the previous question, and the main question.

Delegate Taft (Ill.) moved to take up the report of the Press Committee. Seconded and carried.

The Secretary announced that arrangements had been made to take a field trip through the adjournment of the Wednesday morning session.
Delegate Bandlow announced that an invitation had been extended by the Socialist Semperbund to such delegates as were able to attend a social gathering arranged for Tuesday evening in the Revere House.

Report of Press Committee

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): The Press Committee has the following resolution to report. The first resolution is one which has been presented by a number of locals and, therefore, we submit to the convention. The particular resolution which I refer to is as follows: **Resolved:** That the members of

Local San Francisco consider it their duty to disseminate the Socialist Manifesto of America to have National Socialist Paper, either daily or weekly, or both, owned and controlled by the party, and Local San Francisco of the Socialist Party here by instructs Comrade P. Demzian and Comrade J. H. Keller, our delegates to the National Socialist Convention of the Socialist Party here, America, to be held at Chicago, Illinois, May 1st, 1940, to submit to the convention a proposition to have party paper or papers, as before mentioned, or if the same or a similar proposition is submitted, that you instruct our delegates to send comrade to vote for and support a motion declaring for a party-owned paper.

Practically the same resolution was also received from Local Louisville, Kentucky, N. Y., Spokane, Wash., and the Women's Branch of the Socialist party, Seattle, Wash. In spite of the fact that the members of your committee reports unfavorably upon this resolution.

The following suggestions are submitted:

We recommended that any paper that assumes to speak for the Socialist party should be under the control of party members or the party organization.

We report further on another point which was suggested by the National Executive Committee, that the National Executive Committee recognize the necessity of informing the party membership through party affairs, we recommend in accordance with the suggestion of the National Secretary, a monthly bulletin, covering all party affairs in official matters, excluding all political matters, and editorial opinions. We believe this bulletin should have a nominal price of 25 cents a year. If, however, the convention should decide that this bulletin should be sent gratuitously, we recommend that such gratuity be confined to party secretaries.

Your committee further recommends for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau or electing a secretary of local quorums as the construction of the minutes, under the existing Party, for the purpose of furnishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character, treating Socialism from a scientific and propagandist point of view, and not engaging into questions of party discipline.

It is recommended that there be presented a large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist material or financial ability, or any plan, however the same. In many places Socialism are already considering the possibility of being handled by the party itself. This plan will assist in carrying out the proposition.

After the matter can be purchased by the local comrades for existing papers, in which it is decided to establish a party recency under Socialist jurisdiction will reduce the expense of publication.

DELEGATE SIMONS continued: I might just as well say a word in explanation, although it is not in order to do so, therefore, I shall not take up in discussing it. Such a proposition as this is something that is certain-

ly going to come before us before long, and we feel that comrade should be exercised in this way is the least desirable of any possible control which should be exercised over the party press, because it contains no mandatory power; it simply will dominate because of the harsh letter staff. It will occupy the position of any party paper and will leave this of any paper dependent, and will help to get diversified ideas.

Delegate D. M. Smith (Ill.) moved that the convention continue in his report on the first report. Seconded.
Delegate Toole (Md.) referred to a substitute the recommendation of Local San Francisco.

DEL. SIMONS: I want to say, so that the comrades may understand what competition is being that really one has no competition, and we are recommending for the one to establish a bureau.

The one to adopt was that we recommend that any paper which assumes to speak for the Socialist Party should be under the control of the party members only.
DEL. D. M. SMITH: That is not the one I referred to.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suggest that you withdraw the motion and take these up separately.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: That is what I THE CHAIRMAN: Does the second consent to the withdrawal?

DELEGATE N. W.

DEL. PHILAN (Ill.): I make a point of order. Before we can consider the resolution or recommendation of the substitute the substitute should be voted on in order. There is a substitute to be voted on first, and that is the only thing in order. That is that we adopt the resolution of Local San Francisco. That is the effect of the substitute. That is open for discussion.

As to an Official Party Organ

Chairman Simons re-read the San Francisco resolution.
DEL. SIMONS: The committee recommends that this be not adopted.

DEL ROSE (Miss): I hope, Mr. Chairman, that before the delegates to this convention adopt my motion on these facts: If we have a party paper owned by the party, the only need of a faction of the party will be to capture that paper. (Applause.) And if it were possible for the old parties to get men into our party by any reasonable various means, that paper they would wreck our party as the Populist party was wrecked at St. Louis. (Applause.) I have been out of the Republican party for twenty years. I have seen a party-owned paper, and I have seen it drag the party that owned it down to the level of the politicians came into our organization, and, fight as we might, we could not keep their influence out of it. They were fighting eternally until they got control of that party-owned press, and family it went down and our party went down, and that was the result. The safety of the Socialist Party today is in standing by the press as we now have it (applause), because if one paper gets out of it it cannot affect the Socialist Party, but if the party-owned press gets out of it that we all trust, we are all gone, and then the Populists will have gone to press, and the end of Socialism will be here. (Cries, "No, no.") I am in earnest on this point, and you may have overlooked the mistakes I may make sometimes. I am a newspaper publisher. I want to admit that I might, however, be selected to publish the national paper; I don't know.

DEL DALTON (Ill): Not after that.

DEL ROSE: Not after that, no. But I am in favor of our press as it is at present established. When the Socialist Party comes into power it will own the press, and all other papers. After a capitalist system, we have to make haste slowly. We cannot control the party-owned paper very much better than we can control those little journals that have been established over the country, and you know how they have succeeded. That is all I want to say.

DEL TOOLE (Md): I want to explain first why I made the motion a subjective one. I would like to have subjective attention to a circumstance that one of the comrades from Illinois tried to bring up here this afternoon after the report of Secretary Malby. He was talking about Breckon's letter to the national secretary, and there we see one thing in that letter which I don't think the editor of the *Appeal* did not write in the *Appeal to Reason*, but there was one thing that he said that I must take notice of, and that is this: That the editor of the *Appeal to Reason* has built up a mighty party machine with which he is managing the minds of socially-minded people. I want to know whether we prefer to trust Wayland or some other newspaper publisher in preference to trusting a committee that we elect ourselves. (Applause.) Can we trust the National Committee that we are about to elect, and that is the thing that I am talking about, and the thing that some who is anti-Socialist, and who take that paper, which today is in the forefront of socialist paper in this country? That is a question.

Mr. Chairman, that I want to discuss I want to know whether the individual owners of our party papers, men who it is said has threatened to dismantle, to break down the Socialist movement if it intercedes with his manner of publishing a Socialist paper. Capitalist papers are private property, you cannot touch them. They can do what they please with their property, and they place a policy of public ownership, at least one newspaper, which shall dictate the policy of our party. (Applause.) Under the system of privately owned Socialist papers every sort of idea has been put into the Socialist papers. We must have a paper at least that represents the elements of the National Socialist Party. If there is opposition to it, I know there are the ones that it will meet, but we must meet troubles in any way, but we must meet the private ownership of the party papers, and we must meet the national party. But there has been trouble all over about so-called Socialist papers; just

that have called everything Socialism, from the municipal ownership of street cars and the municipal ownership of railroads to any old thing. I have read accounts in the papers that said they were Socialism that even told us how we were going to have the party papers owned by the party. They had down rules for your grandchildhood to live by, and called it Socialism. These questions must be considered. This really is the issue: Whether we can trust a millionaire owner of a party newspaper in preference to the National Committee created by the membership of the party.

WIL WALSH (Mont): I believe that if the remarks the newspaper has just made were true, the grandest hard fact of the party is valuable only so far as it is true to Socialist principles. In the State of Montana we have won our strength against a multi-millionaire paper. We have elected one ticket in Yellowstone County that represents the Socialist Party, and in order to get the party into power we had to go through the Press Committee. I suggest that favorable Simons read two other resolutions there which show the inconsistencies of the resolutions that have been submitted.

HIL NAGEL (Ky): On the press question those of us who have been members of the Socialist party know the experience in this, whether it is the case of this convention that we have a party-owned paper. I, therefore, move the previous question.

HIL WEBSTER (Ohio): I believe in the national ownership, and I believe in the common ownership of the tools by which a paper can be published, just as well as I do in the common ownership of the machines whereby clothes are made. (Applause.) Now it is not a national ownership, it is not a national paper at all, in any sense that the writers on it have any authority to speak for the party. Let the papers and let it be a publisher only, and let the different comrades of the party write their own news and state their own opinions, and we will have the common ownership of the common ownership. Comrade Times, in addition, Comrade Hayes, in another, and so on. Now the only thing that will be official in that paper will be the ac-

tions of your different conventions. Those things which the convention says are Socialist, those things will be authoritative in that paper, just the same as they are authoritative in a privately owned paper. But the advantage of the party-owned paper is that you will have capital enough to get a paper immediately with a circulation all over the United States, big enough to furnish a daily at once. I would be in favor of making the dues large enough on the membership in the organization to take care of the paper. The paper would be sent to your branch; the paper would be sent to him as a part of his belongings to the party. There is no manner of means by which a paper published in that way and that paper who are chosen to publish that paper could dictate to the party membership. Each individual has his own opinions, that are discussed on any questions that are discussed. Some day, if Socialism ever comes in, we have got to have common owned papers. The public has got to own these things, because that is one of the very arguments that the capitalist class brings against Socialism: that when Socialism comes it will dictate everything and decide just what is to be done, and consequently you will have no progress until you will kick some clique out, and it will be a case of one clique after another. Now I maintain that it is just as easy to use the machinery owned in common, and publish the news just as easy as to have a single sheet here and a little sheet there and compel your membership to take six or eight or ten different sheets, with the editors of all of these different sheets on the ragged edge all the time as to whether they are going to publish or not. Some of these editors as to whether the other fellow is growing any faster than he is. Of course, these gentlemen who are opposer this question are editors of papers. They admit it, and of course, the man who has got some little bit of business is always "Tired to having his fellows be taken first" (Laughter). If we can demonstrate that the paper can be carried on without that paper being controlled by editors, and then we have solved the first and primary question of the Socialist ideal.

up with other things. Furthermore, when they get up to speak they forget to say hello to the audience. I thought we all know them. We know the names of two, but not all the 125 here. Consequently the Secretary has been unable to find out who has been introducing these resolutions tonight.

DEL. D. M. SMITH: I moved the question and Comrade Toole made the substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then he is the next.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): In conclusion I will say that I think we are running away from a great big dogwood and that we ought to get back to the dogwood. Last comrade was speaking—the comrade from Colorado. I think—I thought I saw over there Bishop Metz making an argument against Socialism, that if people could be rounded over again it would be all right; that we could have Socialism if people could be rounded all over again.

DEL. TOOLE: I see we were all rounded over again and all good. But we cannot. I tell you there is back of it all the same capitalist spirit; we cannot get away from it; it is the competitive spirit that is in them. I am not blaming those comrades; I am not throwing out any instructions; but I want to say this: I am afraid of ourselves. I say this: We do not want to have anything to do with a privately owned newspaper. We want to have a common newspaper. It would give solidity to the movement. It would teach the principles that we are adopted by the convention. We are needed on the position in the market of the privately-owned papers. Another thing, from the standpoint of capital, the party could get all of the capital to run the newspaper the same as these privately-owned newspapers. They talk about the millionaires and capitalists; although there were none there, but the millionaires and capitalists are everywhere. We must see a paper that is increasing on every hand. People take it and have it upon their tables and

live in it almost as Christian people here in their Bible. I say this with a respect to the man that is editing the paper. He controls the Socialist movement of this country and in this convention. That is what I say.

DELEGATES: Oh, no.

DEL. TOOLE: Yes, I say it.

DEL. SPOONER (N. Y.): I am very sorry that I did not succeed in getting the floor before the main question was submitted to the houses, but in the meantime or two that remains to me I want to enter a protest against the spirit which is being shown in the establishment of a national party-owned newspaper. In the speech of the speaker in the speech of the establishment of a national party-owned newspaper I am calling upon to edit Socialist papers are looking after our jobs and not the interests of the party.

A delegate rose to a point of order.

DEL. SPOONER: I refuse to be hounded down by delegates to whom I listened while I myself was filled with indignation and scorn. There is no personal privilege while I am speaking here. I have got this question. I am a delegate and I want to rise to a point of order, but not to a question of personal privilege in order that he may interrupt me.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): Comrade Chairman, I rise to a point of order.

DELEGATES: Sit down!

DEL. SPOONER: It has been said that the Socialist editors are opposed to a party paper because they have no vested interest which is threatened by it. I reply that the Socialist editors—I reply not as a delegate but as a conventionist that it is unworthy of the convention that that is unworthy of the party (Applause.) If somebody moved in this convention that hereafter every woman in the party should have her hair cut short, and the barbers opposed it, and the Socialist editors are in line against the proposition, are they happen to have a face or ten cent interest jeopardized? Comrades, the convention demands higher motives than the impachment of other comrades' interests. I am opposed to a national party newspaper because I am opposed to the lack of organ because I am opposed to the lack of organ because I am opposed to a national party newspaper because I am opposed to a national

party owned organ because I will not trust the party integrity. I will not trust the party interests. I will not trust the party faith to the judgment of any party member, man or woman. I am opposed to the party newspaper. If Editor Weyland, of the *Appeal to Reason*, makes a mistake, the Executive Party stands firm, but if someone who is declared to be for the time being the inflexible hierarchy party of the movement makes a mistake, that mistake grieves with it the Socialist party. No influence Socialist will there is proposed in a nationally owned party organ.

DEL. WEBSTER: A question of personal privilege. It is that the question raised by comrades here who used an argument made by myself that these men were "personally interested" was a question of personal insult. I maintain that there is no question of insult in regard to these gentlemen, but men who with Socialist line of business cannot see in their own relation to it and it is warped by the personal interest. (Cries of "No.") Several delegates called for recognition.

DEL. NAGEL (Ks.): There is no question of personal privilege on this question. The time has come to vote.

DEL. WEBSTER: It is a question of personal privilege.

DEL. TOOLE: I have no interest in any editors, and I desire it to be known that I have not.

A DELEGATE: A point of order.

DEL. TOOLE: I have not.

THE CHAIRMAN: What do you say?

A delegate moved to suspend the rules in order of adjournment. Seconded and carried.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades, it appears to me that this is a matter over which there is no need of getting excited. In the first place, we are not going to have any nationally-owned organ.

A DELEGATE: How do you know?

DEL. DALTON: I will tell you why. The Socialist movement, like a child, has had some experience in the way of its growth. Its face is not turned backward. It is not going to have any nationally-owned organ because we stand for public ownership

that necessarily we can smuggle in the co-operative commonwealth behind the backs of them we cannot do that. Moreover, in the special subject under discussion we have learned that it is a danger to the growth of the Socialist movement to introduce interests of private property into an organization that stands for the overthrow of capitalism and there is danger on account of the private ownership of the press. There is; there is danger; but there is more danger on the other side. The Socialist movement will have to face danger day after day.

DEL. DALTON: I think we should become engaged in our property without having your interests center around it. You cannot have a system and at the same time carry on the work of overthrowing it. In a country like the United States you cannot carry on the work of revolution with an organization. That has at the bottom of it, not a question of the private property interests of the editors, who, today if they get their little twelve or thirteen dollars a week, think they are remarkably lucky. They are afraid they would lose their jobs, somebody said. If there is a tax would be paid to make their jobs off to the gentleman who are kidding about them right now. (Applause.) We have today—(Here the gavel fell.)

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): I happen to be one of those editors, and I believe I have made as many sacrifices for the Socialist movement as any man probably has been in attendance daily in this convention, and I want to say to you that while we make mistakes and yet we know we have made mistakes yet as great mistakes as I have ever seen emanated from men sent out from the headquarters of the Socialist organization. I have seen as had mistakes, as miserable ones, as any little newspaper man ever made. Now, it is useless for me to comment about these things. The little fellow has his place in the machine that we are running now. We must have it until you are ready to say that we have it until you are ready to say that he is the eye of the eggs, and the machine won't run without him; you can't dispense with

him. I want to say to the gentlemen who are favorable to a national or party owned press that I have no objection whatever to the establishment of one of these presses, but I do not think it wise to establish one. But I want to say to the present system you have done it, until the present system is abolished, you will always regret it. I see in the constitution as you have already had it here, that you have taken from the people the right to elect the members of the National Committee, and I have opposed that except the little fellows that you have got around the country running the Socialist press today? I want to ask you, if that was conducted in that way, who would tell the common people, who have not the time to look into these things, that a proposition to elect the secretary of this great party by committee who are selected from the different states? No, that is in your constitution as it is written now, and I want to tell you that every little fellow in this party who has any sense at all will get up and fight it. We want to keep this thing distributed among the people and down to the people, and we don't intend you fellows to get away with it. I have seen in this very convention a caucus somewhat as I have seen the old party conventions, and I have seen the same thing done with the paper for you fellows to vote for, and you did it, and every man marked on that paper was elected on the committee. There is not one of them but what I would have voted for, possibly, under any other circumstances.

DEL. MAHONEY (Conn.): I rise to take exception to the Comrade's remarks over here that Socialists are against the ownership of private property.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is, shall the San Francisco resolution be adopted?

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): That is not the San Francisco, but another.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, it is about the San Francisco resolution. The resolution is presented by the Comrade, and I have seen it in the constitution San Francisco. That is the question before you. Shall that be adopted?

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I move to lay it on the table.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those in favor of the adoption of that resolution will stand.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Is this simply in reference to establishing a public press, or does it involve more? I suggest that the Secretary read what is before the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is the substitute motion to put this in place of the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): The motion was not to adopt the whole thing, all the recommendations of the committee. The resolution is simply for a party newspaper. That was the motion.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): With your permission I will state the substance that the members of Local San Francisco consider it would be for the best interests of the Socialist movement in America to have a daily or weekly, or both owned and controlled by the party.

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I rise to a question of order.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): If you say that it is simply a suggestion, is it not?

A DELEGATE: No. Delegate Irene Smith: The word simply be a suggestion that we have a party paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: It would at least be an endorsement of that idea.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: A suggestion only, not that we are bound to have a paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: No. DELEGATES: Voce!

THE CHAIRMAN: Those favoring the adoption of the resolution will stand.

DEL. SIRODIN (N. Y.): A point of order. The chairman has tried to put the question of the resolution as a question. I understand this resolution to be mandatory upon the party. If we adopt it then the national committee will have to establish that paper.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask the

Secretary to read that resolution and I will refuse to interpret it.

DEL. SIMONS: Instructions to delegates from Local San Francisco to the Socialist Party National Convention to be held in Chicago May 5, 1904:

"Resolved, That the members of Local San Francisco consider it would be for the best interests of the Socialist movement in America to have a National Socialist paper, either daily or weekly, or both, owned and controlled by the party."

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of interpretation. The committee moves that that be modified, or it has been moved that the report say the substitute be how we to be voted on first? I want to know where we are at.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the substance here.

DEL. CARR: Then that is the only recommendation of the committee it will be the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The only question now is, shall this resolution be adopted? Those favoring it will stand.

DEL. TOOLE: There appears to be some misunderstanding.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those opposed stand. The motion is to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ah.): I make an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: No; you cannot make an amendment now.

DEL. SIMONS: Does the convention want the resolution that applies to this particular point read?

THE CHAIRMAN: Read it over.

DEL. SIMONS: The committee recommends that any paper that desires to speak for the Socialist party shall be under the control of the party members or party organization. A delegate moved the adoption of the recommendation. Seconded.

A DELEGATE: I desire to ask whether that would include private papers which are defending Socialist principles?

DEL. SIMONS: Certainly not. What interpretation is to be placed on papers which presume to speak for the Socialist party? They must be under the control of the party organization or membership.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: You understand this is not mandatory. We are not putting a recommendation; it is only something that we look upon with favor.

A DELEGATE: A question of information. As I understand it, there are a number of papers like the Seattle Socialist or the New York Worker which are owned by labor organizations and are published for the purpose of improving the members by way of whether Comrade Simons and his committee would use the literary productions of the editors of such papers, or whether he desires to follow the example of the Socialists in St. Louis some years ago.

DEL. TOOLE: A point of order. He is not discussing the question.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I wish to make a motion that the convention do not concur in the recommendations. (Seconded.) I wish to speak to that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a motion before the house.

DEL. MILLS: It is the recommendation of the committee that is before the house, is it not?

THE CHAIRMAN: No. It has been moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

DEL. MILLS: Then I move to amend by making it read that it be not concurred in. Now, Mr. Chairman.

DEL. TOOLE: A point of order. There is no second to the motion.

DEL. MILLS: Yes; it is seconded.

DEL. TOOLE: You can speak to the motion.

DEL. MILLS: I speak to the motion as it stands. I understand that there was no motion. I will withdraw my motion and speak to the question as it stands. Now, comrades, the motion as we have is this, in my judgment, is

only another form of the same question which we have just had. (Applause.) I do not care to be placed in a position where I am attempting to take the advice of the members of the Chair. I enquire as to the personal politics of the stockholders in the publishing company which owns the magazine that Comrade Simons edits.

DEL. SIMONS: You are welcome to it.

DEL. MILLS: I do not wish to do it. It does not seem to me that this is a matter of importance. The editorship of the magazine is not based upon the party ownership. No, in the same comrades who are opposed to the party ownership of the paper in order that through that ownership the editorship may be controlled by the party, propose a recommendation that be recorded on the minutes on the ground that somebody or somebody else has some share in them—some persons who are not themselves members of the Socialist party.

A DELEGATE: That is not the argument.

DEL. MILLS: If not, why then the recommendation? If there is no idea back of this recommendation, then there is no reason for this recommendation. (Applause.) I cannot see any interest that can be served. I can only see a child put into the hands of some one who wishes to further a private quarrel. I do not believe that that is the wish of

this convention. I therefore, shall vote against it on that ground. It can serve no good purpose; it simply furnishes clubs—for what purpose?

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I want to ask Comrade Simons to read that again that they report that assumes to speak for the Socialist Party. I want to see the control of the party membership party organization." I will say that it was far from our idea to interfere in any way with any of the private papers.

DEL. DALTON: What in the name of common sense does this recommendation mean? If a paper like the *Worker* or *Trade Union Journal* comes out and says "Section 30" and we do not believe in this and that," what do we go to do to them? Throw them into jail if they assume to speak for the Socialist Party? What are you going to do; put them on the carpet? What has this convention got to do with them? We cannot go outside of the party. We cannot go outside of the party. We might as well come down here and discipline John R. Walsh of the Chicago *Chronicle*. He does not assume to speak for the party; he speaks for capital. It seems to me this recommendation is a very good thing if he had on the table. Simons, move your chair.

The motion to lay on the table was put and carried.

On motion the convention then adjourned until Wednesday morning, May 4, 1904.

FOURTH DAY'S SESSION—MORNING

Chairman Richardson called the convention to order at 9 o'clock, and on motion a recess was taken until 9:20, owing to the small attendance.

At 9:20 the convention reassembled, and the following nominations were made for Chairman for the day: (1) Henry (N. Y.), by Hillquinn, (2) Morgan (Cal.), by Williams, (3) Mills (Kan.), by Webster (Ohio), (4) Morgan (Ill.), by Dingo (Ola.), (5) Hunt (Ore.), by Hayes (Ola.), (6) Hunt (Pa.), by Williams (Cal.), (7) Hunt (Wis.), by Klein (Minn.), (8) Herbert Barnes and Heath declined.

The result of the vote was announced as follows: Stevenson, 31; Morgan, 22; Hunt, 19; Dingo, 18; Webster, 17; and Morgan was declared elected.

Delegate Brandt (Mo.) nominated Delegate Morgan (Ill.) for Vice-Chairman, but declined, and on motion of Delegate Mills the Secretary cast the ballot of the convention for Delegate Morgan as Vice-Chairman.

Delegate Stevenson then assumed the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first thing in order is the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Tonk of Maryland rose to the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you belong to the Committee on Credentials?

DEL. TONK: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. TONK: To a question of personal privilege. Perhaps it is a question of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to the information of the delegate from Maryland that the Chair is not a bureau of information at all, and there is nothing that the Chair can do to help you. The Committee on Credentials has

DEL. TONK: I know; but this is very important. I would like to know what position the *Appeal to Reason* occupies—whether it is an official expression of the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not in order in making the inquiry at this time. Is the Committee on Credentials ready to report?

DEL. TONK: I appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Vice-Chairman Morgan assumed the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Are you ready to vote in regard to the appeal? DEL. TONK: I would like to state why I appeal. It is simply this: I asked a question of information, and the precedent set in this convention has been that the Chair is not a bureau of information. I see no reason why it should not be now. That is all. It is a very important matter to bring before this convention.

CHAIRMAN STEVERMAN: I desire to say that the Chair does not recognize a point of information in an inquiry of that sort. Delegates will be expected to report their names upon the regular proceedings of this convention, and the Chair is not qualified to give any information other than that which naturally comes up in the proceedings of this convention, which every member of this convention is entitled to know.

The question was then put on the appeal, and the Chair was sustained.

The Chairman resumed the chair. Several committees were called for, but were not ready to report. The Committee on Municipal Program was called for.

DEL. FLOATEN (Cal.): Whenever it is in order I would like to read a memorial from Colorado that should be read under the head of that committee.

DEL STROBEL (N. J.): I move that we take up the report of the Committee on Press.

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be postponed.

DEL STROBEL: Was not the press committee the first business on the agenda this morning?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, sir; the Committee on Press and any other business unfinished yesterday comes up under unfinished business to-day. The order of business is the order as I have read it. In that order you have adopted it, and it is in that order that you will do business to-day.

Report of Committee on Constitution

The report of the Committee on Constitution was taken up, and at the suggestion of Delegate Mills (Kan.) the members of the committee present gathered about the table on the platform for the purpose of consultation.

DEL HILLGUTH, of the Committee: I believe the draft of the Constitution as a whole has been read, and that we are now taking up the report section by section.

Article 1 was read as follows:

"Article 1. Name. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party of America, hereinafter known as the party, and hereinafter referred to as the party."

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the reading of the first paragraph of the report of the Committee on Constitution. What is your pleasure?

DEL ROBINSON (Ky.): I move that this order be followed in the consideration and adoption of the Constitution; that it be read section by section, and if no objection is made, that we proceed with the reading and consideration of that section is adopted, and then we will proceed to the reading of it we adopt it as a whole. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will be so obliged. We will now proceed to read and consider at this time in order to facilitate business. Is there any objection to entertaining that motion at this time?

DEL WEBSTER (Ohio): I thought I moved that yesterday.

THE CHAIRMAN: I asked the Secretary if he had passed that and he said no. He ought to be authority. The motion of Delegate Robinson was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to the adoption of Article 1?

DEL TOOOLE: Yes.

DEL WHITE (Mass.): I move the adoption of the article. Seconded.

DEL TOOOLE: I move to amend it so as to read: "The name of this organization shall be The Socialist Party of America."

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that an amendment to the Constitution should be in writing. It is the duty of the delegates, in their Chair for the Socialist Party, to follow amendments unless they are notified in writing. Will the delegates kindly write his amendment?

DEL WALDHORST (Aa.): I do not think it will be possible for the Socialist Party to change that part of the Constitution, for the simple reason that there are several states where the election law now in force prevents the alteration of the name of the Socialist Party, and if we would change the name of the party from participating in the election, now in Wisconsin they have known the name Social Democratic and in New York the same. They have put the same name on the ballot, and in all the same states as the others, and if we would change the name of the party from participating in the election, it would be very unwise to accept such an amendment at this time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Toole of Maryland offers an amendment to the name of the party, and I understand it is to amend it so as to make it read Socialist Party of America. How does it read now?

THE SECRETARY: "Socialist Party except in states."

DEL TOOOLE: I will fix that and add "except in states," and so forth. Delegate Carr moved the previous question. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will Comrade Toole again state his amendment, and that delegates can vote intelligently?

A DELEGATE: I withdrew my amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to the delegate withdrawing his amendment to the amendment?

DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then the vote goes upon the original article. The motion to adopt the article was put and carried.

Qualifications for Membership.

Article 2 was then read as follows:

"Article 2. Membership. Every person a resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upwards, without distinction of sex, race, color, creed, political opinion, or position, shall be eligible for admission of principles of the party and is eligible to membership in the party."

THE CHAIRMAN: Any objection?

DEL TOOOLE: I object. It will be impossible for us to write out amendments and make progress.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well, if that will entertain any amendment that you make orally.

DEL TOOOLE: The objection I make is that no man should become a member of the party unless he is a citizen of the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say that the Chair will not entertain any discussion upon anything that is not before the house. A motion must be held, and when a motion is made that will entertain discussions, and not before.

DEL CARR (Ill.): I move that the article stand as amended. Seconded.

DEL OSWALD (N. J.) seems to me that with the wording given, we could not make a distinction as to a person holding an office under the Democratic or Republican party. I move that this word "occupation" be stricken out. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The members of the committee have heard the amendments that have been offered. DEL RICHARDSON (Cal.): That

difficulty can be easily got around by putting a proviso in one, if need be, to the effect that no one holding an office to which his party shall be appointed to be a member of the party. It can be easily covered. The word "occupation" is there and should be there. If anybody wants to make that qualification it can be easily done. If you will just pass this for a little while we will have it arranged.

DEL MILLS, of the committee: The real question that the committee had before it in regard to the proposition of "occupation" of the applicant. The word "occupation" has a distinct meaning. It means the method by which a man earns his livelihood. Now the question has been raised whether a man who is a farmer or merchant or backsmith or an employer of labor that is involved, but if we are to determine that "occupation" means any line of occupation that a man may be engaged in, in which he must earn his living, then that wants to be stricken out. If, however, membership is not to rest upon the mere trade in which a man earns his living, then it ought to remain. My judgment is that the Socialist Party ought to continue to do what it has always done so far as I am informed; to refuse to determine the means and method by which a man must earn his living before he can be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party.

DEL TAPP (Ill.): I favor striking out the word "occupation." My reason is, first, that it is wholly unnecessary. No political party finds it necessary to make such a provision. It seems to me that our position is stronger if we do not put attention to the fact that there are differences between occupations. Personally, I stand for the proposition that the Socialist Party have a working membership in it, and will continue to be who are not working men. But I am of the opinion that retaining that word "occupation" will be construed and properly and naturally construed as a hind not merely to bring in persons who are not engaged in it, but persons who are not engaged in it, a non-voting taking in away or having

floor. I want to say in regard to that matter that I am opposed to it. It seems to me that the number of men who might be elected to the committee under those conditions would be so small that it would not make practically any difference in the Socialist movement. And again, it seems to me—

DEL. SPARKO (N. Y.): I rise to point of order. I protest against this waste of time by the delegate.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no point of order.

DEL. SPARKO: Let me make my point of order. This comrade rose to question the privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no mistake. The comrade is asking the question under his right to speak on the subject, and asked a question of Delegate Hill, and now he has argument upon that answer. Go on, Delegate Keown.

DEL. KEOWN: It seems to me we have already stated here, in one of the propositions, that we are in favor of the most unlimited membership possible. It is not a question of whether or not we would gain considerable in that item by having men who are already holding office under that clause. I do not mean holding office because of political service, but holding appointive offices for merit. I believe the whole thing is impracticable. It does not, think it is a wise thing, for the whole thing to be done in that way. I do not think it is wise to think the world in those matters, or to think the worst possible latitude should be given the membership in this movement. I am not in favor, and no Socialist can be in favor, of any number of this party holding office under a capitalist government for services to that government, but for services to the Socialist movement of providing their members of the party shall be eligible who are holding appointive offices under capitalist governments where they have been appointed for merit. As to this case of Comrade Crilly—there is a man absolutely dependent for his livelihood on that very office, and I believe that we should not for merit. What would you do with the comrade? Either we must say that they must give up their membership in the party—which they hold dearer, perhaps, than life itself—or else they must give up their jobs. If they give up their jobs we are taking the bread out of their mouths. I believe that we should make the Socialist movement

broad, and I do not believe the small number of those men can do the movement any harm. I have heard Socialists who when they were trying to convert men who were trying to convert men refer to another man and say, "So-and-so is a Socialist." The fact that he is not a Socialist is not class-conscious yet makes no difference. We win him the truth of scientific Socialism.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am opposed to an extension of the whole thing that it is in dictatorial man; not with Socialists, but with those men whom we are trying to convert and make into Socialists. Therefore, I am opposed to that. If the one man would amend it and simply say, "Unless appointed for merit only," I believe that would be all right. I was a veteran in the Civil War, and I am an old comrade, and in all of the states—

DEL. MAILLY: I rise to a point of order. We are not discussing Comrade Crilly.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. I want to inform the delegate that you have one more minute.

DEL. KEOWN: Well, that is enough plenty. Under the law in Massachusetts the preference in civil service and in some cases they do not have to take examinations at all. Therefore, even though it would be a civil service position, they would be barred out because they were retained of the need of taking a civil service examination. I hope that we will have a motion proposed later to the one that was proposed by the minority report offered by Comrade Tills.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): As it stands now the article says that if anybody gets a civil service position directly or indirectly by the aid of a capitalist party, then he may become a member of the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: (Fardon me!) I do not understand you.

DEL. JONAS: I say, as it stands now, if the article should be adopted, then it says that if anybody has a political office—civil service office—and has obtained that by the aid, directly or indirectly, of a capitalist party, then he becomes a member of the party.

Read it and you will find it.

(Applauds Simons and Mills arose.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills

DEL. SIMONS: I rise to a point of amendment. I want to know whether it is the policy of this chairman to give the floor to the first one that is on the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: We asked the committee to report on this platform—

DEL. SIMONS: Are they to have the preference?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills is one of the committee, and it was decided, or at least the Chair has ruled, that when there is any doubt as to the interpretation of what they submit they may have the preference, and I am hoping when they say you will be recognized in due order.

DEL. SIMONS: I will not appeal, thank you. I am entitled to the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I am not going the floor on behalf of the committee. I am going to ask a question on the question as an individual delegate, if you in order I have the floor?

THE CHAIRMAN: You have ten minutes.

DEL. MILLS: Thank you. I am not sure there are no delegates here who are not in favor of the rule we have just adopted, that in order to be a member of the Socialist Party an applicant must periodically be a member of the Socialist Party. From all that I can remember, I believe that we adopted periodically by a unanimous vote. Now, this new clause was proposed on the clause which we have already adopted, and comes before us as a part of the clause on which we voted, but as a separate proposition.

Now, I believe that the convention has now before the convention a proposition that has already been proposed for. All that we can do is to vote for it. All that this clause will propose is a means of making trouble for the party.

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discussion a man who has been elected as a Democrat renounces his allegiance to the Democratic party, denies that he shall any longer in any way whatsoever have any connection whatsoever with the party that elected him, he elected our agent? Or shall we while we are acting under the capitalist state, take such advantage of the capitalist organization under which we are acting as will enable us to the greatest extent to fight the battles of the working class? (Applauds.) (Again directed applause on the rights of the Socialist Party under the legal requirements which we have already established, comes up. The judge on the bench hearing the case becomes interested and convulsed, and joins the Socialist Party, or offers to join. A man rises and says, "I am a Socialist Party and place himself where he cannot serve, before he can become a member with us? (Voices, "No.") Let me ask you a question: May a man be a good and regular member of the Socialist Party who works an old party badge on his coat and another kind of badge on the inside of the lapel of their coats. Shall we say to a man that he must first sing a song, stand with his ball in his hand, and then he will be permitted to join with his comrades in the class-conscious movement—man for man, outside of the shop and among the comrades everywhere? (Applauds.) Again: As to positions held by political appointment: The comrades in Chicago now—presently it is equally true in New York—there is there a man who is a street car or a conductor on a city street car who does not hold his place on the recommendation of a ward boss or an alderman or a mayor. Shall we let our hands so that no man can help us until he shall first sacrifice his life while he serves? (Applauds.) We have already covered every essential point when we have demanded that a man shall cease to be a Democrat or Republican or belong to any other organization in order to join ours. If we will stand to the end, and a unit all the

makeup has made the sudden discovery that he was a great deal better Socialist than Victor Berger ever dared to be. We have a rule in our Constitution in Wisconsin that in the first place no man holding office in any of the old State can become a member of the Socialist Party unless he has been a member in good standing for two years. (Applause.) And it is those two rules that have kept our movement in Wisconsin clean, progressive and socialist in nature of its kind is absolutely necessary of our party in Wisconsin. A year ago last winter I was going up to Madison—Madison is the capital of our state, where they make the laws—and I had occasion to be in the same car with a dozen members of the Jefferson Club Club of Milwaukee. The chairman of that our party was making great headway because we are keeping at it all the time—not with oratory, not with speeches, but we are keeping at it with literature all the time, and they knew where the hierarchy was blowing at that time. The Secretary of that club said Democratic Party because that is the only party that stands for liberty, etc. We couldn't accept him, but about a dozen men in that car declared they were going to join our party, and asked me what I thought about it. I told them it was a good thing. I joked it a long while condition in our party which they must expect to comply with. No man could come in our party from the old parties. I told them, if he has the office here in his home, I told them we had a little red plant connected with our party, and he is put on the ice block out there and let ten years be taken out of his life. If he is a good man, then we take him up or is blonde or blue or yellow, he is no good; he is rotten. (Laughter.) Not one of them said a word. We never heard of them again. They were you were in the ice box. Now it is absolutely necessary in order to keep the identity of our movement in Wis-

consin. We have between 19,000 and 20,000 voters. We have 2,000 more than the Democrats. Unless we have a rule like this we could not retain our identity.

DEL. HOHNEN (MO.): I am not taking exception to the remarks of our friend Comrade Mills. I remember about a year ago when a certain car, Rev. Hegeroy of Arkansas, sent me all the Socialist papers of the movement of America that he had had taken place in Arkansas. And that revolution was to the effect that two Democratic members of the legislature of Arkansas had become Socialists and would be from now on the representatives of the people, and I published that rotten information with our line of comment. Not one of those Socialist papers had the courage to come out and criticize that corruption. St. Louis Labor took the trouble to publish the resolution of our Arkansas delegation, and the Democratic legislators of Arkansas were ready to join the Socialist movement they would have resigned from the Democratic party, and out of the legislature and take a position in the rank and file of the Socialist party. Comrade Hoehnens, if we are to be adopted, and I hope that the *Appeal to Reason*, nor any other Socialist paper, nor Fehsen Hegeroy, will ever send us such rotten Democratic notes as that one year ago.

At this point there were numerous calls of "Questions," and upon motion of Delegate Nased (Ky) the previous question was ordered.

DEL. IRENE M. SMITH (Ore.): I wish to speak in favor of the adoption of the amendment. I believe, just as when the Socialist Party was on a stand on this question. What we want is what we want, and if I had my way I should make it harder to get into the party instead of easier. The idea of opening the doors of this party to every one who wants to get into it would mean to me with the opposition of parties that would

in favor that set purpose. Then I speak in favor of this amendment as one of the safeguards of the future, and that is what we are here for—to put down a constitution that will in no way protect us against the encroachment of the enemy within our ranks. I wish to say that there are eight of us here who are in favor of this amendment, if this party wins. And I want to say more to this party to-day and to the future of a capitalist job than they are of the Co-operative Commonwealth, if I don't want them in it. (Applause.) I hope that every delegate here, who understands the principles of Socialism and put himself on record by voting this amendment as a safeguard for his future.

THURGOOD. Thus of Washington requested the floor to speak in favor of the amendment, but the Chair stated that the floor would be given only one time to the speaker on this subject, and that he must be against the amendment.

DEL. WILL (Kas.): It seems to me that those in favor of this proposition in taking an entirely inconsistent position. I wish to speak in favor of the amendment in this case being in favor of it. I think there are different kinds of jobs, there are political jobs; there are educational jobs; there are religious; there are industrial jobs. I suspect that a man who is influenced by greed and hatred in his mind will be influenced to pervert and abuse his position. And I submit in all consistency that if we are to exclude from membership in the Socialist Party those who hold political positions, then we must also exclude from membership in the Socialist Party those who hold industrial positions; we must exclude those who hold religious positions; we must also exclude those who hold industrial positions. What is the difference whether a man holds his place by mere appointment from the Mayor of the City of Chicago, or whether he holds his place by election from the people of the territorial field, or whether he holds his place by appointment from the President, or whether he holds any other great trust position? In all con-

sistency, my friends, I maintain if we cut out one class of workers we must cut out all the other classes. Another consideration, it seems to me if there is anything we need in the Socialist Party it is economic power. One of the duties under which we labor at the present time is. We want people who are able to pay their dues and carry on the propaganda of this movement, and in order to do that we must have better means. Now I inquire, is it better that a member of this party shall be in a starving position, or whether he shall be able to help him in carrying on this movement?

There were further cries of "Questions" at this point.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair wishes to make the announcement that under the amended rules after the previous question has been ordered, two delegates may speak, one on one side of the question and one on the other. That time has been exhausted now, and there is nothing before the House, therefore the Secretary and I call on the Barnes' substitute, and I call on the Secretary to again read that substitute. The Secretary has the floor.

A DELGATE: Can I rise for information?

THE CHAIRMAN: The time for information has passed. The Secretary will give you all the information needed at this time by reading the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: The substitute as offered by Delegate Barnes of Pennsylvania, and accepted by the Committee on Constitution in place of the one which "Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party." The question then being put upon the adoption of the substitute motion of adoption was carried by a vote of 10 yeas and 10 nays and the cheers and applause of the delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills asks the floor on a question of personal privilege, and it is hereby granted if there is no objection.

DEL. MILLS (Kas.): I wish to call your attention to the fact that I made a

The motion to amend was seconded, and stated by the Chairman.

DEL. MALLORY: As a matter of information to the delegates, I wish to state that it is my property to believe the national constitution established in the manner the members of the committee shall be elected, yet I believe the state constitutions have the right to legislate as to how any of its officials can be removed; and I submit to Comrade that it would not be better not to having that would not be better not but leave that to the state constitutions. A state may wish to delegate its power to the State Committee, and I think it would be much better to leave that to the state constitutions.

DEL. HILLGOUT: I desire to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the proposition is covered by Article XIII, Section 4 of the State Laws; "All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate."

DEL. O'MALLEY: Then I desire to withdraw the amendment. Objection being raised to the withdrawing of the amendment offered by Delegate O'Malley, the Chair ruled that the question of the amendment to the Convention and the question was put on the adoption of the amendment offered by Delegate O'Malley and the same was duly adopted. Delegate McKee of California offered the following amendment to Article V, Section 4, "The Executive Committee Secretaries shall be the members ex-officio of the National Committee."

DEL. PATTON (Cal.): I wish to make a few remarks on this.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary of the Committee on Constitution has the floor. Before you can make any remarks on the amendment you will have to second the motion for its adoption.

DEL. PATTON: I second the motion. As a member of the State Committee of California, I has been my experience that one of the hardest things we have to contend with is that the members of the committee are not in sufficiently close touch with the Socialist movement to do the best work for the cause. It is my belief that, if possible, the members of our party who

are supposed to look after the interests of our party should be put as close to the party as possible with the least movement of America.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Texas): I second the motion. I believe that one man hold two offices is necessary while that "excuse" necessarily while that a committee man while he is holding office of State Secretary, and State Constitution one man could hold the office of Secretary and some time hold the office of National Secretary.

Delegate Nagel of Kentucky said that the amendment be tabled, and the motion was seconded and carried. THE CHAIRMAN: Any one who amendment to Article IV? If no one else has any objection, I will table DEL. MCKEE: The section I first read—the amendment is full in table. Now, does not the original section read?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the original amendments to Article I, Section 1, in its separate or distinct form. The amendments are tabled on the floor of this convention and then it is not necessary to ask the Chair any information upon it.

DEL. TUTTUS (Wash.): It is difficult to find out where there is to find out what was there, and I

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the delegates to know. DEL. TUTTUS: I give notice of the proper time I want to discuss the question of the articles of the Executive Committee.

DEL. TUTTUS: It seems to me that the question of the articles of the Executive Committee, Article V, we have Article V before us yet; neither have it before us until the committee reports. The delegate will please

REPORTS AND POWERS OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE

MOTION

Chairman Hillgout then read Article V of the constitution, as follows: "Article V. Duties and Powers of National Committee. Section 1. The Executive Committee shall be composed of the following: In all national international affairs, to call in

consulting conventions and special resolutions decided upon by referendum of the party; to make reports to the social conventions; to receive and report on all reports and actions of the Executive Committee. Section 2. The Executive Committee shall not designate any official or

THE CHAIRMAN: You have the report of the committee, are there any objections to its adoption? It is moved and seconded that it be adopted as read.

DEL. TUTTUS (Wash.): I want to have a general objection to Article V, and more strongly to Article VI, and more strongly to Article VII. My general objection also to the powers of the National Committee are made less and those of the Executive Committee are made greater; a tendency to centralization of the powers in the hands of the Executive Committee.

Now, so far as I Executive Committee, the powers of the Executive Committee of Article VI is not subject to the National Committee at all except in its own hands. Now if there is no provision by which the action of the Executive Committee of action can be controlled by the Executive Committee, I fail to see it.

"The Executive Committee shall have the right to send to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the review of the National Committee." If this will look at Section 4 of Article V, it will see that the acts and resolutions of the Executive Committee shall be subject to the review of the National Committee.

DEL. TUTTUS: I perceive that, Mr. Hillgout, that does not say or in what way it shall be subject to the review of the National Committee. At least there should be a provision in Article VI that says that the Executive Committee should be a part of the Executive Committee. Section 4 of that committee call for a referendum and the suspension of activity until the Executive Committee had acted. I

to the removal of power

lodged in the membership. The National Committee then reports the membership. This Executive Committee stands here has too much power and should be made subject to the National Committee, which represents the membership.

DEL. MALLORY: I want to call the Executive Committee, being subject to the revision Committee, is, therefore, subject to the rules of the National Committee, and the National Committee can adopt any rules it sees fit, so long as they are not subject to the Executive Committee.

Applying the Executive Committee can adopt rules at any time, just as it did recently when it adopted the rule at the suggestion of the National Committeeman from Colorado. The National Committee of six members of the Executive Committee can be taken upon them. The National Secretary or Quorum. The National Committee has the power to adopt such rules, and I submit that any change specifying what rules the National Committee shall adopt will not be flexible. The National Committee of the left free to adopt its own rules, and I think it will adopt sensible rules once it understands each other. Now another point: Comrade Cook has opposed to the Executive Committee. I am, too, those who think however, I am, too, favored a centralization of power in the hands of the Executive Committee, a mistake. The fact is that during the past year, since the selection of the quorum whose term expires at this convention, the actual work of the national by the quorum supervised and controlled that the acts of the quorum have been satisfactory in a general way—there were one or two things that were reversed by the National Committee—that is the fact that behind the quorum was a committee that was liable to the quorum, and I am sure it is adopted, that very fact is recognized.

Therefore, the fact that you have a National Committee behind the Executive Committee for the purpose of supervision and direction or alteration of any of its acts, will make

the Executive Committee careful of what it does, and so I do not believe that it does centralize power. It does this: it facilitates business. It enables us to go along and transact the ordinary detail and routine of the party organization without having the National Committee to act upon it. During the past year at different times the members of the national organization and the acts of the quorum were held up for three weeks at a time, simply because we did not like it and he objected to it. Now we want to provide against that. We don't want to invite any more of that kind of business. This has been suggested in my report, and while I am not altogether satisfied with the report of the committee, except the organization of our party machinery and its adjustment in such a way as to ensure democracy and efficiency at the same

FOURTH DAY'S SESSION—AFTERNOON

Chairman Steverman called the convention to order at 1:30 o'clock sharp.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read for the information of the delegates what is before us.

THE SECRETARY: Comrades, the matter before us is an Article amended by Comrad Hickett of Ohio, as follows: "The National Committee shall also arrange the rules and order of business for all such conventions subject to approval by the convention."

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject before the house is as read by the Secretary, and it is now open for discussion in the order of the Chairman, the Secretary then re-read Section 1 of Article V as amended, on the report of the Committee on Constitution.

The question was then put to a vote and was carried and the section as amended was declared adopted. THE CHAIRMAN: With the Secretary the Chairman of the Convention take the place of the chairman of that

time. I am willing to accept the motion of the committee, because I am that the National Committee behind the Executive Committee, the Executive Committee will not have powers, which are becoming more and more important, in the organization.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is no objection to the further proceedings. Before we adjourn, Dolbs desires to make an announcement and has the floor for that purpose. Secretary Dolbs then announced immediately after the adjournment of the regular meeting go so until the following day, and the arrangements there and a photograph would take a group photograph.

On motion, a recess was taken until 1:30 o'clock p. m.

(Committee), which is Section 2, of Article V. The motion before us is in objection. Are there any resolutions?

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Chair, the motion on the question in answer to the question here is, no, shall I put the question here? The motion is no objection to the further proceedings. Before we adjourn, Dolbs desires to make an announcement and has the floor for that purpose. Secretary Dolbs then announced immediately after the adjournment of the regular meeting go so until the following day, and the arrangements there and a photograph would take a group photograph.

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committee in his absence? We will have a report on the motion on the question in answer to the question here is, no, shall I put the question here? The motion is no objection to the further proceedings. Before we adjourn, Dolbs desires to make an announcement and has the floor for that purpose. Secretary Dolbs then announced immediately after the adjournment of the regular meeting go so until the following day, and the arrangements there and a photograph would take a group photograph.

Section 2 of Article V was amended, on the report of the Committee on Constitution. The question was then put to a vote and was carried and the section as amended was declared adopted. THE CHAIRMAN: With the Secretary the Chairman of the Convention take the place of the chairman of that

committee in his absence? We will have a report on the motion on the question in answer to the question here is, no, shall I put the question here? The motion is no objection to the further proceedings. Before we adjourn, Dolbs desires to make an announcement and has the floor for that purpose. Secretary Dolbs then announced immediately after the adjournment of the regular meeting go so until the following day, and the arrangements there and a photograph would take a group photograph.

trade seems to overlook the language of this clause. It does not prevent the organization from publishing anything it sees fit, at any time, but simply specifies that the National Committee shall not publish it. Now, he must not think, because I see a motion for the resolution here, that I am making a statement here to-day. I think that we should adopt this as reported back by the committee.

DEL. ROSE (Miss): Mr. Chairman, I wish to say that there is a great deal being said in denunciation and condemnation against newspaper men here by men who know nothing about newspapers. Now I know nothing about the paper office since I came to this city to this convention, but I am a newspaper publisher, and I know that at the time we closed this meeting last night it was too late for the *Appeal* to print the matter in shape for the printer so that I cannot see how it could have been printed. And in regard to the matters that we discussed last night, if we can get some of these men who know nothing about the newspapers, that could get newspapers out in five minutes after a meeting closes, we are in favor of having them publish the papers for these people, and I am sure that they are perfectly willing to be sent to the Comrad Chairmen, that those things that we are debating upon, about the press, are not right, and we should take these matters into consideration before condemning a paper or a set of papers. If the *Appeal* or *Reason* have the privilege of printing the proceedings, then it is time to condemn it.

DEL. WHITE (Class): It does not seem to me that the question for the motion on the question in answer to the question here is, no, shall I put the question here? The motion is no objection to the further proceedings. Before we adjourn, Dolbs desires to make an announcement and has the floor for that purpose. Secretary Dolbs then announced immediately after the adjournment of the regular meeting go so until the following day, and the arrangements there and a photograph would take a group photograph.

DEL. HICKETT (O): I want to say that the motion on the question in answer to the question here is, no, shall I put the question here? The motion is no objection to the further proceedings. Before we adjourn, Dolbs desires to make an announcement and has the floor for that purpose. Secretary Dolbs then announced immediately after the adjournment of the regular meeting go so until the following day, and the arrangements there and a photograph would take a group photograph.

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amendment has not been seconded, that he be substituted for the whole. I wish to move that this section read as follows: "Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee composed of seven members to be elected by the National Committee from its own members."

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you offer that as a substitute for the whole?

DEL. CARR: I do.

The Secretary then read the substitute of Delegate Carr, and it received a sec-

ond.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute for the whole has been seconded, and I recognize the delegate from Illinois to speak upon it.

DEL. CARR: I feel that the question under discussion this morning in regard to speakers has been proposed in an article, and not the election of speakers. This Executive Committee shall be a sub-committee of the National Committee, if ought to be a committee selected by the National Committee from among its own members. On the plan proposed in the report of the committee, the National Committee would be asked to select the National Committee. Now, it does seem to me that out of all the members of the National Committee which shall be formed, there ought to be every man with business ability enough to transact the business of this Executive Committee. I believe that the Executive Committee are chosen from the National Committee itself, each one of them will have been approved by the vote of his own state. They will be men who have already been approved by the party at large or by the state from which they were elected. I believe that there is certainly large enough so that we can be chosen from among the members of the National Committee, and I am opposed to raising a separate committee, separate from the National Committee, to select by the National Committee, the Executive Committee. I believe that the Executive Committee have already been approved by the party or by any of the two committees in a measure separate from each other. On the plan proposed by this substitute, this Executive Committee will become, as it ought to be, the Executive Committee of the National Committee, composed of mem-

bers of the National Committee who have each already been approved by the respective states. Some of these states will have two or three members on the National Committee. It will be comparatively easy to select men well known to the party, and I believe that the committee men well fitted for such positions, and so it does not seem to me there can be any reason (with apologies to the committee) for selecting those members outside of the National Committee which shall have been elected.

DEL. SMITH (Ill.): I am opposed to that amendment. I am opposed to it because it will make the work of this committee very difficult. I believe that representative body in that sense, has much as the National Committee is in met only once every four years, and I submit it would be better and far safer for the largest body to select the Executive Committee. I believe that the National Committee are to meet but once in four years, it means that the business that will come before the Executive Committee will be of such importance that it would be safer to have it to seven men selected by the most representative body in that sense. I submit that should we decide in favor of this amendment, it would be the easiest thing possible for political agitators to creep in, and every time that these seven men would not want to do the work as laid down by the National Committee, they would immediately resign. I believe that the Executive Committee will be divided into factions, I do believe that since this committee will have all of the important work to transact it should be chosen from the membership of the party. I am, therefore, opposed to the amendment and in favor of the National Committee. DEL. STEEDMAN (Ill.): I believe that some amendments should be made so that upon the request of three members of the committee they would have a right to bring their action by referendum to the National Committee and have the matter acted on reviewed and decided by the party at large. I believe that some amendments should be made by the party at large, for they could then say to the National Committee, "You can go your way and we will run this organization as we please" and can easily adjust the situation by

parliamenting this committee to be elected by the National Committee and giving the National Committee the power upon the request of three, to review the conduct of the Executive Committee. Furthermore, there is another reason: Very frequently a man who has vast information as a reader and a writer, who is not known to those who are present, and yet very often the man who are the best known are the most capable of filling these positions. We gain our knowledge of their abilities by working with them, by knowing their particular capabilities, and for many of these men who are known to those who actually worked with them, and would not be known to the membership at large. For that reason, also, I believe that the National Committee should elect the Executive Committee as they will be in a better position to pick out men best fitted to do the work of the Executive Committee. I believe that an amendment so that upon the request of three or more the National Committee shall have a right to review the actions of the Executive Committee through referendum, we can control the situation.

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): I can readily conceive that if the Executive Committee would make no difference as far as the electing of representative is concerned, for the simple reason that our National Committees are usually not here. There may be a few of them here but the majority of the National Committees do not know the men who are most capable to fill positions on the Executive Committee than the membership does. For that reason, I think that all these amendments trying to fix a way of electing an Executive Committee are futile. I submit we must have, however, a way of electing the Executive Committee, and I think that they should be elected from three states right close together, or four states or five states, so as to make the meeting of the Executive Committee more convenient to the party.

DEL. CARR: I believe that the National Committee should have a right to elect three or four members from the state of Illinois, and three of them to two of them from Wisconsin, and one or two from Michigan, or you should divide it up as you please and let the membership at large elect

them, or the convention submit the names of the executive members to the National Committee to be elected. In that way I think we would get the most capable men on the Executive Committee. The National Committee doesn't know any more about men who does the work of the party than they know the membership at large, and I think that it would give practically the same result.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): Looking at the selection of this committee as provided, it seems to me that it is a misnomer to call it a committee in any sense of the word. The committee is to be chosen from among the persons who vote on the committee. This Executive Committee is the National Committee, it has no particular relation to them. It may be composed of members of whom the party membership knows really nothing. Now I hold that it is our business to know and to decide on whom we are entrusting this matter. On the part of Illinois and we must hold the National Committee responsible for the conduct of the affairs given to them, and we cannot allow them to entrust it to other parties of whom we do not know anything.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I have not spoken as yet on any amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did you now mention an amendment?

DEL. OTT: Yes; and I would like to speak on my amendment.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): What is the matter now before the house, Mr. Secretary?

THE SECRETARY: The matter before the house is the substitute which has been offered for all these various amendments by Delegate Carr of Illinois (reads as follows: "Article V. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members to be selected by the National Committee from its own members.")

DEL. OTT: I ask to speak on the substitute motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the amendment and proceed with the substitute.

THE SECRETARY: An addition was offered first by the Executive Committee. The majority of the Executive Committee shall not be residents of a city where national headquarters are located. It was moved then to amend by striking out the word "city" and by inserting the word "county" as proposed by the Committee on Constitution. It was moved by Comrade Ott of Wyoming that the members of the Executive Committee be elected by referendum; which was also seconded. A further amendment was offered by Comrade Ott of North Dakota, which was as follows: "The members of the Executive Committee shall be elected for two years, but that the first three members of the committee shall be elected for one year only." Then the substitute for the whole was offered by Delegate Carr from Illinois.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Wyoming has the floor.

DEL. OTT: Mr. Chairman and Comrades, I believe that the selection of any important committee in this organization by anybody outside of the masses of the people should be voted down by the convention. We have seen how the Executive Committee was selected by individual representatives in a body like the United States Senate. We have created there, or the Constitution of the United States has created there, a body of men who are almost inviolable. It is called a Millitary Club. Now, that we will create a form of organization which tends to individualism, I am strictly opposed to the selection of any man without he has the vote of the party behind him, and I believe that we should never sanction a move of the kind that is now proposed. I believe that the Executive Committee defines itself in this question, so that we will not only have the referendum for the people at large, but so that the membership at large can vote upon important questions.

DEL. JACOBSEN (Pa.): I wish to call the delegates attention to the fact that the members of the National Committee have already been elected by referendum by the Executive Committee. I believe that the National Committee should not be given the privilege of selecting any one but the members that have already been selected. I am in favor of

the substitute offered by the delegate from Wyoming. I believe it is the only practical solution of the question now under discussion.

DEL. THAMM (N. D.): In Article V, Section 1, you have already defined the duties of the National Committee and you have said that it is their duty to represent the party in national and international affairs. Now, you propose to take away the right of the National Committee to represent the party in national affairs to a very great extent. You do not give the National Committee any right to amend the election of the members of the Executive Committee. In other words, you create an independent Executive Committee which is identical to a very large extent with the National Committee, but still you make the National Committee responsible for the Executive Committee. Now, as a member of the National Committee, I protest against that business. It is not the right of the Executive Committee to have the right to compel them to quit if they don't do as we want them to and as they should. (Loud applause.)

DEL. MILLS (Kas.): I wish to speak for the position of the committee, and I think that the only words that should be spoken are those that have stood. The effort that is in hand here in this matter of the organization of the Executive Committee is simply to provide an effective machine for doing the work of the administration of the affairs of the Socialist Party. Now, I want to know what you propose to do with the Executive Committee. First, that this Executive Committee shall be elected by this convention. Then immediately the committee elected by the convention is turned over to the National Committee, whose members are elected by the states. After that, the National Executive Committee shall be subject to removal by the members of the National Committee. Does this convention want to place the members of the National Committee in a position where, acting under the constitution, they may be called very completely responsible for the actions of the men elected by this convention? Do you wish to place them there when they are not responsible for the actions of the Executive Committee, over whom they

have no control? The provisions of the report hold the National Committee responsible for the Executive Committee. The members of the Executive Committee are to be elected by the states and also give from the power to create it in the first place, which seems to me just. Next, that this Executive Committee shall be elected by referendum of the whole party. Now listen! A referendum of the membership of the party will give us a very large membership, because there is where the strong voice comes on a referendum to the total membership. This proposes that they shall be elected by the representatives of the various states as members of the National Committee, and give the National Committee, as representing the several states, and again the same objection to the election by referendum. If the Executive Committee is to be elected by a referendum it ought to be elected by the National Committee responsible for the action of an executive body and then make that executive body only available in its tenure of control, to an entirely different group? The election by states is simply a renewal of the old local quarterm proposition, only that all local quarterm propositions in the past have failed. It makes it an executive committee instead of a quarterm only for a larger committee. In that particular it would be an improvement, but again it creates an executive body, and then gives the control of that executive body in its power to elect a referendum when an indefinable number has been removed, not to the membership of the country, not to the representatives as coming in the National Committee, but to the group of the members within the indefinite geographical limits. Now, in contradiction to all this, this is what the committee has done: First, if you will read through the report of the committee, you will discover that in the administration of the affairs of the office the National Executive Committee alone is made responsible for the actions of the Executive Committee. It will dispense his force; he alone will employ; he alone will discharge; and he alone will be responsible to the

Executive Committee. No member of the Executive Committee will have any voice in the national headquarters. The members of the Executive Committee can reach the central office through the recognized administrative chief of that office, but this chief is made responsible not only for his own acts but for those of the employees who are responsible for this executive management of affairs. This executive management of affairs is in turn answerable to the whole National Committee of the country. You thus have the most complete machine for an effective administration of the central office, with no possible participation of the members of the Executive Committee. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. CARR: I claim the right to speak on this subject.

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon, but you had the floor upon this once.

DEL. CARR: Well, under the rules I have a right to close on this subject.

A DELEGATE: What are we voting on?

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute for the Executive Committee that I read it and then we will have a vote.

The Secretary then read the amendment offered by Delegate Carr of Illinois as a substitute for the whole of Section 1, Article VI.

The question was put to a rising vote and the substitute declared to have been adopted by a large majority.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will now vote on the last amendment that has been made, which the Secretary will read.

THE SECRETARY: The third amendment to the recommendation of the committee was offered by Delegate Thamm and is as follows: "The term of office shall be for two years, and the members of the Executive Committee shall be elected for one year only."

The question was then put and the amendment declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The second amendment was by Comrade Ott of

Wyoming, who moved to amend, that the members of the Executive Committee shall be elected by referendum vote. The amendment being put, the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now comes the report of the committee and accepted by the committee and the Secretary will please read the report.

DEL. HILLGOURT: "The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be elected from the membership of the party, but not more than three members of the said committee shall be elected from one state. The term of office of the Executive Committee shall be one year."

The question was then put upon the adoption of the committee's report, together with the additions accepted by the committee, and the motion was carried and the section declared adopted.

DEL. ZORN (O.): I rise to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: To what do you rise?

DEL. ZORN: The reason I rise is that I have heard to my regret that I have received a telegram calling me away. Our people are on a strike at Des Moines, Iowa, and it is important that I be present.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, Delegate Zorn from Ohio will be excused. There is no objection, and it will be so ordered.

DEL. ZORN: In leaving the convention, I want to say that I hope the convention will do some lasting work to the everlasting benefit of the party, and when the delegates come home and the ticket and the movement, I promise them my most hearty support, and I know the rest of the workers down in my section will stand loyally by one resolution at a meeting of our organization relative to organizing, and that was the only thing that I had to say. I am, then, my friends, your friends, your comrades must be Socialists. I thank you. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed with the regular order. Section 2 of Article VI was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once in three months. It shall supervise the district, organize unorganized workers and territories, receive semi-annual reports from the state committees to receive and pass upon the reports of the National Secretary, and transact all current business of the national office. As soon as the National Convention by the National Committee reserved for the National Committee or the general vote of the party."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): Comrade Chairman, I move to amend by adding, "All expenses of such meeting to be paid from the national treasury." The motion was not seconded, and the question being put on the adoption of the section as read, it was carried and the section declared adopted.

Section 3 of Article VI was then read as follows:

"Section 3. The Executive Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the National Committee."

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I want to strike out the words, "or with the rules of the National Committee." This is a negative board meets every three months and the National Executive meets once in three months. I think the national committee should not be hampered in this way.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the amendment seconded?

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I will second the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates from Kansas has seconded the amendment.

DEL. PARKS: I wish to speak in that amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will has the amendment. The Secretary will please read it.

THE SECRETARY: The annual meeting was postponed by the action of the convention, and the following is the text of Article VI, viz: "Or will the rules of the National Committee."

DEL. PARKS: Now I understood when I seconded this motion that this was the rule of procedure adopted by the National Committee for the government of itself, and not for the government of the Executive Committee. Of course, if this means that the National Committee is to direct the administration of affairs by the Executive Committee, I do not wish to maintain this motion before the house.

I ask the chairman of the committee, if that was the intention of the committee, that these rules which are referred to in Article VI be the rules for the government of the National Committee, whether, or whether these rules are adopted by the National Committee to govern the administration of affairs by the Executive Committee.

DEL. HILLGOURT: If you refer to the National Convention, I will say that they may have provisions also for the government of the affairs of the Executive Committee. We consider the Executive Committee as the adviser of the National Committee, to work under its direction.

DEL. PARKS: I wish to withdraw my section 3 of Article VI.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to its withdrawal? There are no objections.

The question was then put on the amendment of Delegate Phelan and it was carried and the section declared adopted.

DEL. PARKS: I wish to speak in that amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will has the amendment. The Secretary will please read it.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): This section says, "its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee." It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): This section says, "its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee, or a majority of the National Committee, or a majority of the National Committee, or a majority of the National Committee, or a majority of the National Committee." The National Committee. It seems to me

that that does not cover the ground very well; there is room for considerable discussion there. We ought to know what part of the National Committee it refers to, whether any or all.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move we amend the report by striking out "in the last line" and "the resolution shall be subject to referendum" instead of "revision."

DEL. FLOAVTEN (Cal.): I second the amendment.

DEL. SEIDEL (Wis.): I move to amend so that we will have another section, section 5, to read, "at the request of three or more members of the Executive Committee shall be put to a referendum of the National Committee." Now this would provide that only such questions or a difference before the division arose should be taken up, and in almost every instance.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ab.): I think the amendment that Comrade Kerrigan submitted will cover the ground even better than the amendment offered by the Wisconsin Comrade for this reason: The Executive Committee only meets once every three months and its action will have to be subject to the action of the National Committee, the results of proceedings of that committee they can call a referendum, so it will get to a vote anyhow. We want need anything else.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire that these words be added to Section 4 of Article VI, and published by the Secretary.

DEL. MALLIY (Neb.): That matter is covered by Section 3 of Article VI.

DEL. MEYER: Not specifically, Comrade Malliy.

DEL. MALLIY: Yes, it is. Section 3 of Article VII reads, "The National Secretary shall issue to all party organizations in such way as the Executive Committee may direct, monthly bulletins, a report on the financial at-

will cut out most of those who are capable of serving in the position. The more we pay easily, allowed to do a man \$1,500 a year, we are not doing a violation of principle for we do not stand on the principle of exploitation.

DEL. CAMRIDE: This says they pay only \$10 a week over in Washington. I have to say that only about poverty in Washington, exceeds such an outrage. Do not mind on him can which a family. When you give him arduous work and pay him \$10 a week you are doing just exactly what the capitalist is doing, against whom we are protesting. The State of Washington may have an excuse in its poverty. Our party has no such excuse. I am sure that there is no one here to emphasize that there is absolutely no personal element in the case, but just because we know that we may sooner or later have to look for another man for the position we want to provide so that we may be able to get the proper man for the proper place. (Applause.)

DEL. LAMB (Md.): Comrades, the question before this convention is an important one. The proposition made by the Socialist movement is that the restriction amounts to this: The one who goes out among people who do not on the average receive for their entire year's living and the support of their family one-fourth of the salary proposed, and that I shall collect from them their little tributes from that small income to make big salary. For I assert, consider a very big farm as the farm as the labor of two women and three men, I cannot get off of that farm \$1,500 a year gross. It is too much. I cannot ask those men to pay that sort of salary. Now, then, we are told that it requires ability of a high order to be able to do this. I am pleased here I am pleased also to believe that there are dozens of members creditably and well able to keep everything up-to-date and in good order, who are working day for day for \$50 and \$90 a month. I believe that, and, believing it, I favor the amendment and am opposed to the

Delegates Branch of Missouri, secured the Chair, but before recognizing him

THE CHAIRMAN: I was just going to recognize the Delegates on this have put in fifty-five minutes on this

subject of how much we shall pay the Secretary. I trust the Delegates will bear in mind that there is some limit to the amount of time we can devote to a subject of this kind.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): I am not going to take up much of your time. I am sure that you will all be very sorry to have heard in this committee the bitter personalities, you might call them, that have been injected into the debate upon this question. The matter of whether the salary should be \$1,500, or \$1,600, or whether it should be \$1,200, or \$1,400, is settled in a few minutes, but before it is settled in a few minutes, it would certainly like to have Comrade Titus answer a question, and that question is this: What did he mean when he said, "Don't do like the labor unions are doing about their fathers'?"

DEL. TITUS: May I answer that now?

DEL. BRANDT: Never mind: you can answer it any time. What are the people in the trades union movement of this whole country—and I see a number of them who have been leading spirits in their trades-union movement for some time, and I see a number of them, not never have seen any of them, living on fat salaries. Perhaps some of them have a smaller and cheaper or salary than the gentleman, himself. And in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I want to say an expression of that kind is born out of hatred, or from lack of Socialist movement.

At this point the previous question was moved and seconded, and Delegate Titus asked the floor for a question of privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been moved and it rests with this body whether you gentlemen wish to discuss the question of personal privilege. All in favor of the previous question will say "Aye"; contrary, "No." The previous question is carried. The subject is now open for discussion by two delegates, one for and one against. I recognize Delegate Spargo.

Which side? DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I desire the floor. DEL. SPARGO of the motion: that THE CHAIRMAN: You have three minutes to speak upon that subject.

A DELEGATE: I want to speak against the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: When you get the floor you can tell me what you wish to say. Delegate Spargo has the floor, and none other.

DEL. SPARGO: I am as much opposed to extravagant salaries as any member here, and I am as much opposed to "swearing" by the Socialist Party as by the capitalist employer. I do not believe that \$1,500 a year for the support of a man with a wife and family is a standard of living in China or New York, or any other city in the United States of America. I hear objections raised on the ground that \$50 is the standard paid by the State of Washington. That is not sufficient for a man to maintain himself and family as well as to support a wife and child. I have heard of anything like it to your National Secretary, unless the National Secretary's wife will live in washing to supplement the income we will very soon have to go out of business altogether. We have no right to protest against the exploitation of workers by others and to demand that we should not exploit the lord to maintain them in comfort. (Applause.)

DEL. GOZZIOU (Pa.): I wish to speak in favor of the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The main question before us is the Comraider's report and the various amendments thereto. The last gentleman who spoke has spoken in favor of the original report and against the amendment.

DEL. GOZZIOU: I am speaking in favor of the amendment.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I have a question of personal privilege—

THE CHAIRMAN: When this matter is disposed of we will recognize you to a question of personal privilege.

DEL. GOZZIOU (Md.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Delegate will please table his seat.

DEL. TOOLE: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will be recognized in due form. You will please take your seat.

DEL. TOOLE: I will not. I rise to a point of order—

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Delegate Titus—

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair. You shall not sit me down. I appeal from the decision of the Chair. I want to state my point of order. I won't sit down.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Delegate Titus: Is this question of personal privilege will be answered at any time, without any respect whatsoever to this question that is now before us. But I will not permit, under the guise of a question of personal privilege, any further remarks on this question by him as long as others who have not spoken upon this question. I will not speak with the titles. So no question of personal privilege will be heard, and at this time nothing will be heard, but the other delegate, and that delegate must take the opposite side from that of the speaker who preceded him.

DEL. TOOLE: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

DEL. TOOLE: According to the rulings of the previous Chairman, the speaker who precedes the speaker who follows him sits down, and according to that, my colleague from Maryland has a right to the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is not well taken.

DEL. TOOLE: The Chair decided so yesterday, and I ask the Secretary to look it up.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. TOOLE: I appeal from the decision of the Chair. All day yesterday the Chair decided on questions like this, that when two came to speak at the end of a resolution the one who spoke first had the right to do so, and so all through this convention since we changed the rule that has been the custom, and I believe that the Secretary will so find it in his record. According to that, my colleague from Maryland has the right to the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am not determined in my rulings, by what the Chairman did yesterday. The Chairman did a great many things yesterday

answer two questions asked by the committee from St. Louis, with respect to the high salaries paid to labor leaders. I did not suppose there was a labor list on this floor. (Applause.) In the third place, I wish to say, as a matter of principle, I might, and as a matter of fact, I was thinking, send an address to Comrade Malley, and as a matter of fact, Malley is no man on the floor who regards William Malley with higher friendship, respect and loyalty, than the delegate from Washington. (Applause.) William Malley knows that, and I regret that we were not allowed by the Chair in a parliamentary way to make these answers to the questions which were asked at the ruling, have changed the decision of Comrade Malley in reference to his resignation, which has just been presented. It is a misfortune to the party if William Malley should resign. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Before this incident is closed, I would like to say that the informant who told me that the long as I am Chairman, I shall enforce parliamentary procedure in conformance to the rules of order that we have adopted—and that method will be pursued without the slightest regard to whom it strikes and whom it does not. I am sure that you will have listened to the speeches in which the personality of our National Secretary has been discussed with a great deal more disparage and disgust than perhaps any other delegate on the floor. There is not a sincerer friend, a better well-wisher, of our self-sacrificing Secretary than I am. I am sure that you will have listened to the speeches in which the Chair, Bill, has not done sit in the Chair as a friend and well-wisher of Secretary Malley. He sits to enforce the rules of order, and he will recognize no friend for any reason what he occupies this seat. I recognize that he will be called to order by Secretary Malley, and he will be permitted to do so. I am sure that there are men sitting on the floor that over and over this convention an apology for daring to insinuate that he is on the low level of a salary-seeking labor factor. (Cheers.) Secretary Malley is not called upon to resign because of anything the Chair has said. He is called upon to resign because of what he has done or intends doing because his self-respect makes it necessary. What is the next subject before the house?

Chairman Hillquit read Article VIII, Section 2, as follows:

"The National Secretary shall have charge of all the affairs of the National office, subject to the direction of the Central Committee. He shall receive the reports of the state organizations and of local organizations in unincorporated states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the National office, and the work of the National office, and the work of the Central Committee, and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office."

Delegate Robinson (KY) moved the adoption of the section. Seconded and carried.

The third section was read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

"The National Secretary shall lead and deliver a monthly bulletin containing a report of the financial condition and the membership of the several state and territorial organizations, and the work of the National office, transmitted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and interests of the party as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletin shall contain any editorial matter."

On motion duly seconded the section was adopted.

Section 4 was read as follows:

"The National Secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper conduct of the business of his office."

Delegate Bennett (Mich) moved the adoption of the section.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio) moved to amend by adding "whose salary shall not be less than \$120 a month."

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee desires to know whether this would include the office boy, stenographer, operators, assistant and everybody else.

DEL. SLODODIN (N. Y.): I suggest, yes, if they have equal wages for the party. The delegate does intend it seriously, but in jest. He

from the office of assistant secretary will be sitting with the Central Committee himself. I can inform the delegates that the Secretary has incidental expenses which an assistant does not have. I can speak from personal experience, because I myself was a year National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party—once. They paid the Secretary \$1,000 a year, or six thousand members only.

The Secretary has incidental expenses that he cannot present bills for to the party. You know a secretary that lives in a city like Chicago or in a smaller town, it is necessary to meet visiting expenses, and it is necessary to meet miscellaneous honor expenses which may amount to hundreds of dollars a year, and to incur. This is in answer to the question of Comrade Webster, made in good faith. Why shouldn't the assistant secretary have the same salary?

The Secretary has the same salary as the other should have the same salary as the National Secretary, shows that it is not a bona fide position that has been taken.

DEL. ROBINSON (KY) moved to amend by changing the salary to \$120 a month, on the table. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is upon the table, and the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. WEBSTER: I want to amend that motion so that the first assistant shall be paid \$120, the second assistant shall be paid \$100, the third assistant shall be paid \$75 a month. If an office boy is hired and he is over sixteen years of age, he shall be paid \$75 a month, and if he is under sixteen he shall be paid \$60 a month.

DEL. HAZLET (Colo.) moved to amend by the amendment on the table. Seconded and carried. The recommendation of the committee was then carried and the section adopted.

The National Secretary and the members of the Executive Committee shall be removed from office at any time by a majority vote of the members of the National Committee. (Applause.)

A NATIONAL LECTURE BUREAU.

Chairman Hillquit read Article VIII, as follows:

Section I. There shall be in connection with the national office the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers on theoretical Socialism.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A question of information. We have just done something that I don't understand, and I don't think anybody else does.

THE CHAIRMAN: If we have just done it it is beyond the point where you can get any information upon it. You are all informed and you all agree upon it all afternoon and could have done before putting the motion. It is now too late to make any suggestion upon it. There is nothing in order that the adoption or retention of the last clause.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I move the adoption of the clause as read. Seconded.

DEL. WOODBRY (Cal.): I want to know what is meant by the words "theoretical Socialism." I do not understand it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Woodbry inquires of the committee what they mean or what construction is to be placed upon the term "theoretical Socialism."

DEL. HILLQUIT: You heard that section. I will illustrate the idea a little more. The idea is that lecturers engaged under the auspices of the bureau the various locals or states there they lecture, but they shall combine themselves to an exposition of Socialism, without regard to party affairs.

DEL. WOODBRY: The term "theoretical" is what I mean.

DEL. BERLIN (Ill.): In distinction from Technical Socialism.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Berlin suggests an distinction from Technical. ROSE (Mass.): I find that it is impossible for any lecturer to go out on the road and preach theoretical Socialism only. You cannot confine a lecturer up in a local meeting or public meeting and address an audience and then be able to lecture on technical Socialism. You cannot stand there as a lecturer of the Socialist Party

and say "I have no right to speak on practical Socialism; I am only a lecturer on theoretical Socialism." I believe it is childish to put anything of this kind into our constitution. (Applause.) I therefore, move that this portion be stricken out. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Which part do you mean to be stricken out?

DEL. ROSE: I move that the words "theoretical" and "only" be stricken out. Seconded.

DEL. BERGER (WVa.): Will the chairman inform us what the committee means by "theoretical only"?

DEL. HILLCOTT: The committee would have preferred to do without the word "theoretical only." It was anxious to emphasize the fact that it was not proposed to carry on organization matters or discussions by means of lecturers from national headquarters, and that it is why we inserted those words, to emphasize it would be better without the words.

DEL. BERGER: I move as an amendment that the management to put the words "lecturers" in the constitution, want it understood that lecturers are not to go out and talk about this, that or the other party affair. We do not want a repetition of the old Del-on-Del affair. We will have it: if you give lecturers the power to go into the states and use the name of the party for the purpose of propaganda. Such a thing is possible; it has been done in the past. So I want a word of this kind in there. Besides, if we do not put it in, we are in conflict with another passage of this constitution which states that the state has the exclusive right to arrange its own propaganda work in every organized state. I would like to have it read in there "lecturers for propaganda only," or something of that kind, or "educational Socialism," or "propaganda lecture education only," or "propaganda lecture education by means of lecturers" make it something of this kind, that is the best. Propaganda lecturers, if that is the best.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do I understand Delegate Berger to make an amendment to the amendment?

DEL. BERGER: Yes.

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): May I have the privilege of asking Comrade Berger

to accept a little different wording of that provision?

DEL. BERGER: Yes.

DEL. DILNO: Couldn't that with a few words, by simply changing in the word "lecturers" to "lecturers for the purpose of arranging propaganda tours for lecturers on Socialism,"

DEL. BERGER: I am satisfied with that.

DEL. DILNO: Insert "propaganda" there instead of "educational."

DEL. SPEARS (Ind.): I move that this clause be amended to read that "there shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propaganda of Socialism." (Applause.) Seconded.

DEL. STEWMAN (Ill.): If you will refer to Article VII, you will find in Section 4, "States and territories in which tours shall be one central organization affiliated with the party, and have the sole control of members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda or organization or financial affairs within the state or territory." Now, then, if you allow Comrade Spears to amend this section, you will have this proposition presented: you deprive the state of its autonomy in regard to organization and propaganda. In other words, that autonomy is surrendered to the National Quorum or national organization, and the state loses its power to govern and legislate. So I move that the amendment be stricken that uses the word "propaganda" which in substance would leave the question divided as to whether you have state autonomy or not on the question of propaganda.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Will you permit an explanation, Comrade Stewmán? If you will just read the last section you will find in the last two lines, "The National Committee of the party, shall have the sole control of members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda or organization or financial affairs within the state or territory." Now, then, if you allow Comrade Spears to amend this section, you will have this proposition presented: you deprive the state of its autonomy in regard to organization and propaganda. In other words, that autonomy is surrendered to the National Quorum or national organization, and the state loses its power to govern and legislate. So I move that the amendment be stricken that uses the word "propaganda" which in substance would leave the question divided as to whether you have state autonomy or not on the question of propaganda.

DEL. STEWMAN: The amendment as originally drawn and submitted to the committee is perfectly consistent with

the moment you take the substitute you have a different proposition.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): Section 2, Article VIII, provides that this can only be done under its auspices with all state organizations of the party, and arrangements must be made with them in reference.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the substitute. "There shall be maintained in connection with the national office a lecture bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propaganda of Socialism." The Chairman put the question on the substitute as just read by the Secretary. The Secretary asked that the substitute be read again, which was done, and the question being put on a rising vote, the substitute was adopted by a vote of 88 to 21.

DEL. MULLS (Kan.): Representing the members of the committee for all that is before the house that the clause shall be amended as it is, with the words "Socialism" only, stricken out and the following added—

THE CHAIRMAN: Just a moment in order to have that matter straight and adopted you will have to move the amendment for the whole offered by Delegate Spears. The Secretary will present.

INTERSECTION OF LECTURE BUREAU.

Chairman Hillcott read as follows: no connection with the state or territory. The lecture bureau of organization. It shall have the right to make arrangements for lecturers under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party."

It was moved and seconded that the motion be adopted and seconded that the motion be adopted and seconded by reading out the words "or local" before organizations.

DEL. BERGER (WVa.): I would like to have some interpretation of the language. The lecture bureau shall have no connection with the work of organizations of the party, or shall it be allowed to organize? Is that the meaning of it?

DEL. HILLCOTT: No, the substitute as carried was that for lecturers

delivering lectures on Socialism or the auspices of Socialism under the auspices of this bureau arrangements may be made primarily with local organizations. That has been followed, that was the rule adopted, and nothing was said by the Secretary and nothing in force. But when you come to organize you don't come under the auspices of this bureau. You come under the auspices of the national office generally, and it then requires to allow sent out to any state to organize it.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I would like to ask the comrade who moved the striking out of the word "local" in case that word is stricken out, what will be the name of such states as Mississippi that have no state organizations?

THE CHAIRMAN: Is Delegate Berger capable of answering that question?

DEL. BERGER: I will state that there are organized states like New York and Massachusetts and there are states that are not organized but those states ought to get in line and perfect their organization. We want to hold on to the committee; it is a matter of organization, and as long as our organization rests upon its different pillars instead of resting on one, we are all right. Now in answer to the comrade's question, this will not in any way interfere with making arrangements with not organized states in such a manner as to create a provision for it in Article XII.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I think it is unnecessary. I think later on in the constitution it provides for this, and if this amendment were carried, it would prevent the national organization from making any arrangements with the local organizations of the party, and it does, even if it prevent them from making arrangements in unorganized states. Therefore, I think it is entirely unnecessary.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I want to know whether it will prevent a local organization from making arrangements at any time with any speaker to speak before a local organization.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is any one qualified to answer that question? DEL. WOODBEY: Or will the local

organization employ only such persons as are qualified by their education to address the public? Or do we recommend by the bureau? Our local organization, for instance, in San Diego, where I live, has a speaker who is in good standing in the party and who maintains his standing in the party. Now I want to know if we can have such a speaker in the local organization? The consent of the state or national organizations?

THE CHAIRMAN: I would advise you to see the chairman of the committee on Constitution. That is all the information I can give you. I want to say further that the sources of information open to the Chair are open to every one of you. You are all free to go to depend for your information upon your own resources.

DEL MEYER: I ask for a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no question of personal privilege in order. Nothing is in order but a point of order.

DEL MEYER: Then I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL MEYER: I desire to call attention to the fact that various discussions are going on in the rear of the hall and it is impossible to hear the delegate who has the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: That point of order is well taken. The sergeant-at-arms will see that the rear part of the hall. Now, Delegate Wooding, proceed.

DEL WOODBEY: I want to say that if the effect of this measure now proposed to be put into the constitution is to take away the liberty of the local organization, without the consent of the state organization or national one, may be responsible in the party to come before them and address them, then I think it is a very dangerous precedent to establish, and I undertake to say that if that thing is carried through you can never enforce that with the local organization. I think the local organizations in different states could not enforce that kind without first asking the state secretary as to whether they could do it, and I tell you that you may pass that if you please, but the locals of this country will pay no attention to it whatsoever.

They will employ such speakers as they may be qualified to address. I think it proper. Now I ask you, rank and file, when this constitution goes to the local and the several state organizations, will you put their own construction on it notwithstanding what construction the committee that drew it put upon it and notwithstanding what construction you put upon it? Will you put your own wording of this section, a local could not employ a man to speak before them unless they have the consent of the state organization, and I do not think that we could enforce such a rule.

DEL HOLLENERGER (Ind.): I will say that we have no right to discuss as to whom the various locals shall employ to address them. Therefore, I am in favor of allowing them to have whom they choose. Why, suppose a local of a state organization is opposed to a certain speaker and therefore, the local did not want that speaker. Why, the national lecture bureau could send them that fellow and they would have to have that fellow and they would have to have that fellow and therefore, I am in favor of allowing them to have whom they choose. I am opposed to it.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to it

DEL MEYER: I want to go to the recommendation of the committee which we have discussed of this morning. I have done just one-half, we will have passed upon just one-half of the Committee on Constitution's work. Now if we are going to get through we will have to have fewer speeches and more questions. I will have to do something (Loud applause.) The previous question was moved and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before you, Comrades, is the motion to strike out the word "local" from Section 2 of Article VIII.

The question was then put on the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: It was declared lost by the Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

A division was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: Division has been called for. All in favor of striking out the word "local" will rise and be counted by the Secretary. The amendment is defeated. The Secretary will please read the next. Before having read it, however, the question comes

on the adoption of the committee's resolution. The adoption of Section 2 of Article 8 was then put to a viva voce vote and carried.

DEL MEYER (Ind.): A question of personal privilege, Comrade Chairman: I am ready for the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sorry.

DEL MEYER: I called your attention to the fact.

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed.

Section 3 of Article 8 was then read, as follows:

"Section 3. The National Committee shall establish an uniform system of printing books, pamphlets and other literature under its auspices,"

the adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL JACOBSEN (Iowa): I move that the word "uniform" be stricken out and the words "maximum and minimum" rate be inserted.

The motion was seconded.

DEL FLOATIN (Colo.): I move to amend by striking out the words "uniform" and inserting

"Section 3. Such an amendment shall be published because it nullifies the Comrade Jacobson's amendment."

The question was called for and Delegate Jacobson's amendment being put in a viva voce vote, was declared lost.

The question then returning upon the adoption of the section as reported by the committee it was declared adopted.

A NATIONAL LITERATURE BUREAU.

Section 1 of Article 9 was then read, as follows:

"Section 1. The National Committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party department of the dissemination of Socialist literature."

It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted as read.

DEL MEYER (Ind.): I desire to amend that section by adding the following: "Pamphlets and special pamphlets, literature, other than books, in the United States."

THE CHAIRMAN: Allow me to inform the delegate before proceeding any further that that matter is more fully covered in section 2, and I would, therefore, suggest that your amendment

would be more appropriate under that section.

DEL MEYER: All right.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment will stay on the Secretary's table until we come to section 2.

A viva voce vote was then taken on the motion to adopt Section 1 of Article 9 as read, and the motion was carried.

Section 2 of Article 9 was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. The literature bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of Socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right with the approval of the committee, to publish works on theoretical Socialism or for the progress of Socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the bureau to publish any periodicals."

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded to amend Comrade Meyer if he presses his amendment to this section?

DEL MEYER: I do.

DEL IRVINE M. SMITH (Ore.): Mr. Chairman, I move that we strike out the word "theoretical."

The motion was seconded.

DEL MEYER: I desire to state that I introduced this amendment because I have had a secretary of counties and find that it is desirous to have this literature in different languages, and therefore, I think it is necessary that the national party in printing national literature in the form of pamphlets and so forth, furnish literature in the various languages.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades supporting the Socialist Party in the United States, and that is the reason I introduced the amendment here.

The question was called for.

DEL TAYT (Ind.): I wish to amend by striking out the authority to publish works on theoretical Socialism, and have it read simply that authority be given simply to publish propaganda pamphlets.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL SPEARS (Ill.): The amendment to the amendment, I think, covers all grounds. Possibly Comrade Meyer will accept it.

DEL MEYER: I accept that.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is accepted. DEL HILLGOTT: I desire merely to save the convention some work in the future. Section 2 as it is drawn now contains of things to embrace the publication of the organ or all languages, and if there is any or all languages but English the secretary of the Executive Bureau has the right to publish the same under this section without any special provision by which it is being amended.

DEL SPEARS: The reason we want that in is because we want it mandatory so they will have to do it.

DEL PARKS (Kan.): I say we do not want this thing here so that the delegates will have to do it in which we have got comrades. We do not want this to read so that by a correct interpretation of the section we might be obliged to publish these pamphlets in all languages. I say we do not want that.

(Cries of "Question!")

DEL THAMS (N. D.): I want to say to the mover of the amendment that the United States language is good enough for me. I do not see any necessity for publishing these pamphlets in all other languages we have here in the United States.

DEL GOVZOU (Pa.): I hope the amendment will be accepted and I hope the Bureau will accept it. There is a great deal of literature printed on the other side of the water, but it is not fitted for propaganda purposes in this country because it does not bear about the situation in this country, and languages something that in the various conditions here, and distribute them among our comrades from the other side.

DEL WILSON (Cal.): Is the Executive Bureau a set of persons, or is it an activity of the National Executive Committee? The second section reads that the Executive Bureau shall have the right with the approval of the committee. Who is it that has the right,

and to whom shall the committee give its approval?

DEL HILLGOTT: The point of the matter is, we have provided for the Executive Bureau, and further provided that it may publish with the approval of the committee works on Socialism for propaganda. In other words, it will be one in charge of the national office, secretary who is to be appointed with the consent of the Executive Committee.

DEL WILSON: I wish to say that there is no provision in this section for the nomination of such a person.

DEL GAYLORD (Wis.): The provision provides for the keeping of a stock of all kinds of literature. I trust that the delegates will treat to the common sense of the Executive Committee, or National Secretary, or assistant secretary. The National Committee will supervise the matter. They know about the printing, and so I say, let us have it in confidence in the national office and let it go down to business. (Applause.)

The previous question was moved. DEL SAUNDERS: I move to lay the amendment on the table.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has just regularly moved and seconded that the amendment moved by Comrade Meyer be laid on the table.

The question was put and the amendment tabled. THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the amendment offered by Delegate Smith from Oregon.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is as follows: "The amendment to the word 'horizontal' in Section 2 of Article IX.

The question was then put on the amendment and it was declared carried. The question then returning to the adoption of the section as amended, the vote was taken, and it was declared adopted.

Section 3 of Article IX was then read as follows:

"Section 3. The profits of the Executive Bureau shall go into the general fund of the party treasury."

The adoption of the section as read was covered by DEL HILLENBERGER (Ind.): I move to amend that that section be tabled.

The motion was seconded and the question being put, the motion was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question before us now is the adoption of the committee's report.

Section 3 of Article IX as read was then put to a vote voice and declared adopted.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Section 1 of Article X was read, as follows:

"Section 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for President and Vice-President of the United States are to be held." Upon motion, duly seconded, the section was declared adopted.

Section 2 of Article X was then read, as follows:

"Section 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership." Upon motion, duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted as read.

Section 3 of Article X was read, as follows:

"Section 3. The dues and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee."

Upon motion, duly seconded and carried, the section was declared adopted.

Section 4, Article X, was read as follows:

"Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state adequate in size to send one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing."

DEL DALTON (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one hundred."

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the motion and it has been decided. Are you ready for the question?

DEL BERGER (Wis.): I have another amendment I wish to offer. I wish to amend by adding to Section 4 at the end of the section, the following: "But in every case the delegate shall be a resident of the state which he or she represents." We have delegates right on the floor of this convention who are not residents of the state which they represent.

DEL HILLGOTT: I would like to state for the benefit of Comrade Berger that the committee has decided it advisable to add the following to this section:

"Provided, however, that no candidate shall be considered eligible unless he or she is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented." Which the credential is presented.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the provision will be embodied in the report. There being no objection, it is so ordered.

DEL GIBBS (Mass): I wish to offer an amendment, not to any particular section, but to the article as a whole. This amendment is somewhat material to all of section 4, therefore, I would ask permission to present it.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is germane to the question under consideration we will go to it.

DEL GIBBS: I move as an amendment to the whole article, a new section, which shall read as follows: "The National Committee shall provide a special fund for payment of expenses of the delegates in attending the National Convention." I move that as an amendment for Article X.

THE CHAIRMAN: It seems to me that before we get disposed of the matter before us first, and then take up your proposition as a separate section or an addition to this matter.

DEL GIBBS: I will accept the Chair's suggestion if the comrades undeterred that it comes up later on.

DEL LANGWORTHY (Tex.): I move to amend the amendment by striking out the words "one hundred" and inserting the words "one hundred."

We are represented here on the basis of one hundred, and if we should have more represented on the basis of two hundred, we would have had consisted of one hundred. It had been upon the basis of one hundred that the states would not have had any delegates in this convention. I think the effect of this amendment would be to shut out a good many states.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say for the information of the delegate, that I have not heard his motion seconded. The motion was seconded. It is not open for discussion.

DEL. MALLIY (Neb.): The motion was seconded.

DEL. TOOMEY (Ky.): I move you the previous question.

Motion seconded.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): I ask for special information before this vote is put.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think Comrade Smith asked me for the floor, and I promised the floor. Comrade Smith has the floor.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): In the face of the fact that the delegates from New York, or wherever it was, to the effect that commitment was to the detriment of the state before they can represent the party here, I want to know how we are going to stay here. Our body is a moving body, and if it is moving, as I think it is, at three times the rate as I think it is, at three times the rate as I think it is, at three times the opportunity of telling to these delegates the conditions under which I am here at this convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: At this time we have nothing before us but the previous question.

The question was then put on the previous question, and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will please read the first amendment.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will get all the information coming to you from the Secretary's reading. (Laughter and applause.)

THE SECRETARY: The first amendment is a motion to amend by striking out the words "one hundred" and making it "one hundred."

The question was put on the amendment and it was declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Get your information, delegate from Illinois, as we go along. The Secretary will now read the next amendment. Get your information from that. (Laughter and applause.)

THE SECRETARY: Moved by Delegate Del. Smith to amend by striking out the words "two hundred" and inserting the words "one thousand." The amendment was put to a vote voice vote and lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now recurs to the original report of the committee. The chairman of the committee will read this again, because there have been certain additions. Kindly give the floor of the reading of this we will vote upon it.

Section 4 of Article X was then read, as follows:

"Section 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large, and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in excess of one hundred. However, no state or territory shall be eligible unless it is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented."

The question was then put on the adoption of the section as read, and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say

right here that we have got about fifty minutes to complete this report. You can see that we still have about one-fourth of it to pass upon. We will have to move rapidly if we hope to get through. Is there any other matter, besides the Secretary's reading of the first amendment?

THE SECRETARY: There is Comrade Gibbs' amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read it.

THE SECRETARY: The amendment is to add one more section to Article X, to be known as Section 5, and to read as follows: "The National Committee shall provide a special fund for the payment of the expenses of the delegates in attending the national convention."

The motion was seconded.

DEL. GIBBS: Mr. Chairman, I do not know whether it is necessary for me to speak a moment upon this question. I simply want to say in justice, however, to the states that are at a distance from the convention that there is a technical point which I would like to bring out, and that is, that they pay their own expenses, there is a tendency to have men come here for a week's outing, a week's vacation, and that may explain to some extent the vast number of delegates that are present here. Now, I say for this reason that the convention will adopt the amendment to the article.

(Upon the request of Delegate Malliy (Neb.), the Secretary then read the amendment offered by Delegate Gibbs again.)

DEL. MALLIY: I want to offer this as a substitute for Article X, "The national fare of the delegates going to and coming from the convention shall be paid from the national treasury, and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership."

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. GIBBS: I accept that amendment.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): This is a serious question, and I think it is right to have it to the states to make provision for the payment of their own delegates to the national convention rather than putting it on the national organization. If the states want to be represented in

the national convention, let the states pay for their delegates and make provision in their state constitution and let the states take up a collection for their delegates to the national convention. It seems to me as though there were damn good reasons for this. I would like to have their full representation. I believe there is danger in this and I hope that the section will not be adopted without some discussion.

Delegate Saunders then moved the previous question, and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment proposed by Delegate Malliy.

The Secretary then read the substitute as offered by Delegate Malliy.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the reading of the substitute. The matter is now open for discussion.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I am opposed to this as a whole, and I am in favor of it as a part, to be raised by a per capita assessment, but I think it should come under Section 6 of Article XII, which provides for the revenue of the organization, and I think we ought to have it there, and in the constitution then it is before us when we are considering that section in regard to the revenues of the national organization.

DEL. TOOMEY (Ky.): I want to call attention to this fact, to the absence of many of our working class representatives who are compelled to stay at home because they could not raise the money to come here. (Applause.) If this convention is to be representative of the working men, you must get the money and not put the party above the man. (Applause.) It has been stated before in this convention that many have been chosen because of their ability to pay. If that is the way we get together in a Socialist organization, I am here to state that I am not here to have the constitution changed. The gentleman from Kansas speaks of the danger which confronts us. We in our state have been fighting for Socialism for years, and the movement there is no danger from any opponents. Gentlemen, in the name of God, give the party working men a chance to be represented upon the

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the amendment.

THE SECRETARY: Will Delegate Thomas kindly state which one he refers to?

DEL. TUTTUS: That referring to locals.

THE SECRETARY: The motion of Comrade Webster of Ohio was amended the section so as to read, "Upon the revision of the constitution of the states or territories."

DEL. TOOLE: I withdraw my amendment.

DEL. TUTTUS: I am in favor of that amendment because it puts the referendum in the hands of the party membership and because it makes a referendum immediately effective. If you will notice section 2, you will see that it provides that only on a referendum, and then forty-five days shall elapse before the referendum is submitted to vote. That is three months. Now, if you want to start a referendum on this plan, you have got to begin a referendum in five different states, which will take a long time getting, the referendum voted upon. Now, twenty locals in five different states does not violate state autonomy any more than our present plan. If state autonomy stands in the way of our party, then let state autonomy go. (Applause.) This proposed that twenty locals for a referendum, and I think that should be accepted as a substitute, and if the matter of expense stands in the way, I say again that democracy is of more importance than expense. The expense of taking these referendums is small, but that is the most important thing we have got, it is at least three or four months away. (Applause.) Therefore, I am heartily in favor of this substitute.

The question was then put upon the amendment of Delegate Webster and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is by Comrade Manly and it is as follows: "To substitute the word 'committees' in place of the word 'organizations' after the phrase 'five state or territories' and consequently the clause will thus read: 'Upon the re-

quest of five free state or territorial com mittees'." The question being put upon the amendment, it was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: As I understand it, the amendment of Comrade Toole has been withdrawn. Am I correct?

DEL. TOOLE: Yes, I have withdrawn my amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now vote upon the original section as amended.

The original section as amended was then put to a vote and was declared adopted.

Section 2 of Article XI was then read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows: "Section 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the National Secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for forty-five days, within which time the referendum shall be voted thereon in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of forty-five days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which might have been made by party members, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. STROBEL: I move that the time be made twenty days instead of forty-five.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I move that the amendment be laid on the table. Motion seconded.

The question was put upon the motion to lay on the table and it carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The regular motion on the floor now is the committee's recommendation, and Comrade Tuttus has the floor.

DEL. TUTTUS (Wash.): I move that the motion be substituted instead of forty-five days.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Smith of Oregon and carried.

The question was then put on the motion to adopt the original report of the committee as amended, and the motion carried.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): Comrade Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: What do you have to say?

DEL. BICKETT: I would like to express my opinion upon that.

DEL. PARKS: We have something to say on this also. Here is Kansas.

THE CHAIRMAN: Kindly take your seat. The committee has the floor. We will proceed with the regular order of business.

Section 3 of Article XI was next read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

"Section 3. All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment. It was moved and seconded that the section be adopted.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I am opposed to it because there ought to be reasons for the referendum, otherwise the membership would understand.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you an amendment?

DEL. TOOLE: No.

DEL. ONEAL (Ind.): I agree to amend the words "preamble or comment" the words "by the National Secretary or the National or Executive Committee." Seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: That question was discussed in that connection. We objected to the wording now proposed by Comrade Oneal, for the reason: that it would debar the Secretary or National Executive Committee from recommending, but not the power of the motion, with the result that you will get instead of the question an ordinary proposition and a string of whereas which will contain a long argument and will go to each and every voter in that shape who will read the proposition, and will not be presented to the voters. What we intended was to strike out all preambles, whereas and explanations, but allow sixty days for the proposition to be discussed in the locals and press, so as to have the members afterwards vote intelligently upon it. (Applause.)

The question was put on the amendment and the amendment was lost. The original section as submitted by the committee was then adopted.

STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

Delegate Hillquit continued the reading of the report, as follows:

"Article XII. State organizations. Section 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the re-organization of existing organizations which may have lapsed shall be under the direction of the Executive Committee and in conformity with the rules of the National Committee."

On motion, duly seconded, the section was adopted.

No state or territory shall be organized unless agreement has been reached of not less than two, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states or territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution.

The adoption of this section was moved and seconded.

DEL. TOOLE: I move to amend, because in some of the smaller states it is impossible to form ten states, and the word "two" should be "five" for the word "two." Seconded.

DEL. ROSE (Miss): I wish to ask the chairman of the committee if that would put us in Mississippi in the position of being opposed to the National Committee in case we organize without ten locals. We are doing the organizing, and I do not see the difference between ten organizations with no money but, without being considered in opposition to the National Committee, though not being recognized by the National Committee, we wish to do that so as to get into the way for hard work.

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I favor the report of the committee because in the past there have been states organized with five so-called, alleged locals, and this makes it impossible to a great extent to carry on the same kind of work. Therefore, I favor putting the highest limit in the report of the committee and to the best interests of the Socialist movement of the United States.

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I favor continuing in the report with regard to organized states, for the reason that I believe that those who have had any

experience in the organization work of the party will realize that a great many mistakes have been made on account of organizing too soon, not only in states, but in local places. It seems to me that we should wait until we have ten strong members in each state before we start. We should at least have a very definite plan of what we wish to start, and there would not be so much of the trouble that comes up afterwards that we have known in new states organized without a sufficient membership. For this reason I am in favor of the report of the committee.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I am in favor of the report of the committee. There is not a question of how organized, or how strongly, or whether only five organizations can carry on the work of the state under state autonomy. I believe in state autonomy, but I do not believe in organizing a state until it is ready to attend to its own affairs.

DEL. GERBER (N. Y.): Although I agree with the report of the committee I would like to know what you will do with the states where it is impossible to organize ten locals, like the states of Rhode Island or Delaware, where we cannot organize ten locals.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will say in answer to the question of the delegate from Maine that the committee has substantially no proposition pending with respect to three or four locals pending for action in any one state, or different state organizations, as they please, whether it be a state or territorial committee or otherwise. But for the purpose of the report of the committee, I think that they are not considered as pending on the National Committee until they have at least ten locals representing the members.

DEL. GERBER: I offered an amendment that there be inserted right after that the words "except in states where ten locals are organized." In the State of Rhode Island, where there are five locals at the best. We have never town organized in that State, and still we do not consider it organized at all, because we cannot get ten locals.

Delegate Woodbury (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary

will please read the amendments that are before us.

THE SECRETARY: The only amendment which is before the house is that in which the word "ten" is to strike out the word "ten" and substitute the word "five".

DEL. WESLING (N. Y.): It is very important that we get all the States into our organization that can possibly be represented. Ten puts the number very high. There is the State of Rhode Island that has been referred to. It has five or six years ago socialist organization.

DEL. GAYLORD: I think it is very important that we get all the States into our organization that can possibly be represented. Ten puts the number very high. There is the State of Rhode Island that has been referred to. It has five or six years ago socialist organization as high as 3000 votes, aggregated per cent, and that State has been an they democratized. It is not an easy matter to gather 300 dues-paying members in that State, but it will be very difficult to get ten locals, because the movement will be gradually confined to a few industrial towns.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I would prefer this state of membership in the National Party. If you make the membership in locals ten and do not restrict the locals to ten you give every smaller State opportunity, because in the easily organized where small locals are a membership like the plan presented.

Therefore I think that the spirit of this phrase of the committee report will be preserved if you make it five locals and Rhode Island membership in the National Party of representation in the National Committee. I think you ought to take that into consideration.

The question on the amendment was put and the amendment declared lost. A division was called for, and on a rising vote the amendment was defeated.

The question on the original question as amended was put and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour of adjournment has arrived. What is your pleasure?

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move that the rules be suspended for the adjournment at half-past five, and that we adjourn when we have completed the report of the Committee on Constitution.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Section 3 was next read, as follows:

"The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of principle and shall conform thereto. The adoption of this section was moved and seconded.

DEL. ONEAL (Ind.): I move to amend by adding the words, "and no other or local organization shall under any circumstances, save, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from affiliating with the five or six hundred members of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialists accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization." Seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The committee amends that.

The section was then adopted.

STATE COMMITTEES REPORTS.

Section 4 was read as follows: "In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organization shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the membership, organization and financial affairs, and activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the national committee shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organization." On motion duly seconded, the section was adopted.

"The State Committee shall make monthly reports to the national secretary concerning the membership, financial condition, and general status of the organization." The adoption of the section was moved and seconded.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move to amend by striking out "monthly" and inserting "quarterly." It puts too much work on the secretaries, who serve without pay.

DEL. WOODBURY (Kan.): My name does not appear on the report of the committee. This was a matter that we discussed for a long time before the meeting. It is an effort to provide the National Secretary with the material

from which he will make up the totals and make the reports which we have a right to expect. I think it is simply meant that the state make a report monthly, and that that report which they are making away in the payment of dues, shall not be simply the forwarding of a certain sum of money for stamps, but shall carry with it a detailed statement of the membership of the organization. The monthly report of the National Secretary will show for all the states the membership by months, the increase or decrease and the growth of the party. That is the intention. The amount of labor will hardly be noticeable, because it is provided further that the secretary shall make a list of the dues, and it will simply be a matter of clerical work that will be necessary. There is very little additional labor. It provides the materials from which we have required the National Secretary to make his reports for the whole number of states and an increase in the growth of the party membership monthly.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.):

I suggest that the committee amend now, at this time, and with confidence. It seems to think this will not cause much additional work, if any, it involves more; it involves going over the books and records and getting the information that is mentioned in that article. I think it can show that there is no business case that they should propose over the method now in use. I passed over the method now in use to require a monthly report of the membership. I do not think it is necessary to require the reports to be made monthly.

The previous question was moved and seconded.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I speak for the amendment. I want to say about the same that Comrade Kerrigan said, and that most of the local secretaries do not seem to have any money. I get the money from time to time, and I guess the other secretaries are in the same fix that I am. How am I going to report when I don't have anything to report on? I think it is a pretty hard matter to keep up any kind of a report once every three months. I think it is a very difficult matter, and I can't do it well even then over

